HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION: THE PRESENTATION AND TESTING OF A SOCIO-COGNITIVE THEORY

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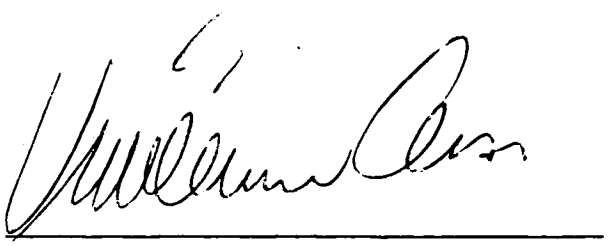

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ABSTRACT

Since the mid 1970s attention has been given in the scientific literature to the area of *homosexual identity formation*, the developmental process whereby an individual comes to objectively perceive and subjectively experience self as "a homosexual".

As a new field for study this area is characterised by research displaying, on the one hand, enthusiastic pioneering effort and on the other, a lack of theoretical and research precision. The former is evident in the many theories that have been put forward to account for the process involved in the acquisition of a homosexual identity; the latter in the lack of attention to important scientific criteria and procedure. Few of the theoretical models meet basic criteria for an adequate description of the developmental process; and of those that have been subject to empirical assessment, findings are marred by inadequate methodology. The most serious problem is the lack of definition of the central construct, "homosexual identity". This makes an understanding of each model, and comparisons between them, extremely difficult.

The present author has formulated a six-stage theory of gay identity formation which was developed independently of others, and intended to provide a more adequate account than had previously been offered. The presentation of this theory, together with details of the

research carried out in order to test its validity, constitute the core of this manuscript. Drawing upon the general literature on identity, a definition of identity was devised and this formulation was incorporated within the author's theory.

A research programme was carried out in order to assess the validity of two central aspects of the model - the content and order of stages. To this end, the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire was constructed, aimed at measuring dimensions of change believed to be critical to the developmental process. A second research instrument, the Stage Allocation Measure, was also devised as a means of allocating subjects into stage groups.

Pilot Studies and a Main Study were carried out. The research design for each entailed the checking of questionnaire responses of subjects in each of the six stage groups against response patterns or profiles that had been predicted for each stage. Predictions were made on the basis of proposals arising out of the theory. It was hypothesised that if the theory was valid in the areas being assessed, then subjects' questionnaire responses would show greatest similarity with the predicted profile of the stage to which they were allocated. It was also hypothesised that the degree of similarity of these responses with other profiles would decrease, the further away in the proposed developmental sequence those stages were.

Results provided considerable support for the

validity of the stage descriptions, and for the order of stages, although they were seen to describe a four-stage model more adequately than a six-stage model. However, findings from a Discriminant Analysis, carried out in order to check that the questionnaire data were not the result of researcher bias, offered greater support for the hypotheses. The discriminant analysis indicated that the six stage groups could be distinguished.

These results were seen to provide considerable support for the author's theory of gay identity formation in the specific areas of stage description and stage order or sequence. Ways of revising the scoring keys so as to maximise group differences are discussed.

Both similarities and differences were apparent between female and male subjects, but small cell frequencies limited the degree to which conclusions could be clearly drawn about these differences.

These findings are believed to have important implications for other areas of identity formation and for the understanding of heterosexual identity. These are outlined. Areas within the homosexual identity field, shown to require further research, are also discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract		*iii*
List of Tables		*vi*
List of Figures		*xvi*
Acknowledgements		*xvii*
CHAPTER ONE	HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY: A NEW CONCEPT IN THE STUDY OF HOMOSEXUALITY	1
	Introduction	1
	"Homosexual" as a Social Category	4
	Historical Development of the "Homosexual" Type or Category	7
	The Sodomite	8
	Emergence of the "Sexual Pervert"	11
	"Homosexuals" and "heterosexuals"	18
	Objectification of the Homosexual	20
	Present-day Conceptions of the Homosexual	22
	Introduction of the Construct "Homosexual Identity"	28
	Homosexual Identity as an Area For Study	32
	The Study of Homosexual Identity Formation	33
	Organisation of Manuscript	36
CHAPTER TWO	HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY: A CONCEPT IN NEED OF DEFINITION	38
	Introduction	38
	Use of the Term "Identity" in the Homosexual literature	41
	Defining Homosexual Identity	46

Page

Theoretical Conceptions of "Identity" and "Self-Concept" in the General Literature 55

Objective and Subjective Self 56

The Significance of Psychological and Social Factors in the Conceptualisation of Identity 58

"Real" Identity and Desired Identity 68

Single ("True") Self and Multiple (Situational) Selves 69

Identity and Structure 72

Summary 75

A Theoretical Formulation of Identity 77

Self-Concept 77

Typological Identity 79

Composite Identity 82

Self 83

Application of the Theoretical Formulation of Identity to the Homosexual Experience 84

The Content and Organisation of Homosexual Identity 87

Self-Concept and Homosexual Identity 89

Presented and Perceived Identities 91

Self-Identity 92

Presented Identity 93

Perceived Identity 94

Homosexual Identity literature: Neglect of the Psychological 94

		Page
CHAPTER THREE	THE CHARACTERISATION OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY IN THE LITERATURE	99
	Homosexual Identity: Childhood or Adult Outcome	100
	Homosexual Identity as Ego Identity	101
	Homosexual Identity and Gender Development	106
	An Alternative to the Childhood Identity Approach	111
	Childhood and Adulthood Factors: A Single Proposal	114
	The Nature of Homosexual Identity: Sexual or Nonsexual?	117
	The Sexual Nature of Homosexual Identity	117
	Expanding Beyond a "Sexual" Identity	119
	Homosexual and Gay Identities	121
	Beyond the Dichotomy	122
	Separating Sexual Identity and Homosexual Identity	124
	Homosexual Identity as Group Identity	125
	Identity and Identification	132
	Defining Group Identity in the Homosexual Context	133
	Homosexual Identity - Fact, Fantasy or Construct?	135
	Rejection of the Concept of Homosexual Identity	136
	Homosexual Identity as Essence	138
	Existential Aspects of Identity	144
	Conclusion	147

		Page
CHAPTER FOUR	MODELS OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION: LITERATURE REVIEW	150
	Introduction	150
	Theoretical Conceptions of Homosexual Identity Formation	153
	Sociologically-Based Theories	164
	Simple Career Path Models	164
	Career Paths and the Introduction of Process	181
	Identity Formation and the Symbolic Interactionist Perspective	185
	Psychologically-Based Theories	201
	Typology-Based Theories	218
	Discussion	222
	Requirements for an Adequate Theory of Homosexual Identity Formation	225
	Empirical Testing of Models	232
	Chronological Data	234
	Concluding Comment	243
CHAPTER FIVE	A THEORY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION	244
	Background	244
	Initial Steps	244
	From Observation to Theory	246
	A Socio-Cognitive Developmental Model	247
	Socio-Cognitive Context	248
	Developmental Context	249
	Developmental Stages	253

	Page
Factors Determining Identity Change	256
Motivational Factors in Identity Formation	256
The Self-Consistency Motive	256
The Self-Esteem Motive	257
Factors Contributing to Cognitive Change	262
Cognitive Dissonance Theory	263
Self-Perception Theory	264
Social Determinants of Self-Knowledge	267
An Interaction Model	268
Reflected Appraisal	271
Comparative Appraisal	272
Overview of Theory	273
Stages of Homosexual Identity Formation	278
The Pre-Identity Context	279
Stage 1: Identity Confusion	285
Path 1: Homosexual Meaning Undesirable and Unaccepted	298
Path 2: Homosexual Meaning Accepted and Desirable	306
Path 3: Homosexual Meaning Accepted and Undesirable	310
Stage 2: Identity Comparison	314
Path 1: Positive Evaluation/ Greater Rewards Than Costs	332
Path 2: Negative Evaluation/ Greater Rewards Than Costs	335
Path 3: Positive Evaluation/ Greater Costs Than Rewards	339
Path 4: Negative Evaluation/ Greater Costs Than Rewards	341

		Page
	Stage 3: Identity Tolerance	343
	Effects of Positive Contacts With The Gay Subculture	353
	Effects of Negative Contacts With the Gay Subculture	354
	Role Rehearsal and Identity Formation	358
	From Self-Image to Identity	361
	Stage 4: Identity Acceptance	363
	Stage 5: Identity Pride	376
	Stage 6: Identity Synthesis	391
	Operationalisation of the Theory For Research Purposes	400
CHAPTER SIX	DEVELOPING A METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH DESIGN, HYPOTHESES, AND INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT	408
	Formulating a Research Design	408
	Methodology Used in Other Areas of Identity Development	410
	The Present Study	413
	Design of Study	418
	Hypotheses	419
	Development of the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire	422
	Item Construction	422
	Scoring Keys	425
	Scoring Procedure	427
	Stage Allocation Measure	428
	Biographical Information Sheet	430

		Page
CHAPTER SEVEN	TESTING THE HYPOTHESES	405
	Pilot Study	434
	Method	435
	Subjects	436
	Procedure	436
	Analysis of Questionnaire Data	437
	Results and Discussion	437
	Replication Study	441
	Method	442
	Subjects	442
	Analysis of Data	443
	Results and Discussion	443
	Main Study	446
	Method	447
	Subjects	447
	Procedure	452
	Analysis of Data	453
	Results	455
	Discriminant Validity	464
	Discussion	466
CHAPTER EIGHT	BIOGRAPHICAL FACTORS AND HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION	478
	Age	448
	Gender	487
	Educational Attainment	490
	Occupation	493
	Religious Upbringing	495

		Page
	Marital Status	498
	Birthorder	502
	Birthplace	504
	Awareness of Homosexuality	506
	Labeling of Homosexuality	507
	Concluding Comment	510
CHAPTER NINE	FUTURE DIRECTIONS	512
	Implications of the Present Research Programme	516
	Implications for Other Areas of Study	516
	The Need For a Multidisciplinary Approach	520
	The Relationship Between Ideology and Science	521
	Areas For Future Research	525
APPENDIX I	Subscale Items	529
APPENDIX II	Homosexual Identity Questionnaire	533
APPENDIX III	Scoring Keys for the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire	601
APPENDIX IV	Stage Allocation Measure	603
APPENDIX V	Biographical Information Sheet	606
APPENDIX VI	Introductory Letter	610
APPENDIX VII	Letter Distributed at Gay March	612
APPENDIX VIII	Newspaper Advertisements	614
APPENDIX IX	Reminder Letter	616
REFERENCE NOTES		618
REFERENCES		620

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Theories of Homosexual Identity Formation	158
2	Summary of Mean Age Data Relevant to Homosexual Identity Formation	236
3	Further Age-Based Data Relevant to Homosexual Identity Formation	237
3a	Pre-Stage 1: Summary of Characteristics	280
3b	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 1	286
3c	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 2	315
3d	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 3	344
3e	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 4	364
3f	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 5	377
3g	Characteristics of Individuals at Stage 6	392
4	Dimensions of Change Identified From the Stage Descriptions	401
5	Relationships Between Profile Scores Predicted by the Across Profile Hypothesis	433
6	Relationships Between the Group Scores Predicted by the Across Groups Hypothesis	435
7	Pilot Study: Mean Total Matching Scores Obtained on each Scoring Key by Subjects Researcher-Allocated to Stages	438
8	Replication Study: Mean Total Matching Scores Obtained on each Scoring Key by Subjects at Each Stage	444
9	Frequencies of Subjects Obtained Through Each Contact Source	450
10	Frequencies of Subjects Who Defined Themselves in Each of the Stages	451
11	Main Study: Mean Total Matching Scores of Subjects at Each Stage for All Scoring Keys	456

Table		Page
12	Results of a Single Degree of Freedom Contrast Test for Comparison of Means Under Order Restrictions Over Profile Scores for Each Subject Group With 1 and 4 Degrees of Freedom	458
13	Results of a Single Degree of Freedom Contrast Test for Comparison of Means Under Order Restrictions With 1 and 4 Degrees of Freedom Over Subject Groups for Each Scoring Key	460
14	Mean Total Matching Scores on Each Scoring Key for Female Subjects in EAch Stage Group	461
15	Mean Total Matching Scores on Each Scoring Key for Male Subjects in Each Stage Group	462
16	Canonical Discrimination Functions Obtained From Discriminant Analysis of the Questionnaire Results	465
17	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage in Each of the Age Groups	483
18	Frequencies of Female and Male Subjects in Each of the Stages	489
19	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage Educated to Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Levels	492
20	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage in Each of the Occupational Categories	494
21	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage in Each Category of Religious Upbringing	497
22	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage For Each of the Marital Status Categories	500
23	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage Within Each of the Birthorder Categories	503
24	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage in Each of the Birthplace Categories	505
25	Frequencies of Subjects at Each Stage Experiencing Awareness of Homosexual Feelings, Thoughts or Behaviour at Specific Age Levels	508

Table		Page
26	Frequencies of subjects at Each Stage Labelling their Feelings, Thoughts or Behaviour as "Homosexual" at Specific Age Levels	509

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Interrelationships Between Social Structure and the Individual Leading to Personal Stability and Change	269
2	Cognitive Decision Processes Involved at Stage 1: Identity Confusion	297
3	Cognitive Decision Processes Involved at Stage 2: Identity Comparison	329
4	Pilot Study: Profiles Derived From Plotting Mean Matching Scores Obtained By Subjects on Each of the 6 Scoring Keys	439
5	Replication Study: Profiles Derived From Plotting Mean Total Matching Scores Obtained by Subjects at Each Stage on Each of the 6 Scoring Keys	445
6	Main Study: Profiles Derived From Plotting Mean Total Matching Scores of Subjects at Each Stage on Each of the 6 Scoring Keys	457
7	Profiles Derived From Plotting Mean Total Matching Scores of Female (n=63) and Male (n=103) Subjects at each Stage on Each of the 6 Scoring Keys	463
8	Group Centroids Plotted Along the First 2 Discriminant Function Continuums For Each Stage Group	467
9	Plot of Discriminant Scores for Subjects at Each Stage	468

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To be, or not to be, that is the question,
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing, end them.

Hamlet

CHAPTER ONE

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY: A NEW CONCEPT IN THE STUDY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

INTRODUCTION

One of the most interesting features of the modern homosexual literature is the emergence of new areas for study.

Homosexual identity, the perception and sense of self as "a homosexual", is one such area. Arising in the 1960s as a new concept, the notion of "homosexual identity" had, by the early 1970s, achieved widespread recognition in the popular literature, and acknowledgement in scientific writings by the mid-1970s. Indeed, perusal through the pages and indexation of early bibliographies (e.g., Parker, 1971; Weinberg & Bell,1972) clearly shows the lack of reference to, and interest in, such a construct in scientific and legal circles prior to the late 1960s. In the short space of time since then, the area of homosexual or gay identity[1] has generated enormous interest. The proliferation

[1] In this manuscript the terms "gay" and "homosexual" are used interchangeably. The word "gay" was originally used in the popular literature to avoid the pejorative meaning frequently applied to the term "homosexual", and is becoming increasingly used in the scientific

(Continued Over...)

of articles pertaining to it clearly stands as testimony to the significance it has been given by both popular and scientific writers.

What might account for this relatively sudden, and it would seem, widespread interest in homosexual identity? In this chapter we will answer this question by consideration of the historical events surrounding the development of the gay identity construct. As we shall see, an historical analysis reveals the way in which early conceptions of homosexuality gradually evolved into our present-day characterisation of homosexual identity.

In essence, tracing the historical path along which the concept "homosexual identity" evolved requires a description of the way in which the *social category* or *social type* of "homosexual" came to be a part of the social structures of Western societies. In order for someone to see her/himself as "a homosexual", there must first of all be the provision in society for a group of people to be categorised or typed as homosexuals. Thus, some knowledge about social categories is considered an important prerequisite to a full understanding of gay identity. A brief outline of what is entailed in the notion of social categories or types, and the way this concept is applied

Footnote 1...Continued

literature (see, for example, the Journal of Homosexuality). Some authors, however, use the two terms independently rather than synonymously (see Chapter Three for discussion of this approach).

The terms "gay" and "homosexual" are used to refer to both female and male homosexuals. Reference to either one of these groups alone will be made by specific terms such as "lesbians", "gay men" etc.

to the homosexual situation, precedes, therefore, our historical account of the development of homosexual identity as a construct.

Attention will be focused on the homosexual category from a psychological rather than a sociological point of view. Generally speaking, the sociologist would examine the way the homosexual social category or type features as a part of the overall social structure. Taking a social psychological perspective, however, our interest lies with the individual's *own recognition and perception of self* as someone belonging to the "homosexual" social category. This requires a process of change and adaptation. Individuals, as we shall see in later Chapters, are rarely, if ever, born into a social environment which provides them, early in life, with the personal label of "homosexual". Rather, they must take societal information and beliefs about the homosexual type and convert it, at an internal level, into a *personal construct*, "a pattern or template created by the person that serves as a way of looking at the world...a cognitive category or generalisation..." (Schlenker,1980, p.23). How the individual changes her/his perception of "homosexual" from being a way of looking at others into a way of looking at oneself, is the question to which this manuscript is directed.

"HOMOSEXUAL" AS A SOCIAL CATEGORY

Social categories or types are classifications of individuals on the basis of some specific attribute(s), such as sex, age, territory, race, work etc. They are categories of "kinds of people" as Lofland (1969, p.123) puts it. Amongst the most common social categories in Western society are those of sex ("male" ard "female"), age ("child", "adolescent", "adult"), race ("Blacks", "Whites") and occupation (e.g., "blue-collar", "architect"). Other social types include "Liberal voters", "surf-board rider", "prostitute", "criminal", "student", and "mother". *Homosexuals constitute one such category or type.*

Social categories are not concrete entities, but are social constructions. They are "phenomenological constructs" (Lofland,1969, p.123), derived from the propensity of human beings for ordering their worlds according to similarities and dissimilarities.

Social categories tend to be clustered. That is, some categories typically become grouped together. For example, "homosexual" is frequently clustered with types such as "sexual deviant" (Aiken,1976; Simmons,1965), "immoral" (Aiken,1976; Krulewitz & Nash,1980; Levitt & Klassen,1974; Nyberg & Alston,1977; Simmons,1965), and "psychologically disturbed" (Aiken,1976; Krulewitz & Nash, 1980; Simmons,1965; Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier,1974). Out of the many clusters of categories that may typify an

individual during interpersonal interactions, one category is frequently "singled out and treated as the most important and significant feature of the person or persons being dealt with" (Lofland,1969, p.124). This is termed a *pivotal category* (Lofland,1969) or *master status* (Becker, 1963). Pivotal categories tend to carry with them a list of adjectives considered to be descriptive of typical physical and psychological features. Classification of someone as a pivotal type assumes they "are" these adjectives.

In Western societies, "homosexual" is typically accorded a pivotal or master status, predominantly described by the adjectives "effeminate" (males) or "masculine" (females) (Levitt & Klassen,1974; Nyberg & Alston,1977; Simmons,1965; Weissbach & Zagon,1975), "dangerous" (Laner & Laner,1980; Levitt & Klassen,1974; Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier,1974), "less intelligent" (Krulewitz & Nash, 1980), "obscene, vulgar and repulsive" (Levitt & Klassen, 1974; Simmons,1965), and "untrustworthy" (Levitt & Klassen, 1974). Male homosexuals are believed to be submissive, weak, gentle, theatrical, clothes conscious, passive and emotional (Gross, Green, Storck & Vanyur,1980; Gurwitz & Marcus,1978; Weissbach & Zagon,1975), while lesbians are described as dominant, forceful, strong and insecure (Gross, Green, Storck & Vanyur,1980).

These adjectives usually become converted into prescriptions for behaviour or *roles* (Sarbin,1968; Turner, 1956). That is, individuals classified as "homosexual"

(by themselves or others) will be expected to behave according to the ideas commonly held about homosexuals (stereotypes).

The concept of *homosexual role* has been documented by a number of authors (e.g., Ashworth & Walker, 1972; Clinard,1968; Goode,1981a, 1981b; Goode & Troiden, 1979; Horowitz,1964; McIntosh,1968; Plummer,1975, 1981; Reiss,1961), although there is no general agreement as to its meaning. Some of these authors define the concept in terms of its behavioural aspects, that is, it is applied to specific ways of behaving as a gay person. Others use it synonymously with "homosexual type" and come close to perceiving it as a personality type. In some cases, homosexual role is applied to the way the broader society characterises homosexuals. Some authors, however, differentiate between this and the role or roles that make up the homosexual subculture. In other words, both mainstream society and gay groups are perceived as offering prescriptions for how to act, feel and think as "a homosexual"

Since social types are socially constructed, they tend to vary from society to society, culture to culture, and time to time. The category of "homosexual" as perceived in Western society is unknown in some communities (McIntosh,1968). McIntosh concludes that amongst some Aboriginal and African groups, "There may be much homosexual behaviour, but there are no homosexuals" (p.187), meaning that there is no social classification of "homo-

sexual". In addition, those attributes and behaviours classified as "homosexual" are also open to variation and change. For example, some characteristics that were once seen as typical of homosexuals, frequently now attract the label of "bisexual", "liberated", or "self-actualising".

Social categories may also be characterised according to whether they occupy a valued position or not. The homosesual type in Western society tends to be evaluated negatively in contrast to the complementary and polar opposite category, "heterosexual" which is perceived positively (Katz,1983).

This negative evaluation has led to homosexuals being commonly referred to as a stigmatised group (Weeks, 1980/1). McIntosh (1968) and Weeks (1977) suggest that the purpose of "a specialised, despised and punished role of homosexual" (Weeks,1977, p.3), functions to define a society's boundaries between permissible and impermissible sexual behaviour, and therefore is a mechanism of social control.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE "HOMOSEXUAL" TYPE OR CATEGORY

Although sexual contact between people of the same sex has been documented for as long as human beings have made recordings of their lives, the division of

peoples into what was ultimately to be homosexual and heterosexual types, did not begin to occur until the ninteenth century (Boswell,1980; Foucault,1978; Greenberg & Bystryn, 1982; Katz,1983; Weeks,1977, 1981).[2]

In reference to the world of the Greeks and Romans, Greenberg and Bystryn (1982) noted,

> *No conception of a homosexual person existed. Sexual object choices were not thought to be and generally were not, mutually exclusive.* (p.517)

THE SODOMITE

In the thirteenth century, Church intolerance of religious non-conformists, zealous attacks on unnatural (non-procreative) sexuality, and attempts to separate the spiritual and animalistic natures of human beings brought these "acts of sodomy", as same-sex sexual behaviour was called,[3] into the realm of religious sin. (See Boswell, 1980; Gilbert,1980/1; McNeill,1976; DeCecco, Note 1, for excellent accounts of this process). Greenberg & Bystryn (1982) suggest that the growing preoccupation with homo-

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[2] McIntosh (1968) suggested the seventeenth century as being the time when the social category of homosexual first developed in England. Weeks (1977,1981) disagrees, however, noting that "although there are signs of the emergence of this role from at least the seventeenth century in Britain, it crystallised into a modern form only in the late nineteenth century" (1977,p.4).

[3] This terminology was primarily directed towards males.

sexuality evident since the 11th century was partly a result of attempts by church reformers to encourage and establish celibacy in the priesthood. Boswell (1980) more broadly, ties increasing hostility towards those engaging in same-sex acts to "the general increase in intolerance of minority groups apparent in ecclesiastical and secular institutions throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (p.334). By the mid-13th century, ecclesiastical denunciations had become embodied in secular legislation (Bayer, 1980).

> *"The recreational sex of Greek vase art became the sin of sodomy, punishable by imprisonment, exile or death".*
> (DeCecco, Note 1, p.5).

In time, the intertwining of Church and State was sufficient to ensure the extension of "sin" to "crime". That is, where once only canonical law governed sexual practices, now civil law also did the same.

It is important to note that it was the *act of sodomy* with its dual meaning of sex between males, as well as anal intercourse (Gilbert, 1980/1; Greenberg & Bystryn, 1982) that was considered sinful. Use of the name *Sodomite* signified merely someone who had sinned by performing the act of sodomy and was not intended to identify any stable or essential quality of the *person*. In other words, the term Sodomite was never seen to be representative of a social type.

> *As defined by the ancient civil or canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts. Their perpetrator was nothing more than the juridical subject of them.*
> (Foucault,1978,p.43)

Bray (1982), in his examination of Renaissance England, proposes that by the middle of the seventeenth century new meanings were being attributed to what had earlier been labelled sodomy to include more than sexual acts. He recounts the development of "molly houses" (tavern-like places where "sodomites" met together), and describes a "molly" as someone who associated with such places, often on a regular basis. The term "molly" takes on a broader meaning than "sodomite" since it includes a social aspect not previously acknowledged as relevant to the notion of sodomite.

Bray suggests that "what had once been thought of as a potential in all sinful human nature had become the particular vice of a certain kind of people with their distinctive way of life" (p.104). That is, sodomy was now perceived as something carried out by certain individuals and not others, and these individuals could be characterised by particular social activities. The sodomite was transformed from an archetype figure, representative of debauchery and linked via religious pronouncements with witches and demons, to a particular kind of individual different from others.

These changes, Bray proposes, were largely attributable to broader developments in philosophical thinking which saw a move away from "the typical and the

general to the individual and the particular" (p.165).

EMERGENCE OF THE "SEXUAL PERVERT"

In the nineteenth century the medical model of abnormal behaviour gradually evolved, and with it the practice of considering sexual congenitally-based aberrations as perversions. The sin of sodomy was translated into pathology, the means for its control (punishment) into medical treatment (Bullough, 1974; Bullough & Bullough, 1977). Where sodomy had previously been conceptualised in terms of acts, important changes in the nineteenth century in the area of the erotic saw the focus taken away from acts and placed onto what were considered congenital erotic *feelings*. It was only a small logical step to link innate feelings to essential character, a necessary step in the development of the homosexual type.

In order to understand these changes we must begin with the concepts of the "true woman" and "true man", which were significant aspects of early Victorian thinking (Katz, 1983). A true woman or man was someone who possessed characteristics and feelings that were deemed correct and proper for someone of female or male gender respectively. These qualities presented ideal pictures of how men and women were expected to act and were believed to be biologically determined. Anyone not considered "true-sexed" in this way, that is, anyone showing uncharacteristic

behaviour, was called *unsexual*.

In the nineteenth century, the qualities of the true woman or man did not include erotic feelings. This was a period of chastity where the theological "lust" was an evil to be banished from mind and body. It was not until the late nineteenth century when the medical profession replaced lust with the secular term "sexuality", and developed the notion of "normal love" to include the erotic as well as love, that the connection between gender and erotic feelings was made. Erotic emotions then became sex-specific. "Normal women" and "normal men", as the medical profession now termed these ideal types, were believed to feel erotic and romantic emotions for the "opposite sex", and these were congenitally determined. Any feelings not directed to the other sex were considered abnormal, and labelled as *perverse desire* or *sexual perversion*. Such desires were considered destructive to the natural division of men and women, and therefore, severely condemned.

Carl Westphal, a professor of psychiatry in Berlin, is credited with having first brought the study of what is now termed homosexuality into the medical/ psychiatric arena with a publication in 1870 in the *Archiv Fur Psychiatrie*. He coined the phrase *contrary sexual feelings* to describe what he considered to be a congenitally based abnormal condition characterised by neurotic elements but not insanity (Ellis,1900). Psychiatric publications on "sexual inversion" (the term first adopted in Italy by Ritta, Tamassia and Lombroso)

soon followed in the Italian, French (e.g., Larcot, Moreau) and American (e.g., Hammond, Kiernan and Lydston) literature. Most of the authors described the condition as congenital or part of an overall process of hereditary degeneration of the nervous system. Moreau considered too, that in addition to an inborn predisposition to sexual inversion, environmental factors such as poverty and climate could influence the manifestation of the "disease" (Bayer, 1981).

Interestingly, it was not only the medical profession which stressed the inherent and fixed nature of inversion. Several writers, concerned with the way medical opinion led to inhumane treatment, attempted to promote an alternative view which would exonerate "perverts" from harsh social condemnation (Kennedy,1980/1). Karl Henry Ulrichs, for example, was one of the first to fight for a serious and sympathetic hearing for *urnings* as he called male sexual inverts. He wrote a series of essays between 1864 and 1870 defending urnings. He appealed against their medical classification of "subnormal, depraved, dangerous and insane" which invariably led to incarceration in an asylum. He argued that the inborn nature of the sex "instinct" of urnings was indication of the naturalness of their erotic expression and therefore, by logical extension, of the wrongness of medical treatment and incarceration. Sexual inversion may be inborn, but it was not pathological as the medical profession proposed.

In taking this stance, Ulrich thus proposed a view of the invert as a type of person who was abnormal but

healthy, able to contribute profitably to the community, and therefore entitled to the same rights as others. His ideas represented a radical departure from previous religious and legal views, as well as medical opinion of the day, by focussing on urnings as persons rather than as a psychiatric condition, a criminal or religious sinner. Had they been accepted, his views may well have hastened the course of history that eventually saw the creation of the modern homosexual.

However, despite concerted efforts to get his ideas considered by the scientific community, Ulrich was given little recognition, for he attacked those former moral traditions which had become embedded into nineteenth century psychiatric opinion.

The most influential theory of sexual inversion was, however, that of Richard von Krafft-Ebing whose book *Psychopathia Sexualis* had achieved its eighth edition by 1893. Like others, he perceived "antipathetic sexuality" (1965/1893) as a sign of degeneration, a neuropathic predisposition which could be congenital or acquired. It was, above all, indicative of severe pathology (but not insanity) which required treatment where possible.

It is of interest to note that for Krafft-Ebing and those who followed after him, it was emotion that defined perversion, and not overt genital acts, the basis for defining a sodomite in earlier times.

> *The determining factor here is the demonstration of perverse feelings for the same sex; not the proof of sexual acts with the same sex. These two phenomena must not be confounded with each other; perversity must not be taken for perversion.* (1965/1893, p.188).

Because of its biological nature, sexual perversion was placed in the realm of a medical "condition" which could exist even without overt expression. Relationships between men or women were, therefore, not the basis upon which perversion was diagnosed. Rather, erotic feelings were the basis for diagnosis and these could be present even without the person being consciously aware of them.

Underlying this late nineteenth century medical model was the assumption that a link could be made between perversion and a person's innate character. As Katz (1983) notes, "...'perverted' emotions determined perverted being" (p.144). By the 1890s, sexual perverts were being described as people who felt the erotic emotion of *the other sex*. Within medical circles, this image was not the sympathetic and personalised picture put forward by Ulrichs, but rather one that subscribed to the clinical expectations of the profession.

Thus, the image of the sexual pervert as being a psychic degenerate from whom society needed protecting was well and truly entrenched in medical thinking (Weeks,1981). There was little incentive to adopt an alternative image. Katz (1983) in fact, suggests that there was enormous investment in maintaining the pervert's negative position. He considers that late Victorian interest in sexual

perversion cannot be seen apart from the concern of the time with promoting "normality". In the late nineteenth century, the belief in the biologically-determined procreative function of men and women (promoted as the reason for the division between the sexes) was being challenged. In the early 1800s the work ethic (ie. waste of energy and idleness were evils) had provided a philosophical underlay to expression of the erotic.[4] By the 1880s however, this was beginning to be replaced with the pleasure ethic, reinforced by birth control advocates. The condemnatory focus on the sexual pervert was an attempt to counteract these developments.

> *The invention of the "pervert" provided a non-procreative monster whom the good could abhor...* (Katz,1983,p.143)

Nevertheless, there were attempts in the late nineteenth century to soften the harshness perpetrated by the "degeneracy" models. In 1891 Albert Moll, a psychiatrist in Berlin, published his work *Die Contrare Sexualempfindung*, which Ellis described in 1900 as an examination of sexual inversion from a psychological perspective. Although still adhering to the generally accepted doctrine that sexual inversion has a close link with various nervous and mental disorders, Moll also recognised that some inverts did not have any background of neurotic complaints.

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[4]. According to this outlook, same-sex oriented people along with other "unnatural" people such as masturbators, were condemned as pleasure-seekers.

Ellis, himself a significant figure in the medical world in the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries, and author of *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1900), was strongly of the view that although sexual inversion was a congenital phenomenon, "...we gain little or no information from being told that a person is a degenerate" (p.137). He was at pains to explain his use of the term "abnormal" as meaning an *anomaly* rather than *disease*. With this approach Ellis focussed the study of sexual inversion on psychological rather than medical perspectives. He viewed sexual inversion as "a psychological and medico-legal problem so full of interest that we need not fear to face it, so full of grave social actuality that we are bound to face it" (p.35).

Ellis' approach indicates some progression away from the strict psychiatric view of Krafft-Ebing where the emphasis was solely on clinical diagnosis and treatment, and towards greater consideration of the position of the sexual invert within the world within which she or he lived.

There can be little doubt that the next most significant event in the evolution of the modern-day homosexual was Freud's publication of his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in 1905. Freud was well versed in the late nineteenth century debate on the nature of sexual inversion and would have been aware of Ellis' rejection of the notion of "degenerate", a term which Freud himself reserved only for "serious deviations from the normal" and severe impairment of "the capacity for

efficient functioning and survival" (1978/1953). He noted that homosexuality was found in people who were frequently of high intelligence, having no other serious "deviations". Significantly, he noted also the effect of factors such as culture, race and climate on the prevalence of sexual inversion.

In general he viewed sexual inversion as a natural feature of human sexual development, a latent characteristic that could emerge if "normal" development did not occur. While the invert represented "abnormal development", this was not considered by Freud to represent a pathological state. In taking this theoretical perspective, therefore, Freud was instrumental in bringing the invert out from under the yoke of the disease model, presenting an approach that was far removed from the pessimistic view of previous psychiatric opinion.

"HOMOSEXUALS" AND "HETEROSEXUALS"

The end of the nineteenth century also saw the development of the concepts "homosexual" and "heterosexual" as signifying opposed and polar forms of erotic expression.

Although the term "homosexual" was first coined in 1869 by a journalist Karoly Maria Benkert under the pseudonym of Kertbeny, it did not come into common usage until the end of the century, when the medical and psychiatric professions adopted "homosexual" as a synonym for sexual perversion. The homosexual was a person who

possessed erotic feelings for someone of the same sex and was by definition labelled "abnormal".

The word "heterosexual" was introduced sometime later and was first applied to a person having abnormal erotic feelings for both sexes (Katz,1983). The heterosexual, according to this original usage, was as abnormal as the homosexual. In time, however, the meaning of homosexual and heterosexual came to be polarised, distinguishing between "same-sex" (homosexual) and "opposite-sex" (heterosexual) eroticisation. The concept of "heterosexual" promoted the relationship between men and women as the ideal one in which sexual interaction could occur.

Katz (1983) proposes that this development reflected the emphasis, apparent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, towards clarifying the differences between men and women.

> *The invention of 'homosexuality' and 'heterosexuality' register an increasing stress by doctors of the 1890s and early twentieth century on the supposedly innate differences between females and males. In terms of social function, that stress on sexual differentiation was clearly an effort to contain the contemporary movement of women out of the traditional women's sphere and into the world of wage and work, social reform and electoral politics.* (p.149)

The homosexual/heterosexual polarisation placed the homosexual in opposition to the heterosexual ideal, thus continuing the abnormal, perverted perspective of earlier years. The creation of the categories homosexual and heterosexual were therefore, mechanisms of social

control (McIntosh, 1968; Katz,1983).

By the twentieth century, the link between homosexuality/ heterosexuality and abnormal/normal respectively was firmly established, as was the notion of heterosexuality as biologically determined and socially universal. The homosexual as a social type had evolved and was well and truly grounded in medical and popular belief.

OBJECTIFICATION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL

What emerged, then, from the nineteenth century was a definition of homosexuality that represented the beginnings of present day conceptions of the homosexual.

> *The nineteenth century homosexual became a personage, a past, a case-history and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life-form, a morphology with an indiscreet anatomy and possibly a mysterious physiology. Nothing that went into his total composition was unaffected by his sexuality. It was everywhere present in him; at the root of all his actions because it was their insidious and indefinitely active principle....It was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature...The sodomite had been a temporary aberration, the homosexual was now a species.*
>
> (Foucault,1978,p.43)

Foucault termed this process "a new specification of individuals", DeCecco (Note 1) as one of "personification for homosexuality". However, while the changes of the nineteenth century saw the medical profession consider the nature of the homosexual *type*, in fact there was never any real attempt to view the homosexual in the same way as

the heterosexual, that is as a *person*. In other words, there was little, if any, interest in trying to understand and/or document the homosexual's point of view. The authoritative stance taken by psychiatry whereby the all-knowing doctor made pronouncements over or interpretations of the individual's psychological state was still the preferred mode of relating to the homosexual man or woman. The homosexual was *objectified* - perceived as a clinical entity rather than a human being.

If homosexuals saw themselves in a different light, little attention or credence was given to their views. As long as the medical model of sexuality dominated psychiatric, psychological and even sociological thinking, as it did until well into the 1950s, interest continued to revolve around the pathology of the homosexual, emphasising etiology, symptomatology, as well as the early detection and treatment formulas.[5] As a degenerate and abnormal sexual *species*, the homosexual was studied and viewed like any other "harmful"species, with an intent to control and eradicate.

Nevertheless, the change in focus from "act" to "actor", a necessary step in the formulation of the concept of homosexual identity, had been made. All that was required to complete the evolution of such a construct was for the emphasis to shift from the "actor" as perceived by

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[5]. Warren (1972) and Dank (1974) term this the "correctional approach" to the study of homosexuality.

others, to the "actor" as perceived by her/himself. This development from a *homosexual-as-object* to *homosexual-as-person* perspective began in earnest during the 1960s.

PRESENT-DAY CONCEPTIONS OF THE HOMOSEXUAL

Since the 1960s a number of marked changes have been evident in the scientific literature on homosexuality, both in the topics for study and in the methodology used. Significantly, the nineteenth century medical approach to the homosexual has been gradually replaced by a more humanitarian one, emphasising the human and individualistic qualities of homosexuals. The concept of homosexuals as a minority group, in particular, has been given considerable attention. The "homosexual-person-as-a-member-of-a-(sexual) minority-group" has been replaced the "degenerate sexual pervert".

> *Many homosexuals are beginning to think of themselves as a minority group sharing many of the problems of other minority groups, and having to struggle for their "rights" against the prejudices of a dominant heterosexual majority.* (Hooker,1965,p.103)

Bayer(1981) suggests that the early studies by Kinsey and his associates (1948,1953), Ford & Beach (1952) and Hooker (1957) were instrumental in undermining the established psychiatric views on homosexuality. Concerned with simply quantifying behaviour, Kinsey rejected the notion of a pathologic homosexual personality. Finding that 37% of his sample of males and 28% of his female sample had engaged in homosexual activity, he concluded

that it was not possible to identify two separate and discrete categories of people, the one homosexual and the other heterosexual.

Ford & Beach studied patterns of sexual behaviour in 76 human societies throughout the world and found that in 64% of these "homosexual activities of one sort or another are considered normal and socially acceptable for certain members of the community" (p.130).

Hooker was the first social scientist to examine the psychological functioning of *non-clinical* samples of homosexual males, and found that they could not be distinguished from heterosexuals.

These studies seriously questioned the prevailing psychiatric view that homosexuals were abnormal, and that homosexuality was evidence of pathology requiring treatment. As was to be expected, resistance for this new portrayal of homosexuality came from within the psychiatric profession. Pychoanalysists like Bieber (1962) and Socarides (1968), reflecting more the adaptational school of psychoanalysis (Rado,1962) than Freud's theories, maintained that homosexuality was evidence of profound psychopathology, and wrote strong statements opposing those changes that reflected moves away from this position.

What other factors might account for the spectacular change in orientation towards homosexuals? In order to answer this question we must look to the broad changes occurring in Western society that became expressed in the 1960s. In essence, these spelt out a further step in the secularisation of societal structure and thought,

with a decline in religious influence and Church/State ties. Technology was rapidly increasing, bringing with it the threat of anonymity. Fear of loss of identity became a significant theme (Klapp,1969; May,1969; Schachtel,1961; Wheelis,1958).

The ideology of the individual took prominence over the earlier notion of collectivity. Where previously the needs of the nation, and society (and it's institutions), and of the species, were the grounds upon which all behaviour was justified, now the individual purpose became paramount.

Epitomised in the hippy stereotype, the new ideology proclaimed as its tenets, the rights of individuals, free expression, self-fulfillment and tolerance of differences amongst people. Greater freedom for sexual expression and recognition of the whole spectrum of human sexuality followed (Gagnon,1977). So too, did a drive to acknowledge the existence and oppressed positions of various minority groups.

Linked with world unrest and the threat of nuclear devastation, there was a serious questioning of the meaning and purpose of life. Conscientious objection to military conscription, and anti-war rallies are some of the ways in which refusal to accept the simplistic "black and white" notions of the past were expressed. The "goodies" were now labelled "paternalistic oppressors", the "baddies" as their innocent victims. Bell (1978) summarises this "coming of age" in the following way,

> *More and more, people are becoming disinclined to accept without question other's definitions of reality, or to submit to another's ideological tyranny.* (p.2)

The new ideology provided good soil for the fertilisation and growth of the modern gay liberation and women's liberation movements. Proponents of both began to verbalise their needs and their perceived oppression, and to demand redress. In addition, lesbians, who until now had been given far less attention than gay males, began to make their presence felt. The ideologies of the two movements called into question previous conceptions of masculinity and femininity, and attacked the emphasis on reproductive sexuality. Homosexuals were speaking out and expressing their concern in a way that had not been done before. In doing so, they became instrumental in changing earlier medically-based characterisations of the "nature" of homosexuals.

> *Increasingly, homosexuals are becoming impatient with the place of their traditional role as that of a mere passive, silent battlefield, across which conflicting "authorities" parade and fight out their questionable views, prejudices and theories. Increasingly, homosexuals are insisting upon a role in which they are not seen as mere specimens to be examined but as active, informed participants in the consideration of their condition.*
> (Kameny,1969,p.130)

It is not surprising, given these events, to find the nineteenth century medical model of sexuality losing ground in its attempts to dictate community views. By now, much of its ideological base was being seriously questioned and vehemently rejected by those within the medical/

psychiatric profession, as well as those outside it.

One of the most notable people within psychiatry to oppose the disease model of homosexuality and point to the need to view the homosexual as a *person* was Thomas Szasz (1965,1972). Szasz is best known for his questioning of the disease model upon which psychiatry has been based. His prolific and critical essays written from the mid-1950s on exposed the way that orthodox psychiatry had simply taken on the values originally put forward by the early religious institutions.

As part of his expose he launched a direct attack on the assumptions underlying the classification of homosexuality as a mental illness. The association of homosexuality with disease and heterosexuality with health was, he considered nothing more than the presentation of early religious and legal values. Significantly, he called upon the psychiatric profession to alter its perception of homosexuality as a medical condition and to focus on the homosexual as a person in her/his own right.

Reflecting this, Szasz (1972) states,

> *It is nothing less than obscene to talk about the homosexual as a sick person whom we are trying to help, as long as, by treating them as a defective thing, we demonstrate through our actions that what we want him to be is a useful, rather than annoying object for us, and that what we will not tolerate is his wanting to be an authentic person for himself.* (pp.257-258)

Another critical voice, this time from within the psychoanalytic tradition was that of Judd Marmor (1965). Whilst still maintaining his psychoanalytic background, Marmor nevertheless rejected the idea that there was a pathologic homosexual personality or character type, and warned researchers on the dangers of generalising from a clinical sample.

At the same time as these events were taking place, post-war developments in the sciences saw a new emphasis given to the behavioural sciences with concomitant broadening of each discipline in areas for study and types of methodology used. In particular, the strengthening of the symbolic interactionist approach in both social psychology and sociology played a significant part. Translated into the homosexual context, this perspective attributed importance to the *meaning* that homosexuals themselves gave to their behaviour and world, and the way this meaning influenced interaction between the individual and society. This approach stood in marked contrast to the authoritative *assignment of meaning* evident in the traditional literature.

All of the above factors: changing ideologies, decline in the medical model, the expanding and more humanistic scope of the behavioural sciences, and emergence of the homosexual viewpoint, set the stage for the emergence of a new approach to the study of homosexuality.

INTRODUCTION OF THE CONSTRUCT "HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY"

The late 1969s and early 1970s saw the homosexual defined into "personhood". There was still the conceptualisation of homosexuals as a separate entity (now covered in the language of "minority groups" and "alternative lifestyles"), and the presence of a heterosexual majority was still apparent. Nevertheless, the homosexual individual was acknowledged as a living, breathing, human being, allowed to feel, think, act and dream. Altman (1979) sums up the changes in the following way,

> *It was in the seventies that a homosexual identity was widely recognised...certain groups and institutions have sought to adapt to a new conception of the homosexual, one that avoids earlier concepts of sin, criminality and illness.* (p.15)

This new conception of the homosexual was readily expressed in the popular literature as homosexuals sought to validate themselves and their experiences.

The phrase "homosexual identity" entered the literature as a means of summarising all those images now being used to describe the homosexual. While homosexuality had been seen as a perversion, little attention was given to presenting the character of the individual except in general terms of symptomatology. In simple terms, there was no place in early thinking for acknowledging that the pervert had an identity. With consideration now given to personal aspects of the homosexual, the way was clear for the "identity" concept to be claimed as relevant to an

understanding of the gay individual. The concept of a homosexual identity served to distinguish between the homosexual condition, and the homosexual person, and to give validity to the latter perspective.

Never before had there been such a proliferation of written articles as emerged in the 1970s. The identity of the modern homosexual was documented from a myriad of viewpoints. Following somewhat behind, the literature of the behavioural sciences also began to open its doors to articles reflecting the new ideology. Titles such as Homosexualities: Their Range and Character (Bell,1973), Society and the Healthy Homosexual (Weinberg,1973), The Homosexual in his own Behalf (Cory & LeRoy,1971), and Background Factors, Sexual Experiences and Attitudes Towards Treatment in two "Normal" Homosexual Samples (Loney,1972), began to replace medically-oriented ones such as, Parental Factors in the Childhood of Homosexuals (Apperson & McAdoo,1968) Psychiatric and Psychological Investigations of Convicted Sex Offenders (Brancale, Ellis & Doorbar,1952) and A Study of Identification in Male Homosexuals (Chang & Block,1960).

To be expected, the early "authoritarian literature" (Bell,1978) and its traditional areas of etiology, detection and treatment was strongly criticised (e.g., Acosta,1975; Bell,1975). Simultaneously, the new image of the homosexual as a member of a sexual minority group was explored and subject to theoretical analysis (e.g., Cory,1971; Hacker,1971; Kameny,1971). In fact, characterisation of the identity of the modern day homo-

sexual became a research area that began to preoccupy a great number of researchers.

For the most part, psychologists and sociologists spent a great deal of their energy on counteracting the negative medical image of the homosexual and describing the homosexual world (e.g., Freedman,1971; Gagnon & Simon,1974; Hedblom,1972; Hooker,1965; Siegelman,1972a,1972b; Thompson, McCandless & Strickland,1971). As Katz (1983) notes, however, this still led to conceptions that arose essentially out of early ideas about homosexuals. Terms such as "healthy homosexual", "gay is good", "gay is as good as straight", the "happy/trustworthy/safe/responsible homosexual" etc, all depicted images of homosexuals that derived from the medical, church and social control conceptions of the previous century. A "healthy homosexual" for example, could only emerge where the concept of "sick homosexual" also existed. Proving that homosexuals showed similar psychological adjustment to heterosexuals required the division of individuals into homosexuals and heterosexuals. In other words, while the new directions of the 1970s brought the replacement of negative perceptions of homosexuals with positive ones, the historical links with the past still remained as influential forces in the characterisation of the new homosexual image.

From the mid 1970s, in order to break those links, a conscious attempt on the part of some writers was made to separate the image of the homosexual from the domination of the "pervert" image. Believing that the term "homosexual"

had strong links with the medical model, these writers rejected it as a descriptive term in favour of "gay" which, they considered, had positive (non-medical) connotations (e.g., Harry & DeVall,1978; Kimmel,1979; Morin,1977; Warren,1974). This new addition to the homosexual image has now become commonly used both in the popular and scientific literature.

In summary, we have traced the historical development of the homosexual social category or type, and the way this development led to the conceptualisation of the homosexual as having an "identity". Of course, it is highly likely that "sodomites" and "sexual perverts" also had images of themselves in relation to the specific behaviours with which they were identified. The point is that such images were <u>not</u> seen as being of significance to the perspectives of those specific eras. It is only recently, as a result of certain historical developments, that the focus has turned towards the homosexual's own self-perceptions. The construct "homosexual identity" has been devised by modern writers in order to depict this new orientation. It is a concept created by and for the times we live in, a concept that draws it's character from present day values and attitudes, and has its roots firmly embedded in the ideologies of the nineteenth century.

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AS AN AREA FOR STUDY

The extensiveness with which "homosexual identity" has pervaded the literature demonstrates the degree to which it has become apart of twentieth century thinking. As such, it has written itself into the history books as a serious and legitimate area of study.

At the present time, however, it remains in its infancy, without the sophistication and maturity to be found in other, well-established fields. This situation brings with it considerable problems for scientists as they attempt to work against a background in which established theory and empirical data are lacking. Such difficulties will be discussed at some length later in this manuscript. Suffice to say, at this point, that the degree of enthusiasm shown by researchers in the field of homosexual identity has not as yet been matched by a similar degree of scientific sophistication and endeavour.

One rather surprising, if not disturbing, feature of the literature has been the tendency to focus on areas related to gay identity, while neglecting specific consideration of the nature of that identity. In fact, it would be true to say that the definition and character of homosexual identity (what it *is*) has been taken as a "given", and treated as a "fact" that is similarly recognised and understood by all in the field.

In the social sciences, this direction is evident in the degree to which researchers and theorists have focused their attention on the *development and maintenance*

of a gay identity. In particular, the way in which a homosexual identity is acquired (a process termed in this manuscript *homosexual identity formation*) has attracted considerable attention.

THE STUDY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

The present manuscript is specifically concerned with the area of homosexual identity formation, and takes as its focal point the author's own theoretical framework for understanding the developmental process. Unlike previous theorists, however, the present author does not take the meaning of identity to be a "given". The underlying assumption throughout the manuscript is that questions about the development of gay identity cannot be divorced from questions about the nature of that identity. From our historical account, we have been able to trace the emergence of the field of gay identity. Interest in gay identity formation arose as an offshoot from these historical developments. As such, any understanding of the developmental process is bound to be linked to the characterisation of homosexuals that evolved.

There is also a logical connection between gay identity and gay identity formation. It seems to be stating the obvious to say that we need to know "what identity is" before we can discover "how identity develops". Yet few of the developmental theorists in the area of homosexual identity have acknowledged the

connection. It does not appear to have seriously occurred to them that their conceptualisation of homosexual identity may have significant impact on their theories of how that identity develops.

The present author maintains that the way in which identity is perceived provides the theoretical underpinnings for any theory of homosexual identity formation. It is intended, therefore, that the following question about the nature of gay identity will be given attention. *What exactly is homosexual identity? To what aspects of human functioning do we need to refer in order to adequately describe this phenomenon?*

In summary then, the approach taken in the present manuscript is that it is necessary to first consider the nature of homosexual identity in order to adequately examine the area of homosexual identity formation. Initially, it was intended that the examination of the meaning of identity would represent a minor segment of the manuscript, relative to discussion of gay identity formation. After examining the literature, however, it quickly became evident that one of its most significant features was the lack of clear formulations of how homosexual identity was to be conceived. Clearly this was an issue that needed further explanation. As a result, it was decided to broaden the original aim (to specifically present the author's theory and the empirical data arising from her tests of it), and to focus more widely on the theoretical issues surrounding the areas of gay identity

and gay identity formation. It was felt that this was necessary in order to clarify the theoretical context against which the author's theory would be framed.

The past six to eight years has seen a rapidly increasing number of manuscripts being completed on gay identity development, predominantly from a sociological point of view. So new is interest in this aspect of homosexual experience, that as yet no author has completed a comprehensive review of all the relevant literature (in fact, no such review has as yet been made of the area of homosexual identity as a whole). An argument could be made, of course, for this being early days yet, and that the literature in question is best conceptualised as an *opening* statement on the subject, rather than a definitive one. However, it can be equally argued that neglecting to overview the area, to pause and consider the general issues and directions that are emerging, is destructive to the ongoing development of the area of homosexual identity in general and homosexual identity formation in particular. The move from fledgling study to reputable and established science requires consolidation and sharing of ideas that in part emerge from review material.

The present author maintains that in the area of homosexual identity formation, there is a need to assess the extent of the information currently available. At this point in time, we have no way of gauging whether questions about homosexual identity formation have been adequately answered or not; questions such as:

How might we effectively describe the acquisition of a homosexual identity? What issues, areas, and factors might we need to refer to, or include, in order to adequately account for the process of homosexual identity formation? These are complex questions, unlikely to be answered by any one person at any one time. Not surprisingly, they have been examined from a variety of viewpoints and disciplines, and with differing degrees of scientific sophistication. The lack of review material presents a serious limitation to those working in the field of gay identity and serves to encourage an insular and microcosmic viewpoint. In addition, therefore, to examining specific theoretical issues surrounding gay identity, the present author also undertook to draw together the relevant segments of the literature on identity and identity development. This was considered necessary in order to isolate significant themes adopted, and directions taken by other researchers against which the present theoretical framework could then be compared.

ORGANISATION OF MANUSCRIPT

Thus, in the present manuscript, initial consideration is given to exploring the literature on homosexual identity (Chapters 2 & 3) with a view to, (1) understanding the theoretical base upon which the study of

homosexual identity formation has been built; and (2) arriving at a conceptual framework from which an adequate definition of homosexual identity could be derived. Having formulated such a definition, and with a general understanding of the ways in which homosexual identity has been characterised, we are then in a position to evaluate the literature on homosexual identity formation (Chapter 4). Against this broad theoretical spectrum, the author's own theory is presented (Chapter 5), and details of the research programme carried out in order to test it are outlined (Chapters 6 to 8). In the concluding chapter (Chapter 9) implications of the theoretical and empirical information presented in the manuscript for the future study of homosexual identity are examined.

CHAPTER TWO

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY: A CONCEPT IN NEED OF A DEFINITION*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present chapter is to examine the homosexual and general literature in order to arrive at an answer to the question, "How might we define the concept of 'homosexual identity'?". It will be shown that the literature on homosexual identity presents only weak theoretical notions of what identity is, and is unable to provide any definition of homosexual identity that could usefully be incorporated into the present author's theory of homosexual identity formation. The general literature on identity is then considered to see whether conceptions of identity applied to other areas of research may be suitable for adoption within the study of homosexual identity. In contrast to the theoretical bleakness of homosexual writings, this literature is found to contain a diverse array of formulations as to how identity

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* An adapted version of Chapters 2 and 3 has been accepted for publication in the Journal of Homosexuality, 1983/4, 9(2/3), 105 - 126.

might be defined. The present author has drawn upon these in order to arrive at a definition of identity that will be used within her theory.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the inclusion of the construct "homosexual identity" in the study of homosexuals is a recent phenomenon. Spanning little more than a decade, it was adopted as an integral part of the language of the gay subculture and its literature in the early 1970s, and in the psychological and sociological scientific community some time later.

Captured in the articles of this period is an element of exhuberance and enthusiasm. It was a time when the shackles of the nineteenth century medical model were being thrown off, to be replaced with a more humanitarian approach. Writers from all fields entered into (and also, in turn, determined) this new spirit of positivism as they sought to describe the homosexual from a new level of intimacy. The "homosexual experience", the "homosexual-as-known-to-the-homosexual" became important perspectives for consideration and study. It was an exciting time, for the newness of the field meant that no pre-determined paths or guidelines of inquiry existed. Researchers, theorists and authors literally found themselves in the middle of what could best be described as a gigantic brainstorming session. It was a time for pioneering and exploratory effort, and perhaps knowledge that this was so, in itself, contributed to the zest and vigour with which the study of homosexuals

was tackled.

However, as might be expected from such conditions, exhuberance and diversity of ideas were not the only qualities to emerge out of the homosexual literature of this period. Theoretical confusion, ill-defined concepts, multiplicity and disarray, and lack of cohesion were characteristic of many areas.

In the literature on homosexual identity, these characteristics are clearly evident. An analogy may well be drawn here with an over-grown garden where a once exotic array of plants has become lost in the thick undergrowth of unpruned branches. Examining the notion of homosexual identity, or to continue the analogy, seeking out the plants amongst the deadwood, is fraught with difficulties not the least of which is that of making the essential decision about whether something is plant or deadwood, trunk or twig, stem or sucker. The essential dilemma for those interested in appraising the literature is in making sense of the myriad of meanings, directions and concerns that surround the identity concept.

In the present chapter we will focus on the specific meanings and terminologies that researchers have incorporated into their use of "homosexual identity". It is probably true of most new areas of inquiry that precise definitions and conceptual frameworks of the proposed core concepts are often lacking, and must be generated over a period through debate and research. Indeed, it could be said that this initial clarifying

period is necessary for encouraging a broad and multi-perspective approach.

In the study of homosexual identity, we have seen the past decade taken up with a surge of interest in the image of the modern homosexual. At this point in time, however, there has been little attempt at unification and precision. We have scarcely moved into debate, and at this point few authors appear to give serious consideration to clarifying their conceptual frameworks.

USE OF THE TERM "IDENTITY" IN THE HOMOSEXUAL LITERATURE

There can be no doubt that the term *identity* as applied in the homosexual context has become firmly entrenched in the language of popular and scientific authors. Of interest is the considerable variation with which it has been used.

The phrase *homosexual identity* is popularly used by many authors (e.g., Bell,1973; Blumstein & Schwartz, 1977b; Cronin,1974; Dank,1971,1972,1974; Gagnon,1977; Goode,1978; Goode & Haber,1977; Hayes,1981; Humphreys, 1979; Johnston,1980; Latham & White,1978; Lyman & Scott, 1970; Murphy,1974; Plummer,1973; Roesler & Deisher,1972; Sagarin,1976; Weeks,1977,1980/1; Whitam,1981; Dank, Note 2).

Others prefer *gay identity* (e.g., Adam,1978; Altman,1979; Clark,1977; DeCecco,1981; Hanckel & Cunningham,1979; Hayes,1976; Levine,1979; Ponse,1977,1980; Warren,1980; Young,1975a,1975b; DeCecco, Note 1; DuBay, Note 3; Robertson, Note 4). In addition, some authors use *homosexual identity* and *gay identity* interchangeably (e.g., Goode & Troiden,1979; Ponse,1978) while others distinguish the two phrases in meaning (e.g., Harry & DeVall,1978; Morin & Schultz,1978; Taylor,1977; Troiden, 1979; Warren,1974; Morin & Miller, Note 5; Sommers, Note 6).

Lesbian identity is sometimes used to the exclusion of the previously mentioned terminology (e.g., Ferguson,1981; Lewis,1979; McLellan, Note 7), or in conjunction with it (e.g., Cronin,1974; Ponse,1978,1980; Warren,1980). Some writers, such as Crites (1976), Goode & Troiden (1974), Harry & DeVall (1978), Miller (1978), Richardson & Hart (1981), Weinberg (1978) and Dank (Note 1), refer to homosexual *self-identity*, while a number of authors refer to *identity* in the homosexual context without further specification (e.g., Babuscio, 1979; Clinard,1968; Cory,1975; Freedman,1975; Hencken & O'Dowd,1977; Humphreys & Miller,1980; Kimmel,1978; Moses, 1978; Pattison,1974; Simon & Gagnon,1967a).

Bearing in mind that, in the general literature, the terms *identity* and *self* are frequently used in the same context, it can also be noted that some authors make reference to a *gay self* (e.g., Cronin,1974; Ponse,1978,

1980). Harry & DeVall (1978) and Plummer (1975) use the terms *self-concept* and *self-identity* interchangeably, while Richardson & Hart (1981) and Weinberg & Williams (1975) refer to a *homosexual self-concept.*

Finally, *sexual identity* is frequently used in the literature (e.g., Coleman,1981/2; Dank,1971,1974; Hoffman,1968; Horowitz,1964; Miller,1978; Richardson & Hart,1981; Weinberg,1978), while *deviant identity* (e.g., Goode,1978; Moses,1978; Williams & Weinberg,1971) is a once popular expression that is slowly giving way to the previously mentioned terms.

It is immediately clear from this summary that any attempts to draw conclusions from the homosexual identity literature is bound to be frustrated by the multiplicity of terms used. Authors seem quite oblivious to the fact that the terms they have chosen to express their ideas may be interpreted in a quite different manner by other researchers working in the field. In fact, little, if any, responsibility is taken for justifying the particular terminology adopted. The assumption appears to be that simply by including the word "identity', then phrases such as "homosexual identity", "gay identity", "lesbian identity" etc. can be considered to be equivalent, or at least to mean roughly the same thing. Added to this assumption is another, the belief that all researchers somehow uniformly understand this equivalence of terms.

What is the answer to this problem of multiple

terminology? One way would be to develop a more uniform set of words or phrases. This implies, of course, that researchers could readily agree on what is acceptable and what is not. Daunting thought though this may be, it should not be discounted too quickly. In many established areas of the social sciences, relatively uniform terminology has been adopted. As mentioned previously, this usually follows considerable academic debate whereby the less easily interpreted and communicated terms become discarded in favour of more acceptable ones. Given time, and provided researchers of homosexual identity are prepared to break out of their attitude of uncritically accepting the academic status quo and engage in fruitful dialogue with others working in the field, there appears to be no reason why a similar regularising of terms should not occur.

On the other hand, it could be argued that a common terminology is not particularly desirable because it presupposes that all researchers will perceive homosexual identity in the same way. However, taking this line of thinking to its logical conclusion, namely, different terminologies for different authors, it is obvious that such a situation would be chaotic and unworkable.

The present author takes the view that developing a terminology that is essentially agreed upon, or at least understood, by most in the field is a necessary requirement for placing the study of homosexual identity in a more

scientific mode. Without some degree of uniformity it is hard to imagine this happening. On the other hand, provided that a regularising of terms exists, there is also a place for individual and idiosyncratic aspects. We cannot, and indeed from the viewpoint of scientific inquiry, should not, stifle the creative impetus that comes from individual direction. However, individuality untempered by regard for the demands of scientific endeavour, can do little to serve the future development of that area of study bearing upon homosexual identity.

If we are to get to a point where reasonable uniformity of terminology exists while, at the same time, providing some leeway for personal directions, then certain steps need to be now taken by researchers. The first requirement would be that serious and critical consideration be given to the choice of terms to be used. The second is that authors need to include clear definitions of exactly what is meant by the particular term(s) adopted. The third is that theorists must be open to examining their own terminological framework in relation to those of others. Further to the latter point, it can be said that one of the most unfortunate characteristics of the homosexual identity literature is the academic isolation within which researchers and theorists choose to work. Scarcely is there any reference to the work of others in the field. Where it is mentioned, this is rarely more than a superficial account of earlier results. It would be expected, in the area of terminology

that anyone giving serious consideration to the perspectives adopted by others could not but realise the multitudinous ways in which the "identity" concept is incorporated into the literature. The lack of awareness of such variation clearly points to an academic naivete that is unlikely to be of benefit to fruitful research.

DEFINING HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

In addition to the difficulties relating to terminology, the study of homosexual identity is plagued by an almost universal lack of definition of the term *identity* as it pertains to the homosexual. In fact, the neglect of authors in outlining the framework from which they are working has produced a situation which can only be called a reviewer's nightmare. There are literally hundreds of articles, both lay and scientific, that refer to homosexual identity or some similar phrase, without offering the reader a statement of what is meant by such terms (e.g., Abbott & Love,1973; Bell,1973; Cory,1975; DeCecco,1981; Freedman,1975; Goode & Troiden,1979; Goode & Haber,1977; Hammersmith & Weinberg,1973; Harry & DeVall, 1978; Hayes,1976; Hencken & O'Dowd,1977; Humphreys,1979; Johnston,1980; Kimmel,1978; Lehman,1978; Lyman & Scott, 1970; Morin & Schultz,1978; Murphy,1974; Oberholtzer,

1971; Plummer,1973; Ponse,1977,1978,1980; Simon & Gagnon, 1967b; Sagarin,1976; Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier,1974; Troiden,1979; Weinberg & Williams,1973; DuBay, Note 3; Morin & Miller, Note 5; Robertson, Note 4). Given that theorists and researchers in the general literature have themselves been unable to come to some generally agreed upon conception of exactly what identity is (Abend,1974; Ainlay & Redfoot,1982/3; Cohen,1969; Maslow,1968), this state of affairs is hardly surprising. However, writers on homosexual identity, despite their proclivity for ignoring the general literature, have not remained oblivious to its basic directions and problems.

Broadly speaking, attempts to define identity in general terms tend to be fraught with imprecision and confusion. Although most authors would probably take as their starting point the bald statement that, identity is the answer to the question "Who am I", the language, theoretical perspective, and conceptual framework through which this is expressed varies considerably.

> *...the term identity...has come to be used, like asprin, for everything.*
> (Cohen,1969,p.254)

> *...partly identity is whatever we say it is...It means something different for various therapists, for sociologists, for self-psychologists, for child psychologists etc. even though for all these people there is also some similarity or overlap of meaning.*
> (Maslow,1968,p.103)

> *The concept of identity continues to be an elusive one used by different workers to mean different things, invoked in connection with a very diffuse group of clinical conditions, and no author has as yet offered a precise, clear definition that has succeeded in winning general acceptance.* (Abend,1974,p.106)

Some authors, in fact, use the term identity *because* of its ambiguity (Erikson,1968; Strauss,1959), out of concern that a precise definition may not capture the experiential quality inherent in the individual's sense of "who I am".

The particular discipline from which theorists have been trained, and work, tends to be an influencing factor in defining identity, with psychologists, generally speaking, emphasising the internal (within the individual) aspects of development and maintenance of identity, while sociologists adopt an externally-oriented approach, focussing on the effects of social factors. These distinctions have directed members of these professions towards different "types" of identity. Psychologists, coming from a developmental emphasis, have shown keen interest in the area of childhood and adolescent identity. Sociologists on the other hand, with interests in social status have focussed their attention on areas such as minority, occupational and deviant identities.

Another significant feature of the general literature is the confusion between self and identity. The terms *self* and *self-concept* are frequently used in conjuction with *identity*, sometimes quite distinctly, and

often as if various forms of interrelationships existed (Bourne,1978a).

These directions have also been pursued in the homosexual identity literature. Warren (1974) states that most authors subscribe to the idea that identity is "the answer to the question Who am I? and where do I belong?" (p.145). This is expressed through phrases such as "the knowledge that one is homosexual" (Levine,1979,p.4), "statement about a person's totality" (Stoller,1980,p.20), "self-designation" (Roesler & Deisher,1972,p.1018), "considering self homosexual" (Jandt & Darsey,1981,p.19), and "self-labelling" (McDonald,1981,p.56). However, these phrases are not explained any further, leaving the concept of homosexual identity just as ill-defined as before. The conceptual link between self and identity is also intimated by a number of authors writing on homosexuality, (e.g., Clinard,1968; Coleman,1982; Cronin,1974; Dank,1971, 1972; Horowitz,1964; Latham & White,1978; Loewenstein, 1980; Simon & Gagnon,1967a; Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier, 1974; Weeks,1980/1; Young,1975b; Dank, Note 2) through vague reference to "self-definition", "self-concept", "self-identity" and "self-image". The reader will, however, only be frustrated in any attempts to determine exactly how these concepts are perceived in relation to "identity". It should be apparent that defining one broad and nebulous term (identity) in terms of another (e.g., self) is hardly calculated to make the reader any clearer about the author's intended meaning.

From those articles that refer to "homosexual identity" without further comment, it is possible to infer similar themes, such as, "defining oneself as gay", "image of self as homosexual", "a sense of self as gay", "the way a gay person *is*", "consistent behaviour in relation to homosexual-related activity". However, at times the inference is that identity is an intrapersonal concept; at others, that it is outside the individual and something perceived by other individuals; and yet at other times that it is a mixture of both.

Some authors focus the "who am I" notion more specifically in the direction of homosexuality. Goode & Troiden's (1974) notion of homosexual self-identity as "how a person defines her gender preference" (p.231), is an example of this.

The phrase "sexual identity" is also commonly used as an explanation of homosexual identity. Even though this term itself often remains undefined, inferences point to a childhood developmental outcome (e.g., Whitam, 1977).

Reference to homosexual identity as equivalent to ethnic or minority identity is made by Adam (1978) and Altman (1972). The latter author comments,

> *A person comes to identify him/herself as homosexual and recognise thereby his/her position as part of a stigmatised and semi-hidden minority.* (Altman,1972,p.3)

This sociological emphasis is also evident in Johnston's

(1974) comment,

> *...identity is what you can say you are according to what they say you can be.* (p.68)

Three authors have made direct reference to the general identity literature in order to define homosexual identity. Moses (1978) derived her perception of lesbian identity from the theoretical framework of Laing, Phillipson & Lee (1966). Humphreys (1979) drew upon Rainwater's (1970) definition of a "valid identity", and Grzelkowski (Note 8) used several theoretical approaches in order to develop a comprehensive model of identity.

In summary, what is apparent, from a consideration of the homosexual identity literature, is its basic commonality with the general literature in a number of areas. This leads to the conclusion that theorists have been strongly and subtly influenced, in their conceptions of homosexual identity, by other perspectives on identity. Unfortunately, most theorists have made no attempt to acknowledge the basis from which their conceptions of homosexual identity were drawn. The broader influences have been built into these conceptions with no apparent understanding of this having taken place. This phenomenon is more than just an interesting feature of the literature. It is, in fact, highly significant because it infers a very basic assumption, namely, that homosexual identity is to be understood within a broader framework of general

identity. That is, homosexual identity is to be considered one aspect or type of *human identity*,[6] rather than a unique and separate phenomenon. At this point we really have no way of knowing whether those theorists involved in the study of homosexual identity have any understanding of these implications. The present author could find no articles or examples of debate on the issue. The literature suggests only that in putting forward their ideas, most theorists place themselves in a contradictory situation. On the one hand, their views on homosexual identity appear to be influenced by the general literature on identity. On the other hand, little attempt is made to relate their work back to this broader perspective.

Given, as we saw in Chapter 1, the historical developments of the nineteenth century which saw the homosexual separated off from mainstream society under the guise of the sexual pervert, and studied as such, it is probably not surprisisng to see a separatist approach still persisting in academic circles.

The present author takes the view that social scientists need to divest themselves of the "pervert" image and to consider the placement of the homosexual within the broad spectrum of human experience. Such a

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[6] Young (1975b) is one of the few authors to explicitly make this link.

conception does not mean that gays are to be perceived as similar in all respects to nongays. Rather, it points to the fact that there are both similarities and differences, and that researchers and theorists need to recognise and allow for this in their work. There does not appear to be any valid argument (other than an historical one) for studying homosexual identity apart from other aspects and conceptions of human identity in general. Those who do so only limit the present and future scope of the area for, despite the complexity and inconclusiveness of the general identity literature, it represents a rich body of information. In ignoring this theoretical and experimental knowledge, writers on homosexual identity have divested themselves of a foundation upon which the study of identity could be built. As a result the structure generated by their work is relatively unstable, poorly bound together, scattered in its lines of inquiry and weak in its potential for guiding future directions.

When homosexual identity is considered within the realm of human identity, the theorist/researcher becomes faced with some very basic but most important questions which need to be first answered if other lines of inquiry are to have any meaning. Wylie (1974) and Bromley (1977) have both made the point that in the area of self there is a need to begin by carefully defining and distinguishing each construct referred to. In the present manuscript this suggested direction leads us to ask: What is the

nature of homosexual identity? How might we define such a concept? Is it essentially the same in structure (the way in which the component parts of identity relate to each other; that is, the organisation of these components) and content as that portrayed in the general literature under the term identity, or is it fundamentally different? What of homosexual self-concept? Can such an entity be described? If so, how might it be differentiated from homosexual identity? Would homosexual self-concept be theoretically similar to that which is generally termed self-concept?

Until such questions are examined and answered (at this point in time they have scarcely been asked), then the consideration of other more specific areas such as *how* homosexual identity is formed, is meaningless. In the remainder of this chapter, an attempt will be made to answer the proposed questions in order to bring about some clarity with regard to the use of the terms "self-concept" and "identity" in the homosexual context. It is intended that from this a theoretical framework will be drawn upon which the remainder of the manuscript will be based. Logically, arriving at such a framework requires: Firstly, having an understanding of the ways in which "identity" and "self-concept" are defined in the literature; and secondly, making some judgement about the suitability of applying these descriptions to the homosexual experience.

THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF "IDENTITY" AND "SELF-CONCEPT" IN THE GENERAL LITERATURE

The study of identity comes to us via early interest in the self, an area originally described in philosophical and metaphysical terms as a consequence of historical deliberation over the meaning of soul. Towards the end of the last century psychologists began to view the self as a necessary construct for the understanding of human behaviour, enlarging its scope of relevance by introducing the term *self-concept* (Wylie,1974). Identity became embedded in these early writings as a means of describing the cognitive structuring that occurs as individuals reconcile present with past and future thoughts about self.

At first glance the literature appears to consist of a myriad of different conceptions of "identity" and "self-concept". It is as if each theorist, dissatisfied with existing definitions, has proposed her/his own personal viewpoint. Not only are there different ways of defining these two terms, there is also disagreement on what the relationship between them is. Some theoreticians, for example, advocate a clear distinction be made between them, while others use the terms interchangeably. In addition, *self* and *self-concept* are used synonymously by some and not by others.

Despite this enormous diversity in conceptualisations, it is possible to describe several themes running through the literature. We will now review these themes in order to gain an understanding of the way "identity" as a construct has been construed in the general literature. From this, a definition of identity will be drawn, applicable to our consideration of gay identity.

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF SELF

Many theorists have perceived the self as comprising two cognitive aspects - the *objective* self and the *subjective* self. This distinction was first put forward by James (1918) in 1880 and has since been taken up by others (e.g., Ainlay & Redfoot,1982/2; Gordon,1968; Natanson,1970; Strauss,1964).

Human beings have the capacity to hold an awareness of their own personal existence, and can conceptualise, communicate and act towards themselves as they would to another person. They can be conscious of their own being in the same way as they can be conscious of an object. This "self-as-known" (James, 1892 in Gergen, 1968, p.46) is termed the objective self (James referred to this as the "ME"). The subjective self, on the other hand, is "that which at any given moment <u>is</u> conscious". It is the experiencing, functioning self. As soon as the experiencing individual thinks *about* the self, the more objective self emerges. These two components of self have

been translated in the more recent psychological literature into the notion of experiencing (subjective self) and structure (objective self).

The basic unit of the self-as-object perspective is commonly perceived to be cognitive, described in the form of self-conceptions, self-attributes and self-perceptions (Davis,1970; Horrocks & Jackson,1972; Miller,1963; Sherwood,1970; Shibutani,1961; Stone,1962; Zavalloni, 1973).

A continuous interactive process is hypothesised to occur between the experiencing and structural aspects so that each interacts with and influences the other (e.g., Gordon,1968; Gordon & Gergen,1968; Horrocks & Jackson, 1972).

> *The self is not a thing, it is a complex process of continuing interpretative activity - simultaneously the person's located subjective stream of consciousness (both reflexive and non-reflexive, including perceiving, thinking, planning, evaluating, choosing etc.) and the resultant accruing structure of self-conceptions (the special system of self-referential meanings available to the active consciousness.* (p.116)

For those theorists who claim to focus on "identity", both the subjective and objective components are considered. Indeed, Ainlay & Redfoot (1982/3) would say that identity can only be understood from consideration of both levels simultaneously.

When taken from a subjective viewpoint, the focus is placed on the sensory experiencing of identity. This self-as-process perspective has been advocated by

existential theorists (e.g., Moustakas,1965; Stein,1977) who consider the experiencing aspect of "who am I" as the very essence of identity. When taken from a structural viewpoint, however, the focus is on identity as a construct and encompasses all aspects of "knowing about" or cognitive acknowledgment of one's identity.

The theoretical discussion of identity, its development, loss, characterisation etc, comes from within the self-as-object framework. Thus, in the present manuscript, attention will be primarily given to the objective perspective. The experiencing aspect of identity is, nevertheless, considered important to any understanding of homosexual identity and recognition will be given to it in discussion of the changes occurring within the individual during identity formation.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF IDENTITY

The second major theme that may be drawn from the general identity literature revolves around the relative influence given to psychological and social factors by theorists in their formulations of (objective) self.

