



# CREATE

Canterbury Research and Theses Environment

Canterbury Christ Church University's repository of research outputs

<http://create.canterbury.ac.uk>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. Zubair, Noveed (2016) An exploration of gender nonconformity in gay men. D.Clin.Psych. thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University.

Contact: [create.library@canterbury.ac.uk](mailto:create.library@canterbury.ac.uk)



NOVEED ZUBAIR BSc Hons MSc

**AN EXPLORATION OF GENDER NONCONFORMITY IN  
GAY MEN**

Section A: What Does Current Research Reveal about the Evaluations,  
Representations and Experiences of Effeminate Gay Men?

Word Count 8000 (+348)

Section B: Gender Representations in Life Narratives of Non-Masculine Gay  
Men

Word Count 7904 (+243)

Overall Word Count 15,904 (+591)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of  
Canterbury Christ Church University for the degree of  
Doctor of Clinical Psychology

May 2016

SALOMONS  
CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY



## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my mum, dad and brother for their support and unfaltering wish to see me succeed. Thank you for the endless lifts to cafes and libraries and for (mostly) tolerating my teenage regression. I promise I'm very nearly a real adult. To my friends Poonam, Mathieu, Gieniusz, Mark, Sanna-kins, Rachel, Elizabeth, Nikki Fox-Joy Brewer, Nhi, Iolanta, Alex, Viccoid and Haleema- thank you for your support, belief and motivating words, tolerating my stuckness, not tiring of my broken-record complaints and or feeling smug victory at my setbacks. My MRP supervisors Margie Callanan and Stuart Gibson have shown patience, support and afforded reflective, open space for me to consider my research and myself as researcher, being supportive during periods of both difficulty and apathy. Thank you also to my manager Fergal Jones, who throughout my Doctorate has always felt like my safety net- and embodies a lot of what Salomons represents to me. And to Salomons as an institute, including administrative and library staff. I am grateful for three years of incredible privilege. I have loved being taught by you. Finally, gratitude to my participants for the considerable hours they gave me, and the openness with which they shared their experiences.



## **Summary of the Major Research Project**

### **Section A**

A literature review that aimed to identify and consolidate post-2001 research regarding representations, evaluations and experiences of effeminate gay men (EGM) in light of recent legislative and cultural shifts. The introduction considered the clinical value of research into gay men's experiences and presented different perspectives on gender-role expression and acquisition. It also illustrated responses, cultural and historical, to effeminacy in gay men. Papers reviewed fell into three main areas: heterosexual evaluations of gender nonconformity, media representations of gay men and evaluations of different forms of gender expression amongst gay men. Implications for psychology practice and further research were considered.

### **Section B**

A study that explored how gender expressions were portrayed in the narratives of gay men who view themselves as non-masculine. An adapted life story interview was conducted with seven participants and analysed using content analysis. The study found that non-masculinity was defined in different ways and that social context impacted on gender expression. Non-masculinity was strongly associated with male homosexuality. Negative appraisals of non-masculinity were portrayed from gay and straight communities and from participants themselves. Positive qualities associated with non-masculinity included expressiveness, humour and flexibility in working with power demonstrations of others. Implications for psychology practice and future research are considered.

### **Section C**

This section includes the appendices for the whole research project.



## Table of Contents

**Section A:** What does current research reveal about the evaluations, representations and experiences of effeminate gay men?

<b>Abstract</b> .....	2
<b>Introduction</b> .....	3
The Clinical Value of Research into Gay Men’s Experiences .....	3
Gay Men and Gender Roles .....	6
<b>Literature Review Aims</b> .....	10
<b>Methodology</b> .....	10
<b>Review</b> .....	11
Heterosexual Evaluations of Gender Nonconformity.....	11
Fulfilled stereotypes .....	11
The role of rater masculinity in evaluations .....	13
Different domains of gender-role violation .....	16
Media Representations of Gay Men .....	17
Gender-role Evaluations by Gay Men .....	18
Discussions of gay male femininity online .....	18
Masculinities within the gay scene .....	20
Gay men in rural settings.....	22
The sex trade .....	23
Anti-effeminacy and negative gay identity.....	25
Gender-role conflict and gender-role orientation .....	26
<b>Discussion</b> .....	27
Overview of Findings .....	27
Implications for Psychology Practise.....	31
Areas of Further Research .....	33
<b>References</b> .....	35



## **Section B:** Gender representations in life narratives of non-masculine gay men

<b>Abstract</b> .....	58
<b>Introduction</b> .....	59
Psychology and Gay Men’s Experiences.....	59
Gay Men and Gender Role .....	61
Heterosexual Evaluations of Gender Nonconformity.....	62
Anti-Effeminacy within Gay Communities .....	64
Summary and Research Aims.....	67
<b>Methodology</b> .....	68
Design .....	68
Recruitment.....	70
Participants.....	70
Procedure .....	71
Analysis.....	72
Quality Assurance.....	73
<b>Results</b> .....	74
Varied Definitions and Domains of Non-Masculine Expressions .....	74
Gender Expression as Multi-Faceted and Unfixed .....	75
Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation, Sex Role and Sex Acts .....	76
The Undesirability of Non-Masculinity in Self and Others.....	78
Marginalisation and Belonging.....	79
The Compromise and Reclamation of Gender Expression.....	81
Intersecting Identities.....	82
The Merit of Non-Masculinity.....	84
Theorised Origin and Function of Non-Masculinity .....	84
Media Representations of Non-Masculinity .....	85

Participant Reaction to Non-Masculinity in Others.....	86
<b>Discussion</b> .....	87
Findings in the Context of Previous Research.....	87
Implications for Psychology Practice .....	89
Methodological Considerations .....	90
<b>References</b> .....	91

## List of Appendices

Appendix A- Literature search strategy .....	106
Appendix B- Article summary table .....	108
Appendix C- Interview schedule .....	117
Appendix D- Recruitment poster (anonymised) .....	122
Appendix E- Ethics application approval letter .....	123
Appendix F- Information sheet (anonymised).....	124
Appendix G- Consent form (anonymised).....	127
Appendix H- Interview transcripts (anonymised).....	128
Appendix I- Content analysis subtexts .....	129
Appendix J- Content analysis- identification of preliminary categories (sample) .....	130
Appendix K- Content analysis- identified categories .....	131
Table 1- Varying Definitions and Domains of Non-Masculine Expressions .....	131
Table 2- Gender Expression as Multi-Faceted & Unfixed .....	134
Table 3- Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation, Sex Role and Sex Acts .....	136
Table 4- The Undesirability of Non-Masculinity in Self and Others .....	141
Table 5- Marginalisation and Belonging .....	144
Table 6- The Compromise and Reclamation of Gender Expression .....	151
Table 7- Intersecting Identities .....	154
Table 8- The Merit of Non-Masculinity .....	159
Table 9- Theorised Origin and Function of Non-Masculinity.....	161
Table 10- Media Representations of Non-Masculinity .....	164
Table 11-Participant Reactions to Non-Masculinity in Others .....	166
Appendix L- Bracketing interview summary .....	170
Appendix M- Reflective diary excerpts (abbreviated and anonymised) .....	171
Appendix N- Publication guidelines for ‘BPS Psychology of Sexualities Review’ .....	174

MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT: SECTION A

What Does Current Research Reveal about Evaluations, Representations and Experiences of  
Effeminate Gay Men?

A literature review

Accurate Word Count: 8000 (+348)

### Abstract

Studies indicate a higher prevalence of mental distress amongst gay men compared to the general population, which may be related to the impact of external discriminatory stressors. Furthermore, gay men's experiences of healthcare, including therapy, indicate weaknesses in working with sexual orientation. Studies indicate that effeminate gay men (EGM) can be discriminatory targets of other gay men, as well as heterosexuals, representing a heightened exposure to stressors. In light of recent legislative and cultural shifts, this literature review aimed to identify and consolidate post-2001 research regarding representations, evaluations and experiences of EGM. Eighteen journal-published studies were reviewed. They indicate that EGM are still consistently evaluated negatively by both heterosexual and gay men, with more visible demonstrations of femininity being responded to most negatively. Studies frequently refer to dominant pro-masculine cultural values in understanding this prejudice. Negative reactions may impact numerous domains of EGM's lives including socialising, work, relationships and representations in the media. Strengths associated with effeminacy include less restrictive emotional expression and better balance of work and personal life; bypassing facets of gender-role conflict associated with rigid adherence to masculinity. Implications for therapeutic practice of psychology and further research are considered.

Keywords: effeminophobia, effeminacy, camp, gay, minority stress

## What Does Current Research Reveal about Evaluations, Representations and Experiences of Effeminate Gay Men?

### Introduction

#### **The Clinical Value of Research into Gay Men's Experiences**

Researching gay male experience is a pertinent area of work for psychology. Cohen, Hall and Tuttle (2009) believed research was an important tool in reducing prejudice, allowing insight into how attitudes about sexual minorities were formed. Furthermore, Davies and Neal (1996) stated that therapists could have educative roles for other health professionals regarding homophobia, sexual diversity and mental health. Rothblum (1994) suggested that exploring sexual minority needs could inform public services and, by highlighting resilience and coping, affirm gay experience as a model for positive mental health.

Rogers and Rogers (2001) related an increased focus on gender and sexuality within psychology with movements such as feminism and post-modernism. They stated that these had enabled reflection upon the "politics of power" (p. 01) within sciences, including how power is enacted through knowledge and language.

Moradi, Mohr, Worthington and Fassinger (2009) illustrated how psychologists have increased recognition of sexual minority issues by shaping public policy and practice. They highlighted contributions to the American Psychological Association's (APA) guidelines on psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB) clients (APA, 2000) and transgendered clients (APA, 2008). Similarly, the British Psychological Society (BPS) has produced guidance for working therapeutically with clients from sexual and gender minorities (Shaw et al., 2012)

Gay men may be overrepresented in clinical populations. Studies have indicated a greater prevalence of anxiety, depression and hopelessness (Ferguson et al. 1999; Lock & Steiner, 1999; Safren & Heimberg, 1999) amongst gay men when compared to heterosexual counterparts. High levels of stress (Iwasaki & Ristock, 2007; Lewis, Derlega, Griffin & Krowinski, 2003; Malcolm, 2002) and greater suicidality in gay youth (Eisenberg & Resnick, 2006; Remafedi, 2002) have similarly been identified. In Britain, three percent of gay and bisexual men (GBM) reported attempting suicide in the prior year, five percent amongst GBM from ethnicity minority backgrounds, compared to 0.4% within the overall male population. GBM have also reported greater incidence of depression and anxiety, self-harm and eating disorders (Guasp, 2012).

Meyer (1995) related the higher prevalence of mental distress amongst LGB populations to external stressors, including stigma, prejudice and discrimination in his minority stress model. More recently, Herek & McLemore (2013) found that gay men were disadvantaged in employment, housing and income and could be targets of hate crimes. In the U.S around 1,200 sexual orientation-related hate crimes were committed in 2010 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2011). In London, 1008 homophobic crimes were recorded over 2012/13 (Galop, 2013) and 10% of the British LGB population experience homophobic assaults in their lifetime (Stonewall, 2013).

Meyer (1995) stated that exposure to such environmental stressors increased a person's expectations of future rejection or recrimination, heightening distress. Negative societal values could be internalised by individuals, further compromising their resilience. Meyer (2003) also believes that group cohesiveness, particularly groups with a shared minority identity, was a protective factor, accommodating within-group comparisons, rather than with the dominant culture alone.

Sexual orientation is a characteristic that is protected, under the UK's Equality Act 2010, from discrimination in numerous areas of life, including public services. Despite this, 34% of GBM reported negative healthcare experiences related to their sexual orientation in the previous year (Stonewall, 2012). Feedback regarding therapy included experiences of sexual orientation being unacknowledged or, conversely, the role of sexual orientation being overemphasised in understanding difficulties.

Meyer's (1995) minority-stress model presented two perspectives of stress, with differing implications for public health and policy. A subjective view emphasised individual processes; a person's appraisal of circumstances and their coping being the interventional focus. In contrast, an objective view emphasised the properties of stressors, with interventions focused on working with environmental factors. Meyer shared Masten's (2001) assertion that psychologists, often oriented more to working at an individual, rather than societal level, should avoid understanding distress as resulting from individual deficiencies alone.

Therapy itself can represent a hostile environment for sexual minorities. Delgado-Romero and Shelton (2011) identified microaggressions, covert expressions of discrimination, towards LGB clients in psychotherapy. These included therapists expressing surprise at non-stereotypical behaviour, displaying solely heterosexual-themed books and avoiding LGB terminology. These may have communicated assumptions of homogeneity amongst LGB clients or expectations that the client should conform to dominant values. Microaggressions may have compromised therapeutic relationships, by preventing discussion around sexual orientation and influencing client expectations of acceptable practice.

In contrast, Davies and Neal's (1996) gay-affirmative framework for therapy highlighted the necessity for therapists to view homophobia, not sexual diversity, as



pathological. It also suggested that power dynamics and authoritative communications should be monitored in therapy.

In summary, despite a greater likelihood of experiencing mental distress, mental health services, including therapy, can fail to adequately meet the needs of gay men and may itself be an oppressive space within which prejudices are enacted. These weaknesses indicate that there is clinical value in psychology furthering its understanding of gay men's experiences.

### **Gay Men and Gender Roles**

Some authors have highlighted the importance of acknowledging diversity within minority groups. Moradi et al. (2009) suggested that, though collapsing groups based on sexual orientation, gender identity and intersexuality could achieve a "unified and inclusive sexual minority literature" (p. 05), it would mask differences and limit knowledge. Rothblum (1994) noted that gay men were commonly represented as "young, white, middle-class and able-bodied" (p. 219), inaccurately portraying homogeneity.

Riggs and Nair (2012) stated that psychologists often focused solely on issues related to sexuality or gender in therapies with non-heterosexual clients, rather than other identities including religion or race. Where acknowledged, these other identities were often regarded in a checklist manner, noted but not understood. Riggs and Nair suggested that this oversimplified understandings of client difficulties, such as assuming that the more marginalised identities a person embodied, the more proportionately oppressed they were. They described the intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) which acknowledged the specificity of a person's identity and considered the interaction of this with dominant social norms.

Gay men and lesbians are often perceived as having gender-atypical attributes; gay men regarded as effeminate and lesbians masculine (Kite & Deaux 1987; Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Madon, 1997; Taylor, 1983). Stereotypes of gay men as effeminate, emotional and easily hurt have been linked to anti-gay attitudes (Kilianski, 2003). Mahalik, Cournoyer, Defrank, Cherry and Napolitano (1998) defined gender-roles as behaviours men and women enact that are congruent with socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity. Rogers and Rogers (2000) noted that the association between gay men and femininity was so significant that gay male responses were used to validate the feminine criterion of the masculine-feminine (Mf) subscale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). They also noted that Gough's California Personality Inventory sought to both measure the degree of femininity in women and identify homosexuality in men.

These stereotypes may be based upon a "kernel of truth" (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012). Lesbians have self-reported more masculine attributes than heterosexual women, and gay men reported more feminine traits than heterosexual men (Lippa, 2005). However, other studies have indicated variation in gender-conforming behavioural traits amongst gay men, having measured masculinity (Sanders, Bain & Langevin, 1985) and androgyny (scoring highly in both masculine and feminine traits) in gay men based upon ratings by others (Bernard & Epstein, 1978) and themselves (McDonalds & Moore, 1978).

Psychology has contributed to understandings of gender role acquisition. Social learning theories (Mischel, 1970; Bandura, 1977) posited that traditional sex roles were acquired in childhood through identification and imitation of same sex role-models, and encouraged through punishment and reward, sometimes covertly. Feminine traits were often defined as a communal focus, communicativeness and emotionality whereas masculine traits included agency, activity and independence (Bem & Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

Cognitive development theories focused more on internal processes, cognitive tasks such as gender categorisation, knowledge and constancy, rather than social phenomena (Trew & Kramer, 1998). Gender schema theory was an example of a cognitive-developmental theory, which suggested children develop schemata, conceptual frameworks of femininity and masculinity that impacted their characteristics, behaviours and how they viewed themselves and others. Bem (1985), however, also highlighted the role of society's sex-differentiated practices in producing gender schematic processing. She believed these gender-roles were indoctrinated in different ways and changed alongside societal shifts (Bem 1993; Lippa & Arad, 1997).

Masculinity and femininity have typically been viewed as polarities on a continuum (Foushee, Helmreich & Spence, 1979) and as one-dimensional traits. Constantipole (1973) noted that this implicitly assumed that deviation from the expected polarity was undesirable and that masculinity represented the opposite of femininity; the more feminine a person, the less masculine they were assumed to be. In contrast, Bem and Bem (1974) stated people could be androgynous; embodying masculine and feminine traits simultaneously. Furthermore, she stated that behaviours unrestricted by societal ideas of sex appropriateness, viewed in the West as a marker of mental wellbeing, accommodated greater adaptability to different roles, and freedom from constraining expected behaviours, roles and emotional expressions.

Renold (2004) observed psychology had moved towards more "relational, multiple, processual" understandings of gender roles (p. 249). This related to gender being conceived as having a performative element (Butler, 1990) whereby gender expression could vary depending upon environment, social interactions or at different times, suggesting fluidity. It should be noted that research on the gender traits of gay men often uses fixed, gender-binary terms, such as "feminine" or "unmasculine."

Taywaditep (2001) reviewed literature on reactions to perceived femininity, androgyny or non-masculinity in gay men; groups he referred to as the “marginalised among the marginalised,” (p. 01). He cited Harry’s (1982, 1983), finding that the majority of US gay men reported effeminacy in childhood, with 46% defeminising (Whitam, 1977) before adulthood, hypothesising that peer and parental pressure were factors in this discontinuation. Studies have documented negative reactions towards gender nonconformity, particularly in boys, including ridicule, isolation and rejection (Bem, 1981; Harry 1982, 1983; Pilkington and D’Augelli, 1995).

Taywaditep (2001) provided a historical overview of anti-effeminacy and pro-masculinity attitudes amongst gay men, from the 1910s when gay men adopted the label “queer” to distinguish themselves from heterosexual and effeminate gay men (EGM) (Chauncey, 1994) to pre-war Germany’s militant representations of gay masculinity in the periodical *Der Eigene*’s (Mosse, 1996). Taywaditep (2001) noted that in 1960s America, though camp and drag were celebrated subversions of traditional male roles in the gay scene (Sontag, 1966; White 1980; Pronger,1990), the Butch Shift or “cult of gay masculinists,” (Fernbach cited in Humphries, 1985; Edwards, 1994) saw hypermasculine representations grow in fashion, recreation and erotica (Badinter, 1995; Levine, 1998; Messner, 1997). Taywaditep (2001) believed gay masculinity became default, marginalising effeminacy.

Bailey, Kim, Hills and Linsenmeier’s (1997) study of gay personal advertisements found that EGM were marginalised through frequent sexual and romantic rejection, potentially impacting upon esteem and psychological adjustment. Herek’s (1986) social-expressive function suggested rejecting EGM may have increased the desirability of the rejecting men, communicating values and self-identity by defining what they are not. Pronger (1990) related the psychological processes of denial and displacement to anti-effeminacy amongst gay athletes.

Taywaditep suggested gay men's anti-effeminacy correlated with subscription to a hegemonic masculinity ideology (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985); a belief system endorsing patriarchal legitimacy (Connell, 1995); regarding masculinity as an asset superior to femininity. This, often culturally-defined, model of dominant masculinity was believed to impact upon men's self-concept, public self-consciousness and self-monitoring.

### **Literature Review Aims**

Meyer (2003) related overrepresented mental distress amongst gay men to external stressors. Furthermore, gay men's experiences of healthcare, including therapy, have highlighted service inadequacies. Taywaditep's (2001) review illustrated how EGM have also been discriminatory targets of other gay men, a further stressor.

Since Taywaditep's 2001 review, numerous legislative milestones have been achieved in gay rights, potentially impacting perceptions of gay men. In the UK, this includes the Equality Act (2010), Marriage (Same Sex Couples Act) 2013 and preceding Civil Partnership Act (2004) and same-sex marriage is legally recognised in 35 US states, starting with Massachusetts in 2004. Additionally, Cohen et al. (2009) noted that positive television representations of gay men suggested a more accepting cultural climate.

Using Grant and Booth's (2009) definition of a literature review, this report aimed to identify and consolidate post-2001 research regarding representations, evaluations and experiences of EGM. Additional goals were to suggest ways to build upon current literature and to consider implications for psychology practice.

### **Methodology**

A literature search was conducted for papers published post-2001, investigating the experiences, representations and reactions towards gay men defined as non-masculine,

effeminate or gender nonconforming. This involved conducting keyword searches of several online electronic databases (Appendix A).

Papers about transexualism were excluded from the review. This was regarded as a distinct identity construct defined by the desire to live and be accepted as a member of the opposite sex, often involving physical alignment. Papers exploring gay identity or sex roles without clear reference to gender expression were similarly excluded. For quality assurance only papers published in peer-reviewed journals were included.

In total, 18 papers were reviewed (Appendix B). Papers were grouped under three main categories based on common focus or content- heterosexual evaluations of gender nonconformity, media representations of gay men and gender-role evaluations by gay men. Studies and theories preceding 2001 were cited to contextualise these papers.

## **Review**

### **Heterosexual Evaluations of Gender Nonconformity**

**Fulfilled stereotypes.** Cohen, Hall and Tuttle (2009) investigated heterosexual men and women's attitudes towards gay and lesbian targets and their deviation from traditional gender-roles, specifically if attitudes varied depending upon participant sex, homosexual target sex or homosexual target personality; either masculine or feminine.

The authors tested three conflicting hypotheses, based on previous findings. Research suggested that people were drawn to similarity, indicating heterosexual female participants would rate effeminate men more favourably than heterosexual male participants (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). A stereotype maintenance hypothesis proposed that disconfirmation of stereotypes could be threatening (Förster, Higgins & Strack 2000; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004), predicting gender-conforming targets would be viewed less favourably as gay and lesbian stereotypes emphasise gender nonconformity (Kite & Deaux,

1987). A gender-role violation hypothesis predicted that stereotypical gay men and lesbians would be viewed critically for violating traditional gender-roles (Madon, 1997).

Heterosexual college students, of both sexes, read profiles of either male or female fictitious students, one masculine, the other feminine, conveyed through descriptions of their interests. Participants rated targets on eight items including likability and perceived masculinity and femininity. Forced-choice questions included participants selecting a preferred target.

Female participants rated themselves as more similar to feminine targets than masculine; male participants reporting the opposite. Relative liking scores indicated both male and female participants favoured feminine lesbian over masculine lesbian targets. Male participants showed strong preference for masculine gay male (MGM) over EGM, female participants showing a non-significant preference for feminine gay targets.

None of Cohen et al.'s (2009) hypotheses were supported completely. The authors suggested that, in heterosexual men, liking scores were more influenced by adherence to traditional gender-roles than the presence of stereotypical homosexual traits. For heterosexual females, liking seemed driven more by perceived similarity with targets, though a weak correlation between these indicated other influencing factors.

Their findings reinforced Herek's (2000) observation that men and women conceptualised, and subsequently evaluated, homosexuality differently. He suggested that men viewed homosexuality as deviation from traditional gender-roles, whereas women were typically more concerned with LGB marginalisation. In conclusion, Cohen et al. (2009) suggested two distinct heterosexual attitudes towards homosexuality; those focused on sexual behaviours (sexuality) and those derived from evaluations of personality traits (gender role).

Schope and Eliason's (2003) study involved male and female participants rating vignettes of EGM, MGM and masculine and feminine lesbian targets, finding little support

for the gender-role violation hypothesis. Males rated EGM targets significantly lower than MGM targets in just one of 15 outcome measures; desire to invite the target into their social circle. Lesbian targets, irrespective of gender-role, were rated preferentially over gay targets. The authors concluded that sexual orientation, particularly of male targets, impacted evaluations most strongly.

However, Blashill and Powlishta (2009) stated that the absence of heterosexual targets made this difficult to verify. They presented 177 heterosexual male Jesuit college undergraduates with vignettes of fictionalised fellow male students. These targets were heterosexual, gay or of undisclosed sexual orientation, with either masculine or feminine gender-role traits. Participants evaluated targets on likeability, boringness, intelligence, their desire to avoid the target and keenness to share a (fabricated) problem-solving task.

Feminine targets and gay targets were significantly more negatively evaluated than masculine, heterosexual and sexuality-unspecified targets. Scores suggested femininity and homosexuality had independent negative effects upon evaluations as femininity in heterosexual targets similarly elicited negative evaluations. Furthermore, results indicated that femininity was evaluated more negatively, across all evaluation domains, with greater consistency. The authors considered whether negative responses to gay and effeminate men elicited violence, reflecting on the 2008 murder of Lawrence King, a gay 15-year old who wore make-up and jewellery. They suggested the crime may have been motivated by hatred of both homosexuality and femininity by his assailant, a fellow eight-grader.

**The role of rater masculinity in evaluations.** The research presented so far has been focused primarily on the characteristics of targets. However, Kilianski (2003) explored the role of heterosexual men's masculinity in their negative attitudes towards women and gay men (Bierly, 1985; Ficarotto, 1990; Harry, 1995; Herek, 1988, Morin & Garfinkle, 1978; Stevenson & Medler, 1978), hypothesising a psychological mechanism behind these



prejudices. He referred to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 2004) suggesting that women and gay men were viewed as out-group members, eliciting negative evaluations and stereotypes. In contrast, the heterosexual male in-group was viewed as representing a source of identity and self-worth.

Social identity theory predicts that those who share some characteristics with the in-group would be regarded more favourably than those who share none. This would indicate that heterosexual woman, sharing the in-group characteristic of heterosexuality and gay men, sharing the characteristic of maleness are evaluated equally by heterosexual men. However, research has indicated that heterosexual men respond more negatively to gay men than to heterosexual women (Herek, 1988, 2000; Kite & Whitley, 1998) and lesbians, despite possessing dual out-group characteristics of being female and homosexual (Herek, 1984, 1988, 1994, 2000).

To explain this, Kilianski (2003) proposed the concept of exclusively masculine identity, consisting of an ideal self (Higgins, 1987; James, 1948, 1890; Rogers, 1961) that values masculinity and strives for it, and an undesired self (Ogilvie, 1987) aiming to avoid negatively-viewed femininity. The exclusively masculine identity was believed to underlie a masculinity ideology (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1993; Thompson & Pleck, 1986, 1995); a belief system endorsing toughness, status and anti-femininity as core facets of masculinity, that has been correlated with homophobia (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1994; Sinn, 1997; Stark, 1991; Thompson, Grisanti & Pleck, 1985).

Kilianski's (2003) participants, 121 heterosexual male undergraduates, completed self-report measures that recorded facets of their identity, endorsement of masculine ideology, attitudes towards women, gay men and social dominance. Additionally, participants rated desirability of masculine and feminine adjectives and their presence in themselves. Results indicated that exclusively masculine identity was a valid psychological

construct, the masculinised ideal-self accounting for the co-occurrence of negative attitudes towards woman and gay men. Parrot (2009) subsequently found that the anti-femininity associated with exclusively masculinity identity had a significant indirect effect on ratings of anger and aggression toward gay male targets, sexual prejudice mediating the enforcement of traditional gender norms.

Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Kulmpner and Weinberg (2007) noted that men could react defensively when their masculinity was threatened, denying masculinity-deviation in themselves (Bosson, Prewitt-Freilino & Taylor, 2005) and punishing others for this (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). Glick et al. (2007) hypothesised that EGM were more likely to be targets of defensive reactions than MGM, perceived as “doubly deviant” (Laner & Laner, 1979); violating gender norms both in their sexual orientation and personality.

They further hypothesised that negative responses towards personality-based gender deviance would be greater where men experienced personality-based masculinity threat themselves. Studies have found that men made to feel inadequate in meeting masculinity expectations (Theodore & Basow, 2000) or were led to believe their personality resembled a female’s (Willer, 2005), expressed more homophobia. Theorists have also suggested that stereotypes enabled undesirable traits of the self to be defensively reattributed to others (Govorun, Fuegen & Payne, 2006).

Following completion of a personality test, Glick et al.’s (2007) male, majority-heterosexual, undergraduate participants were randomly assigned a masculine or feminine personality score; the latter representing the masculine personality-threat condition. Participants rated intensity of emotional responses to descriptions of two gay men, one masculine, one feminine, conveyed through varying interests, social groups, career aspirations and traits.

EGM targets received significantly higher ratings of negative affect than MGM from all participants. They elicited significantly more negative affect from masculine threat condition participants than those of the non-threat group, whereas MGM were similarly rated across conditions. Results supported Govorun et al.'s (2006) defensive reactions model. Glick et al. (2007) suggested that a defensive response to threatened masculinity was a situational factor that could increase dangers faced by gender nonconforming men.

**Different domains of gender-role violation.** Research suggests that the type of gender-role deviation can impact upon how it is evaluated. Horn (2007) found high school pupils of both sexes rated gender-role violations of physical appearance as less desirable than gender-role violations of activity.

Blashill and Powlishta (2012) explored different domains of gender-role expression and their impact upon evaluations. They randomly assigned 305 heterosexual male and female American Jesuit college undergraduates one of 24 target vignettes. Targets varied in sex, sexual orientation, gender-role (typical or atypical) and domain of gender-role attributes; specifically activities, traits or appearance. Masculine appearance-related items included "deep voice, broad shoulders, and rough hands" and feminine items were "hips sway when walking, plucked eyebrows and delicate" (p. 1296).

Participants rated targets on likeability, boringness, intelligence, psychological adjustment, their wish to avoid the target outside the study and keenness to share a fabricated problem-solving task. Gender-atypical appearance and activities were rated significantly more negatively than gender-typical equivalents. The researchers suggested this was due to the comparative visibility of appearance and activities, whereas traits were less immediately observable. Additionally, heterosexual male participants rated gay male targets as significantly less desirable workmates than other targets, regardless of gender-typicality, suggesting male homosexuality itself was negatively viewed.

Evaluations of targets occurred independently of participant views and characteristics, such as their attitude towards homosexuality or their own gender-role traits, challenging Lehavot and Lambert's (2007) finding that only participants endorsing anti-gay attitudes responded negatively to gay targets. Findings also reinforced the assertion that evaluations of gender-role violations and homosexuality are separate processes. They suggested that further exploration of the complex relationship between sex, gender, sexual orientation and domain of gender-role expression would be crucial to better understand sexual prejudice.

### **Media Representations of Gay Men**

In addition to researching how effeminacy in gay men is responded to, noting how EGM are represented may also be a helpful way to gauge attitudes. Cited earlier, Cohen et al. (2009) believed Western television portrayals of gay men in *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* and *Will and Grace* signified a cultural acceptance, highlighting the skills and perspectives of gay men. Conversely, Richardson (2009) observed that these representations are desexualised; the former associated queer with fashion and style, the latter presented gay characters as primarily coupled with women in platonic relationships.

Hanlon (2009) noted a sympathetic shift in film portrayals of the gay psychopathic murderer or "Killer Queen" (p. 271) stereotype. He observed that in Hitchcock's *Rope* (1948) the irresponsible murdering duo, implied to be gay lovers, contrasted starkly with their victim, portrayed as an idealised heterosexual man, about to become engaged. In *The Talented Mr Ripley* (1999) the psychopathic traits of the gay antagonist were juxtaposed with the moral dubiousness of his heterosexual infatuation and eventual victim, Dickie; a man both bullying and alluring. Hanlon suggested that this indicated greater sensitivity in the portrayal of sexuality, though not of mental illness.

While noting shifts away from homophobic representations in media, Richardson (2009) asserted that effeminophobia, the fear of effeminacy (p. 526), remained evident. Medhurst (1992) and Healy (1995) commented on how the British entertaining industry had long relied on effeminophobia and misogyny in comedies, such as the Carry On films; portraying EGM as either figures of fun or monstrosity.

Richardson (2009) identified themes in *Playing It Straight* (2005) a British dating programme involving a woman choosing from ten men; the twist being that some of the suitors were gay and, if selected by the woman, would win £100,000. Richardson noted the programme's "assimilationist" (p. 537) value system, where convincing portrayals of heterosexual masculinity enabled victory, whereas effeminacy resulted in failure. Gay contestants were presented as having the strongest effeminophobic attitudes, their pride in masculinity expressed alongside a degradation of male effeminacy; the eventual winner announcing he entered the competition to prove he was not a "big fuckin' la-la fairy," (p. 530).

Richardson described the winner's exaggerated cockney accent as "incontrovertibly heterosexual" (p. 530). Sinfield (1994) discussed gay appropriation of working-class signifiers, such as the skinhead look, and related this to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when gay was a middle-class concept. Same-sex sexual acts occurred in the lower classes, but men were less likely to identify as gay due to socio-economic restrictions in mobility and culture. Healy (1996) believed that, for gay men, the class divide was gendered, the working-class strongly associated with male masculinity.

### **Gender-role Evaluations by Gay Men**

**Discussions of gay male effeminacy online.** Papers reviewed so far have focused on heterosexual evaluations of effeminacy in gay men, and media representations of EGM for

majority-heterosexual audiences. However, as previously noted, pro-masculine and anti-effeminacy values also exist amongst gay populations.

Clarkson (2006) explored discursive constructions of sex and gender identity on Straight-Acting.com, a website for gay men identifying themselves as “straight-acting,” which the site defined as “more masculine than the feminine stereotype” (p. 191). Some authors believed that gay male masculinity subverted hegemonic masculinity through irony (Pronger, 1990) and signified liberated gay males (White, 1980). However, Kleinberg (1989) viewed straight-acting as imitation; eroticising values that had oppressed and tyrannised homosexuals, potentially furthering their self-contempt. Messner (1997) suggested that gay men’s rejection of femininity was motivated by a desire to reject homophobic stigma, observing how the “quest for masculinity” (p. 196) came at the expense of femininity and the men who embody it. Ward (2000) compared gay masculinity’s oppression of femininity with heterosexual hegemonic masculinity’s subordination of women and ethnic minorities in demonstrating its power.

Clarkson (2006) analysed discussion forum topics on performances of gender and their depictions of sexuality on Straight-Acting.com. Despite the website’s claim of not positioning gay masculinity as superior to femininity, Clarkson discovered homophobic discourses and endorsement of heteronormative masculinity standards. Masculinity was positioned as the antithesis of femininity or “in your face” gayness (p. 205).

Working-class masculinity was again emulated and eroticised. Clarkson commented that this distanced gay men from gay effeminacy, but relegating them to the lower-tiers of masculinity class hierarchy. He noted that by ascribing to hegemonic masculinity, gay men may have aimed to highlight their normality but demonstrated a selective homophobia in doing so by criticising those not conforming to heteronormative masculinity. Clarkson

stated, "...as a result, assimilationists attempt to promote sexual diversity at the expense of the very diversity they are trying to defend" (p. 205).

Hequembourg and Arditi (1999) believed dominant ideologies could be challenged and changed by combining assimilationist and liberationist approaches. Clarkson (2006) observed that straight-acting gay men represented assimilation solely. By demonstrating selective homophobia and anti-effeminacy, they reinforced the restrictive gender and sexuality values of hegemonic heteronormativity.

**Masculinities within the gay scene.** Ridge, Plummer and Peasley (2006) investigated the construction of masculinity for those first entering commercialised gay spaces, such as nightclubs. They analysed experiences of 36 same-sex attracted men in Melbourne, Australia, noting experimenting with masculinities was one ritualised behaviour in men's "homophilic rites of passage," (p. 510). Butler's (1990) performative theory posited that repetitive gender-performance lead to a stable but fabricated core gender, which impacted upon roles played and social connections made.

The study found successful performances of masculinity were rewarded with social acceptance. Aesthetic demonstrations of masculinity included lean, muscular, hairless bodies or hairy, stocky physiques, differing between scene cultures. Men performing less valued forms of masculinity, such as being identifiably gay, crossdressing or being overweight, were targets of criticism and exclusion. This represented a policing of how masculinity was defined and expressed.

The authors suggested that homophobic values lay beneath the ritual of reconciling gay sexual orientation with successful performances of masculinity, believing that all men went through a homophobic passage from childhood to adulthood (Plummer, 1999) running parallel with the homophilic passage of gay men. This could create internal conflict, manifest through the rejection of male effeminacy.

Another scene-focused study, this time on gender-role expressions through dance, was Peterson's (2011) case study of a New York dance club, TigerHeat, where male dancers choreographed characteristically feminine, sexualised dance moves to pop music. Peterson (2001) suggested TigerHeat's success represented a shift in gay masculinities.

Dance has been regarded a bodily communication of sexuality (Desmond, 2001) gender (Foster, 1988) culture, history and politics, (McClary, 1991). Peterson suggested the gendered nature of gay male dance choreography changed alongside cultural expressions of homophobia. Disco music and dance dominated the 1970s, developed by gay black DJs after America's 1960s legalisation of gay bars. Disco culture represented a congregational space where sexuality could be expressed.

The impact of AIDS on gay men transformed disco songs, once celebrating sexual liberation, into songs of mourning (Hughes, 1994). Conservative politics, the economic recession of 1980s America, and the increased popularity of right-wing religion in the 1990s, saw rock music, often hypermasculine and homophobic in content, flourish.

In the 1990s, Electronica music began to dominate gay clubs, accompanied by a reserved, muscle-aesthetic. Peterson stated male Electronica dance consisted of minimal leg movement, arms kept at chest-level, fists clenched resembling a fighting stance, rapid musical beats inhibiting free-flowing movement. Conversely, Peterson described how Tigerheat's pop music accommodated dancer interaction, sexual positioning and accentuated movements of arms and hips; a re-feminised gay male dance aesthetic.

However, rather than rejecting the mainstream, TigerHeat played widely-appealing pop, subverting its heteronormativity by creating a space for queer restaging. Peterson's description suggest that TigerHeat was a space within the gay scene where feminine expression in men was not dismissed as failure, but celebrated, possibly indicating increased tolerance of diverse gender expression following post-disco conservatism.



**Gay men in rural settings.** Contrasting with urban nightclubs, Annes and Redlin (2012) were interested in the experiences of 30 rurally-raised gay men in Southwest France and North America. Studies have indicated that rural gay men experience isolation (Moses & Hawkins, 1980) fear negative reactions (D'Augelli & Hart, 1987), have fewer gay social structures (Kramer, 1995), and adopt more hetero-centric views of men (Butler, 1980).

Annes and Redlin captured participants' experiences using life story interviews. Masculinity appeared more problematic for participants than sexuality. Most participants appeared to accept their homosexuality, viewing it as not chosen, whereas all participants evaluated effeminacy negatively. Some believed EGM reinforced societal connotations of effeminacy and homosexuality, not recognising themselves in popular culture's representations of EGM.

Participants regarded EGM to be negative representations of gay men, espousing superficial values of fashion and promiscuity. Femininity and flamboyance were regarded as public disclosure of sexual orientation and unnatural in men; contradicting a biological gender-role binary.

The researchers believed these negative views of EGM indicated effeminophobia rather than internalised homophobia. To explain rural effeminophobia, they noted that participants lacked visible homosexual role models when growing up; leaving homosexuality undefined compared to an ever-visible heterosexuality. Instead, they may have referred to films and television to understand same-sex attraction, popular culture often featuring effeminate portrayals of homosexuality. This resulted in confusion, and the conclusion that male effeminacy was more anxiety-inducing than gay orientation.

By adopting hegemonic masculinity, they adhered to the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 1990) believing that, for bodies to cohere and make sense, a stable sex and gender expression of sex was necessary; men and women's gender expressions existing as opposites and

hierarchically ordered. Masculinity was a source of pride, minimising the threat of their own sexual identities betraying them. The authors observed how “threat of effeminophobia... appears to be cause and consequence of the balance of identities in which they engage,” (p. 283).

**The sex trade.** One way of determining how desirable femininity is in men is by exploring its monetary value. Logan (2010) explored trends in pricing of male sex workers for their services, stating identities constructed by them provided information about what men valued, in gender characteristics and sexual behaviours, in themselves and others in sexual encounters. As a significant proportion of male sex workers and clients were found to not identify as homosexual (Bimbi, 2007; Chauncey, 1994; Dorais, 2005), Logan’s research investigated sex workers’ constructions of masculinity that men who have sex with men (MSM) desired, not self-identified gay men solely.

Logan challenged Connell’s (1995) assertion that hegemonic heterosexual masculinity subordinated gay masculinities, suggesting that hegemonic masculinity was a hybrid, amalgamating practices and characteristics of homosexual and heterosexual masculinities (Demetriou, 2010; Reeser, 2009). This accounted for changes in masculinity practices, such as the emergence of the metrosexual male. Donaldson (1993) similarly challenged a distinction, stating gay men were attracted to maleness, not gayness, thus did not represent counter-hegemonic values.

Hegemonic masculinity impacts upon body aesthetics. Atkins (1998) and Hennen (2005) suggested rejection of large and thin men by gay men represented a rejection of attributes deemed feminising; increased breast tissue, genitalia-concealing weight and perceived weakness. Similarly, studies have found that gay men prefer masculine facial features and voices (Glassenberg, Feinberg, Jones, Little & DeBruin, 2002; Valentová, SC Roberts & J Havlíček, 2013).

Logan (2010) hypothesised that physical characteristics, including muscular physique and height (Atkins, 1998; Beren, Hayden, Wilfley & Grilo, 1991) and sexual behaviours, such as sexually penetrative “tops”, dominance or aggression, that conformed to hegemonic masculinity would be rewarded in sex work. Practices deemed feminine, like being a sexually receptive “bottom,” or submissiveness were predicted to be penalised. Clarkson (2006) Nardi (2000) and Ward (2000) asserted that whilst camp, crossdressing and diva-worship were celebrated forms of femininity in gay culture, effeminate behaviours were stigmatised in attraction and sexual relationships.

