Sexuality, Communality and Urban Space: An Exploration of Negotiated Senses of Communities Amongst Gay Men in Brighton

David Nicholas Merle Wright

Thesis submitted for Ph.D.

Department of Geography, University of Southampton

April, 1999

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF SCIENCE

GEOGRAPHY

Doctor of Philosophy

SEXUALITY, COMMUNALITY AND URBAN SPACE: AN EXPLORATION OF NEGOTIATED SENSES OF COMMUNITIES AMONGST GAY MEN IN BRIGHTON

By David Nicholas Merle Wright

This thesis examines the relationships between sexuality, communality and space through the exploration of changing senses of community experienced by gay men in Brighton. A review of changing conceptualisations of sexuality reveals that the formation of sexual identities, communities and urban spaces cannot be reduced to a single historical narrative but are influenced by numerous contextual factors. In response, the thesis develops what is termed a 'negotiative framework' in which the tensions and contradictions associated with these differences can be reconciled with the need for strategic senses of resistance and solidarity. It is argued that Barthes' writings on doxa (systems of repression and control), paradoxa (forces of transgression) and atopia (processes occurring between and beyond these forces) provide such a negotiative framework.

Drawing upon evidence from in-depth, qualitative semi-structured interviews with gay men in Brighton, supplemented by group interviews and the analysis of secondary sources of historical documentation, five paths of transgression are observed: the establishment of the early underground scene; the gay political organisations formed in the wake of threats to civil liberties; the responses to HIV and AIDS; the responses to police harassment; and finally the development of the gay commercial scene. The study reveals how sites of both doxa and paradoxa are diverse and spatially and temporally contextual. Exploring changing conceptualisations of community amongst gay men in Brighton illustrated how concepts of atopia can reconcile bounded and boundless conceptions of space.

The Barthes-inspired approach of this thesis contributes to post-structuralist and queer theories by relating issues of negotiativity and process in a non-binaristic way to the functioning of systems of restraint and resistance in the context of gay spaces.

List of Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

It is often said that undertaking postgraduate study is an intensely isolating experience, both socially and intellectually. This would certainly have been the case for me were it not for the consistent advice, support and encouragement offered to me by many individuals. I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to these people.

First, thanks must go to my two supervisors, Dr. Steven Pinch and Dr. Jane Wills. Both Steven and Jane have provided me with the most sustained and valuable support imaginable. Not only have they provided ceaselessly rigorous critique, they have also given me the encouragement necessary to assist me in completing this postgraduate thesis. Their drive, dedication and enthusiasm has been highly infectious, and for this and so much more, I am extremely grateful.

Second, I wish to thank my partner, Dale. I met Dale soon after my thesis began and since then he has provided me with immeasurable support and companionship. Dale has given me the space to 'get on and finish the thing', putting up with my intellectual preoccupations and my virtual demolition of the study. More than this, he has always been there to provide invaluable advice and critique of my thesis.

Third, I wish to thank my parents for similarly furnishing me with ceaseless support and strength. Not only have they always been there to provide emotional support, they have also provided the financial assistance necessary to allow me to complete this thesis. Thus, in many ways, this thesis would not have been possible without their help.

Fourth, it is necessary to thank all my colleagues and friends at Southampton University without whose help my postgraduate studies would be significantly more arduous and less enjoyable. Thanks in particular go to Dr. Alison Blunt, Dr. Graham Crow, Dr. Jonathan Chipp and David Pinder with whom I have had many enjoyable and fruitful discussions about my work. Thanks must go to Suha Berberoglu, Neil Sackett, Kate Delaney, Kristie Legg, Luciano Cao, Andrew Lincoln and Tatiana Kuplick for their encouragement and friendship. Thanks must also go to members of academic departments elsewhere who have given me their assistance and advice. In particular, I wish to thank David Bell, Dr. Jon Binnie, Cindy Patton, Dr. Michael Brown and Prof. Larry Knopp for their help.

Finally, I wish to thank all those groups and organisations who were involved in my fieldwork study. It is impossible to name all of them, but I would like to thank Simon Edge and Peter Tatchell for their helpful input. In addition, I would like to thank Chris Farrar-Mills, Ian Langley-Strick-Michell, Nimrod Ping, Barney Miller, Arthur Law, Tom Sargent and all those members of 'Speak Out' for their interest and involvement. I would also like to thank Cambridge University Library and the Brighton Reference Library for their assistance with the archival analysis. Thanks should also go to *G-Scene*, the *Pink Paper*, Grizelda Grizlingham and all the publishers who have granted me permission to use their work in this thesis. To all these groups and individuals, I would like to give my heart-felt thanks.

Dedication

It is the theme of Chapter Four that if life should be seen as a lived project, then the research project should be seen as a lived process. Beyond the text of this thesis exist the lives of those people who have inspired and continue to inspire me in my life and work. I would therefore like to make three dedications to those people who have formed a major part of my life.

First to Dale, for his ceaseless love, understanding and support, I dedicate this thesis.

Second, to my parents, also for their love and support, I would like to dedicate this thesis.

Third, to those people I interviewed in Brighton, I dedicate my work. In particular, to those men who, since being interviewed for this research, have died from AIDS, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the memory of their strength, their courage, and their spirit.

Chapter 1

Introduction: The Politics of Sexuality, Community and Space in Brighton

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS OF SEXUALITY, COMMUNITY AND SPACE IN BRIGHTON

I: The Context

It has been some time since McNee commented on the squeamish attitude many academics within geography had towards sexual issues (1984). At the beginning of this decade, the continued marginalisation of these concerns within the discipline of geography provoked Bell to criticise academia for reducing gay sexualities to an 'insignificant other' within research (1991).

Since then, however, there has been a burgeoning interest in sexualities and their impact upon understandings of space (Colomina, 1991; Whittle, 1994; Chauncey, 1994; Bell and Valentine, 1995; Duncan, 1996; Bleys, 1996; Beemyn, 1996; Betsky, 1997; Ingram, Bouthillette and Retter, 1997; Golding, 1997; Brown, 1997; Higgs, 1999). So significant has this work on sexualities been that the subject of 'queer geographies' is now recognised in many human geography syllabuses within Western academic institutions.

Ironically, the diversity of studies generated by this research has perpetuated a new squeamishness: a squeamishness of constructing conceptual consistency against theoretical and empirical diversity. The body, a 'mess of goo and guts, ticks and scars, and fits of the giggles' (Bell, 1996: 621), and its relationship to space, has remained a consistently slippery subject for many geographers. But despite these complexities, 'space is a pressing matter and it matters which bodies, where and how, press up to it' (Probyn, 1995: 81). Given this importance of understanding corporeal geographies and the spatial processes operating upon and within them, there is a need to relate conceptually diverse studies to a workable and empowering understanding of sexuality and space.

This thesis addresses these complexities, exploring ways in which a necessary conceptual understanding of sexuality and space can be constructed whilst recognising the existence of difference and diversity. These concerns have particular resonance with contemporary constructions of gay male spaces and communities. At present, an unequal age of consent exists for gay men (Mason and Palmer, 1998), discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation is still not recognised by law, partnership rights for gay people are dismissed by the government, and ongoing homophobic violence sustains a considerable sense of inequality. Alternatively, social changes have resulted in the rapid growth of gay commerce, resulting in the development of numerous 'gay villages' throughout the UK. Similarly, the popularity of events such as the Pride March in London indicate a significant openness and visibility for gay men in the UK.

However, these political and social expressions of togetherness have equally been contested, with divisions occurring, for example, between gay men and lesbians, HIV+ and HIV- gay men, politically active gay men and those involved on the commercial scene. Consequently, at a political and social level, current expressions of gay commonalities have to recognise the advantages of both strategic senses of togetherness as well as possible sites of difference and conflict. By exploring these contradictory and conflictual processes within expressions of sexuality, communality and space, it will be possible to consider both the theoretical, practical and political consequences of combining senses of solidarity with senses of diversity.