Early psychological theory, reflected in the psychoanalytic conceptions expressed by ego psychologists[7],

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[7] There was little interest in the self during the period of the 1920s to the 1930s from either the behaviourist or functionalist psychologists (Wylie, 1974).

tended to focus on what Webster & Sobieszek (1974) refer to as the "developmental self" (p.1). Self was viewed primarily as the result of innate biological factors which could be modified by social influences. Primacy was given to internal factors (inborn needs and traits), while the influence of social factors was largely ignored[8].

In contrast, the approach taken by early sociologists such as Cooley and Mead promoted the view that self can be understood in terms of social factors.

> *There is no sense of "I"...without its correlative sense of you, or he, or they.* (Cooley, 1964,[1902] p.182)

Cooley described the notion of the *looking-glass-self*, whereby the ideas we hold about ourselves are seen to emerge as a consequence of our imagining how others perceive our actions.

> *A self-idea...seems to have three principle elements; the imagination of our appearance to the other person; the imagination of his judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self feeling such as pride or mortification.* (p.184)

In similar vein, Mead hypothesised in 1934, (Strauss, 1964) that the individual developed knowledge about who s/he was by drawing upon the views of self believed to be held by others. This internal "generalised other" represented a collation of all those within the individual's social milieu. The ME, represented therefore, what Mead termed the "incorporated other".

The influence of those early psychological and

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[8] See Richards (1979) for a discussion of the theoretical changes now occurring in psychoanalytic theory which expand upon the concept of self.

sociological perspectives is clearly evident in more recent theoretical proposals on self and identity. Although few modern theorists would adhere strictly to either one of these perspectives, they frequently differ in the emphasis they place on psychological as opposed to sociological factors. There has been a tendency for psychoanalytically-oriented theorists to focus predominantly on the former, while sociological adherents of a symbolic interactionist perspective concentrate on the social aspects.

There have been several critics of this either/or approach. Mischel (1977) for example, suggests that while distinction between the social and intersubjective exist, both aspects are necessary to an understanding of self. He queries the ability of social-only accounts to fully "exhaust what there is to know about the self..." (p.22). Ainlay & Redfoot (1982/3) are also critical of the Meadian insistence on the self as only a social object, and believe that the symbolic interactionist tradition, based upon Meadian theory, has built this "weakness" into their proposals about "self" and "identity".

In general, most theorists give recognition to both psychological and social elements in their outline of the objective self. This has, in most cases encouraged reference to two constructs - one that covers some aspect of individual cognitive functioning, and is internal only; and one that refers to individual cognitive functioning as it relates to the social exterior. While the former can be understood by reference to the individual alone, the latter cannot. Rather, it involves the interaction between self

and the social environment.

Different terminology is usually applied to each of these constructs. Although considerable variation is evident in this, it is possible to identify two broad schemas. In the first, the internal aspect is termed "self-concept" (and sometimes "self"), while the external aspect is given the name "identity" (e.g., Abend,1974; Ball,1972; Horrocks & Jackson,1972; Schlenker,1982; Schwartz & Stryker,1970; Stone,1962). In the second, both aspects are conceived as "identity" and given the names personal and social identity respectively (e.g., Adams,1976; Gordon,1968; Laing, Phillipson & Lee,1966; Miller,1963, Shibutani,1961, Zavalloni,1973).

In the first approach, researchers with a sociological background (e.g., Burke & Tully,1970; McCall & Simmons,1978; Schwartz & Stryker,1970; Stone,1962) have tended to focus on identity as a social phenomenon related to the social status or position assigned to an individual.

> *One's identity is established when others place him as a social object by assigning him the same words of identity that he appropriates for himself or announces.*
> (Stone, 1962 p.93)

Identity requires that a harmony be established between the individual's perceptions of self and other's view of him/her with regard to a particular social role or social position. It should be noted, however, that some sociologically-oriented theorists (e.g., Ball,1972) tend to see identity as simply the social labelling of a person *by others*.

The weakness of this literature is the lack of attention given to the *internal* aspects of identity, reflecting no doubt the sociological position taken. It has been largely left to those with a psychological background to put forward more precise notions of self-concept and identity, and the ways these can be distinguished from each other (e.g., Abend,1974; Horrocks & Jackson,1972; Schlenker,1982).

According to these proposals, both self-concept and identity are seen to be composed of self-representations or self-images about the self. Self-concept is a broader concept covering all self-images that an individual holds about the self. Identity, on the other hand, comprises organised self-images relating to self in social contexts. For example, self, according to Abend is a "mental construct consisting of a set of ideas known as self-representations" (p.617), while identity refers to a loosely organised set of these self-representations that define the individual in social contexts.

In similar vein, Schlenker (1982) proposes that identity is "a theory about oneself embedded within the larger theory called the self-concept" (p.195). He adopts Epstein's (1973) definition of self-concept, a "theory the individual has unwittingly constructed about himself as an experiencing, functioning individual" (p.407). Identity, on the other hand, is,

> *A theory (or schema) that is constructed about how one is and should be perceived, regarded, and treated in social life.... As such, it is an organisation of knowledge about the self in actual and imagined social*

> *situations and relationships. It includes relevant facts, constructs, beliefs, values, standards for conduct, and iconic components that provide a portrait of the individual as a social entity, aggregated over a variety of experiences.* (p.195)

Amongst those who prefer the terms "personal identity" and "social identity" (e.g., Adams,1976; McCall & Simmons,1978; Miller,1963; Rosenberg,1979; Shibutani, 1961; Zavalloni,1973), similar themes can be found despite the use of different terminology.

The distinction between personal and social identity was first made by James (1918). Generally speaking, the terms are paired with, or used synonymously with the concepts of self-concept and identity respectively that were discussed previously. Those adhering to the personal/social terminology do not, however, tend to nominate one of these as encompassing the other in the way that self-concept is seen to encompass identity.

Having stated, though, that there are broad similarities between the personal/social and self-concept/ identity formulations, it must be noted that there is far less uniformity in the definition of terms within the former area. For example, Adams defines "personal identity" as "a fusion or summation of membership roles, past and present identification and personal character, all of which are united by the person into self-definitions which answer the Who am I question" (p.151).

Rosenberg, and McCall & Simmons, on the other hand, use personal identity as an *identification* category,

derived from things such as own name and address.

The self-concept/identity proposals appear, therefore, to offer clearer guidelines to the development of a definition of homosexual identity than does the personal/social identity distinction.

Before completing this section of our review, it is worthwhile noting two other proposals each of which provides useful aspects for consideration. The first is that of Miller (1963). This author took the notion of the personal/social identity distinction and framed it in a way that bypassed the imprecision found in the proposals of other theorists.

Commenting on the generic quality of the term "self", Miller chose to replace it with that of "identity" which he described as having,

> *...two connotations; the pattern of observable or inferable attributes "identifies" a person to himself and others; his identity is a socially labelled object which is of great concern and frequently re-evaluated both by the person and others in groups in which he is a member.*
> (p.673)

These meanings are similar to those frequently given to the terms "personal identity", and "social identity" respectively. Miller, however, expands upon this basic distinction. He proposes that there are essentially two types of identity - *public identity* and *self-identity*. *Objective public identity* is the individual's characteristics or attributes as they appear to members of her/his various social groups. *Subjective*

public identity is the individual's own perceptions of the way s/he appears to these groups. An individual has as many public (both objective and subjective) identities as s/he has associations in social groups. Thus, Miller clearly separates out the two types of social identity that are frequently confused in the literature, and in doing so gives recognition to both.

Self-identity is perceived as the person's own conception of her/his characteristics or attributes, "the totality of the person's self-attributes at a given point in time", notes Sherwood (1970, p.43) in summing up Miller's ideas. Miller recognises the similarity between self-identity and self-conception but prefers not to adopt the latter term because it is sometimes used in a way that denies the social character of the self. Self-identity, for Miller, is strongly bound up with the subjective public identity since a person's perceptions of how s/he is judged by others can exert influence on how s/he sees her/himself.

The difficulty with Miller's proposals lies in his broad use of the term "identity". Having made the point that "self" was unsuitable because of its lack of specificity, he then uses "identity to cover several qualitatively different phenomenon. Since his definition of self-identity so closely parallels the "self-concept" of other theorists, it is difficult to see that anything has been gained from use of the term "self-identity". His distinction between objective and subjective public identities and self-identity does, however, provide a

greater clarification of the various concepts than is found in other proposals.

A more theoretically meaningful use of "self-identity" has been offered by Laing, Phillipson & Lee (1966). Reflecting the influence of Cooley and Mead, these authors perceive self-identity as a "...synthesis of my looking at me with my views of others' views of me" (p.5).

This definition seems to present most succinctly the theme of identity as both a cognitive and social phenomenon that, we have seen, runs through the literature. "My looking at me", the person's own view of self is termed, "the direct perspective"; "my views of others' view of me", the person's perception of how others see her/him is the meta-perspective. The individual acts in the light of own perceptions of how s/he imagines others expect her/him to be.

> *As my identity is refracted through the media of the different inflection of "the other"...so my identity undergoes myriad metamorphoses or alterations in terms of the others I become to the others.* (p.4)

These alterations in identity are reinforced by the individual. That is, the person's view of others' view of self can be adopted or rejected. Even where they are rejected, this in fact, reinforces an opposing view of self. These adopted identities are termed *meta-identities*. Meta-identities ultimately become interwoven with the self-identity. "The "me" that I feel I perceive that another sees, can be cognitively created only in conjunction with the basic structure of the "me" that I perceive" (p.6).

Identity thus remains the province of the individual concerned. It develops out of both intra-individual and interindividual influences which become translated into cognitive processes.

In this section we have examined the relative influence given by theorists to psychological and social factors in their conceptions of identity. Out of this literature the following points have been taken as useful in our deliberation of the definition of gay identity:

1. The potential usefulness of including both self-concept and identity constructs in similar fashion to Schlenker (1982) and Abend (1974) in order to broadly cover all self-perceptions or social cognitions.
2. The need to clearly differentiate as did Miller (1963), between the picture of self held by others and the picture held by self.
3. The need to emphasise the social and cognitive bases of identity by describing the interaction of self-perceptions and perceived other perceptions as suggested by Laing, Phillipson & Lee (1966).

Before attempting to develop a formulation of gay identity, however, there is a need to first examine the remaining three themes emerging from the identity literature. As we shall see, each of those areas provides further ideas that may profitably be included in our

proposal and, indeed, probably should be included if it is to reflect those concepts presented in the general literature.

"REAL" IDENTITY AND DESIRED IDENTITY

Recognition is given in the literature to the distinction between the individual's perceptions of self as s/he *is*, and perceptions of self as s/he would *like to be*.

Miller (1963) for example, distinguishes between *actual identity, potential identity and ideal identity*. *Actual public identity* is the "pattern of current traits by which a person is known in a specific group" (p.679). *Actual self-identity* is the individual's conception of what s/he is really like. The person's *potential identity* also has both public and self aspects, and refers to conceptions of "unrealised capacities" (p.680). The *ideal identity*, as it implies, relates to an idealised picture of the person as a group member *(ideal public identity)* and of self *(ideal self-identity)*.

Rosenberg (1979) outlines similar concepts, using the language of "self-concept". *Desired self-concept*, (desired self) and *extant self-concept* ("what a person sees when he looks at himself" (p.9), are two aspects of overall self-concept. Desired self-concept consists of three elements, idealised images, committed images, and moral images. Idealised images are the imagined, glorified, and "wished for" self-conceptions. Committed

images are also wished for self-ideas but are more realistic pictures in contrast to the glorified vision presented in the ideal image. Moral images depict the way we feel we *should* be.

According to these authors, inclusion of the ideal aspects of self-image in a theory of identity is necessary to a broad understanding of how individuals develop and maintain pictures of self. Abend (1974) and Schafer (1973), for example, suggest that in order to fully comprehend the non-static quality seen in self-perceptions, we must look to the individual's capacity to move between realistic and wishful self-representations. Inclusion of the "desired" aspect of identity is believed to enrich our understanding of the identity construct and allow for a more meaningful assessment of individual self-perceptions.

> *In the discovery and creation of oneself in relation to and differentiated from social codes, both one's self-image, the picture of what one is, and one's self-ideal, the picture of what one would like to be, are involved. Different degrees and kinds of congruence between the two, and between both and the life-style approved by the culture, emerge in the process of developing identity.*
> (Lynd,1958,p.230)

SINGLE ("TRUE") SELF AND MULTIPLE (SITUATIONAL) SELVES

Turner (1968) noted that reference to self-as-object is often given two distinct meanings: One where the object is thought to be "real" and "enduring", (the "true self" idea), and the other where the object is treated as

ephemeral and managed. Turner's reference highlighted two basic conceptualisations apparent in the literature, (1) the idea of a single global identity or self-conception, made up of stable, continuous self-representations, variously termed self-concept, personal identity, character and in addition, (2) the idea of multiple identities or self-conceptions (variously termed self-image, situational self) that may be apparent in different situations and at different times (Shibutani,1961; Brewster-Smith,1968; McCall & Simmons,1978; Schlenker,1982.

The former is characterised by a stable sense of self or "the real me" which changes slowly and exhibited a "strain towards coherency (Turner,1968,p.94). The latter is described as situation specific, constantly changing and therefore offering no stable sense of self.

Schlenker (1982), for example has proposed a theoretical approach where he suggests that a person may exhibit both *identity images and a broad composite identity,* "an organisation of knowledge about a person that is relevant to social life" (p.194), a person's theory about her/himself with regard to "actual and imagined social situations and relationships" (p.195). Composite identity is derived from the organisation of all those self representations that pertain to the individual's connectedness with others.

Some theorists however, do not believe that self-concept or identity can be viewed at *both* the specific and global levels. Ego psychologists, for example, maintain that a core identity is developed and remains thus

for the remainder of the person's life (Erikson,1959). Others, (e.g. Gergen,1977) consider the notion of a core or stable identity as unacceptable. In outlining a socio-cognitive approach to self, Gergen suggests that there is little evidence for the "true" or "core" self idea. Rather, "...the individual harbors a multitude of self-relevant concepts many of which are inconsistent if not diametrically opposed" (p. 1654).

Self-knowledge, according to Gergen, occurs through the application of a conceptual system to experience which may become codified. Self-identity is defined as, "...a subset of highly salient concepts which the individual most frequently utilises in thinking about himself or his activities" (p.145).

Since conceptual systems are embedded within the social environment, then self-identity must be considered in relation to this. "The 'Social rules' dictate the applications of particular concepts to particular experiences in specified situations" (p.165).

These rules are, however, tied to internal psychological and physiological events (although precisely how this is done is not specified). Although Gergen gives some recognition to the influence of social elements, this seems to be somewhat limited. For example, he does not appear to address himself sufficiently to the question of whether greater constancy in the social environment may create greater constancy in self-perception.

In summary, the concept of a relatively stable and

consistent self or identity has been differentiated by many theorists from those self-perceptions believed to be less enduring. It would appear important in any proposal regarding the nature of identity to recognise that self-perceptions may vary in the degree to which they persist and attain importance for the individual. Some, for example, may exhibit a relatively enduring quality while others may not. Entering into the debate of whether there is, or is not, a core self appears to be rather fruitless to our search for definitional qualities of identity.

The present author maintains that it is more beneficial to acknowledge that self-perceptions may vary along a continuum of stability, consistency or persistence. Having done this, it can then be proposed how different continuum positions may relate to determining factors, especially social factors. It is considered, therefore, that any proposal as to the nature of homosexual identity should incorporate within it a recognition of such a continuum and the influence of factors such as social environment in determining continuum position.

IDENTITY AND STRUCTURE

Our final literature theme concerns the way in which the contents of self-concept or identity (cognition) are believed to be organised. Whether theorists consider there to be one identity (or self-concept) or multiple identities (or self-concepts), some organisational principle is usually built into their formulations. This

may refer to the organisation of elements of identity or self-concept (e.g. Rosenberg,1979) or the organisation of different identities in relation to each other (e.g. McCall & Simmons,1978).

Rosenberg (1979) is critical of those who perceive identity or self-concept as merely a number of specific self-representations that can be added up to give a global picture of the individual. These components, he says, are hierarchically ordered, and it is only through a complex synthesis of them that the global construct emerges. "The self-concept components are of unequal centrality to the individual's concerns and are hierarchically organised in a system of self-values" (p.18). According to Rosenberg, self-conceptions are "self-attitudes" and as such can be characterised on the same dimensions as general attitudes. He lists these dimensions as, direction, intensity, salience, consistency, stability, clarity, content, accuracy and verifiability. These represent the principles upon which the organisation of self perceptions is based.

Also following the general literature on the components of attitudes (e.g. Middlebrook,1974; Tedeschi, Lindskold & Rosenfeld,1985) Secord & Backman (1974) acknowledge that self-attitudes, like attitudes in general, have three aspects - cognitive, affective and behavioural. The cognitive component refers to the content of the self-concept, the affective component to the evaluation of self, and the

behavioural aspect to the way in which the individual acts out these first two.

In referring specifically to the organisation of various identities, McCall & Simmons (1978) note that different identities which may be compatible with one another or in conflict, are,

> *Not separate, each unto itself, but are woven into a complex pattern of identities. That is, they mutually influence one another and are organised into a more or less systematically interrelated whole.* (p.73)

This is reminiscent of Schlenker's (1982) concept of "composite identity".

Other qualities of identity organisation are *cohesiveness* (the extent to which clusters of identities are closely or loosely interrelated), and *prominence,* (the degree to which an identity looms significantly in the identity hierarchy). The prominence of a given identity is determined by the degree of self-support and social support given to it, the individual's degree of commitment to and investment in it, and the extrinsic and intrinsic gratifications associated with it (p.76). The saliency of an identity is the result of its prominence, need of support, the individual's need for intrinsic and extrinsic gratification obtained through expression of that identity, and finally, the perceived degree of opportunity for its profitable enactment in the given situation. Identities based on saliency needs tend to be situational,

whereas those based on the prominence factor tend to be relatively enduring.

Thus, from this section of the literature it is possible to specify another element to be included in our theoretical outline of identity - the organisational element. This has two faces: Firstly, the way in which the cognitive components of identity are organised; and secondly, the way in which different identities become organised in relation to each other.

SUMMARY

Having completed our discussion of the general themes running through the identity literature, we can now extract those ideas that were considered to be significant to a formulation of homosexual identity. These may be summarised briefly as follows:

1. The study of identity involves both the way the individual perceives self, and the actual experiencing of self. Both elements are important to an understanding of "Who I am".
2. Reference to the two constructs "self-concept" and "identity" offer a useful way of separating those self-perceptions that place the individual within a social context or position, and those which do not.
3. It is possible to distinguish between "identity"

that involves the social labelling of an individual, and identity that takes in the individual's own perceptions of self.

4. The content or nature of self-identity is cognitive, being expressed in the form of self-perceptions, self-representations or self-images.
5. The significant feature of self-identity is the link it forms between self-perceptions and the social milieu in which the individual lives. Identity consists of organised groups of self-images relating to the self in a social context.
6. Pictures that an individual holds with regard to self arise out of the synthesis between self-perceptions and perceptions of self believed to be held by others.
7. Human beings are able to distinguish, at a given moment, between who they are and who they wish to be. This distinction arises when some evaluation is given to self-perceptions.
8. Self-perceptions, and therefore, identities, may be more or less enduring and this characteristic is likely to be dependent to some degree on factors in the social environment.
9. The cognitive components (self-perceptions) of identity and self-concept are structured according to certain principles of organisation. Various identities are also organised in relation to each other.

The assumption underlying all of these ideas is that in understanding "who am I", human beings can experience a sense of identity and/or identities, as well as have cognizance of these.

Based upon the above factors, we are now in a position to propose a theoretical outline of identity and the way this will be applied to the homosexual experience.

A THEORETICAL FORMULATION OF IDENTITY

Three core constructs are proposed. All three are considered necessary in order to fully describe and understand the concept of identity. These constructs are, Self-Concept, Typological Identity and Composite Identity. In addition, the term Self is also defined.

SELF-CONCEPT

Along with those theorists mentioned previously in this chapter, the term *Self-Concept* has been taken to mean *all those perceptions (self-attitudes) that a person holds about her/himself.* "The totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an

object" (Rosenberg,1979,p.7). "I am a compassionate person" is an example of a self-attitude or self-perception that might make up part of an individual's overall Self-Concept. Attached to such self-representations are evaluative components (e.g., "I like the idea that I am a compassionate person").

Self-perceptions, as attitudes about the self, may vary on dimensions frequently attributed to attitudes such as prominence, salience, intensity, direction, persistency, consistency, clarity etc. For example, a perception of self as "weak" may be given prominence by an individual who evaluates such an image of self very negatively. Self-perceptions are not necessarily *persistent*. That is, an individual may perceive that s/he has changed from being an intolerant person to a compassionate one. Nor are self-perceptions necessarily *consistent*. An individual may recognise her/himself as compassionate at one moment and intolerant at another. Each image of self, will emerge in response to different situational factors. At any moment, some self-perceptions are likely to be perceived as more psychologically significant than others.

Self-Concept can also be viewed from the two perspectives of the parts and the whole. That is, individuals can have an overall, global composite picture of themselves (Self-Concept) while at the same time acknowledging a complex range of individual self-perceptions. For example, an individual who perceives that

s/he is capable of being both compassionate and intolerant may also believe that "overall I am a kind and compassionate person where others are concerned". As noted by others, the overall self-concept is not merely the additive total of all the images that a person holds, but represents a unique *gestalt*.

Both at the global and the specific levels, Self-Concept also includes the way a person *wishes* to be, (desired self-perceptions) incorporating ideal, committed and moral images, as outlined by Rosenberg (1979). It is recognised that desired self images are likely to be initially derived from the social environment.

TYPOLOGICAL IDENTITY

The term typological identity has been adopted in order to side-step those difficulties of terminology that exist in the general identity literature. It is an attempt to clearly distinguish between Self-Concept and the concept of identity as an entity closely linked with the social environment.

Typological identities are organised sets of self-perceptions that an individual holds about self with regard to some social category or type, that give rise to some sense of self as *being,* more or less, that type. As noted in Chapter 1, social categories are classifications of individuals on the basis of specific attributes.

Some are clearly delineated such as "mother", and "adult", while others are less so (e.g., "music buff"). Thus, a typological identity of "adult" would include all those self-perceptions considered representative of the way an "adult" is expected to be, that an individual holds about self. This may include, for example, perceptions of self as "mature", "educated", "responsible" etc. Those self-perceptions that form the basis of some typological identity tend to be cognitively organised according to dimensions or principles such as prominence (importance), saliency, cohesiveness, intensity, etc.

Obviously, typological identities can only exist where the relevant social classification exists as a part of a societal system. However, as Warren (1974) is careful to point out, identity incorporates *more* than just the adoption of a label as defined by the society within which we live. An individual receives information regarding self, from others in her/his social environment, and from such information derives perceptions of how s/he is seen by those others. However, these perceptions are considered *in conjunction with own views of self* (self-perceptions) already in existence, and either accepted or rejected. Either action (acceptance or rejection) helps to formulate new self-perceptions (that is, in rejecting another's view, one infers an alternative view). Since this is a continuously occurring state of affairs, identity (and Self-Concept) are ever-evolving processes.

Identity is a moving, changing process,

> *not a fixed established point....It is not immutable. It is not totally fluid. It is somewhere in between.* (Berzon,1979a, p.1)

Where self-views match views of self imagined to be held by others, that is, self-images are presented to others and believed to be seen in like manner, then identity may be said to have fully developed. The individual's internal and external environments both present her/him with similar information about self. This contributes to the consolidation of that particular image of self and heightens the experiential sense of self arising from that image. As Rainwater (1970) concludes,

> *A valid identity is one in which the individual finds congruence between who he feels he is, who he announces himself to be, and where he feels his society places him.* (p.375)

Adopting information about oneself from the external environment may come about through direct communication with others, observing others, as well as self-labelling. The latter may incorporate memory scanning, symbolic comparison and other forms of cognitive processing which enable persons to check their self-ideas out against previously learned social meanings. We hold views of how "significant others" and the "generalised other", to use Mead's terminology, perceive our behaviour. Provided

there has been sufficient socialisation to teach the "other" viewpoint, cognitive restructuring can therefore take place in relative social isolation.

COMPOSITE IDENTITY

Individuals may hold many different typological identities, and these may be experienced both as separate units and as part of a unique whole. The latter is created as a result of the organisation of all typological identities based on dimensions such as prominence, saliency and cohesiveness. The result is a global image and overall sense of self as a social being. This is termed the *Composite Identity*[9]. A Composite Identity is more than simply the sum total of all typological identities. Rather, it is a unique, overall sense of self that is created out of these identities. This concept, like the others, is also fluid and ever-evolving. To give an example: An individual may be able to differentiate various images of her/himself such as a "psychologist", "musician", "party-goer" and "cat-lover". At the same time, s/he may

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[9] This framework differs significantly from that of Grzelkowski (Note 8) who proposes the term self-concept to signify the total of all identities held by a person at any given time, as well as the feeling held about each identity and the role option chosen to act out each identity. This definition of self-concept is, therefore, quite distinct from those generally adopted in the literature.

hold an overall image of self that may, for example, be given the descriptor "how I am with others".

Thus, Composite Identity as a construct serves to place Typological Identities within a larger context. Although typological identities are of interest in their own right, it should not be forgotten that they are also part of an intricate system of social cognitions.

SELF

Of perhaps less significance to the present theoretical outline is the term "Self" which has been adopted in a functional sense in order to bring together both the objective aspects of self-knowledge and subjective experiences of "who I am". Self is a broad and somewhat nebulous term, covering both aspects. It serves to remind us that the division of human functioning into the objective and the subjective is, in reality, a theoretical exercise rather than a mirroring of existent human entities.

In summary, all of the constructs included within this formulation, both separately and together provide the individual with self-perceptions and accompanying experiential sense of self that give rise to an understanding of "who I am".

APPLICATION OF THE THEORETICAL FORMULATION OF IDENTITY TO THE HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE

Homosexual identity is one example of a typological identity. It is *an organised set of self-images or self-perceptions that an individual holds about self with regard to the social category of "homosexual", and the feelings engendered by these clusters of self-representations.* Homosexual self-images are not merely reflections of the societal picture of who is "a homosexual". The individual has an active role in rejecting or accepting these prescribed images and in developing an idiosyncratic, interactive (McCall & Simmons,1978) view of self. This view develops out of an integration between (1) the individual's unique interpretations of socially prescribed notions about homosexuals that have been provided throughout her/his life, and (2) self-developed formulations.

> *Both the gay community and the stigmatising society provide definitions of what a gay person is and how to locate gayness in the self and others. Identity is forged using social categories but it is finally an individual act of faith.* (Warren,1974,p.145).

A gay identity can only be acquired in those societies that acknowledge such a category. In other words, people can only see themselves as "homosexual" where the social type "homosexual" exists (Dank,1971). Ferguson

(1981) notes that not only is it necessary to live in a culture where the homosexual identity exists, but in addition, there must also be a group of people who think of themselves as having a homosexual identity, since this provides a social place in which to ground one's own homosexual identity.

An individual first develops homosexual perceptions of self by checking own overt and/or covert behaviour against socially prescribed pictures of how a homosexual should be. This "stereotyped" image has been previously absorbed within the individual's cognitive system in the form of the "generalised other" view of "a homosexual". By making symbolic comparisons with this "other" view, homosexual meaning may be applied to own behaviour, thereby initiating processes of cognitive restructuring that may lead to identity acquisition. The significance of this symbolic comparison is often missed by theorists (e.g., Omark,1981; Whitam,1977) who propose that homosexual identity cannot exist without making contact with homosexuals. According to the present formulation, identity may *begin* to develop *without* any interaction with homosexuals or the gay subculture. To develop an identity that is more fully an integrated aspect of the individual's overall sense of self requires, however, more direct communication with others.

A fully developed gay identity requires a synthesis be made between own and imagined others' view of self. In the homosexual example, the individual is

required to construct perceptions of how her/his sexual orientation is perceived by others, both homosexual and heterosexual. Perceptions of others' views may not necessarily be equivalent to *actual* views held by others. Where the two views differ, direct feedback from others may result in the individual modifying the way s/he imagines others see her/him. The degree to which an individual is susceptible to others' views will depend upon a variety of factors including personality (e.g., locus of control, level of self-esteem), the manner and type of comments made, and the significance given to the person giving the feedback (Triandis,1971). While others' views of self are given prominence, these are likely to be a source of "ideal" images against which the individual may compare self.

Ultimately then, homosexual identity formation involves the presentation of the image of self as "homosexual" to homosexual and heterosexual others, and consideration of resultant feedback. Both of these groups (homosexuals and non-homosexuals) are significant in the identity acquisition process. If, for example, the individual concerned perceives gay others *but not heterosexual others* as seeing her/him as "homosexual" then complete congruence does not exist and identity cannot be said to have *fully* evolved.

In summary, gay identity represents the integration of that set of self-perceptions leading

individuals to adopt a broad image of themselves as "a homosexual" with perceptions of self believed to be held by others where such perceptions also describe self as "a homosexual". This alliance between self-perceptions and perceived other-perceptions gives rise to a relatively stable cognition of self as "a homosexual" as well as a subjective sense of self as "a homosexual". Homosexual identity involves both the objective awareness of self as "a homosexual" and the subjective feeling of "being" a homosexual.

THE CONTENT AND ORGANISATION OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

Little information is available as to which self-perceptions (content of identity) are grouped together, or the ways in which they are grouped together (organisation of identity) during either initial or later formulations of homosexual identity. This would seem to be an exciting and potentially illuminating area for future research. We might ask, for example, which self-images are grouped together to formulate a sense of self as "homosexual". Are there common groupings of self-perceptions that are used? Can individuals be differentiated according to these groupings? To what degree do the self-images reflect societal stereotypes, and to what degree are they idiosyncratic? Do self-image clusters defining homosexual identity alter over time and space? Do they vary

during the process of identity acquisition? Is the content of homosexual identity organised according to factors such as prominence, saliency, etc? Is this structure idiosyncratic to each individual or can we find organisational systems common to groups of homosexually-identified people?

Since self-perceptions include ideal as well as "real" elements together with their respective evaluative components, we can also ask; what conflictual or confluencing effects might ideal self-images have on the characterisation of homosexual identity? Can differences between people with regard to their homosexual identity be accounted for by the interaction between ideal and real self-images, between ideal self-image and perceived societally-acceptable images, between real self-image and perceived societally-acceptable images? It is predicted that self-images relied upon in the early stages of identity acquisition will be more stereotypical than at later stages.

It is also hypothesised that males and females should differ significantly in types of images used because of differing stereotypes attributed to each of these groups. Examples of self-image groupings that might be found of women and men respectively are given below.

Example 1. I am sexually attracted to other women
I like being independent
I enjoy socialising with women more than with men

I like being emotionally close with women

Example 2. I sometimes think of men when I masturbate
I don't like football
I enjoy the theatre
I prefer to spend most of my leisure time with my male friends

SELF-CONCEPT AND HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

While several authors have referred to a *homosexual self-concept*, (Plummer,1975; Richardson & Hart, 1981; Weinberg & Williams,1975) in the present theoretical formulation such a notion is rejected. As stated previously, the self-concept is a broad construct covering all those self-attitudes held by an individual about self. Typological identity has a narrower base and refers specifically to those self-attitudes related to a specific social category.

However, in the present theoretical stance, it is considered that both *self-concept* and *identity* are significant to the understanding of gay identity. For example, it is considered that an individual who holds, as a relatively prominent and stable view of self, the self-perception "I am a likeable person", will differ in the

manner with which a homosexual identity is adopted, compared with someone who believes "I am unloveable". In other words, some interactive effect is hypothesised to take place between self-concept and homosexual identity. It may be, for example, that the first of these (hypothetical) people concludes, "I am a likeable homosexual" or "I am a homosexual and also likeable", while the second claims "I am unloveable because I am a homosexual". Both are making statements about homosexual identity. Yet, to equate them on the grounds that they epitomise a similar sense of identity ("I am a homosexual") is to ignore the significance given to the self-conceptions "likeable" and "unloveable". Taking both self-concept *and* identity into account thus allows a richer and more meaningful understanding to be reached than would otherwise be possible if the self-concept was ignored.

Employing both constructs to the understanding of homosexual identity also makes it possible to differentiate between the self-attitude "I am a person who becomes sexually aroused with others of the same sex", (self-conception) and "I am a homosexual" (identity), a distinction commonly reported in the popular literature, but frequently ignored in scientific writings.

It will by now be apparent that the terms *social identity* and *personal identity* are *not* adopted in this theoretical schema. In addition to their inappropriateness because of the conceptual confusion that surrounds their use in the general literature, they are not considered

applicable to the present model. As a socio-cognitive model, the emphasis is on identity arising as a result of the integration of *both* social and personal elements. The division into social *and* personal implies that social elements are somehow not a part of "personal" identity, a stance not held in this manuscript.

In the homosexual literature the way in which the terms "social" and "personal" identity have been used reflects the confusion and diversity evident in the general literature. *Social identity,* for example, has been used to emphasise the open presentation of self to others as a homosexual, another's conception of one's identity, as well as describing who one has sexual acts with (Warren, 1980; Weinberg & Williams,1975; Williams & Weinberg,1971). *Personal identity* has been used in the context of what an individual thinks of her/himself, (Williams & Weinberg, 1971) and defined *as* self-concept(Mintz,1973). Miller (1978) and Weinberg & Williams (1975) refer to *public identity* as how a person *is* to others, while Loewenstein (1980) also refers to (but does not define) *public self-definition.*

PRESENTED AND PERCEIVED IDENTITIES

Our examination of the general literature revealed some confusion between the application of the term identity to perceptions held by an individual and perceptions

held *about* an individual with regard to some characteristic. Some authors (e.g., Miller,1963) did attempt to clarify the issue by the use of terms such as public and self-identity. The term "public identity" is, however, unsatisfactory because it fails to make clear the distinction between an identity that an individual *makes public*, and an identity held *by* the public. In other words, a person may choose to present an image of self to others that is quite distinct from the way s/he actually perceives self. Further, both of these pictures may be at variance with the image of that person held by others. In the homosexual literature these distinctions have been consistently noted, (e.g., Blumstein & Schwartz,1974; Goode,1978; Levine,1979; Miller & Fowlkes,1980; Reiss,1961; Weeks,1977). Frequently, however, all concepts have been referred to simply as "identity", adding to what is already a particularly muddled area of literature.

In order to provide a useful as well as meaningful theoretical framework, it was considered necessary to recognise these different types of identity. To this end, the terms *presented identity* and *perceived identity* were adopted.

Self-Identity

Strictly speaking, identity as discussed up until now, might more specifically be called *self-identity* to distinguish it from presented and perceived identity.

Where "identity" is not used in conjuction with the words "presented" or "perceived" it will be taken to mean self-identity. In referring to any Typological Identity, therefore, we can recognise the three elements of self-identity, presented identity and perceived identity.

Presented Identity

Presented identity is that picture of self that a person presents to others with regard to a specific socially-defined category; that is, the identity that a person wants others to believe s/he holds about her/himself. The word *presented* emphasised the *behavioural* emphasis. The individual acts out as a dramaturgical role, the identity s/he wants others to consider, by presenting behavioural descriptors believed to be typical of such an identity. Thus, a person who perceives her/himself as "a homosexual" may choose, however, to present self in a way that it is believed will create a picture in others' minds of "heterosexual".

Thus, in this manuscript, "presented identity" provides a theoretical link between the two constructs "identity" and "role"[10].

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[10] Unfortunately, the homosexual literature is characterised by considerable confusion between the concepts of "identity", "role" and "behaviour". See for example, the debate presented recently by Goode, (1981a,1981b) Omark, (1978,1981) and Whitam, (1977, 1978, 1981).

Perceived Identity

Perceived identity refers to that image held by another about a person with regard to some socially defined category. Such an image will be developed out of a unique synthesis of (1) the meaning others put on a person's behaviour (presented identity) together with, (2) those perceptions already held about that person with reference to the social category in question. In other words, perceived identity is not necessarily equivalent to presented identity. For example, an individual may perceive another as acting in a way believed to be indicative of someone with a homosexual identity. If, previously held conceptions were of "heterosexual", it is possible that the resultant perceived identity will be "bisexual" (to name one alternative).

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY LITERATURE: NEGLECT OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL

Despite the diversity of opinions evident in the general literature, as to how identity can be defined, most theorists agree that identity is essentially a *cognitive* phenomenon. The study of identity, therefore, demands the inclusion of the psychological perspective.

In the homosexual identity literature, little attention has been given to the *cognitive* aspects of homosexual identity. Fein & Nuehring (1981) suggest, in fact, that the study of intrapsychic processes has been sorely neglected in many areas of the study of homosexuals. There are a number of factors that might account for this;

1. The heavy influx in the 1970s of sociologists into the area of homosexuality, who, working from symbolic interactionist and societal reaction perspectives, focused on the hitherto neglected effects of environmental circumstances on the homosexual individual.
2. The preoccupation of research psychologists with defensive research programmes which turned attention toward countering the skewed results and medical orientation of the early psychological literature and away from newly emerging areas of research.
3. The politically-determined decision by many modern researchers to focus on *society* as opposed to the "dissecting of the homosexual" approach that reflected the previous medical influence.

Dank (1971) was probably the first to point to cognitive aspects as being significant to the definition and development of homosexual identity. He referred to the "cognitive category of homosexual", the individual's

understanding of what it means to be a homosexual in her/his social environment. Dank noted that this category is usually evaluated negatively. In order to adopt a homosexual identity, a change is required to be made by the individual so that "homosexual" is perceived in a positive manner.

Despite Dank's decade-old proposal that homosexual identity must be understood in terms of cognition, psychologists, as well as researchers from other disciplines, have shown little interest in pursuing the part that cognitive processes play in the development and maintenance of gay identity.

Interest has almost solely focused on social aspects of identity. A number of studies have produced descriptions of various aspects of the gay subculture and mainstream society as these influence homosexual identity (e.g., Cronin,1974; Humphreys & Miller,1980; Miller,1978; Moses,1978; Ponse,1977,1978,1980; Warren, 1974,1980; Weinberg & Williams,1975; Williams & Weinberg, 1971; Robertson, Note 4). Particular emphasis has been given to the ways people experience their homosexual identity in the world within which they live. Ponse (1978,1980), for example, describes the effects of different social rules in creating variations in homosexual identity: Warren (1980) and Plummer (1973) examine strategies for coping with a homosexual identity; Blumstein & Schwartz (1977a,1977b) and Humphreys & Miller (1980) are concerned with the impact of differing cultural and

and social factors on identity, while Sommers (Note 6) looks at the role of interpersonal relationships in the development of homosexual identity.

While it is important to consider the social and cultural factors that play a part in identity, any such discussion is limited unless it also includes an account of the cognitive restructuring that might, or does, take place in association with such factors. After all, it is the individual's *perceptions* of the world within which s/he lives, rather than the world itself, which are critical to the identity issue.

Jandt & Darsey (1981) represent one of a very small number of researchers to focus on cognitive aspects of homosexual identity. These authors draw from personal construct theory in order to examine Dank's notion that individuals must change their evaluation of the cognitive category of "homosexual" from negative to positive. Their findings suggest that, through interaction with the gay subculture, individuals come to learn new (positive) constructs that replace those profferred by society.

The present author believes that studying homosexual identity without consideration being given to psychological factors can only result in a literature that is severely restricted in its scope and depth of understanding. The potential input to the study of homosexual identity from giving due weight to the psychological is enormous. There are several well-developed research areas within the psychological literature, (such as, information

processing, decision-making, attitude-formation, conformity, cognition and person perception) from which researchers could draw much in the way of theory, methodology, and data that was pertinent to the study of gay identity.

In this chapter we have examined the gay and general identity literature and arrived at what is in reality, the first comprehensive conceptualisation of gay identity. This theoretical formulation is now adopted in the remainder of the manuscript.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CHARACTERISATION OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY IN THE LITERATURE

In Chapter 2, it was concluded that proposals outlining the specific nature of homosexual identity were sorely lacking in the homosexual literature. This does not mean, however, that we may also conclude that conceptions of homosexual identity are nonexistent. Far from it. Individual researchers have implicitly built into their writings personal assumptions of what they consider are the characteristics, requirements or conditions necessary for defining homosexual identity.

This chapter considers the various ways in which the construct "identity" has been characterised in the homosexual situation. For the sake of clarity, our discussion will be divided into the following broad areas:

1. Homosexual identity as a childhood versus adult outcome.
2. The nature of homosexual identity: Sexual or nonsexual.
3. Homosexual identity as group identity.
4. Homosexual identity as concrete reality.

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY:-
CHILDHOOD OR ADULT OUTCOME

Generally speaking, homosexual identity theorists may be broadly divided into those who describe identity as an outcome of childhood developmental processes, and those who see it as a result of human functioning that may occur in childhood *or* adulthood, or both. These different directions, in many ways, parallel differences in the general literature between psychological and sociological approaches to identity. To some extent, they probably also *reflect* these two orientations.

The psychological approach has essentially focussed on identity as a childhood or adolescent outcome. Identity is, therefore, described within the realm of "developmental psychology" with the emphasis being on *childhood* development. The area of adult identity is linked to this aspect of the literature by being considered an extension of earlier (childhood/adolescent) development. The sociological approach, on the other hand, has focussed on identities arising as a result of social factors, which are not necessarily related to any phase of childhood. Occupational identities, for example, are frequently discussed as adult phenomenon while deviant identities may be considered as arising in adult or adolescent years.

Proponents of the view that homosexual identity is a childhood/adolescent phenomenon generally work from

within either an *ego identity* framework, or a *gender identity* framework.

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AS EGO IDENTITY

Ego identity is a concept that emerged out of that school of psychology known as ego psychology, itself a derivative of psychoanalytic theory (Marcia, Note 9).

In the homosexual literature, several authors (e.g., Gundlach & Riess,1969; Pattison,1974; Weis & Dain, 1979; McLellan, Note 7) have, in their discussion of homosexual identity referred to "ego identity". Unfortunately, little, if any, attempt is made by these writers to expand upon the relevance of this construct for the homosexual example. It appears, however, that the term "ego identity" is frequently used outside its appropriate context of ego psychology.

If ego identity is assumed to be relevant to the homosexual experience (whether this is explicitly or implicitly stated), then several theoretical questions need to be considered. The first, and most fundamental of these, relates to the assumption that homosexual identity is *equivalent* to ego identity. We need to ask whether these constructs are, in fact, identical. Further, is the ego identity construct the most appropriate theoretical structure with which we can explain homosexual identity? Indeed, is ego psychology a suitable framework on which to

base our ideas about homosexual identity? It seems obvious that in order to answer these questions, some understanding is required of the way in which ego identity was formulated in the ego psychology literature.

Erik Erikson, one of the most well known of the ego psychologists, first proposed the term *ego identity* (1958,1968) to refer to the psychosocial integration of the individual beginning in childhood and ideally culminating at the adolescent stage of development. As the term impies, the central feature of ego identity is the *ego*. In psychoanalytic terms, the ego refers to that portion of the id (the instinctual pleasure-seeking part of the personality) which develops during childhood and adolescence in response to stimulation from the external environment. The ego mediates between the individual's internal needs and the demands of reality (the external environment), functioning as "the *executor* of personality" (Monte,1977,p.357).

> *The ego comes into existence because the needs of the organism require appropriate transactions with the objective world of reality....Its principal role is to mediate between the instinctual requirements of the organism and the conditions of the surrounding environment.* (Hall & Lindzey,1957,pp.33,35)

As a result of adjusting to these instinctual, cultural and historical conditions, a sense of *self* develops.

Erikson describes a sequence of stages occurring

from infancy to adulthood that the ego progresses through in the development of personality. Each successive stage in the sequence sees the ego adding new areas of competency as the developmental crisis presented at each stage is faced and overcome. In adolescence, the central crisis is the crystallisation of identity or clarification of sense of self and self-continuity. This is the concept of ego identity. Erikson saw ego identity as incorporating many meanings.

> *I can attempt to make the subject matter of identity more explicit only by approaching it from a variety of angles....At one time, then, it will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another, to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis, and finally as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity.* (1959,p.102)

A healthy and adjusted ego identity can only emerge when all previous developmental crises have been resolved and integrated. Although ego identity is not static, the identity resolved in adolescence, and the manner in which this takes place are important in terms of setting "a form which will decisively determine later life" (Erikson,1968,p.91).

Thus, the notion of ego identity is specifically psychoanalytic in its characterisation and anchored in

Erikson's stages of ego development. Erikson noted with dismay, however, (1968) that terms such as "ego identity" and "identity crisis", derived from his theoretical formulations, were being adopted into the general literature without reference to the ego psychology framework within which they were embedded (e.g., McDonagh,1982), and usually with a somewhat different meaning than originally intended (Stein,1977). To consider ego identity apart from the framework described by Erikson, is to deny the theoretical basis upon which it gains its definition. Unless departures from this are clearly stated and justified, the resultant proposals can become theoretically absurd.

In the homosexual literature, reference to ego identity is usually made without recourse to Erikson's theory of ego development. Some authors (e.g., deMonteflores & Schultz,1978; Morin & Schultz,1978; Schultz, Note 10), proposed that the development of a homosexual identity is a part of the process of adolescent identity development, but fail to account for the link between ego development and homosexual identity formation. The present author believes that any theoretical stance taken with regard to homosexual identity needs to be justified and not simply adopted at whim as has been the case. If, for example, homosexual identity development is to be considered within the context of ego development, then there is a need to show how the case of an individual developing awareness of homosexual feelings in adulthood fits into this framework. It is important too, that theorists recognise the

need for theoretical consistency. It is patently ridiculous to adopt some sections of Erikson's model and mix these with aspects of other approaches. McLellan (Note 7) for example, uses Eriksonian theory to describe "personal identity", (defined as that sense of who one is that arises as a result of resolving the crises of childhood), and proposes "social identity" as the learning of specific roles and labels in order to develop a sense of "who one perceives oneself to be in the eyes of society and the "place" one ought to occupy" (p.14). This is seen to occur *after* personal identity is formed, a notion difficult to understand from any theoretical viewpoint.

In this manuscript, identity does *not* refer to ego identity. The concept of homosexual identity put forward is quite distinct from the notion of identity portrayed in the ego development models of psychoanalysis and ego psychology. The present formulation does not, however, mean that the portrayal of homosexual identity as an aspect of adolescent development is excluded from consideration. Rather, it is the equation of homosexual identity with ego identity that is considered inappropriate to the homosexual situation. In more general terms, the presentation of homosexual identity as an adolescent outcome only, is limiting and denies the existence of those individuals who develop a homosexual self-image in adult life.

Interestingly, Erikson himself differentiated

between ego identity and self-identity. Using Hartmann's (1950) meaning of self as *self-representation*, he defines *self-identity* as the identity that emerges from integration of the individual's self-images with role-images (perceptions of the social positions held), which subsequently achieves social recognition. The similarity between Erikson's conception of self-identity and that presented in this manuscript, is clearly apparent.

Recognising that the terms "ego" and "self" are frequently used interchangeably, Erikson suggests that the former be applied only to the concept of, "...an inner agency safeguarding our coherent existence..." (1968,p.218). The latter, he maintains, should be used to refer to perceptions an individual has of her/his own being. The ME, or "self as known" comprises various selves which make up a "composite self: (Erikson,1968,p.217).

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AND GENDER DEVELOPMENT

Some proponents of the theoretical proposition that homosexual identity is a childhood/adolescent outcome, work from within a *gender identity* framework (e.g., R.Green, 1974; Hoffman,1968; Whitam,1977,1981). According to this orientation, homosexual preference is viewed as a component of gender identity (a term often used interchangeably with that of "sexual identity"), said to be developed in early childhood. Gender identity essentally refers to an identity

as being "female" or "male".

> *Gender identity is the sameness, unity, and persistence of one's individuality as male, female, or ambivalent, in greater or lesser degree.* (Money,1981,p.215)

R. Green's (1974) model of gender (sexual) identity forms the basis for most articles holding to this proposal.

Green hypothesised that sexual/gender identity (in later articles [e.g., Green,1978] he prefers to use only "sexual identity") includes three aspects: (1) the self-concept of being female or male; (2) gender-role behaviour or behaviour that is culturally associated with females or males (femininity and masculinity); and (3) erotic preference for female or male sexual partners. Variations on this model have been presented in the homosexual literature by Shively & DeCecco (1977) and Marshall (1981). Shively & DeCecco, for example, conceptualise sexual identity as comprising the following components: (1) biological sex - the designation of the neonate as female or male; (2) gender identity - defined as in the Green model as "the individual's basic conviction of being male or female" (p.60); (3) social sex-role (Green's "gender-role behaviour"); (4) sexual orientation (Green's "erotic preference").

Each of the components of sexual identity is considered to develop in early life - gender identity by three years, gender-role behaviour by five years, and erotic preference some time later.

Despite the fact that Green's model has been influential in present-day conceptions of homosexuals, little attempt has been made to assess its suitability for the understanding of homosexual identity. We need to ask whether, in fact, the model *is* the most acceptable framework within which to examine homosexual identity as some theorists appear to believe (e.g., Whitam,1977).

Implicit in Green's model is the assumption that all components are inter-linked according to an "ideal" sexual identity. When the connections between the components are less than "ideal", sexual identity "conflict" is said to occur. This "ideal" is presented as male/masculine/heterosexual, and female/feminine/hetero-sexual. Recalling our historical account in Chapter 1 of the way in which the ideal man/woman was linked firstly to sexuality and then to heterosexuality, it is immediately apparent that Green's model is no more, nor less, than an explication of this nineteenth century medical proposal.

It is not intended in this manuscript to debate the rightness or wrongness of the heterosexual ideal. Nevertheless, this assumption forms a subtle underlay to Green's model, a fact not often acknowledged (and sometimes not even recognised) by those who adopt it. Our discussion at this point, is with the way homosexual identity has been conceptualised as a childhood phenomenon. In this regard, the Green model has played a significant part. The linking of sexual preference to gender identity, with the latter clearly documented as an early childhood

development (Kohlberg,1966) has been sufficient for some theorists to draw the conclusion that sexual preference itself is entirely a childhood phenomenon.

Add to this, Green's somewhat confused use of the term identity, and the idea that homosexual identity develops in early life, follows naturally. Clearly, Green does not use the term "identity" to mean solely self-representations. Rather, he perceives it as encompassing role expectations and behaviour, sexual arousal patterns (behaviour) as well as "self-concept". This conceptual-isation, it should be noted, is not adopted by all theorists. Kagan (1964), Kohlberg (1966) and Spanier (1976), for example, make very clear their use of sexual identity as a synonym for gender identity *only*, defined as a *cognitive* phenomenon. "Identity" and "role" remain separate entities. This understanding of identity is similar to that used by identity theorists and adopted by the present author.

Sexual identity theories, modelled on the Green approach tend, however, to use the term "identity" to cover self-images as well as consistent behaviour patterns as they relate to a particular sex role. Thus, "homosexual identity" becomes synonymous with "homosexual preference". Generally speaking then, sexual identity models are theories about how homosexual sexual *behaviour* (sexual orientation, sexual preference) is formed. The underlying assumption has been that "sexual identity" and

sexual orientation develop simultaneously (Plummer,1981).

Not surprisingly, this has led to confusion between the cognitive and behavioural aspects of homosexuality. As a result, a number of writers have argued strongly for researchers to distinguish clearly between identity, behaviour, and role concepts (Altman,1979; Goode,1981a; Kirkham,1971; McDonald,1981; Omark,1978; Richardson,1981a; Stoller,1980; Weeks,1981; Weinberg,1978). Although intricately bound up with each other, behaviour, identity and role are separate entities, a point that sexual identity proponents fail to note in their proposals of homosexual identity development. Some recent articles suggest that researchers and theorists are beginning to understand the significance of clarifying this issue. Bell, Weinberg & Hammersmith (1981), for example, specify quite clearly their interest in the behavioural aspects of *sexual preference*, while at the same time not being drawn to discussing *cognitive* aspects.

In general then, the sexual identity approach has not proven to be particularly useful in the study of homosexual identity and, if anything, has contributed to the confusion surrounding it.

In the past there has been little attempt to question the basic concepts of this approach. Do we, for example, need to consider the concept of sexual *preference* in developing a theoretical account of homosexual identity? Is either concept necessary to an explanation of the other? An even more fundamental question involves the assumed

link between homosexual identity and sexual/gender identity. Is such an assumption, in fact, valid, or is it merely an historical vestige? In addition, we might ask, does the notion of sexual identity adequately cover all the nuances of homosexual identity as experienced in adulthood?

AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE CHILDHOOD IDENTITY APPROACH

A number of theorists have rejected the idea that homosexual identity can only be understood as an early developmental phenomenon that is fixed in childhood/adolescence (e.g., Goode,1981a; Omark,1978; Ponse,1978; Simon & Gagnon,1969). These theorists have taken the alternative stance that homosexual identity is an image of oneself that may be acquired at any age. Reflecting a sociological rather than a psychological approach, they tend to focus on social environmental factors that may determine and influence homosexual identity. Although not always clearly conceived, a distinction is drawn between identity and sexual preference.

> *The patterns of adult homosexuality are attendant upon the social structures and values which occur to the homosexual after he becomes or conceives of himself as homosexual, rather than upon the original and ultimate causes.* (Simon & Gagnon,1969,p.16).

Plummer (1981) has attempted to clarify the difference between the two viewpoints by referring to the

"identity construct" and the "sexual orientation" approaches.

> *The 'identity-construct' view favoured by symbolic interactionists, focuses upon the cognitive processes by which members of a society interpret their sexual selves by scanning their past lives...and connecting these to 'accounts' available in their contemporary worlds....The focus here is not upon childhood determinations and permanent 'real' orientations, rather it is upon the process of building identities throughout life through significant encounters.* (Plummer,1981,p.69)

Noting that there is evidence for the existence of childhood experiences which may narrow sexual options, and also for the importance of adult experiences which may or may not derive from childhood patterns, Plummer suggests a synthesis of both approaches. Without detailing developmental patterns, he proposes that some people may develop relatively stable identities early in life, while others have to undergo cognitive restructuring of self-conceptions in adult life. Richardson & Hart (1981) also make this point as they describe some of the variables that may contribute to the development and maintenance of a homosexual identity.

These proposals represent an attempt to reconcile the divisions that have been set up in the literature between "childhood" and "adult identity"

theorists as they debate the relative merits of their particular perspective.

The difficulty with Plummer's approach, however, is that it still falls into the trap of mixing cognitive and behavioural concepts. If, as Plummer infers, we need to see human development on a time continuum and not as divided into separate categories, then it is necessary to make sure that the variables hypothesised to be relevant to development can also be placed on a continuum. In other words, behavioural and cognitive aspects cannot be considered opposite ends of the *same* continuum. They represent two separate strands of development each of which needs to be traced independently from childhood through to adulthood. This is not to say that cognitive and behavioural elements cannot be incorporated into a single theoretical formulation of homosexual identity, but rather, that care must be taken to distinguish between these two distinct elements.

Some of the problem, it would seem, lies with the term "sexual identity" which, in the "orientation" approach refers to both cognitive and behavioural terms and in the "identity construct" approach, holds only a cognitive meaning. Use of "sexual identity" to cover the synthesis of childhood and adulthood developments may prove, in the long run, to be inadequate in terms of providing theoretical clarity. An example of the difficulty that can arise when "sexual identity" is used by different theorists is presented in the exchange between Whitam (1977,

1978,1981), Goode (1981a,1981b) and Omark (1978,1981). In discussing the suitability of using the concept "role" in the homosexual context, these authors became bogged down in what is essentially an "orientation" versus "identity" debate, with each side claiming to refer to "sexual identity" to describe his particular viewpoint. In line with the general literature and the formulation adopted in this manuscript, the present author considers that "identity" should be retained for purely cognitive purposes. The term "homosexual identity" it is suggested, should be used to refer to cognitive self-images and the sense of self this creates, while "sexual preference" or "sexual orientation" should be applied to the tendency to respond in a consistent erotic manner over some period of time.

CHILDHOOD AND ADULT FACTORS: A SINGLE PROPOSAL

It is considered that attention needs to be directed towards a conception of homosexual identity and its development that allows us to recognise gay self-images that arise *at any point in the life span*. A theory that assumes homosexual identity to be an adult-only phenomenon is likely to be as limiting as one that refuses to acknowledge any form of adult development.

Children will learn, in varying degrees of depth, the descriptors of the "homosexual" social category.

Like adults, they retain a cognitive picture or template (Gergen,1977) of who is a homosexual. Conceivably, the application of this template to self during childhood and adolescent years is a theoretical possibility. Were this to happen, the process of cognitive restructuring leading to homosexual identity development would then be initiated. *Equally possible*, however, is the situation where no such cognitive comparison is made until adulthood, either because the required behaviour is not present in childhood, or because psychological interference prevents the nomination of homosexual meaning to behaviour that *is* present. Thus, development of a homosexual identity is seen to be possible as a childhood/adolescent *and* adult phenomenon.

In adopting such a proposal, we are led to considering a number of important research questions. Can we assume that homosexual identity formed in adulthood is qualitatively and quantitatively similar to that formed during childhood? For example, the self-images that form the basis of adult identity may be different in some respect to those upon which childhood identity is built. Perhaps too, the childhood process of developing a self-boundary separate from others is influenced by, or influences a homosexual identity emerging in early years, thus creating a situation that is not present in adulthood. Which factors become linked with childhood/adolescent, as compared with adult development is a relatively unexplored area.

It would be of interest also, to speculate on what cognitive changes, if any, might take place within the structure of identity conceived in childhood as the individual ages and moves through life-style changes. Identities, as we have noted, are not static pictures, but are ever-evolving aspects of human functioning. New self-perceptions are built upon existing ones. Environmental changes demand changes in identity. It cannot be assumed that an identity formulated at one time period continues unchanged into another time period.

We can also ask: Given what we know about childhood cognitive and self development, what difficulties might there be in formulating a theory that incorporates early homosexual identity development? Does, for example, a child of ten years have the cognitive ability and skill, emotional separateness and socialisation necessary for constructing a self-category of "homosexual"? Kohlberg (1966) has provided evidence that the development of gender identity is tied to cognitive development (as outlined by Piagetian theory). It may well be possible, therefore, for the development of homosexual identity to be similarly tied to cognitive and social development.

In sum, the debate of childhood versus adult identity is a futile one that ignores the fact that human development is a complexly varied and continuous process. Giving recognition to either one at the expense of the other, is to entirely miss the fact that some people do

develop homosexual self-perceptions in childhood while others have no such conception of themselves until later years.

THE NATURE OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY: SEXUAL OR NONSEXUAL?

THE SEXUAL NATURE OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

A great number of writers on homosexual identity make explicit or implicit reference to its synonymity with sexual identity (e.g., Coleman,1981/2; Dank,1971,1974; Hoffman,1968; Horowitz,1964; Miller,1978; Miller & Fowlkes, 1980; Ponse,1978; Richardson & Hart,1981; Roesler & Deisher,1972; Weinberg,1978; Robertson, Note 4; Troiden, Note 11). The belief that homosexual identity *is* sexual identity is so ingrained in the literature, that the logic of this deduction is never questioned.

In the previous section we outlined the link between the notion of sexual identity and gender, and the implications of this for conceptions of gay identity. What has not yet been mentioned is the way in which the sexual identity framework also contributed to a view of homosexual identity as relating essentially to *sexuality*. As Ponse (1978) has noted, there is a strong tendency to draw an equation to the effect that sexual activity equals sexual identity which equals homosexual. In other

words, homosexual identity is seen to be made up of sexual components.

Referring back to the historical account outlined in Chapter 1, of the way in which homosexuals came to be designated as a group, it is not difficult to understand this connection between sexuality and homosexual identity. As we saw, sexual behaviour was the initial characteristic upon which homosexuals came to be perceived as a group apart. Terms such as "sexual pervert" only served to reinforce the significance of the sexual aspect (although, as Katz (1983) noted, the separating out of homosexuals was based on much more than the sexual element).

The psychoanalytic conception of psychosexual development, in force in the early twentieth century, also promoted the idea that identity as a homosexual was closely connected to sexuality. According to this perspective, the consistent presentation of homosexuality in late childhood and adult years reflected fixation or blocked growth at the phallic stage of psychosexual development. The child at this stage comes to desire sexually the parent of the opposite sex, and the emotions this creates is termed the Oedipus Complex. Inability to resolve this complex and give up these incestuous feelings results in homosexuality. Although there are now many who would not hold to Freud's views, the influence of psychoanalysis in terms of promoting sexuality as the core of homosexuality still remains. This is clearly evident in societal

descriptions of what defines a homosexual which tend to include sexual contact with someone of the same sex as a significant factor.

EXPANDING BEYOND A "SEXUAL" IDENTITY

Not surprisingly, early writers on gay identity considered the sexual factor to be an essential component to defining that identity (e.g., Hoffman,1968; Miller,1971; West,1969). With publications on lesbian self-perceptions, however, the importance of *emotional* factors was given a hearing (e.g., Abbott & Love,1973; Martin & Lyons,1972). Lesbians frequently gave emotional contact with someone of the same sex as the most significant factor leading to defining of self as "homosexual". The conception of homosexual identity began to expand beyond just the sexual. Articles depicting the perceptions of homosexuals themselves began to highlight this view. Alinder (1972), for example, noted that,

> *I am not gay because of where I put my cock or who I sleep with. I am gay because everything about me is gay because I am part of a gay community.* (p.282)

Bell (1973) too, emphasised that,

> *There are many different ways of being homosexual and that the experience includes far more than a series of*

sexual events. (p.16)

and later, (Bell,1975)

> *One person's homosexuality may amount chiefly to a political statement. Another's may represent a quest for intimacy. Still another's may be indistinguishable from a preoccupation with occupational needs, interests, and rewards.* (p.426)

More specifically, Loewenstein (1980) commented,

> *The sexual aspect of lesbian relationships is important but it is not always the primary element in a lesbian's self-definition.* (p.29)

It is apparent that the psychosocial framework within which the homosexual of the 1980s is constructed, is no longer a solely *sexual* framework. It has expanded to include non-sexual elements as well, elements that include political and minority group perspectives. Conceptions of gay identity have not remained untouched by these changes. As discussed in Chapter 2, the nature and construction of any identity is not fixed. Identities are time-bound, reflecting the culture and the historic period within which they exist. In the homosexual literature, the broadening of the content of homosexual identity beyond just the sexual is clearly apparent.

HOMOSEXUAL AND GAY IDENTITIES

In recent times, many writers have made a point of distinguishing between *homosexual identity* and *gay identity* (e.g., Chesebro,1981; Harry & DeVall,1978; Humphreys & Miller,1980; Kimmel,1979; Morin,1977; Morin & Schultz,1978; Taylor,1977; Thorp,1972; Warren,1974; Weinberg,1973). For these authors, the phrase "homosexual identity" has been adopted to refer to a sexually-oriented identity in contrast to "gay identity" which is seen to express a broader self-perspective. A homosexual identity,

> *...places its focus on an explicit sexual act and then on its coincidental behaviour.* (Chesebro,1981,p.186)

while a gay identity,

> *...identifies those who have adopted a particular world view or perspective of reality which is self-imposed and a self-defined determinant of the attitudes, beliefs, actions and even the vocabulary affecting human interactions.* (Chesebro,1981, p.186)

> *Homosexual is a straight concept of us as sexual. Therefore, we are in a sexual category...gay has come to mean, ...a life style in which we are not just sex machines....We are whole entities.* (Thorp,1972,p.352)

Thus, the changing conception of homosexual identity away from a totally sexual meaning is being expressed quite firmly in the homosexual/gay identity distinction. The difficulty with presenting such a dichotomy, however, is that it proposes a rigid division that is unlikely to exist in reality, and that cannot easily be operationalised for research purposes. What, for example, are the qualifying factors for defining someone "gay" as opposed to "homosexual"? The dichotomy model is, therefore, probably best conceptualised as representative of a political stance (refusing to accept the rigidity of a sexual-only description of identity) rather than the subjective reality of the individuals concerned.

BEYOND THE DICHOTOMY

The present author considers that the dichotomy model should be replaced with a multidimensional one. This formulation advocates that the content of homosexual identity may vary on any number of dimensions. The sexual dimension is *one* such dimension (Ponse,1980). Each dimension, in turn, is seen to represent a continuum depicting the degree to which it is adhered to. Thus, the identity of any individual may, theoretically, be described according to both the dimensions making up its content as well as the significance with which these dimensions are ascribed. That is, dimensions may vary on factors such as

prominence, saliency, content (self-images) and evaluation (the affective component). Dimensions may also include *desired* elements as well as "real" ones.

By stressing the multifaceted nature of homosexual identity, we are now in a position to explore the complexity of that identity in a way that more accurately depicts the experiences of present-day individuals. No longer can we assume that if someone says "I am a homosexual", they infer something about their sexuality.

The multidimensional model also suggests new directions for research. What, for example, are the dimensions comprising the contents of homosexual identity? Are they based on psychological, social, political, sexual or other perspectives? What is the relative importance of each component in different situations and for different individuals? How do these dimensions interact to create different identity structures for different individuals and at different times? We might hypothesise, for example, that in the initial stages of identity development, the sexual dimension is likely to achieve prominence, reflecting the significance that sexual cues have been given in Western formulations of homosexual identity. With time, it might be expected that other dimensions will also be considered as relevant and the sexual dimension given less significance. Taking this line of questioning further, we might ask which factors are influential in bringing about such changes. For example, does "falling in love" with someone of the same sex encourage an individual to

develop self-perceptions that bear upon an emotional dimension? At this point in time, we simply have no answers to these vital questions. As such, there are many gaps in our understanding of homosexual identity that await the interest and concern of theorists and researchers.

SEPARATING SEXUAL IDENTITY AND HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

One further point relating to the concept of sexual identity needs to be made. Earlier in this chapter, it was shown that the term "sexual identity" was confusing and not particularly useful when applied to the homosexual context. In our present discussion too, we have seen the difficulties and misconceptions that can arise when the sexual aspects of homosexual identity are given weight at the expense of other aspects. It would seem imperative, therefore, that we abandon the term "sexual identity" as a synonym for homosexual or gay identity.

It is suggested that sexual identity be used purely in terms of *sexuality*. That is, sexual identity becomes defined as the individual's overall conception of self *as a sexual being*. Its contents may, for example, include the perception, "I am a sensuous person", which illustrates a general view of own sexual responsiveness and sensitivity, without directly bearing upon the person to whom it is directed. The contents of a person's gay identity, whilst they may include sexual self-images,

may, *also* refer to non-sexual images. For example, "I am a member of a minority group", "I am a person who socialises with gay people", are percepts that are not directly related to sexual responsivity.

Interestingly, the concept of an identity that covers a sense of self as a sexual person has not as yet been considered in the sexuality literature. The study of sexuality, too, is a new one and theorists are still working out its boundaries and areas of interest (Reiss, 1982). The commandeering of the term "sexual identity" by gender identity theorists is probably unfortunate and may well have distracted researchers away from a broader study of sexual self-perceptions. It is suggested that the terms "gender identity" and "gender role" be retained as specific to the issue of femaleness/maleness, with sexual (really sexuality) identity broadened along the lines described earlier.

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AS GROUP IDENTITY

In the last decade, the term homosexual identity has been used from time to time in another context - that of *group identity*. While serious consideration has rarely been given to this perspective, increasing numbers of

writers have, and are, describing homosexuals as a minority group with direct, or indirect reference frequently made to *minority group identity* (e.g., Abbott & Love,1973; Adam,1978; Cory,1971,1975; Fein & Nuehring, 1981; Gagnon, 1977; Hacker,1971; Kameny,1969,1971; Mitchell,1980; Seidenberg,1973).

Generally speaking, the focus of researchers has been to examine this area from a sociological perspective. The social position of homosexuals as a group in relation to the majority group (non-homosexuals), the development of the gay subculture as a response to the minority position, and its function in relation to the individual have tended to dominate the literature. The actual nature of homosexual identity (its definition, content and structure) in the context of group or sub-cultural identity has remained, however, relatively unexplored. Only a handful of writers have commented specifically on gay group identity. Kameny, (1969) for example, discussed group identity as one of several characteristics that define homosexuals as a minority group. Homosexuals, like other minorities, develop attitudes of "we" and "they", which give rise in turn to minority ingroups and subcultures.

> *The minority characteristic becomes the very definition of the person, both in his own eyes and in those of the majority.* (p.141)

Adam (1978) describes a gay "community identity". "The self comes to consciousness as a group self" (p.12).

Ferguson (1981) too, emphasises the need to understand the "collective and social nature of a lesbian identity" (p.160), which she perceives as a *contemporary* phenomenon.

> *There was no lesbian community in which to ground a sense of self before the twentieth century....* (p.166)

The question that arises for us in the present manuscript is how such a homosexual group identity (however that may be defined) is to be perceived within the previously outlined theoretical formulation on gay identity. There are three alternatives to be considered: (1) It is a separate construct entirely from homosexual identity: (2) It represents one dimension of homosexual identity, or, (3) Homosexual identity represents one aspect of homosexual group identity. Some authors have inferred that group identity arises out of homosexual identity. Adam, for example, suggests that individuals with similar (homosexual) identities tend to meet together, and out of this form a community which in turn is influential in formulating a sense of self as part of a group.

Other than this, there is little in the homosexual literature to guide us in our understanding of gay group identity. This suggests, as in previous sections, the need to consider the general literature for directions in formulating a theoretical proposal relevant to the homosexual context. Unfortunately, the general literature on group identity is no less scattered, diverse or

isolated than the rest of the general identity literature. Primarily subsumed under the heading *ethnic identity*, there is often little attempt to clearly define the intended meaning of "identity" and related terms (e.g., Goldstein,1979; Yarrow,1958). Some authors, it would seem, are concerned with *perceived* group identity, that is, with describing those characterisations perceived by an outsider as distinguishing a particular group; others allude to some inner sense of self; while yet others refer to a sense of group belonging.

In the Black identity literature, for example, "identity" has been used to refer to a sense of self-identity (e.g., Halpern,1973), Black self (e.g., Banks, 1972; Jones,1980; Poussaint & Atkinson,1972), and group self (Dizard,1970). The latter author makes clear her application of Black identity to mean "group consciousness" or "collective identity", the two primary features of which are,

> *(1) a common thread of historical experience and a sense that each member of the collectivity, regardless of how distinctive he may be, somehow shares in this historical experience, and (2) a sense of potency or strength inhering in the group.* (p.196)

The theme of shared experience is also portrayed by Herman (1977) who describes ethnic identity (perceived as a subidentity of the individual's total identity) as,

> *...that which the individual shares in common with some other men along with whom he is set off from still others by the possession of certain attributes.* (p.29)

However, Herman distinguishes between group identity (which is similar to perceived identity outlined in the present manuscript) and identity that is reflected in a particular individual who is a member of a group (similar to the notion of self-identity). Translated into the context of *Jewish identity*, he proposes that the term "Jewish identity" be used to mean either,

> *(1) The pattern of attributes characterising the Jewish group; or (2) the relationship of the individual to the Jewish group and the reflection in him of its attributes.* (p.30)

Cooley (1964), focussing on the latter meaning, proposed as early as 1902, that this be termed *group self* which "can be felt only in relation to a larger society, as distinct from the individual self which is felt only in relation to other individuals" (Cooley,1964,p.210). Both Herman's and Dizard's definitions combine cognitive with affective and behavioural elements, suggesting that their conceptions of group identity differ from the more general view of identity as a cognitive construct.

Some attempts have been made in the literature to describe the contents and structure of group identity. Epstein (1978), Gurin & Epps (1975), and Jones (1980) hold to the notion, presented in the general identity

literature, of identity as an integrating concept, one that bridges the personal and social levels of individual functioning.

> *...in seeking to understand the Black psyche, it is necessary to confront the thorny problem of the relationship beween society, culture and personality.* (Jones,1980,p.18)

The area of minority (group) identity, perhaps more than others, heightens the need to integrate individual and social factors within a definition of identity.

> *The sense of ethnic identity is always in some degree a product of the interaction of inner perception and outer response of forces operating on the individual and group from within, and those impinging on them from without.* (Epstein,1978,p.102)

Several authors infer that the nature of group identity will be dependent upon the type of relationship that exists between the dominant and nondominant groups. Cooley (1964), for example, proposed in 1902 that,

> *The group self or "we" is simply an "I" which includes other persons. One identifies himself with a group and speaks of the common will, opinion, service, or the like in terms of "we" and "us". The sense of it is stimulated by cooperation within and opposition without.* (p.209)

Banks (1972) in reference to Black (American) identity, found that as Black society and culture has increasingly presented more positive images of Black people, so the content of Black identity has taken on more positive overtones. This reinforces the idea, previously discussed, of identity as non-static. We may conclude from this, that proposals about *any* type of identity should have built into them the concept of change, and that research on such identities should detail the historic period in which it is carried out. Christian, Gadfiels, Giles & Taylor, (1976) suggest that the dynamic quality of ethnic identity, the way in which the interplay between groups determines and effects identity, is frequently neglected by theorists.

Although frequently the contents of ethnic identity are given little attention, some authors have made specific reference to the types of self-perceptions held. Aversa, (1978) for example, in a paper on the self-identity of Italian-Americans, suggests that the way individuals conceive of themselves depends upon which images of Italians are held to be significant. Larsen, (1980) similarly notes that the nature of Australian Aboriginal identity depends on the subgroup with whom the individual identifies. With some groups, negative perceptions of self as an Aboriginal were provoked, while with others positive self-images were encouraged.

IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION

The Aversa and Larsen papers provide examples of the fine line that is often drawn in the group identity literature between *identity* and *identification*. Frequently the two terms are confused (e.g., Rinder,1958). A number of authors (e.g., Halperin,1973; Herman,1977; Lynd,1958) have stressed the need to differentiate clearly between the two concepts.

Herman defines identification as the *process* by which people come to perceive themselves as a part of a particular group and involves the internalisation of the attitudes and values of the group, and an acceptance of the models presented to the individual. Identity is what being Jewish, Black, Italian etc. *means* for the individual. Identification is the process by which a person comes to associate with a group, whereas identity consists of self-perceptions related to being a member of that group. As Aversa and Larsen were attempting to point out, the types of identifications made can be influential in the development of identity.

> *The combination of inner and outer direction inhering in a sense of identity suggests that developing a sense of identity includes both discovery of the kinds of identifications one may have with the life-style of one's own society or culture, or with wider groups and values, and an idea of one's own that comprises, but is distinct from these*

> *identifications...some kind of answer to the question Where do I belong? is necessary for an answer to the question Who am I?* (Lynd,1958,p.210)

It will, by now, be apparent that any attempts to obtain an overall understanding of exactly what group identity *is* will be frustrated by the virtual nonexistence of sound theory.

> *Ethnic identity is an important aspect of self-definition...*[but]*...there is as yet no integrated theory.* (Christian, Gadfield, Giles & Taylor,1976,p.281)

> *Little has been done by way of systematic analyses of the structure and dynamics of any ethnic identity....The studies of ethnic groups...rarely undertake a theoretical conceptualisation of the identity with which they are dealing.* (Herman,1977,p.27)

In the area of homosexual identity, therefore, we are forced into devising a definition of gay group identity that is both generally applicable and also consistent with the definition of homosexual identity presented in this manuscript.

DEFINING GROUP IDENTITY IN THE HOMOSEXUAL CONTEXT

Homosexual group identity is here defined as

the integration of (1) that set of self-perceptions leading individuals to adopt an image of themselves as "a homosexual who belongs to a group called homosexuals", with (2) similar perceptions of self believed to be held by others who are considered to belong to such a group, as well as others considered to belong to the nonhomosexual group. It is a sense of ME that emerges out of seeing oneself as a WE, that is, as sharing certain attributes with the homosexual community. In this context, "community" is adopted in a symbolic sense as a specific case of the "generalised other". It may have reference to past or present, imagined or real community.

Gay group identity is framed within the structure of homosexual identity as one *dimension* of that identity. In this sense, group identity is hypothesised to represent a component of typological identity. Like other dimensions, it may vary in terms of prominence and saliency factors, content (self-conceptions) and evaluation.

In the homosexual context, much has been made of the sense of "gay pride" that is characteristic of a small percentage of self-defined homosexuals. Until now, gay pride has primarily been considered from a sociological perspective, namely as an outcome of a minority group surviving against a dominant culture. However, if gay pride becomes translated into *positive group identity*, it is possible to place it into a quite different perspective, one that allows for its study from a psychological viewpoint. In the same vein, the statement "I'm the only one",

frequently heard from individuals just beginning to conceptualise themselves as homosexuals, could be considered and studied as a *lack of* homosexual group identity.