Logan (2010) also considered the role of race in appraisals of desirability and masculinity. As previously mentioned, intersectionality refers to interactions between identities such as race and gender, being neither cumulative nor additive, but independent (Collins, 1999, 2000; Reeser, 2009), informing discrete ethno-sexual stereotypes (Cameron et al, 1998). Markets for sex reinforce stereotypes by rewarding portrayals of ethnic masculinity deemed most desirable.

Baldwin (1985) linked white gay male fantasies of unrestrained, dominant sexuality in black gay men (Reeser, 2010) with historical white male paranoia of black sexuality, deemed a threat to white women. Consequently, Robinson (2008) observed that white gay men largely ignored black men not conforming to hypermasculine stereotypes. Robinson noted a stereotype attributed to East Asian gay men was one of docility and passivity; adopting the sexually-receptive bottom role.

Logan (2010) collected data on 1,932 men from the largest U.S male sex worker website, recording physical and sexual behaviour attributes, locations and outcall rates. A hedonic regression, an economic analysis typically used for bundled goods, enabled implicit prices for characteristics and sexual behaviours to be calculated, after controlling for location-based variations.

Body build was found to impact prices; muscular men having a market premium, whereas overweight and thin men were penalised. Consistent with hegemonic masculinity theory, tops were substantially rewarded, whereas being a bottom was financially penalised. Additionally, supporting intersectionality theory, black men had the largest rewards for top behaviour but severest penalties for being bottom.

**Anti-effeminacy and negative gay identity.** Reviewed studies suggest different ways gay men's negative evaluations of gay male effeminacy, and adherence to hegemonic masculinity, can be understood. A debate exists regarding the authenticity of gay masculinity and whether effeminophobia and internalised homophobia are distinct constructs. Psychology practitioners Haldeman (2006) and Schwartzberg and Rosenberg (1998) suggested, based on their therapeutic work with gay men, that expressions of anti-effeminacy reflected negative feelings about being gay.

Sánchez and Villain's (2012) study involved 751 gay men rating the importance of masculinity, their desired and actual level of behavioural and aesthetic masculinity and how they gauged masculinity. Using scales developed by Taywaditep (2001), their level of preoccupation with public portrayals of masculinity and feelings towards overt effeminate behaviour were also captured. Subscales of the Lesbian Gay Identity Scale (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000) were averaged to attain a Negative Gay-identity Index (NGI) score.

The study found that masculine looks and behaviour were important to participants. Most wanted to be more masculine and less feminine, particularly behaviourally, than they perceiving themselves to be. The authors suggested this may be related to the relative ease of altering one's appearance. Similarly, participants relied more on behaviour than appearance when assessing masculinity in others. A regression analysis supported the hypothesis that anti-effeminacy was related to negative feelings about being gay.

**Gender-role conflict and gender-role orientation.** Adherence to hegemonic masculinity has so far been presented as primarily rewarding; winning social acceptance and desirability, despite potentially being motivated by shame. Choi, Herdman, Fuqua and Newman (2011) explored gay men's experiences of gender-role conflict; internal turmoil resulting from poor integration of stereotypic gender-roles, potentially inhibiting development of a mature gender identity. Gender-role conflict was viewed as having potentially negative impact on the individual and others (O'Neal & Egan, 1992; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David & Wrightsman, 1986).

Mahalik et al. (1998) found that strong adherence to prescribed masculine or feminine gender-roles resulted in gender-role conflict. Shepherd (2003) stated men with rigid masculine gender-role stereotypes experienced gender-role conflict across four dimensions of the Gender-role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O'Neil et al, 1986): excessive focus on success, power and competition, avoiding vulnerability through restrictive emotion, restrictive affectionate behaviour between men and conflict between work and family relations.

In contrast, O'Neil et al. (1986) found that men categorised as androgynous (high masculine and feminine traits) feminine (high feminine, low masculine) and undifferentiated (low masculine, low feminine) experienced less gender-role conflict. Sharp and Heppner (1991) reported male effeminacy was significantly negatively correlated with power, competition and restricted emotion. Papers have related masculine gender-role conflict with loneliness, depression, anxiety and low self-esteem (Blazina, Settle & Eddins, 2008; Zamarripa, Wampold & Gregory, 2003; Wolfram, Mohr & Borchert, 2009; Symanski & Carr, 2008). Sandfort (2005) stated that gay individuals may not adhere to socially-assigned gender-roles; Pillard (1991) found that gay men and lesbians were equal to heterosexuals in gender normative traits, whilst higher in gender-traits traditionally associated with the opposite sex.

Choi et al. (2011) investigated the relationship between gender-role orientation and gender-role conflict amongst 400 gay males, completing a survey including the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1981) to measure gender-role orientation, alongside the GRCS and a demographic questionnaire. They found gender-role conflict was positively associated with social masculinity scores, supporting previous findings. A significant positive relationship was found between social masculinity and power and competitiveness scores, the authors noting competitiveness may be both constructive and restrictive. Femininity had significant negative relationships with restrictive emotions and conflict between work and personal life.

These findings suggested a relationship between gender-role orientation and gender-role conflict existed in gay men, similar to that of heterosexual men. The authors cited Sánchez, Westefeld, Liu and Vilain (2010) stating that though gay men may deride femininity and expressed affection “embracing femininity might be beneficial to them in reducing potential gender-role conflict” (p. 517).

## **Discussion**

### **Overview of Findings**

Papers reviewed suggest that EGM are consistently negatively evaluated by heterosexual (Glick et al, 2007; Cohen et al., 2009; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009, 2012) and gay men (Clarkson, 2006; Ridge et al., 2006; Richardson, 2009; Annes & Redlin, 2012), with the more visible demonstrations of femininity being the most negatively evaluated (Horn, 2007; Blashill & Powlishta, 2012). This suggests that recent political and cultural changes for gay people have not noticeably impacted effeminophobia reported in earlier studies, including Taywaditep’s (2001) review. More broadly, studies also found heterosexual male participants generally evaluated gay male targets more negatively than heterosexual males

and females and lesbian targets, regardless of gender conformity (Schope & Eliason, 2003; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009, 2012).

Different theories about mechanisms underlying anti-effeminacy are suggested, most focusing on adherence to culturally-dominant forms of masculinity that regard femininity as inferior and undesirable in men (Kilianski, 2003; Parrot, 2009; Annes & Redlin, 2012).

Threatened masculinity in male raters has been related to punitive responses to male effeminacy, indicating masculinity has a defensive function (Govorun et al, 2006; Glick et al. 2007). In the gay scene, and amongst MSM, masculinity, including a working-class aesthetic (Clarkson, 2006; Richardson, 2009), is deemed attractive, strived for and rewarded with social acceptance and desire (Ridge et al., 2006, Logan 2010). However, different perspectives of hegemonic masculinity's relationship with gay gender expression are presented, either oppressive, demanding assimilation and rejecting non conformers (Connell, 1995) or ever-changing and accommodating of different forms of masculinity (Logan, 2010)

A debate exists regarding whether effeminophobia (Richardson, 2009; Annes & Redlin, 2012) is distinct from homophobia. Studies suggest that deviations from personality-based gender-norms are evaluated independently of deviations from heterosexual orientation (Cohen, 2009; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; Annes & Redlin, 2012). Similarly, gay men may accept their sexual orientation whilst holding negative views of EGM (Annes & Redlin, 2012). However, the assertion that most gay men were gender nonconforming as children (Whitam et al., 1977; Harry, 1982, 1983), the assumption that male femininity denotes homosexuality (Kite & Deaux 1987; Madon, 1997; Taylor, 1983) and the relationship between anti-effeminacy and negative gay identity (Sánchez & Villain, 2012) indicates that male homosexuality and effeminacy are not entirely separable concepts.

The research suggests EGM may experience more discriminatory social stressors than gender-conforming gay men, including being less liked (Cohen et al, 2009; Blashill &

Powlishta 2009, 2012), unfavoured as workmates (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009, 2012) and social exclusion (Schope & Eliason, 2003) by heterosexual men. EGM may be characterised as desexualised, comical or villainous in media (Hanlon, 2009; Richardson, 2009) and real-life representations of gay men may be less available to those in rural areas (Annes & Redlin, 2012). Pro-masculine values amongst GBM and MSM can further alienate EGM through sexual and romantic rejection, (Clarkson, 2006; Ridge et al., 2006; Logan 2010) and being viewed as further propagating stereotypes (Clarkson, 2006; Annes & Redlin, 2012). Ethno-sexual stereotypes can further marginalise EGM of colour (Logan, 2010). These stressors are related to mental health problems that are overrepresented amongst gay and bisexual men (Meyer, 1995) and this has implications for mental health services and psychology.

Studies also highlight strengths associated with EGM including less restricted emotional expression and better work-life balance; avoiding gender-stress facets associated with rigid masculinity (Sánchez et al., 2010; Choi et al., 2011). Additionally, Peterson (2011) describes a reclamation of effeminate expression through dance in gay clubs, possibly representing group cohesiveness amongst EGM, a protective factor against external stressors (Meyer, 2003).

When considering quality, a strength of the experimental studies (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009, 2012; Cohen et al, 2009; Glick et al., 2007; Parrott, 2009; Kilianski, 2003; Schope & Eliason, 2004) was the employment of experimental conditions that enabled distinct attitudes towards gender, sexuality, gender expression and domain to be identified. Participant features, such as threatened masculinity, were also identified as significant in appraisals. The use of vignettes (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009, 2012; Cohen et al, 2009) and recordings (Parrot, 2009) as targets represented both a strength and weakness; increasing experimenter control over those characteristics communicated to participants, but at the cost of compromised ecological validity.



A control condition, in the form of targets with unspecified sexuality, was used by Blashill and Powlishta (2009). Similarly, a 'no masculine threat' condition was employed by Glick et al (2007). However, no experimental study featured a control in the form of gender-unspecified targets, nor measured participants' previous contact with people from LGBT groups; a potential extraneous factor in determining their attitudes.

The experimental studies recruited undergraduates, enabling large sample sizes ranging from 51 (Glick et al., 2007) to 305 (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012), but at the potential cost of limiting the generalisability of findings to younger populations. Similarly, Blashill and Powlishta (2009, 2012) noted that their Jesuit college participants were possibly unrepresentative of student views from secular institutions.

Surveys (Choi et al., 2011; Sanchez and Vilain, 2012) and quantitative dataset analysis (Logan, 2010) effectively employed web-based resources to access large participant numbers and amounts of data- 400 and 751 gay men and data on 1,932 male sex workers respectively. Surveys also afforded engagement with a broader population than the undergraduates used in the experimental studies, increasing the generalisability of their findings on gay men's masculinity appraisals and gender role conflict.

Qualitative studies, exploring gay men on screen (Hanlon, 2009; Richardson 2009) online (Clarkson, 2006) and in nightclubs (Peterson, 2011; Ridge et al., 2006) fulfil Yin's (2003) assertion that case studies should explore contemporary phenomena within real life contexts. However, not qualitative papers were transparent in describing their data analysis processes. Hanlon (2009) described 'exploring depictions' (p. 271) of gay psychopathy and Richardson (2009) described 'considering ...the theme of de-sexualised gay identification' (p.526) in television, but neither disclosed the methodology employed in these investigations. This limits the reliability and replicability of the studies. Furthermore, efforts to establish

inter-rater reliability were not described in qualitative papers by Clarkson (2006) Hanlon (2009), Peterson (2011) Richardson (2009) and Ridge et al. (2006).

The lack of an absolute or shared definition of gender characteristics represented a complexity for the review. These definitions of gender characteristics varied from femininity as sexuality-disclosing “in your face gayness” (Clarkson, 2006) to exaggerated dance movements of hips and arms (Peterson, 2011). Studies also divided gender expression into distinct domains, such as activities, traits and appearance (Blashill and Powlishta, 2012). Contrastingly, Kilianski (2003) suggested men’s idealised masculine selves featuring positively-valenced, socially-approved feminine traits, such as compassion and understanding, supporting Bem and Bem’s (1974) conceptualising of androgyny.

### **Implications for Psychology Practise**

Sexuality can be poorly acknowledged in healthcare, including therapy, resulting in prejudice, discrimination and ignorance being enacted (Delgado-Romero & Sheldon, 2011; Riggs & Nair, 2012; Stonewall, 2012). Studies indicate a lack of nuanced understanding of gay men and their varied experiences. BPS best practice guidelines for working therapeutically with sexual minorities (Shaw et al., 2012) refer to male femininity as a potentially constraining stereotype. Though “multiple masculinities” (p. 21) are acknowledged, the “kernel of truth” (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012) that gay men can be more effeminate remains unaddressed. However, reference is made to gay men’s need to understand “what it means to be a man,” (p.20) acknowledging pressures of hegemonic masculinity.

Presenting gay male effeminacy as being merely a stereotype fails to acknowledge its significance in gay experience, culture and history. Similarly, APA (2012) LGBT guidelines make no references to gay effeminacy. Feelings of emasculation are discussed, presenting

deviations from masculinity solely as losses. Better representing EGM in guidance is one way psychologists can promote acknowledgement and understanding, adhering to Moradi et al.'s (2009) idea of psychologists enacting social justice.

Acknowledging social and cultural stressors experienced by EGM may inform formulation and subsequent therapeutic work with clients. Shame may be a strong emotion experienced by gay male clients, particularly younger men (Bybees, Sullivan, Zielonka & Moes, 2009), and by acknowledging external factors contributing to feelings of shame, therapy avoids locating the problem within the client alone (Meyer, 2003). Similarly, when working with EGM from ethnic minority backgrounds, exploring clients' experiences of intersecting identities may be valuable in therapy (Crenshaw, 1991), alongside considering any value appraisals or role expectations they are subject to (Logan, 2010). By reflecting on their own assumptions and prejudices regarding gender role and sexuality, psychologist may minimise the likelihood of microaggressions being expressed in sessions (Delgado-Romero et al, 2011).

As studies indicate that EGM can be marginalised in gay spaces, including nightclubs and websites (Ridge, Plummer & Peasley, 2006; Clarkson, 2006; Logan, 2010), community engagement may be a useful way for psychologists to work with prejudice and discrimination. Garnets and D'Augelli (1994) state that community psychology aims to build cohesiveness by working collaboratively with local communities through education, media awareness-raising and collaborating with religious and educative establishments. They state that working with lesbian and gay communities can address numerous difficulties, including non-identification with a community, non-acceptance of diversity, internalised heterosexism and a lack of shared collective history. Allowing representation and inclusion of EGM in engagement with LGB and wider communities, and tackling damaging media representations of EGM would fit a community psychology approach.

Blashill et al. (2009) recommend multicultural or sensitivity training for those who display negative reaction towards EGM. Though training in counterstereotypes is most effective, (Gawronski, Deutsch, Mbirkou, Seibt & Strack, 2008) presenting MGM and effeminate heterosexual men may still elicit negative evaluations from participants. Alternatively, they suggest that positive, cooperative contact between heterosexual and gay men of varying gender-role orientations may reduce antigay attitudes (Cotton-Huston & Waite, 2000; Eldridge, Mack & Swank, 2006). Glick et al. (2007) found that hostility towards EGM is elicited by a threatened sense of masculinity. EGM inclusiveness could involve examining definitions of masculinity, and how this may be maintained without enacting defensiveness or dominance.

### **Areas of further research**

Logan (2010) suggests further exploration of race and class inequality in the context of hegemonic values may be fruitful. Sánchez et al. (2012) suggest exploring how anti-effeminacy impedes support-seeking from gay men and EGM's own appraisals of effeminacy in potential partners.

When reflecting on the studies reviewed, there is a notable absence; the voices of EGM themselves. They are represented in disembodied and distant forms; as fictionalised vignettes, photos, recordings, film characters, online profiles or onstage dancers. Whereas Meyer (2003) states that subjective experiences of marginalised individuals should be acknowledged alongside objective contextual factors, the experiences of EGM is absent in the literature reviewed, instead primarily presented as stimuli for participants.

Interviewing EGM themselves may allow experiences of gender conformity and effeminophobia to be explored. Similarly, research may determine if effeminophobia is internalised by EGM, as suggested by Meyer's (1995) minority stress model. As

effeminophobia can impact on numerous life domains, broadly-focused qualitative research may accommodate a more thorough exploration of this.

### References

Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. (2008). *What is narrative research?* London: Sage.

Annes, A., & Redlin, M. (2012). The careful balance of gender and sexuality: Rural gay men, the heterosexual matrix, and “effeminophobia”. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 59(2), 256-288.

Antjoule, N. (2013). *The hate crime report: Homophobia, biphobia and transphobia in London*. London, Great Britain: Galop

APA policy statement: Transgender, gender identity, & gender expression non-discrimination. (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/transgender.aspx>

Atkins, D. (1998). *Looking queer: Body image and identity in lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgender communities*. Psychology Press.

Badinter, E. (1995). *XY, on masculine identity*. Columbia University Press.

Bailey, J. M., Kim, P. Y., Hills, A., & Linsenmeier, J. A. (1997). Butch, femme, or straight acting? Partner preferences of gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 960.

Baldwin, J. (1985). *The price of the ticket: Collected nonfiction 1948-1985*. New York: St Martin's.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Eaglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Bem, S. L. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex typing. *Psychological Review*, 88(4), 354.

- Bem, S. (1985). Androgyn and gender schema theory: A conceptual and empirical integration. In T. N. Sonderegger (Ed.) Nebraska symposium on motivation 1984: Psychology and gender (pp. 179-226). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bem, S. L. (1993). The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality. Yale University Press.
- Bem, S. (1981). A manual for the bem sex role inventory. California: Mind Garden.
- Bem, S. L., & Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), 155-162.
- Beren, S. E., Hayden, H. A., Wilfley, D. E., & Grilo, C. M. (1996). The influence of sexual orientation on body dissatisfaction in adult men and women. *International Journal of Eating Disorders*, 20(2), 135-141.
- Bernard, L. C., & Epstein, D. J. (1978). Androgyny scores of matched homosexual and heterosexual males. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 4(2), 169-178
- Bierly, M. M. (1985). Prejudice toward contemporary outgroups as a generalized attitude. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 15(2), 189-199.
- Bimbi, D. S. (2007). Male prostitution: Pathology, paradigms and progress in research. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 53(1-2), 7-35.
- Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009). The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 10(2), 160.

- Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2012). Effects of gender-related domain violations and sexual orientation on perceptions of male and female targets: An analogue study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(5), 1293-1302.
- Blazina, C., Settle, A. G., & Eddins, R. (2008). Gender role conflict and separation-individuation difficulties: Their impact on college men's loneliness. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 16(1), 69-81.
- Bosson, J. K., Prewitt-freilino, J. L., Taylor, J. N., Bosson, J. K., Prewitt-Freilino, J., & Taylor, J. N. (2005). Role rigidity: A problem of identity misclassification? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(4), 552.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Bybee, J. A., Sullivan, E. L., Zielonka, E., & Moes, E. (2009). Are gay men in worse mental health than heterosexual men? The role of age, shame and guilt, and coming-out. *Journal of Adult Development*, 16(3), 144-154.
- Cameron, D., & Cameron, D. (1998). Gender, language, and discourse: A review essay. *Signs*, 23(4), 945-73.
- Cantú, L. (2003). A place called home: A queer political economy of Mexican immigration. In M. C. Gutmann, F. V. Matos Rodríguez, L. Stephen & P. Zavella (Eds.) *Perspectives on Las Américas: A reader in culture, history and representation*, (pp. 259-273). Malden USA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (1985). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. *Theory and Society*, 14(5), 551-604.



Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J., & Wengraf, T. (2000). *The turn to biographical methods in social science: Comparative issues and examples*. Psychology Press.

Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, urban culture, and the making of the gay male world, 1890-1940*. Basic Books.

Choi, N., Fuqua, D. R., & Newman, J. L. (2009). Exploratory and confirmatory studies of the structure of the Bem sex role inventory short form with two divergent samples. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 69(4), 696-705.

Choi, N., Herdman, K., Fuqua, D., Newman, J., Choi, N., Herdman, K., & Newman, J. (2011). Gender- role conflict and gender- role orientation in a sample of gay men. *The Journal of Psychology*, 145(5), 507-519.

Choi, N., Herdman, K., Fuqua, D., & Newman, J. (2011). Gender- role conflict and gender- role orientation in a sample of gay men. *The Journal of Psychology*, 145(5), 507-519.

The Civil Partnership Act (2004). (c. 33) London: The Stationery Office. Retrieved from [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/33/pdfs/ukpga\\_20040033\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2004/33/pdfs/ukpga_20040033_en.pdf)

Clarkson, J. (2006). " Everyday Joe" versus" pissy, bitchy, queens": Gay masculinity on straight acting.com. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 14(2), 191-207.

Cohen, T. R., Hall, D. L., & Tuttle, J. (2009). Attitudes toward stereotypical versus counterstereotypical gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Sex Research*, 46(4), 274-281.

Collins, P. H. (1999). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.

Collins, P. H. (2000). Gender, black feminism and black political economy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 568(1), 41-53.

Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities: Knowledge, power and social change*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Constantipole, A. (1973). Masculinity-femininity: An exception to the famous dictum? *Psychological Bulletin*, 80, 389-404.

Cotten-Huston, A. L., & Waite, B. M. (2000). Anti-homosexual attitudes in college students: Predictors and classroom interventions. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 38, 117–133.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299.

D'Augelli, A. R., & Hart, M. M. (1987). Gay women, men, and families in rural settings: Toward the development of helping communities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15(1), 79-93.

Davey, P. (producer). (2005). *Playing it straight* (Television series). London, Great Britain: Lion Television.

Davies, D., & Neal, C., (1996). *Pink therapy : A guide for counsellors and therapists working with lesbian, gay and bisexual clients*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and Society*, 30(3), 337-361.

Desmond, J. C. (2001). Introduction: Making the invisible visible: Staging sexualities through dance. In Desmond J. (Ed.) *Dancing Desires: Choreographing Sexualities on and off the stage* (pp. 3-32). Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Donaldson, M. (1993). What is hegemonic masculinity? *Theory and Society*, 22(5), 643-657.

Dorais, M. (2005). *Rent boys: The world of male sex trade workers*. McGill-Queen's Press.

Edwards, T. (1994). *Erotics and politics. Gay Male Sexuality, Masculinity and Feminism*. New York: Taylore & Francis.

Eisenberg, M. E., & Resnick, M. D. (2006). Suicidality among gay, lesbian and bisexual youth: The role of protective factors. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 39(5), 662-668.

Equality Act 2010. (c.15) London, The Stationery Office. Retrieved from [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/pdfs/ukpga\\_20100015\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/pdfs/ukpga_20100015_en.pdf)

Ernulf, K. E., Innala, S. M., & Whitam, F. L. (1989). Biological explanation, psychological explanation and tolerance of homosexuals: A cross-national analysis of beliefs and attitudes. *Psychological Reports*, 65(3), 1003-1010.

Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., Miller, E. R., Olsen, M. E., Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., Olsen, M. E. (1999). Guilt, shame and symptoms in children. *Developmental Psychology*, 35(2), 347-357.

Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: University Press.

Ficarrotto, T. J. (1990). Racism, sexism, and erotophobia: Attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexuals. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 19(1), 111-116.

Förster, J., Higgins, E. T., & Strack, F. (2000). When stereotype disconfirmation is a personal threat: How prejudice and prevention focus moderate incongruency effects. *Social Cognition*, 18(2), 178-197.

Foster, S. L. (1998). Choreographies of gender. *Signs*, 1(24), 1-33.

Foushee, H. C., Helmreich, R. L., & Spence, J. T. (1979). Implicit theories of masculinity and femininity: Dualistic or bipolar? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 3(3), 259-269.

Garnets, L. D., & D'Augelli, A. R. (1994). Empowering lesbian and gay communities: A call for collaboration with community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 22(4), 447-470.

Gawronski, B., Deutsch, R., Mbirkou, S., Seibt, B., & Strack, F. (2008). When “just say no” is not enough: Affirmation versus negation training and the reduction of automatic stereotype activation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(2), 370-377.

Gilmore, D. D. (1990). *Manhood in the making: Cultural concepts of masculinity*. Yale: University Press.

Glassenberg, A. N., Feinberg, D. R., Jones, B. C., Little, A. C., & DeBruine, L. M. (2010). Sex-dimorphic face shape preference in heterosexual and homosexual men and women. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 39(6), 1289-1296.

Glick, P., Gangl, C., Gibb, S., Klumpner, S., & Weinberg, E. (2007). Defensive reactions to masculinity threat: More negative affect toward effeminate (but not masculine) gay men. *Sex Roles*, 57(1-2), 55-59.

Govorun, O., Fuegen, K., & Payne, B. K. (2006). Stereotypes focus defensive projection. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(6), 781-793.

Grant, M. J., & Booth, A. (2009). A typology of reviews: An analysis of 14 review types and associated methodologies. *Health Information & Libraries Journal*, 26(2), 91-108.

Gawronski, B., Deutsch, R., Mbirkou, S., Seibt, B., & Strack, F. (2008). When “just say no” is not enough: Affirmation versus negation training and the reduction of automatic stereotype activation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 44(2), 370-377.

Guasp, A. (2012). *Gay and bisexual men's health survey*. London: Stonewall.

Guasp, A., Gammon, A., & Ellison, G. (2013) *Homophobic hate crime: The gay British crime survey 2013*. London: Stonewall

Haldeman, D. C. (2006). Queer eye on the straight guy: A case of gay male heterophobia. In M. Englar-Carlson & M. A. Stevens (Eds.) *In the room with men: A casebook of therapeutic change* (pp. 301-317). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Hanlon, D. J. (2009). Killer queens: Screen representations of the gay psychopath. *International Review of Psychiatry*, 21(3), 271-272.

Harry, J. (1982). *Gay children grown up: Gender culture and gender deviance*. New York: Praeger.

Harry, J. (1983). Defeminization and adult psychological well-being among male homosexuals. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 12(1), 1-19.

Harry, J. (1995). Sports ideology, attitudes toward women, and anti-homosexual attitudes. *Sex Roles*, 32(1-2), 109-116.

Healy, M. (1995). Were we being served? Homosexual representation in popular British comedy. *Screen*, 36(3), 243-256.

Healy, M. (1996). *Gay skins: Class, masculinity and queer appropriation*. London: Cassell.

Hennen, P. (2005). Bear bodies, bear masculinity recuperation, resistance, or retreat? *Gender & Society*, 19(1), 25-43.

Hequembourg, A., & Ardit, J. (1999). Fractured resistances. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 40(4), 663-680.

Herek, G. M. (1984). Attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A factor-analytic study. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 10(1-2), 39-51.

Herek, G. M. (1986). The instrumentality of attitudes: Toward a neofunctional theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 42(2), 99-114.

Herek, G. M. (1988). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: Correlates and gender differences. *Journal of Sex Research*, 25(4), 451-477.

Herek, G. M. (1989). Hate crimes against lesbians and gay men: Issues for research and policy. *American Psychologist*, 44(6), 948.

Herek, G. M. (1994). Assessing heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A review of empirical research with the ATLG scale.

Herek, G. M. (2000). Sexual prejudice and gender: Do heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men differ? *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(2), 251-266.

- Herek, G. M., & McLemore, K. A. (2013). Sexual prejudice. *Annual review of psychology*, 64, 309-333.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94(3), 319.
- Hitchcock, A. (1948). *Rope* [motion picture]. United States: Warner Bros.
- Horn, S. S. (2007). Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on sexual orientation and gender expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(3), 363-371.
- Hughes, W. (1994). In the empire of the beat: Discipline and disco. In A. Ross & T. Rose (Eds.) *Microphone Fiends: Youth Music and Youth Culture* (pp. 147-157). New York: Routledge.
- Iwasaki, Y., Ristock, J., Iwasaki, Y., & Ristock, J. (2007). The nature of stress experienced by lesbians and gay men. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping*, 20(3), 299-319.
- James, W. (1948). *Psychology*. Cleveland: World Publishing.
- Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 37.
- Kite, M. E., & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 11(1), 83-96.
- Kite, M.E., & Whitley, B.E., Jr. (1998). Do heterosexual women and men differ in their attitudes toward homosexuality? A conceptual and methodological analysis. In

G.M. Herek (Ed.) Stigma and sexual orientation: Understanding prejudice against lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (pp. 39–61). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kleinberg, S. (1987). The new masculinity of gay men and beyond. In M. Kaufman (Ed.) Beyond patriarchy: Essays by men on pleasure, power, and change (pp. 120-138). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kohlberg, L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In E. Maccoby (Ed.) The development of sex differences (pp. 82- 173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kramer, J. L. (1995). Bachelor farmers and spinsters: Gay and lesbian identities and communities in rural North Dakota. In D. Bell and G. Valentine (Eds.) Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities (pp. 200-213). London: Routledge.

LaMar, L., & Kite, M. (1998). Sex differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians: A multidimensional perspective. *Journal of Sex Research*, 35(2), 189-196.

Laner, M. R., & Laner, R. H. (1979). Personal style or sexual preference: Why gay men are disliked. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 9, 215-228.

Lehavot, K., & Lambert, A. J. (2007). Toward a greater understanding of antigay prejudice: On the role of sexual orientation and gender role violation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 29(3), 279-292.

Levine, M. P. (1979). *Gay men: The sociology of male homosexuality*. New York: Harpercollins.

Levine, M. P. (1998). *Gay Macho: The life and death of the homosexual clone*. New York and London: New York University Press.



Lewis, R. J., Derlega, V. J., Griffin, J. L., & Krowinski, A. C. (2003). Stressors for gay men and lesbians: Life stress, gay-related stress, stigma consciousness, and depressive symptoms. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 22*(6), 716-729.

Lippa, R. A. (2005). Sexual orientation and personality. *Annual Review of Sex Research, 16*(1), 119-153.

Lippa, R., & Arad, S. (1997). The structure of sexual orientation and its relation to masculinity, femininity, and gender diagnosticity: Different for men and women. *Sex Roles, 37*(3-4), 187-208.

Lock, J., & Steiner, H. (1999). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth risks for emotional, physical, and social problems: Results from a community-based survey. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 38*(3), 297-304.

Logan, T. D. (2010). Personal characteristics, sexual behaviors, and male sex work a quantitative approach. *American Sociological Review, 75*(5), 679-704.

Mackie, D. M., Devos, T., & Smith, E. R. (2000). Intergroup emotions: Explaining offensive action tendencies in an intergroup context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(4), 602.

Madon, S. (1997). What do people believe about gay males? A study of stereotype content and strength. *Sex Roles, 37*(9-10), 663-685.

Mahalik, J. C., Mahalik, J. R., Cournoyer, R. J., DeFranc, W., Cherry, M., & Napolitano, J. M. (1998). Men's gender role conflict and use of psychological defenses. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45*(3), 247-255.

Malcolm, J. P. (2002). Assessment of life stress in gay and bisexual men with the gay affect and life events scale. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(4), 135-144.

Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act (2013). London: The Stationery Office. Retrieved from [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/30/pdfs/ukpga\\_20130030\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2013/30/pdfs/ukpga_20130030_en.pdf)

Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227.

McClary, S. (1991). *Feminine endings: Music, gender, and sexuality*. University of Minnesota Press.

McDonald, G. J., & Moore, R. J. (1978). Sex-role self-concepts of homosexual men and their attitudes toward both women and male homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 4(1), 3-14.

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 415-444.

Medhurst, A. (1992). 'Carry on' camp British comedy film series with filmography. *Sight and Sound*, 2(4), 16-19.

Messner, M. A. (1997). *Politics of masculinities: Men in movements*. Altamira Press.

Metcalf, A., & Humphries, M. (1985). *The sexuality of men*. London: Pluto Press.

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations: Conceptual issues and research evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(5), 674.

Meyer, I. H., & Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men.

*Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36(1), 38.

Mischel, W. (1970). Sex-typing and socialization. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), *Manual of child psychology* (pp. 3-72) New York: Wiley.

Minghella, A. (1999). *The Talented Mr. Ripley* [Motion Picture]. Los Angeles:

Paramount Pictures.

Mohr, J., & Fassinger, R. (2000). Measuring dimensions of lesbian and gay male experience. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, 2(33), 66-90.

Moradi, B., Mohr, J. J., Worthington, R. L., Fassinger, R. E. (2009). Counseling psychology research on sexual (orientation) minority issues: Conceptual and methodological challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(1), 5-22.

Morin, S. F., & Garfinkle, E. M. (1978). Male homophobia. *Journal of Social Issues*, 34(1), 29-47.

Moses, A. E., & Buckner, J. A. (1980). The special problems of rural gay clients. *Human Services in the Rural Environment*, 5(5), 22-27.

Mosse, G. L. (1996). *The image of man: The creation of modern masculinity*. Oxford University Press.

Nardi, P. (2000). *Gay masculinities*. Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

NHS Equality and Diversity council. (2014). Retrieved from

<http://www.england.nhs.uk/ourwork/gov/edc/>

O'Connor, P. (2007). The elephant in the corner: Gender and policies related to higher education. *Conference on Women in Higher Education, Queen's University, Belfast.*

Ogilvie, D. M. (1987). The undesired self: A neglected variable in personality research. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52*(2), 379.

O'Neil, J. M., & Egan, J. (1992). Men's gender role transitions over the life span: Transformations and fears of femininity. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 34*, 305-324.

O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B. J., Gable, R. K., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. S. (1986). Gender-role conflict scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles, 14*(5-6), 335-350.

Page, S., & Yee, M. (1986). Conception of male and female homosexual stereotypes among university undergraduates. *Journal of Homosexuality, 12*(1), 109-118.

Parrott, D. J. (2009). Aggression toward gay men as gender role enforcement: Effects of male role norms, sexual prejudice, and masculine gender role stress. *Journal of Personality, 77*(4), 1137-1166.

Peel, E. (2002). *Lesbian and gay awareness training: Homophobia, liberalism, and managing stereotypes.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Perez, R. M., DeBord, K. A., & Bieschke, K. J. (2000). *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients.* American Psychological Association.

Peterson, G. T. (2011). Clubbing masculinities: Gender shifts in gay men's dance floor choreographies. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(5), 608-625.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Pilkington, N. W., & D'Augelli, A. R. (1995). Victimization of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth in community settings. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(1), 34-56.

Pillard, R. C. (1991). Masculinity and femininity in homosexuality: "Inversion" revisited. In J. C. Gonsiorek and J. D. Weinrich (Eds.) *Homosexuality: Research* (pp. 32-34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Masculinity ideology and its correlates. In S. Oskamp and M. Costanzo (Eds.) *Gender issues in social Psychology* (pp. 85-110). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1994). Attitudes toward male roles among adolescent males: A discriminant validity analysis. *Sex Roles*, 30(7-8), 481-501.

Plummer, D. (1999). *One of the boys: Masculinity, homophobia, and modern manhood*. New York: Harrington Park Press

Pronger, B. (1990). *The arena of masculinity: Sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Reeser, T. W. (2009). *Masculinities in theory: An introduction*. Wiley & Sons.

Remafedi, G. (2002). Suicidality in a venue-based sample of young men who have sex with men. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 31(4), 305-310.

Renold, E. (2004). 'Other' boys: Negotiating non-hegemonic masculinities in the primary school. *Gender and Education*, 16(2), 247-265.

- Richardson, N. (2009). Effeminophobia, misogyny and queer friendship: The cultural themes of Channel 4's *Playing It Straight*. *Sexualities*, 12(4), 525-544.
- Ridge, D., Plummer, D., & Peasley, D. (2006). Remaking the masculine self and coping in the liminal world of the gay 'scene'. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 8(6), 501-514.
- Riggs, D.W., & Nair, R. D. (2012). Intersecting identities. In R. D. Nair and C. Butler (Eds.) *Intersectionality, sexuality and psychological therapies: Working with lesbian, gay and bisexual diversity* (pp. 9-30). London: BPS Blackwell.
- Robinson, R. K. (2008). Black "tops" and Asian "bottoms": The impact of race and gender on coupling in queer communities (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). UCLA, Los Angeles.
- Rogers, C. (1961). *On becoming a person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rogers, W. S., & Rogers, R. S. (2001). *The psychology of gender and sexuality*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Rothblum, E. D., & Rothblum, E. D. (1994). "I only read about myself on bathroom walls": The need for research on the mental health of lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 62(2), 213.
- Rudman, L. A., & Fairchild, K. (2004). Reactions to counterstereotypic behavior: The role of backlash in cultural stereotype maintenance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(2), 157.

Safren, S. A., Heimberg, R. G., Safren, S. A., & Heimberg, R. G. (1999). Depression, hopelessness, suicidality, and related factors in sexual minority and heterosexual adolescents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 67*(6), 859-866.

Sánchez, F. J., Westefeld, J. S., Liu, W. M., & Vilain, E. (2010). Masculine gender role conflict and negative feelings about being gay. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 41*(2), 104-111.

Sánchez, F. J., & Vilain, E. (2012). "Straight-acting gays": The relationship between masculine consciousness, anti-effeminacy, and negative gay identity. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 41*(1), 111-119.

Sánchez, F. J., Westefeld, J. S., Liu, W. M., & Vilain, E. (2010). Masculine gender role conflict and negative feelings about being gay. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 41*(2), 104.

Sanders, R. M., Bain, J., Langevin, R., & Langevin, R. (1985). Feminine gender identity in homosexual men: How common is it? In R. Langevin (Ed.) *Erotic Preference, Gender Identity, and Aggression in Men: New Research Studies* (pp. 249-259). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Inc. Publishers.

Sandfort, T. G. (2005). Sexual orientation and gender: Stereotypes and beyond. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 34*(6), 595-611.

Schope, R. D., & Eliason, M. J. (2003). Sissies and tomboys: Gender role behaviors and homophobia. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 16*(2), 73-97.

Schwartzberg, S., & Rosenberg, L. G. (1998). Being gay and being male: Psychotherapy with gay and bisexual men. In W. S. Pollack and R. F. Levant (Eds.) *New psychotherapy for men* (pp. 259-281). New York: Wiley.

Sharpe, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (1991). Gender role, gender-role conflict, and psychological well-being in men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38(3), 323.

Shaw, E., Butler, C. A., Langdrige, D., Gibson, S., Barker, M., Lenihan, P., das Nair, R. and Richards, C., 2012. *Guidelines and literature review for psychologists working therapeutically with sexual and gender minority clients*. London: British Psychological Society.

Shelton, K., Delgado - Romero, E. A., Shelton, K., & Delgado-Romero, E. (2011). Sexual orientation microaggressions: The experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer clients in psychotherapy. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(2), 210-221.

Shepard, W. D. (2003). *Masculine Gender Role Conflict and Psychological Well-being: A Comparative Study of Heterosexual and Gay Men*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from University of North Texas: UNT Digital Library Denton, Texas. UNT Digital Library. <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc2830/>

Sinfield, A. (1994). *The Wilde century*. London: Cassell.

Sinn, J. S. (1997). The predictive and discriminant validity of masculinity ideology. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31(1), 117-135.

Sontag, S. (1966). *Against interpretation: And other essays*. Macmillan.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978). *Masculinity & femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.



- Stark, L. P. (1991). Traditional gender role beliefs and individual outcomes: An exploratory analysis. *Sex Roles*, 24(9-10), 639-650.
- Stevenson, M. R., & Medler, B. R. (1995). Is homophobia a weapon of sexism? *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 4(1), 1-8.
- Szymanski, D. M., & Carr, E. R. (2008). The roles of gender role conflict and internalized heterosexism in gay and bisexual men's psychological distress: Testing two mediation models. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 9(1), 40.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33(1), 1-39.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In J. T. Jost and J. Sidanius (Eds.) *Political psychology: Key readings* (pp. 276-293). New York: Psychology Press.
- Taylor, A. (1983). Conceptions of masculinity and femininity as a basis for stereotypes of male and female homosexuals. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9(1), 37-53.
- Taywaditep, K. J. (2001). Marginalization among the marginalized. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(1) 1-28.
- Theodore, P. S., & Basow, S. A. (2000). Heterosexual masculinity and homophobia: A reaction to the self? *Journal of Homosexuality*, 40(2), 31-48.
- Thompson Jr, E. H., Grisanti, C., & Pleck, J. H. (1985). Attitudes toward the male role and their correlates. *Sex Roles*, 13(7-8), 413-427.

- Thompson, E. H., & Pleck, J. H. (1986). The structure of male role norms. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29(5), 531-543.
- Thompson, E., & Pleck, J. H. (1995). Masculinity ideologies: A review of research instrumentation on men and masculinities. *A New Psychology of Men*, 129-163.
- Trew, K., & Kremer, J. (1998). *Gender & psychology*. London: Arnold Publishers.
- Turner, V. W. (1995). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- US Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Information Services Division, & United States of America. (2011). *Hate crime statistics 2010*. Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- Valentová, J., Roberts, S. C., & Havlíček, J. (2013). Preferences for facial and vocal masculinity in homosexual men: The role of relationship status, sexual restrictiveness, and self-perceived masculinity. *Perception*, 42(2), 187-197.
- Wells, K. (2011). *Narrative inquiry (pocket guides to social work research methods)*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Whitam, F. L. (1977). Childhood indicators of male homosexuality. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 6(2), 89-96.
- White, E. (1980). The political vocabulary of homosexuality. In L. Michaels and C. Ricks (Eds.) *The State of the Language* (pp. 235-246). Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Willer, R., Rogalin, C. L., Conlon, B., & Wojnowicz, M. T. (2013). Overdoing gender: A test of the masculine overcompensation thesis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(4), 980-1022.