The Problem

Recent events within Brighton, a town associated with the title of the 'Gay Capital of the South', indicate how prevalent these contradictions are in constructions of gay social and spatial commonalities. Brighton arguably has the highest concentration of gay men in the UK with a resident population estimated to be between 20-25,000 gay men (Scott, 1998). The town also has one of the longest gay histories of any UK town, with a gay male beach operating by 1930, and significant areas of gay prostitution occurring from the 1800s (Brighton Ourstory Project, 1992). Given the extent of Brighton's gay male history and population, one would expect that senses of

commitment to gay community and spatial belonging would be well developed. However, the situation in Brighton could not be more different.

In 1992, for example, political activists in Brighton got together to form the Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial Steering Group, an organisation which campaigned to have a gay monument constructed in the Old Steine Gardens. It was hoped that such a monument would serve as a site of remembrance, instilling a committed sense of solidarity for local gay residents and tourists to the town. The proposed memorial consisted of a plaque of grey, white and pink marble inscribed with words believed to reflect the qualities of local gay people: 'solidarity', 'pride', 'hope' (Figure 1.1).

The local council eventually refused permission for the construction of the monument on the grounds that its proposed location would cause controversy due to its proximity to the present war memorial. What was unexpected, however, was the degree to which local gay people reacted negatively to the proposed monument. Many individuals felt that the present war memorial already served as a site of remembrance, thus making the need for a 'homomonument' redundant. Others felt that reappropriating the pink triangle as a gay symbol from German concentration camps of the Second World War was an ultimately repressive act. Lesbian residents felt the monument to be exclusionary because only gay men were denoted by a pink triangle in the Second World War, black triangles being used to symbolise lesbians in German concentration camps. Others resented the construction of a monument to 'dead gay people' on the basis that it was contrary to Brighton's associations as a place of happiness and enjoyment.

The controversy surrounding the proposed Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial reflects many of the questions outlined above on the nature of community formations amongst gay men. Does a gay sense of community exist in Brighton? If it does, how should this be defined? How have senses of communal belonging been forged in relation to changing social and political contexts? How important is the role of place (in this case, a site of remembrance) in constructing senses of community? How do stigmatised groups of individuals appropriate place to support their own social and political needs?

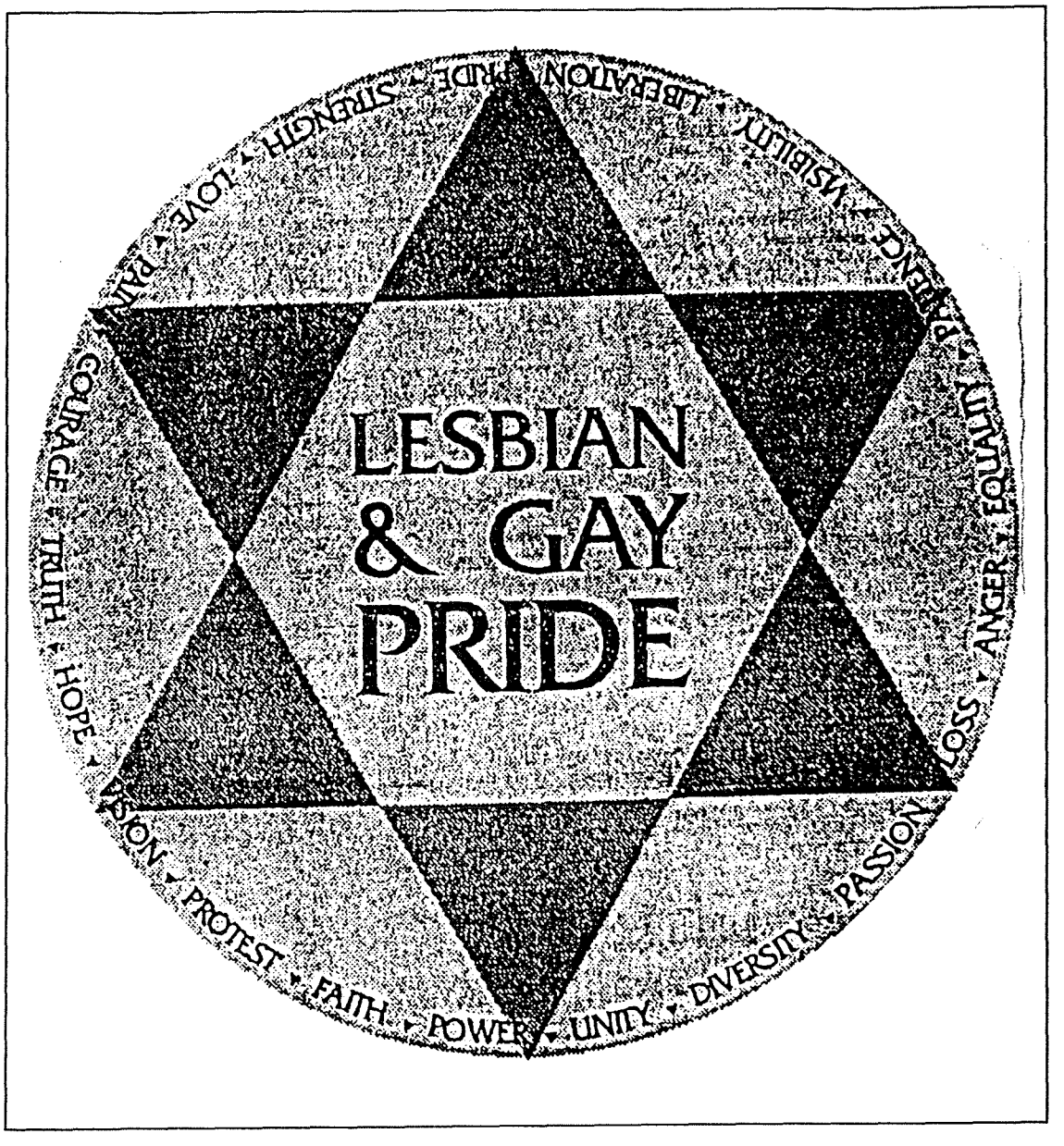


Figure 1.1: The Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial Steering Group Committee's proposed design for the gay monument in Brighton (*Source: Brighton and Hove Leader, November 1992*)

Inherent within these questions are concerns that lie at the very heart of conceptions of sexuality and space: first, the strategic importance of place as a site of social and political solidarity for marginalised individuals; second, the interrelations which exist between expressions of sexual identities, sexual histories, sexual spaces and sexual communities; third, the contradictory tensions and conflicts which occur within expressions of sexual communities and spaces.

By relating recent literature in the area of sexuality and space to expressions of sexual communities and spaces in Brighton, it is possible to construct a deeper understanding of the dynamics of sexuality and space.

The Structure

Through this thesis, a conceptual framework will be constructed that will explore strategic and coherent expressions of gay communities and spaces, whilst permitting an understanding of the inherent contradictions and conflicts that occur. In order to do this, several areas of enquiry will be embraced.

Chapter two will focus specifically on the changing conceptualisations of sexuality and space from the 1950s to present. Locating these models within their historical and political context, this chapter will consider their explanatory strengths and weaknesses, relating these issues to a framework based upon negotiated and contextual understandings of sexual community and spatial formations.

Chapter three extends this inquiry into related areas beyond the specific concerns of geography. First, sexual histories will be explored, reflecting upon important events impacting upon expressions of sexuality within the UK. Considering these issues will contribute much to an understanding of negotiated gay communities and spaces. Second, sociological and anthropological research upon the concept of 'community' will be considered, addressing a similar process of conceptual development from early work on community formations to recent perceptions of negotiated and contingent constructions of communal belonging.

Third, having illustrated the importance of negotiated senses of sexual spaces, histories and communities, Chapter three will consider the impact of post-structuralist work to considerations of negotiativity and context. Finally, the writings by Roland Barthes will be considered in the construction of a framework of exploration that relates the conceptual needs of negotiativity and context outlined previously to perceptions of gay male community and spatial formations in Brighton.

Chapter four will relate issues of negotiativity and context to the research process itself, first drawing upon methodological concerns about the politics of writing and the inter-dynamics occurring between the researcher, the researched and the research field. Second, the methodological techniques used to consider the lives and experiences of gay men in Brighton in this research will be explored, outlining reasons why they were used. Third, the selection of Brighton as the site of study for this research will be considered, exploring the degree to which the town itself exists as a site of process.