This approach opens up exciting areas for discussion and research. For example, what types of self-images go into the formulation of a gay group identity? What factors in the individual's social environment might be responsible for promoting or inhibiting group identity? Which factors might account for the development of a positive as opposed to a negative group identity? What changes take place as an individual moves from a hetero-sexual to a homosexual group identity? Once again, research horizons become expanded as the vacuum in which our understanding of homosexual identity rests is acknow-ledged.

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY - FACT, FANTASY OR CONSTRUCT?

In the identity literature, both general and homosexual, there is a tendency to present identity as a concrete entity, as something that actually exists. Qualities and components of identity are expressed as something real that individuals possess in time and space.

In some cases there is an *implicit* understanding that what is being spoken of is not real but rather a theoretical *concept*. However, the concept itself is then frequently described as if it had real-world properties (Gordon & Gergen,1968).

REJECTION OF THE CONCEPT OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY

Partly in response to this mode of thinking, some theorists have decried use of the concept "identity" as applied to the homosexual experience (Cappon,1965; Goode,1978; Sagarin,1976,1979; Pattison,1974; Weltge,1969; DuBay, Note 3).

> *There are no homosexuals - only people with homosexual problems.* (Cappon,p.vii)

> *There is no such thing as "the homosexual" in reality. There are only human beings with more of less sexual experience with the same and/or the opposite sex. The name homosexual is a mythical identity which some impose to dishonour others and others accept to honour themselves.*
> (Weltge,1968,p.63)

> *There is no...homosexual identity. There are only people who behave in a given manner at various times of their lives, in some cases over an entire lifetime. The behaviour is real, but the identity is an invention.*
> (Sagarin,1976,p.28)

> *The lack of any empirical evidence pointing to a substantive reality in homosexuality other than the behaviour itself suggests that the above concepts are utilised to deal with the homosexual stigma rather than express an underlying reality.* (DuBay, Note 3, Abstract)

In adopting such a stance, these authors frequently mention the stgmatising effects of the label "homosexual". To call a person (or oneself) "homosexual" is to place that person (or oneself) into a category that is defined negatively by society. As Szasz reminds us, "...the category of homosexual was originally a category aimed at stigmatising people, not at describing them" (Szasz, quoted in Gengle,1977,p.38). DuBay suggests that to recognise such a category is seen to be *supporting* the stigmatising process. Because "homosexual" is perceived as a master or pivotal status, the person so labelled tends to be, "...reduced from whole beings to a specific status, which is a dehumanising process" (Sagarin,1979,p.3).

While the effects that stigmatisation can have on an individual are readily apparent, use of this as an argument against adopting the category of "homosexual" is weakened by the fact that categorising *behaviour* itself as "homosexual" can also contribute to stigmatisation (Williams & Weinberg,1971), yet similar criticisms to the labelling of behaviour are rarely made.

Authors of the "no identity" stance also make mention of the rigidity and permanent status of identity

which they believe to be disadvantageous (e.g., DeCecco, 1981, Note 1). Sagarin particularly stresses "behaviour can change, but identity cannot change" (1976,p.26). By this he meant that when certain labels (identities) are placed on people, they tend to be regarded as fixed and continuously applicable even though the behaviour from which it was imputed may be changed. His objection was directed towards the permanency with which identity was conferred. He considered that "...believing one is...a homosexual can result in relinquishing the search for change and becoming imprisoned in the role" (1976,p.26). MacDonald (1981) provides a clear rationale for his objection to using the word "homosexual" as a noun.

> *Another factor that adds to research and definitional difficulties is the belief that sexual orientation is constant. The terms bisexual, heterosexual and homosexual have <u>little</u> utility as nouns, when, as such, they are used to imply a static state. A physical object such as a house may have enduring identity, but a person may or may not manifest the same sexual orientation over her or his life span"* (pp.24,25)

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY AS ESSENCE

The notion of homosexuality as being a "static state" derives from the assumption of *essentiality* of homosexual identity. An existential derivative, the

perspective of identity as essence (Katz,1975) portrays homosexual identity as a pervasive and unchangeable *fact* that is acknowledged by individuals about themselves and/or others (Plummer,1981c; Ponse,1978; Richardson,1981b; Warren, 1974; Weeks,1980/1).

> *Persons conceive of essences as inherent qualities which may be manifested, reflected, indicated, or represented by, but do not exist in, conduct.*
> (Katz,1975,p.1371)

Essences (identities) are described using nouns which locate a particular attribute as a general state within the individual[11]. Katz hypothesises that people impute moral status to essences. That is, judgements are made by individuals as to their own or others moral worth based upon the presumption of essential identity. A negatively valued essence is termed deviance, a positively valued one, charisma. It is this attached moral value that concerns many of the theorists opposed to adoption of a homosexual identity construct. To impute to self or others an essence or identity of "homosexual" is to label self or others as being inherently and continuously inferior.

The perspective of homosexual identity as

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[11] Katz notes that examination of whether a person uses nouns or verbs, present (essence) or past (behaviour) tenses, and reference to inherent qualities or expressed activity presents a methodological device for studying the imputation of essence.

essence comes from two sources. Plummer (1981c) terms these the *Essentialist* and *Constructionist* approaches which is somewhat misleading, since both, as Plummer himself notes, subscribe to essentialism.

The first of these is put forward by biological and childhood development proponents who believe that homosexual identity is established in either early childhood or at conception as an essential and integral part of the child's inherent makeup. According to this *latency perspective*, the task becomes one of gradually acknowledging who one really is, and exhibiting behaviour seen to be representative of this identity. The second source of the essence approach (Plummer's "constructionists") emphasises the influence of social factors in the construction and maintenance of a homosexual identity. Identity may be developed at any point in a person's lifetime. Once established, however, it is perceived as an inherent quality within the person, "the core of one's being" (Goode,1978,p.380).

Emerging out of the essence approach (regardless of source) comes the notion of "true" or "real" self. Imputing a homosexual identity to oneself is seen to be an acknowledgement of *who one really is*, the implication frequently being that the person concerned has "been" a homosexual all along but had simply not recognised this (e.g., Berzon,1979a; Guth,1978; Walter,1980). This notion is commonly held by members of the gay subculture and forms a part of the rhetoric of some gay liberationists.

> *...contemporary homosexuals now begin to feel that they have to discard their false identities and admit that homosexuality is an important force, if you wish, ingredient, in the makeup of their personality.*
> (Ruitenbeek, 1973,p.14)

There can be no doubt that the essence perspective forms a significant part of the conceptions of identity held by members of the gay subculture. Can we say, however, that because this perspective may encourage an image of homosexual identity as a permanent state, that we should necessarily abandon the identity concept? Certainly the critics would, and do, claim that such a move is necessary. Such a stance, however, ignores two significant pieces of information. Firstly, whether we like it or not, individuals *do* perceive of themselves as having a "homosexual identity". Do we attack what is in effect a reality for the individual (subjective though it may be) simply because the way in which that identity has been characterised is unacceptable? Secondly, identities can charge and instances of this are readily available in everyday life (e.g., students who on graduating come to see themselves as "teachers", "engineers" etc; changing perceptions of self from "middle-aged" to "old"). People are not static despite the fact that conceptions about them often portray a fixed state.

What we need to realise is that it is the theories of identity governing our thinking, as Berger &

Luckman (1966) point out, that dictate the rigid and permanent quality of homosexual identity. The *experience* of identity, on the other hand, is a fluid, changing process.

> *Identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society. Identity types, on the other hand, are social products and tout court, relatively stable elements of objective social reality (the degree of stability being, of course, socially determined in its turn).* (Berger & Luckman, 1966, p.166)

The notion of homosexual identity is useful for research purposes in that it puts a category of experiences into concrete form, and in doing so, recognises the validity of these experiences for the individuals concerned.

In considering the *nature* of that identity we need to examine *why* a fixed essence perspective has been, and still is, promoted so strongly within and outside the gay subculture. That is, why the theory of this time in history is one that perceives identity as a relatively permanent state. DeCecco (1981), for example, suggests its importance in promoting the status of a minority group. Zita (1981) and Harry and DeVall (1978) propose that defining oneself as a lesbian or homosexual brings about certain social and political consequences that are necessary to the survival of a gay woman or man. Plummer (1981b) notes that categorisation brings "comfort, security and assuredness" (p.29).

However, from the psychological literature, there comes a quite different suggestion, Gergen (1968)

claims that within Western society a "consistency ethic" (p.300) dominates. This assumes that, (1) individuals normally behave in such a way as to create personal consistency; and (2) that individuals hold an image of themselves that is basically consistent and stable. The consistency assumption, according to Gergen, pervades all aspects of society (including theories on, and research into, personality), and is heavily reinforced by individuals and the social environment in which they interact. Conversely, inconsistency is believed to be unacceptable, bringing feelings of discomfort and uneasiness.

The importance of the notion of consistency is that it upholds the idea of a constant and consistent self frequently referred to as the "true" or "real" self. The individual attempts to bring all aspects of perception and behaviour into line with this true self, and in doing so gains a sense of *constancy* and *solidness*. Other reasons for the drive towards self-consistency presented by various authours are summarised by Jones (1973). These are, the organisation of one's perceptions, reduction of dissonance, predictability in relations with others, and avoidance of cognitions that have conflicting implications for action.

In the homosexual context we can translate this to mean that the notion of gay identity as a "true self" is well established because it helps the individual to gain a sense of consistency and constancy. For the person who has felt at odds with other members of society, as

well as her/himself, the "true self" notion provides an explanation that allows a sense of self as a "whole" and solid person. It offers the chance to draw together all the seemingly unrelated strands of self and place them within the one framework. The discomfort of managing different aspects of self is, thereby, reduced. Gergen's point is that the concept of "real self" and the striving for it, are *values* that are given a significant place within our culture. As such, they create personal *needs* which individuals are motivated to have fulfilled.

Interestingly, some recent writing on homosexual identity suggests that homosexuals themselves may be creating changes in the essentialist argument. Katz (1983) for example, has discovered,

> *We now have the option of considering our lesbian and gay feelings as essential or peripheral, according to the different social contexts in which we find ourselves. ...face to face with a bigot I am still going to affirm my gay feelings and behaviour, but when discussing with a friend how to make a living or how to express a new social vision, I may find the reference to the hetero-sexual or homosexual, the lesbian, gay or straight, is irrelevant, limiting rather than expansive.* (p.172)

EXISTENTIAL ASPECTS OF IDENTITY

Those theorists diametrically opposed to the

concept of homosexual identity tend to adhere to the need to focus on the individual as existential, "self-as-experiencing". Expounding the existential debate of existence versus essence, they remain critical to the self-as-object approach while claiming that the self-as-process perspective is far more meaningful. Identity, according to the latter approach can never be "what is", only "what is becoming". The concept of identity based on self-as-object is considered restricting since it ignores the "experiencing aspect" and therefore, the very nature of "who I am".

> *The self is itself alone existing, as a totality and constantly emerging. It can be understood only as unique personal experience.* (Moustakas,1965,p.41)

Stein (1977) makes a sharp distinction between what he terms *gnostic identity*, a "separatist identity" requiring closure and rigidity, and *transcendent identity* which is open, flexible and self-actualising. Gnostic identity, he claims is "defensive" since "who I am" must be accompanied by the assertive "who I am not". Identity thus becomes a matter of either/or, a fixed entity.

Existentialists see the focus of modern science as aiming to, firstly, isolate factors, secondly, observe them from a supposedly detached base, and thirdly, reduce observation to some abstract and general statement of law. These laws, argue the existentialists, bear little relation to the "person in his unique, changing, concrete world of

experience" (Wylie,1974,p.13).

Ainlay & Redfoot (1982/3) maintain that objectivist approaches (treating "identity as the 'object' of some underlying 'reality' which is granted logical priority over the individual's experience by virtue of scientific theory of 'reality'" (p.2), are inadequate because,

> *They objectify identity, fragment it into social and biological sectors, and deprive it of its essence as the lived experience of the self.* (p.2)

These authors advocate a phenomenological existential identity-in-the-world approach which takes into account all aspects of human functioning and interaction within a finite temporal framework.

While it is true that consideration of homosexual identity has often precluded a view of identity as process, nevertheless, this cannot be taken as sufficient grounds for ignoring the fact that, for homosexuals *at this specific point in time*, the concept of an identity is built into their cultural milieu. While some may wish it were not, nevertheless, it is a part of the "psychologies" of our time. It would, therefore, appear as important to researchers to understand the process by which individuals take on such an identity, the ways in which it is perceived and the structure it takes, as it is to somehow capture the quality of *living-as-a-homosexual*. As

Combs, Richards & Richards (1976) point out, the self as experienced by the individual can only ever really be understood through another's perceptions, anyway. These perceptions may be similar to the individual's sense of self, but will never entirely be identical. They can only be approximate, never equivocal, indications of the experiential nature of self.

CONCLUSION

So, is homosexual identity fact, construct or simply fanciful illusion? The answer , it would seem, is that it is all three!

To the homosexual, the actual perception of self as "a homosexual", is seen to be as valid an experience as simply "being homosexual". Each expresses the subjective reality of identity.

> *To a person himself the phenomenal self is very real. It is himself.*
> (Combs, Richards & Richards,1976,p.56)

On the other hand, homosexual identity can only arise in those societies where the homosexual categorisation or type is acknowledged as an objective social reality. In this sense, therefore, homosexual identity is hypothetical, constructed out of a need to "control, restrict and inhibit" (Plummer,1981b,p.29), and not out of any actual concrete form.

To the researcher, wishing to understand the person's experiential sense of "being a homosexual" and attempting to frame this "sense" against a socially-bound academic tradition, homosexual identity becomes a suitable research tool, an explanatory construct with hypothetical properties. By adopting such a construct, the researcher does not (or at least should not) propose that there actually exists a mental entity that is homosexual identity. Rather, it is a *tool* for developing a greater understanding of individual functioning and for suggesting predictions regarding the relationships believed to exist between certain variables. As Schafer (1973) points out,

> *...self and identity are not names of identifiable homogeneous or monolithic entities, they are classes of self-representations that exist only in the vocabulary of the observer.* (p.52)

Gordon & Gergen (1968) suggest that to the researcher, even terms such as "experience", "awareness", "feeling", and "conception" are all hypothetical in nature.

> *...it is not good science to assume their actuality or that what one is measuring is an adequate index of understanding reality. In essence, the prime importance of the 'reality' of subjective experience may lie in its capacity to motivate investigation..* (p.4)

Thus, gay identity is not a unidimensional, simplistic concept. It is complex, multidimensional, at times elusive, at times not. It means different things to different people and its meaning can be expected to vary over time and space. It is at the one time researcher's tool, society's agent, and the homosexual's declaration of self. It needs to be given serious consideration for in doing so we cannot but be forced to question, contemplate, revise or reject preconceptions of the homosexual which arose in another era, and for far too long, have gone unexamined.

CHAPTER FOUR

MODELS OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Having considered the nature of homosexual identity, we now turn to the way in which that identity develops. What paths of development might be available to the individual as s/he encounters, explores, and promotes a perception of self as "homosexual"? What factors might play a part in such developments? The present chapter will examine the relevant literature in order to assess to what degree these questions have been adequately answered.

The idea that people move through a developmental process in order to acquire a homosexual identity is not new. For years the popular literature has contained accounts of the life-stories of homosexuals and the way they discovered and managed their homosexuality (e.g., Fisher,1972; Jay,1978; Jay & Young,1975; Martin & Lyons, 1972; Miller,1971). Underlying this literature has been the assumption that such "coming out" stories, as they were frequently termed, described a process that led the

individual from a previously naive and unaccepting consideration of self, to one in which a homosexual image of self was accepted and acceptable.

It was not until the early 1970s, however, that these ideas began to be expressed in the psychological and sociological literature, under the general heading of *coming out*. The term coming out was given broad and diverse meaning. In fact, it was, to a large extent, and still is, a catch-all phrase used to cover any dimension of behaviour considered relevant to identity formation. Three main aspects may be identified as coming under the rubric of "coming out". These are; (1) the acknowledgement of self as a homosexual; (2) revealing one's gay identity to homosexual others; and (3) further disclosure to non-homosexual others. Not all authors agree upon which of these aspects is to be considered as a definition of coming out. Some, for example, reserve use of the term coming out for the acknowledgement or realisation of self as a homosexual (e.g.,Berlandt,1972; Crites,1976; Cronin, 1974; Dank,1971; Hart,1981; Lee,1973; Sabaroff,1975; Schafer,1976; Sisley & Harris,1977; Reiche & Dannecker, 1977): Others prefer to use it to indicate the disclosure of own homosexual identity to other homosexuals (a social "debut") and/or nonhomosexual others as an act of public exposure (Atkins, Fischer, Prater, Winget & Zaleski,1976; Bell,1976; Byron,1972; Coleman,1973; Freedman,1975; Gagnon,1977; Hodges & Hutter,1974; Klaich,1974; Mager, 1975; Roesler & Deisher,1972; Saghir & Robins,1973;

Toder,1979; Weinberg & Williams,1975); while others perceive coming out as incorporating self-acknowledgement *and* disclosure (Altman,1972; Cavan,1971; Cordova,1975; Gagnon & Simon,1974; Harry & DeVall,1978; Hooker,1965; Hunt,1977; Lehman,1978; Lewis,1979; Moses,1978; Moses & Hawkins,1982; Plummer,1981c; Ponse,1978; Richardson,1981b; Simon & Gagnon, 1967b; Silverstein & White,1977; Walter,1980; Weinberg,1973).

Despite these differing conceptions, the notion of process was, in both the popular and early scientific literature on coming out, taken as an established fact or "given". It was *assumed* that some form of developmental sequence took place. Unfortunately, this encouraged researchers and authors to focus on related issues such as identity management while ignoring details of the way in which such an identity was in fact acquired. It is only in relatively recent times that there has been consideration given to understanding the contents and structure of homosexual identity formation.

Since the mid 1970s, several researchers have proposed theoretical accounts or models of the process of gay identity formation. Some of these have been forwarded as formal theories (e.g., Coleman,1981/2,1982; Lee,1977; Miller,1978; Minton & McDonald, In press; Plummer,1975; Troiden,1979; Weinberg,1978; McLellan, Note 7; Troiden, Note 11; Weinberg, Note 12), while others have been presented in a less formal sense (e.g., Ettorre,1980; Gagnon,1977; Hencken & O'Dowd,1977; Lehman,1978; Lewis,1979;

Moses & Hawkins,1982; Ponse,1978; Reiche & Dannecker,1977; Schafer,1976; Silverstein & White,1977; Morin & Miller, Note 5). The latter tend to be brief and ill-described, while the former give greater attention to details of the developmental process, although varying considerably in the degree of sophistication with which this is done. In addition to the above list, two early models exist, proposed by Schofield (1965) and Oberholtzer (1971) respectively. Schofield's description of the identity process appears to be the first formal presentation, preceding others by nearly a decade.

As interest in the development of homosexual identity expanded, so too did the terminology. New expressions emerged and began to replace "coming out": Adult sexual resocialisation (Miller,1978); identity acquisition (Troiden, Note 11); adult socialisation (Plummer,1975); Homosexual categorisation (Plummer,1981a;) self-naming process (Bell,1976); homosexual identity formation (Cass,1979; Hencken & O'Dowd,1977; Minton & McDonald, In press; Weinberg,1978; Grzelkowski, Note 8; Weinberg, Note 12); and sexual identity development (Coleman,1981/2).

THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

Theories depicting the developmental process

leading to homosexual identity can be grouped into several broad areas: (1) Theories emphasising a sociological viewpoint; (2) theories emphasising a psychological perspective; and (3) theories that draw upon typologies. Before reviewing each of these groups, it would appear necessary to first briefly consider the differences between the sociological and psychological approaches to identity change.

Sociological participation in the area of identity change, has primarily developed via the explanation of how an individual adopts a deviant way of life. Emphasis has been on describing deviant careers (Goffman,1968; Lemert,1972; Matza,1969; Stebbins,1970), or "sequences of interaction" (Lemert,1951,p.77) taken towards the development of secondary deviance (the personal commitment to a deviant role). Careers are perceived as involving the socialisation of the individual into a role that has been given a deviant status by society. The process is marked by turning points or critical incidents that serve to help a person recognise that s/he has changed (Strauss, 1959).

Consideration of the socialisation process requires taking into account the effects of relevant socialising forces in the individual's environment. The individual's influence on the direction her/his career takes is hypothesised by some sociological theories to be minimal (societal reaction theory) and by others to be more significant (symbolic interactionism). Focus on the

individual relates to the degree of adherence to old and new role norms and reference groups, and to the way identity transition is managed. Generally speaking, the sociological approach to identity change places emphasis on the manner in which interaction between individual and environment creates personal changes in the attachment to specific social roles. Although behavioural and cognitive changes occurring within the individual are recognised and described, these are considered within the social context and given no greater attention than other factors.

This contrasts with the psychological approach to identity acquisition where internal (intra-individual) changes are given greater attention. Psychological interest in identity change has evolved through the areas of childhood (maturational) development of the self, adult socialisation, and personality stability. In the first of these areas, humanistic theorists (e.g., Gale,1974; Rogers,1965) have stressed the notion of development as a continuous and phenomenological process marked by a series of related conceptual transformations. Emphasis is placed on the cognitive and phenomenological changes that take place within the individual. Theorists of adult socialisation or resocialisation, on the other hand, (e.g., Inkeles,1973; Wheeler,1973) address identity formation in a manner similar to the sociologists. Emphasis is placed on the influence that socialisation agencies have on changing self-images, as well as on the steps or transition points moved through in order to accomplish this role

transition, transfer or transformation (e.g., Campbell, 1973; Riley, Foner, Hess & Toby,1973; Rosow,1974). Theorists concerned with the study of personality frequently perceive personality change and stability to be polar aspects. It is believed identity change cannot be understood outside the context of identity stability. Theories of personality change tend to highlight changes in the cognitive components of identity as development takes place (Secord & Backman,1965,1974; Ziller,1973). While the psychological approach gives weight to the significant effects of social variables, its focus differs from the sociological perspective. Far greater emphasis is given to the behavioural, affective and cognitive changes that occur as a result of the individual's interaction with the environment. The processing of information, motivational variables and other "internal" factors become the means by which the developmental process is characterised. Although both the psychological and sociological approaches to identity change draw upon empirical data, each uses methodology characteristic to its discipline: The former preferring psychological tests and questionnaires, the latter semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

Both the psychological and sociological approaches to identity change have been incorporated into models of gay identity formation, although reference to these origins is rarely made.

In the following section of this chapter, these

different models are reviewed and the influence of the psychological and sociological perspectives highlighted. Since no other review of this kind has been carried out before, it has been considered necessary to describe each model in some detail. It was intended, from such a review of the literature, that a general picture be formed of the theories and developmental patterns commonly believed to be involved in gay identity formation. For the sake of clarity, and easy comparison, the basic theoretical framework proposed by each theorist has been summarised in Table 1. In drawing up the table, the present author has attempted to show how the different models are similar to each other, and has done this by spatial arrangement of the key points. This should not, however, be taken to mean that this is the way the various authors themselves would perceive their model in relation to others. Unfortunately, the lack of reference to, and comparison with, other models of gay identity formation has been a notable feature of the literature. This has meant that in order to review this area of literature, the present author has been forced to make her own judgements as to the similarities and differences between the theoretical proposals.

It is intended to firstly outline the different models and then to critically discuss their contribution to the understanding of gay identity formation.

TABLE 1

Theories of homosexual identity formation: A spatial comparison of their stage content and structure.

Morin & Miller 1978	Lehman 1978	Silverstein & White 1977	Gagnon 1977
Coming out sexually	Coming out sexually	Homosexual adolescent fantasies Homosexual sexual experiences	
Coming out cognitively	Coming out cognitively	Recognition of self as gay	Label selves homosexual
Coming out socially	Coming out socially		Associate with other self-labeled homosexuals Begin having gay sex
Coming out publically	Coming out publically	Disclose to others	Disclose to others
	Coming out politically	Identification with gay community	

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Hencken & O'Dowd 1977	Reiche & Dannecker 1977	Schafer 1976	Lewis 1979
	Homosexual tendencies	First interest in women → feeling different and suspicious	Emotional dissonance
	Feels different		Self-identification as different
Awareness	Difference related to own homosexuality	Suspicions → sexual contact	Explores lesbian alternative
	Repression, eventual conscious registering of sexual preference	Sexual contact → certainty of being lesbian	
Behavioural acceptance	Contacts with homosexuals		
	Self-perception as homosexual		
			Seeks out lesbians
			learns subcultural behaviours
Public Identification			

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Ponse 1978	Schofield 1965	Oberholtzer 1971
		Being open to gay encounter
Feels different	Feels different - some awareness of gay feelings	
		Being able - participating
Understands gay significance of feelings	Sees self as outcast	
Comes out - accepts lesbian identity		Being commited
Seeks company of other lesbians	Socialises with other homosexuals	
Involvement in lesbian relationship		
	Minority group stance	

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Plummer 1975	Lee 1977	Moses & Hawkins 1982	Troiden 1977
Sensitisation	Signification		Sensitisation
Signification and disorientation			Dissociation and signification
Coming out		Signification	Coming out
	Coming out		
Stabilising homosexuality			Commitment
		Disclosure to gay others	
		Disclosure to nongay others	
	Going public	Going public	

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Weinberg 1977	Schultz 1976	McLellan 1977	Coleman 1981/2
	Awareness of same-sex attractions	Awareness	Pre-coming out
Sexual contact	Same-sex sexual experiences	Denial	
Suspicion that is homosexual		Anger	
	Association with gay community		
Labeling self as homosexual	Labeling self gay	Acceptance of self	Coming out
			Exploration
			First relationship
Coming out to others			
		Wholeness/ authenticity	Integration

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Minton & McDonald 1984	Miller 1978	Ettorre 1980
Egocentric stage		
	Furtive sex - Trade husbands	
Sociocentric stage		
Universalistic stage	Homosexual self-identification - Homosexual husbands	Traditional stage
		Social stage
	Gay self-identification - Gay husbands	
	Pride in being gay - Faggot husbands	Ideological stage

SOCIOLOGICALLY-BASED THEORIES

The majority of theories describing homosexual identity formation, both informal and formal, reflect a sociological orientation. While some theorists have clearly specified the sociological framework within which their theories are placed, many have not. Essentially, sociologically-based theories present a description of the career path of individuals as they come to adopt a homosexual role. In the simpler models, this amounts to little more than a listing of turning points.

Simple Career Path Models

Morin & Miller (Note 5), for example, describe coming out for males, (the development of a gay identity) as a process that repeats itself several times over in different dimensions of behaviour. Coming out can be experienced sexually (referring to the first homosexual sexual contact), cognitively, (the first labelling of self as a homosexual) socially, (the first attendance at a social function as a homosexual) and publicly (revealing oneself to others). These events represent a developmental sequence that begins with the first realisation that one is a homosexual.

A gay identity is the positive developmental outcome. The way in which this occurs via the dimensions

of coming out, is not discussed. Indeed, there is some confusion between conceiving coming out as a process recurring on several dimensions and as a developmental sequence involving all dimensions.

Morin & Miller mention some difficulties that may arise during identity development. Identity conflict, they note, occurs when sexual feelings and behaviours are inconsistent with self-definition. This prompts the question "What am I? Am I gay or am I straight?" (p.6), as a response to the realisation that own psychosexual development differs from that of others. Perceived stigma and lack of information on homosexuality may result in a homosexual identity being avoided, or at best, the adoption of a negative identity. Identification with other homosexuals is important for achieving adequate psychological adjustment. However, underidentification can leave the person with little social support, while over-identification may see a person's identity entirely restricted to her/his sexual orientation.

Lehman (1978) in discussing lesbian development, also suggests that coming out can be conceived as occurring on similar dimensions to those offered by Morin & Miller. She adds a political level, the process of becoming involved in the homosexual and/or women's movement.

Although the process of development is poorly outlined by Morin & Miller, and outlined not at all by Lehman, their ideas are made clearer by a reading of popular accounts of individual coming out. For example,

in a book entitled *Great Gay in the Morning!* written by a group calling themselves the 25 to 6 Baking and Trucking Society (1972), the following statement is made of one man's developmental path.

> *Coming out is a beautiful emergence. It's an assertion of one's individuality. It's an expression of feelings that have been locked up for years...my life has involved three distinct stages of coming out.* (p.77)

These three stages are described as, (1) coming out sexually, becoming aware of his sexual orientation and feeling negatively about this;

> *I knew men turned me on but I never really knew what to do about it....I knew of no other homosexuals. I felt very alone, to say nothing of "abnormal", "queer", "sick", "evil"....I had no-one to talk to about my sexual feelings and I was very insecure about my identity.* (pp.77,78)

(2) coming out socially, mixing with homosexuals and managing a homosexual identity;

> *Then I came out socially....It took me six months of hearing about the gay social scene before I felt good enough about myself to come out into it....I still had notions of meeting the "right" woman and getting married. ..toward the end of my second year in college ...I began identifying with gay people.... When a homosexual comes out into gay life it's the first time that s/he can identify with similar people....I next moved to Ann*

> *Arbor and my gayness came out more.... I'd given up the constant drive to relate to women as lovers...most of my friends were gay men and my social life was now completely gay....I put some energy into making believe that I was heterosexual.... I was also much too uptight and guilt-ridden to tell my parents....It was at this time that I had my first intense love relationship....I was slowly growing and gaining my own identity.* (pp.79 - 82)

(3) coming out politically, understanding the politics of homosexuality and feeling proud of his homosexual identity;

> *I thought I felt good about myself and my homosexuality, but much of the guilt/self-hatred was smoldering right beneath the surface and manifested itself in subtle ways. I felt that it was not necessary to openly proclaim myself gay and become vulnerable and open to ridicule, "flaunting" myself to the straight world....The first time I remember being confronted with my own sexism...that incident stands out in my mind as the beginning of a change in my political awareness. My gay pride was just beginning to explode....I told my parents I was gay...I felt as if the weight of years of guilt and anguish had been lifted from my head...they seemed to be the last obstacle to really coming out to everyone/anyone.... That experience seemed to have triggered off much of my present anger as well as pride.. ..Coming out in this, more or less, total way has been the most liberating experience in my life.* (pp.82 - 87)

This reference has been quoted from at length

in order to show the type of data upon which Morin & Miller, and Lehman would appear to have drawn their accounts of the identity development process. However, in presenting identity formation as a series of critical incidents, these authors have clearly lost the sense of evolution and momentum of development that commonly runs through such storylines.

A similar approach is adopted by Silverstein & White (1977). They propose five stages in the development of an identity as a male homosexual.

(1) The person experiences adolescent fantasies of a homosexual nature. These represent a rehearsal for coming events and so are crucial learning experiences.

(2) The individual engages in homosexual sexual experiences.

(3) At some point after experiencing homosexual contacts, there will be a recognition of self as gay.

(4) Letting others know about one's homosexuality. Disclosure may be to one or two friends, family members, or everyone.

(5) Identifying with the gay community gives a sense of solidarity with gay people.

Movement through the stages will differ from individual to individual, depending upon several factors such as age, religious upbringing, geographical location,

socio-cultural background and views on masculinity. These factors may elicit guilt regarding self as a homosexual. Various strategies may be used to deal with this guilt, including declaring oneself bisexual, engaging in heterosexuality, verbally attacking gays, becoming more attentive to one's religion, addictions such as alcohol, or by considering one's homosexual feelings to be the result of a unique affection for another individual.

From Table 1, we can see the similarity of ideas between Silverstein & White, Morin & Miller, and Lehman.

Gagnon (1977) also suggests a relatively similar sequence of events in the development of what he terms "homosexual commitments" (p.245). He proposes that individuals,

(1) Label themselves as homosexual.

(2) Begin to associate with others who also label themselves as homosexual.

(3) Begin to have sex with people of the same sex.

(4) Inform significant others (homosexual and heterosexual) of their sexual preference.

At first glance, this model appears different from those mentioned previously in that it specifies sexual contact as occurring *after* labelling of self as gay and social contact with gays. However, Gagnon states that, "The sequence of these events has no "natural" order" (p.244). What apparently is meant by this is that

a developmental sequence occurs which may begin with either labelling self, being labelled by others, or having sexual contacts with homosexuals etc. These paths are expected to differ between males and females because of differing sex-role conditioning. Women are more likely to move into an emotional relationship with another woman without accompanying sexual commitment. Some women have sexual experiences without having the necessary information to call them homosexual. Males are more likely to have a physical (sexual) contact first and an emotional one later. Gagnon thus expands upon the notion of a single pathway of development marked by specific incidents. The incidents remain the same, but he postulates that they may be ordered differently as a result of individual differences. Gagnon's model is, therefore, less rigid and fixed in its application than the previously mentioned proposals.

Hencken & O'Dowd (1977) add a little more information about internal changes at each level of coming out, which is described as an aspect of identity formation,

> *...the process entailed in coming out can be discussed from a developmental point of view as the formation (or in some cases, the reformation) of a personal identity.* (p.1)

These authors describe the postulated three levels of coming out as awareness, behavioural acceptance and public identification.

(1) At the first level (Awareness) there is a move from ignorance and vague feelings of being

different, to self-awareness in which feelings and desires are recognised and identified as homosexual, and own sexual preference is perceived as homosexual.

(2) At the second level (Behavioural Acceptance), the individual moves from self-loathing and self-denial to self-acceptance. Sexual preference is accepted and acted upon.

(3) Finally, at the third level (Public Identification) the person moves from a secretive mode to one of publically identifying self as gay. This ranges from disclosure to several significant others to public disclosure, usually linked to gay activism.

Hencken & O'Dowd conceptualise each of these elements as representing successive stages in the process. They note, too, that

> *...coming out is not developmentally simply a matter of coming into self-awareness or even self-acceptance. People do not develop identities either in isolation or with one or more "consenting adults". Nor do people form one solid personal identity by living incompletely in two conflicting worlds. Individuals need community.* (p.6)

In somewhat vague terms, Hencken & O'Dowd hint at the significance of other people (homosexual and heterosexual) in the formulation of a homosexual identity, a theme taken up in greater detail, as we shall see later, by other theorists.

From Table 1, it is apparent that despite the use of different terminology, these authors describe concepts that are relatively similar to other theorists. Certainly, the *order* of events is identical. Hencken & O'Dowd are, however, the first theorists mentioned so far, to emphasise internal changes, which probably reflects the psychological background of these authors[12].

A theory of coming out applied to German gay males (Reiche & Dannecker,1977) also provides some details of intraindividual events occurring during identity development. These authors describe four developmental steps.

1. The first signs of an instinctual tendency towards homosexuality are consciously registered. This is not necessarily equated with acting out these "instinctual wishes" (p.42), since first conscious notions often precede homosexual contact. When homosexual fantasies and affections are persistent, the individual is forced to acknowledge that he is different and becomes conscious that this relates to his homosexuality. The impetus to this revelation may come from homosexual activity, intense affection for another male, or through observation of own sexual preference.
2. The first vague conscious notions of one's homo-

[12] The mode of presentation of their model is, however, along the lines of a simple career path, and for this reason has been included in this section.

sexuality are repressed, yet reappear. Social norms are perceived as powerful, and attempts to block homosexual feelings and contacts are made. Images of self as bisexual are reinforced by heterosexual contacts. However, sexual instincts continue to pressure the individual towards acceptance of self.

3. Contacts with other homosexuals are made. Reiche & Dannecker recognise that homosexual contacts are often made without the conscious registering of one's sexual preference. These, they state, are relatively free of conflict since they are experienced as something separate from the self. It is not until such episodes assume personal relevance that development proceeds.

   Till a (objectively) homosexual episode develops into a homosexual experience... a decisive step of coming out still has to be made. (p.46)

4. Self-perception as a homosexual is reached - "the decisive point in homosexual development" (p.42).

Given that these authors have based their ideas on West German homosexuals, there is enough similarity between their conceptions of identity development and those based on American groups to suggest that the process described is not relevant to only American society.

Nevertheless, there are some pertinent differences. For example, Reiche and Dannecker make no reference to public disclosure, and little reference to the gay subculture. If this is considered together with the frequent references to repressive social conditions, it is possible to hypothesise that there may have been aspects of the West German culture in the mid 1970s, that made public disclosure and the taking of a political stance very difficult. Of course, it may be that Reiche and Dannecker simply see coming out as being completed with the acquisition of a self-perception of homosexual, rather than with political identification as the American authors maintain.

Like Lehman (1978) several other authors have described the identity formation process from the viewpoint of lesbians.

Schafer's (1976) theory was developed as a *post hoc* account of data obtained from interviews of West German lesbians. She proposed three phases of coming out (perceiving oneself as a lesbian), which she considers begins during puberty and continues into late adolescence. In stipulating this chronological period, Schafer slips into the theoretical position of developmental (maturational) theorists such as ego psychologists who propose the adolescent formulation of identity. However, the stage outline itself is brief and presented more in the language of a sociological career path than of developmental psychology. Like Reiche and Dannecker's model though, Schafer's

account of each stage holds suggestion of some change *process* occurring within each stage. This contrasts with the bald statements of *events* offered by most theorists mentioned previously. Schafer's three phases of coming out are described as follows:

(1) The first phase begins with first interest in a woman which gives rise to a vague feeling of being different, leading then to suspicion that one is a lesbian.

(2) The second phase extends from these first suspicions to first sexual contact with a woman. Many adolescents in this phase feel guilt and fears as they begin to realise what it means to go against the heterosexual norms of society. Attempts are made to ignore or delay fulfillment of homosexual desires, and hetero-sexual activity is increased. "Bisexual behaviour provides a path *out* of deviance for the homosexual woman" (p.57).

(3) The third stage proceeds from the first sexual contact to the certainty of being a lesbian. It is characterised by increased heterosexual experiences and concealment or denial of one's homosexuality.

These strategies are intended to lessen internal and external conflicts. The conflict presented between own behaviour and internalised heterosexual expectations is experienced by many women and is most commonly dealt

with by either conformity (i.e., repressing homosexual needs) or by leading a double life (concealment). The certainty of being a lesbian is the most significant phase of coming out, and carries with it certain fears about the future.

During coming out, feelings of loneliness and isolation are commonplace. Schafer notes that it is only when the final phase is completed or near completed that women begin to move into the gay subculture in order to meet social and sexual needs. Most of the process is carried out without any social support. Thus, like Reiche & Dannecker, she places considerably less emphasis on association with homosexuals as a necessary stage in identity development. Rather, she focuses on those events and changes leading to the declaration of self as a lesbian. This further reinforces our hypothesis that a cultural difference between America and West Germany may give rise to different perspectives of coming out.

Like Schafer, Lewis (1979) also stresses the need to break from heterosexual values in the acquisition of a lesbian identity. She proposes a number of "rites of passage" (p.19), a phrase adopted from anthropological studies of identity change (Boyanowsky,1977), that constitute the process of coming out for lesbians. Indeed, her model is not unlike those proposed to account for identity "conversions" (Boyanowsky,1977). Lewis offers five "rites of passage".

(1) The first of these is a feeling of emotional

dissonance experienced in relation to prior heterosexual socialisation and the patriarchal foundations of society from which it emanates.

(2) The woman experiences self-identification as someone who is different from other women as a result of this alienation from heterosexuality. She begins to search for another alternative.

(3) She may discover that lesbianism is one such alternative. She will begin to explore this and in doing so will move from viewing self as an isolated individual to viewing self as someone sharing similarities with other women.

(4) She seeks out members of the lesbian culture to see if this alternative fits her emotional needs.

(5) She begins to learn subcultural behaviours and expectations.

Unlike Schafer, Lewis states that the coming out process may be begun at any age. It is also possible to begin the process and for various reasons stop it, perhaps to take it up again later.

Although Lewis' model is broadly similar to the others discussed so far, it differs in its emphasis on the idea of *choosing* a lesbian alternative. This difference is significant and reflects a feminist perspective. Feminist politics and theory have put forward the idea that lesbianism is one way (some would say *the* way) in which a woman strongly identified with

feminist philosophy can express this identification in practical terms (Myron & Brunch,1975). Lewis' model is important since it portrays the adoption of a lesbian identity as a process governed by conscious decision. This proposal differs markedly from descriptions of the identity formation process in males, in which sexual feelings, rather than rational decision, are considered the force pushing the individual towards identity acquisition.

Ponse (1978) uses the framework of a "gay trajectory" (p.124) and the coming out process to describe the "social construction of identity in the lesbian world" (p.124). The trajectory consists of the relationship among five elements. These elements are described as follows:

(1) The woman has a subjective sense of being different from heterosexuals. She comes to identify this as related to sexual and emotional reactions to other women.

(2) She begins to understand the homosexual significance of these feelings.

(3) She comes to accept her feelings and what they imply. That is, she accepts the identity of a lesbian (comes out).

(4) She seeks out the company of other lesbians.

(5) She becomes involved in a sexual and emotional lesbian relationship.

The first three elements are of primary importance and given these, there is likely to be a strain towards expression of the remaining two. However, if any one of these elements exists, the others are expected to follow. This trajectory, Ponse notes, is widely adopted within the gay community and represents a type of biographic norm. Each element is located separately in time, and it is not unusual for some time to elapse between each element. This results in incongruence between behaviour and/or feelings, and identity. Coming to accept an identity in line with behaviour/feelings is termed coming out. This is often experienced as a process of conversion or as a resolution of identity conflict. Strategies for dealing with coming out difficulties include rejection of a lesbian identity, public conformity with differing private views or behaviour, and positive acceptance of a lesbian identity.

A common feature of all three models of lesbian identity formation is the importance given to individuals' recognition of the psychological distance existing between themselves and societal (heterosexual) expectations. This represents a notable difference with the models of male identity formation discussed to date, where the feelings of being different were more narrowly hypothesised to be the result of sexual activity.

Comment

To this point, the theories examined have consisted of simple accounts of the career paths taken by individuals as they move towards adopting a homosexual identity. The over-riding impression to be gained from them is one of commonality. Generally speaking, similar factors and sequences of development are present in all theories. These are: Becoming aware of the implications of one's homosexual behaviour; coming to see oneself as a homosexual, and interacting socially with other homosexuals; and disclosure of own homosexual identity to others. Some authors add a political dimension in which there is involvement with gay activists and public announcement of identity. This developmental sequence endorses the concept that a link between self and others is necessary for identity formation.

What these models lack, however, is an outline of the way these variables influence the developmental process. What factors, for example, are brought into play in order to develop a positive gay identity? How does disclosure and social interaction with homosexuals influence identity formation? The reader is given little understanding of how an individual might proceed from one stage to another, or what precisely is being achieved by movement through the career path. No attempts are made to define phrases such as, "positive gay identity" or "homosexual identity", so that difficulty arises in

assessing whether or not this developmental goal is reached by the proposed final stage.

CAREER PATHS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF PROCESS

A number of sociologically-oriented models have, however, attempted to provide fuller accounts. Essentially, these theories continue to subscribe to the "career" perspective while recognising the need to describe stages in the identity formation process rather than simply nominating critical incidents.

The first attempt to document homosexual identity formation in this way was probably that of Schofield (1965). He proposed a four-stage sequence to describe the path by which an individual adopted the characteristics of what he termed "an introverted minority group" (p.180). By this he meant a group that develops out of a collection of nonconformist individuals (homosexuals) uniting against the dominant majority (heterosexuals).

Later, Clinard (1968) reframed this to mean movement from primary to secondary homosexuality. Primary homosexuality was defined as homosexual acts which are rationalised in such a way as to never be perceived as representative of self as a homosexual. Secondary homosexuals "tend to such sexual gratification predominantly with members of the same sex...they come to have a self-concept and play a homosexual role in connection with

these acts...[and]...come to have the feelings of a homosexual" (Clinard,1968,p.361). This distinction between primary and secondary homosexuality is based on the separateness of primary and secondary deviance originally put forward by Lemert (1951):

> *When a person begins to employ his deviant behaviour or a role based upon it as a means of defense, attack, or adjustment to the overt and covert problems created by the consequent societal reaction to him, his deviation is secondary.* (Lemert,1951,p.76)

Schofield's four stages (applied to male homosexuals) may be summarised as follows:

(1) During late teenage years and early twenties, the homosexual finds that the interests of his heterosexual friends (dating, marrying,etc.) hold no appeal. He drifts away from them and becomes aware of his isolation. He may have accepted his homosexual feelings or be either scarcely aware of them or having difficulty coming to terms with them.

(2) He begins to see himself as an outcast. Attempts to use will-power and self-control to alter his sexual feelings are unsuccessful. Some at this stage lead lonely and guilt-ridden lives, while others, "the more extrovert homosexual" (p.181), pass through it and become friends with other homosexuals.

(3) He meets other homosexuals and begins to go to their meeting places and joins groups. There is a sense of relief at being able to be open about his homosexual inclinations. He begins to lead two lives, making sure his heterosexual friends don't meet those of his homosexual group. The dilemma created by this conflicting of his two worlds is resolved by some individuals moving onto the fourth stage.

(4) The homosexual way of life monopolises the person's interests and time. He stops trying to resolve the conflict of stage 3 by moving exclusively in a homosexual group and adopting a hostile attitude towards nonhomosexuals. In other words, he adopts the characteristics of a minority group.

Schofield draws upon the relevant minority group literature to show how homosexuals in this stage have taken on typical minority characteristics such as, protective clowning, rejection of the norms of the majority group in favour of those of the minority, and development of subcultural behaviours. The homosexual moves from being a social isolate to a social alien.

These four stages represent a process of transition. Not all homosexuals go through all stages - some may stop at stage 2, others may become members of homosexual groups without losing interest in the activities of the larger community. Schofield suggests that the

factors of personality and strength of social hostility play a significant part in the level of development attained.

Schofield's theory is of interest because it introduces a number of aspects that were taken up and included in theories written almost a decade later. We have already noted the emphasis on breaking away from heterosexual values placed on lesbian identity formation. Schofield was the first to discuss this and to apply it to gay male identity formation. In addition, Schofield (1) recognised that some individuals have an easier time of identity formation than others; (2) introduced the idea of total identification with the gay subculture as a solution to the conflict of mixing in two separate groups; (3) proposed that the goal of identity development was acceptance of a minority identity; and, (4) made the distinction between social isolation and social alienation. As we shall see in the following pages, each of these aspects has been adopted by various authors writing in the mid 1970s.

Hacker (1971) suggested that a fifth stage might be added to Schofield's model. This would involve the active and sometimes open participation in the homophile movement. It is difficult, however, to see how such a stage might be dramatically different from Schofield's fourth stage.

IDENTITY FORMATION AND THE SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Of those theorists who have attempted to provide in-depth accounts of the homosexual identity formation process, the majority have placed their models within a framework of symbolic interactionism. As noted previously, this perspective puts emphasis on the symbolic meaning that individuals place on their sexual activity and self. Interaction between the individual and social environment is said to produce situations that create changes in these meanings.

By this reference to cognitive aspects of social interaction, the interactionist approach provides a link between the sociological and (social) psychological perspectives. In the study of homosexual identity, however, it has been primarily sociologists who have taken an interactionist viewpoint, while the presence of social psychologists in the field has been virtually nonexistent. This may reflect the historical trend in psychological research for developmental psychologists, rather than social psychologists to regard identity change as relevant to their interests.

Interactionist theories of homosexual identity formation make a significant contribution to the field by attributing importance to *perceptual* changes that take place. Focus is on the interaction between the individual and her/his social environment, and the way this creates

changes in self-perception relevant to formation of a homosexual identity.

One of the earliest writers to consider such an approach was Oberholtzer, (1971). He stressed the need to focus on what different events meant to the individual and the way this meaning shifted during identity development. "Meaning is the crucial factor in coming out, the gradual, explorative process of becoming gay" (p.23). Three stages of development common to gay males are described:

(1) Being open - the heterosexual world is no longer taken for granted. The individual becomes open to the possibility of a gay encounter.

(2) Being able - assuming there is opportunity, he moves from thinking about, to doing. (Oberholtzer does not explain this but the inference is that "doing" refers to acting sexually).

(3) Being committed - homosexual activity is defined as worthwhile, the self-identity of gay is adopted and the new sexual role accepted.

At each stage there is a complex interaction between personal experience and meaning. Experience gives rise to reinterpretation of meaning, leading to new personal experience followed by further shifts in meaning. The individual is required to select from among the opportunities or alternatives available, and selection will determine th e path taken. The involvement of others may facilitate or inhibit progress towards a homosexual identity. Oberholtzer states the process is "neither

totally cognitive nor totally noncognitive" (p.27). The individual plays a significant part in the changes in meaning, but the presence of others also plays a part.

Brief though Oberholtzer's model is, it is significant because of the attention given to cognitive factors. In this it may be seen as a pioneering effort suggesting, by implication, the need to consider areas of psychological research such as decision-making and information processing. Unfortunately, later theorists made little effort to expand upon Oberholtzer's proposals regarding cognition.

The first in-depth sociological account of the process of becoming a male homosexual was provided by Plummer (1975) who acknowledged some broad similarity between Schofield's model and his own. Plummer clearly states that his concern is with providing a description of the stages or sequence of adult socialisation that takes place in the adoption of a homosexual role, or homosexuality as a way of life. His four stages are together considered an ideal route in the homosexual career. The stages are described below [13].

(1) Sensitisation;

This stage incorporates those initial moments in

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[13] However, more recently Plummer (1981c) has proposed that coming out is the "complex process of moving from a heterosexual (and confused) identity, given to one in childhood, to a strong, positive and accepting sense of one's identity as that being given to one through awareness of the gay community" (p.101). It consists of three intertwined stages: Coming out to oneself (seeing onself as homosexual); coming out in the gay world (meeting other gay people) and coming out in the straight world (being open to non-gays about one's gayness).

which an individual comes to perceive of himself as potentially a homosexual. Different sources may provide the information that first creates "homosexual identification" (p.135) - sexual activity with others of the same sex, emotional attachment to others of the same sex, day-dreaming about own sex, social events etc. Some people experience a sense of differentness which later becomes defined as homosexual. Not all people having homosexual experiences move into stable homosexual roles. This is because some people use strategies to neutralise the homosexual label. Disavowal allows the person to behave in a homosexual manner, but deny implications of this for a "homosexual self-conception" (p.138). Reference groups may also help in the neutralisation of homosexual meaning. That is, they will "accommodate homosexual experiences which are insulated from self-labelling implications" (p.141).

(2) Signification and disorientation:

This stage includes those processes which lead to a heightened homosexual identity, "subjectively from the nagging inner feeling that one may be 'different' through to a developed homosexual identity, and objectively, from minor homosexual involvements through to the

stage known as 'coming out'" (p.141). Individuals take varying lengths of time to work through these changes. The term "disorientation" refers to the anxiety and confusion present at this stage, whereas "signification" (a term borrowed from Matza,1969) refers to the process of heightened self-awareness and meaning regarding homosexual experiences. Several factors contribute to signification. For example, negative attitudes of society towards homosexuality lead to secrecy, guilt and isolation. These experiences tend to promote a greater focus on the homosexual feelings and behaviour, thereby heightening awareness. Homosexual meaning of one's behaviour also leads to examination of gender identity since the two are closely linked in societal stereotypes. A subsequent questioning of "who am I?" leads to signification.

(3) Coming out:

This stage refers to the process by which people pass from the "moratorium" (p.147) of the previous stage to participating in the homosexual community. This leads to an identification of self as homosexual. The coming out stage, according to Plummer, is not necessary for developing homosexual self-conceptions but is important in taking on homosexuality as a way of

life. The individual at this point defines self as a homosexual and through interaction with other self-defined homosexuals, reduces the difficulties that arose during signification: "...an identity is rebuilt and involvement with others may lead to an enhanced self-image and self-evaluation" (p.148). Involvement in the gay community gives access to legitimising accounts of the homosexual experience which helps to neutralise guilt, allows sexual and emotional needs to be met, and provides homosexual role models. The homosexual in effect, develops a commitment to a homosexual way of life.

(4) Stabilising homosexuality:

Several factors are proposed to account for the fact that the homosexual allows himself to become "role-imprisoned". Essentially, there is a narrowing of choices of action as an identity becomes stabilised. There are positive factors such as sexual and emotional gratification which make a person unwilling to give up a homosexual way of life. Reduction of heterosexual contacts and threat of losing homosexual friends can also encourage stability.

Plummer considers that the social context within which the socialisation process takes place plays a

significant role. Specifically, negative attitudes tend to heighten the focus on homosexuality and polarise homosexual and heterosexual matters.

Plummer's work represented an important contribution to the area of identity formation: It was a serious theoretical account that clearly nominated the area of "becoming homosexual" as worthy of researchers' interests; it was well-grounded in the interactionist framework; and it outlined in more depth and with more clarity, many of the ideas presented in the simpler models. Where it lacked strength was in the specific information regarding the development process, especially that surrounding cognitive development. For example, little information is given as to the path of development taken during the second stage. What happens between feeling different and developing a homosexual identity? What motivational factors are at work here? Plummer proposes that the stages lead to the adoption of a homosexual role, yet the concept of identity is frequently referred to. Indeed, there is some confusion as to how these two concepts might be related. Little discussion is given to identity development during the coming out phase, although there is a strong inference that interaction in the gay community does effect identity. At stage 4, there is even less considerstion of the process of development and it is difficult to see exactly which factors make this a separate stage.

Several sociologists have used Plummer's model

as a starting point for their own ideas. Lee (1977) is one of these. He describes three stages of male homosexual self-identification and, like Plummer, emphasises a symbolic interactionist framework.

(1) Signification:

Borrowing from Matza and Plummer, he uses the term signification to refer to the process of "becoming deviant", of moving from primary to secondary deviance. It involves "surrendering the options of neutralisation and accepting a deviant identity" (p.52). Initially, a person may acknowledge his sexual orientation without putting it into action. There are four stages that individuals go through in the first stage.

(a) Step 1 (secret release) - secret masturbation is often the first overt behaviour carried out.

(b) Step 2 (anonymous sex) - in this sexual outlet is possible "without ever disclosing one's identity" (p.54). The person appears to be heterosexual and never comes into contact with the gay community.

(c) Step 3 (solo relationships) - this takes in involvement in a long-term homosexual relationship with no contact with any other gay persons or the gay community.

(d) Step 4 (Closet Queen) - the individual

admits his sexual orientation to himself and makes contact with a few gays without participating in the organised gay community.

Although Lee terms them "steps", in reality he appears to mean four options.

> *Each individual does not necessarily go through each Step, but every individual goes through some Step(s) of signification before reaching Stage 2...*(p.55)

(2) Coming out:

At this stage, individuals begin to move into the gay subculture. There are five steps to this:

(a) first debut - a nervous and tentative first step into some situation where homosexuals meet.

(b) the individual becomes a regular at specific gay places.

(c) a few carefully selected heterosexual friends are told about his homosexuality, who agree to keep the secret.

(d) allowing one's homosexuality to become known within a restricted social network - this may include work colleagues.

(e) coming out to a gay liberation group. At this point self-repression, often seen until now, is gradually replaced with pride.

The cognitive category of "homosexual" becomes changed to "gay".

Few get to this final step. Lee infers that early steps may not necessarily have to be negotiated in order to get to this step.

(3) Going public:

This stage refers to those who allow themselves to be identified in the media as gay. There is a conscious decision to stop passing as heterosexual. There is a rejection of individualistic ideology in favour of a sense of community with other homosexuals. Gays become an important reference group. The degree to which public gay identity can be attained will be affected by socio-economic status, i.e., some groups will receive more attention than others.

Lee's model clearly differs from Plummer's in its greater emphasis on behavioural development. In doing this, however, he misses the most significant aspect of Plummer's model - its attention to perceptual and interactive developments. This explains why Lee ignored Plummer's first stage, Sensitisation, with its focus on internal changes, and added a new stage, Going Public, an essentially behavioural option. In taking this approach, he does not adequately describe what he set out to account for, namely, the process of self-identification. Milestone

events are outlined, but their significance to identity changes are barely considered. As with Plummer, a definition of gay identity is lacking. Lee also neglects to provide an adequate outline of the motivational factors responsible for change from one stage to another.

An extended and somewhat modified account of Lee's model, offered by Moses and Hawkins (1982) attempts to fill in some of those gaps. These authors divide coming out (identifying oneself as gay) into four stages; signification (coming out to oneself); identifying oneself to gay others; identifying oneself to nongay others; and going public. The first stage sees the individual comparing own feelings, thoughts and sexual experiences with a "learned definition of what a gay man or lesbian is" (p.80). Self-labelling may be immediate or extended over a period of time. Reactions may range from relief at understanding one's sense of being "different", anxiety at the thought of being different, or confusion. Worrying about issues such as gender identity, ways of relating to homosexuals, being known about etc. is common.

Moses and Hawkins talk of a period of "identity shifting" when the individual tries the label on for size and subsequently makes adjustments in self or in pre-conceptions about the label. Consideration is given to trying to be a gay person in a society hostile to homo-sexuals. Some people react positively to signification. Once the individual has decided upon a gay identity, the next steps (identifying oneself to gay and heterosexual

others) begin. Once again, however, the notion of identity moves to the background as Moses and Hawkins describe the ways in which identification of self takes place. Like some previous theorists, there is an assumption that when identity is acknowledged by the individual concerned, that is, when the person claims to be "a homosexual", the issue of identity development is virtually resolved.

Troiden (1979, Note 11) began with a version of Plummer's model which he modified and elaborated upon. Describing what he terms "an ideal-typical model of gay male identity acquisition" (1979,p.362), he adopts Plummer's four stages but renames two. He replaces "disorientation" with "dissociation" and "stabilising" with "commitment". Troiden's first stage, Sensitisation, like Plummer's, begins in childhood when experiences are gained that later serve as a source for interpreting feelings of being different as "homosexual", and ends when the individual becomes suspicious that he might be homosexual. This marks the beginning of Stage 2, Dissociation and Signification. Dissociation denotes initial unwillingness to make a conscious link between behaviour/feelings and sexual identity. As noted by Plummer, the act of separation increases awareness, leading to signification. There is also some awareness that heterosexuality can no longer be taken as a given. The decision to label one's feelings as homosexual marks the transition to Stage 3, Coming Out. This stage is characterised by self-definition as homosexual, initial gay subculture involvement,

redefinition of homosexuality as a valid life-style, development of favourable attitudes to the self, and commencement of homosexual activity on a regular basis. The onset of Stage 4, Commitment, is marked by the fusion of sexuality and emotionality, that is, the taking of a lover. Homosexuality becomes adopted as a way of life and a gay identity is evident, characterised by the expression of sexual, social and emotional aspects of self. The individual is unwilling to give up his homosexual life-style.

Only a small proportion of people move on to a gay identity. A number of factors may relate to this; lack of opportunity to establish contact with the gay subculture, desire to remain anonymous, dislike of the separateness of the gay subculture, a wish to avoid stigma and an unwillingness to become emotionally involved. Gay identities are not fixed, but can be abandoned. Although the stages are sequential, it is possible for some to be bypassed or merged (although factors related to this are not outlined). Troiden describes several strategies for dealing with self-designation difficulties, including denial, rejection and modification (to bisexual etc.). Like Oberholtzer (1971), he perceives the labelling process as involving shifting definitions created by the inter-action between individuals and their environments.

Criticisms of Troiden's outline are similar to those made of previous models. Although proposed as a model of gay identity *acquisition*, there is, in fact,

little focus on how identity as a cognitive construct is developed. Like previous theorists, Troiden describes broad behavioural changes but fails to give an understanding of the psychological events involved in these changes. For example, how does the individual move from heightened awareness to labelling of self as homosexual in Stage 2? Is it true that there is an *unwillingness* to make the link between behaviour and identity, rather than, for example, an inability because of level of cognitive awareness?

Greater emphasis is placed on the role of social cognition in identity development by Weinberg's (1978, Note 12) account of identity formation in males, "how people come to define or identify themselves as "homosexual" and how this self-identity is maintained once it is gained" (Note 12,p.1).

He emphasised the distinction between "doing" and "being" gay, that is, between homosexual behaviour and identity. A necessary requirement for self-labelling as a homosexual to occur is that the individual hold a social definition of homosexual. This makes it possible for own sexual behaviour to be labelled as "homosexual". Conception of self as homosexual cannot take place if labelling of behaviour as homosexual has not first occurred. Weinberg further points out that even where behaviour is labelled homosexual by others, the individual may still not see himself as homosexual. The individual has an active part to play in the identity process. Responses

of others are more relevant to self-maintenance than to self-discovery. It is possible for behaviour previously viewed as homosexual to be redefined as nonhomosexual by altering the definition of what is homosexual. This situation is helped where friends support a definition of homosexual that does not include own behaviour.

A typical sequence of events leading to self-definition is described by Weinberg as follows: Individuals may or may not engage in same sex sexual behaviours. Suspicion that one is homosexual occurs when significant others provide language, notions and reasons for assigning the label to self. Suspicions can be initiated by sexual fantasies and attractions, by realising a lack of attraction for the opposite sex, and by a change in social context. Being labelled by others is not enough to create labelling of self, but may make the person view more seriously the life-style and circumstances leading to labelling. The negative evaluation given to homosexuality is adopted. This gives rise to ambivalence and vacillating behaviour as the individual expresses reluctance to convert suspicions into acceptance. Attempts are made to reduce the cognitive dissonance created as a result of these negative reactions by having sex with women, rejecting some aspects of the homosexual or heterosexual life-style, redefining homosexuality positively etc. Dissonance is lessened amongst those who have had more sexual experiences with men at an earlier age, and less with women, and where contacts with gay people were made prior

to suspicions about self. Persistent attraction to other men eventually leads to less vacillating.

The individual comes to associate with gay people and this contact confirms that he fits the category of "homosexual". It also provides a place where he is not rejected, breaking down the sense of isolation felt previously. Gay people are given the status of significant others and their perception of homosexuality as acceptable is adopted. The individual is able to convert suspicion to acceptance of self as homosexual. Maintenance of this self-concept depends upon the quality and intensity of relationships with both homosexual and heterosexual reference groups. Some instability is present as long as connections with the heterosexual world remain.

Weinberg maintains his tie with the sociological tradition by proposing that the three elements - sexual contact, suspicion that self is homosexual, and labelling of self as "homosexual" - are the critical incidents with which the developmental pathways can be characterised. By arranging these elements in different sequences, it is possible to hypothesise several alternative pathways leading to "being gay".

While Weinberg's model is significant for placing greater emphasis on cognitive aspects of identity formation, it too can be criticised for the lack of attention to details of the developmental process. Cognitive issues are mentioned, but never clearly accounted for in the proposed developmental sequences. The individual

is assigned an active role in developing a homosexual identity, but little is said of what this entails. Motivational factors are, once again, given little attention. Weinberg's theory makes a valuable contribution to the literature in directing attention to the need to account for different developmental pathways. Unfortunately, it stops short of providing a framework capable of incorporating all these pathways into one theory. The implication from Weinberg's research is that theoretically it is possible to provide a model of only one developmental route, although recognition is given to the existence of other career paths.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY-BASED THEORIES

As noted previously, interest in the area of homosexual identity formation has largely come from the sociological perspective. The input from psychological theory has been minimal in comparison. Psychologically-oriented theories tend to focus more on intra-individual factors such as emotions and attitudes than do sociological theories.

Schultz (Note, 10), for example, reflects his psychological background in presenting a theory that acknowledges attitudinal and motivational factors in the developmental process. However, despite his use of psychological terminology, the model is largely based on

the career approach of the sociologists described previously. In fact, he postulates that the growth process of coming out (the development of a gay identity) is marked by a series of events or milestone experiences that can be conceptualised as stages of development. These events are believed to reflect three spheres, or areas of interaction. Schultz terms these the personal, gay social and straight social spheres. The hypothesised events are:

(1) Awareness of same-sex attractions - these signal the beginning of coming out.

(2) First same-sex experiences - some people never go beyond this stage, and their experiences remain unintegrated with their identity. Thus, they never come to label selves as homosexual. Schultz acknowledges two adaptations to experiencing homosexual feelings and behaviour:- (a) Repressed adaptation - where all such feelings and behaviours are repressed so that the coming out process is essentially halted before it becomes an identity issue; and (b) Secret adaptation - where homosexual behaviour is kept secret and separate from identity, that is, compartmentalised. This prevents society's attitudes regarding homosexuals from being applied to self.

(3) The third stage marks the first association with the gay community. Again, a person may stop

at this point of development. Schultz proposes that this signifies the development of a negative identity which he terms homosexual identity. This is characterised by an acceptance of own sexuality and also society's negative evaluation of that sexuality. The individual is aware of living in two worlds and deals with this by becoming integrated into the gay world while being estranged from the rest of society, or by avoiding the gay world and attempting to pass in the general community as heterosexual. All these defensive actions limit the growth of the individual.

(4) Labelling self as gay - the gay community is very influential in facilitating self-labelling. It promotes a change in the meaning of the cognitive category "homosexual" so that it has more positive meaning. Amongst males, labelling of self often occurs after the second stage.

(5) Coming out to others - friends, fellow workers and society in general. This denotes an adaptation of a gay identity where own sexuality is accepted while society's negative views of it are rejected. This is achieved through coming out in the general community.

Reflecting the philosophy of humanistic psychology, Schultz advocates that the motivating factor of the coming out process is a quest for individual wholeness. Wholeness

"requires that sexuality be incorporated into identity and that the individual and society fit each other" (p.21). Pace of growth is different for each person and this reflects personality factors as well as the social situation. Coming out may take place during adolescence or at any time afterwards.

Schultz also separately describes two other developmental sequences which he says are evident in the coming out process.

1. Permanence - a sequence of attitudes that a person goes through.
   (a) The person isn't sure whether s/he is gay or heterosexual.
   (b) The person decides s/he is gay now but is not sure how permanent this is.
   (c) A gay identity is accepted as relatively permanent.
2. Motivation.
   (a) The person has a desire to rid self of the cover up stories designed to hide her/his homosexuality.
   (b) There is a wish to share one's life honestly with others.
   (c) There is a desire for others' acceptance of self.

With deMonteflores, Schultz further describes the model as a "nonlineal" one (deMonteflores & Schultz, 1978). It is conceptualised as a "feedback loop"

regulating the relationship between the individual and society. That is, actions from the person elicit societal responses which in turn affect the individual's subsequent actions. In a curious fashion, these authors draw upon the notion of ego identity, hypothesising that "coming out is an adolescent phenomenon at whatever age it occurs" (p.64). They propose that three interrelated aspects of identity formation (cognitive transformation, recasting and self-labelling) contribute to self-acceptance as a gay person. Also proposed are sex differences in the coming out process that relate to the different socialisation patterns of men and women.

The influence of the psychological approach is clearly evident in Schultz's and Schultz and deMonteflores' model. Attitudinal and motivational variables, as well as various areas of cognition are recognised as having specific relevance to the understanding of identity formation. Unfortunately, the power of these ideas is seriously reduced by these authors' failure to provide guidelines as to how each of these factors may be incorporated into a general model of personal growth. How, for example, does the motivational sequence fit into the hypothesised sequence of milestone events and what effects does it have at each stage of development? In effect, Schultz and deMonteflores have adopted the sociologically-based approach outlined in the previous section and simply noted pertinent psychological variables considered important to a discussion of coming out. In doing this,

they have, like their sociological counterparts, failed to explain how or why behaviour and feelings become converted into identity, or how a "homosexual" identity develops into a "gay" identity.

A model which does attempt to integrate psychological factors into an account of the identity formation process of lesbians has been described by McLellan (Note 7). This author holds the distinction of being the first to give a clear statement of what she meant by the term "identity". Based upon the Eriksonian notion of ego identity, she described the search for identity by lesbians as an attempt to resolve the conflict between personal and social identities. Personal identity, for McLellan, is that inner sense of who one is that develops in childhood as a result of primary socialisation. Part of the value system presented to the young child by significant others (e.g., family members), and incorporated into this sense of self, is that of heterosexuality. Social identity, on the other hand, develops in middle and late adolescence, and is defined as the way a person perceives herself to be in the eyes of society. This is acquired through secondary socialisation in which the learning of specific societal roles takes place. As part of this, the individual learns what the label "homosexual" means in heterosexual society. For the lesbian there is a prolonged identity struggle since there is conflict between how she sees herself and how society sees her.

Using Kubler-Ross' (1969) stages of dying as a

theoretical framework, McLellan proposes five sequential and overlapping stages of identity development.

(1) Awareness - this stage covers that time when the lesbian realises there is something different about her, and is usually completed by late adolescence. Three phases of awareness are described:

(a) Pre-awareness - there is a "natural" attraction to someone of the same sex which is not necessarily sexual. This phase usually occurs in adolescence.

(b) Initial awareness - feeling "something about me is different" (p.67), and occurs when other women are becoming aware of growing interest in the opposite sex. There is a searching for some explanation of own feelings and/or behaviours. This leads into the third phase.

(c) Awareness of society's condemnation of lesbians and lesbian behaviour - this is accompanied by a sense of bewilderment at such condemnation about something which is considered natural. The lesbian may seek counselling during this phase.

(2) Denial - this results from the awareness of the stigma placed on the label lesbian and is a refusal to accept the truth about oneself. The most common form of denial is taking on a

heterosexual or celibate lifestyle and ignoring the existence of lesbianism. Taking a strong moral stand against lesbianism is another form of denial. Some women continue to deny their lesbian identity even when living in a homosexual relationship.

(3) Anger - this stage is entered when the lesbian "cannot or will not deny her lesbianism any longer" (p.72). Denial is not necessarily ended, but persists alongside anger. Initially, anger is expressed as "why me?" and later changes to "why won't society accept me?" Anger can be expressed by withdrawing from family, church and others, by expressing anti-male and anti-establishment sentiments, and by acting out the stereotypical image of a lesbian. Many lesbians seek counselling at this stage in order to deal with their anger.

(4) Acceptance - the expression of anger at society is the beginning of the path to acceptance of self. There are four phases of this stage.

(a) There is a resignation to the "inevitable" as opposed to positive self-acceptance.

(b) At this point the woman admits to herself that she is a lesbian.

(c) She admits this to others without apology or justification.

(d) When the lesbian experiences acceptance

from others, then positive self-acceptance follows. Compartmentalisation may occur whereby the lesbian keeps her identity separate from some people. There is often overlap with the previous stage (Anger). When the anger is dealt with openly, then the lesbian vacillates between denial and acceptance. Once positive self-acceptance is achieved it usually lasts to some degree for the rest of her life.

(5) Wholeness/Authenticity - wholeness refers to the "coming together of the parts of one's life into an integrated whole" (p.78). Like Schultz, McLellan advocates wholeness as the end goal of the identity formation process. Given societal attitudes, it is likely that compartmentalisation cannot be given up completely. Authenticity includes intentionality and responsibility, and refers to the lesbian who recognises membership in the larger society and can relate to society without denying her own authenticity. This involves recognition of self as a radical feminist. There is acceptance that a lesbian life-style has been chosen by herself. She may choose also, to "come out" publically. A support group is important in helping the lesbian to retain this stage of development for the rest of her life.

McLellan's model is significant for its focus on intra-individual factors. At each stage, cognitive and affective changes and strategies are described in a manner that promotes an understanding of the process of development continuing through the stages. This approach differs from most others, where cognitive, affective and behavioural changes are emphasised at some points of development and not at others. McLellan's account thus sidesteps much of the confusion that arises when strands of development are discontinuously presented. However, McLellan could be said to go the other way, providing little detail of proposed behavioural changes. In addition, she fails to show why it is that individuals move from one stage to the other.

Interestingly, Kubler-Ross' model of the grieving process was adopted in an early essay by Burk (quoted in Bullough, [1979])[14]. Burk kept strictly to Kubler-Ross' five stages: Denial and isolation, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. Individuals who become aware of having homosexual identities first deny them and this tends to bring about feelings of isolation. Some people do not progress beyond the denial stage, and often become anti-homosexual or homophobic in their attitudes. Burk's characterisation of the anger stage is similar to McLellan's (perhaps it is the other way around), in that it leads to

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[12] This essay was originally published in The Mattachine Society Today - An Information Digest. Los Angeles: Mattachine Society, 1954.

the question "why me?' Anger may be directed at society and self. Not all gays, according to Burk, go through the anger phase and it is not necessary that they do so. Some never get further than anger, but for those who do, anger is replaced by bargaining (e.g., "if I have sex just this once, I promise never to do it again"). With the realisation that homosexual desires have not disappeared, depression occurs. This is the beginning of coming to terms with reality. Finally, acceptance comes as the person recognises that s/he is gay.

It is apparent that the commonality between McLellan and Burk is their focus on the affective component in identity change. Stages are marked by changes in affect rather than participation in new behaviours, as is common to the sociologically based theories.

Although Coleman (1981/2,1982) describes his model as "developmental stages of the coming out process", there is some confusion as to what, in fact, it actually refers to. At the one time he proposes that the stages outlined are stages of "same-sex sexual identity development" (but this does not refer to etiology), and "what happens to the person who becomes aware of ...[same-sex]...interests" (1982,p.470). In addition, he draws comparisons with other models purporting to describe self-labelling as a homosexual, suggesting that he views such an area as directly relevant to his own model. Further, coming out is designated as one of the stages of the coming

out *process*, which leaves the reader somewhat confused as to where coming out begins and ends. Coleman uses the term sexual identity to refer to object-choice identity developed in early childhood. He bases his model therefore, on that theoretical approach outlined in Chapter 3, which assumes a concept called sexual identity developed early in life. Thus, coming out is broadly conceived as the coming to awareness of this identity, and development of a positive attitude towards it.

Coleman describes five "linear-progressive" (1981/2,p.40) stages, each of which involves developmental tasks that need to be completed before identity integration can occur.

(1) Pre-coming out - this stage refers to "the process of pre-conscious awareness of a same-sex identity" (1982,p.471). Sexual identity is believed to be learned in early childhood, along with society's negative values about homosexuality. The person has some idea of her/his sexual identity but dismisses this. Disallowing any awareness of own sexual identity prevents rejection by family and others. Individuals are not consciously aware of their same-sex feelings, but may feel "different" and alienated. The conflict of this stage (not accepting one's true identity), may be resolved by suicide, continuing to hide sexual feelings or choosing to acknowledge same-sex feelings.

(2) Coming out - at this stage, individuals begin to acknowledge their homosexual feelings. This is the first developmental task of this stage. Having completed it, the next task is to disclose this information to others. Negative reactions reinforce a previous low self-concept and may lead to a return to the previous stage. Acceptance by others encourages positive self-acceptance and increased self-esteem.

(3) Exploration - at this stage the individual explores and experiments with the new sexual identity, both at a sexual and a social level. Contact is made with the gay community. The term "crashing out" is used to refer to the awkwardness and intensity of this stage. Sexual experiences differ from previous ones in that "after self-labelling as homosexual...the meaning of these experiences is quite different" (1981/2,p.36). Although previous reference to "self-labelling" is absent, the assumption is that this has taken place prior to this third stage.

(4) First relationships - when the gay person can conceive of self as lovable, s/he proceeds to look for, and enter into, committed relationships. If self-identity has not been consolidated (Coleman gives no explanation of what this entails), then difficulties are likely to arise

in the relationship.

(5) Integration - drawing upon the present author's theoretical model (Cass,1979), Coleman suggests that at this stage public and private identities are incorporated into one image. Identity is integrated and this provides a better psychological base for engaging in relationships. All developmental tasks from previous stages must be completed if integration is to take place.

Not everyone is believed to go through all stages. Many never experience identity integration. Coleman notes that little is known of why a person moves from stage to stage, but makes no proposal regarding a motivating factor for his model. Although no reference is made as to its application to males or females, the implication is that the model has relevance to both sexes.

It is apparent that Coleman's model bears close resemblance to others discussed already in this chapter. Indeed, his description of the stages (1981/2) makes constant reference to other major theories. It is as if he uses previous theoretical structures to validate his own, yet fails to offer any explanation as to why his theory is preferable. However, while the stage sequence and general content of Coleman's account of identity formation add little to what has already been said previously, it does have some unique features. These are, (1) its starting point of sexual identity as a pre-set condition to coming out, and (2) its use of the

notion of developmental tasks, a concept derived from maturational theories of childhood development.