Wolfram, H., Mohr, G., & Borchert, J. (2009). Gender role self-concept, gender-role conflict, and well-being in male primary school teachers. *Sex Roles*, 60(1-2), 114-127.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zamarripa, M. X., Wampold, B. E., & Gregory, E. (2003). Male gender role conflict, depression, and anxiety: Clarification and generalizability to women. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 50(3), 333.

MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT: SECTION B

Gender Representations in Life Narratives of Non-Masculine Gay Men

for submission to the British Psychological Society (BPS) Psychology of Sexualities Review  
(PoSR)

Accurate Word Count: 7904 (+243)

### Abstract

This study explored how gender expressions were portrayed in the narratives of gay men who view themselves non-masculine. An adapted life story interview was conducted with seven participants, aged between 20 and 47 years and analysed using content analysis. The study found that non-masculinity was defined in different ways and affected by social context. Participants associated non-masculinity with male homosexuality, including experiences of homophobia, and childhood pre-homosexuality. Marginalisation for non-masculinity within gay spaces included romantic and social rejection. Masculinity was often eroticised or regarded as aspirational. Intersections of gender-expression and ethnicity, physique or age were significant in evaluations of attractiveness and assumptions of sex role. Participants' own negative judgements of non-masculinity suggest internalised anti-effeminacy, including appraisals of emotional frailty, immaturity, confusion of sex and deliberate disclosure of homosexuality. Positive qualities participants associated with non-masculinity included expressiveness and humour and Flexibility in working with power demonstrations of others. These reinforced the assertion that non-masculine men bypass gender-role conflict facets. Implications for clinical work and further research are explored.

## Gender Representations in Life Narratives of Non-Masculine Gay Men

### Introduction

#### Psychology and Gay Men's Experiences

The experiences of gay men are pertinent to different facets of psychology. Studies report higher prevalence of mental distress amongst gay men than the general population, including anxiety, depression, hopelessness, stress (Ferguson et al., 1999; Iwasaki & Rickstock, 2007; Lewis, Derlega, Griffin & Krowinski, 2003; Lock & Steiner, 1999; Malcolm, 2002; Safren and Heimberg, 1999) and youth suicidality (Eisenberg & Resnick, 2006; Remafedi, 2002). Three percent of British gay and bisexual men (GBM) have attempted suicide in the past year, five percent in those from ethnic minorities, compared to 0.4 % in the overall male population (Guasp, 2012).

Meyer's minority stress model (1995) relates mental distress amongst lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) populations to external stressors, including discrimination. Anticipated rejection, maladaptive coping mechanisms and internalised negative societal values, including homophobia may all impact upon psychological and physical health. Gay male disadvantage in housing, employment, income (Herek & McLemore, 2013) and as hate crime targets (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2010; Herek & McLemore, 2013; Galop, 2013) reinforce the validity of social stressors. Ten percent of the British LGB population report experiencing homophobic assaults (Stonewall, 2013).

Therapists, in educative roles, can raise awareness of homophobia, sexuality and wellbeing amongst health professionals (Davies and Neal, 1996) and highlight gay resilience and coping (Rothblum & Rothblum, 1994). Peel's (2002) LGB awareness training, based upon cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), posits that attitudes change when they

are incongruent. The training involves replacing stereotypes “with more ‘positive’ or factual information,” (p. 258) alongside encouraging empathy, recognising heterosexual privilege and formulating heterosexism-tackling strategies.

Psychologists can also shape policy and practice (Moradi, Mohr, Worthington & Fassinger, 2009). Examples include their contributions to the American Psychological Association (APA) guidelines on psychotherapy with LGB (APA, 2000) and transgendered clients (APA, 2008) and to British Psychological Society (BPS) guidelines (Shaw et al., 2012). Prejudice can also be tackled through research, exploring attitude formation (Cohen, Hall & Tuttle, 2009). Psychology’s interest in gender and sexuality allows examination of how power is exerted through knowledge and language (Rogers & Rogers, 2001).

Ben Summerskill, Chief Executive of Stonewall, (Stonewall, 2012). believes that GBM feel “...neglected by a healthcare system that now has a legal duty to treat everyone equally,” (p. 03). Though protected under the Equality Act 2010, 34% of British GBM report negative healthcare experiences related to sexual orientation; sexuality completely unacknowledged for 28%. In therapy, discussion about sexual orientation can be unaccommodated or, conversely, overemphasised in understanding client difficulties. An obstructive factor may be therapists’ microaggressions; covert communications of discrimination (Shelton & Delgado-Romero, 2011). By expressing surprise at non-stereotypical behaviour or displaying solely heterosexual-themed material, therapists exert systemic oppression.

Meyer (1995) identifies service perspectives in working with sexual minorities. A subjective view focuses on individual processes, including client’s coping and appraisals, whereas an objective view considers stressor properties, including environmental factors. Psychologists often formulate distress as resulting from individual deficiencies, rather than

working societally (Masten, 2001). Relatedly, Davies and Neal's (1996) gay-affirmative therapeutic framework highlights the necessity for therapists to view homophobia as pathological, not homosexuality.

### **Gay Men and Gender Role**

Research often portrays gay men as homogenously "young, white, middle-class and able-bodied" (Rothblum & Rothblum, 1994) (p. 219). Race and religion can be overlooked in therapies focused primarily on sexuality and oversimplified understandings may be held, such as assuming clients are oppressed proportionally to their number of marginalised identities (Riggs & Nair, 2012). Conversely, Crenshaw's (1991) intersectional approach highlights the specificity of people's identities and their interaction with cultural norms. Differences are masked, and knowledge limited, by broadly grouping gender and sexual minorities (Moradi et al., 2009).

An important difference amongst gay men may be gender-role; behaviours and psychological traits congruent with socially constructed ideals of masculinity and femininity (Bem & Bem, 1974; Mahalik, Cournoyer, Defrank, Cherry & Napolitano, 1998). Homosexuals are stereotyped as having gender-atypical attributes; gay men as effeminate and lesbians masculine (Lehavot & Lambert 2007, Madon, 1997; Taylor, 1983) as suggested by gender inversion theory (Kite & Deaux, 1987).

Stereotypes are based upon a kernel of truth (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012). Gay men and lesbians report gender-atypical attributes (Lippa, 2005) and most gay men recount childhood effeminacy (Harry, 1982, 1983). However, studies also observe masculinity (Sanders, Bain & Langevin, 1985) and androgyny, embodying masculine and feminine traits simultaneously (Bernard & Epstein, 1978; McDonalds & Moore, 1978), in gay men.



Masculinity is traditionally defined as agency, activity and independence, whereas femininity is characterised by communicativeness, communal focus and emotionality (Bem & Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Gender-roles are typically positioned as opposites- the more masculine someone is, the less feminine they are deemed and vice-versa (Foushee, Helmreich & Spence, 1979). Though deviations from expected polarities are deemed undesirable (Constantipole, 1973), Bem and Bem (1974) assert that behaviours unrestricted by sex-appropriateness enable adaptability.

Gender-role acquisition theories have moved from social learning (Mischel, 1970) and cognitive development (Kohlberg, 1966) to “relational, multiple, processual” understandings (Renold, 2004) (p. 249), recognising gender-role’s performative elements (Butler, 1990) and variations across time, context and specific needs (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002). Despite this, research on gay men’s gender-roles frequently adopts binary terms, including “feminine” and “atypical.”

### **Heterosexual Evaluations of Gender Nonconformity**

Stereotypes of gay men as effeminate, emotional and easily hurt have been linked to anti-gay attitudes (Kilianski, 2003). Peer and parental pressure may contribute to 46% of gay youth defeminising before adulthood (Whitam, 1977). Negative reactions towards gender nonconformity include ridicule and rejection (Bem, 1981; Harry 1982, 1983; Pilkington & D’Augelli, 1995). Heterosexual men view gay men more critically than lesbians, indicating that gender-role transgressions are more harshly judged in men (Kite & Whitley, 1998; Page & Yee, 1985).

Cohen, Hall and Tuttle (2009) report that heterosexual men favour traditional gender-role adherence, rating profiles of masculine gay men (MGM) as more likeable than effeminate gay men (EGM) and preferring feminine, over masculine, lesbian targets.

Similarity appears more important in heterosexual women's ratings, supporting Herek's (2000) assertion women typically focus on LGB marginalisation whereas men often conceptualise homosexuality as gender-role deviation. Findings also indicate that homophobia is distinct from anti-effeminacy.

Schope and Eliason (2003) suggest sexual orientation impacts evaluations more strongly than gender-role transgressions, finding heterosexual males preferentially rate lesbian targets over gay males, regardless of gender-role. MGM are favoured over EGM in only one of 15 domains; desired inclusion in participants' social circles. Blashill and Powlishta's (2009) heterosexual male participants rate feminine and gay male targets more negatively than masculine, heterosexual and sexuality-unspecified targets in likeability, intelligence and task-sharing. Femininity, including in heterosexual men, appears most consistently negatively evaluated, reinforcing that homosexuality and femininity are independently evaluated.

Kilianski (2003) proposes the exclusively masculine identity, a psychological construct consisting of an ideal self that values and strives for masculinity whilst avoiding undesirable femininity. This underlies masculine ideology; a belief system that endorses toughness, status and anti-femininity and has been correlated with homophobia (Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1993, 1994; Sinn, 1997; Stark, 1991; Thompson, Gristianti & Pleck 1985; Thompson & Pleck, 1986, 1995). Parrot (2009) suggests that homophobia mediates the enforcement of traditional gender norms valued in exclusively masculine identity.

Glick, Gangl, Gibb, Kulmpner and Weinberg (2007) highlight men's defensive reactions to threatened masculinity; denying masculinity-deviation in themselves and punishing this in others (Govorun et al., 2006). Their study finds that EGM are evaluated more critically by men feeling inadequate in their masculinity. They suggest that, as EGM

are perceived as violating gender norms of both sexuality and personality, threatened masculinity in others may be a situational risk factor for them.

The type of gender-role deviation may impact upon judgements. Teenagers deem gender-role violations of physical appearance as less desirable than activity-related violations (Horn, 2007). Blashill and Powlishta (2012) report that heterosexual participants rate gender-atypical appearance and activity more negatively than character traits, believing these are more observable.

### **Anti-Effeminacy within Gay Communities**

Taywaditep (2001) documents anti-effeminacy and pro-masculinity from 1910s, when gay men adopted the label “queer” to separate themselves from EGM (Chauncey, 1994), to the 1960s Butch Shift (Fernbach cited in Metcalf & Humphries, 1985; Edwards, 1994) when MGM visibility grew alongside the gay liberation movement- becoming default and marginalising effeminacy (Badinter, 1995; Levine, 1998; Messner, 1997). Taywaditep relates gay men’s anti-effeminacy to the hegemonic masculinity ideology (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985); a belief system that asserts patriarchal legitimacy (Connell 1995), regarding masculinity as an asset superior to femininity.

Gay personal adverts frequently portray effeminacy as undesirable and constant rejection may impact the self-esteem and psychological wellbeing of EGM (Bailey, Kim, Hills & Linsenmeier, 1997). Similarly, Clarkson (2006) reports homophobic discourses on Straight-Acting.com, a website for gay men who regard themselves as “more masculine than the feminine stereotype” (p. 191). Heteronormative masculinity, particularly a working-class aesthetic, is endorsed, eroticised and positioned antithetically to effeminacy and “in-your-face gayness” (p. 205). Social-expressive function (Herek, 1986) suggests the desirability of men

increases by communicating anti-effeminacy, clarifying their values and asserting what they are not.

By assimilating heteronormative masculinity to highlight their normality, Clarkson (2006) believes that gay men promote sexual diversity at the cost of diversity- reinforcing restrictive gender and sexuality values. Kleinberg (1989) regards straight-acting as an imitation of the values that have tyrannised homosexuals, potentially furthering self-contempt. Ward (2000) draws parallels between gay oppression of EGM and heterosexual masculinity's treatment of women and ethnic minorities. However, authors also view gay masculinity as an ironic, liberated subversion of hegemonic masculinity (Pronger, 1990; White, 1980). Gay male pro-masculinity and anti-effeminacy may also represent attempts to reject homophobic stigma (Messner, 1997).

Gender-role may be policed in gay nightclubs (Ridge, Plummer & Peasley, 2006). Successful masculine demonstrations, including muscular bodies, are rewarded with social acceptance, whereas less valued expressions of masculinity, including identifiable homosexuality, cross-dressing and obesity, attract criticism and exclusion. The authors suggest that homophobia underlies the reconciliation of sexual orientation with masculine performance, related to internal conflict arising from homophobia that runs parallel with the homophilic journey from pre-homosexual child to gay adult.

However, Peterson (2011) describes TigerHeat, an New York nightclub where gay men choreograph pop music dances with accentuated movements of arms and hips. This represents a re-feminised dance aesthetic, following post-disco conservatism in politics and a parallel physical reserve in dance. Gay male effeminacy is celebrated in TigerHeat, not deemed failure, indicating an acceptance of diverse gender expression.

In contrast to urban nightclubs, rurally-raised gay men's life stories portray masculinity as more problematic than sexuality (Annes & Redlin, 2012). Though homosexuality is accepted, viewed as unchosen, EGM are deemed superficial, deliberately disclosing their sexuality and contradicting biology. The researchers relate these judgements to rural men being limited to primarily effeminate media representations of male homosexuality when growing up, making male effeminacy more anxiety-inducing than gay orientation.

Media representations themselves communicate attitudes towards EGM. Whereas Cohen et al. (2009) regard gay men on television series *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* and *Will and Grace* as positive representations and indicative of cultural acceptance, Richardson (2009) views these as desexualised portrayals, with emphasis on fashion or platonic couplings with women. He notes that whilst homophobia is less evident in media, effeminophobia, a long relied-upon trope of British comedies including the *Carry On* films, still prevails.

He describes anti-effeminacy in dating programme *Playing It Straight* (2005), where gay and heterosexual male suitors compete to be romantically selected by a female contestant. Convincing portrayals of masculinity enable victory, whereas effeminacy means failure. Gay contestants express pride in masculinity alongside degradation of effeminacy, the eventual winner declaring he participated to prove he was not a "big fuckin' la-la fairy," (p. 530). Richardson highlights the winner's exaggerated cockney accent, an appropriated working-class signifier (Sinfeld, 1994). Healy (1996) asserts that class is gendered, the working class strongly associated with masculinity.

Social value of masculinity may also be gauged by monetary value of male escorts who have sex with men. Logan (2010) finds that muscular male escorts have a market

premium, whereas overweight and thin men are financially penalised. Sexually penetrative tops have higher priced services than sexually receptive bottoms. Black escorts are most rewarded as tops, but most penalised as bottoms, reinforcing the ethno-sexual stereotype (Cameron & Cameron, 1998) of black men as sexually dominant (Baldwin 1985).

Haldeman (2006) and Schwarzberg and Rosenberg (1998) report that negative feelings about being gay often underlie anti-effeminacy in psychotherapy clients. Sánchez and Vilain's (2012) study similarly finds that participants' critical feelings towards male effeminacy and desire to be more masculine, particularly behaviourally, is related to negative gay-identity.

Choi, Fuqua and Newman (2011) explore gender-role conflict in gay men; internal turmoil resulting from poor integration of stereotypic gender-roles. They suggest social masculinity is positively related to power and competitiveness; competitiveness deemed both constructive and restrictive, whereas restrictive emotions and conflict between work and personal life has the opposite relationship with femininity. Sharp and Heppner (1998) similarly report that male effeminacy is negatively correlated with power, competitiveness and restricted emotion. O'Neil et al. (1986) suggest effeminate, androgynous and undifferentiated (low masculine, low feminine traits) men experience less gender-role conflict, whereas Mahalik et al. (1998) relates gender-role conflict with strong adherence to prescribed masculinity or femininity.

### **Summary and Research Aims**

Despite a greater likelihood of experiencing mental distress, health services can fail to adequately meet the needs of gay men (Shelton & Delgado-Romero, 2011; Stonewall, 2012). Recognition of environmental stressors is important in working with gay clients (Meyer, 1995) alongside recognising different identities gay men can hold (Crenshaw, 1991). Gay

men who transgress masculine gender-roles are negatively evaluated by heterosexual and gay men. Anti-effeminacy is a stressor that can impact upon EGM's social lives, work, relationships and representations in media. Strengths associated with EGM include less restricted emotional and physical expression and better balance of work and personal life (Choi, Fuqua & Newman, 2011).

Whereas Meyer (2003) highlights how subjective experience of marginalised individuals should not overshadow our consideration of objective contextual factors, the subjective experience of gender-nonconforming gay men is absent in the literature. Instead they are presented in disembodied and distal forms- as vignettes, anecdotal and onscreen characters, dating profiles, sex worker listings or dancers on stage. This study aims to explore how gender nonconformity is represented in the life story narratives of gay men who define themselves as non-masculine. Research questions posed are:

- How is gender-role portrayed in participant narratives?
- What reactions to non-masculine gender expressions are present in narratives and in what contexts? How are these responded to and understood by participants?
- What appraisals do participants make of gender nonconformity in themselves and others? Are associated strengths and weakness apparent in narratives?

## **Methodology**

### **Design**

Data were gathered from participants using narrative interviews. Narrative studies, informed by a humanistic person-centred approaches and deconstructionism, use stories as their data source, often focused on how or why a story is constructed, the plurality of meanings, social constructions and power dynamics (Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou,

2008; Wells, 2011). Murray (2008) states that narratives make sense of an ever-changing, disordered world, allowing people to define a continuity throughout their lifetimes. To illustrate narrative significance, Murray comments “We are born into a narrative world, live our lives through narrative and afterwards are described in terms of narrative,” (p. 111). Narrative approaches hold symmetry with psychotherapeutic work, both relying on stories to understand people (Polkinghorne; 1988).

McAdam’s (1993) life story interview (Appendix C) was employed to capture narratives, where participants gave descriptive overviews of their lives in chapter form. Additionally, key events (including high, low and turning points) important characters and overarching themes in their stories were prompted. This elicits what Labov & Waletzky (1967) regard as fully-formed narratives. The life story interview’s broad focus was considered appropriate for the study as research indicates that gender nonconformity can impact upon numerous domains of gay men’s lives, including relationships, work, socialising and media representations. Additionally, studies suggest that gender expressions can vary across men’s lifetimes and between social contexts.

Suitability is further reinforced by Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf’s (2000) assertion that biographical narratives allow the subjective experiences of societally marginalised groups to be incorporated into the sciences. Annes and Redlin’s (2012) study of rural gay men employed life story interviews, indicating methodological compatibility with the exploration of gay experiences.

McAdam’s (1993) life story interview was adapted for the study. Questions regarding participants’ interest in the study, their definitions of non-masculinity and accounts of non-masculinity in others were included. Additionally, participants were asked for their impressions of the interviewer and impact of this upon stories shared. This relates to Ellis’



(2004) assertion that narratives may be co-constructed between participants and researchers, who become part of the story through the interview process and in their ethnographic reflections about the study.

### **Recruitment**

Inclusion criteria required participants to be gay males, over 18 years old, who viewed themselves as non-masculine. Studies indicate that either the absence of traditional masculine traits, deviations from exclusive masculinity and the presence of femininity in men are negatively evaluated. The term “non-masculine” was selected to accommodate these differing conceptualisations of gender nonconformity.

A promotional poster (Appendix D) was distributed in the Southeast of England and West Midlands. Five LGB support organisations displayed posters, two also sharing information through mailing lists. The poster was shared on a British forum-based gay website and profiles were set up on two location-based gay phone applications. A Facebook profile was set-up, and the poster was shared on group pages for LGB university societies, community groups, gay bars and nightclubs. The poster was shared 21 times by other Facebook users, representing an unanticipated snowball effect in recruitment.

### **Participants**

Seven participants were recruited, meeting the inclusion criterion as adult gay men who viewed themselves as non-masculine. No prospective participants were excluded from the study, though several individuals initially expressing interest in the study ceased contact before being interviewed. The participant number supersedes the minimum of six people that Wells (2011) recommends for conducting narrative studies with minority groups of scientific

interest. The average length of interviews was approximately 144 minutes, providing a large amount of data for analysis (Baker & Edwards, 2012).

Participants were aged between 20 and 47 years, with an average age of 33.4 years. Two participants, Sam and Balwinder, stated they were from ethnic minority backgrounds, of South Atlantic and Sikh-Indian origin respectively.

### **Procedure**

The BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) was consulted to ensure ethical soundness of the study. Approval of an independent research review panel (Appendix E) was gained before recruitment. Inquirers were emailed an information sheet (Appendix F) detailing the studies' aims, procedure and participant rights.

Written consent (Appendix G) was gained prior to interviews. Interviews were conducted in participants' homes and at university sites. A phone check-in system was established with another trainee psychologist to confirm the researcher's safety post-interviews.

An interview schedule (Appendix C) based upon McAdams' (1993) life story interview was used. This was semi-structured, allowing questions to be asked about story points. A debrief followed each interview. Participants were invited to ask questions and to share how they felt and how potential difficult feelings might be managed. Local Lesbian and Gay Switchboard helpline numbers were provided as a counselling resource.

Interviews were audio-recorded. Recording started prior to meeting with participants and continued until after the interviewer left the premises, capturing conduct throughout the entire interaction. Interviews were transcribed verbatim prior to analysis (Appendix H). To

maintain confidentiality, participants' names and identifying details were changed.

Recordings were stored on password-protected memory sticks and deleted after transcription.

### **Analysis**

An inductive analysis approach was adopted, where understandings of participant experience were derived primarily from interview data, not previous research or theories. The approach aims to analyse individual stories in order to make more general statements (Chinn & Kramer, 1999). This satisfies McAdams and Bowman's (2001) definition of narrative research conducted in the context of discovery, where understanding of people's lives is derived from the identification of broad patterns, images, themes and characterisations of their stories.

Qualitative content analysis of life stories was conducted, commonly employed in narrative research (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998). It aims to sort data into categories, distilled, broad descriptions of the phenomena of interest, in order to increase understanding and generate knowledge (Cavanagh, 1997). The study aimed to explore gender portrayal in participant narratives, not their linguistic or structural properties. Categorical-content approaches to reading texts focus on what stories are about (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998), thus only manifest (spoken) interview content was analysed.

Subtexts (Appendix I), independent texts consisting of interview excerpts directly relevant to gender expression, were constructed for each participant (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998). Subtexts included references to gender identity, behaviour, appearance, values and responses at the individual, social or societal level. Excerpts about sexual orientation, sexual positioning, race and age were only included where participants related these to gender-role.

Subtexts were coded, which involved making notes and headings on interesting aspects of gender-related content over multiple readings. These were collected onto coding sheets and recurrent, similar or related codes, across participant narratives, were combined to generate broader preliminary subcategories (Appendix J). Subcategories were subsequently collapsed, based on similarity and dissimilarity, to form smaller numbers of higher-order generic categories (Burnard, 1991; Downe-Wambolt, 1992; Dey, 1993). These, in turn, were grouped under major content categories, the broadest and most abstract descriptions of the research area (Appendix K), a process known as abstraction (Robson, 1993; Burnard, 1996; Polit & Beck, 2003).

### **Quality Assurance**

Prior to recruitment, a bracketing interview was conducted (Appendix L) with another trainee psychologist. This involved reflecting upon expectations, anxieties and potential biases of the researcher. A research diary was also kept throughout the study (Appendix M), within which thoughts, questions, observations and arising conflicts were recorded. This acted as an aid for reflection upon the research process (Newbury, 2001).

To reinforce the reliability of results, the analysis process was audited by a psychologist (Elliott, Fischer & Rennie, 1999). They independently reviewed two anonymised subtexts, annotated with initial codes, and final data categories, grounded with quotes. This served the dual function of establishing transparency in the process of analysis, whilst also enabling corroboration of the findings; important due to the potential subjectivity of qualitative analysis.

## Results

Content analysis of the life stories identified eleven major data categories (Appendix K). These categories were Varied Definitions and Domains of Non-Masculine Expressions, Gender Expression as Multi-Faceted and Unfixed, Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation, Sex Role and Sex Acts, The Undesirability of Non-Masculinity in Self and Others, Marginalisation and Belonging, The Compromise and Reclamation of Gender Expression, Intersecting Identities, The Merit of Non-Masculinity, Theorised Origin and Function of Non-Masculinity and Media Representations of Non-Masculinity and Participant Reactions to Non-Masculinity in Others.

### **Varied Definitions and Domains of Non-Masculine Expressions**

Participants used varied terms to describe deviations from hegemonic masculinity, illustrating differing definitions. Some emphasised the presence of ‘effeminacy’ or ‘camp’ in men, others referred to ‘not being masculine.’ ‘Being gay’ associated non-masculinity with homosexuality and separate labels were used to distinguish between masculine and non-masculine gay men.

*‘...a feminine person, I would describe them as a “fairy”. So if someone’s a fairy I’ll go to my friend “Look it’s a fairy, look,” but if someone’s, I consider myself what I would define as a “fag,” so like less, more like, more masculine’ [Terry, line 1018-1020].*

Participant narratives portrayed numerous domains of non-masculine expression. Appearance-related expression included dyed hair, tight clothing, makeup, slim bodies and effeminate posture. Muscular, hairy bodies and height embodied masculinity. Vocal traits including high pitch, volume and lisps were deemed non-masculine.

Being nurturing, compassionate, emotionally-demonstrative and bitchy were amongst personality traits deemed non-masculine in narratives. Masculine personality traits included aggressiveness, ambition, territorialism, high sex-drive and stoicism.

Behaviours and interests were similarly gendered in life stories. Domestic duties, enjoyment of architecture or design were portrayed as non-masculine, as was disinterest in activities deemed masculine.

*'...the alpha male perhaps would be interested in fast cars, DIY, um, the latest electronic gadgets and that's not me at all.'* [Craig, line 48-49].

Narratives also highlighted the relativity of masculinity. Participants' appraisals of their gender-roles referred to gender-expressions and values found in cultural archetypes- 'I don't fit into the Ken role, if you've got the Ken and Barbie role' [Michael, line 53], other gay men- '...I didn't have to identify myself as being non-masculine because the people I was mixing with were, were more non-masculine.' [Balwinder, line 24-26] and their own expectations. Some narratives also represented gender-role as being one of numerous facets of participant identities and not the most important.

### **Gender Expression as Multi-Faceted and Unfixed**

Narratives represented gender-roles as consisting of both masculine and feminine traits. Participants reported difficulty in distinguishing between these traits, regarding gender as a continuum or social construction *'masculinity itself is something* which doesn't exist but is, erm, a term, like we as humans, as, as people, use terms to stereotype or put things into boxes so it's easier for other people to *relate to*' [Petros, line 32-34]. 'Camp' was defined in one account as *'somewhere in the middle'* [Jacob, line 47] of masculinity and effeminacy.

Social context also impacted upon gender expressions. Effeminacy was heightened when attracting men or socialising. Masculine demonstrations were associated with winning respect or acceptance in predominantly male workplaces ‘...to fit into that world of masculine, white straight men you have to wear what they wear’ [Balwinder, line 150-151]. Gender expression was described as sometimes uncontrollable, unconsciously processed and changing with mood.

Reduced feminine or heightened masculine expressions were rewarded with family acceptance ‘...get along a lot better, me and my dad now, I think it’s because I’ve stopped peacocking’ [Jacob line 331] and work opportunities. Conversely, heightened effeminacy was rewarded with client rapport in care and customer-service roles- ‘I got a lot of tips, um, so, I, I think that was as a result of being a bit camp’ [Petros, line 282-283].

Different social and cultural norms were also related to the permissibility of gender expressions- varying geographically and throughout history. ‘The back-end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – all those ideas have been challenged. And then on top of that you’ve got the sort of metrosexuality and all of that thrown into it’ [Michael, line 308-310].

### **Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation, Sex Role and Sex Acts**

Non-masculinity was frequently associated with male homosexuality in life stories. Homophobic responses to effeminacy were anticipated and experienced ‘these two lads... went "Oi faggot what's in your bag?" I guess I was mincing a bit’ [Jacob, line 495-496]. Anecdotes of assumed homosexuality were also shared.

Numerous narratives presented non-masculinity as the disclosure or prioritisation of homosexuality in participants or others- ‘they want people to know about it in a way’ [Petros, line 1088]. Balwinder portrayed his friend’s effeminacy as a by-proxy disclosure of his own

sexuality- *'I didn't say it to him but he knew I was gay. It felt like a coming out'* [Balwinder, line 1230-1231]. The dilemma of wanting to communicate attraction, but not effeminacy, to other men was also described.

Masculine traits were associated with the undetectability of homosexuality. *'I tended to go for very, very... masculine men, um, you know you would never guess that they're gay'* [Sam, line 97-98]. Masculinity was deemed compromised by homosexuality in some accounts such as an anecdote about a 1960s racist rioter who was also gay- *'so his masculinity, or his stereotypical, like aggressive, angry, male traits being somewhat counteracted?'* [Petros, line 1109-1110].

Conversely, disapproval of the term 'straight acting' was expressed. *'How can anybody possibly act in any orientation, does any one orientation have any fixed...um, way of behaving?'* [Craig, line 151-152]. Heterosexual male effeminacy was also highlighted in some narratives.

Gay sex roles were also gendered- with penetrative 'tops' associated with masculinity and receptive 'bottoms' deemed effeminate. Power dynamics were associated with these roles in some stories- *'the bottom is considered, more like, less dominant in the bedroom and like, more willing to let the other take control. So it's more derogative for a gay person to be called a bottom'* [Terry, line 82-84]. Assumptions about sex-role were sometimes based upon appearance- *'Twink: bottom. You can just, yeah, I can just know. If I meet a gay I can tell if they're top or bottom.'* [Jacob, line 1015-1016]. Sex roles were presented as unfixed by some participants, requiring experimentation and negotiation with partners.

Sex acts also had gendered connotations, with anal stimulation in heterosexual men deemed non-masculine- *'they won't let their, you know, girlfriend go near their butt, or, or like touch them there because it's like "gay"'* [Petros, line 1138-1139].



### **The Undesirability of Non-Masculinity in Self and Others**

Most participants viewed their non-masculinity as undesirable. Effeminacy, in particular, was deemed inauthentic and immature- ‘the over-expression, the, the use of eyes *and hands and faces, are very childlike*’ [Balwinder, line 1267-1268] and a form of vulnerability.

*‘I had always seen it as a weakness in myself and I always, always, always, wanted to change it.’* [Sam, line 118-119].

Non-masculinity was associated with romantic rejection- participants either the targets of rejection ‘he made it very clear that he found my non-masculinity unattractive and that’s the reason why he would not want *to be in a relationship*’ [Balwinder, line 569-570] or rejecting others- ‘*a higher tone or frequency in voice which I instantly find unattractive (laughs) because I’m gay because I like men*’ [Jacob, line 55-56]. Participants’ sexual encounters with effeminate partners were portrayed as anomalous. More broadly, anti-effeminacy was reported in gay spaces, including dating services- ‘*it’s very difficult for... effeminate people because everyone wants to meet someone who’s masculine.*’ [Sam, line 23-24].

Conversely, masculine men were often portrayed as desirable, and dominance was eroticised. Masculinity was positioned as superior to femininity and competed over- ‘*he genuinely thinks he is straighter than me, and he’s not, he’s gayer than Christmas*’ [Jacob, line 719-720].

Masculinity was also equated with success- ‘*...a masculine man you will do better in the straight world, in professions, in relationships and equally so in the straight world, uh, in the gay world as well*’ [Balwinder, line 328-329].

A number of narratives contained theories about pro-masculine values amongst gay men. The fantasy of being mistaken as heterosexual or having sex with a heterosexual man was suggested in one account. 'Straight-acting' was similarly associated with avoidance of homophobia- '*...they seek a quote "straight acting" partner for fear of rejection by society*' [Craig, line 176-177]. Hierarchical advantage in gay communities was referenced to understand pro-masculine values- '*...in the gay world, class has been re-, re-, replaced almost with "Are you masculine? Are you feminine?" That pecking order.*' [Balwinder, line 87-88].

### **Marginalisation and Belonging**

Numerous forms of discrimination of non-masculinity were described in participant life stories. These included verbal abuse, threatened and enacted violence and pressure to conform to heterosexual norms. Participants also reported being underestimated at work- '*the more effeminate traits, which are powerful but they're more subtle and they're not given as much credit*' [Sam, line 133-135]. Rejection from gay communities was again reported.

Responses to discrimination included a awareness of vulnerability '*I'm not indestructible. The fact that there is stranger dang-, stranger danger, the fact that my homosexuality is part of that *stranger danger*' [Jacob, line 505-506] and changing gender expressions when feeling threatened- 'If a group of sporty lads come to the counter I will be *masculine Jacob*' [Jacob, line 26-27]. Avoidant behaviours, such as shutting out potential insults with music, were also described, as was indifference to judgements by others.*

Those discriminating against hegemonic masculinity-deviation were represented as heterosexual men 'If you go non-masculine in a group of straight men, you are risking getting beaten up' [Balwinder, line 369], other gay men and people from economically deprived or

conservative areas *'here it's more deprived, more, more deprived, there's more prejudice here across the board'* [Jacob, line 36-37].

Social exclusion was also related to non-masculinity, including numerous descriptions of separateness from friends and family *'...even as a child feeling "I'm not quite as masculine as these men in the family,"'* [Balwinder, line 71-72]. Exclusion within gay communities, on the basis of appearance, was also reported. Double exclusion, by heterosexual and gay communities, was also highlighted- *'you've got, uh, people within your own community, if you want to call it that, plus people outside your community saying that this isn't right'* [Sam, line 183-184].

Separateness from a predominantly heterosexual world was also described. *'...one goes through his on-going journey, resting between inclusionary and exclusionary parts of one's life, in pockets of life where...one feel a part of something rather than apart from. But it's something that, I think as a gay man in a predominantly straight world, one continuously wrestles with.'* [Craig, line 763-766].

A sense of belonging was also portrayed in narratives. This included acceptance by friends, family and religious organisations. Social acceptance was linked to self-acceptance- *'you have to learn to be comfortable and confident in yourself and also having that acceptance from other people for who you are, how you dress, for what you do is more, is rewarding and is better for you as a person rather than putting on this mask.'* [Sam, line 914-916].

Closeness to women in particular was frequently portrayed as an important source of acceptance. Female traits were admired, including communal-focus and strength- *'I really respect that subtle power that women have in that they have this, I don't know, they can be in complete control of so many different things at once without it even seeming like effort'* [Sam,

line 714-716]. Tokenistic friendships were an exception- '*...I'm human as well, um, not just a, an accessory*' [Sam, line 181-182].

### **The Compromise and Reclamation of Gender Expression**

Several narratives conveyed participants moving from gender-related compromised, apologetic or appeasing positions to empowered, combative or expressive ones. Balwinder described being part of a group of white, attractive, successful gay friends who held aspirational value to him, in a nurturing, and unreciprocated, 'mama bear' role.

*'I become more feminine to appease these strong, white men and then I hate myself for that because I think "Why am I doing that? What is this- a racial thing coming in here? Am I appeasing this strong, white archetype that's making me feel uncomfortable?'* [Balwinder, line 80-82].

Balwinder's growing self-confidence, and disenchantment with the group, resulted in a shift from deference to empowerment. This involved withholding nurture and acknowledging his own achievements- '*you think you're in charge but actually I am successful too, you know, I'm not just here to care for you*' [Balwinder, line 269-271]. Balwinder's story featured a parallel move away from a selfless, exploited position at work. These shifts were presented as both maturation and masculinisation; an emergence of his power '*as a man*' [Balwinder, line 967-968].

Sam's narrative illustrated a move from an exclusively submissive and domestic role to more reciprocal relationships. Sam theorised that heightening expressions of vulnerability and femininity made his partners '*feel even stronger.*' [Sam, line 106]. This was only temporarily sustainable- '*I start coming out and I am, you know, reasonably smart, um, and, I*

*am very sure of myself*' [Sam, line 107-108]. Sam similarly described shifting from being aroused by dominant, sometimes aggressive, men to exploring his own sexual assertiveness.

Jacob's life story portrayed him suppressing effeminacy and heightening masculinity at a work placement, in response to disapproval from his supervisor. For their final meeting Jacob described using camp combatively; a reclamation of his flamboyance- *'I went back to being camp Jacob, jokey Jacob, sarcastic Jacob, requesting my supervision notes on pink paper (laughs)'* [Jacob, line 441-443]. He referred to this both as a *'battle cry'* [Jacob, line 458] and an exaggerated *'personality drag'* [Jacob, line 463].

Similarly, a compromise of homosexuality-signifiers is found in Petros' narrative, prompted by fieldwork in a sub-Saharan African country, where *'it could have been quite dangerous at some points if I'd been perceived as being a homosexual'* [Petros, line 257-258]. This included dying his hair from a bleached platinum blonde to brown; portrayed as flexibility that opened work opportunities. Upon returning to England, Petros dyed his hair again- *'I sort of, took back on all those old facets'* [Petros, line 266].

### **Intersecting Identities**

Identity intersections of ethnicity, sexuality and gender-expression were present in participant narratives. Balwinder observed similarities and differences between western and Indian masculinities- *'there's an acceptance in Indian culture of somebody who is a bit emotional and somebody who talks with their hands and it still fits within the range of behaviour of men.'* [Balwinder, line 73-75].

Sexual racism was portrayed within gay communities *'...like Grindr "I don't do Indians, I don't do Asian, whites only." What is that? It's disgusting'* [Sam, line 944-945]. Dismissive attitudes to ethnic, particularly black, male effeminacy were also conveyed- *'if*

*you're black and effeminate then it's kinda like "Whoa!"*' [Sam, line 26-27]. Internalised sexual racism was also represented and related to growing up with white ideals of beauty- *'Asian gay men I know say to me, "I do not date other gay Asian men. I only date white men, because I only find white men attractive'* [Balwinder, line 181-182]. Power inequalities, including in stereotyped sex-roles, were related to the intersection of ethnicity, physique and age.

*'...it's usually young Chinese guy with an older white man and the white man is very dominant and the Chinese guy is a bit more submissive, it's the, um, the young skinny Indian with the white guy'* [Sam, line 950-952].

Discrimination was also related to the intersection of age and gender expression, in Michael's case through eccentric dress. *'As you get older you're either, you might be seen as an oddball, freak, or depending on how you dress, er there is something, you know, er, something not- not something wrong with you – well, you might get sort of a taunt for being gay.'* [Michael, line 157-159]. In contrast, Jacob jokingly termed his supervisor's discrimination of him as a young, flamboyant, gay male as *'homosexageism,'* [Jacob, line 818].

Being overweight and gay was portrayed as intersecting identities devalued in straight and gay communities, *'I had, that coming from the straight boys and from them, the gay guys it was also like, "Lose weight or you're not attractive, lose weight and we'll sleep with you'* [Balwinder, line 643-644]. His subsequent reduced weight, a more valued form of masculinity, was rewarded- *'people said I was attractive when I was really skinny. I could go into a bar and pull anytime I wanted.'* [Balwinder, line 545-546].

Representations of diversity in gay communities also highlighted segregation in nightclubs *'all the lions over there, all the hyenas over there, all the flamingos there, and it*

*was very much like that, like an animal kingdom. Erm, and almost regimented* [Michael, line 458-460], and homogeneity within various social groups *'they're literally clones of each other'* [Balwinder, line 112].

### **The Merit of Non-Masculinity**

Narratives also contained positive appraisals of non-masculinity. Association between effeminacy and power were suggested. In Sam's story competitive edge was achieved by capitalising upon assumptions and feigned communication of incompetence- *'in sports, I quite like to play the feminine role, um, because people think, "Ah he's not going to be any good because he's a homo," um, and then I am really good so (laughs)'* [Sam, line 75-76].

In contrast, socially capable and constructive properties of non-masculinity were portrayed. These included humour, compassion, acting as confidante and care- *'whilst there's no real paternal streak in me, that I look upon those weaker than me as some form of mother figure perhaps'* [Craig, line 75-76].

In workplaces, camp was associated with rapport and expressiveness; an asset in Jacob's role as speech therapist. Non-masculinity was also presented as the ability to adapt to the power demonstrations of others- *'... I'm quite flexible and accommodating so I tend to get to get on with people who are not very flexible and accommodating (laughs)'* [Sam, line 726-727].

### **Theorised Origin and Function of Non-Masculinity**

Many stories referred to the presence of non-masculinity in childhood. As in adulthood, non-masculinity was reported to exist in numerous domains including partaking in activities deemed feminine, such as dancing and singing, disinterest in activities viewed as

masculine and feeling more comfortable in the company of girls. Emergent homosexual attraction was also described.

Non-masculinity was associated with marginalisation in childhood. This included name-calling, a sense of being the wrong sex and terminated friendships. Childhood gender nonconformity was deemed a homosexual signifier- *'my primary school teacher took them to the side and said "I think Terry might be gay," and my parents said "So what?"'* [Terry, line 142-143]. This, alongside a similar account regarding Terry's five year-old cousin, highlighted a dilemma, of either disclosing assumed pre-homosexuality to a child or allowing self-discovery. In both scenarios, self-discovery was safeguarded *'I looked at her and I went, "You can't tell someone what they are or what they aren't. He is, it's up to him to find out what he is and for him to tell you."'* [Terry, line 414-415].

Male non-masculinity was often related to dysfunction by participants, viewed as a confusion of sex- *'gay men should still remember that they're men and they're not women (laughs)'* [Jacob line 90-91] or associated with emotional frailty, immaturity or resulting from socialising with women or gay groups. Similarly, non-masculinity was associated with a self-soothing or defensive function- *'no one likes the "bitchy gay" um, but there's negative attitudes towards effeminate men are making them even more bitchy.'* [Sam, line 30-32]. Non-masculinity was also deemed a sign of comfort with homosexuality and conscious disclosure of sexuality.