Chapter five will explore the issues involved in constructions of gay male communities and spaces in Brighton from the 1950s to present, using the model constructed in Chapter three. Three areas will be explored: first, potent and diverse sites of repression; second, varied and changing sites of resistance; third, repressive 'recuperations' of these resistive forces. The importance of the historical, social and spatial context of these phenomena will be addressed within these trends.

Chapter six will draw these themes together, investigating the ways in which gay communities and spaces are defined amongst gay men in Brighton. These definitions will be related to those issues of negotiated sexualities, communities and spaces addressed previously. Through this structure, it will become apparent how a negotiated framework of sexuality, communality and space can contend with the contradictions and complexities of gay male solidarities.

Chapter seven will summarise these issues, using the framework constructed to reflect upon the Lesbian and Gay Pride Monument proposal for Steine Gardens in Brighton. By the end of this thesis, those tensions inherent within constructions of sexuality, communality and space will be explored and reconciled, resulting in a framework of

analysis that will allow for a politically necessary sense of solidarity and togetherness to occur amongst fragmentation and difference.

Chapter Two

Sexy Spaces:
Refiguring the 'Celibate' Space of Geography

CHAPTER TWO

SEXY SPACES: REFIGURING THE 'CELIBATE' SPACE OF GEOGRAPHY

I: Introduction

The example of the Lesbian and Gay Pride monument discussed in the opening chapter illustrates particular concerns inherent in understanding the relationship between sexuality and space: first, the ways in which socio-sexual 'norms' construct spatial codes which exclude the expression of 'deviant' sexualities; second, the techniques 'deviant' sexualities use to negotiate sites of social and sexual expression; third, the way in which researchers have conceptualised notions of sexuality and space in accordance with these differing social contexts.

These issues are explored in this chapter, which reviews a diverse range of material on aspects of sexuality and space, relating this work to the social and political context in which they were conducted. This chapter is divided into four sections, each considering a particular 'phase' of research on spatial expressions of sexuality: the concept of sexually hidden spaces, studies on separatist gay spaces, research using a more dynamic understanding of sexuality and space, and a more negotiated perception of both static and fluid sexual spaces.

By undertaking this analysis of previous literature, it will be possible to consider in more detail the constructions of sexual communities and spaces at times of social oppression and intolerance.

II: Hidden Spaces: Representing the 'sexual deviant'

Researchers exploring histories of sexuality have considered the influence that changing legislative and social contexts have had on spatial expressions of sexuality

within Western culture (Weeks, 1977; 1989; Jeffery-Poulter, 1992; Spencer, 1995; Halperin, 1995). Many of these studies have explored the ways in which gay men and lesbians have negotiated senses of togetherness and commonality prior to the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967.

Within the UK, legislative restrictions on homosexuality have been particularly severe where, for example, convictions for buggery resulted in the death sentence until as recently as 1864. This sentence derived from a law made by Henry VIII in 1533 which outlawed any act of sodomy amongst men or women (defined as non-procreative sexual activities) (Weeks, 1977; Moran, 1997). In 1781, the broad definition of sodomy was restricted more specifically to sexual activities outside socially accepted sexual mores (i.e. homosexuals and prostitutes) (Weeks, 1985).

With these heavy restrictions placed upon gay men prior to 1967, one could readily assume that any expression of sexual solidarity would have been impossible. However research has illustrated the extent to which gay men were able to socialise within urban areas from the 16th Century (Higgs, 1999; Norton, 1984; Bray, 1987; Trumbach, 1977). Consequently, just as Chauncey (1994) reveals in his historical research into the pre-1940 gay male spaces of New York, any simplistic association between early expressions of homosexuality and senses of isolation, invisibility and internalised homophobia have to be critiqued. The issue becomes not so much about when gay spaces were born in urban areas, but rather the ways sexual spaces were negotiated in relation to changing socio-sexual mores.

Police harassment, prosecution and societal homophobia did limit the expression of pre-1967 UK gay sexualities, resulting in the construction of private and hidden gay spaces within urban areas. Throughout the 1900s, sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists became increasingly aware of these 'gay worlds'. In particular, many writers explored the differing ways issues of sexuality influenced conceptions of nationality.

Psycho-sexological constructions of space

By the end of the 19th Century, a shift had occurred towards a medical rather than spiritual understanding of 'sexual deviance' (Foucault, 1990). Much of this work was conducted with homophilic intentions, in particular with the research of Krafft-Ebing (1967), Ellis (1943) and Hirschfeld (1948). Homosexuality was supported by many of these writers who felt that homosexual male-love strengthened the social organisation of national states[1].

Anthropological, sociological and psychological work conducted in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries reflected this concern of sexuality and nationhood. Sexual 'normalcy' was seen to be central to the political and moral well-being of society, whilst sexual 'deviancy' was reduced to a diseased 'other' within society, or used to justify xenophobic understandings of 'bestial' foreign cultures. For example, in *Totem and Taboo*, Freud commented:

> 'Primitive man is known to us by the stages of development through which he has passed... [But] in a certain sense he is still our contemporary: there are people whom we still consider more closely related to primitive man than to ourselves, in whom we therefore recognize the direct descendants and representatives of earlier man. We can thus judge the so-called savage and semi-savage races; their psychic life assumes a peculiar interest for us, for we can recognize in their psychic life a well-preserved, early stage of our own development' (Freud, 1942: 13).

These sentiments were explored further in *Civilisation and its Discontents*, a book in which Freud suggested that the repression of sexual desires was, though unfortunate, an inevitable and necessary part of societal civilisation (Freud, 1954). Freud argued that the control of sexual desires operated at a level of 'basic repression' in which stored physical energy could be used to construct better and more advanced civilisations (Horowitz, 1977)[2]. Consequently, the lives of savages elsewhere, whilst

[1] Interestingly, researchers on gay histories have frequently addressed the relationship between male homosexualities and the construction of national territories, for example with studies of Ancient Greece (Foucault, 1993a; Halperin, 1995), Rome (Foucault, 1993b) and Renaissance Europe (Boswell, 1993).

[2] This work was critiqued by 'Freudo-Marxists' who argued that a level of 'surplus repression' occurred within society beyond that required by social civilisation, thus existing purely through the desire for social control (Marcuse, 1969; Reich, 1951). In this regard, Reich argued that 'sexual revolution equals social revolution', and that the orgasm existed as a site of resistance (Reich, 1960).

sexually less restricted, were nevertheless more bestial, less civilised, and closer to nature.

Freud's writings had a significant influence upon Western academia, where anthropologists such as Malinowski (1932) and Mead (1949) explored the 'sexual life of savages', and related ubiquitous occurrences of homosexuality to levels of social order. It is apparent, therefore, that throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries, concepts of national belonging and cultural foreignness were predicated on strongly (hetero)sexist and racist self/other distinctions. Thus,

> 'The individual body was thought to reflect a state's general health and became a metaphor of social order. Deviations from the perfect body, in turn, were read as symbols of social decay.' (Bleys, 1996: 156).

Consequently, appeals to natural senses of nationhood often had significant cultural overtones, where the purity of 'home' was predicated on the exclusion of an 'ugly' and foreign other (Anderson, 1991). The control of sexual desires was seen to be central in the process of nation-building, senses of 'foreignness' or 'elsewhereness' being associated with understandings of sexual excess[3]:

> 'Just as the various colonial possessions – quite apart from their economic benefit to metropolitan Europe – were useful as places to send wayward sons, superfluous populations of delinquents, poor people, and other undesirables, so the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe' (Said, 1971: 190).

Thus, prior to the concerns of anthropologists, sociologists and geographers in the latter half of the 20th Century, constructions of place, space and nationality were related to a profoundly sexualised discourse.

[3] In this regard, it is interesting to find defenders of homosexuality, such as Edward Carpenter, appealing to senses of national pride, honour and aesthetic perfection as a justification for the support of homosexuality.

Covert Places I: The Twilight World of Gay Male Bars

Recent historical analyses of sexual histories in America and the UK have illustrated the importance of the Second World War on the sexual expression of both gay men and lesbians (Castells, 1983; Chauncey, 1994; Brighton Ourstory Project, 1992). Chauncey suggests three ways in which World War II influenced expressions of same-sex desire: first, a generation of unique homosocial environments which provided a basis for same-sex contact; second, a relocation of individuals from often restrictive family oriented areas to more liberated regions elsewhere; third, an undermining of the gendered public/private divide as a result of women being employed and able to take a greater part in public life with the absence of many young men (Chauncey, 1994).