A recent model of homosexual identity formation by Minton and McDonald (In Press) is based more specifically upon a theory of childhood development - Habermas' (1979) theory of ego development. As a result, these authors adopt a broader view of identity formation than previous authors. Homosexual identity formation is conceptualised as a "life-span, developmental process that is part of the general maturational process of achieving a coherent sense of personal identity" (p.3). Personal identity is defined as all those roles (ascribed, achieved and adopted) that are enacted by an individual. It is the "unity, consistency and continuity of the individual's self-perception" (p.4). Sexual orientation is perceived as one of the roles that comprise personal identity. Although Habermas' theory essentially relates to childhood and adolescent development, Minton and McDonald consider that three of the four stages have useful parallels with homosexual identity development. Minton and McDonald's three stages are:

(1) Egocentric stage - this takes in the differentiation between self and the surrounding environment. It involves experiences of an erotic, emotional or social nature that act as bases for viewing the self as possibly homosexual. The self is labelled as homosexual on the basis of only personal experiences. This first phase

emerges in childhood and adolescence as a sense of being different, and therefore separate, from others. In adolescence the sense of being different becomes linked to sexuality. This sensitises the adolescent to "the possibility of her or his homosexuality" (p.11).

(2) The Sociocentric stage - in Habermas' terms, personal identity formerly based on bodily capacity, is changed into one based on role performance. Social norms become internalised. There is a heightened awareness of societal attitudes about homosexuality and also of the possibility of holding a homosexual identity. Increased awareness of homosexual desires creates feelings of identity confusion.

(3) The Universalistic stage - at this level of ego development, there is a realisation that societal norms can be critically evaluated. Personal identity is transformed from role identity into ego identity. In terms of gay identity formation, this stage is characterised by the critical evaluation of societal attitudes to homosexuality, the resultant acceptance of a positive gay identity, and commitment to that identity. Three phases are outlined;

(a) homosexual identity acceptance.

(b) commitment to a homosexual identity.

(c) identity integration.

The latter phase is considered to be relevant to identity *management* as opposed to the first two which relate specifically to identity formation. The acceptance stage (coming out) is characterised by first involvement with the gay community.

Minton and McDonald are not proposing a radically new model of the content of the gay identity formation process but rather a different way of looking at it. More than any of the previous theorists, these authors place the locus of identity change squarely with the individual. Identity change is conceived of as an internal process that may be reflected outwardly in behavioural terms. Unfortunately, Minton and McDonald give more space to discussion of other models than to the specific contribution that they believe Habermas' theory offers. As a result,it is difficult to see how our understanding of homosexual identity formation is added to in any significant way by this specific, theoretical base.

It is also difficult to understand the connection between ego identity and personal identity as defined in their paper. Having taken the particularly positive (and, as we have seen, relatively uncommon) step of explaining their use of the phrase "personal identity", and how sexual identity is placed within such a structure, Minton and McDonald fail to fulfill their promise to describe how these concepts are linked to ego identity. There appears to be an inherent assumption in their model that by drawing upon Habermas' theory there is no need to

spell out the developmental and motivational aspects of homosexual identity development. In making such an assumption, however, they have failed to provide proposals regarding important aspects of identity formation.

TYPOLOGY-BASED THEORIES

Some theorists have approached the area of identity formation by describing ideal types of individuals as representative of points on the developmental continuum. Miller (1978) is one such theorist. On the basis of interview data, he postulated four ideal types representative of the "moral career" of married male homosexuals. The end-point of this career path was "adult sexual resocialisation" (p.228). His four types are:

(1) Trade husbands - these men engage in same-sex sexual contact which is furtive and never labelled as homosexual. Publically they present as heterosexual and are socially isolated from the gay world. They use various techniques such as compartmentalisation, rationalisation and reactive formation to neutralise the homosexual label and avoid adopting it for themselves.

(2) Homosexual husbands - these men engage in homosexual behaviour and hold a self-identity of homosexual. Publically, however, they present

as heterosexual. They are also marginal in the gay community.

(3) Gay husbands - this group engages in homosexual behaviour, with a self-identity, and to some extent, public identity, as homosexual. There is an acceptance of the validity of their behaviour, and a sense of psychological well-being. The individual is well acquainted with the gay world. Several positive features of the gay community (e.g., it offers a close-knit community), make a homosexual life-style a more attractive alternative than a heterosexual one.

(4) Faggot husband - these men engage in homosexual behaviour and hold self-identities and public identities that are congruent with this. There is a pride in being gay. Much of their life revolves around the gay culture.

Miller suggests that career movement is an attempt to reduce the cognitive dissonance that he says is created by being marginal to two worlds. It is possible to move back and forth between points, and each level is achieved "by a painful searching process, negotiating with both the self and with the larger world" (p.222). Resocialisation, he notes, is not age-specific. That is, it does not necessarily occur as an adolescent phenomenon. Movement may be blocked by factors such as lack of access to a viable gay community and economic considerations.

The event considered most likely to promote movement through the types, is falling in love with another man.

Miller concludes that there are six developmental trends that take place during resocialisation.

(a) knowledge of the gay world increases.

(b) attitudes to gay sex become accepted and more integrated into everyday life.

(c) there is a change in reference groups so that significant others who support the individual's homosexual identity are acquired.

(d) self-concept stabilises and commitment to a homosexual identity increases.

(e) psychological health and self-esteem increase while anxiety and depression about being gay decrease.

(f) the degree of congruence between public identity and self-identity increases.

In presenting these trends, Miller would appear to have drawn together many of the ideas touched on both explicitly and implicitly, by other theorists. His list is, in effect, a list of the dimensions of change upon which identity formation is assumed to be based.

Ettorre (1980) is another theorist who describes identity change by way of ideal types. She proposes three basic types of lesbians, each representative of a stage of lesbianism.

(1) Traditional stage - these are lesbians who perceive themselves as "sick", accepting society's

views of them. They tend to be socially isolated from other lesbians, closeted and apolitical.

(2) Social stage - at this stage individuals develop a group identity, that is, they move towards social interaction with other lesbians. This stage, says Ettorre, is one of pre-political consciousness. There are two types of social lesbians; those who still hold some views of the previous stage ("sick but not sorry" lesbians), and those who hold some ideological views of lesbianism ("sorry but we're not sick"lesbians).

(3) Ideological stage - this phase is characterised by the lesbian feminist who develops a political consciousness and feels linked to lesbians and women as oppressed groups in society.

Ettore's model reflects the emphasis on the political dimension evident in other models of lesbian identity formation.

Finally, it should be noted that Schultz (Note 10) also presented within his model a "typology of homosexual adaptations" (p.22). As previously outlined, he described four types; repressed, secret, homosexual and gay types.

The typology approach is obviously limited in its presentation of the process aspect of development. Nevertheless, the striking similarity between the three typologies described here, as well as their similarity to the broad stage descriptions of the career and psychological

theories, suggests the need to include them in any review of the literature on homosexual identity formation.

DISCUSSION

Having considered the theories that have been proposed in order to explain gay identity formation, we can now examine in broader terms, the degree to which this literature has been effective in providing an understanding of the developmental process.

Probably the most noticeable feature of this literature is the striking *similarity* among the models in terms of the themes of change and growth hypothesised as central to identity formation. To only a limited extent can this be explained by the influence of previous models on later ones. Many theorists, particularly those offering more extensive models, appear to have developed their ideas independently of others working at around the same time.

Almost uniformly, identity formation is conceptualised as a developmental process that is marked by a series of changes, growth points, or stages along which certain experiences can be ordered. Progress through the stages is generally characterised by (1) gradual awareness that own behaviour (emotional, sexual and/or

cognitive) can be labelled "homosexual"; (2) increasing acceptance of the label "homosexual" as being descriptive of self; (3) the development of a positive attitude towards this self-identity; (4) a growing desire to disclose the existence of this identity to homosexual and nonhomosexual others; (5) increasingly more personalised and frequent social contacts with homosexuals.

In addition, a number of other features are also seen as important aspects of the developmental pattern. These are; (1) political involvement with gay people; (2) an integration of public and private selves; (3) the ability to stop further change; (4) the individual's ability to use a range of strategies for dealing with a negative status; (5) the importance of placing homosexual meaning onto behaviour; (6) the significance of personality and social factors in development. Some recognition has been given to sex differences in the developmental process, but none of the theorists reviewed has described the development of both men and women within a single model.

From Table 1, it is possible to distinguish five broad bands of development. The first band includes developing awareness of the homosexual meaning of own behaviour, leading to feelings of being different, and suspicion that one may be gay. The second band covers recognition and labelling of self as a homosexual; the third band focuses on greater acceptance of self as homosexual, making social contacts with other homosexuals, learning about the gay subculture, becoming sexually and

emotionally involved with another, and disclosing to some nonhomosexual others. These three levels are more clearly and uniformly presented than the last two. The fourth band includes public disclosure, political involvement, a sense of pride and feeling of group sharing, while the final level takes in the idea of a drawing together of the various strands of identity and gaining a sense of wholeness.

Major *differences* amongst the models primarily come from the adoption of an inter-individual as opposed to an intra-individual approach. This bears strongly on the definition of identity considered. For example, sociologists like Plummer perceive identity as closely tied in with the concept of role. When a homosexual role is fully acquired through prescribed socialisation, then homosexual identity is assumed to exist. This differs markedly from, for example, Coleman, a psychologically-oriented theorist, for whom identity arises out of childhood maturational experiences.

These differing theoretical starting points influence in important ways, which elements of the identity formation process will be highlighted and which will not. As noted, the final outcome, the *content* of the models derived from these formulation is not overly different. This could be seen as providing, in effect, some consensual validation of the process. However, when these models are traced back to their theoretical origins, we can see that the meaning attached to them is quite distinct for each

theorist. What this suggests, is that a simple description of the events that take place during identity formation (career path) does not convey the theoretical nuances and assumptions contained in a particular author's approach. Since, as we have seen, few theorists refer to these origins, it frequently becomes a difficult and arduous task to gain an adequate understanding of the model put forward.

REQUIREMENTS FOR AN ADEQUATE THEORY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

Generally speaking, the manner in which most of the theories of gay identity formation have been presented, is considered unsatisfactory from a scientific viewpoint. Models tend to be characterised by poor, or nonexistent definitions of concepts; confusion as to what are the dimensions of change; difficulty in integrating social and psychological variables; and neglect of motivational factors. Overall, the models reviewed do not adequately explain the way a person comes to see him/herself as a homosexual.

It would seem that at the root of these difficulties lies the fact that no-one, as yet, has attempted to define the parameters considered necessary for an adequate theory of gay identity formation. However, it would have been obvious to the reader that the present writer, in reviewing the material presented in this

chapter, has made several assumptions as to what some of these parameters should be. For example, a claim that motivational factors have been neglected presupposes the importance of including such factors. It would now seem appropriate to extract these assumptions and to present them clearly for consideration.

From a scientific viewpoint, an adequate theory is generally considered to one that (1) clearly and unambiguously identifies the essential phenomena considered important to the area under consideration; (2) conceptualises the relationships thought to exist amongst these phenomena and presents these in the form of testable hypotheses; (3) points to significant questions that give direction to research; and (4) is consistent with available data (Chaplin,1973; Ferdinand,1966; Hollander,1971).

While these requirements are clearly relevant to the area of homosexual identity, they are, in a sense, too broad. If we are to encourage richer and more comprehensive accounts of the identity formation process, then something more specific to our area of study is required. To this end, the present author has generated a list of what she considers to be the essential requirements of any theory of homosexual identity formation. These guidelines have emerged out of her own thinking in the area, as well as her reading of the literature. They are:

(1) A clear and unambiguous definition of homosexual identity and the phenomena from which it arises. That is, there is a need to state specifically

whether it is cognitions, role behaviour or some other factor (or factors) which form the basic material from which identity is drawn

(2) An account of any general or specific theoretical framework upon which the model is to be based.

(3) A statement of what is believed to be the beginning and end-point of the developmental process. Where does gay identity development begin, and if the process is completed, where does it end. This statement should be consistent with the definition of identity.

(4) A description of the dimensions or areas in the change process, That is, which areas of human functioning (such as sexual response, emotions, social needs) are brought into play during the development of a gay identity.

(5) A theoretical statement of the relative importance of the various cognitive, behavioural and affective components involved (either as cause or consequence) in the change process. In other words, what part are these factors expected to play in promoting or inhibiting development.

(6) A detailed description of the sequence in which cognitive, behavioural and/or affective changes are expected to take place. Each of these broad areas of personal change should be distinctly traced through each stage of development.

(7) A description of the interactive processes that

take place between factors inherent in the individual and her/his socio-cultural environment, and the way these influence identity change.

(8) An explanation of the motivational force(s) that lie behind movement through the developmental sequence.

(9) Operational definitions of all concepts (e.g., identity, cognitions etc.) and phenomena considered essential to an explanation of gay identity formation, so that these may be readily used for research purposes.

(10) Point to significant questions that may be useful in giving direction to research on homosexual identity.

These ten aspects are suggested as the *minimum* requirements for any theory of gay identity formation. This is not to say, however, that other points may not be considered. For example, a theorist who believes that different paths of development may result from some aspect of individual differences (such as sex differences), would need to add to the list a clear description of how this variation might occur.

According to the ten guidelines proposed above, none of the models of homosexual identity formation described in this review can be said to give adequate theoretical accounts of the developmental process. The lack of clear definition of what is meant by the term

"identity" has already been noted. This alone probably accounts for much of the difficulties evident in the various models. Without a sound understanding of what is being discussed, there is frequently a lack of a connecting theme running through the theoretical account. When a conception of identity is provided, however, the reader is faced with trying to assess when the theorist is referring to identity development, and when to identity management, a distinction not often clarified. In addition, there is rarely any attempt to operationalise definitions of terms in ways that can be usefully applied to research projects.

A further (and important) difficulty that arises, is the confusion between cognitive, behavioural and affective aspects of change. Although all models attach importance in various degrees to these factors, their relative contribution is poorly conceptualised. Typically some stages of development will be outlined in terms of their cognitive content with behavioural and affective aspects neglected, while other stages within the same model may be described in behavioural terms only.

Inconsistency is also apparent in the presentation of internal (individual) and external (social) factors. Despite adherence by many theorists to symbolic interactionism, the interaction process is often reduced to a description of those social factors considered significant to the developmental process. Despite strong statements by several early theorists (e.g., Dank,1973; Hooker,1967),

regarding the need to incorporate both social *and* psychological processes into discussion of identity formation, consideration of the way such factors influence the individual's perception of self is either noticeably lacking, or presented in a patchy and inconsistent way throughout the stage description.

This problem has been noted by Richardson and Hart (1981) who provide a model of the interactional processes included in homosexual self-identification. These authors suggest that interaction may be represented diagramatically as four concentric circles with interaction possible between adjacent circles. The outer circle is made up of an individual's life experiences. Moving inward, the next circle comprises the meanings attached by the individual to these experiences, followed by the concept of self, made up of numerous self-concepts. The inner circle comprises the core construct, described as a homosexual/heterosexual/bisexual identity. This model stresses the need to include the interaction that takes place between the individual and her/his social environment. In similar fashion, there is a need for other theorists to specify more clearly their conceptions of interaction and to recognise that reference to a symbolic interactionist framework does not automatically do this for them.

What is clearly missing from most theories of gay identity formation, is a description of the *process* of development leading the individual from one stage to another. For example, mixing with gay people is mentioned

by nearly all theorists as important to identity formation. Few, however, outline exactly how such a factor is influenced by, or influences the individual concerned, and how this interaction promotes personal growth.

This poor coverage of the process of development is directly linked to another general inadequacy, related to the description of motivational forces. The almost uniform neglect of this area probably results from the sociological emphasis on career paths adopted by most theorists, and the subsequently poor coverage of psychological aspects. Were theorists to state specifically their intention to describe only career paths, they may be justified in bypassing motivational factors. Since, however, most claim to describe some form of development, their exclusion of factors accounting for developmental changes is hard to justify.

The study of identity, pointing us to the "dialectic between individual and society" (Berger & Luckman,1966), requires a multi-disciplinary approach, one that will take into account both psychological and sociological perspectives (and perhaps others, e.g., historical). We have seen, however, the neglect of the psychological by most theorists, and the neglect of the entire area of homosexual identity formation by the psychological profession as a whole. This, we have suggested, has produced a limited and one-sided approach to theoretical accounts of the process.

EMPIRICAL TESTING OF MODELS

The ultimate assessment of the adequacy of any theory lies in its ability to stand up to empirical testing. This requires that its content be readily translated into hypotheses accessible to appropriate methodology. Few of the theorists reviewed in this chapter have either operationalised their proposals or subjected them to testing. Three authors, however, (McLellan, Note 7; Troiden, Note 11; Weinberg, Note 12) did carry out testing programmes. In all cases, a retrospective interview survey design was commonly adopted to test their models.

Weinberg (Note 12), for example, used an interview schedule, a questionnaire on sexual behaviour and observations to collect information on 30 homosexual males. The data were analysed by the author to see if they fitted the hypotheses generated by his model, and conclusions were drawn that they, in fact, did. However, other than the computation of frequency tables, no statistical analyses were carried out and no information is given as to how the data were assessed as being supportive or not.

Troiden (Note 11) also used an interview schedule to collect information from 150 homosexual males. His analysis included the development of a coding scheme, drawn from a random selection of 25 interviews. This

scheme consisted of sets of responses considered typical for each of the four postulated stages. It was used with the remaining 125 records in order to assess the degree to which they fitted the stage categories. Frequencies and correlational analyses were carried out with specific variables. Troiden stipulated that he was not testing any specific hypothesis, but intended developing a model out of the data. In reality, however, he used Plummer's model as a starting point, and quite clearly had in mind a number of hypotheses. Troiden concluded that his results pointed to the model that he came to describe.

McLellan (Note 7) adopted a less common method of testing her theory. After non-structured interviewing of 4 lesbians, she selected one as a "representative case", the subject most adequately representing her model. The interview material of this person was then analysed to determine whether it confirmed the hypotheses or not. Finding that it did so, the author suggested that these results would be likely to be found in a larger study.

Miller (1978) and Schafer (1976) also carried out interview surveys based upon a retrospective approach. Rather than beginning with a model of identity formation and using this to generate hypotheses, these two authors developed a model out of the data collected. In neither case was information provided as to how the data was analysed by the respective authors.

What is clear from all these studies is the total lack of necessary safeguards against subjectivity.

At no time is reference made to the need to incorporate into the design "blind" judges, multiple raters, inter-judge reliability measures, or any other techniques intended to reduce bias. In all cases, the author is theorist, interviewer and analyst. Even Troiden's coding schema requres a considerable amount of subjective judgment as to the similarity between the ideal response and the subjects' responses. The logic behind McLellan's study is quite incredible - selecting a subject who most represents the model and then examining that subject to see if she in fact supports the model is unbelievably tautological and simply bad methodology. Specific hypotheses are lacking, and the aims of the research presented as exploratory suggestions only.

In most of the studies, data analysis is a somewhat mysterious phenomenon since there are no attempts by the respective authors (except Troiden) to provide any information as to which procedures were used. It is apparent that carrying out replication studies from the information available, an important aspect of scientific procedure, would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. As a result of these methodological difficulties, any conclusions regarding support given to the respective models cannot be given serious weight.

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

Claims of support for stages and stage progression

tend to come from chronological data. This consists of retrospectively collected information as to the ages at which subjects recall entering a particular stage of development. This was operationalised to mean the age at which specific events occurred. In other words, such data was collected in order to assess the validity of proposed career paths.

A number of studies (Tables 2 and 3) provide data of this kind (Bell, Weinberg & Hammersmith,1981; Cronin,1974; Dank,1971; Hedblom,1973; Hedblom & Hartman, 1980; Jandt & Darsey,1981; Kooden, Morin, Riddle, Rogers, Sang & Strassburger,1979; Lehne,1978; Lewis,1979; McDonald, 1982; Reiche & Dannecker,1977; Saghir & Robins,1973; Schafer,1976; Whitam,1977; Troiden, Note 11; Weinberg, Note 12).

From Table 2, it is apparent that those aspects of the developmental path studied can be placed on a time continuum in an order generally predicted by the majority of theories. However, results from gay women suggest a somewhat different picture in some respects (first sexual experiences occur later than they do for male homosexuals). In general, there is considerable similarity between the chronological patterns of the different studies, and this suggests some validity for such findings. In particular, these findings show that the events hypothesised to be relevant to the acquisition of a homosexual identity, are not relegated to adolescence only, but continue into adulthood.

TABLE 2

Summary of mean age data relevant to homosexual identity formation.

Aspect of identity formation	Jandt & Darsey 1981 Males	Troiden 1977 (Note 1) Males	Reiche & Dannecker 1977 Males	Dank 1971 Males	Lehne 1978 Males	McDonald 1982 Males	Koodin et al 1979 Males/Females		Schafer 1976 Females
Awareness of same sex attractions	10.6		14.9	13.5	12.2	13.0	12.8	13.8	14.6
First same sex experiences	15.8	14.9	16.7		16.0	15.0	14.9	19.9	19.8
Understood meaning of "homosexual"	16.2					15.0	17.2	15.6	
First suspicion re being a homosexual		17.1							18.2
Questioning hetero-sexual identity		17.2							
Feelings not self labelled gay		19.8							
Self-designation as homosexual	22.8	21.3	19.0	19.3		19.0	21.1	23.2	20.7
First gay relationship/ gay subculture contact		23.9				21.0	21.9	22.8	
Initial disclosure to significant non-gays						23.0	28.0 28.0 31.2	28.0 friends 30.2 parents 32.4 colleagues	
Sees self as having positive gay identity						24.0	28.5	29.7	

TABLE 3

Further age-based data relevant to homosexual identity formation.

	First homosexual experience	First homosexual attraction/fantasies
Hedblom 1973 Females	70% before 20 years 21% before 15 years 8% before 10 years	95% by 20 years 70% by 15 years 28% by 10 years
Schafer 1976 Females	88% by 23 years 4% by 13 years	91% by 20 years 42% by 13 years
Lehne 1978 Males	93% by 18-21 years	97% by 14-17 years
Hedblom & Hartman 1980 Females	80% by 21 years 70% by 15 years 30% by 10 years	
Reiche & Dannecker 1977 Males	81% by 20 years 63% by 17 years	
Whitam 1977 Males		92% by 17 years
Dank 1971 Males		91% by 15-19 years

It is possible, of course, given the retrospective nature of the data, that this similarity merely reflects subcultural expectations, that is, a set of norms inherent in the subculture for the ages at which each event is expected to take place. In a study of homosexual men, Ross (1980) found some evidence that recall data may be biased in line with societal expectations of how a homosexual should be. In other words, homosexuals learn the stereotype of the society in which they live, and respond accordingly. In the area of homosexual identity information, Ross' conclusion could be extended to include the expectation of the *gay subculture*. As we have seen, a great deal has been written in the popular press on "coming out". It is, therefore, quite likely that gay people have internalised the subculture's commonly reported and expected characteristics of the identity acquisition process, and will alter past histories to fit these.

This leads us to the question of how effective retrospective techniques are in the study of homosexual identity formation. Use of a retrospective approach does have the advantage of offering some information on developmental process. Wohlwill (1973) notes that in this respect, the retrospective method can, under certain conditions, be a shortcut to longitidinal data. He maintains, however, that recall data obtained from adults through interviews is surrounded by enormous difficulties regarding accuracy and reliability. He comments,

> *The retrospective approach appears to be of very little value, unless measures recorded contemporaneously are available.* (p.153)

Gordon in 1972 (unpublished manuscript quoted in Spanier 1976) too, notes that methodological problems reducing the reliability of recall data can include interviewer bias, response sets, response style, coding difficulties and the researcher's biases, theoretical or otherwise. Other variables such as interview setting have also been found to affect retrospective self-reports (Sobell,1976).

Two sources of possible error in retrospective accounts of sexual behaviour are identified by Spanier (1976): (1) *Faulty recall* is "unintentional false reporting due to poor memory or changing perception of past reality" (p.244); (2) *Falsified accounts* involve "unintentional false reporting due to a fear of being honest with the interviewer or a desire to present a false image for ego enhancement" (p.244) This author concludes, however, that provided enough effort is made to reduce these factors, and if conclusions and interpretations are made cautiously bearing in mind the distorting effects, then retrospective techniques can be used quite successfully. However, Warren (1972) has warned that retrospective data cannot and never should be taken as evidence about past events, only as behavioural indications of the present. In considering the homosexual literature, Dank (Note 2) comes out equally as strongly: "There is no

way of overcoming this problem of retrospective interpretation, except by not asking any retrospective questions" (p.208).

In the homosexual identity formation literature, little recognition is given of the dangers in using retrospective data. If a retrospective design is to be used, then it would seem imperative that researchers justify its use and indicate measures taken to reduce distortive effects.

In addition to the difficulty of using retrospective data, several other significant problems arise in the empirical assessment of identity formation models when age is taken as a dependent variable. First, and foremost, a chronological ordering of events does not in any way provide evidence of developmental *process* as some theorists claim (e.g., Jandt & Darsey,1981). Secondly, it is evident from Table 3 that there is wide variation amongst individuals experiencing specific aspects of identity formation. Statistical means may not, therefore, be a suitable way of conveying this variability (especially when unaccompanied by standard deviation measures).

Thirdly, and most importantly, several researchers provide data that simply do not fit the chronological model. Dank (1971), for example, found that 20% of his male sample labelled themselves as homosexual in the absence of any sexual contact with another man, while 12% did so while in a relationship with a man calling himself heterosexual. Whitam (1977) found that 49% of his sample

felt homosexual attraction before they learnt about the existence of adult homosexual relationships, 37% felt attraction at the same time they learned of these, and 14% felt attraction after learning the meaning of adult homosexuality. Troiden (Note 11) found that one third of his subjects labelled their sexual feelings as homosexual and themselves as homosexual at the same time. He also noted that 52% said that self-labelling and associating with other gays occurred simultaneously, 41% claimed to have labelled themselves before such associations, while 7% labelled themselves only after social interaction. McDonald (1982) found that 18% of his sample had labelled themselves in the absence of any sexual contact while 10% experienced first sexual contact and labelling at the same time. Involvement in a relationship preceded labelling of self for 23%, while 22% recalled these experiences as happening together. McDonald also found that different cohort groups engaged in milestone events at different times. This points to the need , if using age-based data to verify identity formation models or make comparisons with other studies, to match cohort groups. This does not appear to have been considered by researchers. Weinberg (Note 12) found that on the basis of ordering three milestone events - engaging in sex, suspecting self as homosexual and labelling self as homosexual - he could isolate *four* basic groups or types.

Such discrepancies may, of course, be due to faulty recall, or imprecise definitions of events (e.g.,

associating with other gays can include beats as well as gay pride marches but lumping them together may be misleading). Jandt and Darsey (1981) explain away the variability of age-based results by the suggestion that some individuals do not conform to the general sequence of events. McDonald (1982) however, suggests that,

> *These illustrations provide data that transcend a conception of homosexual identity formation based solely on the occurrence of age-related milestone events.* (p.55)

This author proposes that the discrepancies found in the age-based literature may be accounted for by reference to cognitive processes, and states that "chronological age alone cannot account for the cognitive changes occurring between milestone events...the meanings individuals assign to these events...or the role played by both affectional and sexual fantasies prior to initial homosexual exploration" (p.57). Having drawn such a progressive conclusion, however, McDonald stretches his argument beyond the facts to then claim that homosexual identity formation "cannot emerge in an orderly, stage-sequential fashion...a developmental pattern reflected in traditional models of heterosexual identity" (p.58). To the extent that he is saying we cannot equate homosexual identity formation with maturational theories of childhood development, in which tasks are completed on a time continuum, McDonald could well be correct. However, stage theories are not restricted to the area of early maturational development,

and do not have to focus on the age factor as the core theme running through stage development. To abandon a stage-sequential structure because of the poverty of age-related conceptions of homosexual identity development would appear to be throwing out the baby with the bath water.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

In summary, when measured against a set of criteria considered necessary for the formulation of a theoretically sound model of homosexual identity formation, none of the existing theories can be considered adequate. When a basic requirement for good theory, such as careful definitions of terms, is lacking, then it is hardly surprising that requirements specific to developmental theory are neglected. Such a situation can only be detrimental to the study of homosexual identity. Simply put, it is time theorists came of age. It is no longer enough to take what has been said countless times in the popular literature and rescore it in scientific terms. If the study of homosexual identity formation is to develop in a progressive and innovative direction, then a more vigorous application of theoretical and empirical principles must be applied.

CHAPTER 5

A THEORY OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION*

BACKGROUND

INITIAL STEPS

In 1975 the present author took the first steps which were to eventually lead to the development of a theory of homosexual identity formation. Confronted with clients who experienced anguish over their homosexual feelings, as well as the knowledge that she seemed unable as a therapist to help them, she was forced to begin thinking about the area of homosexual identity. She became aware that there was little in the literature available to her that could explain why some people enjoyed and accepted being homosexual, while others found it so horrendous. In fact, there was little to explain how people adopted the identity of "homosexual" or "gay".

In response to these difficulties, she turned to the gay people themselves, carrying out what was,

* An earlier version of this chapter was published in the Journal of Homosexuality (Cass,1979).

in reality, a field study. She began listening and observing, trying to understand the way in which they viewed themselves and their world. She gathered information from homosexuals for whom gayness meant only pain and self-hatred, from homosexuals who revelled in their gay identity, and from others who fell somewhere in between these two extremes. She spoke to individuals who openly pronounced their homosexuality, and those who did not. She compared people who did not call themselves homosexual with those who had done so for several weeks, months, or years.

After several months of this informal data-collecting, the author began to perceive underlying patterns in what she saw and heard. It soon became evident to her, that there was some commonality in the statements people made regarding their homosexuality. She gradually gathered together a list of these frequently heard phrases. Then, believing they followed a time sequence, she rearranged them, beginning with comments made by those who were just becoming aware of their gay feelings, through to those who had long ago accepted their homosexual identity. What appeared to be emerging was a concept of development that included a series of changes or steps that people seemed to go through in order to adopt a positive homosexual identity. These conclusions represented the initial crude version of what was eventually to be the model presented in this chapter.

To this point, the author had been working in isolation from others, who we have seen in the previous

Chapter, were simultaneously engaged in developing similar models. However, with an invitation to write a paper on her ideas for the Journal of Homosexuality, she began a search of the available literature, finding at that time, (1979) four other models of homosexual identity formation. The published version of the author's model (Cass,1979), was intended to provide a more comprehensive account of the identity process than these models offered.

In the four years since then, the author has gathered together a great deal more literature on homosexual identity formation, (see Chapter 4) and thought a great deal more about the issues surrounding her model. The theory outline presented in this chapter, therefore, while similar in content and structure to the earlier version, has, in fact, been built upon a richer and more sophisticated understanding of the area of identity formation.

FROM OBSERVATIONS TO THEORY

Bromley (1977) has noted that the initial problem of theory construction is that of "putting together in an orderly fashion what we already seem to know from commonsense and established research findings, and to do so in ordinary language" (p.119). As we have seen, the author's preliminary investigations into the area of homosexual identity formation had already led her to organising those pieces of information derived from her observations. In

this sense, then, the process of theory construction had been initiated. It simply needed some expansion upon these ideas in order to develop the first version of the theory (Cass,1979).

In the present chapter, the author has developed the 1979 version even further. This was done specifically to meet the requirements listed in Chapter 4 as necessary for the formulation of a satisfactory theory of homosexual identity formation. A theoretical outline is provided that is intended to answer the "how", "why" and "what" of gay identity development.

A SOCIO-COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

In the present manuscript, homosexual identity formation is described as a socio-cognitive developmental process. Identity as a cognitive phenomenon[15], develops out of perceptions derived from interaction in the social environment. This characterisation is significant because it immediately places the acquisition of a gay identity within several prescribed contexts.

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[15] This refers to identity from the "self-as-object" perspective. It is assumed that there is always a subjective sense or experience of identity that accompanies the "knowing about" self. Our present focus, however, is with the objective view.

SOCIO-COGNITIVE CONTEXT

In Chapter 2, identity was defined as a cognitive phenomenon, of which, self-perceptions or self-attitudes formed the basis. The term "cognition" is defined broadly as "a general concept embracing all forms of knowing" (Chaplin,1973, p.87), and more specifically as "all the processes by which the sensory input is transformed, reduced, elaborated, stored, recovered and used..." (Neisser,1967,p.4). The study of cognition involves the quest for an understanding of how information from the environment is taken in and processed by the individual.

> *People use information to formulate beliefs, goals, and plans, that permit successful transactions with others and the environment.* Schlencker, 1980,p.22)

Researchers in this field are particularly concerned with monitoring changes that take place *within* the individual.

Piagetian theory, although originally intended to apply to child development, offers a view of the role of cognition as helping the individual to adapt to the environment. This conception can usefully be applied to adult development. Cognitions, according to Piagetian theory, function to *organise* information from the environment, as well as to allow the individual to *adapt* to the environment. Adaptation occurs through *assimilation,* changing perceptions of the environment to fit the existing cognitive structure of the individual, and *accommodation,* altering internal structures to fit perceptions of the environment. An equilibrium between these two processes is needed in order for the person to effectively adapt.

The study of the way social factors specifically affect cognitions includes that field of research known as social cognition. In this framework, cognitions are believed to both influence, and be influenced by, social factors. In other words, the interaction between individuals and their social milieu sets up conditions which create changes in self-perceptions. These in turn may bring about changes in behaviour.

In the present manuscript we will be concerned with the presentation of those cognitive processes that take place as a gay identity is developed, and the various social factors and forces that interact with these processes.

DEVELOPMENTAL CONTEXT

Development refers to change that occurs through time (Sigel,1964). Developmental theories traditionally referred to descriptions of *childhood* maturation. In the past decade, however, the concept of "life-span development" has extended this early meaning of development to cover those processes of change occurring throughout an individual's entire life-time(Whitbourne & Weinstock, 1979). Developmental psychology involves firstly the identification and description of those factors within the individual and the individual's environment that account for alterations in specific aspects of her/his functioning; and secondly, an explanation of why these changes take

place.

A further significant change to the meaning of the term 'development' has been its extension into non-age based areas of human growth and change. Various developmental concepts have been adopted, in particular, into clinical and social areas. It is possible to note, for example, developmental aspects that have been incorporated into such diverse areas as the study of group processes (e.g., Bennis & Shepard,1956), psychotherapy changes (e.g., Fagan & Shepherd,1970), career development (e.g., Burack,1984), relationship changes(e.g., Kovacs,1983), the acceptance of death (e.g., Kuhbler-Ross,1981), migrant assimilation (Taft & Doczy,1962), ethnic identity formation (e.g., Shibutani & Kwan,1965), the development of identity as a 'doctor'(e.g., Grose, Goodrick & Czyzewski, 1983), and adjustment to widowhood(e.g., Barrett & Schneweis,1980).

The present formulation of gay identity formation may be placed within the broader context of this non-age based literature. Developing a gay identity is not specific to a particular age but may occur at any point in a person's lifetime.

This does not mean, though, that the age-based developmental literature may not have anything to offer the non-age based areas of research and theory. Many of the principles of childhood theories are broad enough to have application to other developmental areas. This is evident, for example, if we consider models of childhood cognitive development. These are typified by three basic assumptions

(Schell & Hall,1979) which are considered equally relevant to the present non-age based theory: firstly, cognitive changes that are orderly (as opposed to random) take place over time; Secondly, cognitive change is directional; Thirdly, change is cumulative. That is, new forms of functioning are not simply a combination of earlier forms but represent a new organisation of cognitions. In the present model of gay identity formation these assumptions are adopted in general terms.

Kohlberg's (1973) outline of the characteristics of socio-cognitive developmental theory, similarly, is considered equally applicable to the area of homosexual identity formation. He states that:

1. Development involves transformations of cognitive structure (rules for processing information).
2. These transformations occur as a result of processes of interaction between the structure of the organism and the structure of the environment.
3. Cognitive structures are schemata for action.
4. Affective and cognitive development are distinct areas that run parallel to each other, representing different perspectives in defining structural change.
5. Social development due to cognitive transformations involves the restructuring of the (a) concept of self; (b) in its relationship to concepts of other people; (c) conceived as being in a common social world with social standards.
6. Social cognition involves an awareness that the

other is in some way like the self, and that the other knows or is responsive to the self in a system of complementary expectations.

These principles are also seen as relevant to the present model. It should be emphasised that there is no attempt to apply these theories in the strict manner in which they are adopted in the childhood, age-based literature. Rather, it is considered that they present certain useful concepts which, when applied to the area of gay identity development, provide a greater clarity and understanding of the processes involved.

The similarity between a socio-cognitive approach and symbolic interactionism should by now be apparent. Both refer to perceptual changes arising out of interaction between individual and environment. Why, then, opt for the former, when previous theorists have chosen to place homosexual identity formation within an interactionist framework? The reasons are relatively simple. Firstly, the socio-cognitive developmental approach clearly places the focus of attention on the individual, a necessary requirement for the study of identity which we have defined as an intra-individual cognitive configuration. Symbolic interactionism, as adapted to the homosexual context, has mostly concentrated on the "interaction" between individual and social milieu, with greater weight given to "social" than to "symbolic" aspects. Secondly, the developmental approach literally demands that a process of personal change, which leads an individual from one point of

development to another, be outlined. Although symbolic interactionism implies a process concept, the emphasis on development is frequently poorly attended to in the homosexual literature.

In sum, the socio-cognitive approach is a departure from the previous focus on the sociological, and is intended to restore a more realistic and necessary balance between psychological and social factors. The present author has no argument with the symbolic interactionist perspective and sees it as a broad framework within which any theory of human development can be placed.

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

The majority of theories that examine human developmental processes propose that natural divisions occur in the change process which are common amongst individuals.

Various labels have been used to refer to these patterns, those of 'sequence', 'stage', and 'phase' being the most common within psychology and 'career', 'steps', and 'levels' being frequently used in sociology.

While developmental psychologists (especially those interested in childhood development) adhere to fairly strict criteria to define and distinguish terms such as 'stage' and 'sequence' (Flavell,1977; Kessen, 1962; Schell,1975; Wohlwill,1973), researchers and theorists from other areas of psychology and other disciplines are less exact and use whichever term is considered appropriate

to define the segmentation of the change process.

Richardson (1957,1961), for example, uses the word 'stage' to refer to the assimilation process of migrants while Taft & Doczy (1961/2) prefer 'sequence' to describe the same process. At other times, however, Richardson (1967) uses 'sequences' and Taft (1957) refers to 'stages' of assimilation.

The term 'stage' has also been applied to the development of an urban nomad (Spradley,1972), the process of accepting death (Kuhbler-Ross,1981), the acquisition of a Black identity (Cross,1971), and the changing patterns of relating during marriage (Kovacs,1983).

The term 'sequence' has been used to describe the developmental process involved in becoming a marihuana user (Becker,1953), a political criminal (Moran,1977), and a secondary deviant (Lemert,1951). Falek & Britton (1974), on the other hand, describe "stages of the coping sequence".

The term 'phase' has been adopted by Goffman (1978) to outline the development of a self-image and life-style as a mental patient, while Lofland (1969) uses the same term to depict the development of a 'deviant'.

Bruckner (1970), Miller (1978), Becker (1952), and Gussow & Tracy (1971) refer to 'career' to outline such diverse processes as the acquisition of a pregnancy identity, becoming a transvestite, adapting to the stigma of leprosy, and developing a sense of self as a school-teacher.

The present theory utilises the concept of 'stage'

to describe the segmentation of the change process. In this sense it is defined as "a natural or common division of the developmental process..." (Chaplin, 1973), a definition commonly presented in non-age based developmental literature. It thus differs from that specific concept proposed by traditional age-based developmental theory.

The stage concept was adopted because it depicts the notion of a set of factors or behaviours that are organised into a cohesive pattern or picture of part of the developmental process. Each developmental segment can be distinguished from others on the basis of the picture presented by the set of factors appropriate to it. It was considered the best structure for depicting the complex interrelationships hypothesised to exist between cognitive, affectional and behavioural factors.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the concept of stages has been widely adopted in the homosexual identity literature. In addition, it has also been used in other areas of homosexual research. De Vine (1983/4) for example, describes a five stage developmental model of the process experienced in families confronted with accepting a gay member.

Presenting stages of development as typical experiences, (Ainlay & Redfoot,1982/3) or as ideal versions of the developmental sequence allowed the author to put forward a clear theoretical statement of the way she conceived gay identity formation. This was considered a necessary requirement for adequate testing of the theory.

FACTORS DETERMINING IDENTITY CHANGE

In addition to a description of *what* changes take place, an identity change theory requires some explanation of *why* and *how* such changes occur. Later in this chapter, we will outline in detail the "what" of homosexual identity formation. In this section, however, consideration is given to motivational factors ("why") as well as to factors leading to alterations in self-perceptions ("how").

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS IN IDENTITY FORMATION

What leads individuals to change their current way of looking at themselves and to replace it with another? This is the question that has long intrigued self-theorists. For our purposes, we are specifically interested in what motivates people to take on an identity that is largely despised by a majority of people.

In the literature, two motivational systems are described: *The self-consistency motive* and the *self-esteem motive.*

The Self-consistency Motive

According to the self-consistency motive, individuals work towards maintaining a consistent image of self.

> *...an individual's actions, attitudes and his receptivity to information from other*

> *people are strongly affected by a tendency to create and maintain a consistent cognitive state with respect to his evaluations of himself.* (Jones,1973,p.186)

Any experience giving information that is contradictory to the way individuals see themselves is a threat to this self-picture. This is psychologically unpleasant and motivates people to alter either conceptions of self, perception of own behaviour or relationships with others (Secord & Backman,1961,1964,1965). Several well-known theoretical approaches incorporate the need to maintain self-consistency within their frameworks (e.g., Festinger,1957; Lecky,1945; Rogers,1965). Lecky,(1968) for example, noted that,

> *There is a constant compulsion to unify and harmonise the system of ideas by which we live...when an inconsistency is clearly recognised, the individual can be depended upon to make the problem his own and endeavor to alter the system in such a way that consistency is restored.* (p.297)

The Self-esteem Motive

The self-esteem motive, sometimes referred to as the self-enhancement motive, assumes that the individual has a need to develop positive feelings about self while avoiding negative ones (Kaplan,1975a; Rosenberg,1979), that is, "to enhance his self-evaluation and to increase,

maintain, or confirm his feelings of personal satisfaction, worth, and effectiveness" (Jones,1973,p.186).

According to Jones, the need for self-enhancement may arise in response to global self-evaluations or to a particular aspect of self. As with the self-consistency need, the self-esteem motive is brought into play by information gained from own behaviour (overt or covert) as well as from interactions with others. Like the self-consistency motive too, attempts to fulfill the need to enhance self-esteem may involve changes in the individual's evaluation of self, behaviours or relations with others.

Debate has waged as to whether empirical findings favour the self-consistency or the self-esteem motive, and whether one motive is more prominent in human functioning over the other. Although many theorists claim that both exist, (e.g., Brewster-Smith,1968; Middlebrook,1974; Rosenberg,1979; Shrauger,1975), others favour either self-consistency (e.g., Secord & Backman,1961,1964,1965), or self-enhancement (e.g., Jones,1973). Jones (1973) concluded that there was support for both although "the evidence, in general, tends to favour self-esteem theory over self-consistency theory" (p.192). He suggested that self-consistency situations may be interpreted in terms of their implications for future self-esteem enhancement. For example, an individual's striving for self-consistency may be viewed as really enhancing self-esteem by avoiding possible embarrassing or humiliating circumstances. Someone who fears exposure and therefore possible

embarrassment regarding certain personal qualities will be less likely to promote a more positive evaluation of those qualities and more likely to react in what seems to be a self-consistent manner (Archibald & Cohen,1971). Bramel (1968) also proposes that the unpleasant feelings arising from inconsistency are really feelings of unworthiness that can be traced to imagining that others are rejecting of self.

However, Shrauger (1975) suggests that empirical evidence is supportive of the consistency motive when *cognitive* factors are being studied and the self-enhancement motive when *affective* factors are being assessed. In other words, both motives operate under different circumstances. They may also operate concurrently. For example, evidence suggests that information which is inconsistent with initial self-perceptions, is not as readily assimilated as that which is consistent, and is less likely to be perceived as creditable or accepted as an enduring aspect of self. However, on an affective level, such inconsistent information may be highly desirable. A belief that such information is not accurate may, however, override the desire for self-enhancement. Shrauger suggests too, that for someone with low self-esteem, accepting positive information may bring a fear of subsequent loss of esteem or disappointment or the need to justify prior negativeness. Thus, for the low self-esteem individual, accepting positive feedback may bring with it certain costs that need to be first weighed up before any changes are made.

Shrauger's proposal that differences may exist in the way low and high self-esteem individuals receive self-evaluative information is also shared by Kaplan (1975b) who concluded that,

> *Individuals whose need for self-esteem is most unfulfilled will be most likely to be influenced by that need (that is, will change in the direction of increased self-esteem) but will be least likely to fulfill the need through the achievement of absolute level of self-acceptance.* (p.274)

The need to consider individual factors in assessing motivational forces is also stated by Webster and Sobieszek (1974) who suggest that the source of evaluative information is frequently more critical than the content of such information and this may override the need for self-enhancement (or self-maximisation as these authors describe it). "It is crucially important to ask *when, under what circumstances,* and *for what types of people* is self-maximisation most likely?" (p.155).

Middlebrook (1974) also reviews studies that suggest that a person's certainty about own self-evaluation, and relevance of the specific issue or area being considered may also be important factors for consideration.

In summary, the empirical evidence suggests that both the need for self-consistency and the need for self-enhancement should be recognised when examining the area of

human motives. There is some suggestion that these needs may operate under different circumstances although researchers are by no means in agreement as to what these are. Rosenberg (1979) points out that researchers may derive little benefit from trying to establish *which* motive is the more powerful. The issue may be more fruitfully examined from the direction of which circumstances lead to which motive.

For the purposes of this manuscript, the logic of Shrauger's proposal that the self-consistency motive be applied to cognitive reactions and the self-esteem motive to affective reactions is accepted. It is proposed that the acquisition of a homosexual identity entails being confronted with information that is likely to be inconsistent with previously-held self-perceptions, (rarely would an individual grow up with a self-image of "homosexual") and may possibly be threatening to self-esteem (since homosexuality is perceived negatively by many people). It is hypothesised, therefore, that both motives are likely to be in force during the gay identity formation process. Illustrations of the way they are believed to effect growth and development are presented later in the stage outline.

It should be remembered too, that desired self-images, arising out of peoples' ability to distinguish between how they see themselves and how they want to be, represent a source upon which the two motivational forces may operate. Desired self-images represent a picture of self that differs (in varying degrees for different people)

from the "actual" self-images held. In this sense they introduce into the self-system an inconsistency that may act as a motivating force. Similarly, desired self-images may invoke the self-esteem motive since they represent images of self that are equated with positive self-feelings. In the homosexual context, a held image of self as "homosexual" and desired image as "heterosexual" is believed to introduce a clearly inconsistent element into the individual's cognitive schema creating a situation tha demands some resolution. Similarly, where a "heterosexual" image is considered desirable while a "homosexual" extant image is evaluated less positively, then the motive to increase self-enhancement may be invoked.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO COGNITIVE CHANGE

In Chapter 4 we saw that few theorists of homosexual identity formation made any attempt to describe how an individual's image of self actually changes. In most cases, the assumption was that behaving in a "homosexual" way could lead to cognitive changes. What factors might prompt this development was, however, largely ignored.

In the literature, two general factors have been proposed to account for the way in which self-conceptions are altered: Cognitive dissonance and self-attribution.

Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Cognitive dissonance draws upon the same theoretical bases as that described in the previous section for self-consistency theory. When an individual displays behaviour that implies a different picture of self than is, in fact, held, the resulting inconsistency creates a state of dissonance within the individual which is psychologically uncomfortable (Fazio, Zanna & Cooper,1977; Higgins, Rhodewalt & Zanna,1979). The degree of felt dissonance will depend on the importance attached to the self-perceptions in question, as well as the degree to which dissonant as opposed to consonant cognitions are highlighted (Sherwood, Barron & Fitch,1972).

In order to reduce the discomfort generated, strategies will be engaged in which may require cognitive changes either in self-conceptions or in meanings attached to the behaviour. In other words, individuals may change their self-images to fit in with the image of self believed to be indicated by their behaviour, or may change the meaning attached to such behaviour in order that the self-image it predicted no longer holds true. Several factors determine which of these lines of action might be taken. Sherwood, Barron and Fitch (1972) suggest that the degree of concreteness or abstractness of the self-cognition, whether it is a private or public aspect of self, the degree of ambiguity or clarity with which the implied self-image is perceived, the number of other aspects of self with

which a changed self-perception would become dissonant, and the importance of the new cognition in terms of the person's value system will all be influential.

The use of cognitive dissonance to explain cognitive changes in individuals towards accepting a homosexual identity, is particularly attractive. Exhibiting behaviour which can be labelled "homosexual" prompts the individual to consider a self-image that is incongruous with heterosexual conceptions of self (generally assumed by most people). Such a situation is one that readily fits the dissonance model.

Self-perception Theory

An alternative proposal to cognitive dissonance was presented by Bem (1967) entitled *self-perception theory*. This takes as its starting point, attribution theory (Kelley,1967)[16] and claims that individuals infer notions about themselves from observing their own behaviour and the conditions under which it occurs. Thus, where counterattitudinal behaviour occurs, self-attribution takes place resulting in the replacement of previous self-perceptions with new self-perceptions, that are in line with this behaviour. Such attributions are based

[16] According to attribution theory, (Kelley,1967) individuals observe the world around them, gathering together information regarding objects and events. On the basis of these observations they formulate hypotheses or explanations about what is occurring. New observations then become the basis for testing out these hypotheses. It is believed that because people want to understand events, they attribute a relationship between some event and a source.

on careful examination of all variables.

Thus, in contrast to cognitive dissonance theory which introduces the concept of an aversive tension which creates change in the course of being resolved, self-perception theory "concerns the passive inference of attitudinal dispositions from behaviour" (Fazio, Zanna, & Cooper,1977,p.465).

The two theories have frequently been viewed as competing, with researchers attempting to prove whichever one they prefer. Despite the presentation in the literature of a number of studies designed to test which is the more accurate of the two (e.g., D. Green,1974; Ross & Shulman, 1973; Snyder & Ebbesen,1972), no clear picture has emerged.

Fazio et al (1977) suggest that the reason for this result is that each theory is best applied to somewhat different areas. The proposition that choosing to perform attitude-discrepant behaviour elicits psychological discomfort, has been, according to these authors, supported in the literature. "The findings cast serious doubt on the self-perception view that people infer their attitudes from counterattitudinal behaviour without experiencing aversive motivational pressure" (p.467). Evidence for the self-perception theory, they maintain, points to its relevance to situations where demonstrated attitude change is in the direction of greater favourability to the position advocated. These authors conclude that self-perception theory is best applied to *attitude congruent* behaviour and cognitive dissonance to *attitude discrepant* behaviour.

In order to distinguish between the application of dissonance and attribution factors, Fazio et al drew upon the work of Sherif and his colleagues (e.g., Sherif & Hovland,1961) who proposed the notion of *latitudes of acceptance and rejection.* The latitude of acceptance was defined as the range of positions on an attitudinal continuum that was acceptable (congruent) to an individual. In terms of self attitudes, Self-perception theory was considered to be applicable when considering self-attitudes that fell within an individual's latitude of acceptance. The range of unacceptable (incongruous) positions was defined as the latitude of rejection and it is this domain to which dissonance theory can be applied.

In the homosexual context, both self-perception and cognitive dissonance theory are, on logical grounds, likely to be relevant since it cannot be assumed that homosexual behaviour is necessarily incongruous with self-conceptions. In the present manuscript, each is considered significant to the identity formation process and this will be further developed in the outline of the stages presented later in this chapter. In general, both cognitive dissonance and self-attribution are believed to contribute to cognitive changes throughout the developmental process. However, in the latter stages of development it is proposed that self-attribution will play a greater part than dissonance as the discrepancy between behaviour and identity is lessened.

SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF SELF-KNOWLEDGE

Our interest, recalling earlier discussion in this chapter, is with a *socio-cognitive* orientation towards identity. Such an orientation requires that some consideration be given to understanding the way social influences may be brought to bear upon self-knowledge.

Each of the broad change theories, cognitive dissonance and self-perception (attribution) take as their starting point the self-knowledge or self-cognitions held by the individual with regard to a particular aspect of self. These self-cognitions, although representative of internal aspects of the individual, cannot be divorced from the social environment within which the individual currently lives, and was raised.

The social environment essentially gives *meaning* to what would otherwise be unnamed sensory experience. In engaging in some activity, the person receives sensory feedback. In order to label this experience, the individual must draw upon meanings that have been prescribed by the social environment.

> *...one's own behaviour, in itself, is not informative because it provides raw sensation that has no inherent meaning. Whatever is found in the behaviour must essentially be 'read into' it.*
> (Gergen,1977,p.150)

This meaning is generated by social forces, although the

individual plays an active role in the processing of personal information (Rogers, Kuiper & Kirken,1977).

AN INTERACTIONAL MODEL

Secord and Backman (1974) have presented a conceptualisation of the interaction between individuals and their social milieu which is considered useful to our understanding of the factors involved in gay identity development. Figure 1 illustrates Secord and Backman's proposals[17]. According to this model, the individual's interpersonal (that is, immediate) social environment is established out of the social structure (cultural, normative and institutional forces). This is the social milieu with which the individual is in direct contact. As a result of interaction with the interpersonal environment, images of how others are believed to view the self are formed. These, in turn, interact with self-perceptions already held, which through cognitive processes may then become modified. Characteristics of, and changes in, the intrapersonal structure itself, may lead the individual to modify the interpersonal environment, (which in turn, may allow for further changes in the intrapersonal structure).

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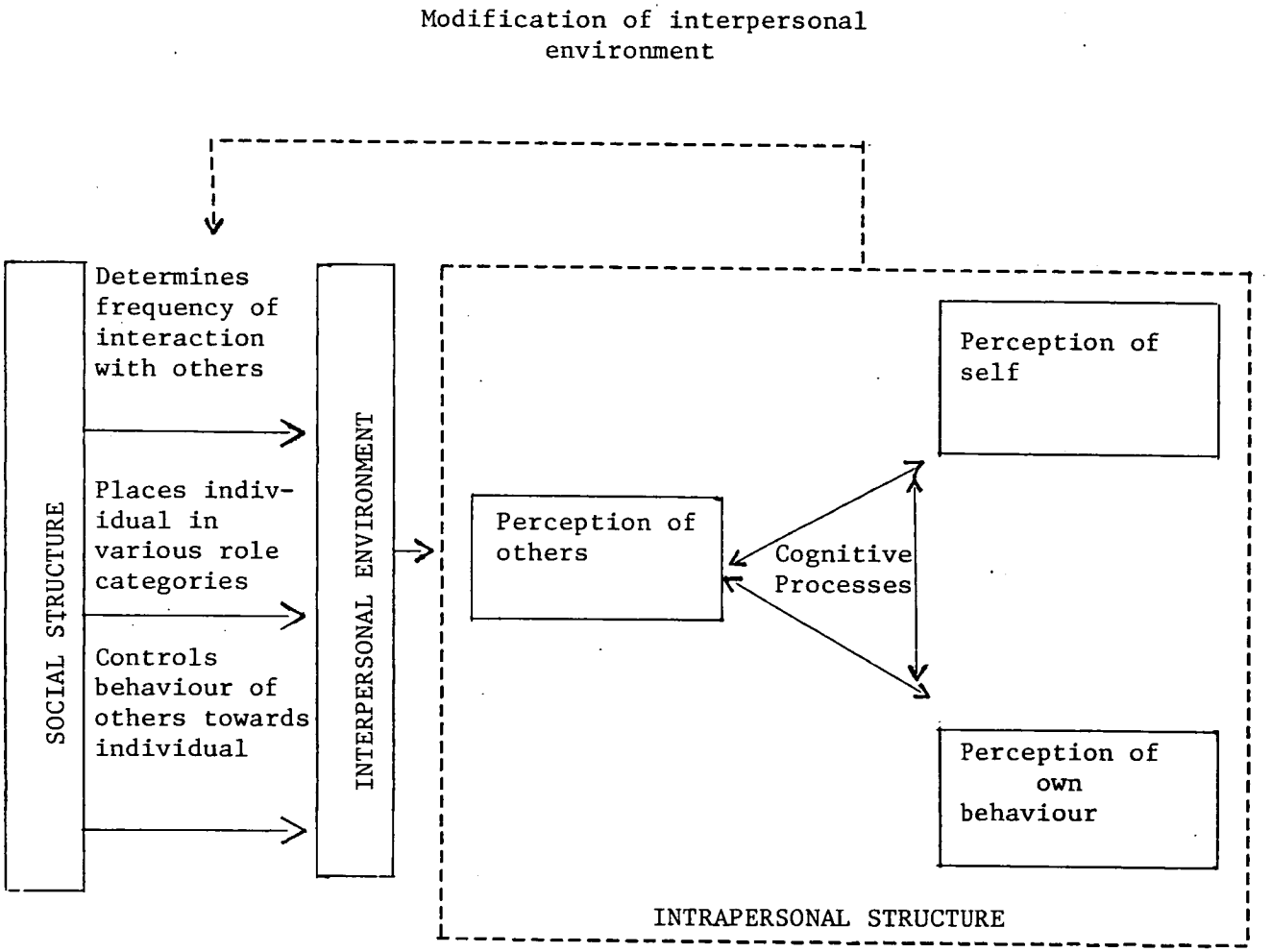
[17] The present author has expanded upon Secord and Backman's original diagram, (Secord & Backman,1974,p.547) in order that it may be understood when taken out of the context of the original text.



(Adapted from Secord & Backman,1974)

FIGURE 1

Interrelationships between social structure and the individual leading to personal stability and change.

The individual thus plays an active role in the development of self-conceptions although this role is restricted to the broad confines dictated by the social structure.

The Secord and Backman model is considered appropriate to the study of homosexual identity, since it incorporates an interactionist perspective while giving equal weight to psychological as well as social factors. Dannecker (1981) has criticised the use of the symbolic interactionist framework in the study of homosexuals on the grounds that focus is almost entirely on social factors. He acclaims, "the mental and the social are inseparably bound together here" (p.78). Hooker (1967) earlier made the same point:

> *The homosexual community or world and the kinds of persons who travel those paths and live in that world cannot be treated as independent of each other....For many, the stability of the commitment appears to be a function of the interaction of both sets of variables.* (p.169)

The literature refers to two general methods by which individuals allow the interpersonal environment to exert influence on their self-perceptions. These have been commonly termed reflected appraisals and comparative appraisals.

REFLECTED APPRAISAL

Reflected appraisal refers to the situation where an individual is influenced by the attitudes of others towards the self, and comes in time to view him/herself in the same way. Rosenberg, (1979) reports considerable evidence for the notion that individuals are strongly influenced by the way others view them. This may come about in three ways. Firstly, others' direct responses and judgements may be used as a critical source of information regarding self. Secondly, our imagination of what another thinks of us, our interpretation of the actions of others, (Cooley's looking-glass self) can be particularly influential (more so than direct appraisals). Thirdly, by holding a picture of the "generalised other" (a concept put forward, as we have noted, by Mead), it is possible for individuals to see themselves from the broad perspective of (all) others. Cognitive processing of self-images does not have to wait upon the presence of others, but may occur via the *symbolic* expression of the attitudes which others are believed to hold about us (Gergen,1977).

Not all reflected appraisals are influential in bringing about change. In general, appraisals given by people perceived as important (significant others) and credible, are more likely to have the greatest impact upon self-conceptions (Schlenker,1980).

COMPARATIVE APPRAISAL

Another means by which the individual may be influenced by the interpersonal environment involves comparing self with others (Festinger,1954).

> *...people judge and evaluate themselves by comparing themselves to certain individuals, groups or social categories.* (Rosenberg,1979,p.68)

In other words, the simple presence of others, or knowledge of their existence, can influence self-conceptions. Comparison with others lends itself to the ascription of "similar" or "different" which, in turn, contains significant implications for the way self-conceptualisations are evaluated (Gergen,1977).

People chosen to be comparison targets are usually those designated as significant others who are also perceived as creditable (therefore, respected and valued) and whose approval is desired. Significant others tend to belong to the individual's reference groups, that is, groups whose perspectives are adopted by the individual as a frame of reference (Shibutani,1955). Individuals are not automatically influenced by others' actions or opinions, and various interpersonal factors must be present in the situation for another to be seen as significant enough to warrant consideration in the development of self-conceptions.

Thus, individuals may be influenced by factors in

their social environment with regard to self-perceptions adopted. However, the degree of influence exerted by others' views of self or perceived others' views of self is tempered by a variety of personal and interpersonal variables.

OVERVIEW OF THEORY

Having prepared the theoretical "stage" upon which the author's model of homosexual identity formation is to be presented, we can now turn to a description of the proposed developmental process.

It is proposed that there are six stages of development that all individuals move through in order to acquire an identity of "homosexual" or "gay" that is fully integrated within the individual's overall sense of self. The process begins with the individual's acknowledgement that her/his behaviour may have a homosexual meaning. It ends with the completed development of a typological identity of "homosexual" or "gay". Such an identity no longer holds a pivotal status for the individual, but rather, is accepted positively as one aspect of self, and has significance and salience relative to all other identities.

Over the course of the six stages, cognitive

changes occur in those self-images that relate to the individual's sexual orientation. These changes are precipitated by behavioural and affectional experiences that result from interaction with the environment. The cognitive changes, in turn, create further changes in the individual's behavioural and emotional responses. Each stage brings with it increasing clarity, strength and positive evaluation of homosexual self-images. Perceived support for these self-attitudes by others also increases.

As do other stage theories, (Lerner,1976) the present model works from the premise that the stages of identity formation are *universal*. That is, all people are believed to go through the same stages, and will do so in a fixed order or sequence. The ordering of the stages is held to be invariable - stages cannot be skipped or reordered (however, some behavioural responses found in earlier stages may be exhibited on occasions as a strategy for dealing with a specific environmental situation).

The rationale behind the assumption of invariability of stage progression takes in the idea that cognitive development, the central process of identity formation, is, itself, invariable. That is, having developed an understanding of self as a particular sort of person, it is not possible to retreat to a previously naive state.

A person cannot return to an earlier level of self-perception. Strauss (1959) describes this general principle in the following way:

> *Terminological shifts necessitate, but also stabilise, new evaluations: of self and others, of events, acts and objects, and the transformation of perception is irreversible, once having changed, there is no going back, but he can evaluate only from his new status.* (p.92)

Within the homosexual context, when someone moves from a self-image of "heterosexual" to one of "I'm probably a homosexual", it is not possible for that person to regress through the stages to the previous state of awareness. It *is* possible, however, if an individual does not wish to accept self as "probably a homosexual", that s/he may *foreclose* at the stage of homosexual identity formation already reached. Foreclosure refers to the termination of development by the individual concerned, and may occur at any stage in the identity formation process. When foreclosure takes place, the person may begin to develop an alternative identity (such as "bisexual", "asexual" etc.). S/he would then begin to proceed through similar stages of cognitive development described in the model, but with reference to the new identity rather than that of "homosexual".

In essence, the process involved in the acquisition of a homosexual identity is one of self-identity *change*, in which a previously held image of sexual orientation is replaced with a new one, that of "homosexual".

Stage progression is not an all-or-none event

where people make huge qualitative leaps in personal growth. Rather, the transitions from stage to stage are gradual. Cognitions of the previous stage are gradually replaced with new ones pertinent to the next stage. Emotional and behavioural responses relating to the new cognitions are also acquired gradually. Stages, as Kohlberg (1973) claims, are "hierarchical integrations" (p.353). That is, later stages displace (reintegrate) those cognitive structures (and attendent affective and behavioural responses) found in earlier stages.

In the present model, individual differences in the homosexual identity formation process are described in three areas:

1. The rate of progression through the stages which may be influenced by a variety of personal and social factors.
2. The final level of development reached. As noted earlier, identity foreclosure is possible at each stage of the developmental process where the individual concerned may simply choose not to develop any further.
3. Paths of development taken and strategies adopted within each stage. Although the stage sequence is set, *within* each stage several alternative paths of development are described. These are hypothesised to arise out of varying types and degrees of cognitive and emotional responses to life experiences. Various strategies

> or modes of coping, are available to individuals as they move through each stage of development, the choice of which will depend on a number of personal factors.

Individuals play an *active* role in the acquisition of a homosexual identity. This may be evident in the way they choose to process cognitions, in the evaluations adopted, and behaviours chosen to express personal needs. As Fernbach (1981) noted,

> *...it would be quite wrong to reduce our gayness to something simply thrust upon us from outside. As we grow up, we have still to make a choice whether to live 'according to our nature', or to make the effort to force ourselves into the behaviour prescribed for us.* (p.83)

For Fernbach, the individual has to decide whether to live as a homosexual or try and act like a heterosexual. In the present model, the individual is also given the responsibility of actively participating at every level of the identity formation process. S/he has choice in which aspect of development is followed. In this sense, "choice" is used in the manner of the existentialists who stress the concept of "free will" as a fundamental part of human functioning.

As a result of identity development, the individual experiences changes in her/his interaction with the social environment. The most significant of these

changes involves the learning of a homosexual role.

Unlike most other theories of homosexual identity formation, the present outline makes reference to both male and female homosexuals. It is hypothesised that both groups will proceed through the same stage sequence, although females are likely to take different developmental routes and use different behavioural strategies to males, as a result of the unique form of sex-role socialisation experienced by each gender group.

STAGES OF HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

We turn, now, to a more detailed outline of the stages, and the changes that take place as the individual progresses through them. The six stages are titled in order:

Identity Confusion.

Identity Comparison.

Identity Tolerance.

Identity Acceptance.

Identity Pride.

Identity Synthesis.

These will be described in considerably more detail than have other models. This has been considered desirable in order that the distinctions between the stages

may be fully explored.

THE PRE-IDENTITY CONTEXT (Table 3B)

In order to understand the developmental path taken by those who go on to adopt a typological identity of "homosexual" or "gay", we must first consider the context in which the initial stage of identity formation first emerges. It seems unlikely, as McCall & Simmons (1978) point out, that we can fully comprehend the meaning for the individual of taking on an identity if we have no conception of how it fits into her/his present life circumstances.

In industrial societies, one of the most prominent features of childhood (and adult) socialisation is the promotion of the heterosexual self-identity and role as the ideal to be aspired to by all individuals. Not only is heterosexuality presented as the ideal, but *anticipatory socialisation* of the heterosexual social type is clearly a key aspect of the socialisation process encountered by all individuals. Anticipatory socialisation (Clausen,1968; McCall & Simmons, 1978) refers to the learning of social roles that will be played out at some future date. This may include active rehearsal of the role, learning the role contents, daydreaming, forecasting self in future situations etc. Anticipatory socialisation leads to "the gleaning of notions about all aspects of the role:

TABLE 3A

Pre-Stage 1: Summary of characteristics

1. Assumption of "heterosexual" identity, which may or may not be seen as desirable.
2. Holding "heterosexual" identity infers being a part of majority, like everyone else.
3. Anticipatory socialisation of heterosexual social type.
4. Heterosexuality taught as acceptable and desirable.
5. Heterosexuality and asexuality the only acceptable outlets for sexual expression.
6. Homosexuality taught as a stigmatised status.
7. No anticipatory socialisation of homosexual social type except for teaching of negative stereotype.
8. Homosexuality unacceptable as outlet for sexual expression.
9. Homosexual and heterosexual identities seen as opposing and alternative identities.
10. Assumption of identity as "not homosexual".
11. Range of acceptance of homosexuals and homosexuality.

The performances that seem to portray it, the self-expectations and social expectations that it involves, and the self-conceptions and perspectives on social objects germane to it" (McCall & Simmons,1978,p.209). The "heterosexual" social category is rarely presented in society in a way that makes an individual conscious of holding a "heterosexual" identity. Rather, it is portrayed in a subtle and pervasive manner so that such an identity is simply *assumed*. Frequently, there is no conscious recognition that such an identity is held. Schlenker (1980) suggests that under these circumstances, "blind adherence" (p.32) to the heterosexual role results.

Thus most individuals, prior to giving homosexual meaning to their behaviour (a situation which, as we will see, initiates the developmental process), are likely to see themselves as implicitly "heterosexual". Accompanying such a self-image is a further implicit assumption, namely, that being heterosexual means being a part of the "majority", being like everyone else.

This does not, of course, mean that a heterosexual self-perception is necessarily desired. The evaluation given to a heterosexual identity may vary from those who feel really positive through to those who thoroughly dislike it. Desirability of such an identity may be related to several factors. For example, a person may find a heterosexual identity unappealing at an intrapersonal level because of negative models presented by significant others in her/his life; on an interpersonal

level because of poor social skills for expressing such an identity; or on a socio-cultural level because s/he belongs to and strongly supports a group that denigrates such an identity.

Equally as pervasive as the socialisation into heterosexuality is the teaching about homosexuals. Generally speaking, the homosexual "type" is given little, if any, positive value and is usually presented as a stigmatised status (Steffensmeier & Steffensmeier,1974). Other than the teaching of the homosexual stereotype, there is no anticipatory socialisation of how to be a homosexual (act out a homosexual role) as there is with the heterosexual social category (Dank,1973, Note 2). Hetero-sexuality and, in certain circumstances, asexuality, are portrayed as the only acceptable outlets for sexual expression. Indeed, some authors (e.g., Hoffman,1968; Weinberg,1973) suggest that a *dread* of homosexuality (homophobia) is a uniform characteristic of contemporary Western society, taught as part of childhood and adult socialisation. Since, as we noted in Chapter 1, the view commonly taken of sexual preference is that it is dichotomous (someone is either heterosexual *or* homosexual), individuals implicitly learn that heterosexuality and homosexuality are opposing and alternative ways of being[18].

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[18] Despite moves by some groups to either expand this into a trichotomy (adding the category of bisexual) or sidestep it altogether, (homosexual and heterosexual become points on sexuality continuums) the fact is that the "either/or" perspective remains paramount in popular thinking.

Thus, the individual who begins to move through the gay identity formation process has already been heavily socialised by, and into, a society that is anti-homosexual and pro-heterosexual, and is likely to hold, as a result, an initial image of self as heterosexual and non-homosexual.

> *The conspiracy of silence prevailed. Identity was presumed to be heterosexual unless proven otherwise and you couldn't afford to be so proven and so for all social purposes we were all heterosexual. There was no lesbian identity...we were all heterosexually identified and that's the way we thought of ourselves, even of course when doing otherwise.* (Johnston,1974,pp.58,59).

Of course, the degree to which certain people actually perceive homosexuals in a negative light also varies. However, given the extensive and intensive homophobic conditioning from society, a large percentage of individuals grow up holding views that partially or wholly approximate the homosexual stereotypes described in Chapter 1.

While there are indications of changes toward a more positive view of homosexuals (Staats,1978) the negative component still remains in the minds of many people. This is particularly so of males. Evidence for the effect of the stereotype on behaviour is found in several studies. When subjects are asked to rate individuals whom they believe to be homosexual, they will predictably rate them less favourably, more stereotypically and more

dissimilar to self, than non-homosexuals (Gross, Green, Storck & Vanyur,1980; Gurwitz & Marcus,1978; Krulewitz & Nash,1980; Laner & Laner,1980; Morin & Garfinckle,1978). Gurwitz and Marcus (1978) found that male subjects showed a more negative reaction when they anticipated interaction with male homosexuals than did females with lesbians. Gross et al (1980) noted that homosexuals were judged most negatively by persons of the same sex. Overall, males tend to react more strongly toward male homosexuals than females do towards lesbians. Karr (1978) found that this reaction of males even included physically moving away from the identified homosexual.

Several attitudinal factors have been found to affect the degree to which a person will react to homosexuals. Krulewitz and Nash (1980), for example, found that those with traditional views of sex-roles were less accepting of homosexuals than those with more liberal views. McDonald and Games (1974) found that individuals who were cognitively rigid, authoritarian and had a low tolerance for ambiguity were less accepting of homosexuals than those who were not. Reactions towards gay people can also be reinforced by groups to which a person is, or feels, affiliated with. Since human beings tend to join those with whom they believe they share common attitudes, it is highly likely that negative views on homosexuals will be shared and strengthened by particular group membership.

With few exceptions, the person who comes to develop a gay identity has been as well indoctrinated with

society's prejudices towards homosexuals, as those who do not. Unlike Blacks, Jews or the congenitally blind, who from birth are presented with an awareness of minority group membership, homosexuals begin life bound by the "heterosexual assumption" (Aiken,1976; Ponse,1978). It is *assumed* they will hold a heterosexual identity, and all aspects of society work to reinforce this belief. Membership in the "heterosexual" category is rarely questioned by individuals. The would-be homosexual grows up heavily socialised in the heterosexual expectation as well as in the prejudices against homosexuals.

Thus, society has clearly set the stage against which the development of a gay identity must be played. *How* it is played, at least in the early scenes, depends on the degree to which the stage setting is adopted and valued by the performers concerned. It is to an account of these stage developments that we now turn.

In the following pages, each stage and the paths of development available to the individual in that stage, will be described in turn. For each stage, a table has been drawn up, summarising the most significant features.

STAGE 1: IDENTITY CONFUSION (Table 3C)

In simple terms, Stage 1 begins when the individual recognises "there's something about my behaviour/ thoughts/feelings that could be called homosexual" and ends when s/he proclaims "I may be a homosexual".

Throughout their daily lives, people encounter information about homosexuals and homosexuality. The majority probably perceive this kind of information as

TABLE 3B

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 1

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment*	Personal meaning given to information about homosexuals or homosexuality - connection between information and self. "There is something about my behaviour/feelings/thoughts that could be called. homosexual. With increasing clarity of perception leads to "Who am I", "Am I a homosexual", "I may be a homosexual", "Am I really a heterosexual". Earliest degree of commitment	Some conduct strategies to inhibit behaviour.	Range of feelings from surprise, confusion to shock, turmoil, hatred.

* These dimensions were identified and named by the author (See section headed Operationalisation of the Theory for Research Purposes).

TABLE 3B (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Disclosure		Rarely shares information re self with others - sometimes a therapist. Focus on defining meaning of behaviour rather than sharing meaning. Presented identity = heterosexual.	Some are afraid of other's reactions.
Identity Evaluation	Negative stereotypes may form part of cognitive picture by which own behaviour defined as gay.		Range of perceptions of homosexuality from positive to negative. Own heterosexual behaviour may/may not be valued positively. Imagines others would view homosexual behaviour negatively.
Group Identification	No sense of belonging to homosexual groups. Little similarity seen between self and gays. Most see self as belonging to heterosexual majority. May see self as similar to heterosexuals - some do not.		

TABLE 3B (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Alienation	Feels different from others on basis of behaviour		Feelings of personal alienation and confusion
Inconsistency	Meaning of behaviour now incongruent with perception self and of others' view of self.		Discomfort, arousal as result of cognitive dissonance.
Sexual Orientation Activity	Some will want further homosexual contact to clarify meaning of behaviour. Some will want to reduce homosexual activity but cannot.	May reduce erotic/emotional/ sexual activity (homosexual) to change meaning of behaviour or may seek further contacts to clarify meaning.	Range of enjoyment of homosexual erotic, emotional and sexual activity.
Acculturation		Little if any open participation in the gay subculture.	
Deference to others	Heterosexual view and heterosexuals seen as important. Homosexual viewpoint and homosexuals given little significance.		

TABLE 3B (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behaviour	Affective
Dichotomisation	Homosexual and heterosexual behaviour seen as distinct and separate parts of self.		
Strategies		Some attempt to inhibit erotic, emotional and/or sexual behaviour. Some seek further information to clarify meaning.	
Professional Contact		Professional help rarely sought.	

personally irrelevant, but some find themselves attentive to such input, and assign personal meaning to it, claiming it as significant to themselves.

An assignation of meaning occurs "when a stimulus event is cognitively processed and located with reference to previously acquired meanings" (Horrocks & Jackson,1972,p.56). That is, a connection is made between the "stimulus event" and categories of information constructed from previous learning experiences. Gergen (1977) terms these categories *conceptual templates* because they act as frameworks for organising and evaluating new incoming information. Conceptual categories relevant to the self have been collectively termed the self-schemata (Markus,1977) and represent a conceptual system against which all experiences involving the self can be considered, evaluated and organised.

> *...self-knowledge is best understood as the application of a conceptual system, embedded as it is within the social system, to a given field of sense data.*
> (Gergen,1977,p.144)

The process involved in the assignation of personal relevance to information on homosexuality is hypothesised to take the following cognitive steps.