### **Media Representations of Non-Masculinity**

*'...virtually every TV presenter that's been gay has been...been acceptable because they've been camp'* [Michael, line 1175].



Terry portrayed camp TV presenters as targets of casual homophobia, even sabotaging an attempt to come out as gay- *'I said "Nan I've got something to tell you," and she said "Hold on, let me just listen to this fairy on TV for a second,"'* [Terry, line 362-363].

Queer as Folk was positively regarded as portraying different expressions of masculinity. Panti Noble, a drag performer, was an admired representative of masculinity-deviation for his candid discussions of marginalisation- *'...she talked about oppression and she talked about how she or he is sat on a street corner is constantly checking himself to make sure he's not giving the gay away,'* [Jacob, line 994-995].

Media representations were sometimes portrayed as impacting participants, by echoing themes of separateness, provoking questions of how similarly they are viewed by the world, and modeling self-acceptance.

### **Participant Reactions to Non-Masculinity in Others**

Participant responses to other non-masculine men in their life stories varied from sympathy and protectiveness to frustration, desired avoidance and assumed workplace incompetence- *'my initial response, even though I know that this is stupid, is that I would think they're less intelligent, um, I would think that they're less strong, um, I would think that they're less capable and able.'* [Sam, line 152-154]. Respect and envy towards non-masculine men was also reported- *'...in a way it's something that I'm jealous or envious that they're so comfortable'* [Petros, line 1086-1087].

Some participants referred to self-criticism and internalised societal messages to understand these appraisals- *'often your immediate response to something comes from your....past. It comes from what you learnt a long time ago, um, what was drilled into you by other people'* [Sam, line 162-164].

Some participants identified non-masculinity in the researcher. Some reported that this accommodated openness in discussing same sex practices, whereas another shared anxieties about potential sexual tensions. Other factors participants stated had encouraged their openness included a neutral stance, the interview being discreet and the interviewer's South Asian ethnicity.

## **Discussion**

### **Findings in the Context of Previous Research**

This study found that non-masculinity was defined in different ways, including presence of feminine traits, absence of masculine traits and dissonance from cultural archetypes of male masculinity. No participant reported exclusively feminine characteristics, reinforcing the validity of androgynous rather than binary conceptualisations of gender-role (Bernard & Epstein, 1978; Bem & Bem, 1974; Macdonald & Moore, 1978).

Social context impacted on gender expression in participant narratives. Threat or male-dominated spaces were associated with masculine assimilation or defeminisation, whereas the opposite was reported in social or flirtatious situations. This supports Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman's (2002) assertion that gender-roles vary across contexts and needs; in some participant narratives this need being the preservation of personal safety.

Non-masculinity was strongly associated with male homosexuality, with phrases like 'acting gay' denoting effeminacy. Homophobic verbal and physical abuse was described, evidencing situational stressors (Meyer, 1995). Participants' negative appraisals of non-masculinity, in themselves and others, included viewing effeminacy as immature, a conscious disclosure of homosexuality and suggestive of emotional instability. These appraisals may indicate internalised negative societal values. Whereas Meyer (1995) associates

internalisation with prolonged exposure to discrimination, one participant referred to his anti-effeminacy values being present in childhood.

Participants reported being romantically rejected, and rejecting others, because of effeminate traits. Bailey et al. (1997) related rejection to the development of low self-esteem. Conversely, masculinity was often eroticised or aspired to. Masculine gay men were regarded as having undetectable homosexuality, reinforcing a relationship between pro-masculine values and negative gay identity (Sanchez & Vilain, 2012). However, participants also communicated disenchantment with masculinity, illustrating variation in these appraisals.

Policing (Ridge et al., 2006) of hegemonic masculinity (Taywaditep, 2001) in gay settings was evident in numerous life stories. Less valued masculine expressions, including obesity and eccentric dress, appeared to attract hostility or dismissal from others. Shifts towards more desirable expressions, such as weight loss, were rewarded with sexual interest. Intersections of identity (Crenshaw, 1991) also elicited differing evaluations of desirability. As Logan (2010) reported, black male effeminacy was portrayed as undesirable, whereas sexual passivity in East and South Asian men was deemed not only permissible, but stereotypical and expected.

Participant narratives also contained positive qualities associated with non-masculinity, including expressiveness, humour and flexibility in working with power demonstrations of others. These support the assertion that effeminate and androgynous men bypass facets of gender-role conflict (Choi et al., 2011), including power and restrictive emotion. However, combative and competitive functions of non-masculine expressions were also found in some narratives.

### **Implications for Psychology Practise**

Therapists can raise awareness of homophobia by training health professionals (Davies & Neal, 1996). Peel's (2002) LGB awareness training is an experiential approach that tackles homophobia through challenging stereotypes. Trainers, however, describe the tensions of representing stereotypes, such as wearing gender nonconforming clothes, whilst challenging stereotypes.

Highlighting negative responses to gender nonconformity is compatible with awareness training's goals. The experiential facets of training could enable gender nonconforming trainers to address this identity facet, inviting inquiry. Stereotypes could be explored and understood, rather than replaced which inadvertently leaves gender nonconformity unacknowledged. Psychology could further support trainers by providing reflective spaces. Similarly the gay-affirmative framework for therapy (Davies & Neal, 1996) could mirror its stance on homophobia by normalising diversity of gender expression amongst gay men whilst emphasising effeminophobia as a defensive response.

This study found that non-masculinity is marginalised in gay and mainstream settings. Psychologists could tackle discrimination faced by gender nonconforming individuals, an environmental stressor (Meyers, 1995) through community engagement. Garnets and D'Augelli (1994) suggest that working with LGB communities addresses numerous difficulties including lack of identification with a specific community; weak diversity inclusiveness, internalised heterosexism and a lack of shared collective history. Internalised anti-effeminacy and experiences of separateness were reported by participants, reinforcing the suitability of a community-focused intervention. Psychologists can further support gender nonconforming individuals to engage with gay and wider communities by considering the intersections of race, religion, class and responses to these identities.

### **Methodological Considerations**

The life story interview schedule often resulted in repetition in participant accounts. Prompted high, low or turning points of life stories, alongside significant characters, were often communicated earlier in the life chapter phase of the interview. Focusing on specific events and characters in narratives resulted in greater detail, but at the cost of time and participant fatigue. As such, an abbreviated version of the life story interview would be considered if the study was repeated.

Recruitment focused on gay men who defined themselves as non-masculine. This enabled a broad population to be selected from- including men viewing themselves as low in masculine traits, high in feminine traits, and those without exclusively masculine traits. Though this variety of gender expressions was represented amongst recruited participants, advertising to interview only men who view themselves as effeminate may have held benefits.

This would emphasise what participants are, whereas 'non-masculine' highlights what participants are not- potentially having connotations of loss, failure or the absence of something that should be there. Furthermore, the term 'non-masculine' may inadvertently convey binary heterosexual matrix values (Butler, 1990) suggesting people are either masculine or feminine.

All participants communicated expressions of both masculine and feminine traits, varying at different points in time. However, men who define themselves as primarily or exclusively effeminate may have different experiences and perspectives to the participants recruited. In order to avoid potentially important differences from being masked (Moradi, Mohr, Worthington & Fassinger, 2009) defining more specific population samples for further studies into gay male gender expression may be valuable.

### References

Antjoule, N. (2013). *The hate crime report: Homophobia, biphobia and transphobia in London*. London, Great Britain: Galop.

Annes, A., & Redlin, M. (2012). The careful balance of gender and sexuality: Rural gay men, the heterosexual matrix, and “effeminophobia”. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 59(2), 256-288.

APA policy statement: Transgender, gender identity, & gender expression non-discrimination. (2008). Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/about/policy/transgender.aspx>

Badinter, E. (1995). *XY, on masculine identity*. Columbia University Press.

Bailey, J. M., Kim, P. Y., Hills, A., & Linsenmeier, J. A. (1997). Butch, femme, or straight acting? Partner preferences of gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 960.

Baker, S. E. & Edwards, R. (2012). How many qualitative interviews in enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling cases in qualitative research. National Centre for Research Methods. Retrieved from [http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how\\_many\\_interviews.pdf](http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf)

Baldwin, J. (1985). *The price of the ticket: Collected nonfiction 1948-1985*. New York: St Martin's.

Bem, S. (1981). *A manual for the Bem Sex Role Inventory*. California: Mind Garden

Bem, S. L., & Bem, S. L. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 42(2), 155-162.

Bernard, L. C., & Epstein, D. J. (1978). Androgyny scores of matched homosexual and heterosexual males. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 4(2), 169-178

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009). The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 10(2), 160.

Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2012). Effects of gender-related domain violations and sexual orientation on perceptions of male and female targets: An analogue study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(5), 1293-1302.

Burnard, P. (1991). A method of analysing interview transcripts in qualitative research. *Nurse Education Today*, 11, 461–466.

Burnard, P. (1996). Teaching the analysis of textual data: an experiential approach. *Nurse Education Today*, 16, 278–281.

Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (1985). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. *Theory and Society*, 14(5), 551-604.

Cavanagh, S. (1997). Content analysis: Concepts methods and applications. *Nurse Researcher*, 4(3), 5-16.

Chamberlayne, P., Bornat, J., & Wengraf, T. (2000). Introduction: The biographical turn. In P. Chamberlayne, J. Bornat & T. Wengraf (Eds.) *The turn to biographical methods in social sciences: Comparative issues and examples* (pp. 1-30). London: Routledge.

Chauncey, G. (1994). *Gay New York: Gender, urban culture, and the making of the gay male world, 1890-1940*. Basic Books.

Chinn, P.L., & Kramer, M.K. (1999). *Theory and nursing: A systematic approach* (4<sup>th</sup> edition). St Louis: Mosby Year-Book.

Choi, N., Herdman, K., Fuqua, D., Newman, J., Choi, N., Herdman, K., & Newman, J. (2011). Gender- role conflict and gender- role orientation in a sample of gay men. *The Journal of Psychology*, 145(5), 507-519.

Clarkson, J. (2006). " Everyday Joe" versus " pissy, bitchy, queens": Gay masculinity on straight acting.com. *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 14(2), 191-207.

Cohen, T. R., Hall, D. L., & Tuttle, J. (2009). Attitudes toward stereotypical versus counterstereotypical gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Sex Research*, 46(4), 274-281.

Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities: Knowledge, power and social change*. Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Constantipole, A. (1973). Masculinity-femininity: An exception to the famous dictum? *Psychological Bulletin*, 80, 389-404.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299.

D'Augelli, A. R., & Hart, M. M. (1987). Gay women, men, and families in rural settings: Toward the development of helping communities. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 15(1), 79-93.

Davies, D., & Neal, C., (1996). *Pink therapy: A guide for counsellors and therapists working with lesbian, gay and bisexual clients*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Dey, I. (1993). *Qualitative data analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. London: Routledge.

Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: Method, applications and issues. *Health Care for Women International*, 13, 313–321.

Edwards, T. (1994). *Erotics and Politics. Gay Male Sexuality, Masculinity and Feminism*. New York: Taylore & Francis.



Eisenberg, M. E., & Resnick, M. D. (2006). Suicidality among gay, lesbian and bisexual youth: The role of protective factors. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 39*(5), 662-668.

Elliott, R., Fischer, C. T., & Rennie, D. L. (1999). Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 38*(3), 215-229.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Oxford: Altamira Press

Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 62*(1), 107–115.

Equality Act 2010. (c.15) London, The Stationery Office. Retrieved from [http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/pdfs/ukpga\\_20100015\\_en.pdf](http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/pdfs/ukpga_20100015_en.pdf)

Ethics Committee of the British Psychological Society, (2009). *Code of ethics and conduct: Guidance published by the Ethics Committee of the British Psychological Society*. Leicester: The British Psychological Society.

Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., Miller, E. R., Olsen, M. E., Ferguson, T. J., Stegge, H., Olsen, M. E. (1999). Guilt, shame and symptoms in children. *Developmental Psychology, 35*(2), 347-357.

Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: University Press.

Foushee, H. C., Helmreich, R. L., & Spence, J. T. (1979). Implicit theories of masculinity and femininity: Dualistic or bipolar? *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 3*(3), 259-269.

Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2002). *Young masculinities*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Page, S., & Yee, M. (1986). Conception of male and female homosexual stereotypes among university undergraduates. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 12(1), 109-118.

Glick, P., Gangl, C., Gibb, S., Klumpner, S., & Weinberg, E. (2007). Defensive reactions to masculinity threat: More negative affect toward effeminate (but not masculine) gay men. *Sex Roles*, 57(1-2), 55-59.

Govorun, O., Fuegen, K., & Payne, B. K. (2006). Stereotypes focus defensive projection. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(6), 781-793

Guasp, A. (2012). *Gay and bisexual men's health survey*. London: Stonewall.

Guasp, A., Gammon, A., & Ellison, G. (2013) *Homophobic hate crime: The gay British crime survey 2013*. London: Stonewall.

Haldeman, D. C. (2006). Queer eye on the straight guy: A case of gay male heterophobia. In M. Englar-Carlson & M. A. Stevens (Eds.) *In the room with men: A casebook of therapeutic change* (pp. 301-317). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Harry, J. (1982). *Gay children grown up: Gender culture and gender deviance*. New York: Praeger.

Harry, J. (1983). Defeminization and adult psychological well-being among male homosexuals. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 12(1), 1-19.

Healy, M. (1996). *Gay skins: Class, masculinity and queer appropriation*. London: Cassell.

Herek, G. M. (2000). Sexual prejudice and gender: Do heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men differ? *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(2), 251-266.

Herek, G. M., & McLemore, K. A. (2013). Sexual prejudice. *Annual review of psychology*, 64, 309-333.

Horn, S. S. (2007). Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on sexual orientation and gender expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(3), 363-371.

Iwasaki, Y., Ristock, J., Iwasaki, Y., & Ristock, J. (2007). The nature of stress experienced by lesbians and gay men. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping*, 20(3), 299-319.

Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4(1), 37.

Kite, M. E., & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 11(1), 83-96.

Kite, M.E., & Whitley, B.E., Jr. (1998). Do heterosexual women and men differ in their attitudes toward homosexuality? A conceptual and methodological analysis. In G.M. Herek (Ed.) *Stigma and sexual orientation: Understanding prejudice against lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals* (pp. 39–61). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kleinberg, S. (1987). The new masculinity of gay men and beyond. In M. Kaufman (Ed.) *Beyond patriarchy: Essays by men on pleasure, power, and change* (pp. 120-138). Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kohlberg, L. (1966). A cognitive-developmental analysis of children's sex-role concepts and attitudes. In E. Maccoby (Ed.) *The development of sex differences* (pp. 82- 173). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Labov, W., & Waletzky. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.) *Essays on the verbal and visual art* (pp. 12-44). Seattle: American Ethnological Society.

Lewis, R. J., Derlega, V. J., Griffin, J. L., & Krowinski, A. C. (2003). Stressors for gay men and lesbians: Life stress, gay-related stress, stigma consciousness, and depressive symptoms. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 22*(6), 716-729.

Lehavot, K., & Lambert, A. J. (2007). Toward a greater understanding of antigay prejudice: On the role of sexual orientation and gender role violation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 29*(3), 279-292.

Levine, M. P. (1998). *Gay Macho: The life and death of the homosexual clone*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation*. London: Sage.

Linde, C. (1993). *Life stories: The creation of coherence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lippa, R. A. (2005). Sexual orientation and personality. *Annual Review of Sex Research, 16*(1), 119-153.

Lock, J., & Steiner, H. (1999). Gay, lesbian, and bisexual youth risks for emotional, physical, and social problems: Results from a community-based survey. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 38*(3), 297-304.

Logan, T. D. (2010). Personal characteristics, sexual behaviors, and male sex work a quantitative approach. *American Sociological Review, 75*(5), 679-704.

Madon, S. (1997). What do people believe about gay males? A study of stereotype content and strength. *Sex Roles*, 37(9-10), 663-685.

Mahalik, J., C., Mahalik, J. R., Cournoyer, R. J., DeFranc, W., Cherry, M., & Napolitano, J. M. (1998). Men's gender role conflict and use of psychological defenses. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 45(3), 247-255.

Malcolm, J. P. (2002). Assessment of life stress in gay and bisexual men with the gay affect and life events scale. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(4), 135-144

Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary magic: Resilience processes in development. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227.

McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: William Morrow & Company.

McAdams, D. P., & Bowman, P. J. (2001). Narrating life's turning points: Redemption and contamination. In D. P. McAdams, R. Josselson & A. Leiblich (Eds.) *Turns in the Road: Narrative Studies of Lives in Transition* (pp. 3-34). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

McAdams, D. P. (2012). Exploring psychological themes through life story accounts. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Varieties of narrative analysis* (pp. 15-32). London:Sage.

McDonald, G. J., & Moore, R. J. (1978). Sex-role self-concepts of homosexual men and their attitudes toward both women and male homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 4(1), 3-14.

Messner, M. A. (1997). *Politics of masculinities: Men in movements*. Altamira Press.

Metcalf, A., & Humphries, M. (1985). *The sexuality of men*. London: Pluto Press.

Meyer, I. H., & Meyer, I. H. (1995). Minority stress and mental health in gay men. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 36(1), 38.

Mischel, W. (1970). Sex-typing and socialization. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), *Manual of child psychology* (pp. 3-72) New York: Wiley.

Moradi, B., Mohr, J. J., Worthington, R. L., Fassinger, R. E. (2009). Counseling psychology research on sexual (orientation) minority issues: Conceptual and methodological challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(1), 5-22.

Murray, M. (2003). Narrative psychology. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 111-131). London: Sage.

Newbury, D. (2001). Diaries and fieldnotes in the research process. *Research Issues in Art, Design and Media*, 1. Retrieved from

[http://www.wordsinspace.net/course\\_material/mrm/mrmreadings/riadmIssue1.pdf](http://www.wordsinspace.net/course_material/mrm/mrmreadings/riadmIssue1.pdf)

O'Neil, J. M., Helms, B. J., Gable, R. K., David, L., & Wrightsman, L. S. (1986). Gender-role conflict scale: College men's fear of femininity. *Sex Roles*, 14(5-6), 335-350.

Parrott, D. J. (2009). Aggression toward gay men as gender role enforcement: Effects of male role norms, sexual prejudice, and masculine gender role stress. *Journal of Personality*, 77(4), 1137-1166.

Peel, E. (2002). *Lesbian and gay awareness training: Homophobia, liberalism, and managing stereotypes*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Perez, R. M., DeBord, K. A., & Bieschke, K. J. (2000). *Handbook of counseling and psychotherapy with lesbian, gay, and bisexual clients*. American Psychological Association.

Peterson, G. T. (2011). Clubbing masculinities: Gender shifts in gay men's dance floor choreographies. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58(5), 608-625.

Pilkington, N. W., & D'Augelli, A. R. (1995). Victimization of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth in community settings. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 23(1), 34-56.

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Masculinity ideology and its correlates. In S. Oskamp and M. Costanzo (Eds.) *Gender issues in social Psychology* (pp. 85-110). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Pleck, J. H., Sonenstein, F. L., & Ku, L. C. (1993). Masculinity ideology and its correlates. In S. Oskamp and M. Costanzo (Eds.) *Gender issues in social Psychology* (pp. 85-110). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2003). *Nursing research: Principles and methods* (7th edition). Philadelphia PA: Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.

Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany: State University of New York.

Pronger, B. (1990). *The arena of masculinity: Sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Remafedi, G. (2002). Suicidality in a venue-based sample of young men who have sex with men. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 31(4), 305-310.

Renold, E. (2004). 'Other'boys: Negotiating non-hegemonic masculinities in the primary school. *Gender and Education*, 16(2), 247-265.

Richardson, N. (2009). Effeminophobia, misogyny and queer friendship: The cultural themes of Channel 4's *Playing It Straight*. *Sexualities*, 12(4), 525-544.

Ridge, D., Plummer, D., & Peasley, D. (2006). Remaking the masculine self and coping in the liminal world of the gay 'scene'. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 8(6), 501-514

Riggs, D.W., & Nair, R. D. (2012). Intersecting identities. In R. D. Nair and C. Butler (Eds.) *Intersectionality, sexuality and psychological therapies: Working with lesbian, gay and bisexual diversity* (pp. 9-30). London: BPS Blackwell.

Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Rothblum, E. D., & Rothblum, E. D. (1994). "I only read about myself on bathroom walls": The need for research on the mental health of lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 62(2), 213.

Rogers, W. S., & Rogers, R. S. (2001). *The psychology of gender and sexuality*. Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Safren, S. A., Heimberg, R. G., Safren, S. A., & Heimberg, R. G. (1999). Depression, hopelessness, suicidality, and related factors in sexual minority and heterosexual adolescents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 67(6), 859-866.

Sánchez, F. J., & Vilain, E. (2012). "Straight-acting gays": The relationship between masculine consciousness, anti-effeminacy, and negative gay identity. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 41(1), 111-119.

Sanders, R. M., Bain, J., Langevin, R., & Langevin, R. (1985). Feminine gender identity in homosexual men: How common is it? In R. Langevin (Ed.) *Erotic Preference, Gender Identity, and Aggression in Men: New Research Studies* (pp. 249-259). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Inc. Publishers.



Schope, R. D., & Eliason, M. J. (2003). Sissies and tomboys: Gender role behaviors and homophobia. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, 16(2), 73-97.

Schwartzberg, S., & Rosenberg, L. G. (1998). Being gay and being male: Psychotherapy with gay and bisexual men. In W. S. Pollack and R. F. Levant (Eds.) *New psychotherapy for men* (pp. 259-281). New York: Wiley.

Sharpe, M. J., & Heppner, P. P. (1991). Gender role, gender-role conflict, and psychological well-being in men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 38(3), 323.

Shaw, E., Butler, C. A., Langdrige, D., Gibson, S., Barker, M., Lenihan, P., das Nair, R. and Richards, C., 2012. Guidelines and literature review for psychologists working therapeutically with sexual and gender minority clients. London: British Psychological Society.

Shelton, K., Delgado - Romero, E. A., Shelton, K., & Delgado-Romero, E. (2011). Sexual orientation microaggressions: The experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer clients in psychotherapy. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 58(2), 210-221.

Sinfield, A. (1994). *The Wilde century*. London: Cassell.

Sinn, J. S. (1997). The predictive and discriminant validity of masculinity ideology. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 31(1), 117-135.

Spence, J. T., & Helmreich, R. L. (1978). *Masculinity & femininity: Their psychological dimensions, correlates, and antecedents*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Stark, L. P. (1991). Traditional gender role beliefs and individual outcomes: An exploratory analysis. *Sex Roles*, 24(9-10), 639-650.

Squire, C., Andrews, M., & Tamboukou, M. (2008). Introduction: What is narrative research? In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.) *Doing narrative research* (pp. 41-63).

Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Taylor, A. (1983). Conceptions of masculinity and femininity as a basis for stereotypes of male and female homosexuals. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 9(1), 37-53.

Taywaditep, K. J. (2001). Marginalization among the marginalized. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 42(1) 1-28.

Thompson Jr, E. H., Grisanti, C., & Pleck, J. H. (1985). Attitudes toward the male role and their correlates. *Sex Roles*, 13(7-8), 413-427.

Thompson, E. H., & Pleck, J. H. (1986). The structure of male role norms. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29(5), 531-543.

Thompson, E., & Pleck, J. H. (1995). Masculinity ideologies: A review of research instrumentation on men and masculinities. *A New Psychology of Men*, 129-163.

US Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, Criminal Information Services Division, & United States of America. (2011). *Hate crime statistics 2010*. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Wells, K. (2011). *Narrative inquiry (pocket guides to social work research methods)*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Whitam, F. L. (1977). Childhood indicators of male homosexuality. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 6(2), 89-96.

White, E. (1980). The political vocabulary of homosexuality. In L. Michaels and C. Ricks (Eds.) *The State of the Language* (pp. 235-246). Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT: SECTION C

Appendix of Supporting Material

### Appendix A- Literature search strategy

Keyword searches using electronic online databases (PsychInfo; Web of Knowledge; Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts; CINAHL with Full Text EBSCO; PMC National Institutes of Health National Library of Medicine) were conducted. The final search took place on 01/07/14. The following terms were used;

The following search terms were combined in finding papers:

Primary search terms	Combined with (and)
LGB* or	gender non conform* or
LG* or	gender nonconform* or
gay or	gender nonconform or
homosex* or	effemin* or
queer or	feminin* or
fag* or	non masculin* or
poof	non-masculin* or
	camp or
	siss* or
	queen

Colloquial, slang and homophobic search terms were used after finding a paper entitled 'Everyday Joe' versus 'Pissy Bitchy Queens' (Clarkson, 2006).

PsychInfo mapped terms were used for the words 'gay, and 'homosexuality.'

Additional papers were found using the search engine Google Scholar, searching reference sections of articles and exploring database-suggested related papers. Abstracts of papers were read to determine relevance.

**Search criteria/ limits** were that papers be published after the year 2001 and in English.

## Appendix B- Article summary table

Author/ Year	Title	Research question/ aim	Design	Participants/ data source	Results/ findings
Annes & Redlin (2012)	The careful balance of gender and sexuality: Rural gay men, the heterosexual matrix, and "effeminophobia".	To explore rural gay male experience.	Cross-cultural study, capturing participants' experiences through life stories.	30 rurally-raised gay men in Southwest France and North America.	<p>After growing up in rural cultures, these gay men tend to adopt similar hetero-centred ideas about masculinity.</p> <p>Masculinity more problematic for participants than sexuality. Most Ps accept their homosexuality, BUT evaluated effeminacy negatively- effeminophobia.</p> <p>P'S believed EGM reinforced societal connotations of effeminacy and homosexuality</p> <p>Ideas of gender appeared coercive and disciplinary as they homogenize rural gay men's discourse and masculine identities.</p>
Blashill and Powlishta (2009)	The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men	Are negative evaluations of gay men by predominantly heterosexual males based on sexual orientation or real/ perceived gender role violations?	<p>Experimental</p> <p>Ps read vignettes- describing either masculine, feminine acting males of gay, heterosexual or unspecified sexual orientation.</p> <p>5 questions- rated targets on likeability, extent they would avoid them, how boring they are, intelligence and desire to share problem solving task.</p>	177 male undergraduate males (mean age 19. 51 years) at a urban, private, Jesuit institution	<p>Feminine targets rated more critically than masculine.</p> <p>Gay targets rated more critically than heterosexual and unspecified.</p> <p>Support hypothesis that femininity and homosexuality as independently impacting ratings.</p>
Blashill and Powlishta (2012)	Effects of gender-related domain violations and sexual orientation on perceptions of male and female targets: An analogue study	To identify factors that influence factors that influence heterosexual male and female raters' evaluations of targets who are gay or heterosexual who display varying gender roles in multiple domains.	<p>Experimental</p> <p>P's read vignettes describing one of 24 target types, Vignettes described gender role traits in 3 domains- activities, traits and appearance. P's rated target on possession of positive and negative characteristics, psychological adjustment and P's anticipated comfort/ behaviour towards target.</p>	305 undergraduate students (116 male, 189 female) at Midwestern Jesuit university. Average age 19.47 years, 75% Caucasian. Only 3.6% identifying as non-heterosexual.	Gender atypical appearance and activity (but not traits) attitudes were rated more negatively than gender typical counterparts. Male P's viewed gay male targets as less desirable than lesbian and heterosexual male targets.

			MANOVA		
Choi, Herdman, Fuqua and Newman (2011)	Gender Role Conflict and Gender- Role Orientation in a sample of gay men	To examine the relationship between gender role dimensions and dimensions of gender role conflict.	<p>Web-based survey.</p> <p>Measures- Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) short-form- (Bem, 1981) 30 items including femininity scale items inc. “compassionate, gentle, understanding” and</p> <p>Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS) (O’Neal et al., 1986) 37 items- 4 subscales- a) success, power, competition, b) restrictive emotion c) restrictive affectionate behaviour d) conflict between work and family relations</p> <p>Exploratory factor analysis conducted on subscale scores, alongside correlation analysis and multiple regression analysis.</p>	<p>400 gay men from 39 US states.</p> <p>Majority single (57%) or monogamous (35%) 89% between late teens and 50.</p>	<p>Regression of 3 BRSI scores (femininity, social masculinity, personal masculinity) on 4 subscale scores of GRCS indicates gender role conflict most strongly and positively associated with negative aspect of masculinity – social masculinity- accounting for 11% of variability in social masculinity scores.</p> <p>Success-power-competition dimension of GRCS was major predictor of social masculinity in gay men</p> <p>GRCS strongly negatively associated with femininity, accounting for 10% of variance in femininity scored among men in the sample.</p>
Clarkson (2006)	“Everyday Joe” versus “prstereotype”an issy, bitchy, queens”: Gay masculinity on StraightActing.com	To explore how a straight acting male identity is positioned in opposition to cultural stereotypes of gay men that conflate femininity with homosexuality.	Discourse analysis of discussion forums on straightacting.com a website for men “more masculine than the effeminate stereotype” analysis	10 (unmoderated) discussion forums on straightacting.com focused on bodily performance of gender and how these bodily performances visually depict sexuality.	<p>Straight-acting gay men model masculinity on working-class aesthetics.</p> <p>Masculinity is dependent upon a high degree of anti-femininity and homophobia.</p> <p>Gender performances deemed “in your face gayness” are rejected.</p> <p>Hegemonic masculinity is reinscribed through their marginalisation of women and other gay men.</p>
Cohen, Hall and Tuttle (2009)	Attitudes towards stereotypical versus counter-stereotypical gay men and lesbians	Do attitudes held by heterosexual men and women about homosexual targets vary as a function of targets perceived	<p>Experimental</p> <p>Two between-subject factors (participant sex and target sex) and one within-subjects factor (target personality- masculine or feminine).</p>	<p>56 heterosexual college students (25 men and 31 women).</p> <p>University of North</p>	Both male and female Ps rated masculine targets perceived as more masculine and less feminine than feminine targets, and female P’s differentiated less between masculine and feminine personality than male Ps.



		stereotypicality ?	<p>P’s presented with fictitious personality surveys on two male or female homosexual students.</p> <p>Personality conveyed through descriptions of interests, extracurricular activities, personality traits and academic major.</p> <p>8 rating scales assessing liking , similarity, stereotypicality, perceived masculinity / femininity</p> <p>Analysed using repeated measures ANOVAs</p>	Carolina, Chapel Hill USA)	<p>Male Ps rated themselves more similar to masc targets, female Ps more similar to feminine.</p> <p>Masc lesbians and Effeminate gay men were rated more stereotypical than other targets.</p> <p>Male Ps liked masc gay target more than effeminate (significant) , marginal preference for feminine gay male target for female Ps. Female P’s liked both lesbian targets more than men liked them. Male and female P’s liked feminine lesbian targets more than masc lesbian targets,</p> <p>Regardless of target sex , female Ps felt more similar to feminine target, and correlated weekly (non-significantly) with liking scores</p>
Glick, Gangl, Klumpner, and Weinberg (2007)	Defensive reactions to masculinity threats: more negative effect towards feminine (but not masculine) gay men	<p>Gay men may be viewed as violating two types of gender norms- <b>sexuality</b> and <b>personality</b></p> <p>Focus on affective response to different “types” of gay men</p> <p>Predict more negative response to effeminate gay men (EGM) than masculine gay men (MGM) and ratings of EGM to be more negative when raters experience <b>masculine threat</b></p>	<p>Experimental</p> <p>Dummy computer-based ‘personality test’ using Bem 30-item sex role inventory</p> <p><b>Independent variable</b></p> <p>Randomly assigned sex role result either masc or fem- manipulating masculine threat</p> <p><b>Dependent variable</b></p> <p>Rating intensity of emotions- positive and negative 1(not at all) to 7 (extremely).</p>	<p>51 male undergrads</p> <p>48 heterosexual</p> <p>2 gay</p> <p>1 bisexual</p> <p>Midwestern USA</p>	<p><b>Analysis</b></p> <p>3 factors from emotional ratings accounted for the most variance in EGM (63%)and MGM (53%)</p> <p>Led to the formation of three scales- fear, intimidation and discomfort.</p> <p>2 (EGM/ MGM)x2 (masculinity threat/no threat) X 3 (fear/intimidation/ discomfort) MANOVER.</p> <p><b>Results</b></p> <p>“Type” of homosexual significant in ratings</p> <p>Masculinity threat not significant</p> <p>Masculinity threat x type of homosexual significant</p> <p>EGM elicited more negative affect from Ps in masculine threat condition than MGM.</p>
Govorun, Fuegen and Payne (2006)	Stereotypes focus defensive projections	Four studies illustrating how stereotypes guide and justify projecting	<p><b>Study 1</b></p> <p>Attributes of intelligence and</p>	<p><b>Study 1</b></p> <p>132 students (39</p>	<p><b>Study 1</b></p> <p>participants activated stereotypical traits related to</p>

		<p>specific traits onto specific groups of people</p>	<p>leadership in the stereotype of sorority women</p> <p>P's report whether part of sorority/ fraternity,</p> <p>5 min writing task. Half then prompted to describe either a time of success , other half failure, in either an intellectual or leadership task. 2 x2 (outcome x domain) between p design.</p> <p>P's then listed traits associated with sorority women in 5 mins. These were coded.</p> <p>ANOVA</p> <p><b>Study 2</b></p> <p>Focus on stereotypes of athletes. 50% p's asked to describe a time they or acquaintance failed at intellectual task.</p> <p>50% describe typical day of theirs or acquaintance. (control)</p> <p>Both presented with traits descriptive of student athletes, participants rating whether they agree or disagree with statements.</p> <p>ANOVA</p> <p><b>Study 3</b></p> <p>Experimental questionnaire. First part-half participants describe intellectual failings, other half describe typical day.</p>	<p>women, 93 men)</p> <p><b>Study 2</b></p> <p>121 introductory psychology students (79 women, 42 men)</p> <p><b>Study 3</b></p> <p>86 students (46 women, 37 men) in a stereotyping and prejudice class</p> <p>4% black 82% white</p> <p><b>Study 4</b></p> <p>186 students (52 women, 52 men)</p>	<p>dimensions in which they felt threatened.</p> <p><b>Study 2</b></p> <p>p's recalling own intellectual failings were faster to identify traits implying lack of intelligence in athletes. Those describing intellectual failings in others has same response time as control.</p> <p><b>Study 3</b></p> <p>Tyrone was rated more favourably than Eric in stereotype-irrelevant traits and hostility rating- explained as Ps not wishing to appear prejudiced.</p> <p>In intelligence ratings, those under threat conditions rated Tyrone significantly less intelligent than in control condition. This shows Ps only derogated a stereotyped target only on the dimension of threat.</p> <p><b>Study 4</b></p> <p>Significant threat x target interaction found, only in domain of intelligence, again with black target Tyrone rated as less intelligent in threat condition, than condition, whereas Eric was rated simliarly across conditions.</p>
--	--	---	---	---	---

			<p>Next P's read a diary entry of a student. Prompted to form a question of how typical it is of a day. Prior to reading account, half P's informed paragraph was about a black man , Tyrone, other half told it was about a white man called Eric.</p> <p>P's rated students on 18 traits related to intelligence, hostility and stereotype-irrelevance (shy, sociable). ANOVA.</p> <p><b>Study 4</b></p> <p>Experimental surveys completed in groups of 20-30.</p> <p>Threat condition- read a statement suggesting that students participating in experiments tend to be academic underachievers. But that less is known about their personality traits. Control condition- no statement.</p> <p>P's then read paragraph describing a black of white target, rated by P's as in study 3. ANOVA</p>		
Hanlon (2009)	Killer Queens: Screen representations of the gay psychopath	How have the cinematic representations of the Killer Queen (gay psychopath) changed?	Descriptive summary of criminality and sexuality of Killer Queen characters in several films.	5 films/ series reviewed - The Talented Mr Ripley (1999) Rope (1948) Strangers on a train (1951) Brideshead revisited (1981) Dr. No (1962)	Kinder depictions of the "Killer Queen" character exists in cinema today- due more to sensitive portrayal of homosexuality than sympathetic approach to mental health.
Horn (2007)	Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on	Exploring adolescent judgments about the acceptability of same-sex	P's rated acceptability of relationships varied in sexual orientation (straight, gay or lesbian) and their conformity to	264 heterosexual male and female 10th- and 12th-	Pupils of both sexes rated gender-role violations of physical appearance as less desirable than gender-role violations of activity.

	sexual orientation and gender expression.	peers	gender conventions or norms in regard to appearance and mannerisms or activity	grade students	
Kilianski (2003)	Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity	How can heterosexual men's hostility towards women and gay men be explained?	<p>Experimental design</p> <p>Scales completed by Ps incl;</p> <p>My multiple selves questionnaire (important elements of identity)</p> <p>Ambivalent sexism questionnaire (measuring benevolent sexism and hostile sexism)</p> <p>Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale</p> <p>Social dominance orientation (SDO) scale- predicts social and political attitudes</p> <p>Attitudes Towards Gays and Lesbians Scale (ATLG)</p> <p>Masculine Gender Role Stress (MRNS)- captures masculine ideology dimensions of toughness, status and anti-femininity.</p> <p>Rated applicability to self of 35 adjectives (19 masc, 19 fem) from sex stereotypically index (SSI) 4 positive valenced, ""adventurous" 4 negatively valenced "coarse" and 4 neutral "emotional"</p>	<p>121 undergraduate heterosexual males (psychology classes)</p> <p>Mean age 19.3</p> <p>NJ, USA</p>	<p>Correlations among variables</p> <p><b>Results</b></p> <p>The idealised masculine self component of the exclusively masculine identity (EMI) is supported as a valid psychological construct, through correlations with attitudes gay men and women, though first order correlations are quite weak. This may relate to restricted range of relatively favourable attitudes found in a liberal college (may not be representative of general population)</p>
Logan (2010)	Personal characteristics, sexual behaviours and male sex work:	To conduct the first quantitative analysis of male sex workers in the US in order to test	<p>Quantitative analysis of assembled dataset.</p> <p>Hedonic regression , assesses price of</p>	Dataset assembled on 1,932 male sex workers from largest online male	Consistent with hegemonic masculinity, male escorts who advertise masculine behaviour charge higher prices than escorts who advertise less masculine behaviour.

	A quantitative approach	sociological theories of gender and masculinity.	particular good/ service based upon its characteristics.	sex worker website  Information collected on escort physical attributes. Prices and location.	Race and sexual behaviour interactions (black + top = premium rates, black +bottom= financial penalisation) exert a strong influence on prices charged by male sex workers, confirming intersectionality theory.
Parrott (2009)	Aggression toward gay men as gender role enforcement: Effects of male role norms, sexual prejudice and masculine gender role stress.	Examining sexual prejudice and masculine gender role stress as mediators of the relations between male gender norms and anger/aggression towards gay men	Participants completed measures of adherence to male gender role norms, sexual prejudice, masculine gender role stress and state anger.  P's viewed video depicting intimate relationship between 2 gay men, reporting state anger and completed a lab aggression task against either a heterosexual or gay male.  Multivariate ANOVA	150 self-identified heterosexual undergraduate men.	Adhering to the status and anti-femininity norm exerted indirect effect, also through sexual prejudice, on physical aggression towards gay , but not heterosexual, men. Supports aggression towards gay men being enforcement of gender role enforcement.
Peterson (2011)	Clubbing masculinities: Gender shifts in gay men's dance floor choreography	Exploring the impact of perception of cultural homophobia on the popular choreographies of gay men's dance, with specific focus on LA nightclub TigerHeat.	Interdisciplinary approach.  Emotional recall, ethnographic fieldwork and sociohistorical analysis.	Ethnographic observations based on personal experience in gay dance clubs in southern California 1998-2000, notes from other ethnographic fieldwork, informal interviews, documentary material, demographic data, fieldnotes on music styles and dance patterns.	Whereas flamboyant dance and female-vocal based music are found during periods of gay liberation (e.g. disco) more masculinised dance aesthetics correspond to periods of political and religious conservatism. TigerHeat, represents a place accommodating re-feminised dance aesthetic, where effeminate expressions are celebrated, not punished.
Richardson (2009)	Effeminophobia, misogyny and queer friendship: The cultural themes of Channel 4's Playing	To consider a recent television show which develops the theme of de-sexualised gay identification.	Analysis of themes in British TV series Playing in Straight- not textual but focused on the cultural themes of effeminophobia, misogyny and queer friendship "queer" friendship	Analysis of Channel 4 dating show "Playing It Straight" in which female contestant must	Richardson concludes that the show's format is not homophobic but rather effeminophobic, where demonstrations of masculinity result in success.  The article also analysis the misogyny in homosocial

	It Straight		contained in shows narrative, and issues of gay representation.	select a partner from 10 suitors. Not all the suitors are heterosexual.	bonding in New Lad culture and the safe eroticism of friendships between heterosexual women and gay men.
Ridge, Plummer and Peasley (2006)	Remaking the masculine self and coping in the liminal world of the gay "scene."	Investigating social transitions, constructions of masculinity and coping among gay men in gay commercialised spaces	Modified inductive grounded theory approach used to analyse interview data from two previous studies. Using socially –specific phenomena to derive concepts and themes from date.	Findings derived from 2 qualitative studies (samples 24 and 12 men) same-sex attracted men (aged 19-26) in Melbourne Australia. 5-9 years difference between datasets.  Original study investigated sexual safety, addition interview conducted in 2002 to "deepen analysis" using core theme of transition.	"coming out" recast by author as a passage into a "new world" and "new self." Notions of self are challenged on scene and men enter states of liminality (between states) as they reconstruct themselves. New ways of performing (including performing masculinities) can be tried through ritualistic behaviour.  Successful performances of masculinity promote social acceptance, those expressing less valued forms of masculinity can struggle harder. Internalised homophobia can influence rituals and contribute to sense of being a "perpetual outsider."
Sanchez and Vilain (2012)	"Straight-acting gays": The relationship between masculine consciousness, anti-effeminacy and negative gay identity	To assess importance of masculinity amongst gay men, to compare ideal vs perceived masculinity-femininity, to ask how gay men assess masculinity, do masculinity consciousness and anti-effeminacy	Online survey  IP addresses monitored to minimise repeat submissions  Measures included Masculine Consciousness Scale and Negative Attitude Towards Effeminacy(2001) and 4 subscales of Lesbian and Gay Identity (Mohr and Fassinger, 2000)  Measures for importance of masculinity, real and ideal masculinity and assessing masculinity were constructed by researchers.	751 US gay male adults (mean age 32.64 years)	Most gay men rated masculinity important in themselves and in partners.  Most Ps wished they were more masculine than they perceived themselves to be.  Behaviour was more important than looks in assessing masculinity.  Multiple regression analysis found preoccupation with masculinity and anti-effeminacy accounted for 30% of variance in negative feelings about being gay.
Schope & Eliason (2003)	Sissies and tomboys: Gender role	This paper examines whether prejudice by	Respondents given questionnaires which included either gay-acting or	204 undergraduate students- 63 male	While gender role characteristics were found to be an important aspect of negative attitudes and

	behaviours and homophobia.	heterosexuals against homosexuals is associated with violations of socially determined gender role behaviours.	straight-acting gay and lesbian vignettes and asked to indicate their comfort level, attitudes and behaviours in specific situations	and 141 female participants. 86% white, 6% African American	behaviours toward gay men and lesbians, the most important predictor of homophobia is the mere fact that an individual is known to be homosexual  Males rated EGM targets significantly lower than MGM targets in just one of 15 outcome measures; desire to invite the target into their social circle
Taywaditep (2001)	Marginalisation amongst the marginalised: Gay men's anti-effeminacy values	Review of anti-effeminacy views in and outside the gay population.	Literature review  Sets up rationale for future study looking at correlates.	Previous studies and historical accounts of non-masculine gay experience.	Suggests 2 correlates for anti-effeminacy attitudes.  <b>Masculinity consciousness</b>  (self-monitoring, self-consciousness, self-concept) and <b>hegemonic masculine ideology</b>
Valentova, J (2013)	Preferences for facial and vocal masculinity in homosexual men : the role of relationship status, sexual restrictiveness, and self-perceived masculinity	To study male preferences in homosexual attraction	Experimental design.  Two groups of P's – gay men and heterosexual women (androphilic groups).  Rated attractiveness and masculinity-femininity of facial images (58 men) and vocal recordings (30 men)  Mann-Whitney U tests for differences between targets in judged attractiveness.  Preferences analysed using Spearman's correlations.	Prague, Czech Republic  51 heterosexual women (mean age 24.8)  33 homosexual men (mean age 28.7)	Vocal masculinity and attractiveness were positively correlated, but not with facial masculinity.  When taking into account rater demographics, significant preference for masculine voices found only in homosexual men and coupled heterosexual women, whereas preference for feminine male faces found in couple homosexual men.  Men describing themselves as significantly masculine preferred masculine voices but also more feminine faces.  Conditional male preferences are not restricted to heterosexual interactions and homosexual partners may prefer a mixture of masculine and feminine traits.