Given this post-war influence of expressions of homosexuality, it not surprising that an increase in academic interest into issues of sexuality also occurred in the 1940s[4]. The Kinsey Institute, for example, published 'Sexuality and Human Male' (1948) and 'Sexuality and the Human Female' (1953), which were influential in providing quantifiable evidence for the prevalence of homosexuality within America[5]. This inspired a series of research studies undertaken principally by urban sociologists who were concerned with exploring the lifestyles of 'sexual deviants' (Hooker, 1956; Gagnon and Simon, 1967). This research exposed the 'microgeographies' of gay male and lesbian communities, addressing the ways in which stigmatised groups exploited marginal spaces, such as 'underground bars' and cruising grounds.

Hooker (1956; 1967), Cavan (1963), Rechy (1964) and Achilles (1967), for example, explored the importance of gay bars in fostering early senses of communal belonging. In her research on Los Angeles, Hooker considered a 'clustering effect' of gay bars around 'areas of high tolerance for and relative permissiveness toward other forms of

[4] Most research was undertaken on gay men, either because of the perceived greater acceptance of female sensuousness or because of a denial of female sexuality. There were notable exceptions, however, with Kinsey et al.'s (1955) study, as well as work undertaken by Bell and Weinberg (1978), Gagnon and Simon (1967), and Albrow and Tully (1979).

[5] This research had its own spatial bias, however, being focused almost exclusively on urban based, white, middle class individuals (Kinsey *et al.*, 1953). In addition, the Kinsey Institute set up a 7 point scale of sex orientation, the results of which formed the basis of the claim that 10% of Americans were primarily homosexual.

deviant behaviour' (1967: 173). The bars served three functions: to promote areas of liaison for sexual purposes (174); to establish 'communication centres for the exchange of news and gossip' (178); and the construction of sites of 'induction and training' for gay individuals into the gay world (178), all of which Hooker considered to be supportive of the 'coming-out' process for gay individuals. Given the social restrictions operating at the time, however, many of these venues were secretive, operating through 'underground' and 'word-of-mouth networks' (Hooker, 1961; 1967). In addition, certain codes of behaviour had to be adopted within local gay bars in an effort to evade police arrest and social intolerance. For example, a 'few bars have the extra precaution of warning lights or bells which signal an approaching officer, at which sign all customers are to make certain that no-one is standing too close to his neighbor' (Achilles, 1967: 232).

Ironically, the secretive nature of gay sites also served to limit easy access into gay friendly institutions. As Mileski and Black commented, 'homosexual territories are by no means obvious to the untrained eye. The newcomer to homosexuality must learn from his fellows the range of opportunities that his home city affords him' (Mileski and Black, 1972: 190-191). These word-of-mouth techniques were so arcane that phrases

> 'not only require an explanation to the heterosexual public but also to many homosexuals, for the entire lexicon is not shared. Many of the words and phrases are familiar only to those who participate in the particular style with which they are associated' (Read, 1980: 12).

The importance of this secret language (or 'Palare' as it is sometimes referred to) was necessary for sustaining important communicative links within a repressive heterosexualised public environment (Cox and Hay, 1994).

Spatial organisations were also of considerable importance in the articulation, defence and support of gay lifestyles. In Read's (1980) study of a gay bar in Columbia, for example, it was suggested that the bar was organised into four distinct 'stage areas', each promoting surreptitious 'choreographies' of behaviour (Figure 2.1). The men's toilet opened out into the bar area as a 'bow toward police obsession with tearoom

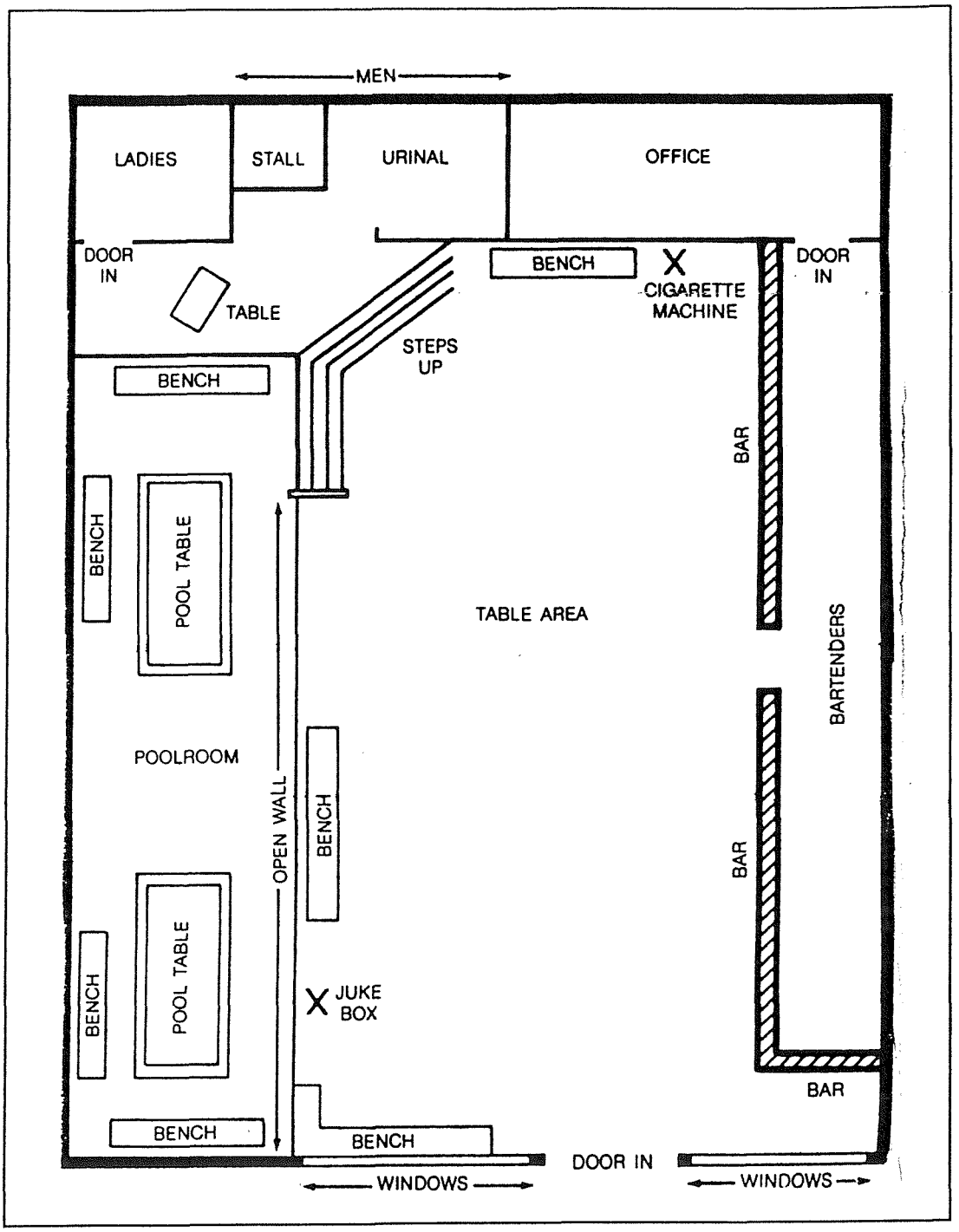


Figure 2.1: Stages in a Columbia Tavern (Read, 1980: 79)
(Reprinted with kind permission from Chandler and Sharp, California)

activities'[6] (78), and was positioned such that the distance individuals were situated from the toilet indicated their level of interest in sex. The bar allowed more diverse meanings where one-to-one contact with the bar-person implied a desire to be left alone, whilst facing outwards into the bar space implied a desire for socio-sexual liaisons (85). The table area met the needs of social cliques, whilst the pool table operated principally as a place for sexual display, 'cruising' and 'hustling'. Thus Read concluded that, 'the tavern's spatial subdivisions - its "formal structures" - "choreograph" the behaviour of its customers at every hour' (93). This 'choreographing of behaviour' through the strategic use of space illustrated the degree to which areas of gay male sociality were constructed despite repressive social contexts.