1. The information being received is put into the category of "homosexual". This perception arises out of consideration of the homosexual classificatory template uniquely held by each individual. The information is checked against it and, where it fits, is assigned "homosexual" meaning. Information can

derive from external or internal (e.g., bodily responses sources). The significance of societal forces is likely to be apparent here. Firstly, among groups (e.g., children) who are denied information regarding homosexuality, a homosexual classification system would not be expected to exist.[19]

> *...since information about lesbianism is suppressed by society, she may not know what her emotions mean, what name is applied to them.* (Abbott & Love,1973,p.24)

> *Few of us have been raised to be more than vaguely aware that lesbianism exists, much less that it could be a viable alternative. As a result, it may never occur to her that she is "in love" with the other woman.* (Lehman,1978,p.22)

Secondly, ideas surrounding homosexuals, as noted previously, are heavily weighted in the direction of negative, stereotypical characteristics and these are bound to find their way into individual's cognitive categorisations of homosexuality. However, such categorisations do not necessarily have to represent the uncritical introjection of society's views. It is possible for an individual to modify what has been learned during socialisation in favour of a personal understanding of homosexuality that is more positive.

2 A connection is made between such information and self: When the source of the information, now classified as homosexual, is perceived to be the self, the individual develops an acute awareness that some aspect of own

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19 In reality it seems unlikely that even some simple system could fail to exist beyond a certain age. However, very little is known of the development of conceptual templates of homosexuality or of the ages at which they are formulated.

behaviour (either overt as in kissing, sexual contact etc. or covert as in the case of thoughts, emotional and physiological responses) is being linked with her/his own cognitive understanding of "what is a homosexual". The necessary requirement for this step is the ability and/or willingness of the person concerned to perceive that it is from him/herself that the information has emanated. Without this, no link can be made. For example, it is possible for people to behave in ways that may be classified as homosexual (by some others) but where there is no personal meaning assigned. Women, for example, often have a clear classificatory system for defining homosexuality, but lack the vocabulary for labelling their own sensuality, and therefore, the facility for identifying their own behaviour as homosexual. Similarly, others may label someone's behaviour as homosexual without that person accepting her/his behaviour as homosexual.

3. When a conscious link is made between information, own behaviour and conceptual system, homosexual meaning is assigned to that behaviour, if only for a fleeting moment.

Although such cognitive processes have not been outlined previously, the researcher Storms (1979,1980, 1981) has found that those individuals who experience erotic fantasies with a predominantly homosexual theme were likely to label themselves "gay". From this he concluded that such fantasies formed a significant information source from which self-attribution about sexual

orientation identity was made. He does not outline the process by which this labelling takes place. Gender characteristics (e.g., 'masculine' and 'feminine' attributes and behaviours were found to be irrelevant to self-attribution as "gay".

There are some serious problems with Storm's conclusions. Essentially, his research established that people who called themselves 'gay' were likely to have homoerotic fantasies, and those calling themselves 'straight' as having heteroerotic fantasies. His conclusion that "erotic fantasies alone account almost totally for...sexual orientation self-attributions" (1979,p.175) infer a causal relationship between the two variables that goes beyond the data he describes . He does not consider, for example, that erotic fantasy content may change with the process of self-attribution.

However, from her own experience in counselling those in the early stages of identity development, the present author has observed that people are frequently able to describe fairly clearly homoerotic themes in their fantasies. These in turn <u>may</u>, but not always, prompt thoughts about what this means in terms of sexual orientation identity. While professional experience may suggest, therefore, the significance of erotic fantasy in the identity formation process, this has yet to be shown at an empirical level.

The cognitive processes described are highly significant to homosexual identity formation for when a person decides

"my behaviour may be called homosexual", the first step toward identity development is begun. Individuals may differ in the significance they initially attribute to this first encountering experience[20]. With continuing personalisation of information, however, awareness would be expected to grow to the point where it cannot be ignored. The realisation that behaviour (feelings, thoughts or actions) can be defined as homosexual presents an incongruent element into a previously-held perception of self (as noted earlier, this is likely to be of self as "heterosexual"). Paradoxically, we would expect that the more convincingly that assignation of homosexual meaning is made, the more the individual will be aware of the inconsistency and the psychological discomfort (dissonance) it carries with it. Confusion and turmoil will then be experienced.

The intensity of these emotions cannot be ignored, and would be expected to force the individual to try and make some sense of what is happening. According to attribution theory, as we noted earlier, people will attempt to find explanations for their own behaviour (Bem,1967; Kelley,1967). An individual, confronted with the fact that s/he has assigned homosexual

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[20] Blumstein and Schwartz (1977a), report that single homosexual contacts are more likely to lead to the attribution of homosexual meaning for men than for women. Other writers (e.g., Hedblom, 1972; Simon & Gagnon,1970) have found too, that emotional involvement with someone of the same sex is more likely to act as a signifying factor for women than men. For Storms (1979), however, erotic fantasies of a homosexual nature were found to be an important factor in self-attribution for all men, and 80% of women.

meaning to her/his behaviour will, therefore, make attempts to develop a causal analysis of this situation[21].

Given the circumstances we have described, what type of explanation might be indicated? An answer to this question is offered by Matza (1969) who pointed out that acting in a particular way ("doing") is invariable linked by the concept of essentiality to identity("being"). That is, when someone behaves in a certain way, s/he is persuaded, (by what Matza sees as an economising of language which encourages a direct relationship between "doing" and "being") to consider such behaviour as indicative of the holding of the relevant identity. Matza refers to this move from "doing" to "being" as *signification*[22], meaning "to *stand for* in the sense of representing or exemplifying" (p.156). He uses the example of the person who, having committed a theft, then asks "am I a thief?"

> *To be signified a thief is to lose the blissful identity of one who among other things happens to have committed a theft. It is a movement, however gradual toward being a thief and representing theft.* (p.156)

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[21] Storms (1979) and Blumstein and Schwartz (1979b) are amongst the few writers on homosexuality to refer to attribution theory for an understanding of the application of homosexual meaning to own behaviour.

[22] As noted in Chapter 4, several homosexual identity theorists have adopted this term although not always with the specific meaning given it by Matza.

The prescription of identity thus becomes used as *explanation* of the behaviour.

Returning again to the homosexual context, we may hypothesise that the seeking of an explanation of how homosexual behaviour fits into an understanding of self leads the individual to ask the question "If my behaviour may be called homosexual, does this mean that I could be a homosexual?" In other words, consideration is given to a *potential* self-identity of homosexual. Since this is clearly at odds with the previous view of self as non-homosexual and heterosexual, the questions "Who am I?", "Am I really heterosexual?" become paramount. Because of the dichotomous way in which homosexuality and heterosexuality are characterised, consideration of the possibility that a homosexual self-image might be relevant to self, infers simultaneously the possibility that the assumed heterosexual identity may not be valid. As a result of this self-questioning, a strong sense of self-alienation develops, "a noxious feeling arising when overt actions are detached or inconsistent with underlying conceptions of self" (Gergen,1971,p.87).

In tracing the developments of Stage 1 from assignation of homosexual meaning through to consideration of a potential identity of homosexual, it is possible to hypothesise two basic lines of development that present themselves as logical outcomes to acknowledging own behaviour as "homosexual" (Figure 2). One of these will be taken by those who find the "homosexual" meaning

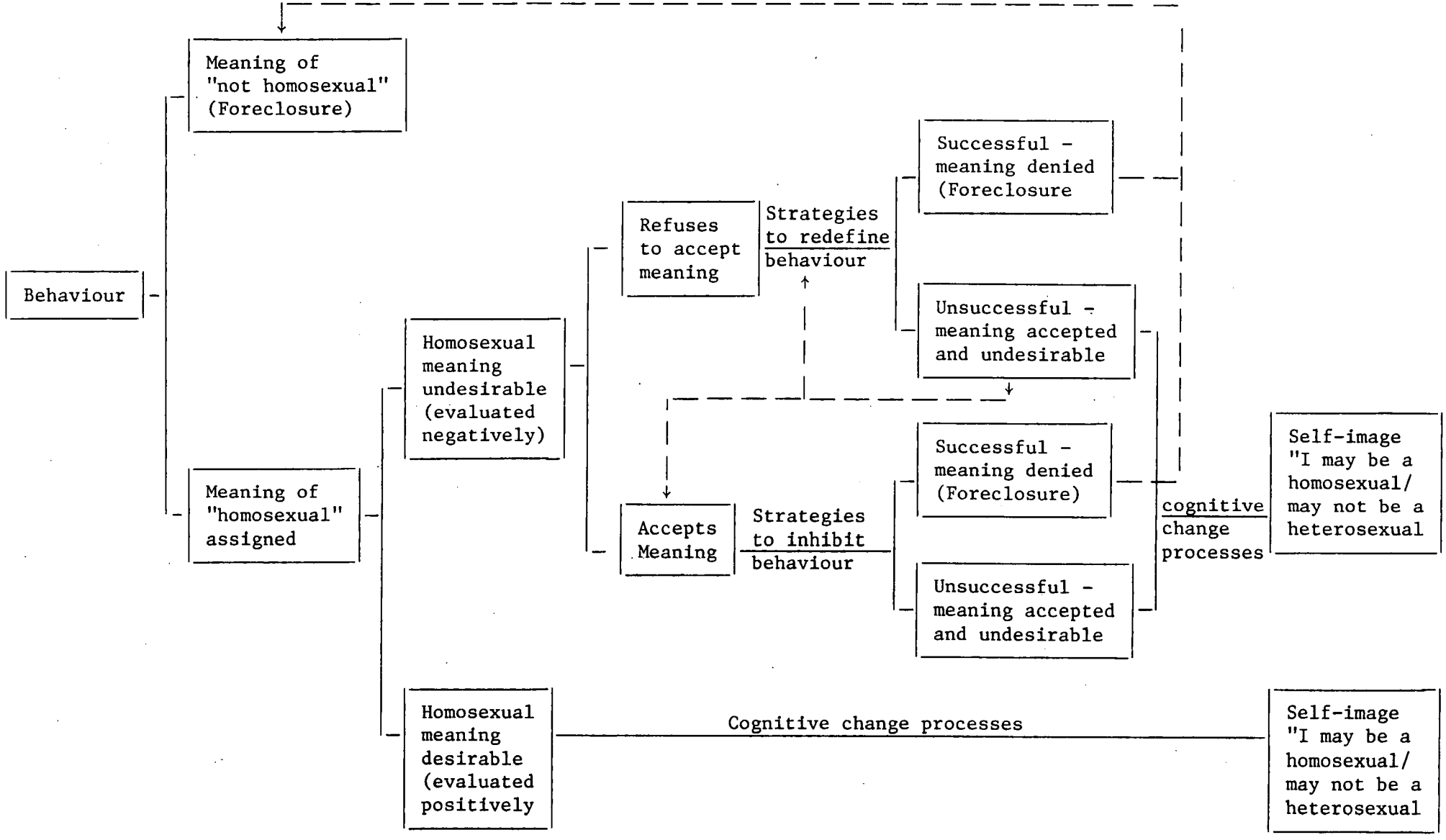

FIGURE 2: Cognitive decision processes involved at Stage 1: Identity Confusion

attributed to their behaviour undesirable. It is hypothesised that two different cognitive paths are available, one to those who, despite its negative evaluation, nevertheless accept the homosexual meaning of their behaviour, (that is, accept that it has been correctly classified) and the other to those who find this meaning highly undesirable and refuse to accept it at all. A second developmental route is adopted by individuals who give positive evaluation to the "homosexual" meaning attributed to their behaviour. We will now describe each of these developmental paths more fully.

Path 1: Homosexual Meaning Undesirable and Unacceptable

Some people refuse to accept the correctness of the assigned (homosexual) meaning. In order to break the cognitive link established with their behaviour, they attempt to change the assigned meaning given to their actions. If this is achieved, behaviour is once again perceived as non-homosexual and identity foreclosure occurs (that is, further development is avoided). If attempts to redefine behaviour as "non-homosexual" fail, the individual may renew her/his efforts until successful. With continued lack of success, there is likely to be a change, as a result of consistency processes, toward seeing the meaning as correct (but still undesirable).

Attribution theory suggests a number of factors that may make this strategy more of less difficult (Kelley,

1967). Drawing from Kelley's work, Gergen (1977) suggests the notion of a "continuum of factuality" (p.167) upon which experiences can be positioned. The extremities are "highly factual" and "fantasy". It would be expected that those who perceive the connection between their actions and homosexual meaning as ranking towards the "highly factual" end of the continuum would experience greater difficulty in redefinition than those with a ranking towards the other extremity. Gergen proposes five criteria that are used by individuals in assigning degree of factuality to their experiences (pp167,168)[23].

1. *Neural engagement* - the greater the engagement of the nervous system, the greater the ascription of factuality. Thus, intense anxiety or intense pleasure experienced when considering the homosexual meaning of one's actions would generate a similar degree of factuality. It would be expected that strong sexual responses for someone of the same sex would be more likely to encourage a belief that the meaning of "homosexual" is correct, than would weak responses.
2. *Modality increment* - the more sensory modalities that are simultaneously engaged, the greater the confidence in the factual bases of the experience. Presumably, where the triggering behaviour

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[23] The first of these criteria is reminiscent of Boyanowsky's (1977) factor of "organismic involvement" drawn from the literature on conversion experiences. The latter four criteria are adapted directly from Kelley's (1967) criteria for attributing external validity to an entity.

incorporates all or most of the senses, it would be more difficult to ignore than if a few modalities were used. In the homosexual context, therefore, assigning "homosexual" meaning on the basis of speech (hearing) patterns or appearance (sight) would be less likely to be seen as factual than where it is based on sexual or emotional responses (which draw upon many sensory modalities).

3. *Discriminability* - the more an experience can be differentiated spatially and temporally from other experiences, the more it will be ranked as factual. Homosexuals often report, for example, that their first sexual contact with someone of the same sex was experienced as quite unique when compared to earlier heterosexual contacts. It would be expected, therefore, that these circumstances would lend themselves to greater acceptance of the "homosexual" meaning than if the experience was easily forgotten.

4. *Repeatability* - the more an experiential state is replicated, the more factuality is assigned to it. Duration of the experience (continuous repetition) also creates the same effect. Presumably, the more often behaviours and emotional responses occur that are labelled "homosexual", and the longer these last, then the more it is likely that individuals will perceive the link between meaning and actions as

factual.

5. *Inter-observer exposure* - the more a given experience can be replicated in the presence of others, the more factual it will seem. Thus, if the process of assigning homosexual meaning, or the homosexually-defined behaviour itself occurs in the presence of others, it would be expected that attributing it to fantasy would be less likely than if others were not present.

Where some or all of these factors allow the individual to perceive an element of fantasy in her/his assignation of homosexual meaning, then the option to redefine that meaning becomes more readily available. That is, the notion of incorrectness can be upheld. Presumably, with greater ambiguity, personal responsibility cannot be automatically attributed to self. These attributional criteria are, of course, applicable to any individual contemplating the homosexual meaning of her/his behaviour, and not just those who feel negatively towards themselves. However, it would be expected, with regard to the latter group, that a need to reduce dissonance (created by the inference of a potential gay identity) and enhance self-esteem would motivate individuals to move closer to the fantasy end of the continuum as much as the situation allowed.

For an understanding of the ways in which individuals might attempt to redefine their behaviour, we

can usefully draw upon the work of Secord and Backman (1974). These authors propose that when people behave in a manner that is unacceptable to them, they work to achieve consistency between self and behaviour through the strategy of cognitive restructuring. This can involve redefining the nature of the behaviour as well as restructuring the nature of the situation. Adapting these ideas to the homosexual context, we may hypothesise that redefinition of one's behaviour from homosexual to non-homosexual can be achieved in two ways: (1) restructuring the cognitive schemata defining homosexuality, and (2) restructuring the nature of the situation so as to reduce personal responsibility.

Where the former occurs, homosexuality becomes redefined and restricted to certain boundaries that do not include that behaviour which was originally involved in the process of attributing homosexual meaning. In other words, the definition of what is "homosexual" becomes changed in order that the individual's behaviour can be excluded from such labelling. For example, showing emotion, kissing on the lips and repeated contacts with the same person may become defined as homosexual, whereas, genital contact with another man (the original behaviour engaged in) now becomes "fooling around". For females, on the other hand, genital contact might be defined as homosexual, but strong emotional feelings felt for another woman are not. In this way, the individual can now reclassify the behaviour concerned, as non-homosexual. This strategy allows the

person to continue her/his behaviour as before without fear of labelling it "homosexual"

The prison situation provides an example of a context in which this strategy is frequently applied, where inmates may regularly engage in sexual behaviour with each other without coming to see their behaviour or themselves as homosexual. Taking an active sexual role in this setting is frequently perceived as non-homosexual, while taking a passive (recipient) role is seen to be homosexual (e.g., Gagnon & Simon,1974). Humphreys (1970, 1971) found similar patterns in his study of married men engaging in sexual behaviour with other males. Tripp (1976) terms this the "gender-role" system of denial since avoidance of the label homosexual is based on being able to act in a "masculine" (for males) or "feminine" (for females) way which, as has been noted previously, assumes non-homosexuality.

In misperceiving the situation, the context of the behaviour is changed. Rather than being seen as an indication of a potential identity, it is now perceived as a consequence (Matza,1969) of a certain situation and therefore, not directly attributable to self (for this reason, Tripp (1976) refers to this as the personal-innocence denial system). The meaning of the behaviour is no longer "homosexual", but rather "an experiment", "a means of earning money", "we were both feeling randy at the time and it just happened", "a favour for a friend", "an accident", "being taken advantage of while drunk", or

"going along with everyone else". Reiss (1961), for example, described the way in which the young male prostitute "develops no self-conception as a homosexual person or sexual deviation" (p.199), seeing his actions simply as money-making. Scott and Lyman (1972) describe these accounts [24] as *excuses*. "Excuses are accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong, or imappropriate but denies full responsibility" (p.25). These authors distinguish four types of excuses - appeal to accident, to defeasibility, to biological drives, and scapegoating. Excuses claiming that the behaviour was an accident are effective as long as the behaviour is relatively infrequent. Appeals to defeasibility involve the rationale that a person's "free will" was interfered with - for example, by misinformation, intoxication (i.e., drugs, alcohol) mental illness etc. Denial of knowledge of the consequences is another form of this type of excuse. Excuses invoking biological drives claim the overpowering influence of such drives (e.g., sexual drive) in determining behaviour. Finally, in scapegoating, the person alleges that her/his behaviour is a response to behaviour or attitudes of another ("They were doing it, I had to tag along").

Strategies such as these are adopted by those wishing to change the context in which homosexual behaviour arises. They effectively assign the person to a position of personal innocence whereby any responsibility for their behaviour is disowned. Several factors may influence the

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[24] Accounts are linguistic devices employed to explain unexpected behaviour where such behaviour is subjected to evaluation by self or others.

degree to which these strategies may be successfully applied.

An important factor in the homosexual situation is likely to be the availability of reference groups. As noted previously, reference groups are those groups, real or imagined, whose perspectives are used by the individual as a frame of reference (Kinch,1973; Shibutani, 1955). A supportive reference group can be instrumental in helping people redefine the meaning of their behaviour by strongly supporting the newly adopted meaning, insulating them from the offending meaning, and closing off alternative meanings by deeming them unacceptable. The fellowship of male prostitutes, for example, generally provides a supportive framework for perceiving homosexual acts as "doing it for the money" (e.g., Reiss,1961).

Secord and Backman (1974) suggest, too, that certain personality and social characteristics may be important in accomplishing cognitive restructuring. People, they note, may differ in the degree to which they customarily attribute the causes of events to themselves or to external forces, and this may affect the ease with which personal responsibility for an event can be dismissed. Social factors such as role expectations may also play a part. The example is given of males finding it easier to claim nonresponsibility based on intoxication than women, because of different sex-role expectations.

The two remaining approaches available to people

going through the confusion and stress of Stage 1 apply to those who *accept* the homosexual meaning attributed to their actions as correct (that is, it has been correctly classified), and evaluate this meaning either positively or negatively. For those who find this homosexual meaning desirable, (evaluate it positively) the path taken is quite distinct from that travelled by individuals who view such meaning unfavourably.

Path 2: Homosexual Meaning Accepted and Desirable

Some people accept that the homosexual meaning of their behaviour is correct, and also give that meaning positive evaluation.

Recognition that some individuals may react quite positively to the idea that their behaviour can be called homosexual has been slow in reaching the scientific literature (although popular accounts have presented this picture for some time). The assumption has invariably been that *all* individuals respond negatively to the assignation of homosexual meaning. Grzelkowski (Note 8), however, clearly makes this point about diversity of reactions. She found that no matter what age individuals began to define their behaviour as homosexual, there were some people who showed self-acceptance of it and others who did not.

Factors leading to a positive attitudinal stance

are likely to be varied, remembering that positiveness itself represents a continuum and not a single discrete point on a scale. One of the most significant factors once again, is likely to be reference groups. Where such groups are believed to support a member behaving in a homosexual fashion, then perceiving own behaviour as gay is seen as fitting in with their frame of reference, and is thus desirable. Examples of this are (a) women's groups that consider homosexual contact between women as a way of expressing commitment to feminist theory; (b) friendship circles that perceive the expression of any, or most forms of sexual behaviour as acceptable. Other factors that may be hypothesised to relate to a positive rather than a negative attitude include age (the younger the person, the more likely s/he is to have liberal attitudes towards homosexuality), education level (the more educated, the more liberal the attitude is likely to be), occupation (work associates may represent a significant reference group), gender (as noted earlier in this chapter, male conditioning toward homosexuality engenders a more negative response), locus of control and self-esteem level(to the extent that a person works from an internal locus of control and has a strong belief in own views, s/he would be expected to be less tied in to negative societal opinions).

In the present model, recognition is given to the fact that it is possible to feel positive about one's own homosexual behaviour while at the same time recognising

that in a general sense such behaviour is impermissible in society. In order to deal with this seeming contradiction, individuals engage in a form of accounts known as *justifications* (Scott & Lyman,1972) or "techniques of neutralisation" (Sykes & Matza,1957). These are generally applied where the relevant behaviour is seen as positive, and differ from excuses which apply only where the act is deemed negative. Scott and Lyman suggest several types of justifications that are relevant here:

a) *Denial of injury* - it is claimed that the behaviour concerned was not injurious to anyone and the consequences were negligible. ("It was just a bit of fun, I wasn't hurting anyone").

b) *Condemnation of the condemners* - others are considered to engage in worse acts. ("We'ld be better off if the police were more worried about catching thieves and murderers and less concerned with poking their noses into the personal affairs of private citizens").

c) *Self-fulfillment* - the behaviour is considered desirable because it leads to self-fulfillment. ("If it feels good, why stop?").

Thus, justifications allow the person to hold onto a positive attitude towards specific behaviours while "explaining away" any negative attitudes held by others with regard to such behaviours. The strategy of using justifications is hypothesised to be an important part of the developmental path taken by those holding a positive stance.

It is proposed that the individual perceiving the homosexual meaning of their behaviour as both correct and desirable will not make any attempts to change that meaning. The pressure towards consistency and the assumption of essentiality work to bring about a change in related self-images. Adequate use of "justifications" helps to maintain the positive evaluation given to own behaviour. The previously assumed heterosexual identity is now examined. Questions posed are, "Am I really a heterosexual person?", "Am I a homosexual?". In order to answer these questions and reduce the confusion that exists, the individual characteristically begins searching for further information (e.g., reading books, listening carefully to any discussion of homosexuality, consulting a professional counsellor). The potentiality of a gay identity is seriously considered. As the "doing" of homosexual behaviour begins to be converted into "being" (a homosexual), the self-image, "I may be a homosexual" is adopted.

As Matza (1969) points out, when individuals consider their behaviour to be an "indication" of something about self, as opposed to a "consequence" of the situation, then they "may continue to build the meaning of identity" (p.165). The transition from "doing" to "being" is therefore, a significant step towards the development of a gay identity. Matza stresses the active role played by those who come to see their behaviour as indicative of something about self, a viewpoint frequently presented through the use of terms such as "choice", "self-contemplation",

"considers" etc. A similar concept is adopted in the present theory. Individuals are seen to play an active role in the transition from simply behaving in a way that is labelled homosexual to acknowledging that they "may be a homosexual".

Path 3: Homosexual Meaning Accepted and Undesirable

For those who perceive the homosexual meaning of their behaviour as correct but undesirable, an alternative path of development is proposed. A variety of factors (e.g., socialisation, reference groups, personality etc,) may be responsible for eliciting a negative evaluation such as this. For example, a person given a strongly antagonistic (to homosexuality) message during childhood, who currently belongs to and supports a group that condemns homosexual behaviour (e.g., the Catholic Church), who tends to take her/his direction from others (external locus of control), and frequently has erotic dreams about someone of the same sex, would be expected to be a likely candidate for a "negative but correct" response to their own homosexual behaviour. Such a person, would be likely to hold an image of some other type of behaviour as being more desirable (e.g., heterosexual, asexual behaviour). This would be expected to emphasise the gap between desirable and actual behaviour, and, according to cognitive dissonance theory, present a state of tension that must be resolved. Because the individual is unable to deny the homosexual

meaning placed upon her/his behaviour, any strategies to resolve the dissonance that this creates will, of necessity, involve the way that behaviour is expressed. We would, therefore, expect a person to engage in:

(a) the inhibition of all behaviours that have been assigned homosexual meaning. In order to reinforce this stance, s/he will need also to,

(b) restrict and control any information on homosexuality, and,

(c) deny that such information has personal relevance.

The latter two strategies ensure the successful maintenance of the first. Where such strategies are successfully applied, we would expect the connection between homosexuality and own behaviour to be broken and the self-portrait of self as a potential homosexual to subsequently, be rejected. The conflict, turmoil and confusion would be removed and identity foreclosure would follow. It is proposed, too, that the success of these stragegies may be further guaranteed by denying the existence of past homo-sexual behaviour and by adopting a strong anti-homosexual stance (e.g., moral crusader). An additional coping mechanism might be to take on a position of asexuality, which would help the person to avoid being confronted with information likely to personalise his/her sexuality. Attempts to bolster and reaffirm a heterosexual identity by involvement with members of the opposite sex, offers a further means of ensuring the reduction of dissonance.

Whether attempts to invoke these strategies are

successful or not will, it is hypothesised, depend on factors such as (a) ability to withdraw from potentially provocative situations (i.e., it may be relatively easy to stop going to meeting places but more difficult to prevent the occurrence of erotic dreams or physiological responses to people of the same sex); (b) ability to use the defense mechanism "denial" effectively: (c) ability to adopt and maintain a stance of asexuality or heterosexuality (a heterosexual role may be difficult to adopt if sexual and emotional responsiveness is neither adequate nor appropriate; in some cases there may be family pressure to drop an asexual image).

The sex of the individual concerned might be an important factor here. For example, it may be easier for a woman to adopt an asexual stance than a man because of different societal expectations regarding sexual expression. On the other hand, there may be greater pressure on the woman to be involved in a heterosexual relationship than a man who tends to be afforded greater independence. The enlistment of others to overcome difficulties in carrying out the inhibitive strategies (e.g., a therapist known to view homosexuality as undesirable), would be expected from some individuals at this point.

If these strategies break down and the homosexual meaning continues to present itself, then the individual will be forced to change her/his self-image away from "heterosexual" in order to achieve greater personal consistency and thereby reduce the tension of incongruency.

It is proposed that where this situation occurs, the potentiality of a homosexual identity would be accepted, but unwillingly. Such events would mark the beginning of what may become a negative or self-hating identity. This proposal is somewhat at variance with Dank's (1971) suggestion that identification of self as homosexual requires a change in the cognitive schemata related to homosexuals so that the individual can identify self positively. While such restructuring is perceived, and has been described, as occurring for some people, it is presently hypothesised that others may recognise the potentiality of a gay identity without (at this point in identity formation, anyway) altering the negative component.

In some cases, the inhibition of behaviour may act as a form of moratorium during which re-evaluation of affective response to own homosexual behaviour can be considered without undue pressure. If a more positive position is later taken, then it would be expected that the individual would voluntarily surrender inhibition strategies.

It is predicted that disclosure of inner turmoil to others would, in Stage 1, be a rare occurrence primarily because the processes engaged in are so nebulous, and so intensely personal. Except where help is required to maintain or to initiate strategies for coping with the perceived discrepancy between desired and actual behaviour, most people would, it is hypothesised, attempt to resolve their confusion alone.

The process of Stage 1 involves the clarification of meaning of behaviour leading, in some people, to a consideration that self may be potentially "a homosexual". Mostly the process is internal, leading to the prediction that no changes will occur in either presented identity (usually heterosexual) or perceived identity (invariably heterosexual).

STAGE 2: IDENTITY COMPARISON (Table 3B)

The second stage of gay identity formation covers the process whereby the individual moves from that tentative acceptance of a potential gay identity ("I may be a homosexual") to acknowledgement of greater certainty that such an identity is applicable to self ("I probably am a homosexual").

It is proposed that by the end of Stage 1, if identity foreclosure has not taken place, individuals will, as a result of consistency processes, have moved away from an assumption of self as heterosexual, acknowledged the correctness of the homosexual meaning of their behaviour (although some may dislike this meaning), and accepted the possibility of a homosexual identity ("I may be"). This marks the first indication of a degree of commitment to a homosexual self-image.

Commitment has been defined as a pledging of self to a particular course of action such that the relevant

TABLE 3C

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 2

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment	Increased commitment to gay identity from: "I may be a homosexual" to "I probably am a homosexual".		
	Recognises implications of holding a homosexual identity and not holding a heterosexual identity. Consideration of costs relative to rewards.		Makes an evaluation of implications of holding a homosexual identity and not holding a heterosexual one. Negative for some, positive for others.
Alienation	Sees self as "different" from others.		Sense of social alienation Range of reactions to feelings different to others
Group Identification	Recognises implications of belonging to a negatively valued minority group.	Some similarity with homosexuals on basis of behaviour.	
	Little sense of belonging gay community.		

TABLE 3C (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
	Values and structures of heterosexual community don't fit self.		
Inconsistency	Greater congruency between behaviour and self-image. Accentuates discrepancy between these and view of self believed to be held by others.		Dissonance creates "arousal" - discomfort.
Professional Contact	Many will wish to get professional help to reduce social alienation.	Some will seek professional help for estrangement.	
Identity Evaluation			Range of responses to seeing self as potentially a homosexual from positive to negative. Others view of self-image believed to be negative.
Strategies	Strategies to place homosexual behaviour in acceptable framework: bisexual, special case, temporary.	Strategies to inhibit homosexual behaviour.	

TABLE 3C (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
	Accept positive aspects of homosexual behaviour without the negative implications of homosexual identity. Use of "excuses" to reduce personal responsibility.		
Disclosure		Discloses sometimes to professional. Passes as heterosexual or asexual.	Fear of others' reactions to disclosure.
Deference To Others	Those with positive evaluation of self will devalue significance of others in general to maintain self-esteem. Those with negative evaluation will devalue homosexuals.		
Generality	Homosexual self-image given little significance.		

TABLE 3C (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Social Interaction		Little, if any, social contact with homosexuals. Some will increase social contacts with heterosexuals.	Social contacts with homosexuals. Contact may be evaluated negatively.
Sexual Orientation Activity	Some will want to decrease homosexual activity	Some will decrease homosexual activities. Others will increase activities.	Some will have enjoyment of homosexual activities heightened.
Acculturation		Little, if any, open participation in gay subculture.	
Personal Control	Thoughts of homosexuality perceived to be taking control of life. Concern for future prospects.		Anxiety at overwhelming thoughts on homosexuality.

cognitions (those related to the behaviour in question) become relatively resistent to change (Kiesler,1971; Wicklund & Brehm,1976). Although early literature frequently described commitment as a discrete variable (e.g., Brehm & Cohen,1962), more recently it has been viewed as a continuous variable (that is, *degrees* of commitment can be described). Reviewing the literature, Kiesler (1971) draws together several factors that have been found to increase the degree of commitment. These are, greater explicitness (e.g., public exposure) of the relevant behaviour; increased importance of these acts for the person; increase in the degree of irrevocability of the behaviour; greater frequency with which the behaviour is engaged in, and increased degree of volition (freedom to choose) perceived by the person.

Translated into the homosexual context, these factors suggest that commitment to homosexual behaviour and/or a homosexual image of self will be dependent upon the following variables:

a) the degree to which this behaviour/self-image is clearly and unambiguously experienced by the individual;

b) the degree to which this behaviour/self-image is made explicit to others, either through verbal means or action;

c) the degree of importance attributed to this behaviour/self-image by the individual concerned and the amount of attention given to it as a result;

d) the degree to which the individual *feels* s/he can (and *actually* can) refrain from engaging in homosexual

behaviour;

e) the frequency with which the person actually engages in homosexual behaviour or *wishes* to engage in such behaviour. Presumably, this would also apply to the frequency with which s/he acknowledged a homosexual self-image;

f) the degree to which the individual acknowledges that behaving in a homosexual way or perceiving self as a homosexual is done out of free choice.

In Stage 1 of the homosexual identity formation process we have described what may essentially be viewed as the first steps leading towards a commitment to engaging in homosexual behaviour and the homosexual self-perceptions it implies. The statement "I may be a homosexual" implies recognition of the continued persistence of the homosexual behaviour, and the significance attributed to it. As such, it represents the most elementary step on the commitment continuum away from the "no commitment" extremity.

It is proposed, however, that qualitative differences exist amongst individuals with regard to such commitment. For example, those who come to consider themselves as "may be a homosexual" using strategies that encourage a view of self as unaccountable for their behaviour, would be expected to feel less committed than those who accept full responsibility. The former considers her/himself to have been forced to act in a "homosexual" way, while the latter believes s/he had freedom of choice. The different paths of homosexual identity formation

available in Stage 1 are, therefore, considered to play a significant part in the degree of commitment attained.

In Stage 2, the individual is in a position to examine and contemplate the wider implications of that tentative commitment,[25] since the confusion and turmoil of the previous stage are now considerably reduced. Consideration of these implications and coping with them becomes the focal point of this stage. Kiesler, Roth & Pallak, (1974) suggest that these tasks are necessary aspects of the process leading to commitment. The individual moving through such a process becomes particularly aware of self, "...compares his state of self to standards of correctness and becomes increasingly aware of the potential implications of his actions" (p.714).

These contemplations bring into greater focus the societal position (derived from the individual's social environment) towards homosexuality. Everything that the individual has ever been taught about the consequences of homosexuality is now given serious consideration. This involves a scanning of the relevant cognitive schemata in order to ascertain what might be involved in the taking on of a homosexual identity. For some individuals, this will include a picture that is particularly negative and stereotypical, for others, one that is less so, or even positive.

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[25] Recognition that the need to consider the implications of a gay identity as an important step following on from some acceptance of that identity has also been given by Wolf (1979).

Since, as we have been at pains to point out, homosexuality and heterosexuality are conceptually interlinked, one area of consequences related to "being a homosexual" is that of "not being heterosexual". Many of these consequences will have been commonly presented by different groups in society. However, each individual would be expected to respond in unique fashion to them. That is, what might be perceived as a dire consequence by one person may be seen as insignificant by another.

However, one of the most significant implications of a homosexual commitment is hypothesised to be a universal consideration for all individuals. This is the realisation that all previous guidelines for behaviour - the ideals and expectations for the future that accompany a heterosexual identity - are no longer relevant to self. The continuity between past, present and future that was implicitly created by the heterosexual model has gone, leaving the individual in what seems like a social vacuum. There is a sense of estrangement from values and norms.

> *The homosexual is caught up in a world in which there are no guides for conduct. Homosexuality...is an anomic situation. The individual doesn't know what to do, there are no structures of social rules to help govern his behaviour. He is, as soon as his homosexuality becomes conscious to him, more or less cast adrift by society and left to fare on his own.*
> (Hoffman,1973,p.193)

> *For to become "a homosexual", is to reject the program for marriage/family/home, that our society holds up as normal.* (Altman,1971,p.6)

Berzon (1979b) suggests more explicitly that acceptance of homosexuality as personally relevant is "associated with going against the family" (p.89). She notes the difficulties this brings since "much of our identity is rooted in the family's expectations of us" (p.89). We might expect sex differences here. Women, for example, are generally socialised against independence and living outside a primary relationship, factors that would make isolation from the immediate social environment difficult to deal with.

Another significant implication of a homosexual commitment that is hypothesised to be universally recognised, is the perception of the homosexual as belonging to a negatively valued minority group.

> *When a young woman begins to be aware of sexual feelings for other women, she realises with a deepening sense of shock that if she becomes a lesbian, she is identifying herself with a minority group that is hated and despised by all racial, religious and ethnic groups, including her own.* (Abbott & Love,1973,p.45)

Rosenberg's (1979) concept of consonant and dissonant environments is probably useful to our under-

standing of the position of the individual at this point. A *consonant environment* is one in which the social milieu surrounding a person is perceived as similar to self. A *dissonant environment*, conversely, is one in which the individual experiences dissimilarity with her/his social context. Rosenberg gives, as an example of the former, Jews living in a Jewish neighbourhood, and of the latter, Jews living in a gentile neighbourhood. Each type of environment will affect individuals differently by providing different sources from which reflected and comparative appraisals are made. Reviewing the relevant literature, Rosenberg concludes that a dissonant environment may lessen feelings of self-worth, create greater instability of self-concept, and increase the saliency of self-images.

In the homosexual context, we may hypothesise that, at this point in the identity formation process, the individual creates a mental image of what it would be like living in a dissonant environment where self is homosexual and the surrounding society is not. Since the vast majority of people have not been raised in, or previously lived in a homosexually-oriented environment, this mental image stands in marked contrast to current social status. The most probable reaction to the realisation that a homosexual self-image leads to minority status is hypothesised to be an intense feeling of social alienation. It would be expected that an acute awareness of the difference between self and others would exist, leading the individual to feel

alienated from all others and provoking a sense of "not belonging" to society at large or to previous reference groups (e.g., family, peers). "I'm different", an expression commonly heard at this stage of development, is a summative statement of these feelings of isolation and estrangement.

> *I felt alone, an aloneness so singular that for a short period of time I felt sure that I was the only homosexual in the world, with no one to turn to, no one to confide in, nowhere to go for understanding or help....The implications of my newly discovered identity were racing through my mind....I felt more than alone in the world - I felt that I was suddenly so different that my life held no future.* (Leighton,1979,p.24)

Another source of personal estrangement, in addition to a dissonant environment, is created by the internal processes that are concurrently taking place.

Following Secord and Backman (1974) it is proposed that the greater consistency now experienced between own perceptions of behaviour and self-image, accentuates the discrepancy (inconsistency) between these perceptions and the view of self believed to be held by others. This would also be expected to contribute to feelings of alienation.

Since not everyone will react to a perceived dissonant environment or internal dissonance in the same way, we would expect individuals to differ in the degree to which they experience feelings of alienation. Some may

feel intense anguish ("I'm the only one in the world like this"), while at the other extreme, others may be aware only of minor discomfort or uneasiness. Various factors might be expected to account for these different reactions. For example, individuals already experiencing geographic or social isolation (that is, already feeling socially isolated), may find further evidence of their separateness from others more than they can handle. Reference groups may work to increase alienation (e.g., religious groups that strongly condemn homosexuals) *or* decrease it (e.g., feminist groups that encourage women's expression of themselves). Those who already see themselves as belonging to a negatively valued minority group may find the implications of belonging to another such group less threatening than those with no such experience. Sex of the person may also have some effect. It was noted earlier, that women frequently come to consider themselves as gay through emotional involvement with another woman, in contrast with men, who are more likely to do so through sexual contact. This difference suggests that women may have more opportunity for sharing alienation with another person (their partner) than would men, thus lessening its impact. Personal attributes that encourage personal determination such as self-esteem, degree of psychological separateness from parental values, experience in dealing with aloneness etc. would also be expected to play a significant part at this stage.

Hajda (1961) suggests that in general, the feeling of alienation will vary with (a) the number of qualitatively different groups an individual belongs to, (b) the degree to which membership in these groups is supported by the individual's primary groups (such as family etc.), (c) the extent of the current attachment and commitment to membership groups of an earlier period in the person's life cycle, and (d) the extent that groups to which the individual currently belongs, represent the values, norms and beliefs of the main body of society. In the homosexual context, we might predict, therefore, that those individuals who belong to just a few social groups that reflect the heterosexual values advocated by their immediate family as well as mainstream society, will experience greater alienation than those in alternative social contexts.

Barakat (1969) notes too, that alienation "has its roots in the discrepancy for the person between reality or the world as it is and utopia, or the world as desired" (p.6). The larger the felt discrepancy, the more intense the feelings of alienation. Thus, where the differences between homosexual and heterosexual self-images parallels the difference between real and ideal pictures of self, we might expect a greater sense of alienation than would otherwise be the case.

It would be expected that some people, particularly those feeling their estrangement most keenly, will seek professional counselling with the plea "I don't

want to be different", or "I can't handle feeling different". Interestingly, the traditional therapeutic approach focusing on homosexuality *per se*, would prove irrelevant and unhelpful here, since it is the issues of alienation, "differentness", and loss of old and familiar structures that need to be examined.

The tasks of Stage 2 are to deal with the feelings of alienation and the uncertainty of identity. Four "ideal" developmental paths are proposed (Figure 3).

The process of Stage 2 is considered to proceed initially with an evaluation being made of the self-image of "may be a homosexual". The individual considers self as "may be a homosexual" and decides whether this is a positive or negative aspect[26]. The notion that "even those who have not fully taken on the alternative identity label...[homosexual]...can be self accepting" (Grzelowski, Note 8, p.207) has been supported by Grzelowski's study. Although a variety of factors may account for a positive as opposed to a negative evaluation, it might be expected that the views of significant others would play an important role.

Whether this self-image is perceived positively or negatively, all individuals are then faced with inter-

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[26] In reality, of course, a person may evaluate him/herself somewhere between these two extremes. It should not be forgotten that the model describes "ideal" types and is not intended to cover all the complexities of human functioning.

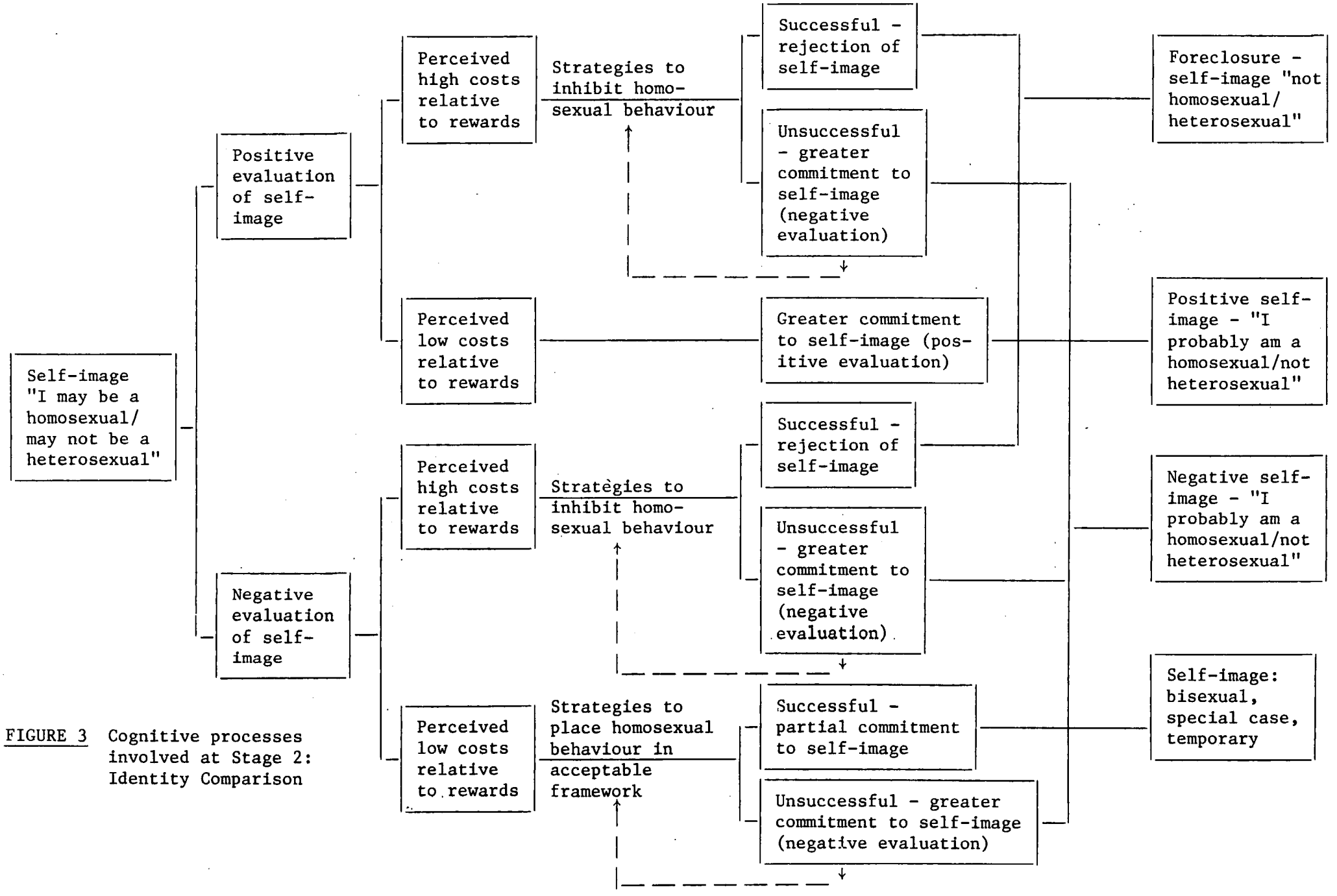

FIGURE 3 Cognitive processes involved at Stage 2: Identity Comparison

preting the likely consequences of "being a homosexual", and experiencing the resulting sense of alienation or "differentness". It is hypothesised that, given this situation, an individual will be forced to consider the question "where do I go from here?" In arriving at an answer to this question, s/he must weigh up what will be lost and gained by adhering to the homosexual self-image. Not all individuals will be fully conscious of these decision-making processes. For those who proceed quickly, these steps may be made without any apparent deliberation at a conscious level. However, for the person who finds the process of identity formation particularly conflicting, the decision-making is likely to be made deliberately and with painful awareness.

Several theorists have described commitment (in general) from the perspective of an investment model (e.g., Becker,1960; Gerard,1968; Rusbult,1980). According to this perspective, commitment is increased and maintained because of felt and anticipated psychological *rewards* arising from the behaviour and cognitions in question, coupled with perceived high psychological *costs* for reversing the commitment decision. That is, the individual feels unable to reverse her/his decision to act or perceive self in a certain way, and is compelled to continue in the same vein. Rusbult suggests too, that the degree to which a person has personally invested in a particular situation will also be significant. She hypothesised, and found evidence for, increased commitment over time as greater

investment was made. She describes self-disclosures, and emotional involvements, as well as finance and material purchases as being examples of investments.

Using the cost-reward factor[27] in conjunction with the evaluative component, it is possible to hypothesise four ideal developmental routes that could be taken. To obtain these four paths, we have divided both the positive evaluators and negative evaluators into two ideal groups - (1) those who perceive the consequences of commitment to a homosexual identity as resulting in greater costs than rewards, and (2) those who anticipate greater rewards than costs. Each of the four groups determined by these factors (positive evaluation/greater costs than rewards; positive evaluation/greater rewards than costs; negative evaluation/greater costs than rewards; negative evaluation/greater rewards than costs) is hypothesised to take a different path of development in the identity formation process of Stage 2[28].

We will now describe in turn, each of the four developmental paths.

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[27] At this point, the investment factor is assumed to be relatively insignificant and similar for all, since deliberation is still about the acceptance of a *future* identity of homosexual. The individual is considering "If I was a homosexual, what would the consequences be?" and as yet has not invested in that identity (other than the statement "I may be a homosexual").

[28] Again we must note that these are *ideal* types, and that an infinite number of variations may be derived from combining the evaluation and cost-reward factors.

Path 1: Positive Evaluation/Greater Rewards Than Costs

This group perceives their self-image of "may be homosexual" as acceptable, and considers the holding of a homosexual identity to attract greater rewards relative to likely costs. There are three groups of people who might be expected to react this way:

(a) those who feel that they have "always been different" by virtue of having had what were later labelled homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour. The early stages of identity formation merely *confirm* this difference, and identify its source. This leads the individual to the realisation that a homosexual identity could connect her/him to a group (homosexuals) where feelings of belonging rather than differences could emerge.

(b) those who have felt different throughout their lives on the basis of nonconformity to the heterosexual role (e.g., rejection of the need for marriage or children). For such people, a homosexual image of self may offer positive legitimisation of the nonconformity (e.g., it is acceptable as a homosexual to reject marriage and children).

Rosow (1974) suggests that an important factor in aiding the transition from one view of self to another is *role continuity*. Changes in self-perceptions frequently require role changes. If the pre- and post-change roles are compatible, (role continuous) then this creates a

smoother transition than if they are conflicting. For the individual who, prior to engagement in the gay identity formation process, felt little adherence to the heterosexual role, then anticipation of taking on the homosexual role (a perceived consequence of viewing self as a homosexual) may represent a compatible position. As we saw in Chapter 4, some theorists have suggested that rejection of the heterosexual role is an important prerequisite to identity formation in women.

(c) those who find "being different" exciting, out of the ordinary, as adding something special or extra to their lives. As with the other two groups, the felt difference between themselves and others is given a positive evaluation.

For all of these groups, the gains from adopting a homosexual identity are considered to outweigh any perceived costs. Presumably, when someone already feels estranged from others, the threat of alienation is not perceived as especially devastating.

With an overall positive evaluation of self, and accompanying awareness that others generally would probably react with disapproval, the individual is motivated to maintain self-esteem. To do this, s/he must devalue the significance of others (in general) while giving greater weight to own feelings about self. This, together with the effects of self-attribution, would be expected to create further cognitive changes, such that the individual can now say, "I probably am a homosexual". This marks a further

increase in commitment to a homosexual self-image.

In order to forestall actually being confronted with others' negative evaluations of homosexuality, the extent of which might force a reconsideration of the importance given to others' views, a strategy of *passing* (playing out a role aimed at deceiving others into believing one is someone else) is adopted [29]. Passing is a means by which some control can be achieved over others' reactions (Goffman,1969). Presented identity in these circumstances is usually that of "a heterosexual", but may also be "asexual". Passing allows the individual to absorb and manage an ever-growing commitment to the homosexual self-image, and to by-pass any psychological costs. It is adopted whenever the individual wishes to retain the freedom to act or perceive self as a homosexual without being forced to deal with the negative implications of doing so (Ponse,1977). In a later publication, Ponse (1978) believes too, that the very act of hiding one's identity "works to increase commitment to that very identity" (p.165).

It is of interest to note that passing can be a relatively easy task because it entails the continuation of old patterns of behaviour and because society tends to uphold the "heterosexual assumption", the belief that everyone is heterosexual (Ponse,1978).

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[29] However, the use of passing as a technique for dealing with societal reactions is not unique to this particular path of development, or to this stage.

Whether or not such a strategy can be utilised effectively will depend largely on the ability to play roles in social situations. Goffman (1969) has described four ways of successfully utilizing a passing strategy which can be translated into the homosexual context: (a) by avoiding threatening situations (e.g., a party to which one person is expected to take a partner of the opposite sex); (b) by controlling personal information (e.g., presenting only select aspects of self; avoiding dressing and behaving in ways that could be labelled homosexual); (c) by deliberately cultivating and presenting the image of heterosexuality or asexuality; and (d) by "role distancing", adopting a stance that conveys detachment from the homosexual situation.

Path 2: Negative Evaluation/Greater Rewards Than Costs

This group perceives their self-image of "may be a homosexual" as unacceptable, but considers factors related to the holding of a gay identity to give greater rewards relative to costs. This might be expected where the individual acknowledges a favourable attitude towards their homosexual behaviour. For example, enjoyable sexual contact or emotional involvement with someone of the same sex may be considered rewarding, and the thought of losing this may be a greater cost than social alienation. The positive aspects of own behaviour are, however, in conflict with the negative evaluation of a homosexual self-

image. In order to resolve this, strategies are called for that allow the behaviour to be placed in a new context, one that lessens the impact of essentiality. Three such strategies are proposed here that will allow the individual to acknowledge the rewarding aspects of her/his homosexual behaviour, while deflecting away from the notion of self as a fully-fledged homosexual. These have been called: The special case, bisexual and temporary identity strategies.

(a) *Special case strategy*

The individual perceives her/himself as homosexual only in relationship to a particular person. "If it were not for this special person, I would be a heterosexual" is the argument. This may be adopted even when the individual is involved in a full-time or long-term gay relationship.

> *I know a lesbian couple who have been together for ten years....They don't call themselves lesbians....They think they're in some special category, and they think it's just really unusual that they found a very special woman in their life.* (Martin & Lyon,1979,p.137)

(b) *Bisexual strategy* [30]

The individual perceives self as likely to be both homosexual and heterosexual. Actual heterosexual behaviour does not have to take place, as long as the self-image of "potentially heterosexual" is adopted ("I could

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[30] This strategy is distinguished from the *identity* of "bisexual" which many people adopt.

act heterosexually if and when I wanted to"). The bisexual strategy is likely to be commonly used because it offers the easiest way of coping with feelings of alienation while at the same time, acknowledging the positiveness on one's homosexual behaviour.

> *...a bisexual identity is sometimes a way-station in the process of accepting a homosexual self-identity.*
> (Blumstein & Schwartz,1977b,p.86)

In addition, strategies that focus on perceiving others as bisexual allow the individual to reduce even further the feelings of "not belonging" by minimising the differences between self and others. Labelling well-known public figures or famous historical figures as bisexual,[31] giving select attention to theories that maintain that "everyone is bisexual", and getting involved in a sexual situation that allows both homosexual and heterosexual behaviour, would further help the individual to feel "like (some) others".

(c) *Temporary identity strategy*

The individual accepts her/his homosexual self-image as a temporary phenomenon only, the implication being that at any time in the future s/he may choose to act heterosexually.

> *For many people, the transitory nature of nearly any activity, or the mere thought of it as temporary, is enough to keep them from*

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[31] Bramel (1962) also reports that projecting a homosexual identity onto others reduces the dissonance between self and others.

> *feeling guilty about it....The rationalisation that a person's homosexuality is a temporary phase is so powerful that it can remain self-convincing in the total absence of heterosexuality.*
> (Tripp,1976,p.129)

These three strategies all serve to provide those who adopt them with a picture of themselves as people who have the potential to belong to the majority (heterosexual) if and when they choose to, while at the same time reducing the significance given to the gay self-image. In this way, the sense of alienation (the cost) is substantially reduced. At the same time, the need to achieve greater congruency between self-image and behaviour, encourages the individual to experience a stronger and less ambiguous sense of her/his homosexual potential to the point of saying "I probably am a homosexual with this particular person", or "I probably am a homosexual as well as a heterosexual", or "I probably am a homosexual at this point in time". If , however, the individual is unable to adopt or maintain these strategies, it is probable that s/he will, according to the logic of essentialism, be forced to recognise the likelihood of a fully homosexual identity. Increased commitment to a self-image of "probably a homosexual" would then be accompanied by negative affect.

Passing as a heterosexual or as asexual is also adopted by those taking the second developmental path. Some people are at pains to present an image of conformity

in order to appear more acceptable to others (and self). Others may, in addition or instead, compartmentalise those aspects of self and life believed to be related to a sexual orientation identity in order to perceive it as separate from and unrelated to all other parts of self and life.

Path 3: Positive Evaluation/Greater Costs Than Rewards

This group is made up of those who find their self-perception of "may be a homosexual" acceptable, but consider the costs of such an identity to far outweigh any positive aspects. This evaluation might by expected when a person anticipates strongly antagonistic reactions from others, particularly significant others such as family, peers, church group. The person fears rejection and abandonment and consequently feelings of alienation are intense. "I might be a homosexual, but I'm not going to engage in homosexual acts anymore", and "I might be a homosexual, but I don't intend doing anything about it" are likely to be typical statements from individuals in this situation. The adherence to a homosexual self-image may be maintained by use of excuses which claim *personal innocence* or lack of responsibility for the self-image. "I was born this way", "I can't help it", "It's just the way I am", are examples of this.

> *In his search for self-acceptance, he seeks a tenacious retention of the concept of homosexuality as being*

> *completely involuntary to him. He is less anxious about being homosexual if he can be relieved of all responsibility for so being, and many homosexuals relieve themselves of such responsibility by deep condemnation of their own homosexual activities and pursuits.* (Cory,1956,p.424)

It is hypothesised, however, that the threat of being confronted with expected consequences (that is, the threat to self-esteem) leaves the individual no alternative other than to try and stop any further identity formation. In order to do this, s/he must carry out strategies aimed at inhibiting all homosexual behaviours. This would then allow for the rejection of any concept of self as a homosexual, and identity foreclosure would then take place. Professional help may be sought in carrying this out.

To ensure success, all forms of sexual responsiveness may be inhibited so that the person can then adopt an asexual self-image. This would effectively remove her/him from potentially provocative situations. A breakdown in the strategy, however, would be expected to lead to renewed efforts to inhibit behaviour (perhaps with professional help), or to adopt the alternative strategy of simply inhibiting *overt* behaviour. This may be effective if the individual is able to perceive covert behaviour (e.g., masturbation, dreams etc.) as *not* being a strong indicator for the pronouncement of an identity. To ensure continued success in this strategy, the individual may need

to consider engaging in further actions such as moving to another geographical location, or giving up membership in certain reference groups. However, the link between behaviour and cognition remains, and the drive towards consistency would be expected to induce greater commitment to a gay identity. Although perceived unfavourably, the self-image adopted is that of "probably a homosexual".

Path 4: Negative Evaluation/Greater Costs Than Rewards

For this group, there is nothing about their situation that is acceptable. They dislike holding a self-image of "may be a homosexual", and perceive the likely consequences of doing so to be particularly destructive to self. Feelings of alienation are extreme. We would expect that for such individuals, the discrepancy between real and desired self would be perceived as particularly large. The individual in this case, would be motivated to increase self-esteem. In order to do this, and to withstand the pull towards consistency between behaviour and cognitions, s/he would be forced to try and inhibit *all* homosexual behaviours, devalue and denounce homosexuality and evaluate hetero-sexuality positively. This permits the rejection of self as a homosexual. Weinberg (1973) describes one such person:

> *He refuses to make the acquaintance of homo-sexuals who live in his part of town, he takes pains to avoid them lest he be revealed by his reactions to them....He often initiates conversations which he thinks are heterosexual*

in nature. (p.83)

Ross (1978) has found clear evidence for the link between perceived costs and reactions to own homosexuality. He found that those individuals anticipating very negative societal reactions to homosexuality (high costs) tended to be more anxious about their sexual preference, less ready to disclose their orientation to others, less likely to interact socially with gay people and more likely to conform to societal expectations by marrying and staying married, than those individuals anticipating less negative reactions. Similar results were found by Weinberg and Williams (1975).

Where the above strategies are successfully applied, identity foreclosure will occur. Where they are not, the person will be forced into reducing the inconsistency between behaviour and self-perceptions by accepting a greater commitment to a homosexual self-image ("I probably am a homosexual"). This commitment, however, is to a negatively viewed identity. Paradoxically, the engagement in strategies to inhibit homosexual behaviour actually focuses attention on such behaviour and heightens its significance. "I can't stop thinking about her no matter how hard I try", "The more I try not to look at guys, the more I seem to want to", are examples of this. Coupled with characteristically rewarding aspects of homosexual behaviour, (e.g., sexual pleasure, intimacy) this may lead to a feeling of being obsessed or overwhelmed by thoughts of

a homosexual nature. The frequency and strength of these thoughts may be enough to interfere with on-going daily activity.

While individuals at Stage 2 are proceeding through cognitive restructuring processes leading towards a greater commitment to a homosexual self-image, a parallel process is taking place with regards to a heterosexual self-image ("I probably am not a heterosexual"). As noted previously, Western society portrays homosexuality and heterosexuality as polarities, so that consideration of one cannot be made without it having implications for the other.

STAGE 3: IDENTITY TOLERANCE (Table 3D)

Stage 3 of the homosexual identity formation process encompasses those developments leading the individual to move from seeing him/herself as "probably a homosexual" to the acknowledgement of a homosexual identity as relevant to self ("I am a homosexual"). As the name of the stage implies, however, the homosexual image of self is not fully accepted.

By the end of Stage 2, (and where identity foreclosure has not taken place) the individual has turned away from a self-image of "heterosexual" and toward that of, "I probably am a homosexual". This greater level of commitment is hypothesised to have important consequences.

TABLE 3D

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 3

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment	Increased commitment to homosexual identity from "I probably am a homosexual" to "I am a homosexual".		Greater clarity of self-image lessens feelings of confusion.
	Rejection of heterosexual self-image.		
	Transformation of self-image into identity.		
Inconsistency	Greater incongruency between perceptions of self-image and view of self believed to be held by others.		Heightened social alienation. Heightened dissonance.
	Greater incongruency between perception of self and presented identity (heterosexual).		
	Greater consistency between self-image and image presented to some gay others - first steps towards identity.		

TABLE 3D (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Identity Evaluation	Less acceptance for many people of the negative stereotypes of homosexuals.		Experiencing of minority status = tolerance of self.
Deference to Others	Self as homosexual perceived as inferior to heterosexuals.		Positive contacts with other homosexuals creates more favourable evaluation of self as homosexual. Negative contacts lead to devaluation of self.
Group Identification	Recognition of own minority status. Stronger sense of belonging to homosexual groups. Gays seen as accepting of homosexual behaviour and self-image. Some similarity seen with homosexuals and dissimilarity with heterosexuals.		

TABLE 3D (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Social Interaction	Recognition of homosexual social needs. Increased awareness of advantages of gay sub-culture.	Initiation of contacts with gay subculture. Lessening of social contacts with heterosexuals. Socialisation and rehearsal into homosexual role.	Range of reactions to social contacts with other homosexuals.
Sexual Orientation Activity	Acknowledgement of sexual and emotional needs.	Frequently an increase in homosexual sexual orientation activity. May still experience hetero-sexual erotic/emotional/sexual responses and activity.	Range of responses about engaging in activity - from guilt to pleasure.
Disclosure	Wants to disclose gay identity to certain gay others.	Begins to disclose to select gay others.	Acceptance of disclosure by others brings good feelings. Fear of heterosexuals finding out.
Alienation	Awareness that gay others are accepting lessens alienation		

TABLE 3D (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Strategies		Increase in gay contacts if experiences are positive; decrease if negative. Passing to heterosexuals, (presented identity = heterosexual).	
Personal Control	Homosexual behaviour and self-image seen as less controlling of everyday life than previously, but still concerns for future prospects.		
Acculturation		Experiments with various elements of gay subculture.	Some discomfort at mixing in gay subculture
Generality	Homosexual self-image seen as fairly significant part of self.	Most tend to act in homosexual way when opportunity arises.	
Professional Contact		Some contact for development of strategies.	

On the one hand, it is expected to reduce the degree of ambiguity and uncertainty surrounding self, thereby freeing the person from the task of having to manage a state of identity confusion and turmoil. This, in turn, will allow for a greater focus on the existence of social, emotional and sexual needs (which until now, will have been given little real attention), and on the subsequent growing awareness of the desire to fulfill these needs.

On the other hand, greater commitment would also be expected to accentuate the difference between perception of self ("probably homosexual") and view of self believed to be held by others (likely to be heterosexual), as well as between perception of self and presented identity (heterosexual). The result of this would be to heighten feelings of social alienation and dissonance.

It is proposed that as a result of the greater commitment to a homosexual self-image, the individual now begins to *actually experience* the minority status.

> *Minority membership tends to make the individual aware of contrasts and differences...the sharing of minority status and minority subculture usually implies either self-exclusion or exclusion by others or both, a considerable degree of apartness from "everyone else", which the individual occasionally experiences as a moderate or intense feeling of alienation.*
> (Hajda,1961,p.761)

With homosexuality given a particularly negative

status in Western society, it is probably impossible for someone who experiences the minority status of homosexuals to completely avoid taking on some characteristics of an oppressed identity. At Stage 3, it is proposed that the characteristic most likely to be adopted is that termed by Pugh (1972) as "adaptive inferiority". This refers to the way in which, the minority individual comes to perceive her/himself as inferior to those in the dominant group. In the homosexual situation, it is hypothesised that this sense of inferiority becomes expressed as a feeling of *toleration* rather than acceptance of self as "probably a homosexual". "The homosexual may resign himself to his homosexuality as a fact of life and yet feel that he would really be 'a heterosexual'" (Hammersmith & Weinberg,1973,p.58).

This toleration of self is believed to result from participation within a societal system that upholds heterosexuality as a positively valued status. Since the individual has been well and truly socialised into giving heterosexuality greater value, this perspective is maintained even after a homosexual self-image has been considered. Toleration, rather than acceptance of a homosexual self-image is hypothesised to be one of the hallmarks of Stage 3. It expresses an attitude that gives heterosexuality greater and more positive value than homosexuality. Even those feeling positively about themselves are said to be characterised by some degree of self-toleration, since at this point, they too, would be expected to give greater weight and significance to the heterosexual majority.

It is proposed that in order to alleviate the incongruency felt between self and others, as well as to meet personal needs, the individual at Stage 3 will tend to seek out other homosexuals, thereby initiating contact with elements of the gay subculture [32].

> *Individuals tend to seek adequacy through identification with people seeking need satisfaction in ways similar to their own.* (Combs, Richards & Richards,1976,p.343)

This contact would be expected to bring about recognition that there are others (homosexuals) with whom the person concerned has something in common, an awareness that should alleviate some of the alienation. Homosexual others, it is proposed, will tend to be broadly perceived as accepting of one's own homosexual behaviour and self-image, a perception likely to accentuate the distinction between self and *heterosexual* others.

Combs et al, note that people tend to withdraw from groups "whose approval they are unable to win or which no longer satisfy needs" (p.344). It would be expected then, that withdrawal from heterosexual groups may begin to occur to the degree that the individual experiences difficulty in having needs met. Roesler and Deisher (1972) in fact, found evidence for a gradual lessening of heterosexual friends in relation to gay friends with greater time spent

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[32] Farrell (Note 13) has proposed that association with gay groups arises out of a need for support when societal rejection of homosexuals is perceived to be high. However, in the present manuscript, it is argued that an individual is unlikely to have knowledge of the supportive function of the gay subculture until *after* s/he has been involved in social interactions of this kind.

in the gay subculture. Detachment from heterosexual others may occur in a variety of ways, including less, or more selective social interaction with them, and a focusing on the inadequacies of heterosexuals in meeting personal needs. Thus, as a result of mixing with gay people, the individual comes to recognise the inability of non-homosexual groups to meet her/his personal needs. Heterosexuals and heterosexuality begin, to some degree, to be devalued.

In considering our discussion of Stage 3 so far, it is apparent that this stage can be distinguished from the previous two in its emphasis on the interaction between the individual and her/his environment. Recognition of personal needs that require contact be made with the gay subculture encourages the individual to seek out others. Such actions are coloured by her/his affective and cognitive reactions towards self as part of an oppressed minority group. Contact with others, in itself, then becomes a source by which self-attitudes may be modified.

The picture now proposed is of an individual engaging in a situation which involves some investment of self (disclosure of self to gay others, recognition of homosexual needs, social interaction in the gay subculture and reevaluation of attitudes). Recall that Rusbult (1980) found that investment increased and maintained commitment. The more someone has invested in a particular decision, the more likely that the reversal of this commitment will be seen as a loss or cost. Thus, in Stage 3, we can now apply this principle to homosexual commitment. It is

hypothesised that to the degree that an individual has made some investment involving his/her homosexual behaviour and/or self-image, there will be greater commitment to that behaviour and/or self-image and less concern with giving these up.

The factor believed to be most critical in influencing the degree to which people invest in their needs is the quality of the contact with homosexual others. Although actually making contact with gay others is itself important, it is the *quality* of that contact that is considered to most affect commitment. That is, the effect of an experience perceived as negative is seen to be less likely to induce further investment of self in the gay subculture than one perceived as positive.

Many factors are believed to contribute to making an experience negative: Poor social skills; shyness; low self-esteem; and fear of exposure, of the police, of the unknown. In addition, the individual's notion of what constitutes a negative experience is also likely to be important. One person, for example, may find a bar or nightclub exciting, whereas another may find it depressing. Difficulties in making contact with others may direct a person to restrict her/his encounters to only those situations that require least interpersonal skills and therefore, are less threatening (e.g., discos, beats[33]). This may well become a vicious circle in which the individual never

[33] Beats are places where male homosexuals go to seek out anonymous sex.

ventures into social settings that might encourage new skills, greater confidence and loss of fears.

In addition, some social contexts may be perceived as negative experiences (e.g., going to beats or discos, when intense emotional contact is wanted). It would be expected that unless the individual attempted to make changes in the type of social context attended, positive experiences might be difficult to come by. In some places, suitable venues for this type of experience may not be readily available.

Effect of Positive Contact With the Gay Subculture

Positive contacts (that is, perceived rewarding experiences) are hypothesised to have the effect of raising self-esteem, and of generating an evaluation of homosexual others that upholds them as more significant and more favourable. This is expected to result in easier identification with homosexual others. Desire for further contacts with the subculture would then be likely to follow.

The intensity of these reactions and changes would be expected to vary depending upon the individual's initial feelings about self as a homosexual. For those viewing their homosexual self-image positively, it is proposed that the consistency of a positive contact experience would simply confirm levels of self-esteem and encourage a more positive view of homosexuality. For those

viewing themselves less favourably, we would predict a similar reevaluation of self and homosexual others (although the resulting evaluation may not be as positive as the former group). However, different motivating forces would be expected, depending on the factors of self-esteem, locus of control, attribution of personal responsibility and anticipated consequences. A person with a less favourable view of own homosexual self-perception may, for example, attribute positive contact experience to good luck and be doubtful as to its reoccurrence. This might contrast with the person of high self-esteem, who considers such an experience as the result of personal attributes and intends pursuing further positive experiences. Each of these individuals might eventually show increased commitment toward their homosexual self-image, but the routes taken would be quite different.

Effect of Negative Contact With the Gay Subculture

On the other hand, unrewarding contacts with homosexual others, resulting in an appraisal of the situation as reaping more costs than rewards, are hypothesised to result in a devaluation of homosexuals and the gay subculture, as well as own self-image. "If this (the negative experience) is what being a homosexual is all about, then I don't like being a homosexual", might be a typical statement. Weinberg (1973) offers this example of someone taking on these strategies:

> *He is cool with his lover and braces himself when the other boy cries pathetically. He quits membership in a club on campus where there are many unembarrassed homosexuals. He makes it policy to avoid being with homosexuals permanently. He reads up on homosexuality under the heading of "deviancy" in his college library, and undertakes to go to the school psychologist to nail down his conversion. All these acts... heighten his loathing of the homosexual impulses he still feels.* (p.79)

Again, it is proposed that people who originally felt positive towards themselves will react quite differently to those who feel negatively. Several factors might be considered important here. For example, the individual with positive feelings, given high self-esteem and experience in effectively coping with previous negative experiences, may attribute the negative contact to an unlucky break, a one-off situation. In contrast, someone who previously anticipated negative consequences of their homosexuality and who believes the contact experience is the result of personal failure, may consider her/his situation as an example of what happens to someone who adheres to such a "wicked/sinful/bad" view of self. There is some suggestion that holding negative feelings about self leads a person to be less persistent at a task, especially following initial failure (Shrauger & Sorman,1977). In the present situation this could be interpreted to mean that there would be less

likelihood of someone holding a negative evaluation of his/her homosexual self-image persisting with same-sex contacts long enough to experience a rewarding contact.

When expression of homosexual needs is interpreted as a *costing* rather than a rewarding experience, the individual wll be expected to try and inhibit all homosexual behaviours. If effective, this strategy would allow the individual to foreclose on her/his self-image as "probably homosexual". However, it is predictable that, for some individuals whose awareness of sexual and/or social needs has by now been heightened, this will be difficult. For these people, attempts to minimise contact with homosexuals is hypothesised to become the likely alternative.

This type of strategy has been well documented in the literature as a means of coping with the problems of minority group status. As long ago as 1948, Kurt Lewin proposed that when the balance between those forces drawing a person to a group are outweighed by those drawing him/her away from it (as often happens in a minority group) then individuals will move as far away from the centre of that group as the outside majority permits ("majority" may be represented in fantasy or reality). Barakat (1969) describes the strategy of reducing contact with the minority group as common to that group which he terms "retreaters", people who deal with their alienation by retreating from the social system.

> *Some of them keep running away in order to avoid confrontation, involvement, or commitment. Others build up their own skills or weave cocoons around themselves and hide away hoping there will be no rebirth.* (Barakat,1969,p.8)

In the homosexual situation, this strategy would be expected to involve the inhibition of most overt (homosexual) behaviours. As noted before, the assumption of essentiality holds that a person who persistently acts in a certain way is characterised by the relevant identity. Intermittent homosexual behaviour would therefore, be acceptable as a means of fulfilling some needs, while staving off further commitment. However, even intermittent behaviour continued over a period of time begins to take on the characteristic of "persistent". Recognition of this fact as being an indicator of a gay identity would be expected to place the individual in the position of accepting the self-image "I am a homosexual" in order to reduce inconsistency (although this increased level of commitment may not necessarily be viewed favourably).

Interaction with the gay subculture, no matter how minimal, is expected to offer the individual at Stage 3, the chance to observe that mixing with gay people has its advantages. A number of authors have documented the positive features arising out of contact with the gay subculture, such as: The opportunity to meet a partner; provision of role models who present homosexuality as

acceptable; the chance to learn techniques for better management of a gay identity; practice in feeling more at ease by socialisation to subculture behaviour; and a ready-made support group (e.g., Albro & Tully,1979; Dank,1971; Hedblom,1972; Hooker,1967; Leznoff & Westley,1956; Ponse, 1978,1980; Simon & Gagnon,1967b; Warren,1974; Weinberg & Williams,1975; Dank, Note 2; Farrell, Note 13). Therefore, even where contact with other gay people is minimal, we would expect that this still allows the individual to observe the potentially rewarding aspects of mixing with homosexuals.

At the same time, we would also expect the individual to have an awareness of the negative aspects of these contacts; - the demand for greater commitment to a homosexual identity; the possibility, by disclosure to homosexuals, that one's identity may be made known to those outside the gay subculture; and a potentially greater involvement with the police. Where a person is maintaining minimal contact, overemphasis on these negative aspects may be expected to encourage a continuation of this strategy.

Role Rehearsal and Identity Formation

One of the most significant outcomes of interactions with the gay subculture is the socialisation of the individual into the homosexual role. Several authors suggest the need to examine the concept of role and role changes in order to

fully understand life-transitions (e.g., Foner & Kertzer, 1978; Hill & Aldous,1973; Rosow,1974). The loss of previously held expectations for behaviour can be stressful to individuals, and affect both group membership and personal status. This may be offset if new roles are continuous with previous ones, that is, have similar values and expectations for behaviour (Rosow,1974). Taking on new roles involves (1) knowledge about the role, (2) motivation to adopt the values and expectations that characterise it, and (3) the ability to perform the role behaviours and to internalise the values (Hill & Aldous,1973). Society frequently provides a period of role rehearsal in which a new role can be learnt before it must be fully adopted (Foner & Kertzer,1978).

In the homosexual situation, Stage 3 may be considered a time of role rehearsal, bridging the gap created initially by the recognition in Stage 2 that the values of a heterosexual role would not be applicable if a homosexual identity was adopted. In Stage 3, this gap has been broadened with a greater commitment to such an identity.

The loss of the heterosexual role is hypothesised to be stressful for those who considered it an assumed and natural aspect of their lives. However, the adoption of a homosexual role is unlikely to be seen as an immediate substitute for the heterosexual role where (1) it is equated with the gay stereotype and therefore, given negative connotations, or (2) considered an unknown quantity as a

result of no previous and relevant socialisation.

It is proposed that by mixing with elements of the gay subculture, the individual will be confronted with the expectations of other homosexuals as to how a person holding a gay identity should behave. Different groups would be expected to hold differing conceptions of what is an appropriate role. The individual learns which values, standards and behavioural patterns are expected of her/him and then begins to practice applying these during times of social interaction (Hooker,1967). In other words, the role is rehearsed. Some authors have found (e.g., Gagnon & Simon,1974) that first attempts at role enactment see the acting out of previously learnt stereotypes such as effeminancy for males and masculinity for females. In due course, these characteristics become modified as the individual becomes more socialised into appropriate patterns, and more able to adopt these patterns in specific situations. Greater acculturation into the homosexual community is expected to have positive ramifications. Findings from Weinberg and Williams (1975) for example, showed that greater acculturation was correlated with less depression and loneliness, less guilt and anxiety re own homosexuality, and less interpersonal awkwardness.