**Appendix C- Interview schedule****The Life Story Interview (Adapted).****i) Consent form / information**

Before we proceed with the interview, can I just ask that you read through this consent form and sign it.

I'd like to remind you that everything said today will be anonymised in the write up, so please feel free to speak with openness.

If you feel you need a break at any point, please let me know.

**ii) Introduction**

I'd like to start the interview by asking you to introduce yourself. Your name, age and what it is that you do for a living. If there's anything else you think it would be important for me to know about you, I invite you to share that too.

**iii) Interest in the study**

Can you say a little about what drew you to the study? What was it about the topic area or yourself?

**iv) Definition of non-masculine**

I'm interested in gay men's experiences of what I'll be describing as sex role; so how they relate to concepts such as masculinity. Can you say a little about your relationship with the term "masculine." How it is that you define / view yourself and why?

Does this feel important/ significant to yourself and others, and if so can you describe in what way?

**v) Intro To Narrative**

For the most part, I'll be using something called a narrative approach for this interview. It's essentially a way of capturing people's experiences through their stories. This may feel different from previous interviews you've had, in that I will try not to interrupt you once you begin. So rest assured that just because I'm quiet does not mean you're doing anything wrong.

If I do have specific questions, I'll make a note of them and ask them towards the end of the interview.

I would ask that you do keep in mind that my research is focused on gay men and their sex role however you may choose to define that. So it would be helpful if you said something about this, where appropriate.



Do you have any questions at all?

**vi) Life chapters**

I want you to think about your life as a book. Each part of your life composes a chapter in the book. Though the book is unfinished it probably already contains interesting and well-defined chapters.

Break up your life into its major chapters, and briefly describe the contents of each chapter. I'd suggest a minimum of two or three chapters and a maximum of seven or eight. Give each chapter a name, and describe the transition from one chapter to another.

I don't expect you to tell me the whole story, but rather an outline of the story. I'm going to suggest we spent around 30 minutes on this part of the interview, so that might give you some idea of the level of detail to go into. Start whenever you feel ready.

**vii) Significant Events**

I'm going to ask you about eight key events. By key events I mean a specific moment in your life that stands out for some reason. A specific happening, critical incident or a significant episode in your life that took place at a particular time and place count as a key event.

So, for example, recalling a particular conversation with a friend when you were twelve or a decision you made one afternoon last summer count as key events; they are particular moments in a time and place, complete with particular characters, actions, thoughts and feelings.

An entire summer holiday, or a good or bad year does not count as a key event, because these take place over an extended period of time, and are more like life chapters.

For each event, describe in detail what happened, where you were, who was involved, what they did and what you were thinking and feeling at the time. Because these are key events, try to think about the impact they had on your life story. What does this event say about who you were or are as a person. Did the event change you in any way and if so how?

**a) High Point**

The first key event I would like you to describe is a high point in your life; the most wonderful moment in your life.

**b) Low Point**

Now tell me about a low point in your life, the worst moment in your life.

**c) Turning Point**

Can you tell me about an episode during which you underwent a significant change in your understanding of yourself. You may not have realised at the time that it was a turning point, but in retrospect you do, or you, at the very least, symbolic of a significant change in your life.

**d) Earliest Memory**

Could you share one of the earliest memories that you have of an event that is complete. By this I mean a memory where you are able to recollect the setting, scene, characters, feelings and thoughts. It doesn't have to be an important memory, just the earliest you can think of.

**e) Important childhood memory**

Share any memory of an event from your childhood, positive or negative, that stands out today.

**f) Important adolescent memory**

Could you do the same with an event that stands out from your teenage years, up to the age of 18? Again it can be either positive or negative in nature.

**g) Important adult memory**

Can you describe an important event, again either negative or positive you experienced as adult, from the age of 18 onwards.

**h) Any other important event**

Share one other particular event from your past that stands out. It can be from any time in your life, recent or from long ago. It too can be positive or negative.

**viii) Life Challenge**

All life stories include difficulties. Please describe two areas of your life currently where you are experiencing either a major conflict, significant stress, or a difficult challenge or problem that needs to be addressed.

For each of the two, please describe the nature of the stress, conflict or problem in some detail and , outlining the source of the concern, a brief history of its development and you plan, if any, for dealing with it in the future.

**ix) Significant people**

Every person's life story is populated by a few significant people who have a major impact on the narrative. These can include, but are not limited, to parents, siblings, lovers, spouses, children, friends, teachers, colleagues and mentors.

I'd like you to describe **four** of the most significant characters in your life story; at least one of these people should not be related to you.

After describing these people, tell me about any **heroes or heroines** you have.

**x) Future plot**

We've talked a bit about your past and present; I'd like you now to consider the future. I'd like you to describe your overall plan, outline or dream for the future. These can change over time, so I'd like you to focus on the goals, hopes, aspirations and interests you have currently.

**xi) personal ideology**

- a) I want to ask about your fundamental beliefs and values. Could you describe your religious or spiritual beliefs? Consider if they are different to those around you in any way.
- b) Have you experienced changes in your religious beliefs? If so, explain these?
- c) Do you have a particular political orientation, could you explain this to me?
- d) What is the most important value in human living? Explain.
- e) What else can you tell me that would help me understand your most fundamental beliefs and values about life and the world.

**xii) Life theme**

Today we've looked back over your life story as a book with chapters, key events, and characters. Can you discern a central theme, message, or idea that runs throughout the story? What is the major theme in your life? Explain it to me.

**xiii) Other people's stories**

We've spent some time exploring your story. Could you describe any stories outside your own experience you've heard about gay men who are seen as non-masculine that stand out? These may be stories of real people, fictional characters, rumours or stereotypes. They may be positive or negative. Give a brief overview of any that come to mind.

How do you relate to these stories?

**xiv) Questions/ areas unaddressed**

Is there anything you had hoped to be asked about, or given the chance to discuss, during the interview, that hasn't yet been addressed?

I invite you to talk about that now.

**xv) Interviewer**

What was your experience of me as interviewer, and what ideas did you form about me? How do you think this impacted the way you engaged or things you said.

**xvi) Wellbeing**

How do you feel after the interview? How would you describe your mood?

If you do experience difficult emotions after this interview, how might you take care of yourself?

A resource you may find helpful if you wished to discuss difficult feelings anonymously is the London Lesbian and Gay Switchboard on 0300 330 0630. They are open from 10am to 11pm every day, and offer both phone counselling and signposting to men's groups and services.

Thank you for your participation.

## Appendix D- Recruitment poster (anonymised)

ARE YOU A GAY  
MAN



WHO VIEWS  
HIMSELF AS



NON-MASCULINE ?

I'm a trainee psychologist conducting research\* in this area and would like to hear how you came to this self-definition and what it means to you.

Your participation may contribute to our understanding of gay men's lives, and would be greatly appreciated. All interview data is anonymised prior to write-up.

If you are over 18 and wish to be interviewed about your experiences, please e mail [REDACTED] on [REDACTED] for further information.

\*This study has been approved by the Canterbury Christ Church ethics panel.

**Appendix E- Independent Research Review Panel approval letter**

*THIS HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THE ELECTRONIC COPY*

**Appendix F- Information sheet (anonymised)****Information Sheet about the Research Project**

**Study title in simple English** Narratives of gender nonconforming gay men.

My name is [REDACTED] and I am a trainee clinical psychologist at Salomons, Canterbury Christ Church University. I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you.

Talk to others about the study if you wish.

(Part 1 tells you the purpose of this study and what will happen to you if you take part. Part 2 gives you more detailed information about the conduct of the study).

**What is the purpose of the study?**

The purpose of this study is to explore your experiences as a gay man who self-defines as non-masculine. I want to hear the story of how you came to this self-definition, and what it means to you. I'm interested to hear if being non-masculine is something that seems quite fixed, or if it varies in different situations and why that may be. I'd like to hear your view of society's gender-role values, and how you relate to these, and similarly gender-role values within the gay community. Capturing your accounts of challenges and strengths in your life related to your gender-role is another important aspect of the study.

**Why have I been invited?**

I aim to interview gay males who self-define as non-masculine. This is the population the study is interested in. I will interview all of you in the same way.

**Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide to join the study. If you agree to take part, I will then ask you to sign a consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. You may also request a break during the interview if you wish.

**What will happen to me if I take part?**

- You will be interviewed by me. This will last from an hour to 90 minutes.
- This interview will take place in a pre-arranged meeting room.
- The interview will be audio-recorded.
- There may be a need for a follow up interview at a later date, which would be optional – by taking part you would not be committing yourself to do this as well.

**Expenses and payments**

Travel expenses can be reimbursed to a maximum amount of £10.

**What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**

You may find the interview uncomfortable in places, particularly if discussing more difficult periods in your life. You have no obligation to complete the interview if you find this too

distressing. You are also able to take a break during the interview if you feel this would be helpful.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

This study may help increase understanding of the different experiences of gay men who view themselves as non-masculine, including difficulties and ways of coping.

**What if there is a problem?**

Any complaint about the way you have been dealt with during the study or any possible harm you might suffer will be addressed. If difficult feelings are stirred up by the interview, we will discuss these as part of a debrief. Helpline and support group details will also be provided, should further input be needed.

This completes part 1.

*If the information in Part 1 has interested you and you are considering participation, please read the additional information in Part 2 before making any decision.*



## Part 2 of the information sheet

### What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you withdraw from the study, we would like to use the data collected up to your withdrawal. If you do not wish for this information to be used, you can request this data be omitted from the study.

### Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Audio recordings will be stored securely and destroyed after they are transcribed. Transcripts of the recording will be anonymised. You will not be identifiable in the research write-up. The data will be stored securely for 10 years.  
PLEASE NOTE: Audio recording will begin from just before we meet for interview. This is to protect both your and my safety.

### What will happen to the results of the research study?

The research may be published in a journal. As stated, your input will be anonymised, but quotes from the interview may be used, if they capture a point well. Names of places and other people mentioned will also be anonymised, to protect your identity. Anonymised interview data is also likely to be shared by the project supervisors, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

### Who is organising and funding the research?

Funding is provided by Canterbury Christ Church University (CCU). I am also receiving input from supervisors both at [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

### Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and given favourable opinion by Canterbury Christ Church University Research Ethics Committee.

### Further information and contact details

Should you have any further questions or concerns about this research please feel free to contact me on [REDACTED]. Alternatively a message can be left on the research department voicemail on [REDACTED], please ensure that you state your name, contact details and specify that your message is regarding [REDACTED] research project.

Should you wish to make a complaint, this can be directed to [REDACTED] at [REDACTED] or on [REDACTED].

**Appendix G- Consent form (anonymised)****CONSENT FORM**

Narratives of gender nonconforming gay men

Name of Researcher: [REDACTED]

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated.....for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my legal rights being affected.

3. I understand that relevant sections of my data collected during the study may be looked at (in anonymous form) by the project supervisors, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

4. I agree that anonymous quotes from my interview may be used in published reports of the study findings

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name of person taking consent \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix H- Interview transcripts (anonymised)**

*THIS HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THE ELECTRONIC COPY*

**Appendix I- Content analysis subtexts**

*THIS HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THE ELECTRONIC COPY*

Appendix J- Content analysis- identification of preliminary categories (sample)

is this same as threat & danger?

**DISCRIMINATION / PREJUDICE**  
( UNDERESTIMATED AT WORK )  
DATING / SPORT

**APPEASEMENT /** → **EMPOWERMENT /**  
SUBMISSIVE / COMPROMISED IDENTITY / SECT. → shift 2 equality

**STRENGTH / SOCIAL ROLES.** ~~SELF ACCEPTANCE~~

- HUMOUR.
- SOCIAL COHESION
- SUBTLE POWER.

THEORISED FUNCTION / ORIGIN OF EFFEMINACY

APPRAISALS OF EFFEMINACY (VALUE):

**EXCLUSION / SEPARATEDNESS**

- BELONGING
- SELF ACCEPTANCE
- CLOSNESS TO WOMEN
- EROTICISED) DESIRABILITY OF MASC.
  - ↳ disappointed next week
  - ↳ disappointed by frailty in men,

↳ RECALLED. ↳ shifts in gender role

incentivise rewarded defeminisation /

- PARTICIPANT JUDGMENT / masculinisation e.g. Balwinder - prestigious
- ACCEPTANCE / RESPECT OF MASC. HETEROSEXUALITY - Jacob - close to dad
- POSITIVE EXPERIENCE / RESPONSE TO EFFEMINACY - Peter - career - Son - listens to

speech hearing

do people have?

**Appendix K- Content analysis identified categories**

Table 1

*Main data category: Varying definitions and domains of non-masculine expressions*

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY		ITEMS/ CODES
DIFFERENT LANGUAGE USED TO DESCRIBE GENDER EXPRESSION	EFFEMINACY		TERM "NON MASCULINE" USED INTERCHANGEABLY WITH "FEMININE" (BALWINDER)
			EFFEMINATE AND CAMP USED INTERCHANGEABLY (SAM)
	BEING "GAY"		AVOID BEING "TOO GAY" AROUND STRAIGHT MEN (BALWINDER)
			AVOID BEING "TOO GAY" AROUND STRAIGHT MEN WHEN YOUNGER (SAM)
			CAMP AND "BEING GAY" USED INTERCHANGEABLY AND REFERS TO "PEACOCKING" (JACOB)
	NOT BEING MASCULINE		REFERS TO BEING "NOT OVERTLY MASCULINE" AND ECCENTRIC (MICHAEL)
			USES TERM "NON-MASCULINE" BUT NOT "FEMININE" TO DESCRIBE HIMSELF (CRAIG)
			DISLIKES THE TERM "MINCE" (MICHAEL)
	"FAGS AND FAIRIES" DISTINCT LABELS FOR DIFFERENT FORMS OF GENDER PRESENTATION		FAIRIES AS FEMININE, FAGS AS MASCULINE "WELL LIKE, IF I'M, IF I'M TALKING TO MY FRIENDS, UM, I'LL OFTEN DEFINE AS 'FAGS' AND 'FAIRIES,' (LAUGHS) MAINLY IN A JOKEY MANNER... A FEMININE PERSON, I WOULD DESCRIBE THEM AS A FAIRY. SO IF SOMEONE'S A FAIRY I'LL GO TO MY FRIEND 'LOOK IT'S A FAIRY, LOOK,' ...BUT IF SOMEONE'S, I CONSIDER MYSELF WHAT I WOULD DEFINE AS A 'FAG,' ... MORE MASCULINE TYPED... DRESS SENSE OR APPEARANCE." (TERRY)
DIFFERENT DOMAINS OF NON-MASCULINE GENDER EXPRESSION	APPEARANCE	SELF	DESCRIBES EXPERIMENTING WITH CROSS-DRESSING, SEPARATING THIS FROM GENDER TRAITS (PETER)
			ASSOCIATES CROSS-DRESSING WITH CREATIVITY (PETER)
			EXPERIMENTING WITH GENDER, AFFIRMED HIS BIOLOGICAL SEX (PETER)
			VIEWS SELF AS FEMININE PARTNER AS HE TAKES CARE OF APPEARANCE -LOOKING MORE "PRETTY" THAN THE AVERAGE PERSON (TERRY)
			BLEACHED PLATINUM BLONDE HAIR ASSOCIATED WITH BEING DIFFERENT (PETER)
			ECCENTRIC DRESS (MICHAEL)
		OTHERS	RAJ HAD A THIN BUILD (BALWINDER)
			EFFEMINACY COMMUNICATED THROUGH MAKEUP, POSTURE (JACOB)
			CAMP FRIEND "CONFORMING MORE TO THE FEMININE STEREOTYPE" DESCRIBED AS HAVING TIGHT FITTING JEANS, ANIMAL PRINT CLOTHES, MAKEUP, HAIRSTYLES, USE OF CURLERS (TERRY)
			MAN BAG (JACOB)
			A "GAY OUTFIT" UNDEFINED, BUT CONTRASTED TO FRIEND'S USUAL CLOTHES "HE WOULD PUT ON HIS TRACKSUIT PANTS AND HIS HOODIE AND THEN WHEN HE COMES INTO LONDON THAT GOES INTO HIS BAG

		AND OUT COMES HIS, LIKE, GAY OUTFIT" (SAM)
	<u>CONTRAST</u> MASCULINITY	MUSCULAR, BIG BUILD, QUITE TALL (TERRY) BIG MUSCLES, BEING HAIRY (PETER) PHYSICAL STRENGTH PART OF HIS MASCULINITY (SAM)
VOICE	OTHERS	EFFEMINATE FRIEND RAJ DEFINED BY PITCH AND INTONATION (BALWINDER) SPEECH OF EFFEMINATE MEN CAN HAVE HIGHER TONE, LISP (JACOB) CAMP IS LOUD (JACOB) HIGH PITCHED VOICES (TERRY)
	<u>CONTRAST</u> MASCULINITY	DEEP VOICE (TERRY)
PERSONALITY TRAITS	SELF	NURTURING, CARING AND OTHERS (MICHAEL) NON-MASCULINE TRAITS SOFT TONE, EMOTIONAL AND EMOTIONALLY DEMONSTRATIVE, ECCENTRICITY INTERPRETED AS OVERDRAMATIC / EXAGGERATED BY OTHERS SOMETIMES (MICHAEL) BEING VIEWED AS HAVING TOO MUCH ENTHUSIASM (MICHAEL) DESCRIBING A CARING MATERNAL ROLE, LOOKING UPON THOSE WEAKER THAN HIM/ SHOWING COMPASSION, ENCOURAGING OTHERS AT WORK TO GO FOR PROMOTION RATHER THAN COMPETING (CRAIG)
	OTHERS	RAJ'S EFFEMINACY DESCRIBED AS BITCHINESS AND DRAMATIC FLAIR (BALWINDER) CAMP DEFINED AS GARISH, FLAMBOYANT (JACOB) FLAMBOYANCE (TERRY)
	<u>CONTRAST-</u> MASCULINITY	TRADITIONAL MASCULINITY DEFINED AS STOICAL, RESERVED, CALM (MICHAEL) NOT A CRY BABY (PETER) AGGRESSIVE, COMPETITIVE, CAREER-DRIVEN "ALPHA MALE, TERRITORIAL IN WORKPLACE (CRAIG) ANXIOUS TO SETTLE WITH A WIFE AND REPRODUCE, WOMANISING, PERHAPS A MISTRESS (CRAIG) WORLD WISE (CRAIG) MASCULINE TRAITS IN HIMSELF INCLUDE EMOTIONAL AND PHYSICAL STRENGTH (SAM)
BEHAVIOURAL TRAITS	SELF	BEING MADE AWARE OF HIS GAIT, NOT OVERLY MASCULINE WALK BY DIRECTOR OF A PLAY. CREATED A SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT WALK NOT PREVIOUSLY THERE (MICHAEL) IN LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP, DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "WIFE"- WOULD COOK, CLEAN, ALONGSIDE WORKING AND STUDYING. (SAM)
	OTHERS	"A SWAGGER IN THEIR WALK" TERRY
INTERESTS	SELF	INTERESTS DEEMED NOT MASCULINE- ARCHITECTURE, HOME DESIGN, INTERIOR FURNITURE, FLOWERS (MICHAEL) DOES NOT RELATE TO MASCULINE EXPECTATIONS OF DIY, BEING CAREER DRIVEN, HAVING CHILDREN (CRAIG)

	CONTRAST MASCULINITY	BUILDING THINGS (PETER) BEER DRINKING, FOOTBALL FOLLOWING, INTERESTED IN FAST CARS, DIY, ELECTRONIC GADGETS (CRAIG) MASCULINE GAY MEN SPEND TIME WITH OTHER MEN, ENJOY FOOTBALL, "STEREOTYPICAL MALE THINGS" (JACOB)	
	GAY AS NON-MASCULINE	*SEE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER EXPRESSION AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION, SEX ROLE AND SEX ACTS	
	SEXUAL POSITIONING	* SEE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER EXPRESSION AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION, SEX ROLE AND SEX ACTS	
RELATIVITY OF MASCULINITY	TO OTHER GAY MEN	IN GAY FRATERNITY, NOT PERCEIVED AS OVERTLY MASCULINE. (MICHAEL) GENDER EXPRESSION WAS "NOT A PROBLEM" IN PAST BECAUSE BALWINDER FELT MORE MASCULINE THAN OTHER GAY FRIENDS – RELATIVITY OF MASCULINITY (BALWINDER)	
	NOT RELATING TO FACETS OF MASCULINITY	DOES NOT RELATE TO SOME FACETS OF MASCULINITY – BEING A PROVIDER, HAVING A CHILD, DOING DIY (CRAIG)	
	TO CULTURAL ARCHETYPES	VIEWED BY OTHERS AND HIMSELF AS NOT FITTING THE KEN ROLE OF KEN AND BARBIE (MICHAEL)	
	TO OWN EXPECTATIONS	A DIFFERENCE CAN EXIST BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF OWN GENDER EXPRESSION (MICHAEL) THOUGH DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS NON-MASCULINE, OTHERS ARE SURPRISED BY HIS HOMOSEXUALITY (TERRY) *RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER EXPRESSION, SEXUAL ORIENTATION, SEX ROLE AND SEX ACTS LGBT SOCIETY PRESIDENT UNAWARE OF OWN NON-MASCULINITY "...AND HE GENUINELY THINKS HE IS STRAIGHTER THAN ME AND HE'S NOT, HE'S GAYER THAN CHRISTMAS." (JACOB)	
	IN ATTRACTION / RELATIONSHIPS		IN LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP, DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS "WIFE" - WOULD COOK, CLEAN, ALONGSIDE WORKING AND STUDYING. (SAM)
			HOWEVER MALE PARTNER WAS NOT EARNING AS MUCH AS HIM "NOT LIKE HE BROUGHT ALL THE MONEY HOME OR ANYTHING." (SAM)
DESCRIBES HIMSELF AS THE PARTNER WHO MAKES HIMSELF "MORE PRETTY" THAN AVERAGE PERSON AND IS OFTEN IN THE BTM ROLE SEXUALLY – THE "WOMAN" (TERRY)			
ATTRACTION TO MASCULINE MEN - DESIRABILITY OF MASC TRAITS – PART REASON HE DEFINES HIMSELF AS EFFEMINATE "I'D PREFER SOMEBODY IN A RELATIONSHIP WHO WAS MORE DOMINANT AND MORE MASCULINE THAN MYSELF"			
GENDER EXPRESSION IN CONTEXT OF OVERALL IDENTITY	NOT SUM OF PERSON	SAM FEELS CAMP IS NOT HIM IN HIS ELEMENT, DOES NOT COMMUNICATE HIS STRENGTHS (SAM)	
		FRIENDS ARE AWARE THERE ARE MORE PARTS TO HIS CHARACTER THAN BEING CAMP (SAM)	
		"GAY IS AN ASPECT OF MY IDENTITY NOT MY MAIN IDENTITY" (JACOB)	
		SEXUALITY AND GENDER VERY SMALL PART OF HIS IDENTITY. DOES NOT FEEL BEING GAY DEFINES YOU. (MICHAEL)	
	NOT OF IMPORTANCE	TOO BUSY TO CONSIDER BOXES/ CATEGORIES HE BELONGS TO (PETER)	



Table 2

Main data category: Gender expression as multi-faceted and unfixed

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES
HAVING BOTH MASCULINE AND FEMININE TRAITS	SELF	EMBODYING BOTH EFFEMINATE AND MASCULINE TRAITS – QUANTIFYING THIS (JACOB)
		CAMP DEFINED AS EXISTING BETWEEN MASCULINITY AND EFFEMINACY (JACOB)
		ADOPTING BOTH TOP AND BOTTOM SEXUAL ROLES (TERRY)
		A GREY AREA WHERE BOTH MASCULINE AND NON-MASCULINE TRAITS ARE HELD (CRAIG)
	IDENTIFIES HIS OWN MASCULINE TRAITS – ABLE TO PROVIDE FOR HIMSELF, OWN FLAT (CRAIG)	
	OTHERS	UNDERLYING EFFEMINACY IN GAY MASCULINITY- DESCRIBED A “BITCHY” RESPONSE FROM MASCULINE GAY MALE FRIENDS WHEN BALWINDER BECAME MORE SUCCESSFUL (BALWINDER)
NOT VIEWING MASCULINITY AND EFFEMINACY AS DISTINCT/ POLARISED	SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED	NOT VIEWING HIMSELF AS EITHER MASCULINE OR EFFEMINATE – DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH MASCULINE FROM FEMININE (PETER)
		VIEWING GENDER ROLES AS BOXES CREATED BY PEOPLE (PETER)
	CONTINUUM	VIEW THAT GENDER ROLE IS ON A CONTINUUM- NOT CONSTANT (SAM)
CHANGING GENDER EXPRESSION DEPENDING ON SOCIAL CONTEXT	WHEN CAMP MATTERS	TIMES WHEN CAMP IS “MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT” OF IDENTITY E.G. DRAMA (JACOB)
	IN ATTRACTING A MAN	HEIGHTENED EFFEMINACY “PEACOCKING” TO ATTRACT A PARTNER (JACOB)
	AMONGST FRIENDS	“CAMP” COMES OUT MORE AMONGST FEMALE FRIENDS AND HUMOUR (JACOB)
		“LOUD AND CAMP” AMONGST SOME FRIENDS, THOUGHTFUL SERIOUS AMONGST ACADEMICS (PETER)
	HEDONISM	HEIGHTENED EFFEMINACY ASSOCIATED WITH A TIME OF HEDONISM- WEIGHT LOSS, DRUG USE, DRINKING (BALWINDER)
	IN SPORT	STRATEGIC SHIFTS IN GENDER EXPRESSION IN SPORT EFFEMINACY MAY LOWER EXPECTATIONS (SAM)
	IN WORKPLACE	CAN PROJECT AND DEEPEN NATURALLY SOFT VOICE WHEN TRAINING AT WORKPLACE (MICHAEL)
		CALM AND ORGANISED IN WORKING ENVIRONMENT- A CONTRAST TO EMOTIONALLY EXPRESSIVE, ECCENTRIC NON-MASC. TRAITS DESCRIBED OUTSIDE WORK (MICHAEL)
		PRESSURE TO ASSIMILATE INTO PREDOMINANTLY HETEROSEXUAL MALE WORKPLACE- HAVING TO LEARN THE RULES OF STRAIGHT PROFESSIONALS BEFORE THEY “LET YOU IN” - INCLUDING BRANDS OF CLOTHING WORN AND TYPE OF BEER DRANK (BALWINDER)
		TO SUCCEED IN INSURANCE INDUSTRY MASCULINE TRAITS SUCH AS ASSERTIVENESS IMPORTANT FOR POWER AND SUCCESS “PEOPLE LISTENING TO YOU”(SAM)
	RESPONSE TO PERCEIVED THREAT	<b>*SEE MARGINALISATION</b>

REWARDED SHIFTS IN GENDER EXPRESSION	IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS	REDUCED "PEACOCKING" (CAMP EXPRESSION) ASSOCIATED WITH AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH FATHER (JACOB)
	AT WORK	TIPS FOR CAMP AT RESTAURANT (PETER) *SEE STRENGTHS
		OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IN DEVELOPING COUNTRY BUT HAD TO MASCULINISE APPEARANCE (PETER) *SEE COMPROMISE AND RECLAMATION OF IDENTITY
CHANGES IN GENDER EXPRESSION OVER LIFETIME	DECREASED EFFEMINACY/ INCREASED MASCULINITY	EFFEMINACY HAS DECREASED OVER LIFETIME (JACOB) SHIFT TOWARDS "EMPOWERMENT" HAS INVOLVED A SHIFT TOWARDS TRAITS DEEMED MASCULINE E.G. EMOTIONAL MATURITY AND CONTROL (BALWINDER)
	FINDING POWER IN EFFEMINACY	SHIFTING ATTITUDE TOWARDS EFFEMINACY- REALISATION OF ITS POWER DURING ADOLESCENCE (SAM)
	UNCHANGING	CONTRAST TOO OLD TO CHANGE EFFEMINATE TRAITS (JACOB)
UNCONTROLLABLE NATURE OF GENDER EXPRESSION	SHIFTS ON GENDER EXPRESSION NOT ALWAYS A CONSCIOUS PROCESS	NOT ALWAYS CONSCIOUS MODERATION OF GENDER ROLE (BALWINDER)
		THOUGH CAN SOMETIMES "SWITCH" DIFFERENT GENDER ROLES, THIS NOT ALWAYS CASE (JACOB)
		EXPRESSING DIFFERENT FACETS OF IDENTITY OFTEN AN UNCONSCIOUS PROCESS (PETER)
	CHANGES WITH EMOTION	MORE EFFEMINATE WHEN FEELING ANXIOUS (JACOB)
		DEALING WITH SOMETHING SOMBRE, SERIOUS, DEPRESSING AT WORK ASSOCIATED WITH BEING GENDER NEUTRAL (JACOB)
		ASSOCIATED SOMBRE MOMENTS AND GENDER NEUTRALITY WITH BEING "MOST HIMSELF" (JACOB)
CONTRAST EFFORT IN CONSCIOUSLY CHANGING GENDER EXPRESSION	GENDER NEUTRAL STANCE DEFINED- LEGS CROSSED, ENUNCIATE WORDS, EXPRESSIONATE AND ELABORATE LANGUAGE, BUT NEITHER CAMP NOT BUTCH (JACOB)	
	"IF YOU'RE GOING TO HATE ME BECAUSE YOU CONSIDER ME TO BE NON-MASCULINE, EITHER BECAUSE I FIT INTO (SIGHS) A BEHAVIOUR WHICH INDIANS TEND TO BEHAVE OR BECAUSE WE COME FROM QUITE A FEMINIZED CULTURE, I HATE THAT, BECAUSE SUDDENLY I CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT THAT" (BALWINDER)	
TAKES EFFORT TO CHANGE *SEE INTERSECTION OF IDENTITIES OBESITY		
HEIGHTENED MASCULINITY IN WORKPLACE (SAM, PETROS, CRAIG)		
CHANGES ON SOCIAL/ CULTURAL LEVEL	VARYING DEFINITIONS OF GENDER ROLE	END OF 20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY SAW CONVENTIONAL SEX ROLES CHALLENGED E.G. METROSEXUALITY CHALLENGES WHAT IS DEEMED MASCULINE (MICHAEL)
		LIVED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF UK, PRESSURE TO CONFORM TO ALPHA MALE, HETEROSEXUAL MASCULINITY DIFFERENT IN DIFFERENT AREAS (CRAIG)

Table 3

Main data category: Gender expression and sexual orientation, sex role and sex acts

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES	
NON-MASCULINITY AS DISCLOSURE OF HOMOSEXUALITY	HOMOSEXUALITY AND NON-MASCULINITY ASSOCIATED IN LANGUAGE	AVOIDING BEING "TOO GAY" AROUND STRAIGHT MEN (BALWINDER)	
		TERMS GAY AND EFFEMINACY USED INTERCHANGEABLY (JACOB)	
		CAMP DESCRIBED AS "GIVING THE GAY AWAY". (JACOB)	
	HOMOPHOBIC RESPONSE TO EFFEMINACY	ANTICIPATED HOMOPHOBIA	ANTICIPATED HOMOPHOBIA- HEIGHTENED MASCULINITY IN PRIMARY SCHOOL JOB TO AVOID ACCUSATIONS OF PAEDOPHILIA (JACOB)
		HOMOPHOBIC LANGUAGE DURING ASSAULT	ASSOCIATED BEING CALLED "FAGGOT" PRIOR TO MUGGING WITH HIS "MINCING" (JACOB) *SEE MARGINALISATION
	PARTICIPANTS' REACTIONS TO OTHERS' DISPLAYS OF NON-MASCULINITY	VIEWED AS REVEALING AND PRIORITISING SEXUAL IDENTITY	JACOB EMBARRASSED BY FRIEND BEING "REALLY GAY" ON TRAIN- WANTS THEM TO CALM DOWN (JACOB)
			ASSOCIATED THIS WITH GIVING GAYNESS PRIORITY "GAY IS...NOT MY MAIN IDENTITY" (JACOB)
		DISCLOSING OWN SEXUAL ORIENTATION BY-PROXY	"INCREDIBLY CAMP " MEN AS THEY ARE COMFORTABLE WITH PORTRAYING THEIR OWN SEXUALITY (PETER) *SEE THEORISED ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF NON-MASCULINITY
	HEIGHTENING EFFEMINACY WHEN SEXUALITY MATTERS	EXAGGERATED/ COMPETITIVE EXPRESSIONS OF CAMP IN DRAMA, PRIDE SETTINGS	ASSOCIATION WITH FEMININE FRIEND RAJ FELT LIKE A "COMING OUT" FOR BALWINDER HIMSELF (BALWINDER)
			EFFEMINACY EXAGGERATED IN SITUATIONS WHERE BEING GAY IS "MOST IMPORTANT" PART OF IDENTITY E.G. DRAMA (JACOB)
IN ATTRACTING MEN		A COMPETITIVE ELEMENT- WHO IS MOST CAMP, USUALLY IN A DRAMA OR STUDENT PRIDE SETTING (JACOB)	
ASSUMED HOMOSEXUALITY	"IT'S OBVIOUS"	REFERENCE TO PREVIOUSLY "PEACOCKING"- EXPRESSING CAMPNESS TO ATTRACT MEN (JACOB)	
	ASSUMPTIONS NOT CONSISTENT	DILEMMA OF WANTING TO COMMUNICATE SEXUALITY BUT NOT CAMPNESS (JACOB)	
		MAN AT CONFERENCE MADE ASSUMPTION MICHAEL WAS GAY, STATING IT "WAS OBVIOUS" WAS EMBARRASSED WHEN ASKED TO CLARIFY. (MICHAEL)	
		QUESTIONS WHY HIS SEXUALITY IS OBVIOUS TO SOME AND NOT OTHERS. (MICHAEL)	

	STEREOTYPES OF HOMOSEXUALITY	“ERM, I THINK PERCEPTION OF MANY HETEROSEXUAL PEOPLE IS THAT WE’RE ALL INTERESTED, WE’RE ALL QUITE EFFEMINATE PEOPLE” (CRAIG)
RESPONSE TO ASSUMPTION THAT EFFEMINACY DENOTES GAY	ASCRIBE TO ASSUMPTION	AS A CHILD “I THOUGHT YOU HAD TO BE OVERLY...FLAMBOYANT OR CAMP IN ORDER TO ME GAY ALL OF THE PEOPLE I’D MET IN THE HOSPITAL OR OTHERWISE HAD BEEN CAMP.” (TERRY) THOUGH NOT ALWAYS TRUE, MAJORITY OF GAY PEOPLE HE KNOWS ARE “VERY OVERTLY FEMININE” (TERRY)
	ANNOYANCE AT ASSUMPTIONS	ANNOYED BY THE ASSUMPTION THAT EFFEMINATE/CAMP DENOTES BEING GAY- HAS KNOWN CAMP STRAIGHT MEN. (MICHAEL)
	QUESTIONED ANNOYANCE	QUESTIONS HIS ANNOYANCE, AS THEIR ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HIM ARE CORRECT (MICHAEL) QUESTION WHETHER HE CAN BE LEGITIMATELY ANNOYED ABOUT AN ASSUMPTION IF THE ASSUMPTION IS ACCURATE (MICHAEL)
	ASSUMPTION DANGEROUS-POTENTIALLY SEGREGATING	BELIEF ASSUMPTIONS CAN BE DANGEROUS (MICHAEL) “SOMETIMES NOT COMFORTABLE IN MY SEXUALITY,” ALSO LINKED TO DISLIKING ASSUMPTIONS. STATES SEXUALITY CAN SEPARATE YOU FURTHER FROM PEOPLE (MICHAEL) <u>CONTRAST</u> HOWEVER, NOTES UNIQUENESS CAN ALSO BRING PEOPLE CLOSER (MICHAEL)
	MASCULINITY AND HOMOSEXUALITY POSITIONED AS OPPOSITES	SURPRISE AT PARTICIPANT’S HOMOSEXUALITY HOMOPHOBIC SLUR BY A PUPIL WHO ASSUMED HE WAS HETEROSEXUAL. SURPRISED -ASSUMES EVERYONE KNOWS ABOUT HIS SEXUALITY (MICHAEL) FEMALE FRIENDS SURPRISED WHEN HE CAME OUT, STATING HE WAS “NOT FEMININE ENOUGH.” (TERRY) PEOPLE ALWAYS STATE “I WOULD NEVER HAVE GUESSED THAT!” WHEN TERRY DISCLOSES SEXUAL ORIENTATION (TERRY)
	MASCULINITY MAKES HOMOSEXUALITY UNDETECTABLE	ATTRACTION TO VERY MASCULINE MEN “YOU WOULD NEVER GUESS THAT THEY’RE GAY” (SAM) KNOWS STRAIGHT- ACTING MEN “YOU’D NEVER GUESS WOULD BE HOMOSEXUAL” (TERRY) DATING MASCULINE MEN MAY CONCEAL HOMOSEXUALITY AND SUBSEQUENT JUDGEMENT (CRAIG)* <b>SEE UNDESIRABILITY OF NON-MASCULINITY</b> STORY OF THE DUAL LIFE OF AGGRESSIVE RACIST SKINHEAD GANG MEMBER WHO WAS GAY (PETER) “THE SORT OF PERSON PEOPLE ARE SHOCKED TO FIND OUT ARE GAY.”(PETER)
	THE TERM “STRAIGHT-ACTING”	STRAIGHT-ACTING A HETEROCENTRIC TERM USED TO DESCRIBE MASCULINITY. “THE GAY COMMUNITY HAS ADOPTED SOME FORM OF HETERO-CENTRIC LANGUAGE. HOW CAN ANYBODY POSSIBLY ACT IN ANY ORIENTATION, DOES ANYONE ORIENTATION HAVE ANY FIXED...UM, WAY OF BEHAVING?” (CRAIG) DEFINED BY ABSENCE OF EFFEMINACY “‘WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY STRAIGHT ACTING,’ YOU KNOW (LAUGHS) IS MY NORMAL RHETORICAL RESPONSE TO THAT, YOU KNOW, WELL ‘ARE YOU LIMP-WRISTED?’” (CRAIG) VIEWS TERM “STRAIGHT ACTING” AS CONSTRAINING. “ONE SHOULD BE FREE TO EXPRESS ONE’S SELF IN ONE’S LANGUAGE, ONES GESTURES, ONES BEHAVIOUR RATHER THAN CONFIRM AGAIN TO THE EXPECTATION THAT WE SHOULD ALL BE HETEROSEXUAL FATHERS, THANK YOU. QUITE FRANKLY, AS I SAID