Covert Places II: 'Private' sex in public areas-the geography of gay cruising grounds

In addition to bars, cruising grounds, including the aforementioned 'tearooms' or 'cottages', were strategically created as sites of sexual interaction. Humphrey's work (1970), although methodologically dubious[7], is particularly notable for promoting the understanding of casual same-sex sexual activity in 'public' areas through his study of an unnamed American Tearoom. Humphreys (1970), Ponte (1974) and Troiden (1974), noted specific characteristics relating to the formation of successful cottages: first, the toilets had to be away from large urban areas or popular recreational sites to minimise the risks of recognition and unwanted intruders; second, they had to be situated near major transport routes to allow both easy access and exit; third, the sites had to be in an open location in order to observe the presence of possible 'customers'; fourth, the toilets needed a vantage point to provide a look-out for the police, homophobes or other members of the public.

[6] The term 'Tearoom' is specific to American post-war gay culture, and is still in use to day. It refers to public toilets known to provide sites for casual anonymous sex (see for example Humphreys, 1971). In the UK, the term 'Cottages' or 'Cottaging' refer to the same activity for reasons, which like their US counterpart, remain unclear (Woodhead, 1995; Brighton Ourstory Project, 1992).

[7] Humphreys 'tracked down' tearoom 'customers' by taking record of their car registration numbers, then entered the homes of these men to interview them, pretending to be engaged in a research survey for the Health Department (Humphreys, 1970).

SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATION SHEET Date: Day: Sat

O = Observor (1) (2) General Conditions: Weather & temp. 50' - partly cloudy - breezy

X = Principal Aggressor # & type of people in parks:

Y = Principal Passive Participant est. volume of gay activity:

A - N = Other Participants Places:

Z = Law Enforcement Personnel

Time Began: 3:20 (Encounter A)

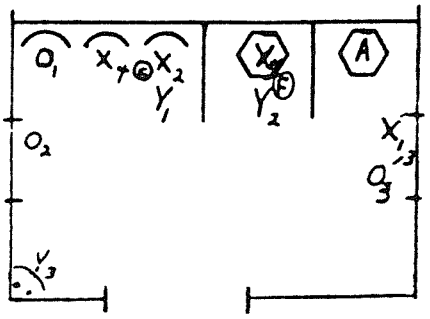
Time Ended: 3:30

Participants: [include symbol, est. age, attire, other distinguishing characteristics, type of auto driven]

X: 40 - black hair, goatee & glasses - pale green shirt - tweed

Y: 45 - balding — tall, dark pants, blue & white checked sport coat —

Others: A - 20 - Negro, tan slacks — white sport shirt



(F) = Fellatio performed

(C) = Contract made

Description of Action: [note: when possible, indicate: delays in autos, etc., before entering tearoom...manner of approaches...types of sexual roles taken... nature of interruptions and reaction to them...ANYTHING WHICH MAY BE SPOKEN... any masturbation going on...actions of lookout(s)...REACTION TO TEENAGERS AND ANY PARTICIPATION BY THEM...reactions to observor...length of time of sexual acts...spitting, washing of hands, wiping, etc.]

X was standing at right window & A seated on stool when O entered. O went to first urinal. X moved into third urinal, unzipped pants but did not urinate. He began to look at me. I zipped pants and moved in front of left window. X went back to opposite window. I saw Y get out of car and approach tearoom. He went to third urinal as soon as entered. In about 2 minutes, X moved into center urinal and began to cruise Y. By then, Y had an erection - X reached over and began to masturbate him with right hand, himself with left. I moved over to the far window. A looked at me. I smiled and nodded. X and Y walked together to stal # 1. X lowered pants and sat down. Y, standing in front with pants still unzipped and erection showing, continued to masturbate for another minute, then he inserted penis in X's mouth. He reached clima-x in about 3 minutes, having clasped hands behind X"s neck. He then went to basin, washed hands & left.

Figure 2.2: The Sociologist as Voyeur: Tearoom Systematic Observation Sheet (Humphreys, 1970: 35) (Reprinted with kind permission be Aldine Press, Chicago)

Within the tearooms, Humphreys, taking the role of a participant observer, mapped out the micro-geographies of sexual encounters (figure 2.2). Through these cartographic representations Humphreys was able to expose the non-verbal codes of behaviour that occurred within this environment (Humphreys, 1970; 1971). Troiden described these strategies as 'a special and complicated game' (1974: 212).

Gay baths also generated opportunities for cruising and sexual contact in more 'stable', yet still 'covert' surroundings. As these sites were also threatened by police harassment, a degree of confidentiality and anonymity was retained. Consequently, like cottages, the existence of these baths were advertised principally through word-of-mouth mechanisms (Bell and Weinberg, 1978; Styles, 1979). Areas within the baths themselves were subdivided to serve different functions, including the social environment of the bar, and the sexual encounters found within the orgy room, the private bed chambers and the steam rooms (Rumaker, 1978). Certain techniques were employed to protect members of gay baths where, 'attempting to enter a gay bath can involve some screening, including such questions as where one heard about and whether one knows what type of place it was. In addition to "homosexual" credentials (such as familiarity with gay newspapers), ID's are sometimes requested' (Weinberg and Williams, 1975: 128).

Summary: Paradoxical spaces of sexual communities

In evaluating the importance of sociological and anthropological studies undertaken during the first half of the 20th Century, the repressive environment in which such research was conducted must be considered. As Weeks (1986) explores, post-war Western societies increasingly perceived homosexuality to exist as a disease deserved of treatment and pity, rather than a social evil requiring persecution, intolerance and hatred. Academic studies reflected this situation, Gagnon and Simon (1967), for example, referring to gay men as 'deviants'. Furthermore, many comments by researchers illustrated the difficulties straight male researchers experienced with gay issues:

> 'For me, a parking lot, one of many in the area, of no particular interest or distinction, came to be associated with deviance.... On a

> subjective level, I felt ill at ease being there and wished to avoid future contact... my own feelings as a heterosexually-oriented person were shared by other "normals".' (Ponte, 1974: 8)

Reiss also focused on homosexuality as a social disease, associating it with 'lower-class delinquency' (Reiss, 1967: 203), whereas other researchers utilised essentialist frameworks such as the 'Bem Sex Role Inventory'[8] to classify and typologise gay men as 'androgynous males' on scales of masculinity (Weinberger and Millham, 1979; Bernard and Epstein, 1979).

Whilst much of this early socio-sexual research appears to be some kind of sociological 'badger-watch', with all its methodological and philosophical limitations, it is easy to forget the importance of this research in generating more tolerant attitudes to gay men. Thus it is necessary to recall the influence this research had in providing legitimacy for early expressions of homosexuality within predominantly hostile environments. In addition, these studies revealed important aspects of gay male place formation that have particular resonances to contemporary gay male cultures. First, focusing on hidden gay male spaces revealed the sexually constructed nature of straight or 'public' space. Describing the world of gay men as secretive and hidden automatically assumed that public space was marked by the presence of all that is purportedly asexual, nuclear- family based, and reproductively oriented.

Second, given that sites of gay male sexuality were established in relation to repressive social mores, sociological work at this time revealed the contradictory nature of many of these spaces. Thus, much of this research describes gay places both as sites of sexual fulfilment *and* threat (Humphreys, 1970; 1971; Ponte, 1974; Styles, 1979; Weinberg and Williams, 1975). Men existing in these areas thus embodied a tension between innate sexual desires and social restriction. Rumaker, for example, describing his experience of gay baths, comments:

> 'As I balanced my way along the narrow precarious space between the edge of the pool and the wall of the sauna, I had a sudden sense of the place and thought. Here, we were our naked selves, anonymous, wearing only our bodies, with no other identity than our bare skins,

[8] Refer to Chung (1995) for a detailed analysis of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory.

> without estrangements of class or money or position, or false distinctions of any kind, not even names if we chose none. Myself, the other naked men here, were the bare root of hunger and desire, our pure need to be held, touched and touching, feeling, if only momentarily, the warmth and affectionate response of another sensuous human. Here, was the possibility to be nourished and enlivened in the blood-heat and heart beat of others, regardless of who or what we were. Nurturing others we nurture ourselves' (Rumaker, 1978: 17)[9].