Socialisation into a homosexual role is significant to the development of gay identity. As others (that is, gay others) come to see the individual acting out, or attempting to act out the role, they make the assumption that this is indicative of the holding of a homosexual self-

perception. In other words, perceived identity is that of "a homosexual". As this information is conveyed to the individual, it promotes cognitive changes. Previously-held beliefs about how others perceive self become altered from "heterosexual" to "homosexual". The individual now considers that other gay people generally perceive self as "homosexual". The world has become divided into two groups - homosexuals and non-homosexuals - with the former broadly perceived as supporting the homosexual self-image and the latter as not. In line with these predictions are Roesler and Deisher's (1972) findings that the more a person is in contact with the homosexual community, the more s/he is likely to consider self "homosexual" rather than "bisexual" or "heterosexual".

From Self-Image to Identity

From a theoretical viewpoint, this initial movement towards consistency between own and perceived other viewpoints, represents a time when we can begin to talk of *identity* as opposed to self-image or self-perception. As proposed in Chapter 2, we would expect the experiential sense of self, generated when there is believed to be support for self as a homosexual, to be quite different from those feelings emanating from a situation where there is no perceived support and where the view of self is simply an internalised and private belief.

In Stage 3, the individual is beginning to integrate (some) others' views of self with own views. Out of this, a sense of identity will begin to emerge. However, since hetersoexual others do not, generally speaking, support the individual's homosexual self-image, we cannot claim that a homosexual identity is fully developed. It would seem useful to recognise the concept of *degrees of identity development* as Grzelkowski (Note 8) suggests. According to such a concept, all stages in the present formulation would represent increasing degrees of identity development, leading to a fully developed and experienced homosexual identity by the end of Stage 6. However, Stage 3, as mentioned, is believed to represent the point of development when we can begin to refer to an early degree of identity formation, rather than simply self-image. There will, however, be difficulty in proclaiming a particular point of development as indicative of the time when a person begins to actually *experience* an identity of self as a homosexual.

Thus, Stage 3 is a time when considerable changes are taking place for the individual on a number of levels. At a cognitive level there is a greater commitment to a gay self-image, giving rise to the clear perception of self as "a homosexual". This commitment is bolstered by increasing investment in the open expression of one's homosexuality with other gay people, which has its rewards in the form of lessening alienation, and the meeting of personal needs.

Such rewards can only be sustained when the individual is able to learn the specific characteristics of the homosexual role portrayed by various elements of the gay subculture. In addition to cognitive and behavioural changes, developments are also expected at an affective level as the individual comes to experience what it is like to have the private view of self as gay supported by others. The deepening sense of self as a homosexual is a further indicator of the transformation of self-perception into "identity". As long as the minority status attached to such an identity remains overwhelming, however, this identity remains coloured by feelings of reluctance or tolerance.

STAGE 4: IDENTITY ACCEPTANCE (Table 3E)

Stage 4 is characterised by continued perception of self as "a homosexual" and a change in the evaluation of self from tolerance to acceptance. The homosexual role is carried out more securely.

By the end of Stage 3, if identity foreclosure has not taken place, an individual will have come to the point where commitment can be expressed as "I am a homosexual". The world has become clearly divided into homosexuals (likely to be supportive) and non-homosexuals (likely to be hostile), and some involvement (investment) is now experienced with the former group. Separation of the two

TABLE 3E

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 4

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment	Identity of "a homosexual" strengthens		
Identity Evaluation			Feelings change from tolerance to acceptance of self.
Social Interaction		Continued and increasing contacts with other homosexuals. More personalised choices re socialising in the gay subculture.	
Group Identification	Greater identification with homosexual group. Gay group(s) seen to meet most of social, emotional and sexual needs. Little sense of belonging to heterosexual groups		

TABLE 3E (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Deference	Homosexuals seen as equally important as heterosexuals.	Emphasis on "fitting in" to society.	
Inconsistency	Participation in group that fully legitimises homosexuality creates incongruency with life-style. Greater congruency between behaviour, self-image and view of self perceived to be held by homosexuals and some heterosexual others.		Subjective dissonance.

TABLE 3E (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Disclosure	Wishes to disclose to some heterosexuals: friends, family, close work colleagues.	Selective disclosure to significant non-gays.	
Strategies		Passing a routine strategy to avoid confrontation with negative reactions. Limiting contacts with hostile non-gays. May change living and employment arrangements.	
Generality	Homosexual self-image seen as a significant part of self.		
Acculturation		Further socialisation into appropriate subcultural roles.	Little discomfort with activities in the gay subculture.
Dichotom-isation	Certain heterosexuals considered supportive	Homosexual aspects of life kept separate by passing.	

TABLE 3E (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Personal Control	Homosexual identity not seen to interfere with life.		
Personal Satisfaction			Level of general satisfaction and self-esteem increases.
Professional Contact		Little need for professional help re identity.	
Sexual Orientation Activity		Decreasing heterosexual erotic, emotional or sexual activity.	Preference for homosexual erotic, emotional and sexual activity.

groups is believed to be a necessary requirement for effective and effortless application of "passing" (Ponse, 1977), a strategy which continues to be maintained throughout Stage 4.

Stage 4 is characterised by continued and increasing contacts with other homosexuals. It is predicted that this will have the important function of allowing the individual to more fully experience those features of the subculture that validate and "normalise" homosexuality as an identity and way of life. Increasing socialisation into roles appropriate to the contexts in which social contacts are made is expected. This is likely to result in a greater sense of "belonging" to that group of people termed homosexuals. With greater confidence, the individual is also expected to discover preferences for certain social contexts and out of these, to begin to develop homosexual friendship circles. These activities will lead to greater personal investment in the concept of self as a homosexual, and to a more positive reevaluation of homosexuals as a group. Weinberg and Williams (1975) conclude from their study, that the more someone is socialised into the homosexual role, the less likely they will be to experience depression, loneliness, guilt or interpersonal awkwardness. Such experiences would be expected to encourage further involvement (investment) in the gay community. Both gay and non-gay groups will now be given equal significance in the individual's life as identification with the gay subculture strengthens.

Following this, we can predict that elements of an oppressed identity that characterised Stage 3 self-perceptions will be largely rejected. That is, the acceptance of society's pronouncement that homosexuality is "second-best", characteristic of Stage 3, is now replaced with the attitude that "gay is just as good as straight". As a result of this shift, the individual's feelings about her/his developing homosexual identity are expected to move from tolerance to acceptance.

By now, the questions of "Who am I?" and "Where do I belong?", generated in the early stages of identity formation, are likely to have been adequately answered.

Through the remaining stages, it will be hypothesised that the types of subcultural groups that a person mixes with will have an important influence on paths of development taken. Some groups hold a philosophy that fully legitimises homosexuality (homosexuality is valid both publicly and privately), whereas, others offer only a partial legitimisation (homosexuality is valid as a private identity but should not be "displayed" before the rest of society).

At Stage 4, it is proposed that participating in, and identifying with, a group that holds to a philosophy of full legitimisation (i.e., where it is strongly perceived as a reference group) will create psychological tension for the individual since it is incongruent with actual life-style and self-attitudes. Evidence for this

"subjective dissonance" has been given by Ponse (1977) in a study of lesbian women. She found it to be experienced by those who wished to maintain a strategy of passing among heterosexual friends while at the same time being an active member of an "activist" group. Attempts to resolve the inconsistency between personal and group beliefs, and to reduce the tension emanating from it, are believed to provide the motivation for movement into Stage 5.

On the other hand, having in the gay community a reference group that adheres to a philosophy of partial legitimisation would be expected to create no such difficulties, since its emphasis on "fitting in" is congruent with the individual's current life-style and beliefs. Barakat terms people who adopt this mode of dealing with a minority status "compliers":

> *...who comply publicly rather than privately with the demands and expectations of the system. They tend to fit into the system and engage in activities that promote its concerns, values and objectives without being able to internalise them.* (Barakat,1969,p.9)

We may hypothesise that by compartmentalising the world more clearly into "homosexual" and "heterosexual", and by choosing to socialise more with what is essentially an insulated homosexual environment, the person is to a large extent buffered from the full force of hostile stereotypes which are part of the wider world.

> *By accepting a straight role I can sufficiently camouflage my gay nature to free myself from the immediate attacks of the hostile, and oppressive society I must live in. Those who reject this society totally also reject the safety of the straight-gay role....Straight gay is a compromise of self-acceptance with self-rejection.* (Walter,1980,pp.188,189)

This situation enables self-esteem to be maintained and even increased (Louden,1980). However, the individual at this stage is likely to be well aware of the potential of the majority (non-homosexuals) to disturb what is a relatively stable sense of self. In order to ward off such an occurrence, it is proposed that three strategies may be adopted; passing, limited contact, and selective disclosure.

By Stage 4, we would expect that *passing* has become a routine strategy for compartmentalising a homosexual way of life and reducing the likelihood of being confronted with the negative reactions of non-gays. In addition, *limiting contacts* with those non-homosexuals who threaten to confront the individual with a differing (and negative) view of self (e.g., families) would also be expected to take place. Living and employment arrangements might also be altered to ensure the success of this strategy.

Selective disclosure to significant non-homosexual

others would be expected to occur when the individual feels this will benefit her/his position.

> *...at some point or other, many...homosexuals feel a definite need to tell at least some of their heterosexual friends about themselves because the concealment of this aspect of their character works against the growth of understanding and friendship, and because the lies involved become too much to bear.*
> (Blamires,1973,p.30)

A disclosee may then be employed to help maintain a strategy of limited contact with others. Evidence for greater disclosure to non-homosexual friends being linked with greater commitment is offered by Roesler and Deisher (1972) who found that 80% of those who had been involved with the gay subculture for more than a year had disclosed, compared with 50% who had mixed for less than one year.

Disclosure may be made to someone whom the homosexual individual finds it difficult to conceal her/his identity from, or to someone whom the homosexual wishes to share an important aspect of self with. Disclosing is likely to occur only after careful consideration of all the possible consequences (Ponse,1977), and the person disclosed to may be asked to fit into the individual's life-style of secrecy. If the other person accepts the situation this would be expected to provide further support for the homosexual and broaden the group of "others" whom the homosexual perceives as seeing self as a homosexual.

Jourard (1968,1971) has proposed that in general

terms, disclosing some aspect of self to others is important for healthy functioning as an individual. He, in fact, suggests that disclosure, particularly to significant others, promotes the achievement of what he terms a "healthy personality". In the homosexual context, we may conclude from this, that disclosure about one's homosexual identity reflects an increasingly positive state of psychological health, and is also predictive of further increase in such a state. This proposal has, in fact, been verified in the literature. Myrick (1974) found that increasing disclosure of a homosexual identity was related to less concern over self-esteem and self-acceptance and reduced feelings of social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness. Fishbein and Laird (1979) found too, that self-disclosure leads a person to view the personal attribute in question (in this case, homosexuality) more positively than before.

These findings from the self-disclosure literature are significant to our discussion of homosexual identity. They suggest that even where disclosure brings forth a negative reaction from the other person, the assumption cannot be made that this will prove destructive to the individual's self-esteem. The act of disclosure itself implies a degree of capability in coping with the whole disclosure situation. Where a negative reaction to disclosing is perceived, this is likely to be dealt with by cognitive strategies that place responsibility on the disclosee and not the discloser (e.g., "She's not as liberal-minded as she makes out").

Disclosure is not only a Stage 4 phenomenon, but may logically occur in any of the previous stages. However, disclosure based on self-acceptance is likely to be a quite different act than one based on negative emotions, and thus the predicted ramifications of self-disclosure at Stage 4 should not be taken to apply to earlier stages. One further aspect of self-disclosure is of interest to us; a study by Sparks (1976) suggests that there may be different patterns of self-disclosure exhibited by males and females, with females more likely to disclose about personal aspects and to disclose to their closest same-sex friends than males. This would lead us to expect that such differences might be significant in the disclosure patterns of male and female homosexuals at this stage.

Finally, Ehrlich (1981) points out, that a person must have acquired the "art and science of self-disclosure" (p.131) in order to cope as a gay person in society. Where s/he is unable to carry this strategy out effectively, there may be negative repercussions in the form of physical and psychological expressions of stress.

An interesting situation that we may also expect to find at this Stage is that which Goffman (1969) terms "working consensus". This occurs where non-homosexuals in the individual's life (e.g., family members) suspect that s/he is a homosexual and the individual her/himself believes they suspect this, but nothing is actually said. Direct disclosure does not take place, but information is communicated in an indirect manner, confirming the situation.

In this way, face-to-face conflict is avoided.

It is hypothesised that when all of these strategies are successfully carried out, identity foreclosure will take place. With a homosexual identity positively formulated, little threat of direct confrontation, and greater interpersonal stability via friendship networks, relationships etc., alienation is minimised and a degree of peacefulness exists. For many homosexuals this life-style is likely to prove to be a most satisfactory one. The individual will have reached a point in her/his development of a gay identity where the positive forces emanating from the subculture, the individual's own general motivation, and the acquisition of adequate coping mechanisms serve to promote a well-functioning person. Dank (Note 2) found that as a result of these forces, the individual with an extended time commitment to a homosexual identity was less guilty, lonely and anxious, and more inclined to reject traditional (negative) societal views on homosexuals. Grzelowski (Note 8) obtained similar findings.

When the strategies are not carried out successfully, there may be renewed efforts to make them work. Where these also fail, we would expect incongruency to be heightened, leading to movement into Stage 5. It is also possible that the philosophy of partial legitimisation will be rejected, and this too will confront the individual with conflict between actual and desired values and living conditions.

STAGE 5: IDENTITY PRIDE (Table 3F)

In Stage 5, the individual develops a sense of pride in self as a homosexual, rejecting the negative status given to homosexuals. A greater sense of identity emerges.

Individuals enter Stage 5 with an awareness of the incongruency that exists between own acceptance of self-perceptions as a homosexual, and society's disapproval of such an identity. This would be expected to elevate feelings of alienation, although the dynamics of these are different to those of previous stages. Stokols (1975) suggests a form of alienation (dissatisfaction and disillusionment) that emerges out of a situation in which the individual perceives her/himself as thwarted by others in reaching certain objectives (acceptance and equal treatment as a homosexual) and at the same time can see alternative ways of relating to those others that will bring satisfaction (via changes in community attitudes). Response to this form of alienation is aggression, hostility and rebellion. This is a quite different phenomenon from that of earlier stages, which Stokols would characterise as a situation of personal thwarting with a perceived *lack* of alternatives. This, he states, leads to subjugation, not hostility.

It is hypothesised that in response to the alienation felt at Stage 5, the individual will be likely to use cognitive strategies to devalue the importance of

TABLE 3F

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 5

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Group Identification			Sense of pride in self as a homosexual.
Identity Evaluation	Rejection of negative stereotypes of gays.		Homosexual behaviour and identity evaluated positively; heterosexual evaluated neg
Alienation	Sees self as quite different from heterosexuals.		Increased feelings of alienation arising from perceived lack of acceptance of homosexuals - anger, hostility. Range of alienation depending on degree of negativity perceived and experienced from others.
Deference To Others	Devaluation of non-gay others; rejection of heterosexual values. Homosexuals elevated to most significant group.		

Table 3F (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Inconsistency	Greater congruency between perceptions of own identity and others' view of self as homosexual.		Discomfort produced where dissonance exists arising when reactions from non-gays are negative.
Personal Satisfaction	High levels of satisfaction with gay life-style. Dissatisfaction with negative status of homosexuality.		Increased self-esteem.
Strategies		Purposeful confrontation of others. Gives up "fitting in" strategy. Becomes involved in social change/activist stance.	

Table 3F (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment	Perceives being "a homosexual" as a preferable way to be.		
Group Identification	Intense identification with gay group and dis-identification with non-gay group. Gays seen as the only supportive and significant reference group. Development of a group identity.		
Dichotomisation	World dichotomised clearly into homosexuals (creditable and significant) and non-homosexuals (discredited and insignificant). "Them vs us" stance.		

Table 3F (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Social Interaction	Interaction with heterosexuals seen to be unproductive and destructive to self. Little interest in social interaction with non-gays.	High level of involvement in gay subculture. Little, if any, social interaction with non-gays.	High level of satisfaction with homosexual contacts.
Acculturation		Immersion into many aspects of gay culture.	
Disclosure	Wishes to disclose to anyone posing a threat to homosexuals.	Purposeful disclosure to others. Gives up passing as heterosexual.	Disclosure occurs in response to anger and alienation.
		Non-concealment of gay identity at times when cost of disclosure seen to be too high.	Disclosure can also be threatening (e.g., job loss, rejection).

Table 3F (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Generality	Homosexual identity seen as all-pervading. Other aspects of self given little attention.	Will choose to act in homosexual way at all suitable times.	
Sexual Orientation Activity	No wish to engage in heterosexual activity	Heterosexual activity non-existent. Exclusively homosexual.	
Personal Control	Homosexual identity has considerable influence on day to day living.		

non-homosexual others to self, and to revalue homosexual others more positively. Louden (1980) terms this "the inflation mechanism". In order to maintain self-esteem, individuals misperceive the reality of the social structure so that their own group is ranked more positively. This is expected to result in the recognition that "fitting in" is no longer a tenable philosophy. The psychological distance between self and non-homosexual others will now be perceived as insurmountable, resulting in a shift in commitment towards seeing gay others as the only truly supportive and significant group. Involvement in the gay subculture is proposed as one way that individuals at Stage 5 deal with their alienation and minority status. (Kanungo (1979) suggests that the opposite of alienation is involvement). Combs, Richards and Richards (1976) would add that withdrawal from groups unable to satisfy personal needs (i.e., non-homosexuals) must occur simultaneously if personal equilibrium is to take place.

In order to support and maintain the cognitive processes taking place, the individual is required to dichotomise the world into homosexual (creditable and significant) and non-homosexuals (discredited and in-significant). Identification with, and commitment to, the former is likely to be strong, generating a sense of group identity and belonging. Gay groups will be given the status of primary reference and membership group, and other homo-sexuals will be perceived as the only real source of companionship and emotional fulfillment. The individual

would be expected to see this as providing security and affirmation of identity, so that, in a sense, other homosexuals act as a substitute family (Altman,1979).

> *The essential quality of gay liberation ...lies in its assertion of gayness, its refusal to feel shame or guilt at being homosexual. Out of this affirmation of being gay comes an affirmation of solidarity with other gays and the transformation of the pseudo-community of the old gayworld into a sense of real community.* (Altman,1971,p.116)

The division of their social environment into homosexual and heterosexual may be seen as an expression of the belief that gays need to keep themselves separate and apart from those institutions that portray homosexuality in a negative manner.

> *Instead of fighting for the right to merely survive, the gay person's efforts would be better spent in the task of discovering his authenticity as a human being by ceasing to consider himself to be a straight person with a homosexual orientation and separating himself as much as possible from oppressive straight influences.* (Wells,1973,p.2)

There is likely to be a characteristic immersion of the self in the gay subculture with an accompanying voracious consumption of all literature and culture that is related to homosexuality. Out of a sense of group identity, the individual will then be able to develop "the sense of

history and connectedness to the past and the future that seems so crucial for personal identity" (Gurin & Epps, 1975,p.4). Attention is likely to be paid to developing and portraying an image that rejects any overtones of the stereotyped and oppressed homosexual. Showing the parallel between homosexuals and Black Americans, Pugh (1972) noted that " Black people must redefine themselves and only *they* can do that" (p.4). Just as such redefinition resulted in the linguistic change from "Negro" to "Black", so too, for the homosexual at Stage 5, there is frequently a change from the term "homosexual" to "gay", as noted previously (Chapter 3).

This change typifies the sense of pride likely to be felt at this point, often expressed in slogans such as "gay is good" and "gay and proud".

> *What is Gay Power? It is essentially Pride; it is standing up for one's beliefs; it is saying, "Yes, I love other men (or women) and I don't give a damn what you think of it"; it is refusing to hide by pretending to be that which you are not; it is demanding to be recognised as a powerful minority with just rights.* (Quoted in Teal,1971,p.76)

Pride, Cooley (1964) told us in 1902, is the means by which a person expresses approval of self in a specific type of social situation. It carries with it the understanding that s/he can look after self, is not dependent on what others think, has significant others

who feel positively toward her/him and does not hold humiliating images of self. "In a sense, pride is strength, that is, it implies a stable and consistent character which can be counted on..."(p.233). Several authors suggest too, (e.g., Rosenberg,1979; Rosow,1974) the link between a sense of pride and group identification. Pride, denotes a desire to associate with the group, and to see the group as an integral and important part of one's life.

With the devaluation of heterosexual others, it would follow that the individual at Stage 5 will also reject those values classified as heterosexual (e.g., marriage, sex-role structures etc.) since they are seen to promote the concept of homosexual inferiority. Strong identification with the gay subculture is expected in turn, to provide an alternative and more satisfying set of values. The individual may be seen not as just accepting a gay identity, but rather as *preferring* it to a hetero-sexual one.

Sagarin (1969) would see the processes of Stage 5 from a strangely derogatory viewpoint, with gay groups falling "victim to the temptation, almost inherent in the nature of such organisations, to project a self-image that both glorifies and 'prettifies'" (p.23). However, Blau (1964) as well as Gurin and Epps (1975) hold a quite different perspective. They consider such values as the necessary means by which members of a minority group can adequately survive against a dominant majority group. Out of resistance to oppression by the dominant group,

individuals move from seeing themselves as part of a category to part of a collectivity or group whose members share the experience of being exploited and oppressed. "The opposition ideology, finally, becomes a rallying point, a symbol of group identity, and a new basis of social solidarity" (Blau,p.233).

Dealing with minority status is considered to evoke more than just group pride. In daily life, the gay individual is likely to be constantly confronted with, (thwarted) and forced to adhere to, an established frame of reference that presents the homosexual in a negative light. Out of this frustration, as Stokols (1975) noted, we would expect hostility, anger, aggression. The combination of anger and pride is hypothesised to energise the individual at this stage into action against the established institutions and create an "activist".

> *If you are homosexual, and you get tired of waiting around for the liberals to repeal the sodomy laws, and begin to dig yourself - and get angry - you are on the way to being a radical.* (Shelley,1972,p.32)

Abbott and Love (1973) characterise the activist in the following way:

> *The activist drops much self-consciousness and develops a social consciousness. Instead of guilt, the activist experiences pride. Instead of accepting the concept of "can't change", the activist refuses to change her sexual preference. Instead of accepting homosexuality as a failure in development, the activist sees that she has*

> *been successful in resisting strong social forces toward heterosexuality. Instead of deviant behaviour the activist sees homosexual behaviour as creative and individualistic.... Instead of passively accepting oppression and surrendering to it like a vegetable, the activist confronts society....Instead of hiding, the activist declares herself.*
> (pp.161 - 162)

Such a stance, suggests Barakat (1969) is a response to the alienation experienced. As individuals communicate their feelings of anger to each other, a social consensus emerges that legitimates and reinforces these feelings. Adoption of a stance that encourages involvement in social change allows the outward expression of anger. Thus, purposeful confrontation with those structures seen to be a part of the heterosexual system is likely to be perceived as the only way to validate the legitimacy of homosexuality.

However, Simpson and Yinger (1972) suggest a distinction between militant and reformist activists that should be considered here. Although both groups hold a belief that minority group members have a degree of access to change forces, the former consider that reform is not possible while the latter believe it is. Simpson and Yinger's proposal serves to remind us that there are degrees of activism, and several factors may be responsible for this.

In the present formulation, recognition is given to different forms of activism and the varied ways in which these might be expressed. In the homosexual context,

evidence is offered for the existence of different types of activists by Peplau, Cochran, Rook and Podesky (1978). On the basis of their study of lesbians, they differentiated between "political moderates" who participated in gay liberation groups, and "politically radical women" who were highly active in lesbian feminist activities.

It is proposed that confrontation with non-homosexuals will lead the homosexual to deliberately abandon those strategies previously used to conceal homosexual identity. S/he will no longer maintain passing as a means of controlling information about self and creating distance from others. *Disclosure* is now adopted as a strategy for expressing alienation. This strategy would be expected to create more situations in which the individual's homosexual identity is known, thereby allowing greater accord between perceptions of self held by others as well as self. The result predicted from this, will be a stronger sense of self (greater commitment) as a homosexual. However, if reactions to disclosure are particularly negative, it would be expected that this would heighten alienation. Where alienation becomes too intense, the person may choose to limit disclosure to some occasions only.

It is possible that disclosure may sometimes be perceived as personally threatening (e.g., likely to cost the homosexual his/her job). This situation would be likely to create conflict between how the person wishes to act, and the demands of reality. The gay individual may

find it necessary to alter the social environment (e.g., change jobs) in order to relieve the frustration generated by the ideal/real descrepancy. Non-concealment rather than disclosure may be considered a compromise strategy here.

It is important to note that these changes in behavioural expression should *not* be seen as indicative of cognitive *reversals* in perceptions of self, but rather as strategies for dealing with a potentially threatening situation. The individual may choose to justify certain behaviours (e.g., occasional confrontation, working behind the scenes for a gay liberation group) as acceptable demonstrations of "opposition ideology".

Disclosure of a homosexual identity would naturally be expected to bring about a reaction of some kind. The homosexual's perception of that reaction is likely to play an important part in whether of not development continues into the next stage. We would expect perceived *negative* reactions to be seen as predictable, therefore justifying the philosophical stance taken. Where others' reactions are regularly perceived as negative, adherence to the activist stance (and solidarity with the gay community) will be necessary in order to maintain self-esteem. The "them versus us" position is likely to be reinforced and identity foreclosure will occur.

However, where reactions are perceived as positive, this wll be seen as inconsistent with expectations.

Attempts to deal with the tension ensuing from this inconsistency are hypothesised to lead the individual into the final stage of gay identity formation.

At this period in history, the numbers of people moving into and through Stage 5 are expected to be relatively small. As Altman (1971) notes, "The very act of rejecting conventional social roles and norms is a disturbing one, and produces considerable confusion" (p.109). He suggests that this is particularly so for older gays who have usually established ways of coping with the world. Open confrontation may be totally unthinkable and extremely threatening.

A number of authors suggest too, that there are some clear differences in personal attributes between left-wing activists, moderate activists and right-wing activists (Bay,1967; Ellis & Eckstein,1977; Hilliard,1972; Kerpelman, 1972; Peplau, Cochran, Rook & Podesky,1978), suggesting that personality factors may have an important bearing on who moves into Stage 5. Activists compared with non-activists have been generally found to be more assertive, sociable, inner-directed, higher achievers, high in autonomy, to value leadership and self-actualisation more, and to have more self-confidence. Left-wing activists tended to be more flexible, and objective, low in authoritarianism, hold humanistic values, and given to nurturance compared with right-wing activists.

STAGE 6: IDENTITY SYNTHESIS (Table 3G)

In Stage 6, the individual develops a full sense of identity as a homosexual and integrates this with other aspects of self.

Following the events of Stage 5, it is proposed that the individual who enters Stage 6 does so with an awareness that the "them and us" philosophy espoused previously, in which all heterosexuals were viewed negatively and all homosexuals positively, no longer holds true. There is acknowledgement that some heterosexual others react favourably to one's homosexual identity. It is predicted that with increasing contact with supportive heterosexuals, the individual is forced to reevaluate previous views of others so that supportive non-homosexuals are perceived with greater favour, and unsupportive non-homosexuals further devalued. These processes are likely to lessen the degree of felt alienation as the homosexual comes to accept the possibility of similarity between self and (some) heterosexuals, as well as dissimilarity between self and (some) homosexuals.

Ponse (1977) has pointed out that one of the costs of passing is isolation from non-gay others which gives rise to a greater sense of alienation. We would expect that out of the confrontation strategies of Stage 5, some individuals would come to perceive that openness with heterosexuals brings further reward - greater intimacy and support, as well as loss of alienation. This is likely

TABLE 3G

Characteristics of individuals at Stage 6

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Commitment	Full commitment to homosexual identity. Integration of identity as "a homosexual" with other aspects of self. Recognition of the limits of a homosexual identity.		
Inconsistency	Development of full and integrated sense of identity as a homosexual. Perception of behaviour, self and others views of self as congruent as possible.		
Dichotomisation	Distinction between homosexuals and heterosexuals not as clear. Similarities		

Table 3G (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Deference To Others	Supportive heterosexuals reevaluated positively; unsupportive heterosexuals further devalued.		
Alienation	Recognition of positive aspects of disclosure with heterosexuals - intimacy and support.		Less felt alienation with supportive heterosexuals.
Disclosure	Less perceived need to confront.	Full disclosure/ openness on all occasions.	
Group Identif- ication	Some non-gay groups are considered as significant reference groups.		
Social Interaction		Greater contacts with significant heterosexuals and heterosexual groups.	

Table 3G (Continued)

Dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
Sexual Orientation Activity	For some there is an openness to recognise the potential to respond heterosexually at some level.	Primarily, if not exclusively, homosexual.	
Acculturation		Participation in heterosexual activities.	Greater comfort with some heterosexual activities.
Personal Control	Homosexual identity given same significance as other self-identities in influencing life.		

to encourage greater investment in the strategy of openness. In line with this proposal, Weinberg and Williams (1975) found that homosexuals who had told many people about their identity experienced less stressful relationships with the heterosexual world, anticipating and receiving less rejection than did those who were little known about.

Hedblom and Hartman (1980) reported that lesbians who interacted across a broad range of heterosexual groups perceived less stigmatisation.

The individual at Stage 6 is expected to not only feel more positive about interacting in the heterosexual world, but also to experience such interactions as frequently rewarding.

In addition, the feelings of anger and pride, generated out of a need for defensive coping with an oppressive world are expected to decrease in intensity in Stage 6. There is still the call to defend against a dominant majority (a reality in present times). However, we would expect that the individual will be able to achieve some psychological distance from attacks on homosexuals, and see these not as direct personal vendettas, but rather as attacks on homosexuals, (of whom s/he is one) by certain individuals and groups of people with a specific interest in gaining social control over others.

With these changes, it is proposed that there will be a gradual consideration of some non-homosexual groups as significant reference groups. Hedblom (1972) suggests that commitment to the gay subculture arises out of the

need to defend against the negative societal response to homosexuals. At Stage 6 then, it may be claimed that with increasing support from non-homosexual others, the individual feels less need to adhere to the gay community as a defense manoeuvre.

Disclosure at this stage is expected to become a non-issue as the individual makes no attempts to hide her/his identity, presenting it to others openly and naturally, without the need to confront. This will lead to a fully developed sense of self as a homosexual. Congruency is achieved in all areas of life having relevance to self as a homosexual. With this, the identity formation process is completed.

It is hypothesised that the gay person will now be able to integrate her/his identity with all other aspects of self. Instead of "homosexual" being given master status, that is, seen as *the* identity, it can now be relegated to a more equal place among all existent identities. As Miller (1971) noted, "when you keep one part of yourself secret, that becomes the most important part of you" (p.46). It is only with complete self-disclosure that a homosexual identity can be put into perspective with other identities.

A number of authors have stressed the need for personal development to move beyond that of the activist in order to attain a more adequately functioning self. Cooley (1964) for example, suggested in 1902 that the strengths derived from pride are offset by the narrowing of focus it brings. "It stunts a man's growth by closing

his mind to progressive influences, and so in the long view may be a source of weakness" (p.233). Rinder (1958) found that overidentification with a particular group is psychologically equivalent with underidentification, since both positions are intended as a means of coping with that which threatens the self. He feels that the intermediary position marking a "creative synthesis of the total self" (p.494) is the more appropriate position for acceptance of self. Several writers have made comments along these lines relevant to the gay experience.

> *But therein lies an essential dilemma of gay liberation. For Gay is not only Proud, Gay is Angry, and out of anger develops separatism which bears with it the danger of merely reinforcing both our apartness from the rest of humanity and the doctrine that homo- and heterosexuality are sharply defined categories rather than possibilities inherent in all of us.* (Altman,1971,p.130)

> *But not everyone who is gay, or even gay-and-proud, is going to be my friend, or is going to share my values as a whole. It is unreasonable for us to expect ourselves... to obliterate past lives and past interests in order to further the gay cause.* (Young,1975b,p.27)

What sort of people would be expected to progress through to the final stage of gay identity formation? Throughout our discussion of the stages, we have referred to many different psychological and sociological factors

considered relevant to a specific point in development. It is probably impossible to document all possible factors and their combinations, since they are likely to be vast. In general terms, however, it is proposed that the more that individuals display attributes classified in the literature as "self-actualising" [34] the more likely it is that progress will extend through to the final stages of homosexual identity development. Such attributes would be expected to be important in helping the individual to deal with the many psychological threats and hazards experienced. It should be recognised, however, that individuals do not start the journey towards development of a homosexual identity with characteristics that are necessarily fixed. With progress through the stages, self-esteem and self-confidence are likely to become increasingly positive. Locus of control may move from external to internal, given the right conditions. Learning to deal with conflicts at an early stage of development may make later difficulties easier to cope with.

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[34] Combs, Richards and Richards (1976) summarise such a person as;

(a) having achieved a high degree of need satisfaction;

(b) able to effectively maintain and enhance self;

(c) able to perceive self in generally positive ways (high self-esteem);

(d) feels able to cope with life openly and directly with a minimum of threat and fear;

(e) is open to experiences and able to integrate these into own phenomenal field;

(f) capable of wide identification of self with others;

(g) have a rich and extensive perceptual field;

(h) feels safe enough to desclose self to others (Jourard,1968):

(i) is inner-directed (inner locus of control);

(j) trusting, assertive, socially skilled;

Identity, once developed, may be maintained as long as the interpersonal environment and intrapersonal system (See Figure 1) remain constant. Those factors responsible for personal change are also responsible for stability as Secord and Backman (1974) point out. Provided the individual gains no new perceptions regarding self and sexual preference either from own behaviour or the imagined views of others, gay identity will be maintained. This, of course, does not mean that the content of this identity (specific self-images) may not vary in character. It would be expected that during the course of life transitions, the nature of homosexual identity will be reconstructed and modified.

Our presentation of the developmental process involved in the acquisition of a homosexual identity has now been completed. The exposition has necessarily been long and detailed. Because of the many gaps present in previous conceptions of homosexual identity formation, it was considered vital that an in-depth account of all aspects of the developmental sequence be given. In doing so, it was intended, also, that the previously mentioned criteria for an adequate theory of gay identity formation would be met.

OPERATIONALISATION OF THE THEORY FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

The remainder of this manuscript will be devoted to describing the research programme set up in order to test the validity of the author's theory. However, before going into the research details, we need to first consider the way in which the model was operationalised for research purposes.

It was apparent that the model outlined in this chapter would be difficult, if not impossible to test empirically. It is simply too detailed and therefore, unwieldy from a research viewpoint. What was clearly needed was some means of reducing the information so that the essential ideas being put forward would be retained and highlighted.

Such a method, (to be discussed in this section) was devised and carried out, resulting in the generation of a set of variables or dimensions of change (Table 4)[35].

The means by which this was done involved examining the stage content in order to find broad variables of change that appeared to distinguish all or most of the stages from each other. For example, the area of *commitment* to a homosexual identity was described as being common to all stages. It was also a dimension upon which

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[35] This list was, in reality, generated from the early version of the model (Cass,1979).

TABLE 4

Dimensions of change identified from the Stage descriptions.

Name of dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
COMMITMENT	- Degree that accepts a homosexual and/or heterosexual self-image. - Degree of confusion about own self-image regarding sexual orientation. - Degree of acceptance of others' view of self as "a homosexual" and "a heterosexual". - Clarity of perception of homosexual meaning of behaviour and self-image.		- Feelings that has about accepting a homosexual self-image.
DISCLOSURE	- Degree that would like to disclose homosexual behaviour self-image to homosexual/heterosexual others. - Types of homosexual/heterosexual others that would like to disclose to.	- Degree that discloses homosexual behaviour/self-image to homosexual/heterosexual others. - Types of homosexual/heterosexual others that discloses to.	- Feelings about disclosing homosexual behaviour/self-image to homosexual/heterosexual others.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Name of dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
DISCLOSURE (Continued)	- Perceived elements of relationship between self and others that lead to desire to disclose.	- Elements of relationship between self and others leading to disclosure.	
GENERALITY	- Degree that a homosexual/heterosexual self-image is seen as being a part of self. - The way that individual imagines others perceive the generality of their homosexual self-image.	- Degree that homosexual and/or heterosexual behaviour occurs when possible situation arises.	
IDENTITY EVALUATION	- Degree of acceptance for self of negative stereotypes of homosexuals.		- Evaluation of homosexual and/or heterosexual self-image/behaviour. - Evaluation of others' view of homosexual/heterosexual self-image/behaviour.
GROUP IDENTIFICATION	- Sense of belonging felt with homosexuals and/or heterosexual groups. - Degree that perceives self as similar to homosexuals/heterosexuals. - Degree that homosexual/heterosexual groups are seen to meet own needs.		- Degree of pride felt towards homosexuals as a whole.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Name of dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
SOCIAL INTERACTION	- Perceived quality of interaction with homosexuals and/or heterosexuals.	- Frequency of social contacts with homosexuals/heterosexuals. - Types of settings in which social contacts with homosexuals/heterosexuals takes place.	- Degree of satisfaction with interactions with homosexuals and/or heterosexuals.
ALIENATION	- Degree that feels different from others, a stranger to self.		- Degree that likes feeling different from others.
INCONSISTENCY	- Degree that perception of self, behaviour and others' view of self with regard to sexual orientation are inconsistent.		- Degree of discomfort felt about inconsistency existing between self, behaviour and others' view of self as pertains to homosexuality.
SEXUAL ORIENTATION ACTIVITY	- Degree that desires increased/decreased frequency of homosexual erotic, emotional and sexual activity.	- Frequency with which homosexual erotic, emotional and sexual activity engaged in.	- Degree of enjoyment felt from homosexual erotic, emotional and sexual activity.

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Name of dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
ACCULTURATION		- Forms of homosexual sub-cultural activities engaged in.	- Degree of comfort felt in participating in homosexual subcultural activities.
DEFERENCE TO OTHERS	- Degree of importance attached to opinions of homosexuals/ heterosexuals. - Types of homosexuals and heterosexuals perceived as important.		
DICHOTOMISATION	- Degree that homosexuals and heterosexuals perceived as two separate and distinct groups.		
PERSONAL CONTROL	- Amount of influence that a homosexual identity is seen to have on day-to-day living and on future prospect. - Degree that a homosexual identity seen to interfere with running of life.		

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Name of dimension	Cognitive	Behavioural	Affective
STRATEGIES	- Degree that wants to continue using strategies outlined in model.	-Degree that strategies outlined in model are adopted. -Ease with which strategies are carried out. -Types of strategies used.	
PERSONAL SATISFACTION	- Degree that is satisfied with current life. - Degree that wants to change current life. - Degree that life perceived as settled and stable.		
PROFESSIONAL CONTACT	- Degree that wants to see professional for help re homosexual behaviour/self-image. - Reasons for seeing/wanting to see professional.	-Whether is seeing or has seen professional for help regarding homosexual behaviour/self-image.	

the stages could be descriptively separated from each other. That is, the theory proposed that different degrees of commitment to a homosexual identity would be indicative of different stages.

In this way, sixteen such variables were identified and named. Together they represent what was thought to be the least number of dimensions considered necessary to account for the differences that were hypothesised to exist between the stages.

Having named the dimensions, the next step was to summarise exactly what it was that each referred to, that is, what characteristics were included under each variable heading. Again, this required the present author to examine her theory in order to gather together all those aspects of each dimension that were referred to. For example, under the broad dimension *Commitment*, five separate aspects were nominated: (1) The degree that the individual accepts a homosexual and/or heterosexual self-image as an aspect of self; (2) the degree of confusion experienced with regard to any self-image held of own sexual orientation; (3) the degree to which the individual accepts perceived others' view of him/herself as either a "homosexual", "heterosexual" or both; (4) the clarity with which the individual perceives any homosexual meaning that s/he attaches to own behaviour and/or self-image; (5) feelings attached to the acceptance of a homosexual self-image as part of self.

In carrying out this task, the author was careful to include cognitive, affective and behavioural factors where this was relevant. As can be seen from Table 4, some dimensions could be defined in all three of these categories, while others were adequately explained in only one or two of them.

The creation of a set of dimensions now made the theory more amenable to expirical examination. The exact nature of this investigation, and the way in which the dimensions were used in it, are discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

DEVELOPING A METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH DESIGN, HYPOTHESES, AND INSTRUMENT DEVELOPMENT*

FORMULATING A RESEARCH DESIGN

> *...theory generation is a natural starting place for a 'new discipline' and a shift in research focus from theory generation to theory verification or hypothesis testing can only be expected as the phenomena of the field become more adequately described and viewpoints on the field's boundaries, scope, values, implications and relation to other fields are shared by the relevant community of scholars.*
> (Louis, 1977, p.453)

From our reading of the literature on homosexual identity formation, it is apparent that Louis' criteria for moving from "theory generation" to "theory verification"have been at least partially met. Although the area may not have achieved the degree of precision considered necessary

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* An adapted version of Chapters 6 and 7 has been accepted for publication in the Journal of Sex Research, 1984, 20, 143 - 167.

to scientific investigation, there is reasonable agreement amongst the "relevant community of scholars" as to the basic specifications of the field.

Unfortunately, there has been relatively little attempt by theorists to carry out rigorous empirical tests of their proposals on homosexual identity formation. Although, as we noted in Chapter 4, several authors have carried out tests of their respective theories, these studies are based on a highly questionable retrospective design. Problems of subjectivity and superficial statistical analyses add to the difficulty in drawing sound conclusions from their results.

Clearly, if this pattern should continue, it is doubtful whether the study of gay identity formation will ever attain a level at which it can contribute in any significant way to either the present or future understanding of gay people. What is obviously needed is a research design that, (1) fulfills the requirements necessary for obtaining empirically sound results, and (2) is also suitable for testing the specific components of gay identity formation. Given that such a design has not yet been proposed, it would appear useful to consider the methodology adopted by researchers in other areas of identity formation.

METHODOLOGY USED IN OTHER AREAS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT.

In the area of ego identity, the semi-structured identity status interview devised by Marcia (Note 9) has been commonly used to test Erikson's stages of adolescent development. Marcia's use of the interview did not involve retrospective aspects but was intended to provide a cross-sectional analysis of individuals in each identity status. A sentence completion blank was also included. Trained independent raters (not including Marcia) assessed the interview protocols and inter-rater reliability was obtained. Hypotheses were clearly set out and various statistical procedures including inter-item analyses carried out on the data. Marcia's study, and the enormous volume of research subsequently carried out using his techniques (Bourne, 1978a; 1978b), clearly show the possibility of using interview methods in a reliable and valid manner.

In other areas of identity formation, alternative methods have been used. For example, in the study of Black identity, the Q-Sort has been used in three separate studies (Hall, Cross & Freedle, 1972; Krate, Leventhal & Silverstein, 1974; Cross, Note 14). All were intended as tests of Cross' four-stage model of Black identity formation. Hall et al (1972) termed their design one of consensual validation. Subjects were asked to sort cards on which were typed items depicting characteristics of each of Cross' four stages. Three experimental conditions were set

up. In the first, subjects sorted items into any number of clusters they chose. In the second condition, they were asked to find four clusters and to place these in a temporal sequence. In the third condition, items were to be clustered into four boxes which were given a label descriptive of each stage. Extensive correlational analyses were carried out on the results within and between experimental conditions in order to assess the degree of support given to the model.

Under two instructional conditions, Cross (Note 14) obtained written paragraphs from 120 students describing types of Black people. A further 180 students, acting as independent judges, carried out triadic comparisons in order to check for similarity and differences between the paragraphs. Finally, 10 trained judges classified the paragraphs according to the degree they were characteristic of the hypothesised stages. Inter-rater reliability measures were obtained and a complex series of analyses were carried out.

There are several difficulties with the basic methodology outlined in these studies. Firstly, it requires, and assumes, complete naivety on the part of the subjects with regard to Cross' model. Where there is knowledge of his stage model, it is impossible to say to what degree this influenced the sorts. Given that some of the subjects were, in fact, students of Cross, complete naivety seems unlikely. Secondly, remembering that Ross (1980) found that recall data could be distorted in line with societal expectations

(stereotypes), the results of the Black identity studies could simply reflect subcultural and/or mainstream community expectations. Although Krate et al (1974) asked subjects to make personal statements of current functioning, which would have reduced this type of distortion, they also incorporated a retrospective aspect into their design. These **authors** used the items of the Hall et al study and changed them to first person statements. They then asked subjects to make four sorts based on how they saw themselves currently, four years ago, two years ago and in the future. Chi-square analyses were carried out to examine the relation between stage and time. Thus, the study is no less susceptible to the charge of possible distortion than the other studies.

Richardson (1957) used a cross-sectional approach to explore the validity of his theory of migrant assimilation. Questionnaires were given to three groups: migrants who had just arrived in Australia, those who had been in Australia seven months, and those in Australia twelve months. Analyses were carried out in order to assess any differences that might have existed between the groups.

In order to test the application of Richardson's model to the area of teacher identity, Coulter & Taft (1973) carried out a longitudinal study involving a test-retest questionnaire method. Retesting was approximately two years after the initial test. Results were analysed using Guttman scaling techniques and subscale inter-correlations.

A longitudinal study is probably the most rigorous test of any sequential or developmental model. Certainly, it is the only method which can give a true test of the *process* of change. For this reason, it has been considered the most logical one where change over time is to be studied (Bijou, 1973; Wohlwill, 1973). In age-based developmental research, change processes have been examined using a number of different longitudinal research designs. Achenbach (1978) lists some of these as:

a) Longitudinal-sequential, where different birth-year cohorts are compared over the same longitudinal period.

b) Cross-sectional-sequential, where cross-sectional samples from several birth cohorts are studied at successive points in time. Thus, observations are made on different members of the age cohorts rather than the same members, as with the longitudinal-sequential design.

c) Time-lag-sequential, where two or more samples from different cohorts are studied as they reach certain age levels in different years.

Although specifically designed for examining changes based on specific age, these designs may be adapted to non-age based models of development.

Wohlwill notes, however, that there are some important limitations to the longitudinal method: The "sheer length of time", "the myriad practical problems of

subject attrition, difficulty in maintaining interest on the part of the investigators, difficulties in obtaining facilities and financial support over extended lengths of time, etc" (pp. 122,123), and "effects which may result from subjecting individuals to repeated tests or measures of some behavioural variable" (p.146).

THE PRESENT STUDY

More importantly, the present researcher considered that the instigation of a longitudinal study to examine gay identity formation was unnecessarily ambitious at this point in time, since no information was yet available as to the validity of her model. A cross-sectional study was considered a more suitable starting point, one that would provide initial data as to the validity of certain aspects of the model. The cross-sectional method has been defined as " a technique for studying a large number of representative persons or variables at a given period of time..." (Chaplin, 1973, p.116) and is applicable where samples of individuals, representing differential exposure to some condition or process, are available for comparison. While avoiding many of the practical problems associated with longitudinal studies, the main limitation of a cross-sectional study is that no direct information regarding change or process can be obtained. The present study was, therefore, to provide a limited test of some of the significant aspects of the

model, and would not be claimed to test all its tenets. As will be described later in this chapter, it was intended that the study should verify or dispute, (1) the accuracy of each of the stage descriptions, and (2) the ordering of these descriptions.

The design most frequently used to study models such as Erikson's theory of life-cycle stages is a retrospective one. This type of design requires the subject to recall specific aspects of functioning at earlier years. This design has been criticised, however, for its vulnerability to memory distortion (Achenbach, 1978), and is appropriate only when *perceived* memories, rather than actual functioning, is considered important.

Use of a retrospective design as an alternative means of obtaining information on the gay identity formation process was rejected as unsuitable. Most gay people are particularly aware at a conscious level of the issues of coming out. Indeed, the mythology or story of what events and changes are expected to take place are well documented and discussed in the popular and scientific literature. The likelihood of distortion of past histories according to such expectations was considered to be so high (and Ross found this to be so in 1980) that the resultant information from such a study could scarcely be given any scientific weight, and would, therefore, be of limited benefit.

It was felt that at this point in time, it would be far better to collect information regarding the ordering of stages. Together with that information relating to the

stage content, it would provide the researcher with some useful indication as to the feasibility of going ahead with a longitudinal study at some future date. Obviously , if the theoretical proposals regarding, firstly, how people at each stage might be portrayed, and secondly, the order in which these descriptions can be viewed, do not hold up under scrutiny, it clearly brings the theory into question and renders pointless the need for future studies.

In selecting the means by which data would be gathered, interviews were rejected as, (1) difficult to use in replication studies by other researchers, and (2) more open to subjective bias.

A self-report questionnaire (non-retrospective) was considered the most suitable means for collecting the data. A self-report technique was required since, (1) identity is hypothesised to be built out of perceptions of self, and (2) accurately nominating the meaning of a person's behaviour by observation is fraught with difficulties (Menzel, 1978). The main advantages of a questionnaire over other methods would be: Greater objectivity in presentation and scoring, a more specific test of hypotheses, and the opportunity to manipulate variables by inter-item correlations. Further, and most importantly, development of an effective, standardised questionnaire would eventually provide the means whereby other researchers could make replicative tests using other samples. Questions could then be easily examined for specific cultural nuances which may effect test results.

The difficulties of a questionnaire would be in creating items that adequately expressed the various aspects of the model and were meaningful to the individual. Combs, Richards & Richards (1976) have suggested some important problems that may arise when a researcher is trying to understand how another person sees him/herself. They point out that when an individual is asked to describe her/himself, the answer is not a description of the phenomenal self, but rather, a self-report:

> *...a person's description of self as he reports it to an outside observer. It represents what a person <u>says</u> he is. Like any other act the self report is a behaviour revealing to some extent what is going on within the organism.* (p.373)

The accuracy of a self-report as a description of the phenomenal self will depend on how successful a researcher is in eliminating several sources of distortion and error: (1) difficulties due to lack of clarity of self-perceptions in some and not other areas; (2) difficulties in adequately expressing through language the full meaning of the experience of self; (3) witholding of information because of fear of disapproval by others; (4) resistance (conscious or unconscious) to fully cooperating; (5) feelings of sexual inadequacy and threat which may influence disclosure of information; and (6) change in field organisation so that attention becomes centred in one area where it may not normally.

Nisbett & Wilson (1977) propose that another problem that arises when people are asked to report on

mental processes is that self-reports are based on previously acquired and implicit theories about which variable is likely to cause which effect, and not necessarily on any true introspection. The primary culture or a subculture may supply such implicit theories about relevant causal relations.

Invariably, a researcher can only make predictions about *self-reports*, with an accompanying assessment of the degree to which such reports might approximate the phenomenal self. It can never be assumed that findings from self-report measures are statements about the self.

Design of Study

Essentially then, the study would entail the development of a questionnaire, the items of which would be intended to measure those dimensions outlined in Chapter 5 (Table 4). From the questionnaire, *Stage Profiles* would be created. This would be carried out by predicting, from the author's theory, how people at each stage would respond to each of the items. In this way, it would be possible to build up six ideal stage descriptions or predicted response patterns based on the proposed dimensions. These predicted patterns were to be called Stage Profiles. It was then intended to compare *predicted* response patterns with *actual* response patterns provided by subjects who had been allocated *a priori* into stage on some separate measure. This would provide a gauge of how closely a sample of individuals at each stage fitted predictions offered by the

model about their thoughts, behaviour and feelings. Such a design has previously been used in the area of developmental (child) psychology (Lewis, 1963; Wohlwill, 1973). Lewis, for example, compared children's drawings against prototype drawings of three dimensional configurations in order to assess the degree to which the children had attained a level of spatial development.

The design is considered suitable for the testing of the model because it firstly, eliminates the issue of subjectivity that frequently can be levelled at interview designs in terms of line of questioning and scoring procedures, and secondly, provides data which can be subject to sophisticated and rigorous statistical analyses.

HYPOTHESES

The study was intended to test both the content of the proposed stage descriptions and the order of these descriptions. It was predicted that if these profiles were accurate accounts, then individuals expressing the belief that homosexuality was a personal issue in their lives would be able to describe their attitudes, feelings and actions in terms of the factors proposed, and in a way that corresponded to one of the six stage descriptions.

It was hypothesised that where individuals were allocated into stages on some external measure, that those at a particular stage would acknowledge the profile of that stage, rather than those of other stages, as being the most

accurate account of their current functioning.

Since the six stages were hypothesised to follow a certain order, it would be expected, also, that the degree of similarity or correspondence between an individual's current functioning and the various stage profiles would decrease progressively as a function of the distance of all other stages (as proposed by the model) from that to which the individual belonged.

Thus, it was intended that the research establish firstly, whether six *types* of people resembling the six stage characterisations could be delineated, and secondly, whether these six groups could be *ranked* on a dimension of similarity according to the order predicted from the model.

The proposed hypotheses can be specified more clearly in the following manner:

Across Profile Hypothesis

> That for all stage profiles, the actual response patterns of subjects nominated *a priori* to a particular stage would show greatest similarity with the predicted profile of that stage compared with the predicted profiles of all other stages. The degree of similarity between actual response patterns of subjects at a particular stage and the predicted response patterns or stage profiles of all other stages would decrease

progressively as a function of the hypothesised distance of these stages from the nominated one. For example, Stage 1 subjects would be expected to show greatest similarity with the Stage 1 profile, and progressively decreasing similarity with the Stage 2 to 6 profiles (similarity being lowest on the Stage 6 profile).

Across Groups Hypothesis

That for any of the predicted stage profiles, the actual response patterns of subjects nominated *a priori* to that stage would show greatest similarity with the predicted profile when compared with those of subjects at other stages. The degree of similarity between any predicted profile and actual response pattern obtained by subjects at all stages would decrease as a function of the distance of those stages from the one purported to be measured by the predicted profile. For example, on the Stage 1 profile, Stage 1 subjects would be expected to show greatest similarity with that profile compared to the other groups. Stage 2 to 6 subjects would be expected to show progressively decreasing

similarity, with Stage 6 subjects having least similarity.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE

ITEM CONSTRUCTION

As previously mentioned, it was intended that a questionnaire be constructed that would provide a test of the validity of the author's theory of gay identity formation, operationalised into that set of dimensions presented in Table 4. The author took as direction for the content and wording of the items, her clinical experience. From this, she was able to draw phrases and expressions that were commonly used amongst individuals. In this way, she hoped to provide items that were comprehensible to those undergoing identity change. In attempting to formulate items that captured the essential quality of the specified dimensions, careful attention was paid to incorporating all those aspects of the dimensions previously outlined in Table 4. For example, the Commitment dimension was represented by items that referred to each of the five aspects described as relevant to Commitment. All items on any dimension constituted a

sub-scale. The smallest sub-scale comprised six items (Personal satisfaction, Inconsistency) while the largest (Sexual Orientation) consisted of twenty eight items.

In total there were 210 items representing 16 sub-scales (Appendix I). The seeming extravagance in having such a large number of items was considered warranted in the light of the largely unexplored nature of the area. To limit item numbers might have been desirable from a practical viewpoint but not from a theoretical one.

For example, questions 39 and 54, listed below, represent two quite distinct items although some of the wording is identical. From a theoretical viewpoint, it was predicted that people in certain stages (for example, Stage 1) would respond differently to each of these questions. For this reason they have been included as two quite separate items.

Question 39:

[ ] I totally dislike the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour.

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour.

[ ] Etc.

Question 54:

[ ] I totally dislike the idea of me being a homosexual.

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of me being a homosexual.

[ ] Etc.

To have eliminated either of these items would have required making assumptions about the nature of homosexual identity formation that have yet to be tested.

A multiple-response item structure was selected for the majority of items. This format was considered particularly suitable since it would allow subjects some freedom in choosing the response most relevant to themselves. Some checklists were also included when this was considered more efficient. Items from the subscales were dispersed throughout the questionnaire on a random basis.

Preliminary testing of the questionnaire to check for clarity of wording and applicability to real life experiences was carried out by administering it individually to six subjects (three female, three male) representative of a variety of educational, intellectual and socio-economic levels. Subjects were informed that the questionnaire was recently constructed and required checking for incomprehensibility, ambiguities and lack of relevance to their lives. Comments and discussion were encouraged and several random checks were made on subjects' understanding of items. On the basis of this feedback, several items were revised.

Instructions given in this modified version asked that subjects complete each item according to the way they felt, thought, and/or acted at the time of responding to the questionnaire.

The completed questionnaire is presented in Appendix II.

SCORING KEYS

As mentioned previously, it was intended to test the hypotheses by comparing responses given by subjects completing the questionnaire with hypothesised or "predicted" responses suggested by the model. In other words, these predicted responses or stage profiles were to be a scoring system against which subjects' actual responses could be compared.

Stage Profiles were obtained by the author making predictions as to how subjects at each stage of identity development might respond on each of the items (assuming the validity of the model's stage description). That is, she made predictions as to which of the available responses for each questionnaire item would be expected to be selected by subjects at each stage. Her predictions were based on directions provided by the model.

To illustrate the procedure using Item 5 listed below:

[ ] I am quite certain I am not a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am not a homosexual

[ ] I believe I may be a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am a homosexual

[ ] I am quite certain I am a homosexual

Based on the model, that is, upon the notion of how an individual at a particular stage might be expected to respond if the model was a valid conception of the identity formation experience, the author proposed that Stage 1 individuals would typically choose the first response, Stage 2 the first or second responses, Stage 3 the third or fourth responses, and Stages 4, 5 and 6 the fifth response.

Predicted responses were considered to be "correct" responses for each of the six stages.

Regardless of the degree of significance they were considered to have in identity development, *all* items were included in the scoring system. To develop a weighting system that would assign some weight proportional to the significance of each dimension was considered to be adding a degree of complexity to the scoring system best suited to a later study.

Where items carried a checklist structure, each of the possible responses on the list was considered as a separate item. To illustrate using Item 77 produced below:

At what type of social function do you mix with homosexuals?

[ ] Private parties

[ ] Visiting friends at private homes

[ ] Organised political meetings

[ ] Organised social function (e.g., dance)

[ ] Bars

[ ] Discotheques

[ ] Beats, public toilets etc

[ ] Other.....

[ ] None

Each of the nine possible responses was considered a separate item with a simple "nominated/not nominated" response. Predictions were made as to whether subjects at each stage would nominate a particular response or not. For example, on Response 3 "Organised political meetings", it was hypothesised that Stage 5 and 6 individuals would nominate this while the remainder of the groups would not. A nominated response was therefore deemed a correct score for Stage 5 and 6, whereas a "not nominated" response was considered correct for all other stages. By following this procedure with all checklist items, the total number of items included in the scoring system was 365.

For each stage, correct (i.e. predicted) scores on each of these 365 items were grouped together to form a *scoring key*. In this way, six separate scoring keys were generated. Thus, each Stage Profile was, in effect, considered a scoring key (Appendix III).

SCORING PROCEDURE

Questionnaire responses of subjects in each stage group were to be scored against the scoring key of their particular stage. That is, responses of subjects were checked against the appropriate scoring key and where the *given* response tallied with the *predicted* (correct) response, one point was recorded. Summation of all points

gave the total matched score. All scoring procedures were done by computer. In addition to being scored on the scoring key of their respective stage, each subject was also scored on each of the keys of the remaining stages. Six total scores were thus obtained for each subject.

STAGE ALLOCATION MEASURE

The study design called for subjects to be allocated into stages on some independent criterion. The Stage Allocation Measure was constructed for this purpose. This was developed by selecting from each of the sixteen dimensions hypothesised to be relevant to the identity acquisition process, those considered to be *central* to the process at each stage. Drawing upon these, and the author's clinical experience, brief one-paragraph descriptions were constructed for each stage, outlining the ways that people might ideally be characterised at each phase of development. A description of a "Pre-Stage 1" person was also added. These ideal profiles are presented in Appendix IV.

The Stage Allocation Measure was to be presented to subjects after completing the questionnaire. Instructions were that these profiles were descriptions of seven types of people and that they were to select the one that best fitted the way they saw themselves at the time of responding. Allocation was, therefore, made by self-definition.

The Stage Allocation Measure was presented as the last item of the test booklet. The order of material in the booklet was as follows: Biographical Information Sheet, Homosexual Identity Formation Questionnaire, Stage Allocation Measure. Random checks established that all subjects checked had completed the booklet in the order in which the material was presented.

While clearly not independent of the questionnaire itself insofar as it mirrored in general terms some of the questionnaire items, the Stage Allocation Measure was, nevertheless, considered to be a separate measure: In terms of content and wording, the greater proportion of questionnaire items were clearly unrepresented by it. Further, the questionnaire called for subjects to specify in detailed terms the degree to which they responded to items, whereas the Stage Allocation Measure called upon them to make only a broad, generalised acknowledgement of which of the descriptions was most like the way they perceived themselves. While the researcher was aware that the problems of independency of measures could be partly reduced by administering them on separate occasions, this action in itself, would have created a particularly serious methodological problem: It was considered vital that the S.A.M. be presented on the same occasion as the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire because of the developmental nature of the material being tested. Were they to be given on two separate occasions, it is possible that subjects may move to a different stage in the interim period, thus weakening or removing any relationship that may have existed between

the results on the two measures, and subsequently leading to research findings that were of dubious value.

Thus, while the researcher acknowledges the tautological issue within her design, (an issue frequently inherent in researching a new area of study where measures have not been developed) she considers this to have minimal effect given the design of each measure.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION SHEET

An Information Sheet was drawn up (Appendix V) seeking information on the following variables:

- Age
- Gender
- Educational Level
- Occupation
- Religious Upbringing
- Marital Status
- Birth Order and Family Size
- Birthplace
- Age of First Awareness of Homosexual Feelings, Thoughts or Behaviour
- Age of First Labeling Feelings, Thoughts or Behaviour as Homosexual

Selection of these areas was guided partly by theoretical predictions from the model, and partly by the author's desire to check the existence of possible unpredicted relationships between variables. The Biographical Information Sheet was to be completed prior to filling out

the questionnaire.

Unlike many studies of homosexuals, demographic factors were not controlled for. The reasons for this were; (1) Stage was the only variable on which subjects needed to be matched. All other variables were treated as dependent variables and examined for their relationship with the stage factor; (2) Hyman (1955) comments that so-called background factors are often part of a developmental sequence leading ultimately to the relationship between independent and dependent variables, and therefore should not be controlled for. Blalock (1964) notes also, that demographic variables such as age, occupation etc are, in fact, only used as convenient indicators of some *other* variables whose links and contents are difficult to determine (e.g., socialisation techniques).

CHAPTER SEVEN

TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

As mentioned previously in Chapter 6, the aim of the present investigation was to make a check of the degree to which the constellation of characteristics hypothesised to distinguish each stage could be found to exist in reality. Further, the study was intended to provide a test of the proposed sequence or order of stages.

The proposed hypotheses (Chapter 5) can now be specified more clearly in the following manner:

Across Profiles Hypothesis

Subjects nominated to a particular stage on the basis of the Stage Allocation Measure would show highest scores on the scoring key of that particular stage, compared with scores obtained on the scoring keys of other stages. The size of obtained scores on these other scoring keys would decrease progressively as a function of the

hypothesised distance of the nominated stage from the remaining stages.

The ordering of scores as predicted by the Across Profiles Hypothesis is presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Relationships between profile scores predicted by the Across Profiles Hypothesis.

Stage Groups	Predicted Stage Profiles					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	$\mu_1 \geqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$					
2	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$					
3	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$					
4	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$					
5	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$					
6	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \leqq \mu_6$					

Across Groups Hypothesis

> Subjects nominated to a particular stage on the basis of the Stage Allocation Measure would show highest scores on the scoring key of that stage compared with subjects at other stages. The size of scores obtained by subjects at other stages would decrease as a function of the hypothesised distance of those stages from the nominated one.

The ordering of scores as predicted by the Across Groups Hypothesis is presented in Table 6.

Thus, an empirical test of the two hypotheses would provide information as to the validity of both the stage *content* and stage *order* or *sequence*.

PILOT STUDY

Prior to engaging in a large investigation to test the hypotheses, it was decided to carry out a small pilot study. This was considered necessary in order to obtain some preliminary assessment of the suitability and soundness of the proposed investigatory programme. It was intended, also, to provide a preliminary check of whether any unforeseen difficulties existed in the construction of the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire.

TABLE 6

Relationships between group scores predicted by the Across Groups Hypothesis.

Predicted Stage Profiles	Stage Groups 1		2		3		4		5		6
1	μ_1	$\geqq$	μ_2	$\geqq$	μ_3	$\geqq$	μ_4	$\geqq$	μ_5	$\geqq$	μ_6
2	μ_1	$\leqq$	μ_2	$\geqq$	μ_3	$\geqq$	μ_4	$\geqq$	μ_5	$\geqq$	μ_6
3	μ_1	$\leqq$	μ_2	$\leqq$	μ_3	$\geqq$	μ_4	$\geqq$	μ_5	$\geqq$	μ_6
4	μ_1	$\leqq$	μ_2	$\leqq$	μ_3	$\leqq$	μ_4	$\geqq$	μ_5	$\geqq$	μ_6
5	μ_1	$\leqq$	μ_2	$\leqq$	μ_3	$\leqq$	μ_4	$\leqq$	μ_5	$\geqq$	μ_6
6	μ_1	$\leqq$	μ_2	$\leqq$	μ_3	$\leqq$	μ_4	$\leqq$	μ_5	$\leqq$	μ_6

METHOD

Subjects

Using the Stage Allocation Measure as a guide, the author selected, from amongst individuals known to her, those whom she judged to be typical of a particular stage of development. Twenty seven subjects were nominated in this

way and assigned to one of the six stages. Of these, three declined to participate in the study.

The number of subjects in each stage were: 3 in Stage 1; 5 in Stage 3; 7 in Stage 4; 5 in Stage 5; and 4 in Stage 6. At the time of selection no-one was available who appeared to fit Stage 2. There were 16 females and 8 males, ranging in age from 22 to 58 years.

By comparing the researcher's allocation with the subject's own allocation, it was expected that this would provide a simple test of the Stage Allocation Measure. In other words, it would check whether the stages as conceptualised by the researcher were relevant and meaningful within the symbolic framework of those studied. As noted in Chapter 5, the stage concept arose primarily out of clinical work with gay people, and represents the author's perceptions or interpretations of what she heard and observed. It appeared vital, therefore, to take these perceptions back to the individuals from whom they were drawn to see whether they were, in fact, able to recognise them as relevant to their own lives.

Procedure

The 27 subjects selected for the study were contacted individually and asked if they would participate in research being carried out with homosexuals and others into the ways individuals adjusted to homosexuality. Those who agreed were sent the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire,

Stage Allocation Measure, and Biographical Sheet. A covering letter (Appendix VI) informed participants of the purpose of the study, and the anonymity of their participation. A pre-addressed, stamped, return envelope was included with the package which was sent to the 24 subjects who agreed to participate. Instructions were to return then within seven days. All questionnaires were returned.

Analysis of Questionnaire Data

The completed questionnaires were scored with each of the six scoring keys and total matching scores calculated for each key. Unanswered items were treated as "not matching".

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For each of the scoring keys, mean total scores of subjects allocated by the researcher were calculated. These are presented in Table 7.

No further statistical analyses were carried out, firstly because of small cell frequencies, and secondly because the aim of the Pilot Study required simply an examination of the data in order to assess the feasibility of exploring the hypotheses in a larger study. As an aid to making this assessment, the scores of Table 7 have been

plotted in Figure 4.

TABLE 7

PILOT STUDY: Mean total matching scores obtained on each scoring key by subjects researcher-allocated to each stage.

Stage: (Researcher-Allocated)	Stage Scoring Key 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	170.0	166.3	171.3	168.3	131.3	144.3
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	144.2	150.4	173.4	182.6	154.8	159.2
4	131.3	131.3	163.7	202.7	192.3	200.9
5	114.2	110.2	145.2	193.4	227.2	228.8
6	115.5	109.0	139.3	201.8	233.8	237.0

While bearing in mind the absence of Stage 2 subjects, the results are nevertheless quite promising in the degree to which they appear supportive of the hypotheses.

Examination of the Across Groups data indicates a trend on each of the scoring keys in the predicted directions. The Stage 6 profile is most supportive with Stage 6 subjects obtaining the highest score and Stage 5 to 1 subjects showing decreasingly smaller scores respectively.

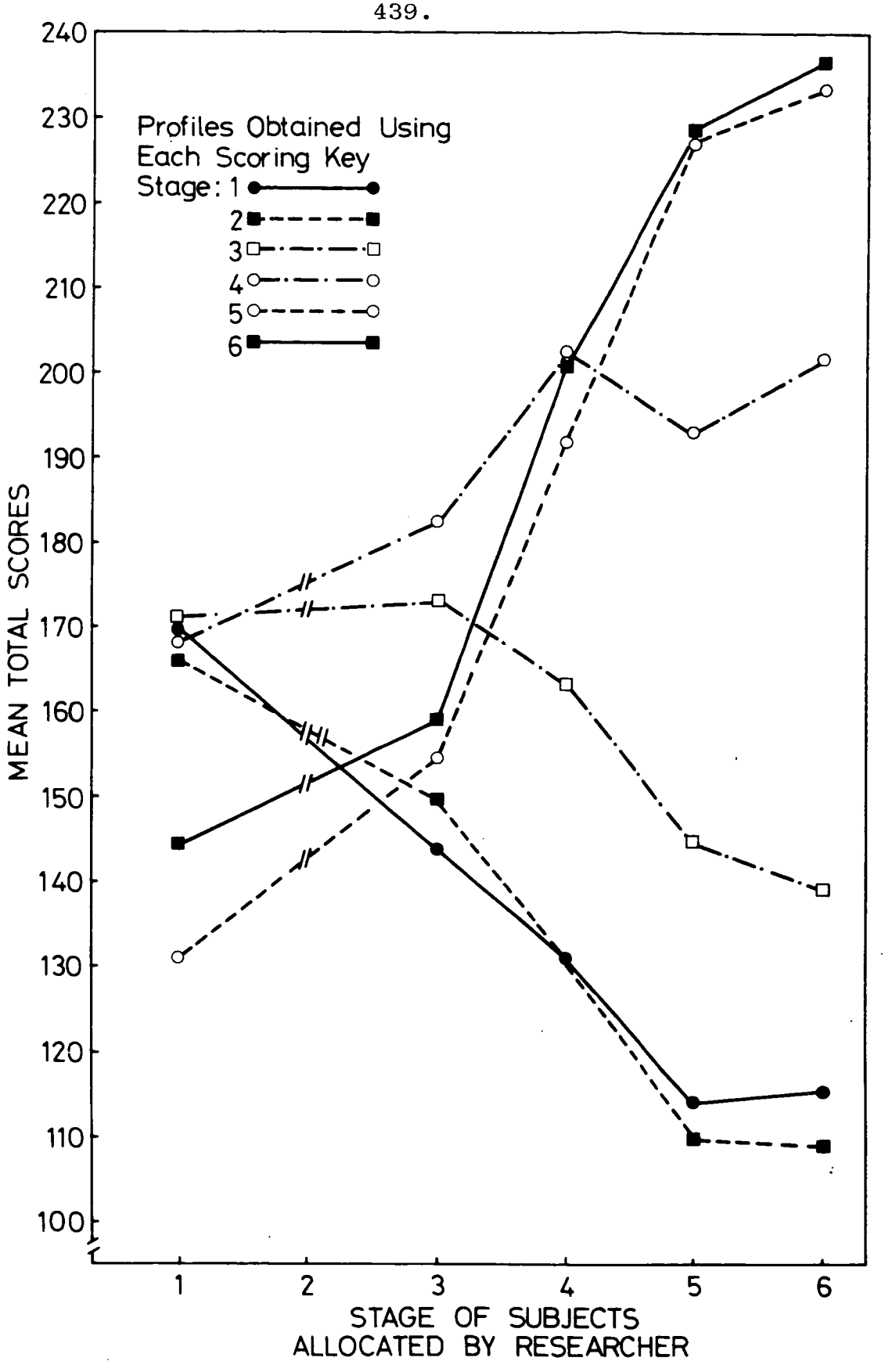


FIGURE 4 PILOT STUDY: Profiles derived from plotting mean total matching scores obtained by subjects at each stage on each of the scoring keys (graph lines between Stages 1 and 3 are joined for clarity).

It may be concluded that there was some suggestion that subjects at each stage showed greatest similarity with their respective ideal stage description or profile compared with those at other stages, who in turn, indicated decreasing similarity, the further they were from the nominated stage.

Results were less supportive of the Across Profiles hypothesis, although they, again, indicated trends (albeit less clear) in the hypothesised direction. The most that can be said at this point is that subjects at each stage were more likely to acknowledge similarity with profiles of stages that were theoretically close to their own stage than with distant ones.

Overall, it would appear that a larger study is clearly warrented and should provide a profitable means for evaluating the accuracy of the theory being tested in the areas of both stage description and stage sequence.

One interesting finding from this study was the high correlation between the researcher's allocation of subjects into stages and subjects' own categorisations ($r = .96$). While this may mean simply that the researcher was able to make astute clinical assessments of the individuals participating in the study, it is equally feasible that the Stage Allocation Measure presented a theoretical framework to subjects that was meaningful in terms of their present and past life experiences. Comments written on the Stage Allocation Measure by some subjects indicated an awareness of having fitted into an earlier

stage, suggesting that some individuals may have a conception of a *process* occurring in their development of a homosexual identity. For example: "I used to be like this" (referring to an earlier stage). It appeared warrented, therefore, to proceed as intended with the Stage Allocation Measure in the larger study.

REPLICATION STUDY

As stated, conclusions drawn from the results of the Pilot Study were that a large study, aimed at testing specific aspects of the model of gay identity formation appeared warrented.

Prior to initiating such a study, however, it was decided, as a cautionary measure, to carry out another small study replicating the Pilot Study in all respects except that of subject selection. This was intended as a check against the possibility that research bias may have been created by the type of selection procedure used in the Pilot Study. Since the researcher (also the model's author) made a selection from people known to her, she could have unwittingly chosen those offering some support for the hypotheses.

METHOD

Subjects

It was intended that a small random sample be drawn from a pool of 166 subjects generated for the larger study. This pool had been collected from a variety of social (e.g., parties), professional (e.g., counselling service), and advertisement sources in order to obtain people from as many stages as possible. (Full details of these recruitment procedures are presented later in this chapter in the discussion of the Main Study.). Almost all subjects were unknown to the researcher, and no attempt was made to formulate clinical assessments of them. Allocation into stages was made solely on the basis of the Stage Allocation Measure which, as in the Pilot Study was given to subjects after they had completed the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire. All subjects were volunteers.

The initial step in selecting a random sample from the pool consisted of dividing up the 166 subjects into stage groups. From each of these groups, six subjects (where possible 3 female and 3 male) were drawn randomly. It was considered that six subjects at each stage would be adequate in setting up a replication of the Pilot Study. Equal numbers of males and females were selected for all groups except Stages 2 and 3, where the numbers for both groups were 4 males and 2 females. This was not seen to present a problem since, because of small numbers, it was

not intended that an analysis of results according to sex would be carried out. Stage 2 subjects were also included since the absence of these in the Pilot Study clearly hindered examination of the results.

Analysis of Data

As in the Pilot Study, scores were obtained on each of the six scoring keys and total matching scores calculated.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 8 presents the mean total matching scores of subjects at each stage on each of the scoring keys. These scores are plotted in Figure 5. As with the Pilot Study, the aim of the present study did not require that further statistical analyses be done.

The most prominant feature apparent in these results is the degree to which they mirror those from the Pilot Study. This finding allows the conclusion to be made that results of the first study were unlikely to be an artifact of the form of subject selection used.

With the inclusion of Stage 2 subjects, it is apparent that the tentative conclusions made in the Pilot Study receive added support from the Replication Study.

TABLE 8

REPLICATION STUDY: Mean total matching scores obtained on each scoring key by subjects at each stage.

Stage: (Self-Allocated)	Stage Scoring Key 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	180.2	176.2	168.2	141.7	108.2	117.0
2	168.2	179.8	186.0	156.3	121.2	121.5
3	152.3	158.2	173.0	175.7	156.5	160.0
4	124.3	122.7	165.7	215.2	189.7	196.2
5	106.8	105.2	146.5	204.3	234.3	229.7
6	115.0	108.7	140.2	192.5	234.5	245.5

The Across Groups hypothesis, that subjects at each stage would obtain highest scores on the scoring key of that stage, was supported on four of the six profiles. Predictions regarding size of score were upheld for all groups except Stage 6 subjects on the Stage 1, 2 and 5 scoring keys, and Stage 3 subjects on the Stage 3 scoring key.