			EARLIER, DOESN'T AGREE WITH AT ALL" "A STRAIGHT JACKET."(CRAIG)
	GAY DEFINED BEYOND SAME-SEX ATTRACTION		MASCULINE GAY MEN "ONLY GAY " IN THE DOMAIN OF SEX (JACOB)
	MASCULINITY COMPROMISED BY HOMOSEXUALITY		A SPLIT BETWEEN SEXUAL PRACTICE AND GENDER EXPRESSION IN MEASURING MASCULINITY VIEWS HIS FRIEND AS "MORE MASCULINE" THAN HIMSELF , DESPITE BEING CAMP, BECAUSE OF HIS HETEROSEXUALITY (TERRY)
			REGARDING GAY GANGSTER "UH, BUT I THINK THAT'S AN INTERESTING, EXAMPLE OF LIKE, LIKE SO HIS MASCULINITY, OR HIS STEREOTYPICAL LIKE AGGRESSIVE, ANGRY, MALE TRAITS BEING SOMEWHAT COUNTERACTED? OR, SOME, UM, OR POLARISED TO HIS HOMOSEXUAL BEHAVIOUR" (PETER)
	NON-MASCULINITY RARE IN STRAIGHT MEN- SELF CONTROL		"... YOU GET SOME NON-MASCULINE STRAIGHT MEN... BUT IT'S RARE. BECAUSE IT'S A, YOU KNOW, THAT'S, THERE IS A VERY MUCH A, A CONTROL ISN'T THERE, AMONGST STRAIGHT MEN?" (BALWINDER)
	<u>EXCEPTIONS</u>		
	NON-MASCULINITY IN STRAIGHT MEN		HAS KNOWN CAMP STRAIGHT MEN (MICHAEL)
			DESCRIPTION OF A "VERY, VERY CAMP" AND "FLAMBOYANT" STRAIGHT FRIEND, OFTEN MISTAKEN FOR GAY ON NIGHTS OUT (TERRY)
			STRAIGHT FRIEND WAS THE TARGET OF HOMOPHOBIC REMARKS (TERRY)
			DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE FRIEND WAS NOT GAY (TERRY)
			EFFEMINACY FOUND IN "METROSEXUAL" MEN TAKING CARE OF APPEARANCE (JACOB)
	ANTI- EFFEMINACY SEPARATE PREJUDICE TO HOMOPHOBIA		"...THING I NOTICE BETWEEN EFFEMINATE MEN AND ,UM, STRAIGHT ACTING MASCULINE MEN, WHATEVER YOU WANT TO CALL THEM, UM, WHERE , I THINK, NOW THAT IT'S COMFORTABLE TO BE GAY AND IT'S OKAY TO BE GAY, UM, PEOPLE AREN'T HIDING IT ANYMORE BUT I THINK THERE'S NOW, UM, A VERY NEGATIVE LIGHT SHINED ON, OR SHINING ON, EFFEMINATE MEN." (SAM)
			NON-MASCULINITY DEEMED UNATTRACTIVE IN GAY COMMUNITIES *SEE NON-MASCULINITY AS UNDESIRABLE
	CAMP NOT ALWAYS ASSOCIATED WITH GAY		MOST RESIDENTS OF OLDER ADULTS HOME NOT UNAWARE OF JACOB'S SEXUALITY- CAMP AND GAY NOT SEEN AS THE SYNONYMOUS (JACOB)
THE GENDERED CONNOTATIONS OF SEX ROLES	SEX ROLE AND GENDER EXPRESSION	MASCULINITY ASSOCIATED WITH PENETRATIVE ROLE, FEMININITY WITH RECEPTIVE	"USUALLY MASCULINE GAY: TOP. TWINK: BOTTOM." (JACOB)
			GENDERED ROLES IN HOMOSEXUAL PAIRINGS "SOME PEOPLE DESCRIBE IT AS THE MALE AND FEMALE IN THE RELATIONSHIP." (TERRY)
	SEX ROLES ARE NOT FIXED	EXPERIMENTATION	DESIRE TO EXPERIMENT WITH BOTTOM ROLE WITH FUTURE PARTNER (JACOB)
		NOT FIXED	SEX ROLES NOT HAVING TO BE FIXED (SAM)
		NEGOTIATED WITH	NEGOTIATING SEX WITH PARTNER BASED ON WHAT IS COMFORTABLE (TERRY)

	PARTNER	
	SHIFTING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT SEX	HAVE PREVIOUSLY ASSUMED THAT SEX ROLE WOULD BE DEFINED BY SOMEONE ELSE TAKING CONTROL IN THE BEDROOM (TERRY)
INTEREST IN GAY SEX ROLES BY HETEROSEXUALS	HETEROSEXUAL SEX USED AS FRAME OF REFERENCE	“IGNORANT” ASSUMPTIONS OF SEX ROLE BY HETEROSEXUALS “ARE YOU THE MAN OR THE WOMAN?” (JACOB) USED TO TRY AND EDUCATE PEOPLE ABOUT THIS BUT NO LONGER FEELING IT IS HIS ROLE (JACOB)
	QUESTIONED ON SEX ROLE	WHEN COMING OUT, MOST COMMONLY ASKED “ARE YOU TOP OR BOTTOM?” BY OUTSIDE COMMUNITY (TERRY) A RUDE QUESTION TO ASK SOMEONE IF NOT IN A SEXUAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM (TERRY)
	ASSUMPTIONS MADE BY OTHERS ABOUT SEX ROLE ON BASIS OF APPEARANCE, RACE, GENDER EXPRESSION	FALSE ASSUMPTIONS THAT HE IS A BOTTOM RELATED TO SMALL BUILD, EFFEMINACY, ETHNICITY (SAM) QUESTIONS GAY COMMUNITY’S TENDENCY TO CATEGORISE PEOPLE BASED OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE- BEAR, TWINK (SAM) NOT EASILY FITTING INTO BOXES (SAM)
POWER IN SEX ROLE	BOTTOM JUDGED AS DEROGATORY	BOTTOM DEROGATORY AS HAS LESS CONTROL “I THINK THERE’S MORE OF A, A NEGATIVE STEREOTYPE ON THE BOTTOMS, RATHER THAN THE TOP. SO, IN A RELATIONSHIP, I, I HAVEN’T HAD THIS, BUT I, I, I HEARD IT FROM SOMEONE, THE BOTTOM IS CONSIDERED MORE LIKE LESS DOMINANT IN THE BEDROOM AND LIKE, MORE WILLING TO LET THE OTHER TAKE CONTROL. SO IT’S MORE DEROGATIVE FOR A GAY PERSON TO BE CALLED A BOTTOM RATHER THAN A TOP.” (TERRY)
	DOMINATING TOPS	TWINKS PREFER TO BE DOMINATED AND LOOKED AFTER, TOPS WANT TO PENETRATE AND DOMINATE (JACOB)
ROLES IN SADO-MASOCHISM	POWER DYNAMICS AND GENDERED CONOTATIONS	CORPORAL PUNISHMENT INVOLVES ONE PARTNER BEING THE DOMINANT, THE SUBMISSIVE (CRAIG) GENDERED CONNOTATIONS OF ROLES IN CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, GIVING PUNISHMENT MORE MASCULINE, RECEIVING NON-MASCULINE (CRAIG)
		ROLES SIGNIFICANT OUTSIDE SEXUAL ACTIVITY- ROLE OF STRICT HOUSEMASTER AT FETISH EVENT LED TO MEETING HIS BOYFRIEND (CRAIG)
	ROLES NOT FIXED	DOMINANT AND SUBMISSIVE ROLES NOT FIXED (CRAIG)
GENDERED CONNOTATIONS OF SEX ACTS	PROHIBITIVE GENDERED JUDGEMENT OF HETEROSEXUAL SEX ACTS	APPRAISALS OF STRAIGHT MEN AS GAY OR NON-MASCULINE FOR ENJOYING ANAL STIMULATION ANAL PLAY DEEMED GAY, DESPITE CURIOSITY “I FIND IT VERY INTERESTING WHEN I MEET MEN WHO ARE VERY ADAMANTLY STRAIGHT AND THEN WE TALK ABOUT , LIKE, UM, LIKE THE POWER OF THE PROSTATE AND THEY , THEY’VE NEVER HAD, LIKE THEY WON’T LET THEIR, YOU KNOW, GIRLFRIEND GO NEAR THEIR BUTT, OR, OR LIKE TOUCH THEM THERE BECAUSE IT’S LIKE “GAY” ... SOMETIMES THE LEVEL WITH WHICH THEY TALK ABOUT IT IS VER-, IS LIKE A GIVEAWAY OF, OF THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT

	THIS QUITE A LOT BUT THEY'RE TOO SCARED TO GO AHEAD WITH THE, THE EXPLORING THIS."
SOURCE OF INTERNAL CONFLICT	CREATES OVERLOOKED CONFLICT/ STRESS IN STRAIGHT MEN "I'M NOT GONNA SAY THAT STRAIGHT PEOPLE HAVE IT TOUGHER THAN GAY PEOPLE ...BUT I THINK THERE'S THIS, SOMETIMES IT'S LOOKED OVER THAT STRAIGHT MEN HAVE... FEELINGS EVEN THOUGH SOMETIMES THEY DON'T LIKE TO SHOW THEM BECAUSE IT'S LIKE NOT MASCULINE APPARENTLY. UM, BUT, I THINK SOMETIMES IT MUST BE QUITE STRESSFUL AND DIFFICULT TO BE PREDOMINANTLY STRAIGHT PERSON WHO HAS SOMETIMES, OCCASIONAL THOUGHTS AND BE CONFLICTED ABOUT THIS AND I DO FEEL FOR THEM."
SOCIETALLY PROHIBITED	SOCIETAL RULES OF MASCULINITY NOT ALLOWING SEXUAL EXPLORATION "AND I DO FEEL FOR THEM, AND I THINK IT'S SAD BECAUSE IT'S INDICATIVE OF THE SOCIETY AT LARGE AND IT'S ABOUT, IT REALLY BOILS DOWN TO THIS POLARISATION OF WHAT IS FEMININE, WHAT IS MALE, WHAT IS ALLOWED, IN TERMS OF BEHAVIOUR AND SEXUAL PRACTICE AND, YOU KNOW, EXPECTATIONS THAT IF YOU'RE A MASCULINE MAN YOU AREN'T ALLOWED TO , TO EXPLORE OTHER PARTS OF YOURSELF THAT MIGHT GIVE YOU PLEASURE" (PETER)

Table 4

Main data category: The undesirability of non-masculinity in self and others

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY		ITEMS/ CODES
UNDESIRABILITY OF EFFEMINACY IN SELF	TOO EFFEMINATE		SEES HIMSELF AS "TOO EFFEMINATE" (JACOB)
	WEAKNESS/ VULNERABILITY		ALWAYS WANTED TO CHANGE EFFEMINACY AS SAW IT AS A WEAKNESS IN HIMSELF- FEELS CAMP IS NOT HIM IN HIS ELEMENT, DOES NOT COMMUNICATE HIS STRENGTHS (SAM)
			OWN PERCEIVED WEAKNESS IN EFFEMINACY RELATED TO HOW OTHERS SEE IT (SAM)
			EFFEMINACY AS A CHINK IN ARMOUR "I THINK IT WOULD, UM, IT WOULD REMOVE A CHINK IN MY ARMOR, YOU KNOW? IT'S, I DON'T LIKE THE IDEA THAT ANYBODY'S GOT ANYTHING OVER ME, ONE OVER ON ME, YOU KNOW? AND PARTICULARLY SOMETHING THAT I CAN'T REALLY DO ABOUT, DO ANYTHING ABOUT." (BALWINDER)-
	INTERNALISED HOMOPHOBIA		LINKS HIS DISLIKE OF HIS OWN EFFEMINACY TO A LATENT HOMOPHOBIA (JACOB)
	FIXED		CANT CHANGE EFFEMINACY AT HIS AGE (JACOB)
	NOT AUTHENTIC SELF		AN ACT "I REALLY DON'T WANT TO BE IN THAT VERY NON-MASCULINE BOX WITH THEM ANYMORE. UM, 'CAUSE IT'S NOT NATURAL FOR ME. I, I, IT AL-, IT ALMOST BECAME AN ACT". (BALWINDER)
	EFFEMINACY AS IMMATURITY		EFFEMINACY ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDISHNESS- MEN TYPICALLY GROWING OUT OF BEHAVIOURAL TRAITS SUCH AS HOW HANDS, EYES AND FACE ARE USED. (BALWINDER)
			NOT WANTING TO BE A CHILD ANYMORE (BALWINDER)
ATTRACTING JUDGEMENT FROM OTHERS		GENDER EXPRESSION ATTRACTS JUDGEMENT FROM SOCIETY, FRIENDS, WORK (BALWINDER)	
NON-MASCULINITY DEEMED UNATTRACTIVE	ROMANTIC REJECTION ON BASIS OF NON-MASCULINITY	REJECTED	WAS IN LOVE WITH A "HYPERMASCULINE" WHITE FLATMATE (BILL) , WHO MADE IT CLEAR THE REASON THEY WEREN'T TOGETHER WAS DUE TO BALWINDER'S NON-MASCULINITY (BALWINDER)
			BILL EVENTUALLY FOUND AN INDIAN PARTNER- DEMONSTRATING RACE WAS NOT A FACTOR IN BALWINDER'S REJECTION, PROMPTING AN EMOTIONAL BREAKDOWN (BALWINDER)



		TOLD HE WOULD NEVER FIND A MAN “DRESSING LIKE THAT” REFERRING TO ECCENTRIC DRESS IN HIS TEENS (MICHAEL)
	REJECTING	SPEECH OF EFFEMINATE MEN- HIGHER TONE, LISP, DEEMED “INSTANTLY UNATTRACTIVE. (JACOB) “I’M GAY BECAUSE I LIKE MEN.” (JACOB) “ONLY SLEPT WITH ONE “EFFEMINATE GUY” (SAM) “I’D RATHER BE A POOR MASCULINE GAY MAN THEN BE A SUPER-RICH FEMININE GAY MAN.” (BALWINDER)
	GAY COMMUNITY	“I THINK THAT TO BE EFFEMINATE IS DIFFICULT BECAUSE YOU, WELL MOST PEOPLE VIEW IT AS A NEGATIVE THING, PEOPLE AREN’T ATTRACTED TO IT” (SAM) I’VE SEEN THEM VOTE WITH THEIR FEET, THEY DON’T DATE PEOP-, NON-MASCULINE PEOPLE, YOU KNOW? (SNIFFS) LOT OF THEIR FRIENDS ARE MASCULINE, THEY SELECT THEIR FRIENDS FOR MASCULINE.” (BALWINDER)
	DATING AGENCIES/ SITES	GAY MEN NOT SEEKING EFFEMINATE MEN AS DATING AGENCY CLIENTS “I FIND THAT, IN TERMS OF FINDING RELATIONSHIPS FOR PEOPLE, IT’S VERY DIFFICULT FOR... EFFEMINATE PEOPLE BECAUSE EVERYONE WANTS TO MEET SOMEONE WHO’S MASCULINE” (SAM) ANTI CAMP SENTIMENTS ON ONLINE PROFILES “...READING PROFILES – AGAIN THEY’RE FASCINATING – HOW PEOPLE – AND I DON’T KNOW HOW SERIOUS THEY ARE WITH THE WHOLE ‘NO CAMP, NO THIS, NO THAT, NO THE OTHER’ – AND I’M THINKING ‘SO IS THAT THE SUM FORM OF WHAT THAT PERSON’S ABOUT?’” (MICHEAL)
	AVOIDING COMMUNICATION OF CAMPNESS	EXPERIENCED THE DILEMMA OF WANTING TO COMMUNICATE HIS SEXUALITY TO A MAN HE IS ATTRACTED TO, BUT NOT WANTING TO COMMUNICATE CAMPNESS (JACOB) DESCRIBES HEIGHTENED FEMININITY DURING UNDERGRAD AS “PEACOCKING” TO ATTRACT A PARTNER (JACOB) WILL TRY TO “REIGN IT IN” SUPRESSING CAMP EXPRESSION (JACOB)
SECRECY	SECRECY AROUND SEEING SOMEONE NOT STRAIGHT ACTING	“THEY ONLY REALLY FEEL COMFORTABLE...FORGIVE ME FOR KEEP USING THAT GHASTLY EXPRESSION, WITH, WITH A NON-STRAIGHT-ACTING PARTNER WITHIN THE PRIVACY OF THEIR OWN FOUR WALLS.” (CRAIG) CREATES SPLITS IN IDENTITY “THEY HAVE TO APPEAR ...TO THE WIDER WORLD AS A WHOLE, RATHER, UM, MORE MASCULINE, HOWEVER YOU DEFINE THAT, UM, THAN THEY WOULD BE IN THE PRIVACY OF THEIR OWN HOME.” ( CRAIG)
<u>EXCEPTIONS</u>	MERITS ASSOCIATED WITH NON-MASCULINITY	* SEE MERITS OF NON MASCULINITY
<u>CONTRAST</u> DESIRABILITY OF MASCULINITY	ATTRACTION TO MASCULINITY	MASCULINITY IS ATTRACTIVE (SAM, JACOB, TERRY) WAS IN LOVE WITH A “HYPERMASCULINE” WHITE FLATMATE (BALWINDER) UNTIL RECENTLY WAS ATTRACTED TO MASCULINE MEN “YOU WOULD NEVER GUESS THAT THEY’RE GAY.” (SAM)

		ATTRACTED TO “THE TESTOSTERONE, ENERGY, THEIR BUTCHNESS” (SAM)
		PREFERENCE FOR MORE MASCULINE MAN “SO MUSCLES” THAN HIMSELF (TERRY)
	EROTICISED DOMINANCE	DURING PROMISCUOUS PERIOD, SAM ENJOYED MEN BEING DOMINANT “IN EVERY WAY, SEXUALLY, PHYSICALLY, I WOULD GET OFF IF SOMEONE WAS AGGRESSIVE.” (SAM)
		PREFERENCE FOR A “MORE DOMINANT” MAN (TERRY)
	WISH TO MASCULINISE POTENTIAL PARTNER	CURRENTLY CHATTING TO A MAN WHO BALWINDER HOPES HE CAN MAKE MORE MASCULINE (BALWINDER)
	MASCULINE DEEMED SUPERIOR IN GAY SCENE	PECKING ORDER IN GAY SCENE, WHERE MASCULINITY IS DEEMED SUPERIOR (BALWINDER)
		MASCULINITY IS “MORE IMPORTANT THAN MONEY” IN VALUE (BALWINDER)
		GAY MEN CAN COMPETE OVER WHO IS “STRAIGHTER.” JACOB RECALLS ADVERSARIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH PEER IN LGBT SOCIETY (JACOB)
	MASCULINITY AND SUCCESS	MASCULINE MEN DO BETTER IN “STRAIGHT WORLD” AND GAY SCENE AND “IF YOU’RE A MASCULINE MAN YOU WILL DO BETTER IN THE STRAIGHT WORLD, IN PROFESSIONS, IN RELATIONSHIPS AND EQUALLY SO IN THE STRAIGHT WORLD, UH, IN THE GAY WORLD AS WELL.” (BALWINDER)
THEORISED REASONS FOR PRO-MASCULINE VALUES	THE FANTASY OF BEING/ BEING WITH A HETEROSEXUAL MAN	“...SOME GAY MEN’S FANTASIES ARE TO BAG A STRAIGHT BOY OR TO...BE MISTAKEN FOR A STRAIGHT BOY. FOR SOME REASON THAT’S LIKE A GREAT THING” (JACOB)
	STRAIGHT ACTING PARTNERS TO AVOID DISCLOSING SEXUALITY AND REJECTION	“I THINK A LOT OF GAY PEOPLE, UM, HAVE SOME... FEAR OF BEING... RECOGNISED FOR WHO THEY ARE”, UM, AND SO THEY SEEK A QUOTE ‘STRAIGHT ACTING’ PARTNER FOR FEAR OF REJECTION BY SOCIETY AS A WHOLE “ (CRAIG)
	HIERARCHY	THE PECKING ORDER “THERE IS A PECKING ORDER AMONGST MEN. I THINK MEN JUST INHERENTLY NEED TO HAVE A PECKING ORDER, WE NEED TO KNOW WHERE WE FIT, WE NEED TO KNOW WHERE WE FIT IN EACH OTHER, YOU KNOW, IN A GROUP. ARE WE THE LEADER, YOU KNOW....?” (BALWINDER)
		A NEW CLASS SYSTEM “WHY DO YOU THINK YOU’RE BETTER THAN ME?” YOU KNOW? AND I DON’T THINK IT’S RACE ANY MORE, I THINK IT’S ABOUT, I THINK IN THE GAY WORLD, CLASS HAS BEEN RE-, RE-, REPLACED ALMOST WITH “ARE YOU MASCULINE? ARE YOU FEMININE?” (BALWINDER)
		IDEA OF HIERARCHY REINFORCED GAY SCENE PORTRAYED AS AGGRESSIVE, TESTOSTERONE-FUELLED, COMPETITIVE. LOCKER-ROOM IMAGERY USED. “I FEEL IT THE SAME WITH (NAMES GAY MEN’S FORUM-BASED WEBSITE)– THAT IN AN ALL-MALE ENVIRONMENT, IT ALL SEEMS TO BE AGGRESSIVE, AND FULL OF TESTOSTERONE AND PUSHING AND SHOVING.” “I LIKE, I DO LIKE SOME SPORTS, BUT IF YOU’RE IN A LOCKER ROOM WITH A LOT OF MEN, THERE IS JUST THIS, THIS AURA OF... COMPETITION, ERM, PREDATORY IN A DIFFERENT WAY, BUT THERE IS THIS SORT OF VYING FOR POSITION AND I SUPPOSE IN A GAY CLUB THERE’S VYING FOR CONQUEST MAYBE, OR WHATEVER, SO I – IN ALL OF THAT I FELT REALLY UNCOMFORTABLE, AND THERE WAS I SUPPOSE A SERIES OF ... I SUPPOSE MAYBE, I DON’T KNOW” (MICHAEL)

Table 5

Main data category: Marginalisation and belonging

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES
DISCRIMINATION	EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION	<p>VERBAL ABUSE</p> <p>HAS EXPERIENCED, AND TRIES TO AVOID, HOMOPHOBIC VERBAL ABUSE “FAGGOT” (JACOB)</p> <p>HAS RECEIVED TAUNTS FOR BEING GAY BECAUSE HE DOESN’T DRESS CONVENTIONALLY (MICHAEL)</p> <p>AFTER RETALIATING TO A HOMOPHOBIC COMMENT BY A TEENAGER, WAS CONFRONTED BY SIX OF HIS FRIENDS. DECIDED VIOLENCE WASN’T THE ANSWER AND WALKED AWAY (SAM)</p>
		<p>PHYSICAL ASSAULT</p> <p>ATTEMPTED MUGGING LEAD TO PHYSICAL ASSAULT. HOMOPHOBIC LANGUAGE USED “OI FAGGOT WHAT’S IN YOUR BAG?” LINKS THE REMARK TO “MINCING A BIT.” (JACOB)</p> <p>RISK OF PHYSICAL THREAT IS FACED BY MOST EFFEMINATE MEN (SAM)</p>
		<p>FEELING NON-MASCULINITY WAS SILENCED/ OPPRESSED</p> <p>FELT SILENCED BY LGBT PRESIDENT FOR USE OF GAY COLLOQUIALISM “HELLO GAYBIES” IN MAIL-OUTS WHO DEEMED THIS AS INAPPROPRIATE. FEELS POLITICAL CORRECTNESS ALIENATES PEOPLE (JACOB)</p> <p>DISCIPLINARY ACTION BY WORK PLACEMENT SUPERVISOR WAS VIEWED AS DEEMING HIS FLAMBOYANCE AND FRIENDLINESS AS WRONG (JACOB) *DISCUSSED IN GREATER DETAIL IN “COMPROMISED IDENTITY” SECTION</p> <p>VIEWED SUPERVISOR AS PASSIVE AGGRESSIVE, TRYING TO “KILL” OR OPPRESS HIS FLAMBOYANCE (JACOB)</p> <p>RESPONSE TO PERCEIVED JUDGEMENT WAS TO “SUPPRESS FLAMBOYANCE” (JACOB)</p> <p>BEING MASCULINE WITH SPEECH THERAPY CLIENTS FELT WRONG, “BUT THE MORE I DID THAT, THE BETTER SHE GRADED ME.” (JACOB)</p>
	UNDERESTIMATED/ DEVALUED ABILITIES IN WORKPLACE	<p>DESCRIBES BEING “WALKED OVER” AND “SHAT ON” RELATED TO ACCOMMODATING “MAMA BEAR” ROLE (BALWINDER)</p>
		<p>FEELING HIS STRENGTH WAS UNDERESTIMATED IN WORKPLACE (BALWINDER)</p>
		<p>EFFEMINATE TRAITS ARE POWERFUL BUT MORE SUBTLE , NOT GIVEN AS MUCH CREDIT (SAM)</p>
		<p>MALE MACHO ETHOS IN TEMP ROLES- “ANYTHING ELSE...WAS NOT PARTICULARLY TOLERATED OR ... HELD IN HIGH REGARD.” (MICHAEL)</p>
	UNDERESTIMATED ABILITIES IN SPORT	<p>UNDERESTIMATED SPORTING ABILITY DUE TO NON- MASCULINE EXPRESSION WILL HEIGHTEN MASCULINITY AT WORK OR IN SPORT - “MASCULINITY IS MORE POWERFUL MAYBE?” (SAM)</p>
		<p>WHEN YOUNGER WAS SKINNY, PEOPLE WERE SURPRISED WHEN HE DEMONSTRATED SPORTING SKILL (SAM)</p>
		<p>PLAYS THE FEMININE ROLE BECAUSE PEOPLE ASSUME “HE’S NOT GOING TO BE ANY GOOD BECAUSE HE’S A</p>

		HOMO" E.G. FIRST DAY OF SOFTBALL (SAM) USING LOWERED EXPECTATION TO COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE "PRETENDED NOT TO BE VERY GOOD" ON HIS FIRST DAY OF SOFTBALL, BEFORE HITTING A HOME RUN. "I WAS LIKE 'UH-HUH!' " (SAM) PROVES POINT THAT PEOPLE SHOULDN'T JUDGE (SAM)
	WITHIN GAY SCENE	ROMANTIC REJECTION/ DEEMED UNATTRACTIVE *SEE - UNDESIRABILITY OF MASCULINITY VIEWED AS REINFORCING STEREOTYPES "AND I SUPPOSE PEOPLE WITHIN THE, PEOPLE WITHIN THE GAY COMMUNITY DON'T WANT TO SEE LOTS OF EFFEMINATE PEOPLE BECAUSE IT'S FEEDING THE STEREOTYPES ABOUT GAY PEOPLE." (SAM)
	PRESSURE TO CONFORM	PRESSURE TO ADHERE TO SOCIETAL RULES OF HETEROSEXUAL MEN "...I HAVE TO FIT INTO THEIR RULES, YOU KNOW? YOU KNOW? IF I FIT INTO THEIR RULES THEN I WAS ACCEPTED IN THAT SOCIETY, BUT IF I, YEAH SO... BEING A GAY MAN BUT YOU COULDN'T BE TOO GAY." (BALWINDER) EXPECTATIONS OF ADHERENCE TO HETEROSEXUAL CONVENTIONS INCLUDING PARENTING A GENDER-CONFORMING DRESS "... THINK SOCIETY STILL EXPECTS AS A WHOLE, UM, FOLK TO BE CONVENTIONAL BY WHICH I MEAN HETEROSEXUAL WITH NO DEVIATION..." (CRAIG) EXPECTATION TO MAN UP "'IT WAS OKAY, IT'S GOOD FOR A LITTLE BIT OF FUN BUT, YOU KNOW, MAN UP NOW.'" (SAM)
	CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION	*SEE MAIN DATA CATEGORY: THEORISED ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF NON-MASCULINITY
RESPONSES TO DISCRIMINATION	SENSE OF VULNERABILITY	REALISATION OF HIS VULNERABILITY "NOT INDESTRUCTIBLE" MORE RESERVED IN PUBLIC (JACOB) HIGHLIGHTED THAT HE IS STILL PART OF A MINORITY NOT ACCEPTED EVERYWHERE (JACOB) "THERE IS STRANGER DANGER...MY HOMOSEXUALITY IS PART OF THAT STRANGER DANGER." (JACOB)
		BLOCKING SOUNDS OUT AVOIDING TAUNTS BY PLAYING LOUD MUSIC- SAM'S FRIEND RICK "DEFINITELY WASN'T VERY MASCULINE" WOULD HAVE HEADPHONES IN, MUSIC TURNED HIGH "SO THAT HE COULDN'T HEAR WHAT PEOPLE WOULD SAY...COULD PRETEND HE COULDN'T HEAR THEM" (SAM) "SO THAT IS SOMEONE DID SAY ANYTHING HE COULD IGNORE THEM BECAUSE HE DIDN'T REALLY HEAR THEM" (SAM)
	CHANGES IN GENDER EXPRESSION	HEIGHTENS MASCULINITY IF APPROACHED BY GROUP OF STRAIGHT MEN IN CASHIER ROLE (JACOB) ANTICIPATED HOMOPHOBIA- HEIGHTENED MASCULINITY IN PRIMARY SCHOOL JOB TO AVOID ACCUSATIONS OF PAEDOPHILIA (JACOB) FORCED MASCULINITY DUE TO DISCIPLINARY ACTION AT WORKPLACE (JACOB) LESS EFFEMINATE AROUND HETEROSEXUAL MEN AS NOT TOLERATED- BEING "TOO GAY" AROUND STRAIGHT MEN, AS EFFEMINACY BRINGS THE RISK OF VIOLENCE (BALWINDER)

		<p>CONCEALED VISIBLE SIGNS OF SEXUALITY AS THE PLACEMENT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO HIS CAREER DANGER ASSOCIATED WITH BEING PERCEIVED AS HOMOSEXUAL IN OVERSEAS FIELDWORK IN TANZANIA (PETER). *DISCUSSED IN GREATER DETAIL IN "COMPROMISED IDENTITY"</p> <p>IDENTITY SPLITS- DESCRIPTION OF A MAN WEARS A TRACKSUIT AND HOODIE IN HIS HOMETOWN BUT IN LONDON "OUT COMES HIS GAY OUTFIT." VIEWS THESE "TWO DIFFERENT IDENTITIES" AS DANGEROUS- SHOULD HAVE CONFIDENCE AND COMFORT IN HIMSELF AND ACCEPTANCE BY OTHERS. HIS MASCULINE DAY-TO-DAY CLOTHES ARE VIEWED AS "PUTTING ON THIS MASK" (SAM)</p>
	INDIFFERENCE	NOT CONCERNED WITH PEOPLE BEING UNHAPPY WITH THE WAY HE IS (PETER)
UNDERSTANDINGS OF DISCRIMINATION	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STEREOTYPES AND DISCRIMINATION	".... FIT THEIR STEREOTYPE NICELY AND THEY CAN OSTRACISE THEM AND PREJUDICE THEM." (JACOB)
		<u>CONTRAST</u> - STEREOTYPES MAY FULFIL POSITIVE STEREOTYPES "STRAIGHT MEN SOME STRAIGHT MEN, LIKE REALLY CAMP GAYS BECAUSE THEY FIT THEIR STEREOTYPES NICELY AND THEY FIND THEM FUNNY AND THEY CAN BE FRIENDS WITH THEM" (JACOB)
		<u>CONTRAST</u> DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS STRAIGHT ACTING GAY MEN- THREAT OF NON DISCLOSURE. "ALSO THE STRAIGHT ACTING GAY, SOME GAY-, SOME STRAIGHT MEN FIND UNCOMFORTABLE BECAUSE THEY WOULDN'T HAVE KNOWN, WHEREAS SOME MEN FIND MORE COMFORTABLE BECAUSE THEY CAN, UM, UNDERSTAND THEM BETTER" (BALWINDER)
CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE DISCRIMINATING	GEOGRAPHY / CLASS	HOMOPHOBIA LINKED TO ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED, PREJUDICED ROUGH AREAS – "ASBO VANDALS" (JACOB)
		CONCEALED SEXUALITY WHILST WORKING IN AN "UNFORGIVING TOWN" WITH CLEAR GENDER SPLITS IN ACCEPTABLE ROLES. "NOT EXACTLY A TOWN YOU CAN MINCE INTO." (JACOB)
		LINKS REMARKS ABOUT ECCENTRIC DRESS TO NOT LIVING IN A MORE TOLERANT CITY E.G. LONDON (MICHAEL)
		"AGAIN, SOME MEN HAVE NO PROBLEM WITH IT, BECAUSE I THINK IT DEPENDS ON, ERM, ENVIRONMENT, BACKGROUND, WORK AREA." (MICHAEL)
		RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVE AFRICAN COUNTRY (PETER)
	HETEROSEXUAL MEN	LESS EFFEMINATE AROUND HETEROSEXUAL MEN AS NOT TOLERATED (BALWINDER)
		HEIGHTENS MASCULINITY IF APPROACHED BY GROUP OF STRAIGHT MEN IN CASHIER ROLE (JACOB)
		"STRAIGHT MEN NOT REALLY RESPECTING, UM, EFFEMINATE MEN." (SAM)
		STRAIGHT MEN HOLDING MORE TRADITIONAL VALUES OF MASCULINITY "SOME MEN WILL FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE WITH ANOTHER MAN WHO DOESN'T LIVE UP TO THAT DEFINITION OF MASCULINITY." (CRAIG)
		OTHER GAY MEN
SOCIAL EXCLUSION	SEPARATENESS	IN FRIENDSHIP
		QUESTIONS EXTENT HE BELONGS WITH MASC. WHITE GAY GROUP- ANTI-CAMP VALUES (BALWINDER)
		CAMP FRIEND RAJ DESCRIBED AS OSTRACISED, WITH "NO REAL FRIENDS." (BALWINDER)
		BEING GAY CREATES AN ADDITIONAL BARRIER, ALONGSIDE POTENTIAL DISAGREEMENT, IN BEING DISLIKED.

		(MICHAEL) FINDS HETEROSEXUAL MEN AND WOMEN DIFFICULT TO RELATE TO, SO MOST CLOSE FRIENDS ARE GAY (CRAIG)
IN A PREDOMINANTLY HETEROSEXUAL WORLD		“ONE GOES THROUGH HIS ONGOING JOURNEY RESTING BETWEEN INCLUSIONARY AND EXCLUSIONARY PARTS OF ONES LIFE.” “I THINK AS A GAY MAN IN A PREDOMINANTLY STRAIGHT WORLD, ONE CONTINUOUSLY WRESTLES WITH” (CRAIG)
		“AT TIMES AGAINST THE WORLD...SWIMMING AGAINST THE TIDE.” ISOLATION RELATED TO MAINTAINING INDIVIDUAL CHARACTER AND NOT CONFORMING TO SOCIETAL PRESSURES (CRAIG)
		“...BUT AMONGST MOST STRAIGHT MEN I FIND THAT THERE’S, YOU KNOW...A SENSE OF ONE IS, IS...(SMACKS LIPS)TWO SANDWICHES SORT OF A PICNIC IF ONE...IF ONE DOESN’T DISPLAY ANY INTEREST IN WOMEN OR IF ONE DOESN’T TAKE AN INTEREST IN FAST CARS, OR FOOTBALL TEAMS OR...THE STRICT MALE WORLD STILL STRIKES ME AS BEING STILL QUITE ALIEN TO ME EVEN TO THIS DAY” (CRAIG)
FROM FAMILY		BALWINDER’S FATHER AND BROTHER WERE VERY MASCULINE, A CONTRAST TO HIS EFFEMINACY WHEN GROWING UP (BALWINDER)
		FATHER COULDN’T UNDERSTAND HIS DISINTEREST IN WOMEN, DIY, GARDENING, SPORT. LIVING WITH FATHER DESCRIBED AS “VERY, VERY DIFFICULT” (CRAIG)
		MOTHER EQUATED HOMOSEXUALITY INITIALLY WITH EMASCULATION OF SON - “I THINK IT WAS A MIXTURE OF HER BEING SCARED FOR ME, SAD THAT SHE’S KIND OF LOST A SON AND GAINED A DAUGHTER, I THINK IN HER EYES, AND IN SHE THEN SAW MORE DANGER, SHE SAW LECHEROUS MEN, SHE SAW BBC BRITAIN BECAUSE SHE WAS OFF WORK, SHE SAW EVERYTHING THROUGH THE DAILY MAIL” (JACOB)
		ANTICIPATED REJECTION ASSUMED HIS TEENAGED NEPHEW WOULD BE “UNCOMFORTABLE BECAUSE HE KNOWS I’M GAY AND I’M....THE EFFEMINATE, WEIRD UNCLE” (SAM)
FROM HETEROSEXUAL MEN		STUNNED REACTION OF MALE COLLEAGUES WHEN HE COMMENTED ON CRICKET “SHOCK...THAT I WOULD EVEN DEIGN TO ENCROACH ON THIS MASCULINE WORLD WITH MY COMMENT.” (MICHAEL)
		BELIEVES HIS “BIG PERSONALITY” MAY HAVE BEEN AS IMPORTANT TO PEOPLE AS HIS SEXUALITY IN GETTING THIS RESPONSE (MICHAEL)
		ILLUSTRATES FEELING SEPARATE - INVITED TO WEDDINGS BUT NEVER STAG PARTIES- ASSUMPTION HE IS UNINTERESTED (MICHAEL)
		SUSPECTS HUSBANDS OF HIS FEMALE FRIENDS AREN’T ALWAYS COMFORTABLE WITH HIM. (MICHAEL)
EXCLUSION IN THE GAY SCENE	OBESITY	*SEE INTERSECTION OF IDENTITIES- OBESITY
	ECCENTRIC DRESS	NUMEROUS OCCASIONS OF MEN APPROACHING HIM IN CLUB STATING “YOU’RE NEVER GOING TO GET A PARTNER DRESSED LIKE THAT” “WITH HAIR LIKE THAT” DESPITE NOT BEING HIS INTENTION (MICHAEL)
		FELT UNCOMFORTABLE IN ENVIRONMENT AS RESULT (MICHAEL) “IN MY MIND....YOU CAN GO...TO A GAY CLUB, AND YOU CAN DANCE AND YOU WEREN’T GOING TO BE

		JUDGED" (MICHAEL)
		INHIBITED SEXUAL EXPLORATION "IN TERMS OF SEXUALITY MY SEXUALITY, I FELT VERY UNCOMFORTABLE IN THE ENVIRONMENT" (MICHAEL)
		DESCRIBES HIS OWN LACK OF MATURITY, A GROWING UP VERY DIFFERENT FROM OTHER GAY MEN'S. "I DIDN'T REALISE WHAT PEOPLE WERE THINKING OR SAYING OR DOING." FEELING CHEATED. (MICHAEL)
	DOUBLE EXCLUSION OF EFFEMINATE GAY MEN BY GAY AND STRAIGHT COMMUNITIES	"SO, I THINK IT'S QUITE BIG, BECAUSE YOU'VE GOT, UH, PEOPLE WITHIN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY, IF YOU WANT TO CALL IT THAT, PLUS PEOPLE OUTSIDE YOUR COMMUNITY SAYING THAT THIS ISN'T RIGHT ANYMORE." (SAM)
ACCEPTANCE INTO A SOCIAL GROUP	FRIENDS	FRIENDS UNCONCERNED – EITHER GAY, NON-HETERO OR NOT "ARSEHOLES." (PETER)
		MOST FRIENDS ARE HETEROSEXUAL AND HAVE NO ISSUE WITH LACK OF OVERT MASCULINITY (MICHAEL)
		WAS ACCEPTED DESPITE FEARING DISCLOSING SEXUALITY TO MASCULINE STRAIGHT MALE FLATMATES. ACCEPTANCE DEMONSTRATED BY BOYISH PRANKS WHEN BRINGING MAN BACK HOME "DURING THE TIME (LAUGHS). AND UM, AND SHOUTING THROUGH THE DOOR SHOUTING "DO YOU NEED ANYTHING, DO YOU NEED ANY CONDOMS, DO YOU NEED ANY LUBE?" AND I WAS SO EMBARRASSED IN THE ROOM AND I WENT OUTSIDE AND I WAS, I WAS, IT WAS JUST SO FUNNY. THEY WERE JUST SO FINE WITH IT AND I'M STILL FRIENDS WITH THEM TO THIS DAY AND I'M SO GLAD." (TERRY)
		PETER- SOCIAL GROUP ACCOMMODATED GENDER PLAY "WE WERE LIVING IN A SQUAT IN (NAMES AREA OF LONDON), IT WAS A VERY INTERESTING EXPERIENCE, UH, SOCIALLY... IT ALTERED MY PERCEPTION OF MYSELF, BECAUSE THIS PLACE WAS FULL OF A LOT OF CREATIVES, A LOT OF, THERE WAS TWO PEOPLE WHO WERE, UM, WELL ONE DRAG QUEEN AND ONE TRANS PERSON... I EXPERIMENTED A LITTLE BIT WITH THEM WITH, UM, CROSS-DRESSING AND, UM, WELL CRO-, I DON'T EVEN LIKE THE TERM CROSS-DRESSING ACTUALLY, BECAUSE I DON'T THINK, I THINK THEY'RE JUST CLOTHES. I DON'T THINK THEY BELONG TO EITHER MALES OR FEMALES, SO. I EXPERIENCED DRESSING IN DRESSES AND THINGS LIKE THIS THAT I HADN'T PREVIOUSLY DONE BEFORE." (PETER)
		STRONG RELATIONSHIPS WITH WOMEN *SEE CLOSENESS TO WOMEN BELOW
	CHURCH	IN CONTRAST TO TIMES OF ISOLATION, THE CHURCH COMMUNITY REPRESENTED A WIDER ACCEPTANCE (CRAIG)
		CHURCH AS A COMFORTABLE PREDOMINANTLY HETEROSEXUAL SPACE "NOW YOU THINK THAT'S QUITE A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS BECAUSE I GO TO, I TEND TO...EDIT THE MAGAZINE OF THE CHURCH, MAYBE YOU THINK THAT'S, IT'LL BE A, BUT A, AN EQUAL SENSE OF EXPECTATION, ER, BUT THE, BUT PERHAPS, UM, IT'S BECAUSE ALL MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH KNOW ABOUT MY SEXUALITY, KNOW ABOUT, ER, BEEN WITH ME, AND CONTINUE TO BE WITH ME IN MY GRIEVING PROCESS OF, OF GETTING OVER MY BREAK UP WITH BOB, THAT I DON'T SENSE THAT SENSE OF EXPECTATION THERE" (CRAIG)
		ACCEPTANCE BY CHRISTIAN GROUP (JACOB)