Finally, such research draws attention to another important aspect of gay space - the extent to which gay men were able to create strategic places for sexual and social fulfilment against repressive social constraints. These 'strategic sites' often embodied those tensions as gay men occupied marginal places within society. The need for secrecy fostered secret codes of behaviour and conduct which, like the gay spaces themselves, allowed both the possibility of socio-sexual fulfilment and a necessary means of defence and protection.

III: Separatist Spaces: Spatially mapping sexuality

The social and political environment for lesbians and gay men changed considerably within the UK and the US during the 1960s and '70s. The partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967 in the UK and the Stonewall riots in New York in 1969 generated a new sense of radicalism amongst gay men (Weeks, 1977; Altman, 1971; Adam, 1984; Duberman, 1993). Parallel to this growth of gay radicalism was the creation of more overt gay spaces in comparison to the earlier covert era. As Loyd and Rowntree commented:

> 'The traditional space in the homosexual community consisted primarily of three kinds of places: bars, bathhouses, and "tearooms" ...This limited and underground set of places resulted from public intolerance and the lack of organisation within the community. ...Since then, gay men throughout the country have expanded their communities and community space. Gay pride and social space have developed together' (Loyd and Rowntree, 1978: 86).

[9] Elsewhere Rumaker comments on the attractiveness of other men in the baths as 'beauty forced to flower in a dirty place' (Rumaker, 1978: 35).

As will be argued in this section, social research adopted a more political and less judgmental moralising understanding of sexuality and space at the time of the growth of urban gay areas (Davis, 1995).

Exploring the geography of early gay territories

The influence of this new found overtness and radicalism of gay sexuality impacted upon ways in which geographers conceived of sexual spaces. Rather than focusing on voyeuristic explorations of secretive and deviant behaviours of gay men and lesbians, researchers began to recognise the importance of homosexuality within the constitution of urban space itself. Sociologists such as Harry (1974) and Harry and DeVall (1978) had already indicated how densely populated urban areas appeared to offer a greater possibility for the support of gay lives. The phenomenon of urban concentrations of (predominantly male) gay people provoked Weightman to question whether there was 'such a thing as a gay region' (1981: 107). She continued by suggesting that, 'The apparent role which gays are playing in neighbourhood gentrification suggests that they may be more willing than straights to live in urban transitional areas... In this regard, gays might be viewed as urban pioneers, who sometimes generate conflict as they displace poorer ethnic groups' (1981: 109). Ettorre (1978) described this pioneering attitude further, evaluating the strategic ways lesbians and radical feminists occupied vacant property in Lambeth to create lesbian-feminist ghetto between 1971 and 1977 (Ettorre, 1978: 514-518).

Weightman (1980) went beyond merely providing descriptive accounts of urban concentrations of gay men, and produced cartographical representations of urban distributions of gay bars throughout North America. Much of this research was inspired by the Chicago School method of describing 'metropolitan sub-communities' as a natural process within the ecology of modern urban life. In this vein, Levine explored the development of 'gay ghettos' within US cities, stating that,

> 'an urban neighborhood can be termed a "gay ghetto" if it contains gay institutions in number, a conspicuous and locally dominant gay subculture that is socially isolated from the larger community, and a residential population that is substantially gay' (Levine, 1979: 364).

On the basis of these criteria, Levine proceeded to map the location of gay areas within selected cities in America. Similarly, Castells was able to map the location of a gay ghetto, or 'gay land' within the Castro district of San Francisco (Castells, 1983: 153) using quantitative criteria such as the proportion of multiple male households (Fig. 2.3). Castells suggested that a major factor behind the creation of Castro's gay community was the popularity of San Francisco for gay men and lesbians discharged from the armed forces during the Second World War (Castells and Murphy, 1982). Rather than returning to their home towns in disgrace, gay men and lesbians chose to settle within the Castro district of San Francisco, forging strong communal ties within more tolerant areas of the city (i.e. in regions with inexpensive accommodation, located away from conservative, family oriented districts). Thus Castells commented that, 'space is a fundamental dimension for the gay community' (Castells, 1983: 145), and thus called for an understanding of the processes which lay behind the constitution of urban gay areas. It was suggested that Castro's 'gay land' was so influential for expressions of sexuality that, 'What happens in San Francisco affects gay politics everywhere' (Thomas, 1986: 28).

Although this quantitatively based research may appear crude today, it is important to remember the extent to which these studies revolutionised the way in which sexuality was related to space. For the first time, the politics and behavioural patterns of a sexual minority were related to spatial processes of the city, responding to the openness and radicalism of gay men as opposed to the earlier concerns of the introspective world of gay baths and bars. As Castells comments:

> 'To consider gay society as a short-sighted, separatist ideology would be misleading. The building of a gay community with its own institutions in the midst of a heavily heterosexual, central city is itself a major transformation, and is highlighted by the fact the gay celebrations have become San Francisco's most popular and brilliant events' (Castells, 1983: 163).

Sites of Resistance, Sites of Constraint: The strategy of separatist spaces

The assertion of separatist territories of pride and defence was inevitably articulated in relation to heterosexist processes beyond the gay ghetto. Thus, like the marginal spaces described previously, the formation of gay territories resulted in a contradictory

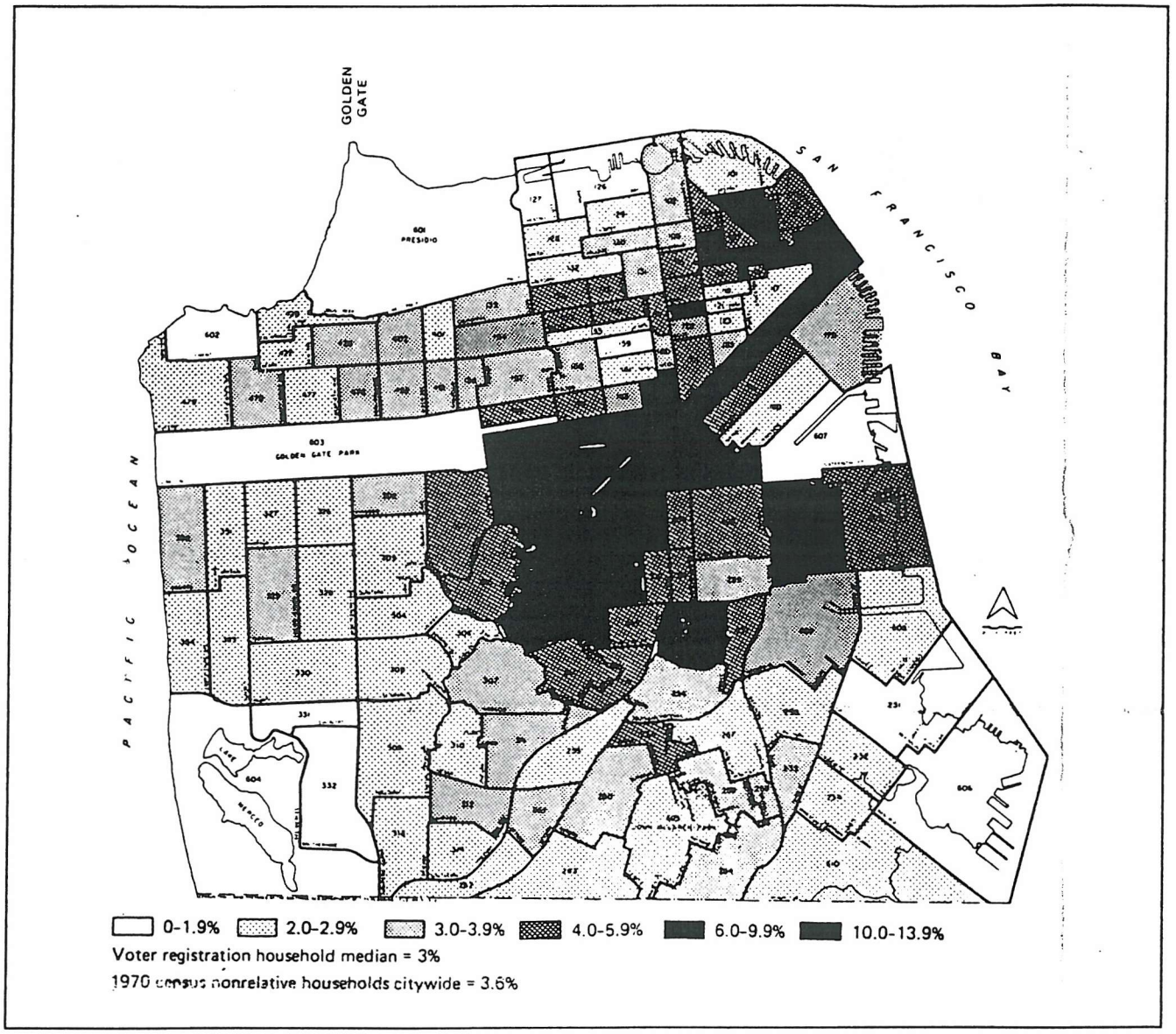


Figure 2.3: Gay residential areas in San Francisco as indicated by the proportion of multiple male households over the total of registered voters in each census tract, 1977 (Castells, 1983: 147) (Reprinted with kind permission from University of California Press, Berkeley)