Results also suggested a degree of support for the Across Profiles hypothesis. The prediction that subjects at each stage would obtain highest scores on the

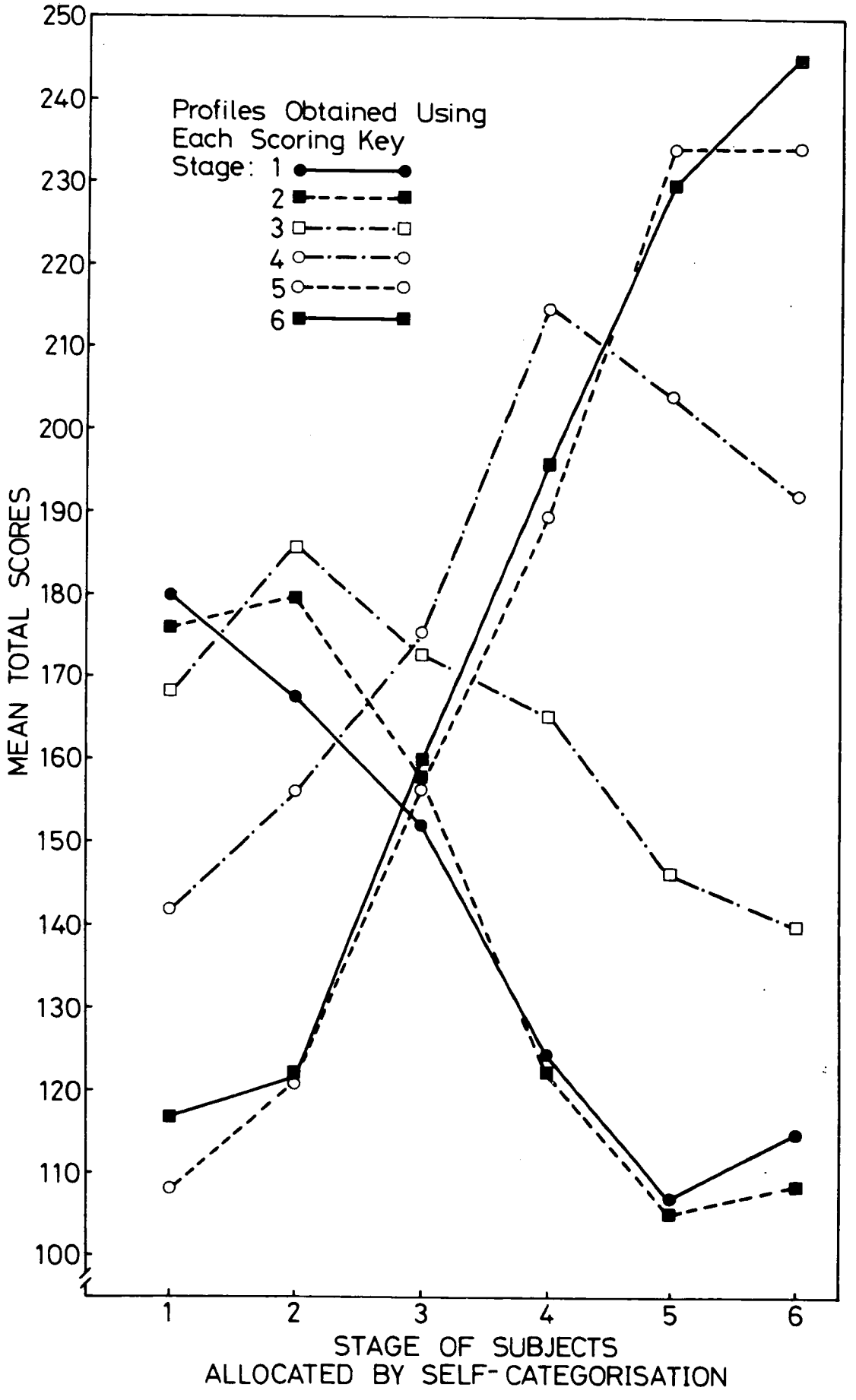


FIGURE 5 REPLICATION STUDY: Profiles derived from plotting mean total matching scores obtained by subjects at each stage on each of the scoring keys.

Stage Profile of their respective stages was confirmed in four of the six groups. However, as in the Pilot Study, predictions regarding the size of scores was given less support, although a trend in the hypothesised direction was apparent.

With the encouraging results of the two preliminary studies, and the knowledge that the questionnaire itself appeared effective in differentiating amongst groups, it was concluded that a large study could now be carried out.

MAIN STUDY

In addition to testing the hypotheses, it was intended that the Main Study would provide a preliminary check of whether any significant differences occurred between female and male subjects. It has been previously noted that, to date, studies of homosexual identity formation have primarily concentrated on male subjects. Hence, there is a need to explore the area with female subjects. Since the author's model predicts similar stages of development for both females and males (while acknowledging the possibility of different pathways within the growth process), it is predicted that there will be no major differences in the scores of male and female subjects.

METHOD

Subjects

Questionnaire packages were sent to 227 individuals who agreed to participate in the study after being contacted by the researcher. A variety of contact sources were used in the hope that people from all stages of identity development would be obtained.

Gonsiorek (1982) has noted that specific contact sources such as bars, clubs, friendship networks etc serve a particular group of individuals, and this may create sampling problems.

> *Bar samples are probably...skewed toward the urban, the young, the extroverted and those lacking a consistent sexual partner. ...Homosexual organisations are likely to be relatively skewed towards persons who are open about being homosexual and... more politically active...Samples using friends of the experimenter and derived contacts are likely to be biased in the direction of the experimenter - well-educated, middle-class and so on. Samples from social networks will tend to be homogeneous and contain consistent biases...*
>
> (p.374)

In contrast to most studies of homosexuals where the problems of biased sampling and definitional concerns plague researchers, the present study was able to avoid

these issues. Rather than being a deterrent, they were, in fact, a guide. Since the intention was to obtain subjects likely to be in all stages, it was assumed that tapping in on a variety contact sources would provide individuals representative of a range of stages. It was *not* assumed that those included in the sample would equally subscribe to the label "homosexual". The contact sources sampled were:

(1) Social functions run by private individuals predominantly for gay guests.

(2) Official social functions run by homosexual groups (Campaign Against Moral Persecution [W.A.] Inc, and Gay Liberation [Perth, W.A.]. These were attended by the researcher, who individually approached the people present asking them if they would be prepared to participate in research being carried out with homosexuals and others into the ways people adjusted to homosexuality.

(3) A gay rights march held in Perth, W.A. in June, 1981. Prior to the beginning of the march, the researcher mingled with marchers, distributing a leaflet (Appendix VII) explaining the purpose of her research project and calling for those prepared to fill out a questionnaire to contact her.

(4) Acquaintances known to the researcher who engaged in homosexual behaviour and/or called themselves homosexual or gay.

(5) Homosexual Counselling and Information Service (W.A.). As Director of this service for a number of years, the researcher regularly worked on a one-to-one basis with people referred by counsellors of the Service, and was, therefore, in a position to ask clients to complete a questionnaire.

(6) Clients referred from other agencies. Since the researcher already ran a busy practice in homosexual and sexual counselling with referrals coming from a variety of agencies, it was possible for her to ask current and past clients to participate in the study.

(7) Newspaper advertisements. It was considered unlikely that people in the early stages of identity development would be found at homosexual gatherings and therefore, it was hoped that the use of newspaper advertisements might bring them in contact with the researcher. Two advertisements were placed in the Personal Column of the Sunday Times in March, 1980, and four more in June 1980 (Appendix VIII).

(8) Self-initiated participants. Some people contacted the researcher to ask if they might participate, having heard about the study from friends.

(9) Trainee Counsellors. As the organiser of a Counsellor Training Course run for the Homosexual Counselling and Information Service, the researcher was able to recruit students completing the course to participate in the study.

A breakdown of subjects obtained from each of the contact sources is presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Frequencies of subjects obtained through each contact source.

Contact Source	N	%
Private social functions	52	22.9
Organisation-run functions	18	7.9
Gay rights march	34	14.9
Acquaintances	29	12.8
Counselling Service	14	6.2
Clients	14	6.2
Newspaper advertisements	39	17.2
Self-initiated	15	6.6
Trainee counsellors	12	5.3
	227	100.0

It should be noted that all subjects were volunteers which, of itself, may be seen as a sampling bias. However, since this was common to all stage groups, it was not expected to significantly effect the results. The methodological design did not require that subjects be randomly selected.

Of those questionnaire packeages sent out, 178 (78.4%) were completed and returned. There were 69 female and 109 male subjects, of whom 63 and 103 respectively were able to define themselves into one of the stages. Frequencies obtained for each stage are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Frequencies of subjects who defined themselves in each of the stages.

Stage	Female	Male	Total
1	5	6	11
2	3	10	13
3	4	7	11
4	30	41	71
5	6	10	16
6	15	29	44
	63	103	166

The remaining 12 subjects indicated that they did not fit into any *one* of the stage descriptions: Three positioned themselves half-way between two stages; two claimed they were similar to some aspects of both Stages 4 and 6; one felt he was bisexual and that the categories were irrelevant to him; one person nominated three of the categories; while three acknowledged the Pre-Stage 1 description.

An analysis of the biographical data (See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of this) indicated no significant differences between subjects in the six stages on the factors of gender, occupation, religious upbringing, birth-order, birthplace, age of first awareness of homosexual feelings, thoughts or actions, and age of first labelling self as a homosexual.

Procedure

Subjects were obtained by the author contacting individuals and asking them to participate in research being carried out with homosexuals and others into the ways people adjusted to homosexuality. As with the previous studies, those who agreed were sent the Questionnaire Booklet consisting of a covering letter, the Biographical Sheet Homosexual Identity Questionnaire and Stage Allocation Measure in that order. A pre-addressed, stamped, return envelope was included in the questionnaire package which subjects were asked to return as soon as possible. After two weeks, reminder letters (Appendix IX) were sent to those who had not yet returned them.

Analysis of data

This was identical to the previous two studies. That is, each questionnaire was scored with each of the six scoring keys and total matching scores calculated for each key. Results of those 12 subjects who did not allocate themselves to one of the six stages were excluded from the analysis.

In order to provide a test of the hypotheses, an analysis for comparison of means under order restrictions was carried out - firstly across profile scores for each subject (stage) group, and secondly, across group scores for each stage profile. This was done using a single degree of freedom special contrast test with 1 and 4 degrees of freedom (Abelson & Tukey,1963; Barlow, Bartholomew, Bremner & Brunk,1978). Considerable attention was given to the selection of an appropriate statistical technique for analysing the results, since it was apparent that two problems had to be taken into account: (1) because the model was essentially depicting a process, and the questionnaire was assumed to be analogous to capturing a "still" picture of where the individual was in this process, it was unlikely that the differences between stage groups would be as pronounced as in the "ideal" version presented by the model. Therefore, selecting a statistical procedure that required group differences to be large before a position of significance would be obtained was considered potentially unhelpful;

(2) The second problem lay in the area of predicted ordering of results. While techniques such as paired comparison of means are appropriate for testing direction between the means, it was considered that a more accurate test (and therefore more powerful) of the hypotheses required a method by which the *overall* predicted direction of all means was assessed. This would test each mean score as a part of a larger scheme rather than as an individual result.

The special contrast comparison test described above was considered the most powerful available for meeting these requirements. It essentially involved conducting an analysis of variance between group means with a selected contrast. The selected special contrast considered in the testing of the Across Profiles Hypothesis was the order of profile scores as predicted for each stage group (Table 5). In the testing of the Across Groups Hypothesis it was the order of group scores as predicted for each stage profile (Table 6). In other words, analyses were carried out for each of the 12 predicted orderings of mean scores (6 related to profile mean scores and 6 to stage mean scores).

Prior to carrying out the contrast analyses, tests for normal distribution were conducted since this was a requirement of the test. The data met the requirement.

The special contrast procedure was considered to be particularly suitable to the present research because

it allowed the significant factor of ordering of results to be incorporated into the comparison of means. For example, in order to test the hypothesis for Stage 3 subjects, it was necessary to demonstrate the degree of similarity or dissimilarity with the Stage 3 scoring profile as well as a ranking of similarity or dissimilarity with other stage groups. Statistical procedures such as Distance measures were not able to provide this degree of information. The special contrast comparison test was, in addition, suitable because of its sensitivity to small group differences.

RESULTS

Mean total matching scores of subjects at each stage for all scoring keys are presented in Table 11, and plotted in Figure 6.

The results of tests of the Across Profile Hypothesis, namely that subjects at each stage would obtain highest scores on the profile of their particular stage compared with other stage profiles, and that the scores on these latter profiles would decrease progressively as predicted, are presented in Table 12.

The hypothesis was given strong support ($p < .001$) from Stage 1, 5 and 6 subjects. Results from Stage 2 and

TABLE 11

MAIN STUDY: Mean total matching scores obtained on each scoring key by subjects at each stage.

Stage: (Self-Allocated)	Stage Scoring Key					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	172.2	169.2	158.6	135.9	102.5	111.7
2	165.5	168.9	167.4	139.2	111.1	114.9
3	139.8	148.3	158.6	151.5	127.4	131.7
4	116.9	121.7	153.0	182.3	164.3	168.8
5	101.6	104.0	129.8	171.7	206.4	200.2
6	104.3	107.7	136.2	172.1	186.8	194.5

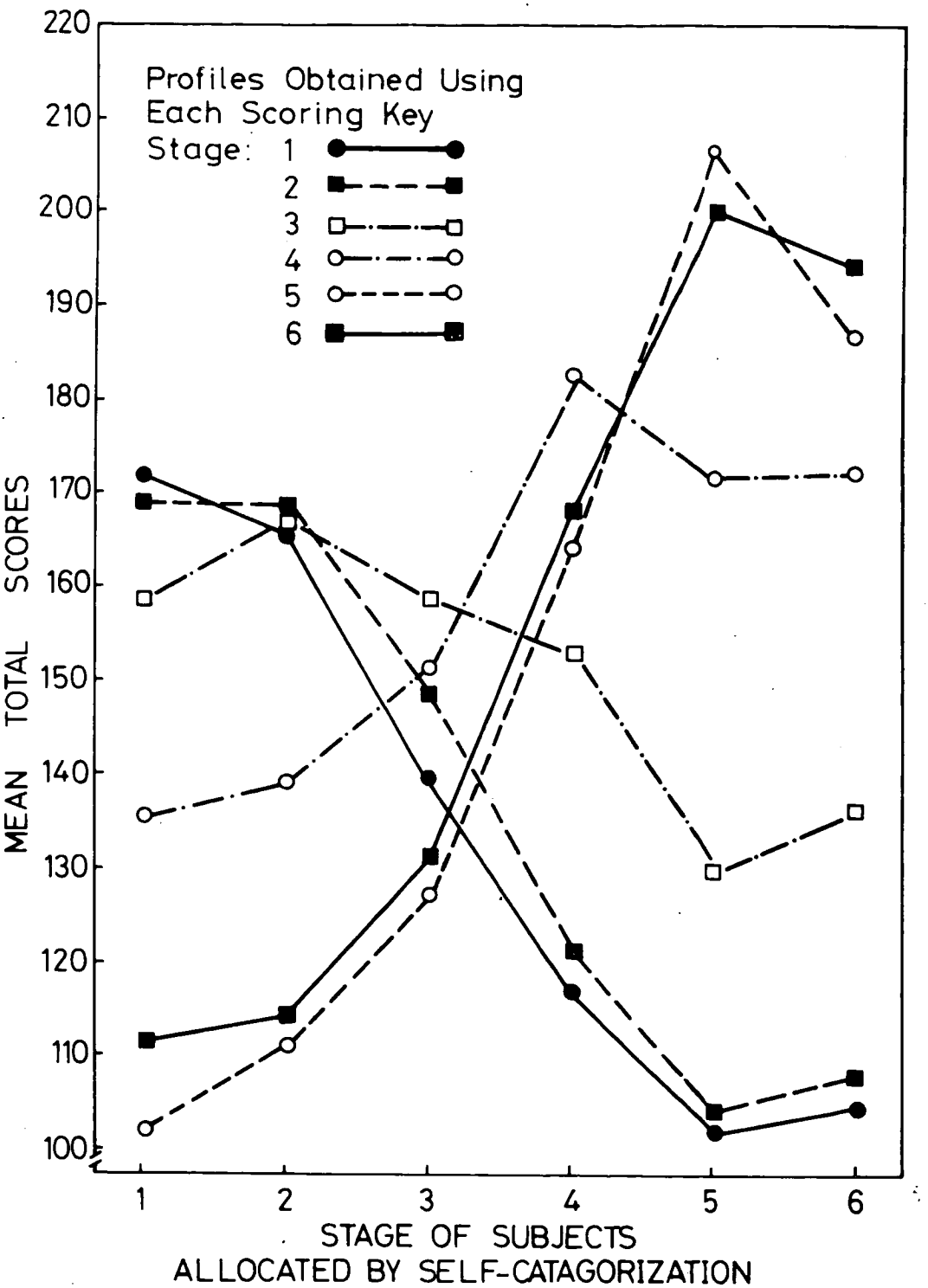


FIGURE 6 MAIN STUDY: Profiles derived from plotting mean total matching scores of subjects at each stage on each of the scoring keys.

TABLE 12

Results of a single degree of freedom contrast test for comparison of means under order restrictions over profile scores for each subject group with 1 and 4 degrees of freedom.

Group	Tested Order of Profile Scores	F	P
Stage 1	$\mu_1 \geqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	13.7	$p<.001$
Stage 2	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	3.3	NS*
Stage 3	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	0.5	NS
Stage 4	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	3.4	NS*
Stage 5	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	6.9	$p<.001$
Stage 6	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \leqq \mu_6$	18.3	$p<.001$

* These results almost reach significance at the .05 level.

Stage 4 groups were very nearly significant at the .05 level, while those at Stage 3 were clearly unsupportive of the hypothesis. From Figure 6, it would appear that results were likely to have been effected by the similarity (and sometimes reversal) of scores on profiles 1 and 2, and profiles 5 and 6, rather than major contradictions of the predicted ordering. For example, the Stage 3 group indicated the predicted ordering of means on five of the six occasions, but differences between means were too small to gain significance.

The Across Groups Hypothesis, namely, that subjects at each stage would obtain highest scores on the profile of their particular stage compared with subjects at other stages whose scores would be expected to decrease progressively as predicted, was also assessed using single degree of freedom special contrast tests. Results are presented in Table 13. The hypothesis received strong support from all profiles.

From Figure 6, it is apparent that while the *general* direction of results was as postulated, two order reversals occurred. The clearest of these was from Stage 3 subjects, who on the Stage 3 scoring key obtained the *second* highest score, after the Stage 2 subjects. Stage 6 subjects, similarly, obtained second highest scores on the Stage 6 scoring key, after the Stage 5 subjects. In fact, reversal of score direction of Stage 5 and 6 subjects occurred on 4 of the 6 profiles, with interestingly, a clear demarcation of the two groups in the *predicted* direction for the Stage 5 profile. It appears that Stage 6 subjects saw themselves as considerably more dissimilar to the Stage 5 profile than did the Stage 5 subjects.

A further feature of the results was the similarity between scores on almost all profiles of Stage 5 and 6 subject groups. To a lesser extent, this was also evident for Stage 1 and Stage 2 subjects.

Mean scores for male and female subjects were calculated in order to check for gender differences

TABLE 13

Results of a single degree of freedom contrast test for comparison of means under order restrictions with 1 and 4 degrees of freedom over subject groups for each scoring key

Profile	Tested Order of Group Scores	F	P
Stage 1	$\mu_1 \geqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	200.0	$p<.001$
Stage2	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \geqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	60.0	$p<.001$
Stage 3	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \geqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	5.0	$p<.05$
Stage 4	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \geqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	82.3	$p<.001$
Stage 5	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \geqq \mu_6$	68.5	$p<.001$
Stage 6	$\mu_1 \leqq \mu_2 \leqq \mu_3 \leqq \mu_4 \leqq \mu_5 \leqq \mu_6$	194.2	$p<.001$

(Tables 14 and 15). Small cell frequencies prevented statistical analyses being carried out, and the findings are seen as exploratory only. Observations are made from an inspection of the mean scores of these two groups plotted in Figure 7.

Results suggested that support for the hypotheses was given by both groups.

In terms of the Across Profiles Hypothesis, several features that emerged in the analysis of *total* results (namely, similarity of scores on the Stage 1 and 2

TABLE 14

MAIN STUDY: Mean total matching scores obtained on each scoring key by female subjects in each stage group.

Stage Group	Stage Scoring Key 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	166.4	164.6	157.4	139.4	99.0	108.0
2	139.3	147.7	166.3	140.7	124.7	119.3
3	138.3	146.3	151.5	155.3	138.5	141.8
4	115.8	118.7	145.7	179.8	170.0	173.9
5	100.8	102.5	124.7	170.3	213.8	201.5
6	105.5	105.5	130.9	169.7	196.5	203.9

scoring keys, and Stage 5 and 6 scoring keys, with the sometimes reversal of order of these profile scores) are characteristic of the results of both male and female subjects. There was, however, some suggestion that an exception could be found amongst female Stage 2 and 3 subjects, where some distinction was apparent between scores on the Stage 1 and 2 scoring keys. There was a tendency for the results of male Stage 2 and 3 subjects to be generally more supportive of the hypothesis than those of female subjects in the same subject groups.

TABLE 15

MAIN STUDY: Mean total matching scores obtained on each scoring key by male subjects in each stage group.

Stage Group	Stage Scoring Key 1	2	3	4	5	6
1	177.0	173.0	159.7	133.0	105.3	114.8
2	173.4	175.3	167.7	138.7	107.0	113.5
3	140.7	149.4	162.6	149.3	121.0	125.9
4	117.7	124.0	158.3	184.2	160.2	165.2
5	102.0	104.9	132.8	172.5	202.0	199.4
6	103.7	108.8	139.0	173.3	181.8	189.6

The Across Groups Hypothesis was similarly given reasonable overall support. A notable feature was the greater distinction found between Stage 1 and 2 female subject groups compared with equivalent male groups on four of the six profiles. Generally, male subjects appeared to give greater support to the hypothesis on the Stage 2 and 3 profiles. Female subjects gave more support on the Stage 5 and 6 profiles.

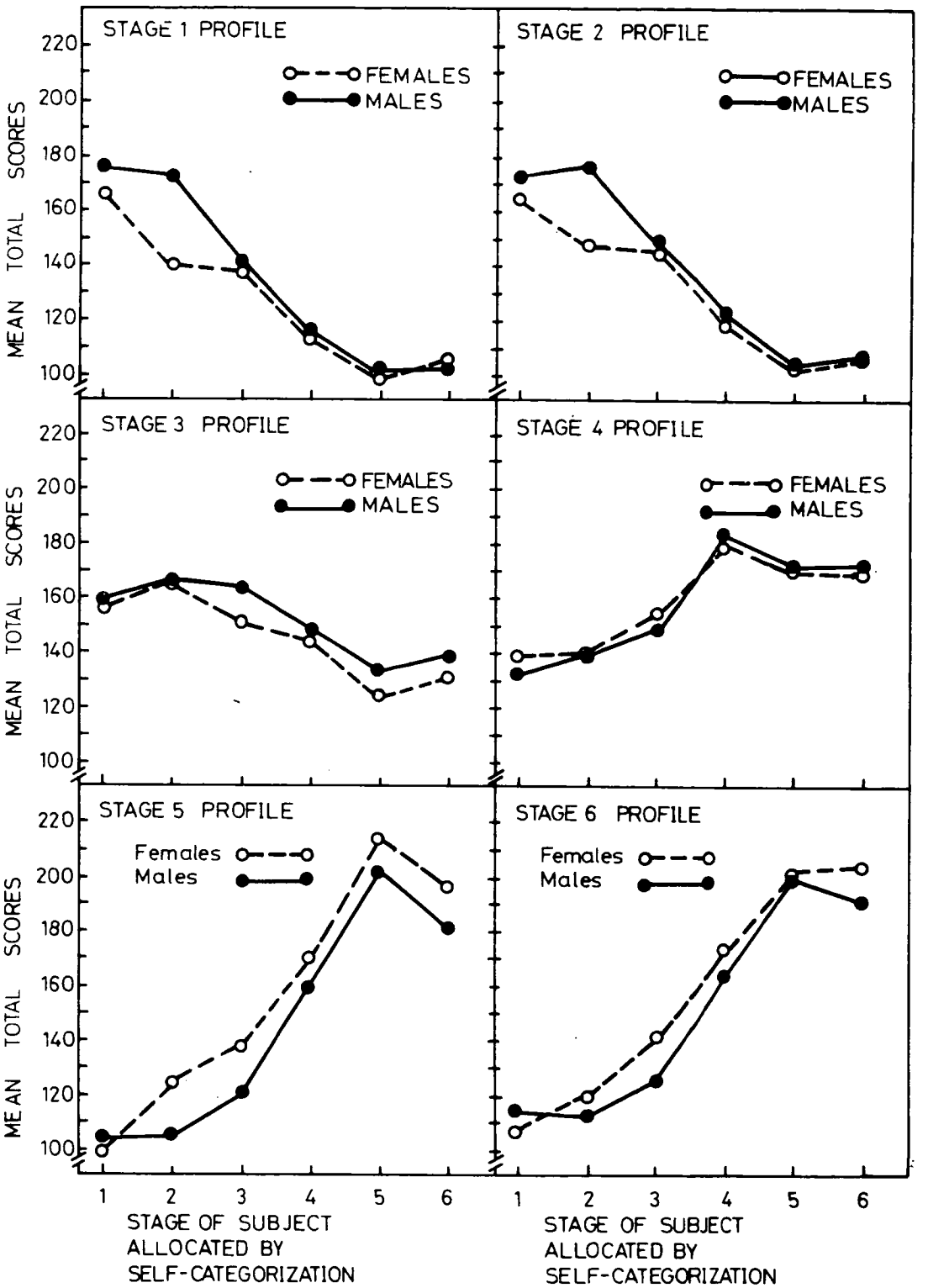


FIGURE 7 Profiles derived from plotting mean total matching scores of female (n=63) and male (n=103) subjects at each stage on each of the scoring keys.

Bearing in mind the difficulties of small group frequencies mentioned earlier, it is tentatively suggested that findings indicate considerable similarity between female and male subjects on their questionnaire responses, while at the same time pointing to the possible existence of some group-specific differences, the significance of which cannot be assessed in this study.

Discriminant Validity

In order to ascertain that the differences found between subject groups using the scoring keys were not in some way an artefact of the researcher's bias in constructing the questionnaire and scoring keys, a Discriminant Analysis was carried out.

This type of analysis involves obtaining canonical discriminant functions. These are linear combinations of the discriminating variables which account for the maximum amount of group separation. This procedure is used where a researcher wishes to carry out a check of whether specified groups can be distinguished on certain variables. In the present study, responses on the questionnaire were presented as the variables on which stage groups were expected to differ.

As shown in Table 16, five significant functions were obtained, of which the first two accounted for a large proportion (76.6%) of the variance. An examination of the position of group centroids along these first two discriminant

TABLE 16

Canonical discriminant functions obtained from discriminant analyses of the questionnaire results.

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	10.8988	57.65	57.65	.9570
2	3.5869	18.97	76.62	.8843
3	1.6309	8.63	85.25	.7873
4	1.5560	8.23	93.48	.7802
5	1.2330	6.52	100.00	.7430

After Function	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Squared	D.F.	Significance
0	0.00122	818.48	400	0.0000
1	0.01451	516.36	316	0.0000
2	0.06658	330.52	234	0.0000
3	0.17519	212.51	154	0.0013
4	0.44781	98.01	76	0.0455

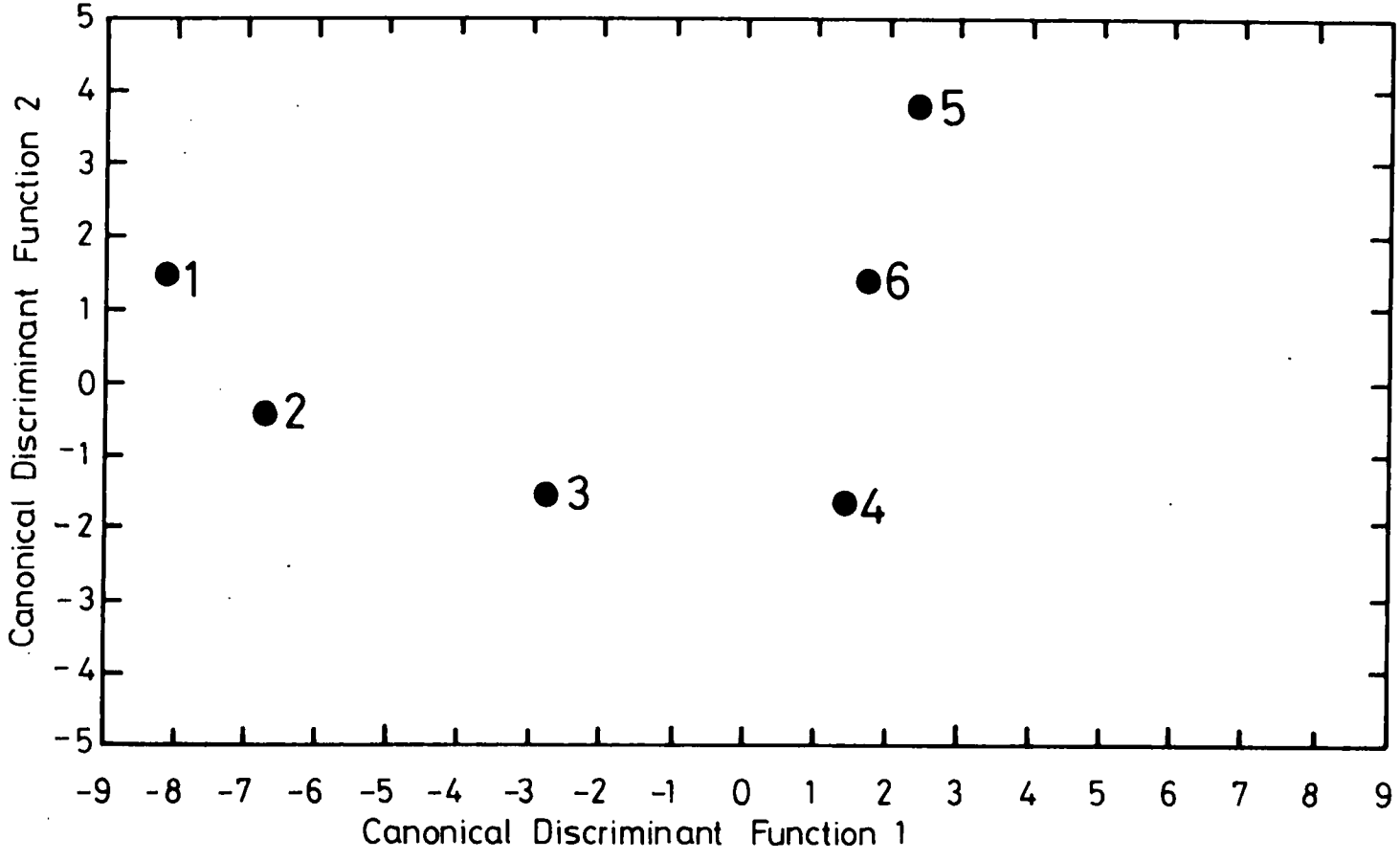
function continuums (Figure 8) indicates that *the six groups were able to be distinguished from each other.*

A Scatterplot (Figure 9) shows the relative compactness with which the subjects gathered around their respective centroids. The percentage of cases correctly classified by the Discriminant Analysis was 97%. This finding is highly significant. With only 3.1% of subjects misclassified, these results suggest it is possible to distinguish between the six groups in the manner predicted by the researcher. It may be concluded from this, too, that the scoring keys were unable to maximise those group differences that existed.

DISCUSSION

The results from the analyses using the scoring keys provide general support for the hypotheses put forward: There would appear to be an overall trend for subjects self-allocated into each stage to acknowledge the hypothesised profile or ideal description of their particular stage, rather than profiles of other stages, as corresponding more closely to their current mode of functioning. There is a tendency, too, for subjects at a particular stage, when compared with subjects at all other stages, to show

FIGURE 8 Group centroids plotted along the first two discriminant function continuums for each stage (numbers in the figure correspond to the stage of that number).



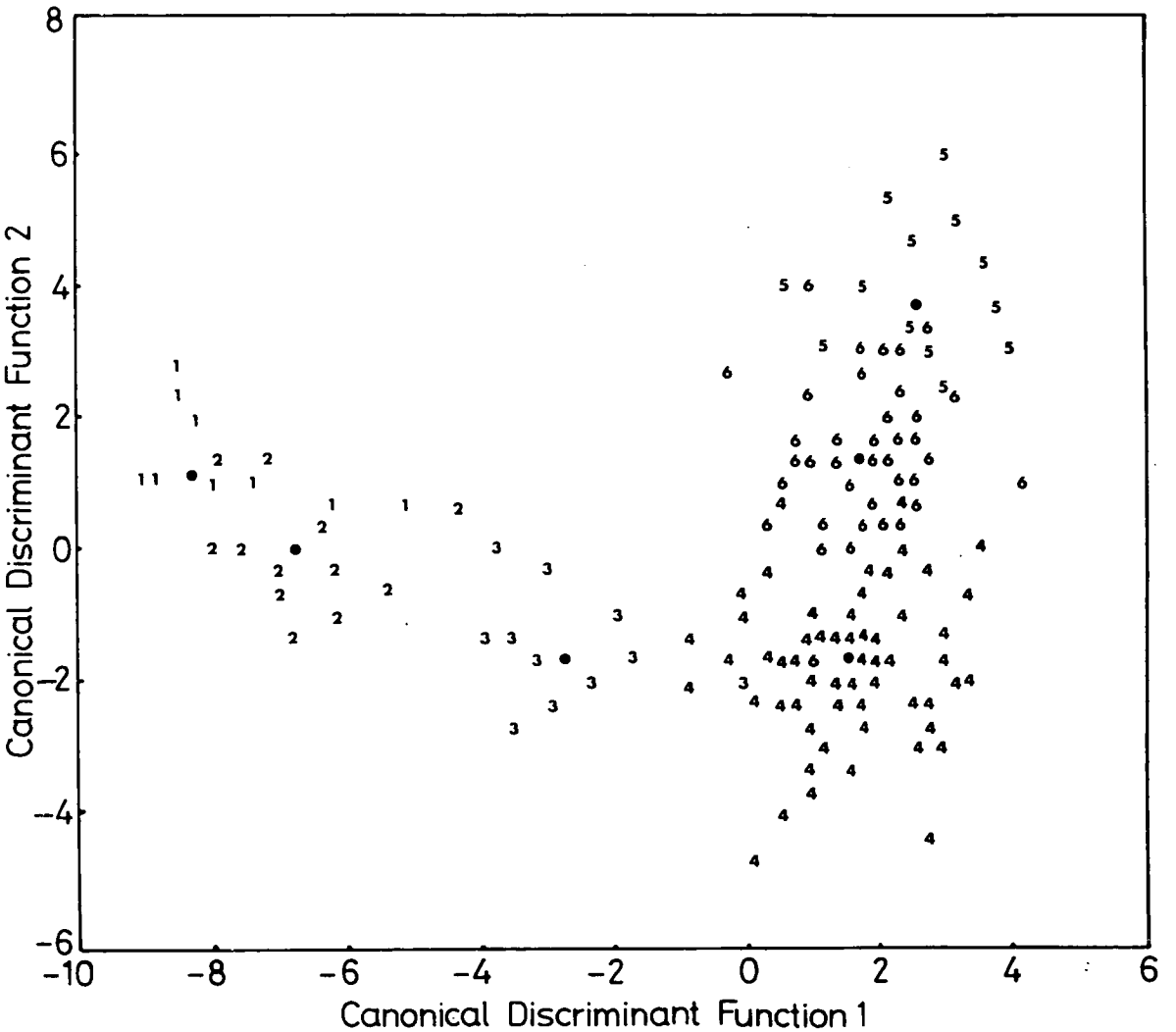


FIGURE 9 Plot of discriminant scores for subjects at each stage (● indicates group centroid).

greater similarity with the hypothesised profile of that particular stage.

Overall, this suggests that individuals who acknowledge homosexuality to be an aspect of their lives are able, to a reasonable degree, to be distinguished on those characteristics proposed by the author in her theory of gay identity formation. The study also provides reasonable support for the hypothesis that any grouping of individuals according to such characteristics will follow a set order as predicted by the model. Where results are not clear-cut, this is almost always due to a blurring of adjacent stages rather than a more dramatic repatterning of them. This finding is consistent with a process model of identity development, although it in no way provides evidence for the concept of process.

A study by Allen (Note 15) also provides support for the stage sequence or order described by the author. She tested several areas of functioning in which differences between political (defined by Allen using the Stage Allocation Measure as being in Stages 5 to 6) and nonpolitical (defined as belonging to Stages 4 to 5) homosexuals were hypothesised to occur. Her predictions were drawn from aspects of the present author's model. Allen predicted that political homosexuals would exhibit greater internal locus of control, higher self-esteem, and less negative attitudes towards homosexuality and would have attained higher levels of homosexual identity formation and would perceive others to hold less positive attitudes towards homosexuality than nonpolitical homosexuals. In

addition, to finding support for her predictions, she also found that all subjects acknowledged chronologically experiencing the relevant stages in the predicted order. However, as with other studies of homosexual identity development using age-based data, a retrospective design was used. This entailed giving subjects the Stage Allocation Measure and asking them to note which of the categories they remembered fitting into and at what age they did so. Only 12% of subjects, reports Allen, could not recall fitting into every stage that was located prior to the one they currently nominated themselves as belonging to. In all cases, the order of recalled stages was identical to that hypothesised by the present author. Although these results provide some early support for the author's theory, they must be considered with caution since the difficulties inherent in interpreting retrospective data cannot be ignored.

Lack of discrimination between stages found in the present study when the scoring keys were used, is most consistently apparent between Stages 1 and 2, and Stages 5 and 6, suggesting that subjects may be better categorised as comprising four, rather than six groups. In other words, these data suggest that identity formation may involve four stages instead of the proposed six.

However, the Discriminant Analysis indicated that the six groups *could* be adequately distinguished. This suggests that the scoring keys were unable to measure fully the differences between groups.

There are several factors that might have

determined such results. One of these is item sensitivity: It is possible that the range of responses available on some items was too narrow to allow for greater differences to emerge between Stages 1 and 2, and Stages 5 and 6. Biasing effects may have also occurred as a result of making predictions about those items hypothesised to have lesser importance to a specific stage. It is quite probable that there was a lack of clarity in the author's conceptualisation of the part they played in stage differentiation.

One way of checking this out would be to build a weighting system into the scoring keys that would give greater emphasis to the more significant factors at each stage. There can be little doubt that the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire used in the studies is a relatively crude instrument. In order that it be converted into a useful tool for data collection, there will need to be item analyses carried out with a view to defining its factors, reducing its size, and selecting the most efficient items. Reliability measures would then need to be conducted on the refined version.

Another factor that may have contributed to indistinction between the stages is the method of stage allocation used. Instructions for the completion of the Stage Allocation Measure asked subjects to place themselves into *one* of the stage categories - the one that most described their current mode of functioning. Since the model outlines a *process* of development, and the measure calls for nomination into discrete rather than continuous

categories, there is in fact, some theoretical conflict between the two. It is possible that the study included individuals who, if given a directive to do so, may have categorised themselves somewhere *between* the stage points. Although some subjects did, in fact, place themselves between stages, there is no way of assessing how many more would have done so if given the opportunity. In essence, what is not known is the *degree* to which the majority of subjects identified with the set descriptions in the Stage Allocation Measure. The effect of a forced choice would be to blur any distinctions that existed between groups.

In retrospect, it would seem that a more effective method may have been to allow subjects to indicate the degree to which they perceived themselves as similar to the stage descriptions. A similar method was used by Cross (Note 14) in the latter part of his study of Black identity formation. Judges were asked to rate paragraphs as to their similarity with Cross' stages using continuum scales. Analyses were then carried out with only those paragraphs placed on the two extreme ratings at each continuum end.

In summary, it would appear that the author's theory of gay identity formation has been given considerable support in the areas of stage content and stage order or sequence. Some revision of the scoring keys is needed, however, prior to their use in future research programmes.

It is apparent from the data that there is some unevenness in the degree to which subject groups

acknowledge similarity with the ideal stage descriptions. For example, responses for Stage 3 subjects averaged 157 out of a possible 356 correct on the Stage 3 scoring key, while Stage 5 subjects obtained an average of 208 correct responses on their respective scoring key. This again points to the need to check in future research for poor item construction and unclear predictions, as well as incorrect theorising. While findings from the present study suggest that the model provides a valid picture of the homosexual identity formation process, it may well be that some stages are depicted more accurately than others.

Given the findings obtained from the study, it is important to consider what implications they may have for other models of gay identity development. Since none of these models incorporate all the dimensions described by the author in her model, any comparison must necessarily be broad. In a very general sense, it may be said that each of the stage descriptions outlined by the present author has been alluded to by other theoreticians (although in less detail), and the sequence of stages proffered in other models is in all cases identical to that defined by the present author. Thus the results from the present study provide some initial validation of elements put forward by these theoreticians.

However, the finding that six stage groups could be distinguished amongst individuals involved in identity formation suggests that some of these alternative models may offer a too narrow conception of the

developmental process, at least along the dimensions proposed by the present researcher.

Although small numbers make it impossible to draw firm conclusions regarding the responses of male and female subjects, the data indicate both similarities between the two groups and also some differences. In both stage content and stage sequence there appears to be greater similarity than dissimilarity. This is supportive of the model which proposes that it is the paths within the stage framework along which development takes place, rather than the stages themselves or their order, on which the two groups are likely to differ. There is clearly need for further work in this area since the existence of differences would require either the modification of the model or the development of separate ones for females and males.

The study by Allen (Note 15) suggests that the question of gender differentiation is likely to be a complex one. On most variables tested (locus of control, own attitudes towards homosexuality, self-esteem, and perceived societal attitudes towards homosexuality) the predicted differences were found between her two subject groups. That is, politically active homosexuals (Stages 5 to 6 in Allen's study) were found to hold a more internal locus of control, more positive attitudes toward homosexuality and higher self-esteem as well as perceiving societal attitudes toward homosexuality more negatively than did nonpolitical (Stages 4 to 5) gays. At the same time, significant gender differences were also evident.

Compared with male homosexuals, lesbians tended to perceive others' views towards homosexuals as more negative, showed greater discrepancy between own attitudes towards homosexuality, and held more positive self-images as well as ideal self-images.

Allen also noted significant *intra-gender* differences. The differences between political and non-political lesbians were consistently far greater than that between male homosexuals in these groups. This suggests the need to provide between-stage comparisons of similar gender individuals as well as within-stage comparisons between males and females.

It is tempting to comment on the spatial arrangement of the profile scores obtained by each stage group. It could be hypothesised that the distance found between scores is indicative of the psychological distance experienced by individuals at each stage as they compare themselves with those at other stages. As an example, Stages 1 to 3 subjects might be said to perceive Stage 5 (with its call to radical confrontation and divisiveness) as the most extreme position from themselves, whereas for Stages 4 to 6 subjects, the confusion of Stage 1 represents the furthermost point of development. It would seem worthwhile to explore this avenue in future research. If confirmed, such a hypothesis would not only provide valuable information regarding the perceptions of those involved in the identity formation process, but may also offer a means by which the ordering of stages could become quantified, thereby expanding the scope for statistical

analysis.

In addition to Allen (Note 15), one further study has been carried out that tests aspects of the author's model. Using male subjects, Sommers (Note 6) examined the hypothesis that with increased identity formation, individuals would hold less fear of homosexuality, and would report having a larger and more supportive social network. Despite the fact that the distinctions between stage groups used in his study were minimal, the hypothesis was confirmed.

Although there is clearly a great deal of work to be done in the area of gay identity formation, the results of the present investigation, together with those of other studies in the area, provide some evidence for the proposal that consideration of the concept of homosexual identity is important to the understanding of the homosexual perspective. For those authors who argue against adopting such a concept (See Chapter 3), it strongly suggests that individuals *do* have some sense of themselves as "a homosexual". This identity takes different forms for different people, and is experienced as a psychological reality in their personal worlds.

Finally, the question of sampling needs to be considered. Gonsiorek (1982) notes, as have others (e.g., Corbett, Troider & Dodder, 1980), that:

> *The largest single methodological problem in the scientific study of homosexuality ...is...how to define and obtain a representative - or even useful - homosexual sample.* (p.371).

The present study represents a unique sampling problem that has not, as yet, been addressed by researchers of gay identity formation. If we are to generalise the conclusions drawn in the last few pages, then it is necessary to assume that a representative sample of subjects at each stage was obtained. At this point in time, however, we have no way of assessing whether any sample of homosexuals is representative of the homosexual population, let alone whether stage samples are representative of stage populations. The most we can do, therefore, is to bear in mind that present stage groups were drawn from specific sources which may or may not have introduced some biasing factor. If the author's theory is valid, then it would be expected that the predicted inter-stage differences will emerge *regardless* of the recruitment source. It must be left to future studies, however, to determine the soundness of this assumption.

Yet, having said that recruitment source should not effect inter-stage differences, it must be noted that this hypothesis, itself, requires checking. It may be, for example that *similar* stage subjects obtained from *different* sources will differ on variables that may prove significant to the author's theory of identity formation.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BIOGRAPHICAL FACTORS AND HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY FORMATION

In the model of homosexual identity formation presented in Chapter 5, a number of proposals are made, either implicitly or explicitly, about the influence (or lack of influence) of certain background factors upon development. In this chapter, these proposals are examined as they relate to the variables of: Age, gender, educational achievement, occupation, religious upbringing, marital status, birthorder, birthplace, age of first awareness of gay feelings, thoughts or behaviour, and age of first labeling own feelings, thoughts or behaviour as homosexual.

The present author considers that some of these variables (e.g., age, gender) are likely to have more impact on identity formation than others. Since, however, no work has previously been carried out on the relationship between biographical factors and stages of gay identity formation, it was decided to assess and present a broad range of biographical information. For each of these factors, hypotheses are made as to the expected relationship between the particular factor and stages of

identity formation. These hypotheses have been drawn from the theory. Thus, stage groups are compared against each other for each of the biographical factors. Findings are presented and discussed.

This approach represents a departure from the relatively standard procedure found in the homosexual literature of using biographical information to demonstrate the degree to which the sample is representative of the general (and sometimes homosexual) population. Such a procedure arose out of that line of investigation which sought to document the differences between homosexuals and the rest of the community. As Weinberg (Note 12) notes, however, if a homosexual sample was found to be "representative" of the general population, it "may...be totally unrepresentative of the larger *gay* population" (p.89). The question is, what *are* the characteristics of the homosexual population? Weinberg (Note 12) and Troiden (Note 11) express regret that, as yet, such information is simply unavailable.

In the studies presented in this manuscript, the comparison of the homosexual sample with a heterosexual standard or population was not required. The aims of carrying out analyses on the biographical data, therefore, were: (1) to provide, as was mentioned earlier, further information regarding the validity of the author's stage descriptions; and (2) to provide detailed information which could be used in cross-study comparisons between future studies and the present ones. As noted in previous

chapters, we have not been able, strictly speaking, to assume stage representativeness, that is whether subjects obtained in each stage group were representative of stage populations. By presenting a biographical description of stage groups, it is hoped that it will be possible for future samples to be compared against the sample used in the Main Study. An accumulation of this comparative information should, in turn, provide researchers with sample "norms", and also a retrospective check on the validity of the author's findings.

Because of small cell frequencies, it was intended that a *descriptive* rather than an *analytical* (i.e., statistical) approach be taken towards the data.

AGE

In Chapter 5, it was hypothesised that a person could enter into, and progress, through the stages of identity development *at any age*. On its own, the age factor was not predicted to have any direct relationship with stage groups. Rather, it was expected that people from diverse age groups would be found at all positions of the developmental process.

In reality, however, the situation is far more complex than this. The age factor may be dramatically affected by other factors that arise out of the individual's interaction with society. For example, those

who perceive severe negative consequences to be the likely outcome of adopting a gay identity may opt to delay or indefinitely defer their gay identity development. Given, in Western society, the changes in attitudes towards homosexuals evidenced in increasing tolerance and less severe consequences, we could expect that younger people of today would be less likely to inhibit identity development than those in older age brackets.

> *A young person dealing with being gay in the 1970s has an entirely different set of historical-cultural conditions to ease the development of a positive gay identity from that of a person who grew up in the early 1900s.*
> (Kimmel, 1978, p.124).

Greene (Note 16) found that younger women recognised lesbian feelings at a later age than the older women studied, *but acted on these feelings much sooner.* Weinberg (Note 12) found that young gay males first suspected they might be homosexual at the same age as older gay males (16.8 years) but labeled themselves as homosexual much earlier (an average of 4 years earlier) than the older men.

However, it is also true that younger people are likely to be less experienced in dealing with familial pressures, more dependent upon societal institutions (family, educational bodies etc), and less well versed in a range of suitable coping strategies than are older people. Such factors may influence the way identity is managed. Older male homosexuals, for example, have been clearly shown to be more psychologically adjusted than younger ones (Weinberg & Williams, 1975). This is likely to create or

reflect a degree of personal confidence not experienced by younger people, a factor which may be significant in maintaining continuous identity development.

Findings on the age variable from the present study are presented in Table 17. Six age groupings were used: To 19 years; 20 - 29 years; 30 - 39 years; 40 - 49 years; 50 - 59 years; 60 - 69 years. Although this number of categories created small cell frequencies in some cells, it was considered that less groupings (i.e., larger age spans) might hide certain trends. Since the assessment was intended to be primarily descriptive, this arrangement was considered acceptable.

Two questions can be addressed: (1) Are there any differences between stage groups in the spread across age categories? (2) Are there any notable differences amongst people in the various age categories in the stages to which they allocate themselves?

From a descriptive perspective, and looking first at the age breakdown of each stage group, it can be seen that Stage 1 subjects were represented in all except the youngest age bracket, with the majority (36.4%) falling in the range 20 - 29 years. Stage 2 subjects, similarly tended to congregate in the 20 - 29 years range (38.5%), but differed from Stage 1 subjects in that the remainder were somewhat evenly distributed amongst the age categories 30 - 39 years, 40 - 49 years and -> 19 years.

Stage 3 subjects appeared to differ quite markedly from these previous two groups by

TABLE 17

Frequencies of subjects at each stage group in each of the age groups.

Frequency Row % Column %	Age						
Stage	→19yrs	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	Total
1	- - -	4 36.4 6.3	3 27.3 5.4	1 9.1 4.3	2 18.2 11.8	1 9.1 100.0	11 6.6
2	2 15.4 33.3	5 38.5 7.9	3 23.1 5.4	3 23.1 13.0	- - -	- - -	13 7.8
3	1 9.1 16.7	6 54.5 9.5	3 27.3 5.4	- - -	1 9.1 5.9	- - -	11 6.6
4	1 1.4 16.7	21 29.6 33.3	27 38.0 48.2	11 15.5 47.8	11 15.5 64.7	- - -	71 42.8
5	2 12.5 33.3	9 56.3 14.3	2 12.5 3.6	3 18.8 13.0	- - -	- - -	16 9.6
6	- - -	18 40.9 28.6	18 40.9 32.1	5 11.4 21.7	3 6.8 17.6	- - -	44 26.6
Totals	6 3.6%	63 38.0%	56 33.7%	23 13.9%	17 10.2%	1 0.6%	166 100.0%

being concentrated almost entirely into the 20-39 years age range, with a large majority (54.5%) aged 20-29years.

The notable feature of the Stage 4 group is the apparent tendency for more of these subjects to be slightly older than the other stage groups: The ~~majority~~ largest group (38%) fit into the 30-39years category, although the 20-29years, 40-49years and 50-59years groupings are also strongly represented. To some extent, these results may reflect the fact that a time element is built into any developmental concept. In other words, it takes *time* to move from one stage to another.

However, Stage 5 subjects are clearly younger (56.3% are 20-29years), although they differ from Stage 3 subjects in that they also show a larger spread across the age range. Stage 6 subjects varied from all other groups with equal distribution across the 20-29years and 30-39years age brackets. They were dissimilar to Stage 4 subjects in having decreasing numbers of people in the 40-60 age range, and considerably more in the 20-29years age range. If we recognise that Stages 5 and 6 are, in a sense, recent additions to the developmental sequence ("gay pride" in its modern sense has only been really expounded since the early 1970s), then the more youthful age of Stage 5 and 6 subjects is understandable. The older age groups in Stage 4 similarly may be said to reflect a trend for people going through identity development prior to 1970 to foreclose at that stage.

In summary, while the majority of subjects in all stage groups were under 40 years of age, those in Stages 3, 5 and 6 tended to be younger than the rest.

These findings are somewhat at odds with those of Allen (Note 15) who found no differences in mean age between "political" (Stage 5 to 6) and "non-political" (Stage 4 to 5) homosexuals ($\bar{x}_p$ = 25.1 years; $\bar{x}_{np}$ = 25.4 years). However, since the majority of Allen's subjects (78%) were between 20 and 30 years of age, this result may simply reflect the narrowed age range of her sample. Results from the present study suggest that obtaining mean ages for each stage may not be as informative as documenting the *distribution* of subjects at each stage across the full breadth of the age range.

Looking at the breakdown into stages of subjects in each age group, it appears that some differences occur here too. While the majority of subjects between 20 and 60 years allocated themselves into Stage 4, there seems to be ~~significant~~ some differences within this age range. Noticeably, 64.7% of 50-59 year olds opted for Stage 4, compared with 33.3% of 20-29 year olds. Considerably less of the 50-59 year olds were to be found in the latter two stages (17.6%) compared with subjects under 50 years. The largest group of Stage 5 and 6 subjects were found amongst 20-29 year olds. A further interesting feature is that of the 40-49 year olds at Stage 2 - twice as many as 20-29 year olds, and nearly three times as many as the 30-39 bracket.

This suggests that different factors may be operating for the 40-49 year olds.

In fact, the results suggest that, in general terms, there is a need to consider each age cohort separately in order to capture differences not necessarily apparent in overall statistics such as mean scores.

It is not unreasonable, given steadily changing attitudes towards homosexuality, that individuals only a decade apart in chronological age might draw from quite different attitudinal backgrounds. This suggests that the interactional effects of age, culture and individual may be an interesting direction that researchers of the future should attend to. What, for example, might be the effects on identity acquisiton of a culture that exhibits changes (both rapid and slow) in attitudes towards homosexuals? What factors might be responsible for increased as opposed to inhibited development? Are there certain age-acquired skills that make identity formation more or less easier at different age levels?

As a final comment about the age factor, the present study differs quite markedly from those of Troiden (Note 11) and Weinberg (Note 12) in the age range of subjects studied. Troiden gathered all his subjects from the 20-40 years age group, with the majority (61%) from the 20-30 year group. Weinberg extended his age range slightly, with the bulk (73.4%) similarly coming from the 20-30 age bracket.

In comparison, the present study tested subjects from teenage to 70 years, with only 38% aged between 20 and 30 years. The apparent differences over all age groups suggests that studies using age-based experiences as an indication of stage (e.g., Troiden's and Weinberg's studies) will limit their findings if using a sample with a narrow age range.

Finally, it should be noted that subject recruitment methods may have influenced the age factor. In future studies, an analysis of recruitment sources would seem to be necessary in order to determine whether any relationship exists between source, stage and the age (or any other) factor.

GENDER

The model proposes that both females and males will move through the same stages of homosexual identity formation, although the specific strategies used and paths taken by each of these groups during stage progression may differ. It would be expected then that each group will be represented at all stages.

Whether this representation will be equal, that is, whether proportions of male and female subjects at each stage position will be similar, is difficult to say. It seems likely that the distinct forms of socialisation experienced

by women and men may well contribute to stage progression. For example, the emphasis on female socialisation of dependency upon others (particularly a man) may lead to difficulties in the early stages where the focus is on separation from former goals and life expectations, and development of new ones (requiring an independent, self-reliant role). Males, conditioned more to independency and acting according to own needs, may experience these tasks as less devastating, and therefore be more inclined to move beyond these early stages. On the other hand, women socialised within a sexist society may find the thought of adopting a negatively valued identity less daunting than men, since they have already learnt to cope with their negatively valued status as women. In addition, the factor of assertiveness, far less evident in women than in men, could well be a necessary condition for effective disclosure and confrontation, found in the later stages of development. This would suggest that the numbers of women found in these stages may be proportionately less than numbers of men. Even considering these and other variables, there is a need to bear in mind that where numbers are proportionately equal, the factors crucial to this occurrence may be quite different for each gender.

Frequencies of female and male subjects in each stage are presented in Table 18.

TABLE 18

Frequencies of female and male subjects in each of the stages.

Frequency Row % Column %	Gender		
Stage	Female	Male	Totals
1	5 45.5 7.9	6 54.5 5.0	11 6.6%
2	3 23.1 4.8	10 76.9 9.7	13 7.8%
3	4 36.4 6.3	7 63.6 6.8	11 6.6%
4	30 42.3 47.6	41 57.7 39.8	71 42.8%
5	6 37.5 9.5	10 62.5 9.7	16 9.6%
6	15 34.1 23.8	29 65.9 28.2	44 26.6%
Totals	63 38.0%	103 62.0%	166 100.0%

Both groups appeared to be similarly proportioned amongst the stages, although there was a tendency for women to show lesser representation at Stage 2 and 6 than men, and greater representation at Stages 1 and 4. Given that the sample was apportioned into 38% females and 62% males, women subjects in Stages 1 and 4 appeared to be somewhat over-represented relative to expected proportions (45.5% on Stage 1, and 42.3% on Stage 4), and under-represented in Stage 2 (quite considerably at 23.1%) and Stage 3 (36.4%) and Stage 6 (34.1%). Whether these findings are due to sampling procedures or reflect the nature of subjects at these stages, cannot be assessed from this study.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational achievement of itself is not believed to be a critical factor in the development of a homosexual identity. However, it is possible that the degree of education undertaken by an individual may lead to, or at least relate to, other variables that may enhance or inhibit identity formation.

Examples of this might be: Greater confidence in expressing oneself verbally; greater economic independence; need for societal acceptance in order to pursue higher professional and/or social status; and encouragement of individual self-expression. Thus, individuals may find

that time spent collecting a degree on a campus which encouraged freedom of expression by minority groups helps them to develop the confidence and rationale for open admittance of a gay identity. However, a counteracting factor may be the area of study itself: Qualification into a traditionally conservative profession (e.g., law or business) may lead to concern about presenting a "respectable" and "acceptable" image.

In the present study, some differences were evident (Table 19) between the secondary and tertiary groups in stage representation. Noticeably, the greater proportion of Stage 1 and Stage 2 subjects (63.3% and 69.2% respectively) could be described as falling into the primary/secondary group, while the reverse appeared true of Stages 5 and 6 (37.5% and 29.5% respectively).

Examining numbers of primary/secondary and tertiary trained subjects falling into each stage, it is apparent that a greater proportion of the former group seemed to allocate themselves to Stages 1, 2 and 4 than did the latter group. Slightly more tertiary than primary-secondary subjects were Stage 5 subjects, while twice as many tertiary-level subjects nominated themselves as belonging to Stage 6. This may well suggest the influence (albeit indirectly) of educational level in the stage position attained by individuals.

TABLE 19

Frequencies of subjects at each stage educated to Primary, Secondary and Tertiary levels.

Frequency Row % Column %	Education Level			
Stage	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Totals
1	1	6	4	11
	9.1 (63.6)*	54.5	36.4	
	33.3 (9.3)	8.3	4.4	6.6%
2	-	9	4	13
	-	69.2	30.8	
	-	12.5	4.4	7.8%
3	-	5	6	11
	-	45.5	54.5	
	-	6.9	6.6	6.6%
4	2	33	36	71
	2.8 (49.3)	46.5	50.7	
	66.7 (46.6)	45.8	39.6	42.8%
5	-	6	10	16
	-	37.5	62.5	
	-	8.3	11.0	9.6%
6	-	13	31	44
	-	29.5	70.5	
	-	18.1	34.1	26.6%
Totals	3 (75)	72	91	166
	1.8% (45.2%)	43.4%	54.8%	100.0%

* Figures in brackets are combined Primary and Secondary results.

OCCUPATION

Stereotypes hold that homosexuals are likely to congregate in certain professions (e.g., hairdressing and theatre for males, prostitution and manual-oriented tasks for women). The model of homosexual identity formation presented here proposes that individuals going through the process of identity development will come from *all* occupational categories. However, the notion that membership in some occupations may enhance development, while others may impede it (similarly to educational attainment) cannot be ignored (Gagnon & Simon, 1974). It is possible that certain occupations may afford the individual a degree of independence from other workers (e.g., doctors, salespersons, business proprietors) which allows them to develop a gay identity without fear of losing their occupational position. In addition, certain occupations may have, as their members, people with relatively liberal views towards homosexuality. Farrell & Morrione (1974) found that people from lower socio-economic status were much more likely to perceive a low degree of acceptance of homosexuals than were those from high socio-economic status.

Findings from the present study are presented in Table 20. Occupational categories most represented by the total sample were student/unemployed (25.3% - mostly made up of students), lower professionals (19.3% - nurses,

TABLE 20

Frequencies of subjects at each stage for each of the occupational categories *

Frequency Row % Column %	Occupation												
Stage	Upper Prof.	Lower Prof.	Manag-erial	Shop Prop.	Cler-ical	Crafts-Person	Shop Assist.	Process Worker	Service Worker	Farm Worker	Lab-ourer	Student/ Unempl.	Totals
1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	6	11
	9.1	9.1	-	-	9.1	9.1	-	9.1	-	-	-	54.5	
	4.5	3.1	-	-	4.2	12.5	-	50.5	-	-	-	14.3	6.6%
2	2	2	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	-	1	3	13
	15.4	15.4	-	7.7	23.1	-	-	-	7.7	-	7.7	23.1	
	9.1	6.3	-	20.0	12.5	-	-	-	7.1	-	50.0	7.1	7.8%
3	2	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	4	11
	18.2	-	-	9.1	9.1	18.2	-	-	9.1	-	-	36.4	
	9.1	-	-	20.0	4.2	25.0	-	-	7.1	-	-	9.5	6.6%
4	8	16	9	1	15	2	1	1	5	2	-	11	71
	11.3	22.5	12.7	1.4	21.1	2.8	1.4	1.4	7.0	2.8	-	15.5	
	36.4	50.0	81.8	20.0	62.5	25.0	50.0	50.0	35.7	100.0	-	26.2	42.8%
5	2	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	6	16
	12.5	18.8	-	-	-	6.3	6.3	-	18.8	-	-	37.5	
	9.1	9.4	-	-	-	12.5	50.0	-	21.4	-	-	14.3	9.6%
6	7	10	2	2	4	2	-	-	4	-	1	12	44
	15.9	22.7	4.5	4.5	9.1	4.5	-	-	9.1	-	2.3	27.3	
	31.8	31.3	18.2	40.0	16.7	25.0	-	-	28.6	-	50.0	28.6	26.6%
Totals	22	32	11	5	24	8	2	2	14	2	2	42	166
	13.3%	19.3%	6.6%	3.0%	14.5%	4.8%	1.2%	1.2%	8.4%	1.2%	1.2%	25.3%	100.0%

* Categories taken from Broom, Jones & Zubrzycki (1965)

teachers, technicians), clerical workers (14.5%), and upper professionals (13.5% - architects, doctors, social workers etc). Overall, for each stage group, some representation seemed evident in most of the categories.

It is interesting to note that over half (54.5%) of Stage 1 subjects fell into the Student/Unemployed category, compared with 37.5% of Stage 5 subjects, the group that might have been predicted to obtain the highest percentage in this category. Stage 4 subjects showed the smallest proportion of Students/Unemployed (15.5%). This group also differed in having a relatively high (12.7%) proportion of its members in the managerial category. These results may, of course, be related to the age and time factors mentioned previously (i.e., by Stage 4 individuals have had time to establish themselves in an occupation.)

RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING

The model posits that where an individual's religious upbringing tended to be traditional and orthodox, and where bonds are still maintained with a religious group espousing such doctrine, then such a person is more likely to have difficulties in becoming committed to a homosexual identity. Religious upbringing in itself, would not be expected to effect identity formation since, obviously, individuals can choose not to adhere to this childhood socialisation.

In combination, however, with other factors (such as: Current religious group membership; the degree of religious orthodoxy adopted by this group; the strength of adherence by the individual to both parental or caretaking [childhood] religious values and current religious values; and the degree of emotional bonding experienced between the individual and her/his parents or principle caretakers), it would be expected to have considerable influence. Gagnon & Simon (1974) suggest that while identification with religion and degree of religiosity play no significant role in homosexual commitment, they can be important in the *management* of that commitment.

Sixteen categories of religious upbringing were represented by the subject in the present study. However, eight of these had only one subject in each, and for simplicity these are collapsed into the category of "Other" (Table 21). From a descriptive perspective, it may be said that the majority of people in each stage have had either a Roman Catholic or Church of England upbringing. However, almost half of the Stage 4 subjects had experienced a Church of England background, while only 18.3% had a Roman Catholic one, in comparison to other stage groups where numbers of subjects in these religious groups were more similar. Noteworthy was the apparent over-representation of the Roman Catholics (46.2%) in Stage 2, and their under-representation (18.3%) in Stage 4, compared with expected frequencies.

TABLE 21

Frequencies of subjects at each stage in each category of religious upbringing

Frequency Row % Column %	Religious Upbringing									
Stage	Roman Catholic	Church of England	Presby-tarian	Metho-dist	Baptist	Jewish	Unknown	Other	Agnostic	Totals
1	3	4	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	11
	27.3	36.4	9.1	-	18.2	-	9.1	-	-	
	7.0	6.0	12.5	-	40.0	-	50.0	-	-	6.6%
2	6	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	13
	46.2	38.5	-	7.7	-	-	-	-	7.7	
	14.0	7.5	-	4.8	-	-	-	-	14.3	7.8%
3	4	4	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	11
	36.4	36.4	9.1	9.1	9.1	-	-	-	-	
	9.3	6.0	12.5	4.8	20.0	-	-	-	-	6.6%
4	13	35	3	10	1	2	-	3	4	71
	18.3	49.3	4.2	14.1	1.4	2.8	-	4.2	5.6	
	30.2	52.2	37.5	47.6	20.0	40.0	-	37.5	57.1	42.8%
5	5	3	-	3	1	2	-	1	1	16
	31.3	18.8	-	18.8	6.3	12.5	-	6.3	6.3	
	11.6	4.5	-	14.3	20.0	40.0	-	12.5	14.3	9.0%
6	12	16	3	6	-	1	1	4	1	44
	27.3	36.4	6.8	13.6	-	2.3	2.3	9.2	2.3	
	27.9	23.9	37.5	28.6	-	20.0	50.0	50.0	14.3	26.5%
Totals	43	67	8	21	5	5	2	8	7	166
	25.9%	40.4%	4.8%	12.7%	3.0%	3.0%	1.2%	4.8%	4.2%	100.0%

Over-representation for this group also seemed apparent, to a lesser extent, in the Stage 3 and Stage 5 groups. The majority of people within most religious categories acknowledged Stage 4 as being the stage they most fitted into at the time the research was being carried out, as would be expected from the frequency breakdown. The exception seemed to be the Baptist group, the majority of whom elected themselves to Stage 1.

In comparing subjects from this study with those studied by Weinberg (Note 12) and Troiden (Note 11), it is apparent that the present sample encompasses more diverse religious backgrounds. Weinberg obtained subjects predominantly from Catholic backgrounds (55.6%) followed in lesser numbers by Protestants (39%), Jewish (16%), and Atheists (3.3%). Troiden, on the other hand, had more Protestants (53%), with 39% Catholics and 8% Jewish. Like the present study, Troiden found that religious experience appeared to have little impact on the acquisition of a gay identity.

MARITAL STATUS

Fairly clear predictions are offered by the model of homosexual identity formation regarding the relationship between marital status and stages. It is proposed that gay relationships become more likely and more frequent, and heterosexual contacts less desired and less frequent after

individuals attain Stage 3. Reasons for this centre around the greater availability of social contacts with other homosexuals, the increasingly positive attitude towards adopting a gay life-style, and the commonly-held perception of homosexuality as replacing heterosexuality.

While heterosexual relationships (de facto and married) are theoretically possible throughout the entire developmental process, such liaisons are likely to decrease with increasing commitment to a gay identity. This can be seen as the result of society's demands upon its member for singular, discrete self-categorisation (i.e., individuals are encouraged to choose between homosexuality and heterosexuality) and monogamous contacts (both emotionally and sexually).

Results from the present study (Table 22) appear to provide support for these predictions.

The Stage 1 group had a larger proportion of its subjects in the Married and Defacto Heterosexual categories (36.4%) than did the Stage 2 group (23.1%), while only 9.1% of Stage 3 subjects and 5.6% of Stage 4 subjects fell into this category. None of the Stage 5 and 6 subjects were living in married or defacto heterosexual households.

The reverse was true for proportions of subjects at each stage living in defacto homosexual relationships. None of Stage 1, 2 or 3 subjects fell into this category. Of the remaining stage groups, Stage 6 subjects had a higher proportion (56.8%) in the Defacto-Homosexual category, followed by Stage 4 (31%), with Stage 5 being

TABLE 22

Frequencies of subjects at each stage for each of the Marital Status categories.

Frequency Row % Column %	Marital Status						
Stage	Marr-ied	Defacto Hetero.	Single	Widow	Div/ Sep.	Defacto Homo.	Totals
1	3	1	5	-	2	-	11
	27.3	9.1	45.5	-	18.2	-	
	30.0	50.0	5.9	-	11.8	-	6.6%
2	2	1	10	-	-	-	13
	15.4	7.7	76.9	-	-	-	
	20.0	50.0	11.8	-	-	-	7.8%
3	1	-	5	-	5	-	11
	9.1	-	45.5	-	45.5	-	
	10.0	-	5.9	-	29.4	-	6.6%
4	4	-	38	-	7	22	71
	5.6	-	53.5	-	9.9	31.0	
	40.0	-	44.7	-	41.2	44.0	42.8%
5	-	-	11	1	1	3	16
	-	-	68.8	6.3	6.3	18.8	
	-	-	12.9	50.0	5.9	6.0	9.6%
6	-	-	16	1	2	25	44
	-	-	36.4	2.3	4.5	56.8	
	-	-	18.8	50.0	11.8	50.0	26.6%
Totals	10	2	85	2	17	50	166
	6.0%	1.2%	51.3%	1.2%	10.2%	30.1%	100.0%

represented here by only 18.8% of the group. Perhaps the lifestyle of an activist does not encourage or make allowances for living with another person (68.8% of Stage 5 subjects stated they were single). However, it is possible that some people who classified themselves as "single" (the largest group in the total sample) were, in fact, engaged in a relationship with someone, but not living with them. We should not forget, either, the high proportion of Stage 5 subjects who were students, which may bear directly upon lifestyle adopted.

We can note the high proportion of Stage 3 subjects who nominated the Divorced/Separated category (45.5%), compared with proportions of Stage 1 subjects (18.2%) and the other stage groups (less than 10%). This suggests that by Stage 3, individuals are beginning to move out of heterosexual relationships as was predicted. Within the combined Married/Defacto Heterosexual category, it was found that people equally divided into Stage 1 or 4, which provides support for the notion that engaging in heterosexual relationships cannot be automatically ruled out with increased commitment to a homosexual identity.

The majority of people in the Single and Divorced-Separated categories nominated themselves as most like the Stage 4 profiles, although the distribution of these groups amongst the remaining stages was distinct for each category of marital status. After Stage 4, Singles were most likely to see themselves at Stage 6, and the Divorced/Separated at Stage 3. The Defacto-Homosexual group differed in that

half saw themselves as belonging to Stage 6, while 44% nominated Stage 4.

BIRTHORDER

This variable was included largely because of the author's curiosity regarding its connection, if any, with stage allocation. The literature on birthorder has found that first-born children are more susceptible to social pressure, and more dependent upon parents or caretakers than later-born children (Warren, 1966), factors that would seem influential in the identity formation process. Both factors would be expected to hinder development, particularly where the individual had poor self-esteem.

At a descriptive level, it is of interest to note (Table 23) that a relatively small proportion (18.2%) of Stage 1 subjects stated they were eldest-born, a figure considerably lower than proportions of eldest-born in other stage groups. Conversely, the proportion of youngest-born amongst Stage 1 subjects (45.5%) was higher than relative proportions in other stage groups. Stage 5 subjects were less likely to be youngest-born than any of the other stage groups, while at the same time showing a high proportion of middle-born in their group. One final feature of note was the equal division of only-borns amongst Stage 4 and 6 groups. Taking into account that frequencies of Stage 4

TABLE 23

Frequencies of subjects at each stage for each of the Birthorder categories.

Frequency Row % Column %	Birthorder				
Stage	Eldest	Middle	Youngest	Only	Totals
1	2	3	5	1	11
	18.2	27.3	45.5	9.1	
	4.0	5.0	11.1	9.1	6.6%
2	4	4	5	-	13
	30.8	30.8	38.5	-	
	8.0	6.7	11.1	-	7.8%
3	3	5	3	-	11
	27.3	45.5	27.3	-	
	6.0	8.3	6.7	-	6.6%
4	22	24	20	5	71
	31.0	33.8	28.2	7.0	
	44.0	40.0	44.4	45.5	42.8%
5	6	8	2	-	16
	37.5	50.0	12.5	-	
	12.0	13.3	4.4	-	9.6%
6	13	16	10	5	44
	29.5	36.4	22.7	11.4	
	26.0	26.7	22.2	45.5	26.6%
Totals	50	60	45	11	166
	30.1%	36.2%	27.1%	6.6%	100.0%

subjects almost double those of Stage 6, this represents an over-proportionate number of only-borns nominating themselves at Stage 6.

BIRTHPLACE

Like many of the other biographical variables, birthplace is not believed to directly contribute to the gay identity process, yet may, quite clearly, have an indirect influence on development through the stages. If, for example, an individual lived previously within a culture that was extremely antagonistic towards homosexuals (e.g., Spain and the Soviet Union), *and still bears allegiance to the values of that culture,* it is likely that s/he will experience considerable difficulty during the identity formation process, particularly the early stages with their call to separation and individuation.

It is also feasible that feelings of alienation experienced by an immigrant will either aid development (that is, the gay subculture provides a group that the immigrant can belong to, consisting of others who themselves feel in some degree alienated from the mainstream of society), or prove destructive to it (a double dose of alienation may prove too much).

Figures showing the birthplace of subjects in each stage group are presented in Table 24. Since nearly all subjects were born in either Australia or the British

TABLE 24

Frequencies of subjects at each stage in each of the Birthplace categories

Frequency Row % Column %	Birthplace								
Stage	Unknown	Australia	British Isles	Asia	Europe	North America	Africa	New Zealand	Totals
1	-	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	11
	-	54.5	45.5	-	-	-	-	-	
	-	5.0	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	6.6%
2	1	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	13
	7.7	76.9	15.4	-	-	-	-	-	
	50.0	8.3	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	7.8%
3	-	7	2	-	1	-	1	-	11
	-	63.6	18.2	-	9.1	-	9.1	-	
	-	5.8	6.5	-	33.3	-	50.0	-	6.6%
4	-	54	13	1	1	1	1	-	71
	-	76.1	18.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4	-	
	-	44.6	41.9	25.0	33.3	50.0	50.0	-	42.8%
5	1	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	16
	6.3	81.3	12.4	-	-	-	-	-	
	50.0	10.7	6.5	-	-	-	-	-	9.6%
6	-	31	7	3	1	1	-	1	44
	-	70.5	15.8	6.8	2.3	2.3	-	2.3	
	-	25.6	22.6	75.0	33.4	50.0	-	100.0	26.6%
Totals	2	121	31	4	3	2	2	1	166
	1.2%	72.9%	18.7%	2.4%	1.8%	1.2%	1.2%	0.6%	100.0%

Isles, it is not possible to make comments regarding people born in other places.