	FAMILY	<p>NEPHEW WAS “COMPLETELY BLIND ” TO SAM’S SEXUALITY/ CAMPNESS ACCEPTING SAM AS AN UNCLE, AND CRYING UPON HIS DEPARTURE (SAM)</p> <p>FAMILY CONVERSATION ABOUT SEXUALITY, BROTHERS DEMONSTRATE PROTECTIVENESS “, IN THE MIDST OF THAT CONVERSATION I REALISED THAT NONE OF THEM CARED AND THAT THEY ALL LOVED ME, UH, E-EQUALLY SO IT WAS JUST, IT WAS AMAZING SITTING THERE LISTENING TO THIS CONVERSATION. MY BROTHERS AT ONE SIDE OF THE ROOM WERE SAYING “OH WELL YOU’D BETTER GET WITH SOMEONE NICE OTHERWISE WE’LL BEAT ‘EM UP,” AND THEN MY NAN WAS LIKE “NO, YOU, YOU JUST GET WITH SOMEONE LIKE THIS,” (TERRY)</p> <p>JACOB ACCEPTED BY HIS MOTHER AFTER HER INITIAL REJECTION “BUT (SIGHS) WE GOT THROUGH IT BY SMOKING AND DRINKING, AND HAVING CUPS OF TEA AND TALKING ABOUT IT, WE GOT THROUGH IT AND, UM, YEP SHE WAS MORE LIKELY TO SAY, ‘MUM I’M GOING TO GO ON A DATE LATER ON,’ ‘YEP, THAT’S FINE.’” (JACOB)</p>		
	SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE AND SELF-ACCEPTANCE	<p>POPULARITY AMONGST FRIENDS AS ADOLESCENT ENABLED SAM TO SEE “I’M NOT SO BAD,” ENCOURAGING ACCEPTANCE OF WHO HE WAS AS A BOY (SAM)</p> <p>OLDER FEMALE MENTORS HAD AN UNSPOKEN KNOWLEDGE OF HIS SEXUALITY- “ACCEPTED ALL MY QUIRKS” AND MADE SAM EXCITED ABOUT THE FUTURE (SAM)</p> <p>BEING RELAXED SOCIALLY AND UNCONCERNED ABOUT WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING, IS A SIGN OF BEING COMFORTABLE IN YOUR SEXUALITY (SAM)</p>		
CLOSENESS TO WOMEN	RELATIONSHIP WITH WOMAN	MIDDLE AGED WOMEN	<p>MAKES MIDDLE AGED WOMEN IN PARTICULAR LAUGH (JACOB)</p> <p>AS ADOLESCENT WAS CONFIDANTE TO WOMEN IN THEIR 40S (SAM)</p>	
		CLOSER TO WOMEN THAN MEN	<p>TYPICALLY FAR CLOSER TO WOMEN THAN MEN IN FRIENDSHIP (PETER)</p> <p>MOST FRIENDS ARE FEMALE (MICHAEL)</p>	
		FRIENDSHIP WITH WOMEN DEEMED STEREOTYPICAL	<p>CURRENTLY LIVING WITH FOUR FEMALE FRIENDS- “A SIGN OF HOMOSEXUALITY!” (TERRY)</p>	
	ADMIRATION OF FEMALE TRAITS	POWER/ STRENGTH	<p>ADMIRATION OF THE “SUBTLE POWER” OF WOMEN (SAM)</p> <p>WOMEN IN CONTROL OF MANY THINGS, SEEMINGLY EFFORTLESS, OTHERS NOT EVEN AWARE OF THEIR CONTROL- CONTRASTS WITH EXPLICIT, AUTHORITARIAN EXERCISE OF POWER BY MEN (SAM)</p> <p>POWERFUL WOMAN AS ROLE MODELS (SAM)</p> <p>ADMIRATION OF STRONG WOMEN, INCLUDING IN FILM. (JACOB)</p>	
			COMMUNAL FOCUS	<p>FEMALE TRAITS IN PEOPLE SEEN AS MORE MATERNAL, WARM, COMMUNITY-BASED, CO-OPERATIVE, ENABLING SOCIETAL/ SOCIAL HARMONY, RESPECT AND EQUALITY (PETER)</p> <p>IN CONTRAST PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY OPPRESSES WOMEN AND IS DAMAGING- FOCUSED ON SELF, ACHIEVEMENT AND ATTAINING WEALTH (PETER)</p>
				PROTECTIVENESS



TOWARDS WOMEN   CARE	
<u>EXCEPTION</u> NOT FEELING CLOSE TO WOMEN IN ANY CAPACITY	<u>CONTRAST</u> SOCIALISING AND WORKING WITH FEMALES WAS NOT OF INTEREST TO CRAIG AT ALL (CRAIG)
<u>EXCEPTION</u> TOKENISTIC EXPECTATION OF GAY FRIEND	A SHOPPING/ STYLE-CONSCIOUS FRIEND “SOME FEMALES WANT A CAMP GAY BECAUSE THEN THEY CAN GO SHOPPING, THEN THEY CAN DO ALL THESE WONDERFUL GAY THINGS LIKE GO TO THE CINEMA AND ALL THAT KIND OF STUFF, DO EACH OTHER’S HAIR, BUT THEN SOME GIRLS IDENTIFY BETTER WITH STRAIGHT MEN, UH STRAIGHTER GAY MEN, BECAUSE, UM, THEY, THEY DON’T WANT THIS SHOW, THEY WANT, THEY JUST WANT THEM TO BE THEMSELVES SORT OF THINGS.” (JACOB)
	“UM, PEOPLE WHO, LIKE, WOMEN FOR EXAMPLE ARE LIKE “OH MY GAY BEST FRIEND!” ALL OF THIS, YOU KNOW, THINGS THAT CAME OUT, I’M HUMAN AS WELL, UM, NOT JUST A , AN ACCESSORY” (SAM)

Table 6

Main data category: *The compromise and reclamation of gender expression*

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES	
SHIFT FROM APPEASING MASCULINE FRIENDS TO EMPOWERMENT	APPEASING MASCULINE FRIENDSHIP GROUPS	GENDER EXPRESSION WAS “NOT A PROBLEM” IN PAST BECAUSE BALWINDER FELT MORE MASCULINE THAN OTHER GAY FRIENDS – RELATIVITY OF MASCULINITY (BALWINDER) WHEN BEFRIENDING MASC. GAY WHITE GROUP, HE WAS THE NON-MASCULINE FRIEND (BALWINDER) BECOMING MORE MASCULINE WOULD BE REWARDED WITH PRESTIGE IN THIS GROUP (BALWINDER) HIGHLIGHTS GREATER PROFESSIONAL, FINANCIAL SUCCESS DESPITE BEING REGARDED AS INFERIOR BY MASC. GAY WHITE GROUP (BALWINDER) APPEASEMENT A DOWNPLAYING OF OWN POWER TO WIN SOCIAL MEMBERSHIP/ PROXIMITY TO DESIRABLE MASC. WHITE MEN (BALWINDER) APPEASEMENT – HEIGHTENED EFFEMINACY BY ADOPTED A MATERNAL, INDIAN “MAMA BEAR” ROLE (BALWINDER) SIMILARITY BETWEEN THIS AND HIS MOTHER’S APPEASEMENT OF STRONG MEN (BALWINDER) LACK OF RECIPROCITY- ACTING AS A LISTENING EAR BUT NOT LISTENED TO (BALWINDER) DEFERENCE NOTED BY HIS SISTER, STATING HE WAS LOOKING AT A FRIEND OF HIS “LIKE HE WAS A GOD.” (BALWINDER)	
	FEIGNED NURTURING ROLE	“MAMA BEAR” ROLE COOKING, LENDING MONEY TO MASC., WHITE FRIENDS (BALWINDER) A UNDESIRE ROLE, AN ACT OF APPEASEMENT FOR MASC., WHITE GAY MALE GROUP REGARDED AS SUPERIOR (BALWINDER)	
	SHIFTING POWER DYNAMICS IN FRIENDSHIPS- SELF-EMPOWERMENT	“SHINE WEARS OFF” BALWINDER’S ADMIRATION FOR WHITE MASCULINE GAY FRIENDS LESSENE OVER TIME (BALWINDER) SUCCESSES AND INCREASED CONFIDENCE RESPONDED TO WITH ENVY BY GAY WHITE MASC. GROUP (BALWINDER) BREAKING AWAY FROM APPEASING ROLE LEADS, LESS DEFERENCE TO HOSTILITY FROM FRIENDS (BALWINDER) CHANGE IN ROLE AWAY FROM INSUBORDINATION CREATED ANXIETY IN HIMSELF (BALWINDER)	
	MORE GENERALLY CHALLENGING POWER FIGURES	NOW CHALLENGES PEOPLE WHO PRESENT THEMSELVES AS BEING IN CHARGE (BALWINDER)	
	SHIFTING POWER DYNAMICS IN	HEIGHTENED VULNERABILITY EARLY IN RELATIONSHIPS	EXPRESSIONS OF EFFEMINACY AND VULNERABILITY WERE HEIGHTENED IN EARLY STAGES OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH MASCULINE MEN (SAM)

RELATIONSHIPS FROM INSUBORDINATION TO EQUALITY		THEORISES THIS WOULD MAKE MASCULINE MEN “FEEL EVEN STRONGER” (SAM)
		EROTICISED DOMINANCE- DURING PROMISCUOUS PERIOD, SAM ENJOYED MEN BEING DOMINANT “IN EVERY WAY, SEXUALLY, PHYSICALLY, I WOULD GET OFF IF SOMEONE WAS AGGRESSIVE.” (SAM)
		IN LONG TERM RELATIONSHIP, DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS “WIFE”- WOULD COOK, CLEAN, ALONGSIDE WORKING AND STUDYING. (SAM)
	SHIFT TO RECIPROCITY	MORE FOCUSED ON EQUAL RELATIONSHIPS- “SEEN THE LIGHT” (SAM)
CONTRASTING VIEW- GAY RELATIONSHIPS AS INHERENTLY MORE EQUAL		RECIPROCITY HIGHLIGHTED “IT’S NICE WHEN SOMEONE COOKS FOR ME” AND EXPLORING HIS OWN MASCULINITY, SEXUAL DOMINANCE (SAM)
		A RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP DESCRIBED, SHARED DOMESTIC DUTIES, ORGANISING HOLIDAYS (SAM)
		VIEWS HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS AS ONE OF EQUALITY WHERE NO CHILDREN ARE INVOLVED AND LESS PRESSURE TO PROVIDE FOR ONE ANOTHER (CRAIG)
SHIFTING POWER DYNAMICS AT WORK	ADOPTING A SELFLESS ROLE IN WORKPLACE	ADOPTING “MAMA BEAR” ROLE (AS IN PERSONAL LIFE) IN DYSFUNCTIONAL, BULLYING WORKPLACE (BALWINDER)
		THIS SELFLESS ROLE (NEGLECTING OWN NEEDS, TAKING ON OTHERS WORK) DESCRIBED AS “SAFE” (BALWINDER)
		STRESS OF OVERWORK OVER NUMEROUS YEARS IMPACTED HEALTH (BALWINDER)
	SHIFT TOWARDS “MASCULINE” EMPOWERMENT	DESCRIBES FINDING HIS POWER “AS A MAN”- NO LONGER “WALKED OVER” (BALWINDER)
		EMPOWERMENT INVOLVED SETTING BOUNDARIES, DEMANDING EQUALITY, NO LONGER BEING OVERLOOKED OR MISTREATED AT WORK (BALWINDER)
		CONTROLLING HIS EMOTIONS IMPORTANT IN FINDING POWER- LINKS THIS EMOTIONAL MATURITY WITH MASCULINITY (BALWINDER)
		ASSERTING POWER E.G. REARRANGING MEETINGS TO SUIT HIM, LEADING TO CONFLICT WITH MANAGER (BALWINDER)
SHAMED EFFEMINACY TO COMBATIVE CAMP IN WORKPLACE	PUNISHED FOR EFFEMINACY AT WORK	WAS MORE EFFEMINATE IN THE STAFF AREAS OF WORK PLACEMENT (JACOB)
		DISCIPLINARY ACTION BY SUPERVISOR WAS VIEWED AS DEEMING HIS FLAMBOYANCE AND FRIENDLINESS AS WRONG (JACOB)
		VIEWED SUPERVISOR AS PASSIVE AGGRESSIVE, TRYING TO “KILL” OR OPPRESS HIS FLAMBOYANCE (JACOB)
		RESPONSE TO PERCEIVED JUDGEMENT WAS TO “SUPPRESS FLAMBOYANCE” (JACOB)
		BEING MASCULINE WITH SPEECH THERAPY CLIENTS FELT WRONG, “BUT THE MORE I DID THAT, THE BETTER SHE GRADED ME.” (JACOB)
	USING CAMP COMBATIVELY	MEETING WITH SUPERVISOR – “I WENT IN GUNS BLAZING- I WENT BACK TO BEING CAMP JACOB, JOKEY JACOB” (JACOB)
	CAMP DESCRIBED AS A CARICATURE OF HIMSELF “A KIND OF BATTLE CRY.” NOT THREATENING BUT STRONG (JACOB)	
	DESCRIBES THIS AS “PERSONALITY DRAG” EMBODYING A “HYPER WOMAN (JACOB)	

		AN AWARENESS OF HIS COMPARATIVE STRENGTHS OF HIS EFFEMINACY- APPROACHABLE, LIKEABLE, COMEDIC. "HAS ITS USES" (JACOB)
CHANGING GENDER EXPRESSIONS OVERSEAS	HEIGHTENED MASCULINITY IN AFRICA/ MINIMISED EFFEMINATE EXPRESSION	DANGER ASSOCIATED WITH BEING PERCEIVED AS HOMOSEXUAL IN OVERSEAS FIELDWORK IN TANZANIA (PETER)
		REMOVED SIGNS OF BEING DIFFERENT- DYED HIS HAIR FROM BLEACHED PLATINUM BLONDE TO BROWN (PETER)
		A CONTRAST TO UNIVERSITY "EXPERIENCING NEW THINGS... FLIPPING AROUND GENDER ROLES," TO "JUMPING RIGHT BACK INSIDE CLOSET AGAIN" (PETER)
		CONCEALED SEXUALITY AS THE PLACEMENT WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO HIS CAREER (PETER)
		IS "FINE" ABOUT THIS CHANGE IN GENDER EXPRESSION, HIGHLIGHTING THE SELF BEING MADE UP OF "RANGE OF DIFFERENT WAYS TO BE." (PETER)
		HIGHLIGHTS EVERYONE HAVING TO "BE A CERTAIN" WAY IN PERIODS OF LIFE , AND THE MISSED OPPORTUNITY OF WORKING OVERSEAS HAD HE BEEN INFLEXIBLE (PETER)
		DESCRIBES HIMSELF BEING "BLOKEY" DURING THIS TIME- DRIVING CARS FULL OF FIELD WORKERS, BUYING EVERYONE BEERS, PHYSICAL MANUAL WORK (PETER)
RECLAIMED FEMININITY		ONCE BACK IN UK DYED HIS HAIR, "TOOK BACK ON ALL THOSE OLD FACETS" (PETER)

Table 7

Main data category: *Intersecting identities*

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES
INTERSECTION OF ETHNICITY AND EFFEMINACY	DIFFERENT CULTURAL NORMS OF MASCULINITY	<p>INDIAN MEN TENDED TO BE MORE EFFEMINATE EMOTIONAL, OPEN CULTURE “THERE’S AN ACCEPTANCE IN INDIAN CULTURE OF SOMEBODY WHO IS A BIT EMOTIONAL AND SOMEBODY WHO TALKS WITH THEIR HANDS AND IT STILL FITS WITHIN THE RANGE OF BEHAVIOUR OF MEN”(BALWINDER)</p>
		<p>WHITE MASCULINE GAY FRIENDS ARE DEEMED MORE STOIC, DOMINANT “I MIX WITH.... SOME VERY DOMINANT CHARACTERS. MIDDLE CLASS, WHITE, PROFESSIONAL MEN IN THEIR 40S WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS REALLY STRAIGHT ACTING” (BALWINDER)</p>
		<p><u>CONTRASTING VIEW</u> NOTES SYMMETRIES BETWEEN SIKH MASCULINITY AND GERMANIC, WESTERN MASCULINITY “SIKHS HAVE A VERY MASCULINE CULTURE, ALMOST A SORT OF GERMANIC MASCULINE CULTURE. SIKHS ARE PROBABLY THE LEAST INDIAN OF THE INDIANS, IF YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN?” (BALWINDER)</p>
		<p><u>CONTRAST</u> EFFEMINACY IN ASIAN GAY MEN VIEWED AS A WAY OF ACTING SPECIAL “I’VE MET HAVE BEEN PEOPLE FROM AN ASIAN BACKGROUND AND THEY, YEAH, VERY, VERY WOUNDED, WOUNDED INDIVIDUALS... SEEKING TO MAKE THEMSELVES FEEL SPECIAL, YOU KNOW, BY BEHAVING IN KIND OF A SPECIAL WAY.” “(BALWINDER)</p>
	RACIAL SEXISM AND STEREOTYPES IN THE GAY SCENE	<p>THINGS ARE WORSE FOR MEN OF ETHNICITY WHO ARE EFFEMINATE IN DATING WORLD “SO IN TERMS OF FINDING A RELATIONSHIP IT’S QUITE DIFFICULT, BUT IF YOU HAVE, IF YOU’RE IN AN ETHNIC MINORITY AND YOU’RE EFFEMINATE IT’S LIKE “(HISSES) SORRY BUT YOU’RE IN A WHOLE WORLD OF YOUR OWN.” (SAM)</p>
		<p>SEXUAL RACISM EVIDENCED IN ONLINE PROFILES “ (NAMES GAY MENS PHONE APP) ‘I DON’T DO INDIANS, I DON’T DO ASIAN, WHITE’S ONLY.’ WHAT IS THAT? IT’S DISGUSTING. AND IN MY, IN THE DATING WORLD, IT’S SO MUCH, IT’S LIKE “ I DON’T DO BLACK, I DON’T DO,” UM, YOU KNOW PEOPLE, PEOPLE SAY THIS, UM, I SURE I GET IT, YOU HAVE TYPES, UM, AND YOU HAVE, UM, CERTAIN THINGS THAT YOU’RE ATTRACTED TO, BUT I THINK THERE’S ALMOST ... “(SAM)</p>
		<p>INTERNALISED SEXUAL RACISM? “WE’VE GROWN UP WITH IDEAS OF BEAUTY AND WHAT WE FANCY TENDS TO BE, SO MANY GAY MEN, ASIAN GAY MEN I KNOW, SAY TO ME, ‘I DO NOT DATE OTHER GAY ASIAN MEN. I ONLY DATE WHITE MEN, BECAUSE I ONLY FIND WHITE MEN ATTRACTIVE, SEXUALLY ATTRACTIVE. AND DATING ANOTHER ASIAN WOULD BE LIKE DATING A BROTHER. IT WOULD BE LIKE, IT</p>

		<p>WOULD BE INCESTUOUS.' BECAUSE WE'RE ALWAYS LOOKING, OR MOST OF US ARE LOOKING FOR, THAT GUY WE FANCY WHO JUST HAPPENS TO BE...IN THE WHITE GROUP. " (BALWINDER)</p> <p>CONTRAST FORGIVING EFFEMINACY IN ETHNIC MEN " I HAD A FRIEND, ... HE'S WHITE BUT HE LIKES DARKER GUYS AND HE SAID TO ME, HE SAID... I LIKE DARKER GUYS AND I WILL EXCUSE DARKER GUYS IF THEY'RE A BIT FEMININE BUT I WON'T,' THE IMPLICATION BEING HE WOULDN'T, HE WOULDN'T, THAT WOULDN'T BE OKAY FOR WHITE GUYS" (BALWINDER)</p>
FETISHISED ETHNICITY		<p>EXPERIENCES OF FEELING PARTNERS HAVE SEEN COLOUR OF HIS SKIN, SLIM PHYSIQUE BUT NOT PERSON. UNDERESTIMATED STRENGTH (SAM)</p> <p>THE INDIAN MAN DEEMED EXOTIC BY GAY MEN "...INDIAN GUY. GAY GUY. VERY NON MASCULINE, VERY SLIM AND I REMEMBER WATCHING HIM AND LOOKING AT HIM AND THINK-, AND I REMEMBER... HE SAID WHEN HE WAS LIVING IN THE INDIAN WORLD, HE WAS DEEMED TO BE A VERY UNATTRACTIVE BOY 'CAUSE HE WAS LITTLE, PETITE, THIN, ALL HIS CLOTHES WERE TOO BIG FOR HIM, HE STARTED GOING BALD EARLY SO HE SHAVED HIS HAIR, HE WORE GLASSES, SO A LOT OF THE INDIAN GIRLS ALWAYS THOUGHT HE WAS REALLY UNATTRACTIVE BUT HE SAID THAT WHEN PUT IN ON A GAY BAR, IN A TIGHT T-SHIRT AND SUDDENLY HE'S SOMEBODY WHOSE EXOTIC AND ATTRACTIVE" (BALWINDER)</p> <p>EROTIC ACCOUNT OF WHITENESS/ SMOOTHNESS OF CAUCASIAN SKIN DURING FIRST SEXUAL ENCOUNTER "...I REMEMBER THINKING HOW SMOOTH AND WHITE HIS SKIN WAS, AND I REMEMBER THINKING HOW PRETTY HIS DICK WAS...I'D JUST BEEN DREAMING ABOUT IT FOR YEARS AND YEARS AND YEARS. UM, BUT I REMEMBER HOW...HOW SUNNY IT WAS AND HOW WHITE HIS SKIN WAS, YOU KNOW?" (BALWINDER)</p>
POWER DYNAMICS AND ETHNICITY		<p>APPEASEMENT OF WHITE, DOMINANT GAY FRIENDS- ADOPTING A "MOTHER HEN" ROLE WITH FRIENDS (BALWINDER)</p> <p>ADOPTING A DUTIFUL DOMESTIC ROLE FOR A UNRECIPROCATED WHITE MALE LOVE INTEREST (BALWINDER)</p> <p>FEELING INFANTILE COMPARED TO WHITE LOVE INTEREST- EXPLAINED BY SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE (BALWINDER)</p> <p>POWER DYNAMICS STEREOTYPED "... IT FEELS AS IF SOMETIMES THE PEOPLE THE PEOPLE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN BROWN SKIN, OR PEOPLE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN, SAY, CHINESE GUYS OR BLACK GUYS, THEY'RE FETISHIZING THE SKIN COLOUR, THEY'RE FETISHIZING THEIR ROLE AND THEY HAVE THIS DOMINANCE WITHIN THOSE RELATIONSHIPS SO IT'S USUALLY YOUNG CHINESE GUY WITH AN OLDER WHITE MAN AND THE WHITE MAN IS VERY DOMINANT AND THE CHINESE GUY IS A BIT MORE SUBMISSIVE, IT'S THE , UM, THE YOUNG SKINNY INDIAN WITH THE WHITE GUY" (SAM)</p>
REACTION TO INTERVIEWER'S RACE	ASSUMPTION OF RACE PRIOR TO MEETING	"IN MY HEAD YOU WERE ASIAN (LAUGHS) PROBABLY THE NAME THAT DID IT TO BE FAIR" (JACOB)
	FEELING MORE COMFORTABLE AROUND ASIAN INTERVIEWER	"I ALWAYS FEEL INSTANTLY COMFORTABLE AROUND OTHER ASIANS, ALWAYS, YOU KNOW," (BALWINDER)

	PERCEIVED SHARED EXPERIENCE ACCOMMODATING OPENNESS	“ I DON'T HAVE TO PRETEND, I DON'T HAVE TO BE THIS, I DON'T HAVE TO BE THAT, YOU KNOW? 'CAUSE...WE'VE GOT A SHARED...LIFE HAVEN'T WE? THERE'S THINGS THAT ONLY WE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT PEOPLE DON'T UNDERSTAND, UM, SO THERE'S ALL THESE SHORT CUTS ALREADY BUILT INTO DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSIONS AND, UH, AND WHEN WE'RE ROUND EACH OTHER WE, WE BECOME THE WAY THAT WE WERE WHEN WE WERE...WHEN WE WERE AT HOME WITH OUR FAMILIES. “ (BALWINDER)
	RACIAL COMMONALITY ACCOMMODATING HONESTY	“THERE'S A TRUTH TO US WHEN WE'RE AROUND EACH OTHER, YOU KNOW, WHICH, SOMETIMES YOU PUT ON AN ACT SOMETIMES WHEN YOU'RE NOT WITH, YOU KNOW, I NEVER FEEL I HAVE TO, IT'S A FUNNY THING, I NEVER FEEL LIKE I HAVE TO IMPRESS ANOTHER ASIAN PERSON” (BALWINDER)
INTERSECTION OF AGE AND GENDER EXPRESSION	NOT WANTING TO BE DEFINED BY DEMOGRAPHICS	TRYING TO RESIST BEING DEFINED BY LOOK, AGE, SEX, GENDER OR SEXUALITY (MICHAEL)
	EXPECTATION TO DRESS DIFFERENTLY DUE TO AGE	FRIENDS IMPLY MICHAEL SHOULD DRESS IN LESS ECCENTRIC STYLE DUE TO AGE (MICHAEL)
		HAS ALWAYS DRESSED UNCONVENTIONALLY, BUT STATES “AS YOU GET OLDER ...YOU MIGHT BE SEEN AS AN ODDBALL OR FREAK.” ALSO RECEIVED HOMOPHOBIC TAUNTS (MICHAEL)
		ALSO RELATES THIS TO LIVING IN A SMALL TOWN IN WEST MIDLANDS, RATHER THAN LONDON “NO ONE LOOKS AT YOU WHATEVER YOU DO, SAY OR WHATEVER” (MICHAEL)
	TRADITIONAL MASCULINE ROLES VARY DEPENDING ON AGE	BEING MALE OR FEMALE DOESN'T MATTER TO A CHILD. IN SEEKING A RELATIONSHIP TRADITION MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY MAY BE IMPORTANT. LESS OF AN ISSUE TO THOSE WHO ARE SETTLED/ BROADMINDED (MICHAEL)
“HOMOSEXAGEISM”	JACOB UNDERSTANDS HOSTILITY FROM A PREVIOUS WORK SUPERVISOR AS BEING DUE TO “MY SEXUALITY, MY GENDER AND MY AGE” STATING SHE TYPICALLY WORKED WITH MIDDLE CLASS, WHITE FEMALES (JACOB)	
INTERSECTION OF WEIGHT AND EFFEMINACY	THE EFFORT TO CHANGE GENDER EXPRESSION COMPARED TO EFFORT TO LOSE WEIGHT	“...WHY DON'T YOU? YEAH. BECAUSE IT TAKES EFFORT TO DO ANYTHING. IT'S LIKE IF YOU'VE GOT SOMEONE WHO'S REALLY OBESE, THEY CAN, THEY LOST WEIGHT ( <i>SIGHS</i> )IT MAKES THEIR LIFE MISERABLE, THEY...GET DISCRIMINATED IN JOBS, IN RELATIONSHIPS, THEIR HEALTH IS AWFUL. YOU KNOW, YOU CAN SAY TO SOMEONE WHO IS REALLY OBESE THAT THEY, 'YOU KNOW, YOU CAN DO SOMETHING.' THEY HATE BEING FAT BUT THEN IT'S LIKE, 'WELL THEN WHY DON'T YOU DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT?' BECAUSE IT'S NOT THAT EASY, IS IT?” (BALWINDER)
	FOOD AND EFFEMINACY VIEWED AS SELF- COMFORT	“IS IT LIKE WEIGHT? IS IT LIKE FOOD? FAT PEOPLE EAT BECAUSE THEY'RE SELF-SOOTHING THEMSELVES. ARE WE, DO WE, DO WE, DO WE BECOME MORE AND MORE NON-MASCULINE, MORE AND MORE FEMININE BECAUSE IT'S A WAY OF COMFORTING OURSELVES?” (BALWINDER)
	GAY SCENE VALUING PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS	GAY SCENE VALUING FITNESS MORE THAN STRAIGHT “THE FITTER YOU ARE THE MORE ATTRACTIVE YOU ARE. I MEAN I, THAT'S JUST, IT'S JUST LIFE, OF COURSE YOU, YOU KNOW. WHEREAS WOMEN CAN AND DO SOMETIMES LOOK THROUGH THESE THINGS WITH, WITH STRAIGHT MEN, BECAUSE THEY MAY LOOK AT THINGS LIKE 'IS HE RICH OR IS HE A NICE PERSON?' YOU KNOW, IN THE GAY WORLD IT IS VERY

		<p>PHYSICAL. GAY WORLD IS VERY PHYSICAL.” (BALWINDER)</p> <p>OVERLOOKED WHEN FAT- CONTRAST WITH SLIM FRIEND .’YOU KNOW, WE USED TO HAVE, WE USED TO GO OUT TOGETHER AND I WAS STILL QUITE OVERWEIGHT AT THAT POINT AND PEOPLE WOULD SAY ‘OH YOU KNOW, UM, DO YOU WANT TO TAKE A PICTURE HERE?’ AND THEY’D SAY TO ME ‘DO YOU WANT TO JUST MOVE OUT OF THE WAY?’ (LAUGHS) AND I KIND PROCESSED IT, I’M NOT STUPID, I’M PROCESSING IT, I’M THINKING ‘OKAY SO, WHAT I NEED TO DO HERE IS LOSE WEIGHT.’” (BALWINDER)</p> <p>PRESSURE TO LOSE WEIGHT “...THE GAY GUYS IT WAS ALSO LIKE, ‘LOSE WEIGHT OR YOU’RE NOT ATTRACTIVE, LOST WEIGHT AND WE’LL SLEEP WITH YOU.’ SO IT JUST, COMING FROM ALL SIDES AND SO I THOUGHT ‘RIGHT OKAY I WILL,’ AND I DID. CIGARETTES HELPED.” (BALWINDER)</p> <p>WEIGHT LOSS MADE HIM ATTRACTIVE “NOW INTO MY EARLY FORTIES...LOST...I LOST AL-, AN AWFUL LOT OF WEIGHT, I BECAME SUPER SKINNY AND BECAME INCREDIBLY FASHIONABLE AND I HAD A MOMENT OF, I DUNNO, I DUNNO HOW YOU WOULD DESCRIBE IT BUT A PERIOD OF ALL, ALL THE THINGS THAT I THOUGHT THAT I WANTED TO HAPPEN IN MY LIFE KIND OF HAPPENED, YOU KNOW I LOST A LOT OF WEIGHT, I STARTED WEARING REALLY LOVELY CLOTHES, I HAD A FULL BODY LIFT TO GET RID OF THE LOOSE SAGGY SKIN. I BECAME WHAT YOU WOULD CONSIDER TO BE A VERY SUCCESSFUL, PEOPLE SAID I WAS ATTRACTIVE WHEN I WAS REALLY SKINNY. I COULD GO INTO A BAR AND PULL ANYTIME I WANTED. I WAS...I’D MADE MYSELF ATTRACTIVE, SUPER ATTRACTIVE, BUT IT WAS STILL ME INSIDE, YOU KNOW, SO I WAS STILL THE FAT BOY INSIDE. THE INSECURE FAT BOY INSIDE EVEN THOUGH PEOPLE LOOKED AT ME AND SAW THIS... INCREDIBLY THIN, FIT, DRESSED IN DESIGNER CLOTHES, THAT KIND OF STUFF.” (BALWINDER)</p>
	<p>CONTRAST WEIGHT ALSO JUDGED OUTSIDE GAY SCENE</p>	<p>WEIGHT LOSS AND SUCCESS “BUT LOSING WEIGHT WASN’T JUST ABOUT HAVING SEX, LOSING WEIGHT WAS ABOUT THE LONDON EFFECT ON ME, YOU KNOW, BEING SUCCESSFUL. FAT PEOPLE, BEING FAT IN LONDON IS NOT A SIGN OF SUCCESS, SO YOU KNOW HOW I TOLD YOU ABOUT FITTING IN WITH THESE...THESE POWER GROUPS I WAS ASSOCIATING WITH, NONE OF THEM WERE FAT” (BALWINDER)</p>
<p>GAY SCENE AND DIVERSITY</p>	<p>SEGREGATED BY TYPE</p>	<p>GAY SCENE DESCRIBED AS CONSISTING OF SEPARATE DISTINCT GROUPS “THERE WAS LOTS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF... YOU KNOW, STEREOTYPES AND ALL CONGREGATING TOGETHER SO YOU’D MAYBE HAVE ALL THE LIONS OVER THERE, ALL THE HYENAS OVER THERE, ALL THE FLAMINGOS THERE, AND IT WAS VERY MUCH LIKE THAT, LIKE AN ANIMAL KINGDOM. “ (MICHAEL)</p>
	<p>HOSTILE, DIFFICULT TO ENGAGE WITH</p>	<p>“ERM, AND ALMOST REGIMENTED, AND I JUST FOUND IT VERY SAD. ERM, AND CATTY... AND THESE ARE ALL PERCEPTIONS BECAUSE I HAD VERY LITTLE TO BASE IT ON BECAUSE I WAS NATURALLY SHY OF ENGAGING IN ANY KIND OF CONVERSATION” (BALWINDER)</p>



<p>REJECTION BASED UPON THE VALUES OF SUBGROUPS</p>	<p>REJECTION BASED UPON THE VALUES OF THESE SUBGROUPS “SO YOU’VE GOT THAT EXTREME BUT THEN YOU’VE GOT, ERM, THE SORT OF, ERM, I DON’T KNOW, ERM... MAYBE THE – AND THIS WOULD BE ANOTHER SORT OF CROWD, I’VE MIXED WITH DIFFERENT GROUPS, MAYBE SOME, ER... IT MIGHT’VE BEEN DRAG, ERM, A SORT OF TRANS LOOK, A SORT OF... VICTOR / VICTORIA LOOK – SO THERE’LL BE A GROUP OF PEOPLE, GOING THROUGH THAT WHOLE RANGE, THAT THINK THEY REALLY LOOK THE BUSINESS, AND THEY’LL LOOK AT YOU AND THINK “YOU DON’T MATCH UP TO US”, BECAUSE YOU’RE MAYBE IN NOT QUITE JUST THE RIGHT THING, YOU KNOW THE CERTAIN AREA, AND YOU’LL HEAR A – AS YOU WALK BY, YOU’LL HEAR A CAT- YOU’LL HEAR A CATTY REMARK. SO DEPENDING ON WHERE YOU’RE WALKING PAST, THERE WOULD BE SOME KIND OF ERM, REMARK THAT WOULD BE INDIGENOUS TO THAT KIND OF GROUP OF PEOPLE. SO I DIDN’T FEEL I FITTED IN WITH ANY OF THEM. OR HAD ANYTHING IN COMMON” (MICHAEL)</p>
<p>VALUING HOMOGENEITY</p>	<p>LACK OF DIVERSITY AMONGST GAY SOCIAL GROUP “THEY VOTE WITH THEIR FEET...THEY’RE ALMOST CLONING EACH OTHER. THERE’S NO REAL DIVERSITY IN THEIR GROUP. I AM, I AM HONESTLY THE ONLY COLOURED PERSON, ASIAN PERSON IN THAT ENTIRE GROUP” (BALWINDER)</p> <hr/> <p>PICNIC ANECDOTE- UNCOMFORTABLE MEETING OF INSULAR WHITE MIDDLE CLASS GAY GROUP AND RACIALLY/GENDER DIVERSE ONE (BALWINDER)</p> <hr/> <p>CONTRAST WHITE AND MIDDLE CLASS DEMOGRAPHICS MORE IMPORTANT IN UNDERSTANDING PREJUDICE THAN SEXUALITY “I DON’T THINK IT’S ABOUT BEING GAY OR STRAIGHT. I THINK IT’S ABOUT BEING WHITE, MIDDLE CLASS...MEN. IS THAT THEY REALLY ONLY WANNA ASSOCIATE WITH PEOPLE WHO ARE VERY SIMILAR TO THEM.” (BALWINDER)</p> <hr/> <p>CONTRAST STRAIGHT WHITE MIDDLE CLASS MEN ARE MORE TOLERANT OF RACIAL DIVERSITY</p> <p>“WITH PROFESSIONAL WHITE MIDDLE CLASS MEN IN LONDON... THEY’RE MORE ACCEPTING OF RACIAL DIVERSITY IN THEIR GROUP THAN WHITE, MIDDLE CLASS GAY MEN. THERE’S MORE MIXING IN THE STRAIGHT WORLD RACIALLY THAN THERE IS IN THE STRAIGHT WORLD, UH, IN THE GAY WORLD. I MEAN I HAVE TO SAY, WHEN I MOVED DOWN HERE I WAS ACCEPTED QUITE READILY INTO THE... STRAIGHT...WORLD, STRAIGHT MEN, WHITE MIDDLE, BECAUSE THEY’VE BEEN, THEY’VE BEEN LECTURED AT AND TAUGHT OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS ABOUT DIVERSITY. SO THEY’VE BEEN TOLD THAT THEY HAVE TO, THEY GO AWAY TO UNIVERSITY AND MAKE NEW FRIENDS AND ETCETERA ECETERA.” (BALWINDER)</p>

Table 8

Main data category: *The merit of non-masculinity*

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES
NON-MASCULINITY AND POWER	POWER IN EFFEMINACY	RECENTLY DISCOVERING THERE CAN BE A POWER IN EFFEMINACY AS WELL (SAM)
		STRENGTH OF EFFEMINACY DISCOVERED ALONGSIDE AWARENESS OF SEXUALITY AND STRONGER FRIENDSHIPS (SAM)
	COMPETITIVE EDGE	PLAYING ON THE VULNERABLE PERSON ROLE TO HIS BENEFIT (E.G. COMPETITIVE EDGE IN SPORT) <b>SEE MARGINALISATION- LOWERED EXPECTATIONS</b>
	CAMP AS COMBATIVE	MEETING WITH SUPERVISOR – “I WENT IN GUNS BLAZING- I WENT BACK TO BEING CAMP JACOB, JOKEY JACOB” (JACOB)
		CAMP DESCRIBED AS A CARICATURE OF HIMSELF “A KIND OF BATTLE CRY.” NOT THREATENING BUT STRONG (JACOB)
	DESCRIBES THIS AS “PERSONALITY DRAG” EMBODYING A “HYPER WOMAN (JACOB)	
NON MASCULINITY AND BEING SOCIALLY ADEPT/ CONSTRUCTIVE	CARING/ COMPASSIONATE ROLE	STRENGTHS INCLUDE- ABILITY TO CONNECT WITH PEOPLE , NOT BEING A THREAT , BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS (SAM)
		NURTURING AND CARING TOWARDS OTHERS (MICHAEL)
		DESCRIBING A CARING MATERNAL ROLE, LOOKING UPON THOSE WEAKER THAN HIM/ SHOWING COMPASSION, ENCOURAGING OTHERS AT WORK TO GO FOR PROMOTION RATHER THAN COMPETING (CRAIG)
	NON-MASCULINITY AND HUMOUR	AN AWARENESS OF THE STRENGTHS OF HIS EFFEMINACY- APPROACHABLE, LIKEABLE, COMEDIC. “HAS ITS USES” (JACOB)
	EFFEMINACY LINKED TO MAKING PEOPLE LAUGH- PARTICULARLY MIDDLE AGED WOMEN (JACOB)	
	THE “CAMP THING” ASSOCIATED WITH BEING FUNNY, A ROLE HE WILL PLAY WHEN WITH A GROUP OF FRIENDS (SAM)	
	ROLE AS CONFIDANTE/ ADVICE GIVER	AS ADOLESCENT WAS CONFIDANTE TO WOMEN IN THEIR 40S (SAM)