dynamic of sexual expression and social restraint. For example, Castells commented on a tendency for gay people to 'live more and more within their own walls' in gay ghettos (Castells, 1983: 168). Consequently,

> 'The visibility that gays have created has had very positive consequences for the community, including the defensive device of identifying almost immediately who is and who is not gay. But what for gays increases their protection and communication creates for straights a major barrier, limiting the effects that gays may have on urban culture.' (Castells, 1983: 167).

Given these contradictions, simplistic representations of gay ghettos are problematic in that they construct an understanding of gay space as merely a local 'peculiarity' situated against the backdrop of 'normal' space. A purely detached, separatist account of gay space therefore had to be critiqued in favour of a framework which situated gay communities and spaces in relation to wider social and political processes. In this regard, although research mapping gay ghettos revealed the strategic importance of gay territories, a processual understanding of gay spaces, and thus a rigorous interrogation into the dynamics of sexuality and space, was denied.

The bounded representation of gay territories thus naturalised the spatial location of homosexuality, forcing its expression within a confined region of space (Wright, 1997a). Moreover, the representation of gay ghettos tended to homogenise what were in fact diverse and contradictory expressions of sexual identity. The denial of such difference within a framework which privileges sameness unwittingly excluded solidarities founded on contexts other than sexual orientation. As Davis argues:

> 'the very mapping of gay and lesbian concentrations essentialises sexuality and assumes that we identify gays and lesbians as a demographically distinct group, when in fact these maps only revealed concentrations of people who participate in or who are in some way part of the local gay/lesbian "scene". More importantly, this strategy represents a continued reliance on gay/lesbian territories to increase political power, and it largely benefits those identified because of their activity in the gay scene.' (Davis, 1995: 290-291).

Thus, whilst techniques of spatial mapping illustrate an important moment in the expression of an overt, radical sexuality within urban space, it is nevertheless necessary

to refrain from naturalising what are in fact highly contradictory and processual dynamics of sexuality and space formation. Constructions of gay ghettos and their conceptual articulation within academia cannot be determined in any fixed, teleological understanding. Rather, they must be seen to be a particular moment in the negotiation of gay solidarities within processes of urban space development. Whilst the research of Harry (1974), Levine (1979) Weightman (1981) and Castells (1983) is central in understanding the importance of place within the constitution of gay communities and spaces within the wider process of the city, it is nevertheless necessary to be aware of the dynamic and strategic ways lesbians and gay men negotiate their existence within and across space.

IV: Dynamic Spaces: Critiquing the stability of gay geographies

The politically radical gay organisations of the 1970s quickly began to fragment and decline. The clarion call of 'united we stand, divided we fall' associated with groups such as the Gay Liberation Front (Richmond and Noguera, 1972) sounded increasingly hollow as differences began to be voiced on the basis of gender (Sommella, 1997), race (Thorpe, 1997), age (Grube, 1991) and political affiliation (Weeks, 1977; Gluckman and Reed, 1996)[10]. In addition, the impact of feminist politics was to have a considerable influence on conceptions of sexual identity formation. Rather than appealing to a naturally determined, separatist understanding of sexuality, gay commentators and activists adopted a more socially constructed sense of sexual identity (Davis, 1995; Milligan, 1991).

The growth of right-wing homophobia under a Thatcherite Britain and Reaganite America, as well as concerns about the HIV/AIDS crisis, did generate a renewed sense of political commitment during the 1980s. However, instead of establishing and supporting gay urban territories, political organisations such as ACT UP and OutRage! adopted a politics of identity, or 'queer radicalism'. This new style of politics sought

[10] Findings from my empirical investigations of the gay scene in Brighton during the early '70s indicate that growing commercialism also generated a divide between 'gay politicos' and 'non political' gay men - see Chapter five.

to contest dominant constructions of sexuality within everyday space through the use of mock-weddings, kiss-ins and queer shopping expeditions (Davis, 1995; Sedgwick, 1994).

Again, conceptions of sexuality and space within academia changed to reflect this more dynamic sense of gay communities and spaces. Researchers within geography, for example, moved away from bounded, typologised and naturalised understandings of sexual spaces to embrace issues of diversity and fluidity within sexual identities. This section will consequently explore how researchers have considered the ways that differences, such as gender, spatial location, race, HIV and sexual preferences have fragmented broad understandings of sexuality and space.

Heteropatriarchy and the Politics of Passing

Differences of gender within gay communities and spaces became an increasing concern for researchers during the 1990s. Much of this work reacted against earlier research on sexuality and space, which was found to be gender biased. Castells, for example, justified the exclusion of women from concerns of sexuality and space in the following manner:

> 'there is a major difference between men and women in relation to space. Men have sought to dominate, and one expression of this domination has been spatial... Women have rarely had these territorial aspirations: their world attaches more importance to relationships and their networks are ones of solidarity and affection. In this way gay men behave first and foremost as men and lesbians as women' (Castells, 1983: 140).

Constructing such psychologically and biologically bounded senses of innate territorialism thus not only limited understandings of processes of gay male spatialities, but also perpetuated the exclusion of women from gay urban spaces. Adler and Brenner were thus provoked to comment that,

> 'before concluding that social-psychological needs and interests explain the absence of visible lesbian urban neighbourhoods, we need to consider differences in capacity to dominate space, a variable reflecting available wealth as well as restrictions placed by male

> violence on women's access to urban space' (Adler and Brenner, 1992: 26).

Even Lauria and Knopp's (1985) attempt to extend earlier research on urban expressions of gay male and female sexuality over-simplified the importance of gender, stating that 'women have always been given somewhat more latitude to explore relationships of depth with one another than have men... Thus, gay males, whose sexual and emotional expressiveness has been repressed in a different fashion than lesbians, may perceive a greater need for territory' (Lauria and Knopp, 1985: 158).

Contradicting these assertions, Winchester and White (1988) conducted research in Paris, illustrating that lesbian residential and social concentrations did exist within urban spaces. They were supported by earlier findings of Wolf (1980) who conveyed the importance of areas of mutual support for lesbians. Similarly, Anlin (1989) and Egerton (1989) explored the desire for lesbians to create places which united both socio-psychological desires of togetherness with political-economic considerations. Egerton in particular illustrated the ways lesbian feminists in the 1970s experimented with housing structures, creating 'squats, housing co-ops and housing associations' in an effort to generate safe women's communes and sites of political resistance (Egerton, 1989: 83). These sites, however, were threatened by homophobic and misogynistic violence, as well as by their own internal racial and class based tensions (Anlin, 1989; Valentine, 1993b). Furthermore, these 'lesbian ghettos' were usually less visible and thus less political than gay male spaces, not because of differing territorial instincts, but as a result of heteropatriarchal systems operating within and across space (Valentine, 1993a; 1993b; Wolfe, 1992; Bouthillette, 1997; Thorpe, 1997).

Given these concerns, feminist-inspired researchers began to explore the ways in which lesbians negotiated their sexual identities within and across spatial contexts, whether experiences of the home, the workplace or public space. Whereas previous studies illustrated the degrees to which forces regulating public and private space limited or threatened the presence of women (Valentine, 1989; Laws, 1994), researchers explored the way that female sexualities were related to these issues. Valentine, for example, explored how 'lesbians negotiate multiple sexual identities over space and

time, and the strategies used to manage conflicts between these often contradictory identities' (Valentine, 1995a: 237-238).