Two figures are worth mentioning. Firstly, there was in this sample a far greater proportion (45.5%) of Stage 1 subjects born in the British Isles than other stage groups (the next largest proportion being that of Stage 5 with 12.4%). Stage 5 contained more Australian subjects than any other stage group. This suggests that perhaps it is easier for people who once felt a part of the majority to later alienate themselves from that majority than it is for those who already hold feelings of alienation, and who do not wish to experience these in greater degree. However, immigrants from the British Isles cannot be said to hold an especially alien position in Australian society. A larger number of subjects from markedly different cultures would be needed to test the hypothesis more fully. Further information about time spent in Australia would have also been helpful.

AWARENESS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

It was not expected that age at which an individual became aware of experiencing homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour would show any relationship with stages.

Examination of the data suggests that this was the case. The majority of individuals in each stage had

experienced awareness by the age of 18 years (Table 25). Overall, 87.4% of the total sample had become aware by 18 years, with 10 - 15 years being the modal period. These figures are consistent with those found in other studies (See Tables 2 and 3).

LABELING OF HOMOSEXUALITY

As with the previous factor, no link was expected between stage and age of labeling feelings, thoughts or behaviour as "homosexual".

This hypothesis appeared to be supported by the data (Table 26). Just over half of the sample stated they labeled themselves between 16 and 21 years, indicating a time lag between awareness and labeling. Again, these figures are in line with those found in other studies (Tables 2 and 3).

Of interest also, is the greater spread of ages at which labeling occurred, compared with age at which awareness occurred. This suggests the influence of psychological and social factors on the labeling of behaviour.

The figures from Tables 25 and 26 need to be taken with caution, since they are retrospective data and, as we have already noted in Chapter 4, subject to distortion. While their similarity to findings from other studies (non-Australian subjects) suggests a degree of validity, it

TABLE 25

Frequencies of subjects at each stage experiencing awareness of homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour at specific age levels.

Frequency Row % Column %	Age of Awareness									
Stage	→ 9yrs	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	22-24	25-27	28-40	41+	Totals
1	-	3	2	2	-	-	1	2	1	11
	-	27.3	18.2	18.2	-	-	9.1	18.2	9.1	
	-	6.3	4.2	8.3	-	-	25.0	66.7	50.0	6.6%
2	3	4	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	13
	23.1	30.8	38.5	7.7	-	-	-	-	-	
	12.0	8.3	10.4	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	7.8%
3	1	3	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	11
	9.1	27.3	36.4	18.2	9.1	-	-	-	-	
	4.0	6.3	8.3	8.3	11.1	-	-	-	-	6.6%
4	13	14	22	13	4	2	2	-	1	71
	18.3	19.7	31.0	18.3	5.6	2.8	2.8	-	1.4	
	52.0	29.2	45.8	54.2	44.4	66.7	50.0	-	50.0	42.8%
5	4	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
	25.0	43.8	31.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	16.0	14.6	10.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.6%
6	4	17	10	6	4	1	1	1	-	44
	9.1	38.6	22.7	13.6	9.1	2.3	2.3	2.3	-	
	16.0	35.4	20.8	25.0	44.4	33.3	25.0	33.3	-	26.6%
Totals	25	48	48	24	9	3	4	3	2	166
	15.1%	28.9%	28.9%	14.5%	5.4%	1.8%	2.4%	1.8%	1.2%	100.0%

TABLE 26

Frequencies of subjects at each stage labeling their feelings, thoughts or behaviour as "homosexual" at specific age levels.

Frequency Row % Column %	Age of Labeling									
Stage	→ 9 yrs	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	22-24	25-27	28-40	41+	Totals
1	-	-	1	1	4	1	-	3	1	11
	-	-	9.1	9.1	36.4	9.1	-	27.3	9.1	
	-	-	5.6	2.0	11.4	6.3	-	17.6	25.0	6.6%
2	-	-	1	7	1	1	1	2	-	13
	-	-	7.7	53.8	7.7	7.7	7.7	15.4	-	
	-	-	5.6	13.7	2.9	4.3	6.3	11.8	-	7.8%
3	-	-	1	5	2	1	-	2	-	11
	-	-	9.1	45.5	18.2	9.1	-	18.2	-	
	-	-	5.6	9.8	5.7	4.3	-	11.8	-	6.6%
4	-	1	8	18	13	12	11	5	3	71
	-	1.4	11.3	25.4	18.3	16.9	15.5	7.0	4.2	
	-	50.0	44.4	35.3	37.1	52.2	68.8	29.4	75.0	42.8%
5	-	-	2	7	4	1	1	1	-	16
	-	-	12.5	43.8	75.0	6.3	6.3	6.3	-	
	-	-	11.1	13.7	11.4	4.3	6.3	5.9	-	9.6%
6	-	1	5	13	11	7	3	4	-	44
	-	2.3	11.4	29.5	25.0	15.9	6.8	9.0	-	
	-	50.0	27.8	25.5	31.4	30.4	18.8	23.5	-	26.6%
Totals	-	2	18	51	35	23	16	17	4	166
		1.2%	10.8%	30.7%	21.1%	13.9%	9.6%	10.2%	2.5%	100.0%

is always possible that such information can be learned and therefore transferred across groups as Ross (1980) suggested.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

The data presented in this chapter provide a characterisation of each stage group that, hopefully, will be of use in future comparative studies. As noted earlier, it was not intended that this characterisation should be generalised to other samples.

The primary difficulty in examining each of the biographical factors for an assessment of the model's validity lay with the cross-sectional nature of the study. For example, on the Age factor, hypotheses from the model essentially relate to the effects of age on rate of developmental progress and on the degree of favourability felt towards own homosexuality. Given that the *process* aspect of the model was not considered, a full examination of the role of the Age factor was, therefore, impossible. Differences between stage groups should not be taken in any way, however, to be fixed. They are bound to a time continuum and in this regard should be viewed as temporary. Within the limitations of the present

investigation, the biographical data are reasonably supportive of the model, and at no time suggest any major revisions of it.

An interesting line of research for future consideration, however, might be the study of *foreclosed* individuals at each stage, comparing their characteristics with those of non-foreclosed persons to see if any notable differences emerged.

It is felt that the present study uses a sample that is broader in many aspects than those of other similar studies. However, there is no doubt that amongst the larger stage groups in the sample (Stages 4 and 6), a greater *spread* is evident across the various categories of each biographical factor. This suggests that the small frequencies of several of the stage groups may have precluded a more realistic representation of subjects in them. We cannot ignore, either, the possibility that recruitment procedures may have weighted variables in a specific direction. This clearly needs further checking in future studies.

CHAPTER NINE

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The purpose of the present manuscript has been to explore the area of homosexual identity formation, with the primary intention of making some assessment of the author's theoretical model. This has proved to be particularly fruitful, with the model given considerable support by the research data.

Our task would not be complete, however, without some attempt to describe the implications of these findings, as well as the theoretical arguments put forward throughout this manuscript, for future consideration of the area of gay identity. The generation of new research questions, intended to give impetus to previously unconsidered directions in the areas of theory and empirical research, is commonly seen to be one of the hallmarks of scientific endeavour.

In the area of gay identity formation, this link between present and future studies has been minimal. This is hardly surprising, given that in the study of homosexuality generally, adequate lines of scientific inquiry have been sorely neglected: Unvalidated theories, biased and small samples, inadequate methodology and instrumentation,

narrowly based studies, isolation from other research, and lack of replication are frequently found (Weinberg & Bell, 1972). Despite twentieth century moves towards the creation of a new image of the homosexual, the study of homosexuals and homosexuality has remained in a scientific backwater. Within the Social and Biological Sciences, such study has been given little serious attention. As Wirt (1981/2) notes:

> *Almost all serious scholarly work on the subject of homosexuality has been done in the past ten years. In fact, most of the scientific literature was written in just the past five years.*
>
> (p.3)

As we have seen, these comments are applicable to the study of gay identity formation. Since the mid 1970s, there has been an increasing wave of published and unpublished work giving attention to identity development and maintenance. Although this has encouraged recognition of homosexual identity as a legitimate and serious area of study in the Social Sciences, it has not produced any marked change in the standards of scientific inquiry. We are still left with unsubstantiated and inadequately described theories, methodological designs and procedures that lead to subjective data, isolation from established areas of literature, lack of replication, and little direction for future research.

Although such a situation may have been easily rationalised in previous years as a probable outcome of any new area of study, it seems doubtful that such tolerance can be maintained any longer. For without adherence to the basic requirements of scientific inquiry, the study of homosexual identity formation must surely stagnate.

We might ask what is the point of developing a theory that does not adequately describe identity formation, or of carrying out studies, the results of which cannot be assessed because of probable bias? Neither offers the study of gay identity any future. The point of following scientific procedures is that they ensure that the area under study takes on evolutionary purpose. That is, each new piece of information, each new idea, becomes analogous to a building block which when added to the existing edifice (body of knowledge), extends and enhances its outline. If, to continue the analogy, the building block is made of faulty materials, then the resulting structure will be weak and likely to threaten any future construction. As the builders, theorists and researchers must take responsibility for the way in which their efforts weaken the construction of a soundly based literature on homosexual identity formation and impede any possibility of the future development being solid and well-founded.

In the present manuscript, we have been able to show that it *is* possible to work from a scientific framework in studying gay identity.

This does not imply, however, that the popular homosexual literature becomes devalued, simply because it is not bound within the rubric of science. Far from it. After all, it was the popular literature which first brought to light information about the emerging concept of twentieth century homosexual identity, and the personal contexts against which it was experienced by individuals. It is the popular literature that now continues to capture the "soul" or existential quality of the identity experience. Further, it is likely to be the popular literature that will act as a monitoring source for the Social Scientist with regard to changes in the nature of that experience.

No, our criticism has no bearing upon such articles. Indeed, any student of gay identity who does not have one ear bent towards the non-scientific literature is likely to severely restrict her/his depth of understanding of the area. As we have noted on several occasions, identities, by virtue of their reference to the *dialectic between individual and society* (Berger & Luckman, 1966), are bound to the historical period in which they arise. As the historian would tell us, there is no better way to monitor a particular historical period than through documentation tracing the personal lives of those living within that period. The popular literature thus provides a valuable source for the scientist's creativity.

Yet, we should not forget that such literature is, in a sense, restricted. It belongs to, and reflects,

a particular period of time. It must be left to the social scientist to provide the objective links between one span of time and another, between past, present and future characterisations of identity.

The significance of this role makes it imperative that whatever theoretical or empirical task is carried out in the name of studying homosexual identity be done adequately. Sound inquiry places the area of identity onto a broad time dimension, and extends our knowledge in directions rarely followed in the popular literature. Inadequate inquiry, on the other hand, invariably offers no such rewards and limits any understanding to the same boundaries adhered to by the non-scientific literature.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH PROGRAMME

Out of our discussion of gay identity, and the results of the research programme, several broad implications emerge.

Implications For Other Areas of Study

Throughout this manuscript, there has been constant reference to literature in areas of human functioning other than homosexuality. The intention, as discussed in a previous chapter, was to place the study of homosexuals in

the broader context of the study of human beings. Significantly, this assumes that the processes of identity formation entailed in the acquisition of a gay identity can be generalised to other areas of identity change. It is proposed that the basic tenets of the theory of identity formation outlined here may be translated into the language of other areas of identity development to account for phenomenon such as the acquisition of an identity of "disabled" following some accident; the cognitive conversion of an immigrant from seeing self as "British" to that of "Australian", to give one example; changes entailed in coming to see oneself as a "feminist"; religious conversions to "born-again Christian", "Jew", "Sannyassin" etc. It would be expected that the broad stages of change would be similar, although the specific details would clearly differ with each area of identity development.

There is a further implication that arises out of the placement of the study of gay identity within a broad context. We have seen how consideration of the general literature has benefited discussion of homosexual identity. What has not been mentioned, however, is the possible effect of gay identity research on the general literature. The general literature has largely been developed on non-homosexual samples since homosexual samples were given separate status (often as deviant, abnormal or pathological). With that status removed (that is, with homosexual experiences seen within the framework of human experiences

generally), it is quite feasible that modification of existing theory and even methodology may be required.

Bell (1978) suggests that the homosexual experience "be considered a microcosm of perhaps the most significant issues of our age" (p.2). In line with this view, we might suggest that our study of homosexual identity formation may be relevant to several areas of inquiry such as: Factors related to development of a minority identity, the influence of social factors on cognition and vice versa, strategies for coping with alienation etc.

The study of gay identity also holds implications for understanding heterosexual identity. Evelyn Hooker, that grand dame of homosexual research, has frequently stated that homosexuality can only be understood in terms of heterosexuality (Humphreys, 1978). We might also add that heterosexuality can only be understood in terms of homosexuality. In tracing the historical development of the concept of homosexual identity, we saw how heterosexuality and homosexuality became intricately linked as polar opposites. The implication of any finding on homosexual identity for the characterisation of the nature of heterosexual identity cannot, therefore, be ignored.

A heterosexual identity has been described as a fixed part of an individual's character, either biologically given or learned in early childhhod. It has also been seen as the most acceptable and natural way for a person to be. These conceptions are clearly questioned by the ideas put

forward in this manuscript. Heterosexual identity, like homosexual identity, is a cognitive configuration (acquired as a result of the individual's interaction with the social environment) to which the individual responds with some affect and expresses through behavioural activity. It is neither biological nor "natural". The only difference between heterosexual and homosexual identities lies in the fact that the overwhelming societal support given to a heterosexual identity enforces this self-perception in such a way that most individuals assume its presence. In this, it may be likened to any other identity that is supported by the majority. It is only when someone is confronted by others with different identities that s/he is led to consciously consider own self-image.

It is proposed, then, that the study of heterosexual identity be considered, along with other areas of typological identity, as a legitimate area for study. To date, it has simply been incorporated into descriptions of childhood developmental processes in an implied fashion. That is, the discussion of gender identity has been proffered as description of heterosexual identity. Within the present conception of identity, this approach is considered unacceptable.

Finally, having emphasised the relationship between gays and the rest of humanity, it seems imperative that the uniqueness of the homosexual experience not be forgotten (Katz,1983). The "homosexual-as-part-of-humanity" perspective does not mean submitting to the

pretense that there are no elements of a gay identity that differ from other identities. Plummer (1981b) has noted the difficulty of maintaining a balance between the two conceptions of homosexuals as part of humanity and as a group uniquely defined within most industrial communities.

The Need For a Multidisciplinary Approach

In earlier chapters we saw how the study of gay identity formation had been conducted primarily by the sociological profession. The neglect of members of other disciplines, particularly psychologists, was considered to be detrimental to an adequate coverage of the developmental process. The results of the present research programme indicate support for this notion, since it was the combination of *both* personal and social factors that was found to distinguish the stage groups. Reference has also been made to the importance of the historical perspective.

Thus, the adoption of a multidisciplined approach is considered vital to future research, for it makes the assumption that no one discipline can fully cover the study of gay identity. The ensuing exchange of ideas accompanying cross-discipline communication can but enrich and deepen our knowledge of this area. This should not be taken to mean, however, that what is being advocated is that the social scientist should become experienced in all disciplines. Rather, it is suggested that those who

are specialists in one area (e.g., psychologists, sociologists etc) open themselves to accepting a diverse approach that allows for differing perspectives. Reiss (1982), in examining the scientific poverty foreshadowed in the notion of "sexology", claimed that the scientist who attempted to be a "Jack-of-all-trades" would become "Master-of-none", and lose the special expertise with which s/he began. We are fortunate in that the infancy of the area of gay identity formation has so far precluded such a development. If anything, it shows the opposite extreme in which each discipline shows a tendency to isolate itself from the others. Neither total merging nor complete isolation of the disciplines is likely to be the answer. Merging holds the danger of encouraging a loss of specialist expertise, while isolation prevents cross-fertilisation of ideas and leads to insularity.

The Relationship Between Ideology and Science

Throughout this manuscript there have been many references to the way various belief systems or ideologies have played a part in the characterisation of homosexual identity. We have seen, too, the influence of ideology upon the study of that identity. Several authors have commented on this relationship between scientific inquiry and ideology. Wirt (1981/2), for example, has stated:

> *That attitudes on behaviour manifested by millions of people in every society, and each generation should virtually be ignored by the scientific community is a remarkable commentary on how social values shape and, in fact, impede academic freedom of inquiry.* (p.3).

Morin (1977) found that examination of psychological research on homosexuals carried out between 1967 and 1974 indicated a clear heterosexual bias, "a belief system that values heterosexuality as superior and/or more 'natural' than homosexuality" (p.629). These authors refer to the way that a negative attitude towards homosexuals has determined a particular scientific framework.

It is a mistake, however, to imagine that it is only through such prejudice that ideology may interact with science. Everyone holds their own belief system of what "reality" is, an implicit self-theory (Wegner & Vallacher, 1977) that influences the way in which the world is perceived. Self-theories reflect past experiences and future inspirations as well as present social and psychological functioning. As such, they become potent forces in directing our perceptions and interests.

Social scientists. like everyone else, also hold their own self-theories and cannot help but incorporate these into their research (Riebel, 1982). Unfortunately, this link is rarely described or considered, and the assumption of objectivity is upheld. As Alkimat (1973)

noted, however,

> *Science is inevitably a handservant to ideology, a tool for people to shape, if not create, reality.*
> (p.174).

While science cannot be divorced from its ideological base, this does not mean that scientists cannot be aware of this base or recognise its influence. If they were to do this, and make their self-theories explicit, it would make for a greater understanding of the framework from which they work.

The present author acknowledges the many ideological assumptions present in her theory. For example, the assumption that a self-actualising mode is the goal of self-development; the assumption that a positive identity is a "better" outcome than a negative one; the assumption that the homosexual experience may contribute significantly to understanding aspects of human functioning.

The importance of accepting that one is working from an ideological base is that it brings to awareness the non-static quality of our ideas. As self-theories change, so too will the aspects of science within which we are involved. In the study of homosexual identity formation, the historical period in which theories arise will inevitably be reflected via the theorist onto the theory itself. The danger is that where the theorist attempts to

hold onto belief systems in a rigid fashion, so too, her/his theory of gay identity will also remain fixed and static. This is likely to result in refusal by the theorist to grasp or recognise changes that might arise in the characterisation of identity.

One further aspect needs to be considered with regard to ideology. The question of whether homosexual identity does or does not exist, discussed in Chapter 3, is in reality, usually tied in with the question of whether the concept of gay identity *should* or *should not* exist. Whether the study of gay identity perpetuates a system that is destructive to the homosexual or simply acknowledges what is a concrete reality for the individual, is an issue that must be decided by each researcher. No matter whether the social scientist wishes to promote "an erotic and affectionate utopia" (Katz, 1983, p.173), and work towards an identity-free society, or maintain the status quo and acknowledge the validity of the individual's identity experiences - or somehow combine the two, it is necessary to recognise that each option is indicative of an ideological stance. Neither side of the argument is "right" in any factual sense, only in the degree to which the opposing option is considered unacceptable.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This manuscript has touched upon several areas where further research is needed. Some of these have arisen out of the research programme itself.

Firstly, there is a definite need for the Homosexual Identity Questionnaire to be revised and refined, the scoring keys to be sharpened, and a weighting system to be considered for the scoring keys. The Stage Allocation Measure also requires restructuring so that responses can be directed to a continuum rather than discrete categories.

In addition, there are several central aspects of the theory itself that require testing. The most obvious is the concept of process, suggesting the need for a longitudinal study. Given the support offered by the research programme presented here, it would appear highly feasible to conduct such a study. Other areas requiring testing are: The different developmental paths at each stage; the inter-relationship between personality factors and self-esteem, locus of control and alienation at each stage; proposed differences between females and males; the relationship between perceived cost/reward factors and developmental path taken; degree of self-actualisation by stage; and types of strategies as they relate to personal and social factors.

As noted in Chapter 2, little focus has been placed, in the past, on the psychological aspects of gay

identity formation. This has resulted in the neglect of many areas which offer the promise of furthering our understanding of gay identity and its development. Little is known, for example, about the content and organisation of homosexual identity, and this would appear to be an exciting and necessary area for researchers to focus their attention upon. Another equally interesting area for consideration is the description of the cognitive templates or schemata used for assigning homosexual meaning to behaviour. These latter two areas - the type and organisation of self-image clusters making up gay identity, and homosexual schematas - require researching most urgently since they form a significant base to the understanding of gay identity formation. Although they have the advantage of being amenable to laboratory testing, no studies have yet been carried out in these areas.

Other potentially illuminating research questions that need to be examined include:

1. What are the effects on an individual's homosexual self-image of encountering different elements of the gay subculture and mainstream society? How do individuals differ in their perceptions and experiencing of these social settings? In what ways, if any, do different perceptions and experiences effect the nature of a homosexual identity?
2. What effect, if any, do personality factors such as locus of control, self-esteem, self-confidence

and extraversion/intraversion have on the nature of homosexual identity?

3. What variables or clusters of variables are most likely to lead to acceptance or rejection of another's view of self as a homosexual? Is this process different when information is presented directly as opposed to indirectly? Is information processed differently if its source is significant others rather than strangers?
4. How might different cognitive styles influence adoption of a homosexual identity? Is there any interaction between cognitive style and situational factors?
5. What effect might there be upon an individual's self-image of passing as heterosexual?
6. What factors might account for cognitive consistency (commitment) to a homosexual identity?

In addition to those issues specifically related to the author's theory, several broad issues have also been raised. Firstly, there is a need to consider the whole area of heterosexual identity and the significance of socialisation factors in its development. A scale for measuring heterosexual identity would probably prove useful in the understanding of identity changes that take place during homosexual identity formation. Secondly, there is a need to examine the question of adult versus child identity development along the lines suggested in the relevant

chapter. Thirdly, the study of homosexual identity from the group perspective warrants researching, as does the whole area of social environment and its influence on cognitions making up identities.

These areas represent significant gaps in our knowledge on homosexual identity and its development. They also present challenging and innovative opportunities for research in pioneering fields. If these opportunities are taken up, the study of gay identity will undoubtedly expand into new and exciting areas. If not, there is probably little chance that it will be able to mature into a serious and important field of scientific study.

Finally, this manuscript would not be complete without mention of its relevance to the therapy situation. It was difficulties in working with clients with identity problems that first prompted the present author's interest in gay identity formation. Having come this far, it is now time to remember that this manuscript has always been dedicated to helping those who experience pain when saying,

"I am a homosexual".

* * *

APPENDIX I

Subscale Items

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire identification numbers of items included in each subscale

	Scale			
	Commitment	Disclosure	Generality	Identity Evaluation
Identification numbers of items	5	7	3	10
	16	21	20	33
	26	32	34	39
	45	37	41	54
	46	51	43	66
	60	65	48	83
	76	73	62	98
	86	81	68	124
	108	90	87	133
	116	94	93	134
	129	100	96	163
	143	112	104	
	154	137	110	
		150	118	
		159	121	
		167	126	
		175	131	
		183	135	
		190	139	
		196	147	
		204	156	
		206	165	
			171	
			180	
			195	
Total item no.	13	22	25	11

Cont. over.....

APPENDIX I Continued.

	Scale			
	Group Identification	Social Interaction	Sexual Orientation Activity	Strategies
Identification numbers of items	12	1	14	24
	25	17	15	28
	58	27	29	36
	70	47	30	44
	75	61	42	57
	84	63	49	74
	92	67	50	85
	102	72	69	91
	127	77	82	105
	128	95	88	107
	153	103	89	114
	184	109	97	115
	185	119	106	125
	205	144	111	142
	208	155	113	152
		164	122	161
		170	132	168
		182	138	174.
			141	176
			148	179
			149	182
			158	187
			162	192
			169	194
			172	202
			173	210
			178	
			186	
Total item no.	15	18	28	26

Cont. over.....

APPENDIX I Continued.

	Scale				
	Acculturation	Dichotomisation	Alienation	Inconsistency	Deference To Others
Identification numbers of items	6	8	2	13	9
	19	38	18	45	22
	31	53	120	59	55
	52	79	130	140	160
	64	101	177	166	
	78	117		191	
	80	146			
	123	207			
	188				
	193				
	203				
Total item no.	11	8	5	6	4

	Scale		
	Personal Satisfaction	Personal Control	Professional Contact
Identification numbers	4	11	197
	71	23	198
	99	40	199
	145	56	200
	157	136	201
	209	151	
		189	
Total item no.	6	7	5

APPENDIX II

Homosexual Identity Questionnaire

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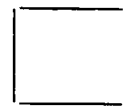

QUESTIONNAIRE - I.

Please complete and return to:

Vivienne Cass
C/- Psychology Section
Murdoch University
Murdoch 6153

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CONFIDENTIAL

QUESTIONNAIRE I



Instructions

This is a questionnaire to find out how you feel, think and act with regard to your own sexuality.

Read each question carefully and answer it according to how you generally feel, think and act NOW.

Complete the questions as quickly as you can. Do not spend a long time on any one question. If you have any difficulties, leave that particular question and come back to it later.

There are two different types of questions:

1. One type consists of 5 statements. *See example A.*

Example A:

[ ] I always enjoy participating in outdoor games

[ ] Most of the time I enjoy participating in outdoor games

[ ] I sometimes enjoy participating in outdoor games

[ ] I occasionally enjoy participating in outdoor games

[ ] I never enjoy participating in outdoor games

Read through each statement carefully. Then select the one that is MOST like the way you generally feel, think or act NOW. Put a cross (X) in the box next to the statement you have selected.

If none of the statements seems exactly like you now, pick the one that is MOST like you now.

Now go back to *Example A* and complete it before reading further.

1. The second type of question consists of a statement followed by a list of possible answers. *See Example B.*

Example B:

I find it difficult to mix with large crowds of people.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

Read the statement carefully and select the answer that is MOST like the way you generally feel, think or act NOW. Place a cross (*X*) in the box next to the answer you have selected.

Now go back and complete *Example B* before reading further.

****

There are three words that appear frequently in the questionnaire. Their meanings are given below:-

Sexual Orientation..... An emotional and sexual attraction for either someone of the same sex, or someone of the opposite sex.

Homosexual ..... A person who feels emotionally and sexually attracted to someone of the same sex.

Heterosexual ..... A person who feels emotionally and sexually attracted to someone of the opposite sex.

****

REMEMBER to answer the questions according to how you generally feel, think and act NOW.

Do not leave out any of the questions.

....TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE AND BEGIN....

Select the answer that is *most* like the way you feel, think and act NOW. Place a cross in the box next to the answer you select. Please feel free to write in any comments you may have.

1. [ ] I never mix socially with homosexuals

   [ ] I rarely mix socially with homosexuals

   [ ] I mix socially with homosexuals about half the time

   [ ] I mix socially with homosexuals most of the time

   [ ] I mix socially with homosexuals all the time

2. I feel like a stranger to myself

   [ ] All of the time

   [ ] Most of the time

   [ ] Some of the time

   [ ] Occasionally

   [ ] Never

3. [ ] No part of me is homosexual

   [ ] Being homosexual is only a very tiny part of me

   [ ] Being homosexual is a fairly small part of me

   [ ] About half of me feels homosexual

   [ ] Being homosexual is a fairly large part of me

   [ ] Being homosexual is a very large part of me

   [ ] I feel totally homosexual

4. [ ] I am not at all satisfied with my life at present

   [ ] I am only a little satisfied with my life at present

   [ ] I am fairly satisfied with my life at present

   [ ] I am mostly satisfied with my life at present

   [ ] I am completely satisfied with my life at present

5. [ ] I am quite certain I am not a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am not a homosexual

[ ] I believe I may be a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am a homosexual

[ ] I am quite certain I am a homosexual

6. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *holding hands* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

7. How often would you like to tell *heterosexuals* that you *behave* in a homosexual way?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

8. Homosexuals tend to be warmer and more friendly than other people.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] Only a little true

[ ] Not at all

-5-

9. How *important* are the opinions of *homosexuals* to you?

[ ] Not at all important

[ ] A little important

[ ] Fairly important

[ ] Most important

[ ] Extremely important

10. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of *others in general* seeing me as a heterosexual
[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of *others in general* seeing me as a heterosexual
[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of *others in general* seeing me as a heterosexual
[ ] I mostly like the idea of *others in general* seeing me as a heterosexual
[ ] I completely like the idea of *others in general* seeing me as a heterosexual

11. [ ] I have no control over my life

[ ] I have only a little control over my life

[ ] I have some control over my life

[ ] I have a fair amount of control over my life

[ ] I have complete control over my life

12. [ ] Everything to do with heterosexuality is good

[ ] Most things to do with heterosexuality are good

[ ] There are some things to do with heterosexuality that are good

[ ] There is very little to do with heterosexuality that is good

[ ] There is nothing about heterosexuality that is good

13. How uncomfortable do you feel if *other* people's ideas about your sexual orientation do not fit in with your *own* ideas about your sexual orientation ?

[ ] Completely uncomfortable

[ ] Mostly uncomfortable

[ ] Fairly uncomfortable

[ ] A little uncomfortable

[ ] Not at all uncomfortable

14. At present. do you have sexual fantasies, dreams or thoughts about someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

15. If you answered YES to Question 14, *how often*, during any 24 hour period, do you have these fantasies, dreams or thoughts?

[ ] All the time

[ ] A lot of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] A little of the time

[ ] None of the time

16. [ ] At the moment all I can think about is "Who am I sexually?"

[ ] Most of the time I wonder "Who am I sexually?"

[ ] Sometimes I wonder "Who am I sexually?"

[ ] On rare occasions I wonder "Who am I sexually?"

[ ] I never wonder "Who am I sexually?"

17. [ ] I mix socially with only heterosexuals

[ ] When I mix socially it is mostly with heterosexuals

[ ] I mix socially with heterosexuals about half the time

[ ] I rarely mix socially with heterosexuals

[ ] I never mix socially with heterosexuals

18. [ ] I feel completely different from others

[ ] Mostly I feel different from others

[ ] I feel fairly different from others

[ ] I feel only a little different from others

[ ] I do not feel at all different from others

19. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *standing with your arm around the shoulders* of someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

20. [ ] I do not have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in any possible situation

[ ] I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in only a few possible situations

[ ] I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in all possible situations

21. I carefully select which *homosexuals* I tell about my homosexual *behaviour*.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

[ ] Not applicable

22. How important are the opinions of *heterosexuals* to you?

[ ] Not at all important

[ ] A little important

[ ] Fairly important

[ ] Most important

[ ] Extremely important

23. If it was not for my homosexuality, I could have a better life.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

24. I am a homosexual *only* because at the moment I am in a relationship with someone of the same sex.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

25. How angry do you feel towards *heterosexuals?*

[ ] Not at all angry

[ ] A little angry

[ ] Fairly angry

[ ] Most angry

[ ] Extremely angry

26. [ ] It is totally impossible for me to accept that *others* see my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] It is mostly difficult for me to accept that *others* see my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] It is fairly difficult for me to accept that *others* see my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] It is only a little difficult for me to accept that *others* see my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] It is not at all difficult for me to accept that *others* see my behaviour as 'homosexual'

27. I usually mix with *heterosexuals.*
(Mark as many boxes as you wish.)

[ ] to avoid being lonely

[ ] to make close friends

[ ] to meet people

[ ] for business reasons

[ ] when there is a family gathering

[ ] when old friends invite me over

[ ] because there is no-one else I can mix with

[ ] because they happen to be at the same place I am

[ ] so that I can feel like everyone else

[ ] because I enjoy their company

[ ] because they are friends

[ ] none of the above *(write in reason)* _____

_____

28. It makes me feel good when I hear about famous people who are homosexual.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

29. At the moment do you have *sexual contacts* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

30. If you answered YES to question 29, how *regularly* do these contacts occur?

[ ] Extremely regularly

[ ] Mostly regularly

[ ] Fairly regularly

[ ] Mostly irregularly

[ ] Extremely irregularly

31. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *dancing closely* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

32. How often *would you like* to tell *heterosexuals* that you are a homosexual?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

-12-

33. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of me being a heterosexual

[ ] Mostly I dislike the idea of me being a heterosexual

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of me being a heterosexual

[ ] Mostly I like the idea of me being a heterosexual

[ ] I totally like the idea of me being a heterosexual

34. [ ] In no possible situation *could* I be a homosexual

[ ] In only a few possible situations *could* I be a homosexual

[ ] I *could* be a homosexual in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] I *could* be a homosexual in most possible situations

[ ] I *could* be a homosexual in all possible situations

35. [ ] I am totally confused about whether or not my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] I am mostly confused about whether or not my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] I am fairly confused about whether or not my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] I am only a little confused about whether or not my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] I am not at all confused about whether or not my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

36. I try to avoid reading books and magazines about homosexuals

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

-13-

37. Place a cross in the box next to the type of *homosexual* you have told about your homosexuality. You may mark as many boxes as you wish.

[ ] Homosexuals you work with

[ ] Homosexuals you meet at private homes

[ ] Homosexuals you meet at bars, discoteques etc.

[ ] Homosexuals you have just met

[ ] Homosexuals you have known for a long time

[ ] Sexual partner

[ ] Someone you feel attracted to

[ ] Not applicable

38. My life is made up of two separate worlds - a heterosexual one and a homosexual one.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

39. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] Mostly I like the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I am totally happy with the idea of me having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

-14-

40. How much do you feel your life is controlled by your homosexuality?

[ ] Totally controlled

[ ] Mostly controlled

[ ] Fairly controlled

[ ] Only a little controlled

[ ] Not controlled at all

[ ] Not applicable

41. [ ] All of my feelings, thoughts and behaviour are heterosexual

[ ] Most of my feelings, thoughts and behaviour are heterosexual

[ ] Some of my feelings, thoughts and behaviour are heterosexual

[ ] A little of my feelings, thoughts and behaviour are heterosexual

[ ] None of my feelings, thoughts and behaviour are heterosexual

42. How much do you believe you should try and stop yourself from becoming *emotionally involved* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] All the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] A little of the time

[ ] Never

43. [ ] No part of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] A very tiny part of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] A fairly small part of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] About half of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] A fairly large part of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] A very large part of me *could* be homosexual

[ ] I *could* be totally homosexual

44. I am a homosexual because I was born that way.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

45. Consider the way *you* see your sexual orientation (homosexual/heterosexual/other), and the way you think *others* see your sexual orientation (homosexual/heterosexual/other) : How different do you feel these two pictures are?

[ ] Completely different

[ ] Mostly different

[ ] Fairly different

[ ] A little different

[ ] Not at all different

46. [ ] There is nothing I feel, think or do that makes me think I am a homosexual

[ ] Considering my feelings, thoughts and behaviour, I believe that I am probably not a homosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me wonder whether I may be a homosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me believe I probably am homosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me quite certain I am a homosexual

-16-

47. How relaxed do you feel when mixing socially with heterosexuals?

[ ] Completely relaxed

[ ] Mostly relaxed

[ ] Fairly relaxed

[ ] Only a little relaxed

[ ] Not at all relaxed

48. [ ] In no possible situation am I a homosexual

[ ] In only a few possible situations am I a homosexual

[ ] I am a homosexual in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] In most possible situations I am a homosexual

[ ] I am a homosexual in every possible situation

49. At present are you involved *emotionally* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

50. If you answered NO to question 49, how much emotional involvement *would you like* to have with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Total involvement

[ ] Fair amount of involvement

[ ] Some involvement

[ ] A little involvement

[ ] No involvement at all

51. I only tell *heterosexuals* about my being a homosexual if I know them really well

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

52. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *starting a conversation* with someone of the *same* sex whom you are attracted to?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

53. Homosexuals tend to be more like each other than like hetereosexuals.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] Only a little true

[ ] Not at all true

54. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of me being a homosexual

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of me being a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of me being a homosexual

[ ] Mostly I like the idea of me being a homosexual

[ ] I really love the idea of me being a homosexual

-18-

55. Below is a list of different categories of people. Place a cross in the box next to those categories of *homosexuals* whose *opinions you consider important.*

[ ] People you know very well

[ ] People you know fairly well

[ ] People you know only a little

[ ] People you have only just met

[ ] Strangers

[ ] Close friends

[ ] Present lover

[ ] Past lover

[ ] Casual sexual partner

[ ] People you work with

[ ] Other (please state)_____

_____

[ ] None

56. Being a homosexual makes it hard to plan for the future

[ ] Completely agree

[ ] Mostly agree

[ ] Some agreement

[ ] Agree a little

[ ] Do not agree at all

57. I am a bisexual person *(relate sexually and emotionally to both males and females.)*

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

58. How much do you feel you fit into *homosexual* groups?

[ ] Not at all

[ ] A little

[ ] Some

[ ] A fair amount

[ ] Totally

59. How do you feel if your sexual *behaviour* does not fit in with the sexual *image* you have of yourself?

[ ] Extremely uncomfortable

[ ] Mostly uncomfortable

[ ] Fairly uncomfortable

[ ] A little uncomfortable

[ ] Not at all uncomfortable

60. [ ] I continually wonder "Am I a homosexual?"

[ ] Most of the time I wonder "Am I a homosexual?"

[ ] Sometimes I wonder "Am I a homosexual?"

[ ] I hardly ever wonder "Am I a homosexual?"

[ ] I never wonder "Am I a homosexual?"

61. How satisfied are you with the *amount of time* you spend mixing socially with *heterosexuals?*

[ ] Completely satisfied

[ ] Mostly satisfied

[ ] Fairly satisfied

[ ] Only a little satisfied

[ ] Not at all satisfied

62. [ ] My feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in all possible situations

[ ] My feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in most possible situations

[ ] I have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] I have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in only a few possible situations

[ ] I do not have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in any possible situation

63. The time I spend socially with *heterosexuals* is usually brief

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

64. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *hugging* someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

65. How often do you tell *homosexuals* that you behave in a homosexual way?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

66. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'heterosexual'

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'heterosexual'

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'heterosexual'

[ ] I mostly like the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'heterosexual'

[ ] I totally like the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'heterosexual'

67. I usually mix socially with *homosexuals*
(mark as many boxes as you wish)

[ ] to avoid being lonely

[ ] to meet people

[ ] to try and find close friends

[ ] to find a sexual partner

[ ] to be with people who are like me

[ ] because there is no-one else I can mix with

[ ] because they happen to be at the same place I am

[ ] because they are friends

[ ] because I enjoy their company

[ ] none of the above *(state reason)*_____

_____

68. [ ] I *could* have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in all possible situations

[ ] I *could* have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in most possible situations

[ ] I *could* have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] In only a few possible situations *could* I have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] In no possible situation *could* I have heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

69. If possible, would you like to have *sexual contacts* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] More than you are now

[ ] Less than you are now

[ ] About the same amount as you are now

70. How much are *homosexual groups and meeting places* able to meet your needs?

[ ] Not at all

[ ] A little

[ ] Some

[ ] A lot

[ ] Completely

71. If you had your life over again, how different would you like your *sexual orientation* to be?

[ ] Completely different

[ ] Mostly different

[ ] Fairly different

[ ] Only a little different

[ ] No different

72. How relaxed do you feel when mixing socially with *homosexuals?*

[ ] Not at all relaxed

[ ] Only a little relaxed

[ ] Fairly relaxed

[ ] Mostly relaxed

[ ] Completely relaxed

73. How often *would* you like to tell *homosexuals* that you are a homosexual?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

74. Although at the moment I am a homosexual, I believe that in the future I will not be this way.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

75. I feel I am like most *homosexuals*

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Completely true of me

76. [ ] It is totally impossible for me to accept that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] It is mostly difficult for me to accept that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] It is fairly difficult for me to accept that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] It is only a little difficult for me to accept that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

[ ] It is not at all difficult for me to accept that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called 'homosexual'

77. **At** what type of social function do you mix with *homosexuals? (Mark as many as you wish).*

[ ] private parties

[ ] visiting friends at private home

[ ] organised political meeting

[ ] organised social function (e.g.dance)

[ ] bars

[ ] discoteques

[ ] beats, public toilets etc.

[ ] other *(state type of function)*_____

[ ] None

78. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, having a *sexual experience* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

-25-

79. On the whole, heterosexuals dislike homosexuals

[ ] Completely agree

[ ] Mostly agree

[ ] Some agreement

[ ] Agree a little

[ ] Do not agree at all

80. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, going into a homosexual bar, restaurant or discoteque?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

81. How often do you tell *homosexuals* that you are a homosexual?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

82. Generally speaking, how often do you have sexual contacts with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] None of the time

[ ] Once a month

[ ] Two to four times a month

[ ] Five to ten times a month

[ ] Eleven or more times a month

83. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of others seeing me as a homosexual

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of others seeing me as a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of others seeing me as a homosexual

[ ] I mostly like the idea of others seeing me as a homosexual

[ ] I totally like the idea of others seeing me as a homosexual

84. I feel proud to belong to homosexual groups

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Not applicable

85. How much do you dislike putting across to others the image that you are *asexual* (have no sexual feelings, thoughts etc.)

[ ] Completely dislike

[ ] Mostly dislike

[ ] Some dislike

[ ] Only a little dislike

[ ] No dislike

[ ] Not applicable

86. [ ] I continually wonder "Am I really a heterosexual?"

[ ] Much of the time I wonder "Am I really a heterosexual?"

[ ] Sometimes I wonder "Am I really a hetersexual?"

[ ] I hardly ever wonder "Am I really a heterosexual?"

[ ] I never wonder "Am I really a heterosexual?"

87. [ ] I believe that most others see me as not being at all homosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being a little bit homosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being about half homosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being mostly homosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being completely homosexual

88. At the moment do you have *sexual contacts* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

89. If you answered YES to question 88, how regularly do these contacts occur?

[ ] Extremely regularly

[ ] Mostly regularly

[ ] Fairly regularly

[ ] Mostly irregularly

[ ] Extremely irregularly

90. How often do you tell *heterosexuals* that you behave in a homosexual way?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

91. How often have you tried to stop yourself from having *homosexual* thoughts or behaviour?

[ ] Never

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Sometimes

[ ] Many times

[ ] All the time

92. How angry do you get at the way homosexuals are treated by others?

[ ] Not at all angry

[ ] A little angry

[ ] Fairly angry

[ ] Mostly angry

[ ] Extremely angry

93. [ ] In no possible situation *could* I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] In only a few possible situations *could* I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I *could* have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in most possible situations

[ ] I *could* have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in all possible situations

94. How often would you like to tell *homosexuals* that you behave in a homosexual way?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

-29-

95. I enjoy mixing socially with *heterosexuals*.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

96. I am a homosexual *only* in special circumstances.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

97. How much do you enjoy having *sexual contacts* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Enjoy very much

[ ] Mostly enjoy

[ ] Some enjoyment

[ ] Enjoy a little

[ ] Do not enjoy at all

98. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of me having heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of me having heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of me having heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I mostly like the idea of me having heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

[ ] I totally like the idea of me having heterosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour

-30-

99. If you had your life over again, how different would you like to be *as a person* than the way you are now?

[ ] Completely different

[ ] Mostly different

[ ] Fairly different

[ ] Only a little different

[ ] No different

100. Below is a list of various types of non-homosexual people. Put a cross in the box next to the types of *non-homosexual* people you have told about your homosexuality. You may mark as many boxes as you wish.

[ ] Mother

[ ] Father

[ ] Brothers, sisters

[ ] Aunts, uncles, cousins etc.

[ ] Close friends

[ ] Acquaintences

[ ] People you work with

[ ] Your boss

[ ] Strangers

[ ] Wife

[ ] Husband

[ ] Own children

[ ] Professional person

[ ] Neighbour

[ ] No-one

[ ] Everyone I know

101. Homosexuals and heterosexuals are two different types of people.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] Only a little true

[ ] Not at all true

102. [ ] Everything to do with homosexuality is good

[ ] Most things to do with homosexuality are good

[ ] There are some things to do with homosexuality which are good

[ ] There is very little to do with homosexuality which is good

[ ] There is nothing about homosexuality that is good

103. How satisfied are you with the *way* you mix socially with *homosexuals?*

[ ] Completely satisfied

[ ] Mostly satisfied

[ ] Fairly satisfied

[ ] Only a little satisfied

[ ] Not at all satisfied

104. [ ] I feel totally heterosexual

[ ] Being heterosexual is a very large part of me

[ ] Being heterosexual is a fairly large part of me

[ ] About half of me feels heterosexual

[ ] Being heterosexual is a fairly small part of me

[ ] Being heterosexual is a very tiny part of me

[ ] No part of me is heterosexual

-32-

105. How easy is it for you to try and stop yourself from having *homosexual* feelings, thoughts and behaviours?

[ ] Extremely easy

[ ] Mostly easy

[ ] Fairly easy

[ ] Only a little easy

[ ] Not easy at all

106. Would you like to have *sexual fantasies, dreams or thoughts* about someone of the *same* sex....

[ ] More than you do now

[ ] Less than you do now

[ ] Same amount as now

107. I try to mix with *heterosexuals* as little as possible.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

108. [ ] There is nothing about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me question the fact that I am a heterosexual

[ ] Considering my feelings, thoughts and behaviour, I am fairly certain I am a heterosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me question whether I am a heterosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me believe I am probably not a heterosexual

[ ] There is something about my feelings, thoughts or behaviour that makes me quite certain I am not a heterosexual

109. I try to keep my social contacts with *heterosexuals* light-hearted.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Mostly untrue of me

[ ] Completely untrue of me

110. [ ] I *could* be a heterosexual in every possible situation

[ ] I *could* be a heterosexual in most possible situations

[ ] I *could* be a heterosexual in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] In only a few possible situations *could* I be a heterosexual

[ ] In no possible situation *could* I be a heterosexual

111. How much do you believe you should try and stop yourself from becoming *emotionally involved* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] All the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] A little of the time

[ ] Never

112. I only tell *homosexuals* about my being a homosexual if I know them really well.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

113. How much do you enjoy having *sexual contacts* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Enjoy very much

[ ] Mostly enjoy

[ ] Some enjoyment

[ ] Enjoy a little

[ ] Do not enjoy at all

[ ] Not applicable

114. How often do you deliberately put across the image to others that you are a *heterosexual?*

[ ] At all times

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Never

115. I try to mix with *homosexuals* as little as possible.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

116. [ ] I always imagine myself as a heterosexual

[ ] I often imagine myself as a heterosexual

[ ] I sometimes imagine myself as a heterosexual

[ ] On rare occasions I imagine myself as a heterosexual

[ ] I never imagine myself as a heterosexual

117. Homosexuals should stick together as much as possible.

[ ] Strongly agree

[ ] Mostly agree

[ ] Some agreement

[ ] Agree a little

[ ] Do not agree at all

118. [ ] I believe that others in general see that in no possible situation am I a homosexual

[ ] I believe that others in general see that in only a few possible situations am I a homosexual

[ ] I believe that others in general see that I am a homosexual in about half the situations I am in

[ ] I believe that others in general see that in most possible situations I am a homosexual

[ ] I believe that others in general see that in all possible situations I am a homosexual

119. How satisfied are you with the *way* you mix socially with *heterosexuals?*

[ ] Completely satisfied

[ ] Mostly satisfied

[ ] Fairly satisfied

[ ] Only a little satisfied

[ ] Not at all satisfied

[ ] Not applicable

120. How much do you like feeling *different* from others?

[ ] Not at all

[ ] A little

[ ] Some

[ ] A lot

[ ] Completely enjoy

[ ] Not applicable

121. [ ] None of my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are homosexual

[ ] A little of my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are homosexual

[ ] About half of my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are homosexual

[ ] Most of my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are homosexual

[ ] All of my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are homosexual

122. How much do you believe you should try and control your *sexual fantasies, dreams or thoughts* about someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] All the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Never

123. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *kissing* someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

124. Homosexuals usually seduce children.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Somewhat untrue

[ ] Mostly untrue

[ ] Completely untrue

-37-

125. If you want to put across the image to others of youself as a *heterosexual*, how easy is this for you to do?

[ ] Always easy

[ ] Mostly easy

[ ] Sometimes easy

[ ] Occasionally easy

[ ] Never easy

[ ] Not applicable

126 [ ] I am a heterosexual in every possible situation

[ ] In most possible situations I am a heterosexual

[ ] I am a heterosexual in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] In only a few possible situations am I a heterosexual

[ ] In no possible situation am I a heterosexual

127. I feel *proud* to be a homosexual

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Not applicable

128. How much are *heterosexual* groups and meeting places able to meet your general needs?

[ ] Not at all

[ ] A little

[ ] Some

[ ] A lot

[ ] Completely

[ ] Not applicable

129. [ ] It is totally impossible for me to accept that others see me as a homosexual

[ ] It is most difficult for me to accept that others see me as a homosexual

[ ] It is fairly difficult for me to accept that others see me as a homosexual

[ ] It is only a little difficult for me to accept that others see me as a homosexual

[ ] It is not at all difficult for me to accept that others see me as a homosexual

130. I feel I am different from *homosexuals*.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

131. [ ] I believe that others see that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in all possible situations

[ ] I believe that others see that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in most possible situations

[ ] I believe that others see that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] I believe that others see that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in only a few possible situations

[ ] I believe that others see that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour are heterosexual in no possible situation

132. If possible, would you like to have *sexual contact* with someone of the *opposite* sex,

[ ] more than you do now

[ ] less than you do now

[ ] no more or less than you do now

-39-

133. [ ] I totally dislike the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] I mostly dislike the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] I am fairly happy with the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] I mostly like the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'homosexual'

[ ] I totally like the idea of others seeing my behaviour as 'homosexual'

134. Homosexuals usually end up being very lonely.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Somewhat true

[ ] Mostly untrue

[ ] Completely untrue

135. [ ] I *could* be totally heterosexual

[ ] A very large part of me *could* be heterosexual

[ ] A fairly large part of me *could* be heterosexual

[ ] About half of me *could* be heterosexual

[ ] A fairly small part of me *could* be heterosexual

[ ] A very tiny part of me *could* be heterosexual

[ ] No part of me *could* be heterosexual

136. How sure are you of where your life is going?

[ ] Not at all sure

[ ] Only a little sure

[ ] Fairly sure

[ ] Mostly sure

[ ] Completely sure

-40-

137. How often do you tell *heterosexuals* that you are a homosexual?

[ ] Never

[ ] Rarely

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] About half the time

[ ] Quite often

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Always

138. How much do you enjoy being *emotionally involved* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Enjoy very much

[ ] Mostly enjoy

[ ] Some enjoyment

[ ] Enjoy only a little

[ ] Do not enjoy at all

139. [ ] I believe that others see me as not having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in any possible situation

[ ] I believe that others see me as having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in only a few possible situations

[ ] I believe that others see me as having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in about half the possible situations I am in

[ ] I believe that others see me as having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in most possible situations

[ ] I believe that others see me as having homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour in all possible situations

-41-

140. How much does your *sexual behaviour* fit in with the image you have of your *sexual orientation?*

[ ] Doesn't fit in at all

[ ] Fits in only a little bit

[ ] Fits in a fair amount

[ ] Mostly fits in

[ ] Completely fits in

141. Would you like to have *sexual fantasies, dreams or thoughts* about someone of the *opposite* sex....

[ ] more than you do now

[ ] less than you do now

[ ] no more or less than you do now

142. How easy is it for you to *not mix* with *homosexuals?*

[ ] Extremely easy

[ ] Mostly easy

[ ] Fairly easy

[ ] Only a little easy

[ ] Not at all easy

143. [ ] I am totally confused about whether or not I am a homosexual

[ ] I am mostly confused about whether or not I am a homosexual

[ ] I am fairly confused about whether or not I am homosexual

[ ] I am only a little confused about whether or not I am a homosexual

[ ] I am not at all confused about whether or not I am a homosexual

144. How satisfied are you with the *amount of time* you spend mixing socially with *homosexuals?*

[ ] Completely satisfied

[ ] Mostly satisfied

[ ] Fairly satisfied

[ ] A little satisfied

[ ] Not at all satisfied

145. If you had your life over again, how different would you like it to be from the way you are living now?

[ ] Completely different

[ ] Mostly different

[ ] Fairly different

[ ] Only a little different

[ ] No different

146. *Homosexuals* are basically good people

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] Only a little true

[ ] Not at all true

147. I could be a *heterosexual* in special circumstances.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

148. At the moment, do you have *sexual fantasies, dreams, thoughts* about someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

149. If you answered YES to question 148, *how often* do you have these fantasies, dreams or thoughts?

[ ] All of the time

[ ] A lot of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] A little of the time

[ ] None of the time

150. I carefully select which *homosexuals* I tell about my being a homosexual.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

[ ] Not applicable

151. I feel being a homosexual is a real disadvantage to me

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

-44-

152. How often do you try to avoid situations because you might act in a homosexual way?

[ ] Never

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Sometimes

[ ] Most times

[ ] Always

153. I feel I am generally like most *heterosexuals*.

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Somewhat true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Completely true of me

154. [ ] I am quite certain I am a heterosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am a heterosexual

[ ] It is possible I may not be a heterosexual

[ ] I am fairly certain I am not a heterosexual

[ ] I am quite certain I am not a heterosexual

155. How much do you feel you fit into *heterosexual* groups?

[ ] Not at all

[ ] A little

[ ] Some

[ ] A fair amount

[ ] Totally

-45-

156. I have homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour *only* in special circumstances.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

157. How settled is you life at present?

[ ] Not at all settled

[ ] Only a little settled

[ ] Fairly settled

[ ] Mostly settled

[ ] Completely settled

158 How often do you have *sexual contacts* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] None of the time

[ ] Once a month

[ ] Two to four times a month

[ ] Five to ten times a month

[ ] Eleven or more times a month

159. How do you feel about telling *heterosexuals* of your homosexuality?

[ ] Always dislike

[ ] Mostly dislike

[ ] Sometimes dislike

[ ] Occasionally dislike

[ ] Never dislike

[ ] Not applicable

160. Below is a list of different categories of *heterosexual* people. Place a cross in the box next to those categories of heterosexuals whose *opinions* you consider *important*. You may mark as many boxes as you wish.

[ ] Parents

[ ] Own children

[ ] Relatives (e.g. cousins, grandparents, uncles etc.)

[ ] Close friends

[ ] Casual acquaintances

[ ] Friends

[ ] People you work with

[ ] Employer

[ ] Strangers

[ ] Police

[ ] Members of religious group that you belong to

[ ] Members of a club you belong to

[ ] Other (please state)_____

[ ] None

161. If you want to put across the image to others of yourself as *asexual* (having no sexual feelings thoughts etc.) how easy is this for you to do?

[ ] Extremely easy

[ ] Mostly easy

[ ] Fairly easy

[ ] Only a little easy

[ ] Not at all easy

[ ] Not applicable

162. How much do you believe you should try and control your sexual desires for someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] All of the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] None of the time

163. Homosexuals are a threat to society

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

164. I enjoy mixing socially with *homosexuals*.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

165. I *could* have *heterosexual* feelings, thoughts or behaviour only in special circumstances.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

-48-

166. How do you feel if *other people's* views about the way you *behave sexually* do not fit in with your *own* views of how you behave sexually?

[ ] Completely uncomfortable

[ ] Mostly uncomfortable

[ ] Fairly uncomfortable

[ ] A little uncomfortable

[ ] Not at all uncomfortable

167. I only tell *heterosexuals* about my homosexual behaviour if I know them really well.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

168. Homosexuals should not display their homosexuality to others.

[ ] Completely agree

[ ] Mostly agree

[ ] Somewhat agree

[ ] Agree a little

[ ] Do not agree at all

169. How much do you believe you should try and control your *sexual fantasies, dreams or thoughts* about someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] All the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Never

170. The time I spend socially with *homosexuals* is usually brief.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

171. [ ] I believe that most others see me as being totally heterosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being mostly heterosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being about half heterosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as being only a little heterosexual

[ ] I believe that most others see me as not being at all heterosexual

172. At present are you involved *emotionally* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

173. If you answered NO to question 172, how much emotional involvement *would you like to have* with someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] Total involvement

[ ] Fair amount of involvement

[ ] Some involvement

[ ] A little involvement

[ ] No involvement at all

-50-

174. How often have you changed addresses because of your homosexuality?

[ ] Never

[ ] Once

[ ] Twice

[ ] Three to five times

[ ] More than five times

[ ] Not applicable

175. I carefully select which *heterosexuals* I tell about my homosexual behaviour.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

176. Homosexuals should try and quietly fit into the society in which they live.

[ ] Completely agree

[ ] Mostly agree

[ ] Somewhat agree

[ ] Agree a little

[ ] Do not agree at all

177. I feel I am generally different from *heterosexuals*.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

178. How much do you believe you should try and control your *sexual desires* for someone of the *opposite* sex?

[ ] All the time

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] A little of the time

[ ] None of the time

179. How much do you dislike putting across to others the image that you are a *heterosexual?*

[ ] Completely dislike

[ ] Mostly dislike

[ ] Some dislike

[ ] Only a little dislike

[ ] No dislike

[ ] Not applicable

180. I am a *heterosexual only* in special circumstances.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

181. When I mix socially with *homosexuals* I try *not* to get too personally involved with them.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

182. Whenever I hear anything about homosexuality I listen very carefully.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

183. What types of people do you disclose your homosexuality to?

[ ] Homosexuals only, never heterosexuals

[ ] Mostly homosexuals, occasionally heterosexuals

[ ] Mostly homosexuals, sometimes heterosexuals

[ ] Equal numbers of homosexuals and heterosexuals

[ ] Mostly heterosexuals, sometimes homosexuals

[ ] Mostly heterosexuals, occasionally homosexuals

[ ] Heterosexuals only, never homosexuals

[ ] Not applicable

184. Do you participate in the activities of any homosexual group or meeting place (includes bars, discoteques etc. as well as organized meetings)?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

If you answered YES to Question 184, then complete Question 185. If you answered NO, go on to Question 186.

.....*OVER*

185. The following statements are examples of attitudes that *groups of people* can hold. Next to each statement, on the scale provided, mark with a cross the answer that states how much the *groups of people you mix with* would AGREE or DISAGREE with that statement.

	Strongly Agree	*Mostly Agree*	*Some Agree-ment*	*Neither Agree Nor Dis-agree*	*Some Dis-Agree-ment*	*Mostly Dis-agree*	*Strongly Dis-agree*
The right thing to do is get married and raise a family.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
It is important for children to have a mother and father present when they are growing up.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The most important thing in life is to develop yourself and become the person you want to be.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
There is nothing wrong with children being raised by homosexuals.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Teenagers who think they are homosexual should be encouraged to become heterosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Being a homosexual is just as good as being a heterosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should just get on with their lives and not make a fuss.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should stand up for their rights.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Question 185 continued over.....

185. Continued.

	Strongly Agree	*Mostly Agree*	*Some Agree-ment*	*Neither Agree Nor Dis-agree*	*Some Dis-Agree-ment*	*Mostly Dis-agree*	*Strongly Dis-agree*
Lesbians are not real women.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Marching and waving banners about gay liberation only makes things worse in the end for the homosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals are usually weaklings.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
It is better to be open and tell others about being homosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Heterosexuals do not go around saying they're heterosexual so homo-sexuals should not go around saying they're homosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should not be allowed to adopt children.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals are not really entitled to the same rights as everyone else.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
If people find out about a person's homosexuality that is fine, but it is not necessary for the individual concerned to tell them.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

-55-

186. How much do you enjoy being *emotionally involved* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Enjoy very much

[ ] Mostly enjoy

[ ] Some enjoyment

[ ] Enjoy only a little

[ ] Do not enjoy at all

[ ] Not applicable

187. How often have you changed jobs because of your homosexuality?

[ ] Never

[ ] Once

[ ] Twice

[ ] Three to five times

[ ] More than five times

[ ] Not applicable

188. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *dancing* with (but not touching) someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

189. How much does your homosexuality interfere with your *daily life?*

[ ] Completely interferes

[ ] Interferes most of the time

[ ] Interferes some of the time

[ ] Interferes occasionally

[ ] Does not interfere at all

[ ] Not applicable

-56-

190. How do you feel about telling *homosexuals* of your homosexuality?

[ ] Always dislike

[ ] Mostly dislike

[ ] Sometimes dislike

[ ] Occasionally dislike

[ ] Never dislike

[ ] Not applicable

191. Consider the way you *behave sexually*, and the way you think *others* believe you behave sexually; how different do you feel these two pictures are?

[ ] Completely different

[ ] Mostly different

[ ] Fairly different

[ ] A little different

[ ] Not at all different

192. How often do you deliberately put across to others the image that you are asexual (do not have any sexual feelings, thoughts etc)?

[ ] At all times

[ ] Most of the time

[ ] Some of the time

[ ] Occasionally

[ ] Never

193. How comfortable do you feel, or would you feel, *petting* with someone of the *same* sex?

[ ] Not at all comfortable

[ ] Only a little comfortable

[ ] Fairly comfortable

[ ] Mostly comfortable

[ ] Completely comfortable

-57-

194. Whenever anyone says anything *against homosexuals*, I usually get angry and say something to them.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

195. I have *heterosexual* feelings, thoughts or behaviour *only* in special circumstances/

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

196. Below is a list of various types of *non-homosexual* people. Put a cross in the box next to the types of non-homosexual people you *would like to tell* about your homosexuality. You may mark as many boxes as you wish.

[ ] Mother

[ ] Father

[ ] Brothers, sisters

[ ] Aunts, uncles, cousins etc.

[ ] Close friends

[ ] Acquaintances

[ ] People you work with

[ ] Your boss

[ ] Strangers

[ ] Wife

[ ] Husband

[ ] Own children

[ ] Professional person

[ ] Neighbour

[ ] No-one

[ ] Everyone I know

-58-

197. At any time in your life, have you seen a professional person (e.g. doctor, psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker, clergyman, teacher) *about any homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour* you have had?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

If you answered YES to question 197, then complete questions 198 and 199. If you answered NO, go to question 200.

198. When did you see the professional person?

[ ] Seeing at the moment

[ ] Within the last month

[ ] Two to three months ago

[ ] Six to twelve months ago

[ ] More than a year ago

199. If you are presently seeing a professional person *about your homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour,* what are your reasons for going to such a person? *(You may mark as many boxes as you wish).*

[ ] To change from a homosexual into a heterosexual

[ ] To become a heterosexual as well as a homosexual

[ ] To talk over the possibility that I may be a homosexual

[ ] I am worried that my parents will disown me

[ ] To talk over the possibility that my feelings, thoughts of behaviour may be homosexual

[ ] Because I'm confused about who I am sexually

[ ] To find out more information about homosexuals and homosexuality

[ ] To learn how to cope with other people's reactions to me being homosexual

Question 199 continued over....

199. Continued

[ ] I am worried about not doing well at school or in my job

[ ] To learn how to cope generally with being a homosexual

[ ] To get help for problems I am having in a relationship

[ ] I am worried about losing my job because I am a homosexual

[ ] Because I cannot cope with my sexual feelings

[ ] I am worried about losing friends

[ ] Because I do not like to mix with homosexuals

[ ] Because I am worried about how homosexuality fits in with my religion

[ ] Other reasons_____

_____

200. If you are NOT *at the moment* seeing a professional person *about your homosexual feelings, thoughts or behaviour,* would you like to if you had the opportunity to do so?

[ ] Yes

[ ] No

201. If you answered YES to question 200, what *reasons* do you have for wanting to go to a professional person? *(You may mark as many boxes as you wish.)*

[ ] To change from a homosexual into a heterosexual

[ ] To become a heterosexual as well as a homosexual

[ ] To talk over the possibility that I may be a homosexual

[ ] I am worried that my parents will disown me

[ ] To talk over the possibility that my feelings, thoughts or behaviour may be homosexual

Question 201 continued over....

201. Continued.

[ ] Because I'm confused about who I am sexually

[ ] To find out more information about homosexuals and homosexuality

[ ] To learn how to cope with other people's reactions to me being a homosexual

[ ] I am worried about not doing well at school or in my job

[ ] To learn how to cope generally with being a homosexual

[ ] To get help for problems I am having in a relationship

[ ] Because I am worried about losing my job because I am a homosexual

[ ] Because I cannot cope with my sexual feelings

[ ] I am worried about losing friends

[ ] Because I do not like to mix with homosexuals

[ ] Because I am worried about how homosexuality fits in with my religion

[ ] Other reasons_____

_____

202. If someone finds out about my homosexuality that's alright, but I won't be the one to tell them

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

-61-

203. Below is a list of *activities* that people may engage in with someone of the *same* sex. Put a cross in the box next to any activities that you participate in or would like to participate in at the moment with someone of the same sex as yourself. You may mark as many boxes as you wish.

[ ] Holding hands

[ ] Kissing

[ ] Hugging

[ ] Standing with your arm around someone's shoulder

[ ] Dancing together, no touching

[ ] Dancing together touching

[ ] Starting a conversation with someone you are attracted to

[ ] Petting

[ ] Sexual experience

[ ] Going into a homosexual bar, restaurant or discoteque

[ ] None of them

204. I only tell *homosexuals* about my homosexual *behaviour* if I know them really well

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

205. The following statements are examples of attitudes that people can have. Next to each statement, on the scale provided, mark with a cross the answer that states how much *you* AGREE or DISAGREE with it.

	Strongly Agree	*Mostly Agree*	*Some Agree-ment*	*Neither Agree Nor Dis-agree*	*Some Dis-Agree-ment*	*Mostly Dis-agree*	*Strongly Dis-agree*
The right thing to do is get married and raise a family.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
It is important for children to have a mother and a father present when they are growing up.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
The most important thing in life is to develop yourself and become the person you want to be.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
There is nothing wrong with children being raised by homosexuals.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Teenagers who think they are homosexual should be encouraged to become heterosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Being a homosexual is just as good as being a heterosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should just get on with their lives and not make a fuss.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should stand up for their rights.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Question 205 continued over.....

205. Continued.

	Strongly Agree	*Mostly Agree*	*Some Agree-ment*	*Neither Agree Nor Dis-agree*	*Some Dis-Agree-ment*	*Mostly Dis-agree*	*Strongly Dis-agree*
Lesbians are not real women.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Marching and waving banners about gay liberation only makes things worse in the end for the homosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexual men are usually weaklings.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
It is better to be open and tell others about being homosexual.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Heterosexuals do no go around saying they're heterosexual so homo-sexuals should not go around saying they're homosexuals.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Homosexuals are not really entitled to the same rights as everyone else.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
If people find out about a person's homosexuality that is fine, but I do not think it is necessary for the individual to tell them.	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

-64-

206. I carefully select which *heterosexuals* I tell about my being a homosexual.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

[ ] Not applicable

207. Homosexuals are superior to heterosexuals.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

208. I try and stay out of the heterosexual world as much as possible.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] A little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

209. I feel good about myself.

[ ] Completely true

[ ] Mostly true

[ ] Fairly true

[ ] A little true

[ ] Not at all true

210. I talk to others about my homosexuality so that I can understand it better.

[ ] Completely true of me

[ ] Mostly true of me

[ ] Fairly true of me

[ ] Only a little true of me

[ ] Not at all true of me

Check you have not missed any questions.

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX III

Scoring Keys For Homosexual Identity Formation Questionnaire (First 25 Items)

SCORING KEYS FOR FIRST 25 ITEMS

Item Number	Correct Responses For Each Stage					
	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4	Stage 5	Stage 6
1	1,2*	1,2	2,3	3,4	4,5	3,4
2	1,2	2	3	4,5	4,5	4,5
3	1,2	2,3	3,4,5	6,7	7	7
4	1,2	1,2	3	4	5	5
5	1,2	3,4	4,5	5	5	5
6	1	1	2,3	4,5	5	5
7	1	2,3	3,4	4,5	6,7	7
8	5	4,5	3,4	2,3	1	4,5
9	1	2,3	3	4	5	2,3
10	4,5	4,5	4	3	1,2	1
11	1	2	2,3	3,4	4	5
12	1	1	2	3	4,5	3
13	1	1,2	2	3	4,5	5
14	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1,2	1,2	3,4	3,4	3,4	3,4
16	1,2	2,3	3	4	5	5
17	1	1,2	2,3	4	5	3
18	2,3	1,2	3	4	2,3	4,5
19	1,2	2,3	3,4	5	5	5
20	2,3	3,4	4	5	5	5
21	1,6	1,6	2	3	4,5	5
22	5	4	3,4	3	1	2,3
23	5	2	3,4	4	5	5
24	1,6	1,2,6	2,3,6	4,5	5	5
25	1	1	1,2	2	3,4,5	3,4

* These numbers refer to the first and second responses available to the subject when answering Item 1.

APPENDIX IV

Stage Allocation Measure

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Vivienne C.Cass
1984

STAGE ALLOCATION MEASURE

Presented below are descriptions of SEVEN types of people. Read through each one carefully and select the description that best fits the way you are NOW. Place a cross (X) in the box next to it. If none of the descriptions is *exactly* like you, select the one that is MOST like you NOW. You must select one of the descriptions.

[ ] You believe you are a heterosexual and never question this. You rarely, if ever, wonder "Am I a homosexual?" You do not believe that homosexuality has anything to do with you personally.

[ ] You are not sure who you are. You are confused about what sort of a person you are and where your life is going. You ask yourself the questions "Who am I?" "Am I a homosexual?" "Am I really a heterosexual? You sometimes feel, think or act in a homosexual way, but would rarely, if ever, tell anyone about this. You're fairly sure that homosexuality has something to do with you personally.

[ ] You feel that you *probably* are a homosexual, although you're not definitely sure. You realise that this makes you different from other people and you feel distant or cut-off from them. You may like being different or you may dislike it and feel very alone. You feel you would like to talk to someone about 'feeling different'. You are beginning to think that it might help to meet other homosexuals but you're not sure whether you really want to or not. You don't want to tell anyone about the fact that you might be a homosexual, and prefer to put on a front of being completely heterosexual.

[ ] You feel sure you're a homosexual and you put up with, or tolerate this. You see yourself as a homosexual for *now* but are not sure about how you will be in the future. You are not happy about other people knowing about your homosexuality and usually take care to put across a heterosexual image. You worry about other people's reactions to you. You sometimes mix socially with homosexuals, or would like to. You feel a need to meet others like yourself.

Stage Allocation Measure. Continued.

[ ] You are quite sure you are a homosexual and you accept this fairly happily. You are prepared to tell a few people about being a homosexual (such as friends, family members etc.) but you carefully select who you will tell. You feel that other people can be influential in making trouble for homosexuals and so you try to adopt an attitude of getting on with your life like anyone else, and fitting into where you live and work. You can't see any point in confronting people with your homosexuality if it's going to embarrass all concerned. A lot of the time you mix socially with homosexuals.

[ ] You feel proud to be a homosexual and enjoy living as one. You like reading books and magazines about homosexuals, particularly if they portray them in a good light. You are prepared to tell many people about being a homosexual and make no attempt to hide this fact. You prefer not to mix socially with heterosexuals because they usually hold anti-homosexual attitudes. You get angry at the way heterosexuals talk about and treat homosexuals; and often openly stand up for homosexuals. You are happy to wear badges that bear slogans such as "How dare you presume I'm heterosexual". You believe it is more important to listen to the opinions of homosexuals than of heterosexuals.

[ ] You are prepared to tell *anyone* that you are a homosexual. You are happy about the way you are but feel that being a homosexual is not the most important part of you. You mix socially with fairly equal numbers of homosexuals and heterosexuals and with all of these you are open about your homosexuality. You still get angry at the way homosexuals are treated, but not as much as you once did. You believe there are many heterosexuals who happily accept homosexuals and whose opinions are worth listening to. There are some things about a heterosexual way of life that seem worthwhile.

APPENDIX V

Biographical Information Sheet

-1- CONFIDENTIAL

GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

DATE: _____

Please complete the following information by placing a cross (X) in the correct box.

1. DATE OF BIRTH: _____/____/_____

2. SEX:
   [ ] Male
   [ ] Female

3. SCHOOLING:
   [ ] To primary level
   [ ] To secondary level
   [ ] To tertiary level

4. EMPLOYMENT: _____
   (If unemployed state usual occupation.)

5. RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING:
   [ ] Roman Catholic
   [ ] Church of England
   [ ] Presbyterian
   [ ] Methodist
   [ ] Baptist
   [ ] Jewish
   [ ] Other *(state)*_____

General Information Sheet. Continued.

6. MARITAL STATUS:
- [ ] Married
- [ ] Single
- [ ] Widowed
- [ ] Divorced/Separated
- [ ] De Facto *(heterosexual)*
- [ ] De Facto *(homosexual)*

7. POSITION OF BIRTH:
- [ ] Oldest child
- [ ] Middle child
- [ ] Youngest child
- [ ] Only child

8. FAMILY SIZE: *List the first names and ages of any brothers and sisters you have. (If not living, write* D *after their name, and the age at which they died.*

_____	____	_____	____
_____	____	_____	____
_____	____	_____	____
_____	____	_____	____

9. BIRTHPLACE: *Were you born in Australia?*
- [ ] Yes
- [ ] No

If you answered No, *where were you born?*

---

*How long have you been in Australia?*_____

General Information Sheet. Continued.

10.* How old were you when you first became aware of having sexual or emotional feelings, for someone of the *same* sex as yourself?

_____

11.* How old were you when you first recognised that your feelings, thoughts or behaviour could be called homosexual?

_____

* Items 10 and 11 were originally placed at the end of the questionnaire.

APPENDIX VI

Introductory Letter

Murdoch University
Murdoch, Western Australia, 6150. Telephone: (09) 332 2211, Telex: AA 92711

School of Social Inquiry - Psychology Section

Dear

The questionnaire you are about to complete is an important part of research being carried out with homosexuals and others into the difficulties that homosexuals may have in adjusting to the demands of society.

It is anticipated that results from this and other studies will help researchers, counsellors and community workers understand the particular issues and difficulties that arise, and how these might best be handled. Your participation is therefore greatly appreciated.

Please note that you are *not* required to put your name on the questionnaire since it is completely anonymous. All answers are totally *confidential* with no-one other than myself having access to them.

If you would like to receive a report of the completed research findings, please let me know when the questionnaire is returned.

Vivienne Cass
Research Psychologist

Murdoch Welcomes You to Open Day, Sunday, April 15

APPENDIX VII

Letter Distributed at Gay March

Murdoch University
Murdoch, Western Australia, 6150. Telephone: (09) 332 2211, Telex: AA 92711

School of Social Inquiry - Psychology Section

HOMOSEXUAL IDENTITY RESEARCH PROJECT

I am currently carrying out research into homosexual identity. It is anticipated that the results of this work will help in our understanding of the ways homosexuals adjust to the demands of society.

I need gay people who are prepared to spend some time filling out a questionnaire (names not required).

If you are willing to put aside a few hours towards helping other gay people, then you can contact me on 332 2570 or 332 2186 (Work) and 349 5489 (Home) or write to Viv Cass, Psychology Section, Murdoch University, Murdoch, 6150. Alternatively, you can leave your name and address with me today (look for name tag).

A questionnaire and pre-paid return envelope will then be posted to you.

Viv Cass
Research Psychologist

Murdoch Welcomes You to Open Day, Sunday, April 15

APPENDIX VIII

Newspaper Advertisements

APPENDIX VIII

Newspaper advertisements printed in the Sunday Times on 6th March 1980.

HOMOSEXUAL Research Project: Psychologist experienced in homosexual counselling doing research into homosexual identity wants people unsure, confused, upset about their homosexuality to complete anonymous questionnaire. Counselling offered free-of-charge if required. Write to Viv Cass, c/- Applied Psychology Clinic, Murdoch University, Murdoch, 6150 or phone 332 2370, (ah 349 5489).

GAY? Confused and uncertain about who you are? See advert under homosexual research project.

Newspaper advertisements printed in the Sunday Times on 15th June, 1980.

HOMOSEXUAL RESEARCH PROJECT: Psychologist wants people (male and female) who feel their homosexuality is temporary, or that they are gay only because of a special person, to complete anonymous questionnaire. Write to Viv Cass, Murdoch University, Murdoch 6150, or phone 332 2570, 332 2550.

HOMOSEXUAL RESEARCH PROJECT: Psychologist wants people (male and female) who think they PROBABLY ARE homosexual but not sure how to handle being different to complete anonymous research questionnaire. Write to Viv Cass, Murdoch University, Murdoch 6150 or phone 3322570, 332 2550.

GAY for now only? See advert under Homosexual Research Project.

GAY? Can't handle being different? See advert under Homosexual Research Project.

APPENDIX IX

Reminder Letter

Murdoch University
Murdoch, Western Australia, 6150. Telephone: (09) 332 2211, Telex: AA 92711

School of Social Inquiry

Dear

This is a gentle reminder regarding the return of the questionnaire I sent you recently.

I am beginning to analyse the results from the questionnaires already returned and hope to complete this task as soon as possible.

If you have any queries please feel free to contact me at Murdoch University (332 2186).

Regards,

Viv Cass

Murdoch Welcomes You to Open Day, Sunday, April 15

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