		"ALL THE GUYS" WOULD TALK TO SAM ABOUT PROBLEMS AND RELATIONSHIPS (SAM)
NON-MASCULINITY ADVANTAGEOUS IN WORKPLACE	CAMP ENABLING RAPPORT	RESIDENTS IN HOME FOR ELDERLY RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO CAMP, MADE THEM LAUGH, SO JACOB HEIGHTENED THIS (JACOB)
		CAMP ONLY WITH FEMALE RESIDENTS- SAFER TO EXPRESS WITH WOMEN (JACOB)
		"THEY THOUGHT I WAS PAUL O' GRADY)" COMPARED TO CAMP MEDIA PERSONALITIES (JACOB)
THE VALUE OF EXPRESSIVENESS IN SPEECH THERAPY		WORKING AS A SPEECH THERAPY TRAINEE WITH DEAF CHILDREN, JACOB'S FLAMBOYANCE, EXPRESSIVENESS, "VISUALLY NOISY FACE" WERE HIGHLIGHTED AS STRENGTHS BY SUPERVISOR (JACOB)
		JACOB STATED THE GAY "STEREOTYPE" OF BIG BODY MOVEMENTS ACTIVELY HELPED HIS ROLE (JACOB)
		"TEARS OF JOY" AT THIS VALIDATION FEELING ACCEPTED AT WORK IN HIS ENTIRETY "THE WHOLE PACKAGE" (JACOB)
IN ACCOMMODATING THE POWER OF MANAGERS		IN WORKING FOR POWERFUL FEMALE BOSSES, FLEXIBLE SUBTLE POWER ALLOWED SAME TO "LET THEM FEEL ALL POWERFUL BUT STILL MAKE THINGS HAPPEN" (SAM)
FLIRTATIOUS CAMP PERSONA REWARDED WITH TIPS		BEING "CAMPIER" IN WAITER JOB, MORE FLIRTATIOUS, CHATTIER, WAS REWARDED WITH TIPS AND ROLE AS HEAD WAITER (PETER)
		THIS CARVED OUT A NICHE ROLE, HIGHLIGHTED INDIVIDUALITY "I BECAME THE GAY GUY." (PETER)
		"LUCKILY" NOT ABUSED BY COLLEAGUES FOR THIS (PETER)
		MALE EFFEMINACY HAVING COMPETITIVE EDGE OVER WOMEN IN SEXIST RESTAURANT ENVIRONMENT, EMBODYING WOMEN'S QUALITIES WHILST "STILL A MAN." (PETER)
<b>CONTRAST</b> – WORKPLACE ACCOMMODATING PERSONAL EXPRESSION	WORKING LIFE AND FREEDOM	WORKING LIFE AND FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE ACCOMMODATED FREEDOM OF SELF EXPRESSION "AWAY FROM PATERNAL EXPECTATIONS" E.G. EXPECTATION TO PROVIDE GRANDCHILDREN (CRAIG)
	INDUSTRIES WHERE SEXUALITY IS ACCEPTED	PARTNER WORKS IN HOTEL HOSPITALITY- SEXUALITY, RACE AND RELIGION HAVE NO BEARING ON TREATMENT, THOUGH AN UN-PC WORLD (MICHAEL)

Table 9

Main data category: *Theorised origin and function of non-masculinity*

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES	
NON-MASCULINITY PRESENT IN CHILDHOOD	VARYING DOMAINS OF CHILDHOOD GENDER NONCONFORMITY	DEVIATION FROM MASCULINITY NORMS OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS ( <i>E.G. NOT ENJOYING FOOTBALL, CRICKET</i> ) (BALWINDER, CRAIG)	
		FEELING MORE COMFORTABLE IN COMPANY OF FEMALES (SAM, JACOB)	
		PRESENCE OF TRAITS, BEHAVIOURS AND INTERESTS DEEMED EFFEMINATE- HIGH PITCHED VOICE (SAM), DANCING, SINGING (BALWINDER), INTEREST IN GIRLS CLOTHING, COURTEOUS (TERRY)	
		CHILDHOOD A TIME OF NOT BEING GENDERED (PETER)	
		MOCKING GENDER PLAY (PRETENDING TO BE GIRLS) NORMAL AMONGST MALE PEER GROUP (TERRY)	
		EMERGING HOMOSEXUAL ATTRACTION (TERRY)	
		<u>CONTRASTING VIEW</u> - FEELING DIFFERENT FROM STEREOTYPES OF GAY MEN (TERRY)	
	CHILDHOOD REJECTION/ HOSTILITY BY OTHERS ON BASIS OF GENDER NONCONFORMITY	ABRUPT END OF FRIENDSHIP ON BASIS OF GENDER NONCONFORMITY (DISINTEREST IN SPORT) (BALWINDER)	
		LABELLED A "GIRL" BY OTHERS (JACOB)	
		BEING MADE TO FEEL BORN AS WRONG SEX (SAM)	
		EFFEMINACY WAS USED TO INSULT (SAM)	
		HOMOPHOBIC INSULTS DIRECTED AT OTHER EFFEMINATE BOYS (TERRY)	
		<u>CONTRASTING VIEW</u> - FEELING EFFEMINACY DID NOT IMPACT POPULARITY WITH PEERS (SAM)	
		PARENTAL CONFUSION AT SON NOT ASCRIBING TO MASCULINE STEREOTYPE (CRAIG)	
	GENDER NON CONFORMITY PRECEDING AWARENESS OF SEXUALITY	SENSE OF DIFFERENCE FROM OTHERS (BALWINDER)	
		EFFEMINACY PRECEDING OWN HOMOPHILIC FEELINGS (TERRY)	
		EFFEMINACY PRECEDING "KNOWING WHAT GAY WAS" (JACOB)	
	CHILDHOOD GENDER NONCONFORMITY A SIGN OF HOMOSEXUALITY TO OTHERS	VALUING OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF DISCOVERY- DECISION OF FAMILY WITH TO NOT SHARE SUSPICIONS OF HOMOSEXUALITY WITH THE CHILD/ THEIR PARENTS (TERRY)	
		STEREOTYPES OF EFFEMINACY / FLAMBOYANCE STRONGLY ASSOCIATED WITH HOMOSEXUALITY (TERRY)	
		HOMOPHOBIC INSULTS DIRECTED AT OTHER GENDER NONCONFORMING BOYS (TERRY)	
		TEACHER INFORMING TERRY'S PARENTS HE MAY BE GAY. (TERRY)	
	NON-MASCULINITY	CONFUSION	TERRY'S NEPHEW IS BELIEVED TO BE GAY BECAUSE OF HIS TASTE IN CLOTHES (TERRY)
			HEIGHTENED EFFEMINACY IN MEN IS INTERPRETED AS A "GENDER DISCOMBOBULATION" (JACOB)

AS GENDER CONFUSION/ BETRAYAL	BETRAYAL OF GENDER	CAMP/ FEMININE AS BETRAYAL OF GENDER “I THINK IT’S KIND OF LIKE A BETRAYAL OF YOUR GENDER ..., I’M NOT SAYING GENDERS ARE TWO, THERE’S TWO SEPARATE GENDERS, I BELIEVE THERE IS A SPECTRUM BUT IT’S MY PERSONAL OPINION” (JACOB)
		EFFEMINATE MEN “SHOULD REMEMBER THEY’RE MEN “ (JACOB)
NON-MASCULINITY ASSOCIATED WITH EMOTIONAL DAMAGE/ STUNTEDNESS	“FUCKED UP”	DESCRIPTION OF FORMER “ REALLY FEMININE” FRIEND RAJ, DESCRIBED AS “MOST WOUNDED MAN I EVER MET” AND “FUCKED UP”(BALWINDER)
		BALWINDER SEES A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN “HYPER NON MASCULINITY” AND BEING FUCKED UP (BALWINDER)
		“HOPES” FOR THERE TO BE GAY MEN WHO ARE NON-MASCULINE AND “NOT FUCKED UP.” (BALWINDER)
	CHILDISHNESS	EFFEMINACY DEFINED AS A CHILDISHNESS THAT IS NOT GROWN OUT OF – USE OF HANDS, EYES, FACES (BALWINDER)
	<u>CONTRAST</u> MASCULINE MEN AS MATURE	SUGGESTS ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MASCULINITY AND EMOTIONAL MATURITY “SELF PARENTING” (BALWINDER)
		VIEWS ADOPTING MORE MASCULINE TRAITS AS EMPOWERMENT AND A WAY OF GROWING UP, CONTROLLING EMOTIONS (BALWINDER)
NON-MASCULINITY RESULTING FROM SOCIAL GROUP	FEMALE COMPANY	HYPOTHESISES THAT POTENTIAL PARTNER’S EFFEMINACY IS POSSIBLY DUE TO SPENDING LOTS OF TIME IN FEMALE COMPANY (BALWINDER)
	AFTER JOINING LGBT SOCIETY	PETER’S STORY OF A QUIET RESERVED GAY STUDENT WHO BECAME “VERY, VERY, VERY FLAMBOYANT” AFTER JOINING LGBT SOCIETY– AFFECTATIONS OF SPEECH AND CHARACTER (PETER)
		VIEWED AS “NOT SOMETHING THAT WAS HIS OWN PERSONALITY, IT WAS SOMETHING HE HAD...SUCKED UP TAKEN ON....FROM A GROUP.” SOMETHING PETER HAS SEEN BEFORE (PETER)
NON-MASCULINITY INDICATES ACCEPTANCE OF SEXUALITY	“GLAD TO BE GAY”	MAN ON ONLINE FORUM STATES “I’M GLAD TO BE GAY , BECAUSE IT INFLUENCES HOW I THINK, SPEAK, EVERYTHING I DO.” (MICHAEL)
		MICHAEL INTERPRETS THIS AS “I’VE NEVER COME ACROSS ...PEOPLE IN MY LIFE WHERE THEY FEEL ONE PART OF THEIR LIFE TOTALLY DEFINES THEM, SO – AND THAT SOUNDS QUITE STRANGE” (MICHAEL)
	COMFORTABLE IN THEIR OWN SEXUALITY	“I GUESS IN A WAY IT’S SOMETHING THAT I’M JEALOUS OR ENVIOUS THAT THEY’RE SO COMFORTABLE WITH THEIR, THEIR OWN... PORTRAYAL OF SEXUAL-, THEIR OWN SEXUALITY AND THEY WANT PEOPLE TO KNOW ABOUT IT” (PETROS)
DEFENSIVE FUNCTION OF NON-MASCULINITY	NON-MASCULINITY AS AN ESTEEM BOOST	RAJ’S EFFEMINACY DESCRIBED AS AN “ESTEEM BOOST” (BALWINDER)
		SPECIALNESS- RACIAL DIMENSION SUGGESTED- ASIAN MEN IN PARTICULAR “MAKING SELVES FEEL BETTER BY ACTING SPECIAL.” (BALWINDER) * <b>SEE INTERSECTION OF IDENTITIES</b>
	PROTECTIVE	RAJ’S EFFEMINACY DESCRIBED AS “ARMOUR” PROTECTING HIMSELF FROM OTHER PEOPLE. (BALWINDER)
	“BITCHINESS” AS REACTIVE TO NEGATIVITY	“YOU KNOW NO ONE LIKES THE “BITCHY GAY” UM, BUT THERE’S NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARDS EFFEMINATE MEN ARE MAKING THEM EVEN MORE BITCHY “(SAM)
	APPEASEMENT/ DEFERENCE	“MAYBE WE...MAYBE WE S-, MAYBE WE START ADOPTING NON-MASCULINE BEHAVIOURS BECAUSE

		THEY'RE A WAY OF MAKING US LESS THREATENING, THEY'RE AN APPEASEMENT TO PEOPLE AROUND US" (BALWINDER)
		DEFERENCE NOTED BY SISTER "ONCE I WAS IN, I WAS IN A, A RESTAURANT WITH A FRIEND AND I WAS TALKING TO HIM AND MY SISTER WALKED BY AND SHE SAW ME BUT I DIDN'T SEE HER AND THEN LATER ON THAT EVENING I WENT ROUND TO HER FLAT AND SHE SAID TO ME, 'WHAT, WHY WERE YOU DOING THAT?' I SAID "WHAT? DOING WHAT?" SHE SAID, 'WHY WERE YOU PUTTING ON THAT DEFERENTIAL FACE,' SHE SAID, 'YOU WERE LISTENING TO THIS GUY TALKING,' AND SHE SAID "YOU HAD THIS...COMPLETELY VAPID SMILE ON YOUR FACE, LOOKING UP AT HIM LIKE AS IF HE WAS, LIKE HE WAS JUST, YOU KNOW, LIKE HE WAS A GOD," AND SHE SAID, 'YOU'RE NOT LIKE THAT.' 'CAUSE SHE KNOWS ME, SHE'S MY SISTER, YOU KNOW, I DON'T HAVE TO TRY WITH HER AND SHE SAID "WHY DO YOU BEHAVE LIKE THAT? WHY ARE YOU TRYING TO, WHAT ARE YOU TRYING TO GET?'" (BALWINDER)
SELF- SOOTHING NATURE OF NON-MASCULINITY	IDENTIFICATION WITH MATERNAL CARERS	"... MAYBE BEING NON-MASCULINE IS A FORM OF SELF-SOOTHING FOR GAY MEN ...PLAYING OUT THE BEHAVIOURS OF WOMEN WHO CARED FOR US, SO THAT WE'RE IDENTIFYING WITH OUR CARERS RATHER THAN THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T CARE FOR US. YOU, YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT I MEAN? SO THERE'S A PART OF ME THAT WONDERS, I'M JUST, EVEN NOW, JUST THINKING ABOUT IT, IS IT A SELF-SOOTHING?" (BALWINDER)
	COMPARISON WITH COMFORT EATING	<b>*SEE INTERSECTION OF IDENTITIES- OBESITY</b>
NON-MASCULINITY AS A CONSCIOUS EXPRESSION OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION	TO ATTRACT MEN	VIEWS THE SHIFT OF A MAN FROM MASCULINE "CHAV BULLY" TO VERY CAMP "LEGWARMERS" AS "PEACOCKING" – MAKING HIMSELF AVAILABLE TO MEN (JACOB) PREVIOUSLY "PEACOCKED"- DILEMMA OF WANTING TO COMMUNICATE SEXUALITY BUT NOT CAMPNESS (JACOB)
	EXAGGERATING "GAY"	CAMP FRIEND "JUST TRIED TO MAKE HIMSELF AS GAY AS POSSIBLE." (TERRY) CONTRAST TO FRIENDS TWIN BROTHER "HIS BROTHER DOESN'T LOOK CAMP OR GAY BECAUSE HIS BROTHER DOESN'T TRY TO MAKE HIMSELF LOOK CAMP OR GAY." (TERRY)
	WANTING PEOPLE TO KNOW	REGARDING CAMP AS EXPRESSION OF SEXUALITY- "THEY WANT PEOPLE TO KNOW ABOUT IT IN A WAY, UM, IS SOMETHING THAT I FIND QUITE FASCINATING. ON THE OTHER HAND IT'S SOMETHING THAT I FEEL LIKE I DON'T NEED TO DO." (PETER)

Table 10

Main data category: Media representations of non-masculinity

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	ITEMS/ CODES
EXAMPLES OF MEDIA EFFEMINACY	QUENTIN CRISP	REFERENCE TO SEEING JOHN HURT FILM "THE NAKED CIVIL SERVANT" (MICHAEL)
		BOTH ICON BUT PERCEIVED AS NON REPRESENTATIVE (MICHAEL)
		REPRESENTS FOR MANY THE "STEREOTYPICAL LIMP WRISTED QUEEN." (CRAIG)
		DEFIANT OF SOCIETY'S EXPECTATIONS, PLEASED TO BE HIMSELF AND COURAGEOUS (CRAIG)
	TV PRESENTERS AND CAMP	IDENTIFIES GRAHAM NORTON, ALAN CARR, LARRY GRAYSON (MICHAEL)
		"THE LAST THIRTY YEARS, VIRTUALLY EVERY TV PRESENTER THAT'S BEEN GAY HAS... BEEN ACCEPTABLE BECAUSE THEY'VE BEEN CAMP..." (MICHAEL)
		CAMP AS THE "ACCEPTABLE SIDE OF BEING GAY" (MICHAEL)
	CINEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF CAMP	FILMS LIKE PRISCILLA QUEEN OF THE DESSERT OF FEATURE PARODY MASCULINITY (MICHAEL)
	MEDIA REPRESENTING GAY AS "OVERTURNING" MASCULINITY	FILMS AND BOOKS OF 60S OR 70S " THE PERSON IS MASCULINE BUT BECAUSE THEY'RE GAY THEY'RE SEEN AS NON-MASCULINE AN IT'S SEEN AS SOMETHING DIRTY AND WRONG." ALSO SEES "BROKEBACK MOUNTAIN" AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS"(MICHAEL)
	ONLINE PERSONALITIES	PANTI NOBLE, A NORTHERN IRISH DRAG ENTERTAINER, IS CITED "HE HATES HIMSELF, HE HATES HIMSELF WHEN HIS FRIEND IS BEING TOO GAY AND HE TRIES TO STEER IT TO STRAIGHTER TERRITORY". (JACOB)
PANTI NOBLE RELATES SELF-HATRED TO FEELING EMBARRASSED BY EFFEMINACY OF FRIENDS (JACOB)		
CONTRASTING REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY	QUEER AS FOLK	QUEER AS FOLK WAS "MORE PUNCHY, IN-YOU-FACE, MORE GRAPHIC" MAKING VIEWERS MORE UNCOMFORTABLE.
		A SHOW THAT FEATURED "DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF MASCULINITY" AS WELL AS "STEREOTYPES." (MICHAEL)
RESPONSE OF OTHERS TO NON MASCULINITY	CAMP AS TOLERATED	GRAHAM NORTON PEOPLE MAKE COMMENTS "OH WE PUT UP WITH HIM" (MICHAEL)
	COMMENTS OF PRESENTER'S SEXUALITY	GRANDMOTHER COMMENTING ON PAUL O' GRADY "HE'S AS QUEER AS A TEN-DOLLAR BILL." (TERRY)

		GRAHAM NORTON OBSTRUCTING ATTEMPT AT COMING OUT TO GRANDMOTHER- "HOLD ON LET ME JUST LISTEN TO THIS FAIRY ON TV FOR A SECOND." (TERRY)
IMPACT OF MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MALE EFFEMINACY ON THE SELF	RELATING TO THEMES OF SEPARATENESS	RELATES TO THE SENSE OF DISTANCE PORTRAYED IN CHARACTERS AND STORYLINES (MICHAEL)
	QUERIES SIMILARITY	"I SUPPOSE I... HAVE WONDERED, 'IS THAT HOW I'M PERCEIVED THEN?'"(MICHAEL)
	SELF-ACCEPTANCE	RELATES TO QUENTIN CRISP BEING PLEASED TO BE GAY- "ONE SAYS TO THE WORLD 'I AM A GAY MAN, IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT, WELL TOUGH. IM NOT GOING TO CHANGE.'" (CRAIG)



Table 11

Main data category: Participant reactions to non-masculinity in others

GENERIC CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY		ITEMS/ CODES
PARTICIPANT REACTIONS	SYMPATHY	FOR "FUCKED UP" NATURE OF NON-MASCULINE MAN	BALWINDER "FELT INCREDIBLY SORRY" FOR "HYPER NON MASCULINE" RAJ (BALWINDER)
		FOR NON-MASCULINE MAN PUTTING UP WITH ABUSE	REACTION TO RICK BLOCKING VERBAL ABUSE OUT BY LISTENING TO MUSIC "THAT'S HORRIBLE-IMAGINE." "THIS POOR GUY WHO HAD TO OUT UP WITH THAT"(SAM)
		FOR FAMILY OF NON-MASCULINE MEN	SYMPATHY FOR RAJ'S FATHER, A CONSERVATIVE SIKH MAN, FOR HAVING A "FUCKED UP SON" (BALWINDER)
PROTECTIVENESS			TOWARDS FRIEND RECEIVING VERBAL ABUSE - REGARDING RICK BLOCKING OUT VERBAL ABUSE WITH MUSIC "MY REACTION IS WHY SHOULD YOU HAVE TO?" "IT MAKES ME PROTECTIVE OF HIM" (SAM)
FRUSTRATION			FOR AVOIDING NOT COMBATING ABUSERS- REGARDING RICK'S AVOIDANCE OF ABUSE "IT ALSO FUELS A LITTLE RAGE IN ME THAT'S 'COME ON...HANDLE IT, DEAL WITH IT, FIGHT.'" (SAM)
DISCOMFORT IN PROXIMITY	REJECTION		WHITE POWER GROUP DIDN'T WANT TO HANG OUT WITH RAJ "BECAUSE OF HIS NATURE" (BALWINDER)
	EMBARRASSMENT		EMBARRASSED AT FRIEND BEING "REALLY GAY" ON TRAIN- WANTS THEM TO CALM DOWN (JACOB)
	SEEING NON MASCULINE MEN AS "TOO MUCH"		VIEWED AS "IN YOUR FACE" "TOO MUCH" THEATRICAL (JACOB)
	CITED EXAMPLE OF ENTERTAINER ACKNOWLEDGING THEIR OWN AVOIDANCE OF "TOO GAY" TERRITORY		PANTI NOBLE, A NORTHERN IRISH DRAG ENTERTAINER, IS CITED "HE HATES HIMSELF, HE HATES HIMSELF WHEN HIS FRIEND IS BEING TOO GAY AND HE TRIES TO STEER IT TO STRAIGHTER TERRITORY". (JACOB)
	DISTANCE FROM NON-MASCULINE FRIEND ASSOCIATED WITH SELF-BETTERMENT		ENDING FRIENDSHIP WITH RAJ ENABLED HIM TO BEFRIEND WHITE MASCULINE MEN (BALWINDER)
			NO "HYPER NON-LEFT MASCULINE" FRIENDS LEFT AND FEELS BETTER THAT- FALLEN INTO CONFORMITY AND FEEL BETTER FOR IT." (BALWINDER)
	AVOIDING GROUPS AND AREAS DEEMED STEREOTYPICAL		AVOIDS STEREOTYPICAL GROUPS –AND AREAS SUCH AS SOHO, "SETTING THE SCENE FOR TOURISTS ...ABOUT THIS IS THE WAY THAT GAY PEOPLE ARE." (PETER)
	FINDING PEOPLE WHOSE		KEEPS AWAY FROM PEOPLE ONLINE FEEL SEXUALITY "DOES DICTATE EVERYTHING AND ANYTHING

	SEXUALITY “DICTATE” TIRE SOME	THAT THEY DO AND SHOULD INFLUENCE YOUR VIEWS ON EVERYTHING- I FIND THAT TIRE SOME” (CRAIG)
ASSUMED INCAPABILITY IN WORKPLACE	EFFEMINATE MEN NEED TO WORK HARDER TO IMPRESS	STATES HE WOULD JUDGE SOMEONE NEGATIVELY “REALLY EFFEMINATE” IF PITCHING BUSINESS- “THEY WOULD HAVE TO REALLY IMPRESS ME” BELIEVING IT WOULD BE HARDER TO TAKE THEM SERIOUSLY (SAM)
	ASSUMPTION THAT EFFEMINATE MEN HAVE FEWER PROFESSIONAL SKILLS	STATES HIS INITIAL RESPONSE WOULD BE EFFEMINATE MEN ARE LESS INTELLIGENT, LESS STRONG, LESS CAPABLE, LESS ABLE, SHELTERED (SAM)
RESPECT	DRAG PERFORMER AS GAY RIGHTS ADVOCATE	PANT NOBLE, IRISH DRAG PERFORMER, DESCRIBED AS A VOCAL ADVOCATE FOR GAY RIGHTS AND SPEAKING HONESTLY ABOUT THE IMPACT OF OPPRESSION (JACOB)
	EFFEMINATE MALE FRIEND STRONG AND COMMANDING RESPECT	JAMES, A FRIEND WHO SAM LOOKED UP TO, WAS “EFFEMINATE IN SOME WAYS....VERY MASCULINE IN OTHERS” WHO COULD BE POWERFUL, STRONG AND COMMANDED RESPECT “COMFORTABLE WITH HIS SEXUALITY AND HIS FEMININITY.” (SAM)
ENVY		ENVY AND FASCINATION TOWARDS “INCREDIBLY CAMP “ MEN AS THEY ARE COMFORTABLE WITH PORTRAYING THEIR OWN SEXUALITY (PETER)
REACTIONS TO INTERVIEWER’S GENDER EXPRESSION	INTERVIEWER’S NON MASCULINITY NAMED BY PARTICIPANT	VIEWED AS CAMP “UM, BUT I, I DID GET AS A, AS A , AS AN INTERVIEWER YOU WAS QUITE AS I WOULD DESCRIBE AS CAMP, LIKE, BUT IT’S, IT’S JUST... I, I, I’M NOT REALLY SURE (LAUGHS)” (TERRY)
	NON MASCULINITY VIEWED AS CONFIRMATION OF INTERVIEWER’S SEXUAL ORIENTATION	CAMP FACIAL EXPRESSIONS CHARACTERISTICS REVEALED SEXUALITY “...THEN I THOUGHT “IS HE GOING TO BE GAY, AND IF HE’S GAY IS HE GOING TO BE CAMP OR IS HE GOING TO BE NOT CAMP?” THEN YOU CAME TO THE TILL AT (UNIVERSITY CAFÉ) AND I THOUGHT “THIS MIGHT BE (NAMES INTERVIEWER)” UM, AND I THOUGHT YEAH “YEAH, I THINK HE’S GAY,” AND yeah if you DON’T MIND ME SAYING IT, BUT YOU DO HAVE, YOU KNOW, CAMP CHARACTERISTICS, UM. THAT, YOU KNOW FACIAL EXPRESSIONS, THAT IS WHAT I DO. I DO BODY WATCH.” (JACOB)
		VOICE AND CHARACTER CONFIRMED SEXUALITY “I NATURALLY ASSUMED THAT YOU WOULD BE A GAY MAN AND I THINK AFTER, AFTER MEETING YOU I’M RIGHT I THAT ASSUMPTION, BUT I HAVEN’T ASKED YOU SO I WOULDN’T KNOW THAT, BUT I, IT’S SOMETHING THAT I WOULD ASSUME FROM YOUR CHARACTER AND YOUR S-, YOUR VOICE AND ALWAYS BEING, OF COURSE, STEREOTYPICAL AND ASSUMING THINGS ABOUT PEOPLE BUT THAT, THAT’S THE WAY PEOPLE FUNCTION.” (PETER)
	CONCERNS ABOUT POTENTIAL SEXUAL TENSION/ AWKWARDNESS WITH GAY INTERVIEWER	“IT’S LIKE, IT’S A WEIRD THING OF LIKE TWO GAYS DECIDING, BEING ON THEIR OWN, IT’S LIKE A THING, LIKE ‘IS THERE GOING TO BE SEXUAL TENSION? IS IT GOING TO BE AWKWARD, IS IT GOING TO BE ALL THAT KIND OF STUFF?’ AND THAT, THAT HAPPENS” (JACOB)
NON-MASCULINITY ACCOMMODATING	HONESTY “I’VE BEEN VERY, VERY HONEST AND THAT IS A, A GAY THING. YOU’RE APPROACHABLE AND SO I, I CAN TALK QUITE OPENLY, WHEREAS IF YOU’D BEEN VERY, VERY STRAIGHT ACTING	

	<p>OPENNESS IN PARTICIPANT</p>	<p>THEN I PROBABLY WOULDN'T" (JACOB)</p> <hr/> <p>FEELING LESS LIKELY TO BE JUDGED PARTICULARLY REGARDING SEXUAL PRACTICE "UM, AND I GUESS BECAUSE I ASSUMED THESE THINGS, OR FELT THAT I WAS, UM, VERIFIED IN MY, MY ASSUMPTIONS AFTER MEETING YOU THEN TALKING ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS LIKE GAY SEX OR HOMOSEXUAL PRACTICES OR EXPERIENCES MADE IT EASIER TO, TO PRO-, TO DO BECAUSE IT, FOR THIS PARTICULAR STUDY IT PROBABLY GIVES AN ELEMENT OF, UM, WELL, WELL OF COURSE YOU HAVE TO TREAT THINGS IN AN UNBIASED WAY YOURSELF BUT WITH THE PERSON BEING INTERVIEWED IT GIVES MORE OF A, A REASSURANCE THAT THE THINGS THEY'RE GOING TO BE, NECESSARILY, BE JUDGED OR THEY MIGHT EVEN BE UNDERSTOOD TO A GREATER LEVEL, TO A GREATER DEGREE." (PETER)</p> <hr/> <p>CONTRAST RELAXED MANNER ACCOMMODATED OPENNESS "I THOUGHT THAT THE INTERVIEW WAS CONDUCTED IN A VERY RELAXED MANNER. I THOUGHT IT'S VERY EASY TO TALK TO YOU, YOU'RE...QUITE NEUTRAL; IN THIS POSITION AND, YEAH I FELT THAT YOU UNDERSTOOD FELT UNDERSTOOD WHAT I'M TALKING ABOUT" (SAM)</p> <hr/> <p>CONTRAST THE DISCRETE NATURE OF THE INTERVIEW REASSURES PARTICIPANT "WE'RE NOT GOING TO SEE EACH OTHER AGAIN SO, NO HARM DONE. PROBABLY WILL REFLECT ON THINGS TONIGHT BUT AGAIN IT'S, IT'S A MOMENT IN TIME. I SORT OF EXPECTED THE MULTI-STEMMED QUESTIONS AND I, I'VE LIVED WITH THAT. ERM...IT'S NOT BEEN...PAINFUL.IT'S ERM, I QUITE LIKE INTROSPECTIVE CONVERSATIONS I HAVE, OR ANALYTIC QUESTIONS OR CONVERSATIONS, I HAVE THEM WITH MY FRIENDS ABOUT A WHOLE RANGE OF THINGS." (MICHAEL)</p> <hr/> <p>CONTRAST GENDER EXPRESSION MADE LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO INTERVIEW "I WOULD HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS REGARDLESS OF WHO HAD BEEN ASKING THEM. UM, I HAD, I HAD, AS YOU KNOW, I HAD NO IDEA WHO I WAS GOING TO MEET OR WHO IT COULD HAVE BEEN, THAT I WAS JUST WILLING TO HELP WITH THE STUDY REGARDLESS" (TERRY)</p>
	<p>PARTICIPANTS NOT EXPRESSING OPINIONS ABOUT GENDER EXPRESSION OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION</p>	<p>"...TO BE HONEST I DIDN'T THINK TOO MUCH ABOUT, I GUESS THERE WAS A CURIOSITY ABOUT YOU AND WHY YOU'RE DOING THE RESEARCH BUT I DIDN'T DRAW TOO MANY CONCLUSIONS." (SAM)</p> <hr/> <p>"I SEE YOU AS...UM... (SMACKS LIPS) AS AN INDIVIDUAL, A UNIQUE INDIVIDUAL AS WE ALL ARE, BUT I DON'T READ ANYTHING INTO A PERSON'S BODY LANGUAGE AND GESTURES." (CRAIG)</p>
<p>PARTICIPANT UNDERSTANDINGS OF NEGATIVE REACTIONS</p>	<p>ORIGINATING FROM SELF-HATRED</p>	<p>JACOB RELATES TO PANTI NOBLE "HE HATES HIMSELF WHEN HIS GAY FRIEND IS BEING TOO GAY AND HE TRIES TO STEER IT TO STRAIGHTER TERRITORY, HE HATES HIMSELF SOMETIMES" (JACOB)</p>
	<p>KNEE-JERK REACTIONS RELATE TO THINGS LEARNT IN PAST</p>	<p>UNDERSTANDS IMMEDIATE RESPONSE AS COMING FROM HIS PAST "WHAT YOU LEARNT A LONG TIME AGO....WHAT WAS DRILLED INTO YOU" (SAM)</p> <hr/> <p>"LET THAT PERSON PROVE YOU WRONG" WILL CHALLENGE HIS IMMEDIATE JUDGEMENTS OF EFFEMINATE MEN (SAM)</p>

NOT ACTING ON JUDGEMENT

THOUGH AWARE OF HIS OWN JUDGEMENTS “THAT I WOULD STILL HAVE NON-MASCULINE FRIENDS, AND I WOULDN'T OSTRACISE NON-MASCULINE PEOPLE BUT I...YEAH, I, I ALSO HAVE THOSE, I ALSO HAVE THOSE... VIEWS.” (BALWINDER)

### **Appendix L- Bracketing interview summary**

I met with a fellow trainee prior to starting interviews in order for us both to reflect on the areas of research we had both selected. What struck me initially is how both of us had chosen topics close to us for personal reasons. I am an effeminate gay man, and I have a sense that this, in intersection with my race, has resulted in experiences of marginalisation in numerous spheres of life. Furthermore it is a form of prejudice that feels like it isn't taken very seriously- often regarded as mere fulfilment of stereotype or source of comedic effect.

Without disclosing details of my colleague's research project, it was clear that there was a similar sense of personal hurt behind their topic area. This was interesting to me; I was aware of the idea of people being drawn to psychology in the role of "wounded healer," but had not anticipated that research would come from a similarly raw place.

We also spent time considering expectations I have of participant's stories. It was an opportunity to draw on both personal experience and the literature I have reviewed. What I identified were numerous areas of disadvantage, from romantic interests, to being more visible targets for homophobic discrimination. We noted that a bias I had was the anticipation that stories of non-masculinity would inevitably be sad ones. I have since reflected on this, and how this expectation could be inadvertently communicated during interviews. It was a reminder that I must be as open to stories of strength, success and social acceptance, particularly as narratives can be thought of as co-constructed by both participant and interviewer.

It reminds me of a previous conversation I'd had with my internal supervisor about how as a feminine male interviewer, this may impact what is shared in interviews, participant's assumptions of our commonality or expectations I have of them. I think I need to incorporate a question about that in the interview schedule.

I felt comfortable enough with [REDACTED] to talk about some of my insecurities regarding research. I'm aware this is not a strong point of mine so I'm starting this assignment with a sense of genuine dread, particularly as my last research-related assignment, a Quality Improvement Project, is the only referral I have, thus far, received. It was comforting to share those insecurities, particularly the sense of "being a fraud," because there is that expectation that clinical psychologists are "all-rounders." I just hope I'm able to produce something of a pass worthy standard.

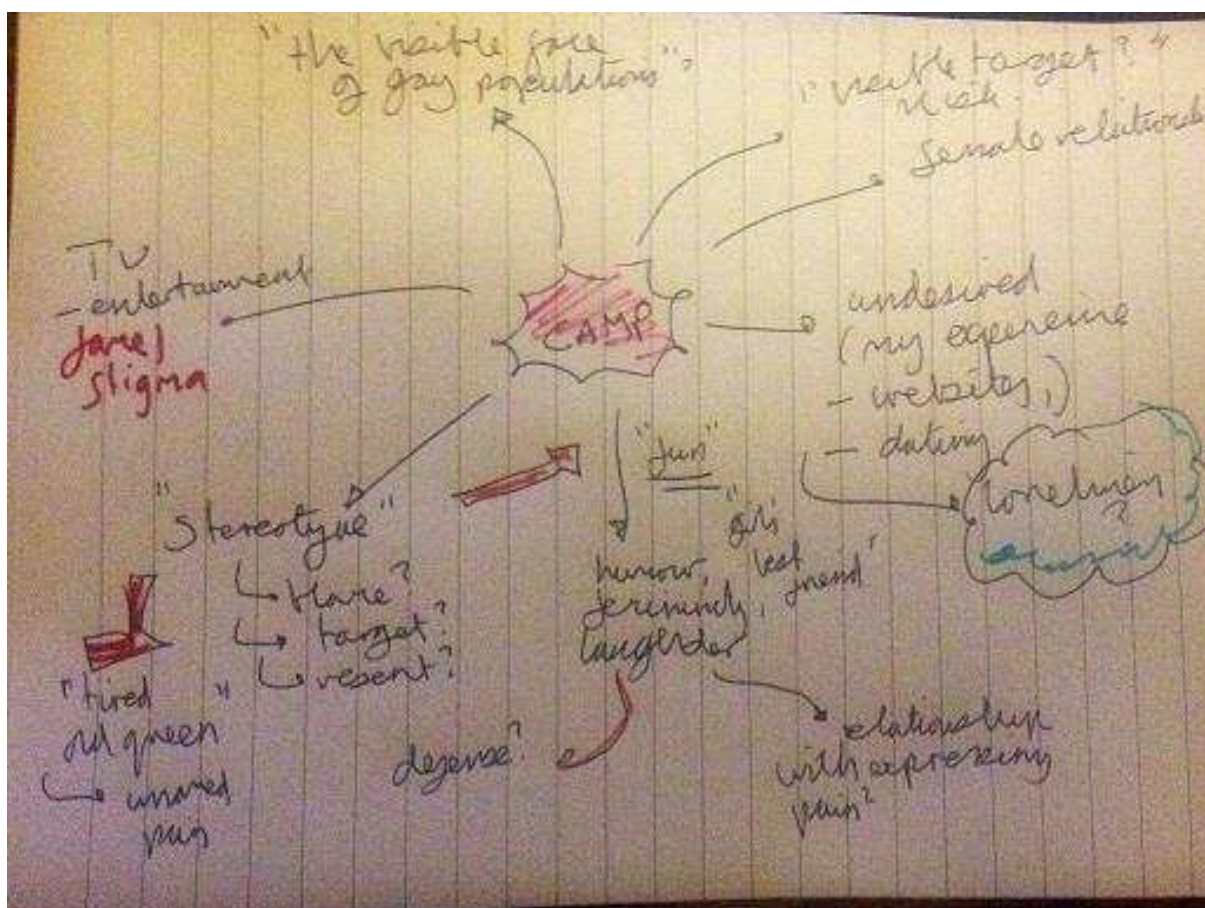
### Appendix M- Reflective diary excerpts (anonymised)

The following excerpts have been taken from handwritten research diary entries, or transcribed from post-interview audio recordings.

7<sup>th</sup> November 2013

Met up with [REDACTED] to do our bracketing interviews. Wasn't entirely sure what to expect, but it was helpful. I know one of the functions is to be made aware of my biases, presumptions etc. But I also think it's good to consider what might actually be happening for my participants. I know I have strong feelings about the topic, and like therapy, I don't want to "act in" and influence things without realising it.

Mind map created during **bracketing interview** (07/09/13) presented below.



14<sup>th</sup> January 2014

Finally- interviews arranged! Really surprised how nothing seems to happen for ages and then in the space of a week I have three respondents. It's reassuring too- the promotional material is clearly striking a chord with people. It's taking longer than it should to recruit, and I feel far behind everyone else which is frightening.

I've finalised going for a narrative approach with my supervisor- there's something called a Life Story Interview which seems really thorough- asks not only about people's lives, but specifically about important people that populate their world, turning points etc. I just think that the research in Section A almost suggested that there weren't many areas of not touched by effeminophobia, or pressure to conform to masculinity. So something like this interview template should be wide reaching enough to identify if/ what areas of my P's lives are impacted by prejudice. I'm going to add some questions too-I suppose my fear is that the life story interviews don't touch on gender-roles at all, so it might be helpful to get my participants thinking about that identity facet. It feels a dilemma- I don't gender deliberately overrepresented, but I don't want it to be completely overlooked as well.

20<sup>th</sup> January 2014

Fuming. After placing my poster up on [REDACTED] it attracted some pretty vicious remarks on the forum about how archaic the research is and how it reinforced stereotypes. This topic is so political, and it was really difficult for me not to dive in and engage with the debate. My instinct was to be defensive; not just of the topic but of the fact that it should be okay to explore effeminacy or camp without that annoying people who don't identify with that. Why does that space for thought or exploration or respect have to be attacked, undermined, intruded upon? And it's not just the forum. Is it possible to have a discussion about minority issues at uni without someone who embodies privilege piping up and saying "hey hear my pain too!" It feels like a form of selfishness.

14<sup>th</sup> March 2014

Feel moved by today's interview. There was a lot of tenderness in my P's story, a lot of heartbreak. And I was also aware that having the opportunity to talk about it was comforting for him. It's interesting, when I did my bracketing interview with [REDACTED], one of the things that came up was how this was NOT therapy, but research. And how crucial it was to maintain that boundary. But actually, just because a research interview isn't therapy, doesn't mean that an interview does not have therapeutic value. I remember reading somewhere that one of the important things about any kind of therapy is that it allows client and therapist to co-construct a story of the client's life, or difficulties. Something coherent, with a beginning middle and end, that may highlight vulnerabilities, strengths, obstacles, opportunities, meaning and values. Using the life story interviews enables participants to do the same, and sometimes there is that almost visible catharsis in them. The distinction between research and therapy is not black and white.

13<sup>th</sup> May 2014

Transcribing is odd. It manages to be both strangely meditative, the act of recording words and sounds, and at the same time a source of frustration. It manages to reassure me of my skills in engaging with people, but annoy me with reminders of my isms. There are times when I am braindead, and other times when I relive the feeling in the room when first hearing a participants story- their vulnerability, or sadness or defiance. There's a lot of dichotomies in transcribing. But I look forward to it ending nonetheless.

1<sup>st</sup> July 2014

I've been unsure about what kind of analysis to do with my data- there's an awful lot (here I was worrying seven interviews wouldn't be enough) and I don't have all the time in the world. I think I'm probably going to need an extension as it is, I think the biggest debate has been whether I want to focus primarily on the structure or characteristics of each participants story, or if I want to identify themes or codes across all the stories.

I'm leaning towards the latter. Even listening through my interviews during transcription, I found myself making note of interesting similarities between the stories, and differences too. I'm worried that I'll lose the details, the subtleties, going for a holistic narrative analysis, because the things that stand out to me don't always impact the direction of life's progress for my participants. I think I'm pretty much decided.

11<sup>th</sup> November 2015

This could finally be drawing to a close. It's been a long process. I didn't realise that working away from the cohort would be such an isolated process. I feel cut off. I'm relieved in some ways to be away from the adrenalin and panic that was in the air around the time of deadline; but for all that panic they handed in on time, so there is a sense of failure that I'm not there yet. I wonder what it will feel like to finally hand in.



**Appendix N- Publication guidelines for “BPS Psychology of Sexualities Review”**

*THIS HAS BEEN REMOVED FROM THE ELECTRONIC COPY*