Illustrating the varying experiences of gay men and lesbians in different spatial and temporal contexts provided not just a critique of the validity of bounded ghettos, but also revealed the constitution of 'normal' space beyond the ghetto as a profoundly (hetero)sexualised realm (Valentine, 1993b: 107-108). The (hetero)patriarchy of urban space therefore 'perpetuates the invisibility of lesbians in everyday spaces and pushes the expression of lesbian identities into gay-identified or self-created spaces' (Valentine, 1993c). In this regard, researchers were able to explore the sexualisation of space and the forces of regulatory control ordering individuals through systems of surveillance and 'cultural imperialism'[11]. For example, in McDowell's assessment of the sexualisation of the workplace, she commented that:

> 'men's physical presence at work is unremarkable, that is as long as they conform to a version of heterosexual masculinity. Embodiment as a heterosexual male is taken for granted in the workplace in ways that construct women workers, not only as different, but as an inferior "other"' (McDowell, 1995: 85).

Within such male-oriented environments, lesbians consequently either have to 'pass' as straight or face increased isolation, homophobia, discrimination or job loss (Hearn *et al.*, 1989; Hall, 1989; Gutek, 1989; Palmer, 1993).

Similarly, social and public spaces, such as hotels and restaurants, are seen to be constructed in ways that exclude expressions of homosexuality as 'out-of-place', thereby preserving the 'normalcy' of heteropatriarchal space (Valentine, 1993c). Even the 'private' home is regulated by these constructions of sexuality whereby notions of the 'home' and domesticity are perceived to be the realm of female nurturance, reproduction and the nuclear family 'norm' in contrast to the male dominated public sphere. Indeed, it has been suggested that the very production of domestic environments appears to privilege heterosexuality through the construction of a

[11] 'Cultural Imperialism' is a term used by Iris Marion Young in her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference* and refers to the way society asserts a (naturalised) dominant 'norm' by marking non-conformist behaviours as 'other' and 'deviant' (Young, 1990).

heterosexual-family oriented use of private rooms (Knopp, 1990b). As a result of this assumed heterosexual family 'norm', lesbians and gay men are forced to 'dedyke' or 'degay' their homes in an effort to prevent their sexuality from being disclosed and avoid family tensions, victimisation and vandalism (Johnston and Valentine, 1995; Kirby and Hay, 1997).

Such dynamic, negotiated understandings of sexuality and space provided a radical critique of previous spatially-fixed notions. Rather than asserting some natural, biological determinant to spaces of sexual expression, the processes inherent in negotiating sexual identities in a variety of temporal and spatial contexts can be explored. As Valentine commented in relation to concepts of 'gay ghettos':

> 'the accessibility of these predominantly male-orientated communities...and gay bars has ignored the fact that many lesbians and gay men conceal their sexualities and so 'pass' as heterosexual at different times and places' (Valentine, 1995a: 237).

Consequently, fixed and fixing expressions of sexuality and space give way to more contingent and contextual understandings, reflecting changes within the structure of gay politics during the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to considering the time-space contexts of regulations of sexuality, this dynamic concept of sexuality opened up the possibility of subversive and transgressive sexualities within predominantly straight spaces, such as with the music of lesbian icon K.D. Lang (Valentine, 1995b; Bell, et al., 1994).

Non-Urban Sexualities

Critiquing the efficacy of gay urban ghettos immediately implies the need to explore the expressions of sexuality beyond such bounded 'gay lands'. Consequently, researchers began to explore the difficulties of expressing gay sexualities in rural locations, citing high conservatism, strong family values, a paucity of gay male or lesbian role models, and limited gay resources or social structures to be significant constraining factors (D'Augelli, *et al.*, 1987a, 1987b; D'Augelli, 1989a, 1989b; Kramer, 1995, Gowans, 1995; Fellows, 1996). Ormrod and Cole (1996) suggest that,

> 'traditionalists are often found in small towns and rural areas, engaged in agriculture and traditional industries, and associated with fundamentalist Protestantism. They typically favor traditional social roles, including patriarchal families... these groups are not just anti-homosexual in nature, but tend to oppose any movement or trend that seeks to redefine existing social structures and patterns' (Ormrod and Cole, 1996: 16-17).

These limitations in rural areas were a particular concern for HIV and AIDS organisations who often found that their education and support campaigns were not reaching out to more remote areas (Watts, 1993; Andronis and Carrington, 1993). Many gay men's health studies revealed, not surprisingly, that a significant degree of migratory trends existed for gay men to large urban areas away from the rural environs of where they live due to the lack of local gay venues and the concern of being 'detected' by family members or friends (Rendell, 1993; Kelley, *et al.*, 1996).

More recently, however, researchers have contradicted the common perception of urban munificence and rural intolerance. Certain supportive social and political networks have been constructed in rural locations to challenge increased senses of isolation, including groups such as Cylch and Diclon in Wales (Nobbs, 1994; D'Augelli, 1989a; Bonfitto, 1997), rural lesbian rural communes (Cheney, 1985) and gay male outdoor clubs (Bell and Valentine, 1995a). Rurality has also entered into the 'gay imaginary' as a site of freedom within nature against the undesirability of urban life (Bell and Valentine, 1994; Cody and Welch, 1997; Doyle, 1995). The perception of 'the rural idyll' has been important to those individuals living with HIV or AIDS who associate rural areas with health-giving and revitalising qualities. So considerable has this perception been that groups such as the AIDS Council of New South Wales in Australia have launched an advertisement campaign to highlight the restrictions of living in the countryside for those who are gay or who have AIDS (Westlund, 1993).

In addition, Bell and Valentine (1994), Lynch (1987) and Weston (1995) have illustrated how urban environments often fall short of the sexual Utopian ideals placed upon them. Weston (1995) associates the city with a metaphorical site of the 'gay imaginary', the belief in the existence of a coherent gay community 'out there'. Such a utopian site, Weston argues, forms an important part of the 'coming out' process

where home is associated with closetedness and the city is often believed to be the site of solidarity amongst like-minded gay people. She continues by relating these beliefs to a significant process of urban to rural 'gay' migration. However, 'upon arrival, it sometimes became difficult to sustain the vision of the city as a space of liberation from sexual restrictions and surveillance' (Weston, 1995: 287). Homophobic violence is still a considerable problem for urban gay lives (Comstock, 1991; Vazquez, 1992; Herrick and Berril, 1986; Herrick, *et al.*, 1997; Cooper, 1997), as are wider problems of lack of housing and employment (Weston, 1995). A sense of urban sexual freedom was also undermined because,

> 'the anonymity of big cities that is supposed to open a space of sexual freedom often appeared spurious to those who had grown up in cities, and even to immigrants themselves after a few years. As they began to meet partners, make families, and build friendship networks, migrants spoke about the "incestuous" and "small-town" character of [the city]' (Weston, 1995: 287).

As a result of these contradictions surrounding rural and urban sexualities, a more processual and contextual understanding of sexuality and space has been called for (Wright, 1997b). Rather than opposing diametrically rural and urban gay scenes, researchers have begun to perceive such spatial expressions of sexuality to exist as part of the same process (Forsyth, 1997). Non-urban sexualities, like issues of time-space strategies mentioned previously, denaturalise understandings of sexuality and space, and locate sexual identities within their particular social/political context. That is to say, rather than associate expressions of sexuality to be defined by some biological spatial-determinism, the construction of sexual spaces were seen to be dependent upon social context.

Consequently, dichotomies of 'gay-' and 'non-gay lands' can be rejected in favour of a less deterministic and a more contingent and negotiative understanding. Urban gay territories do still exist (for example, with gay scenes in Manchester [Hindle, 1994; Quilley, 1994; 1997], Newcastle [Lewis; 1994] (Figure 2.4), Toronto [Bouthillette, 1994; Grube, 1997] and Mexico City, [Sanchez-Crispin and Lopez-Lopez, 1997]), but are seen not to result from a territorial impulse, but rather through the negotiation with forces of social control.

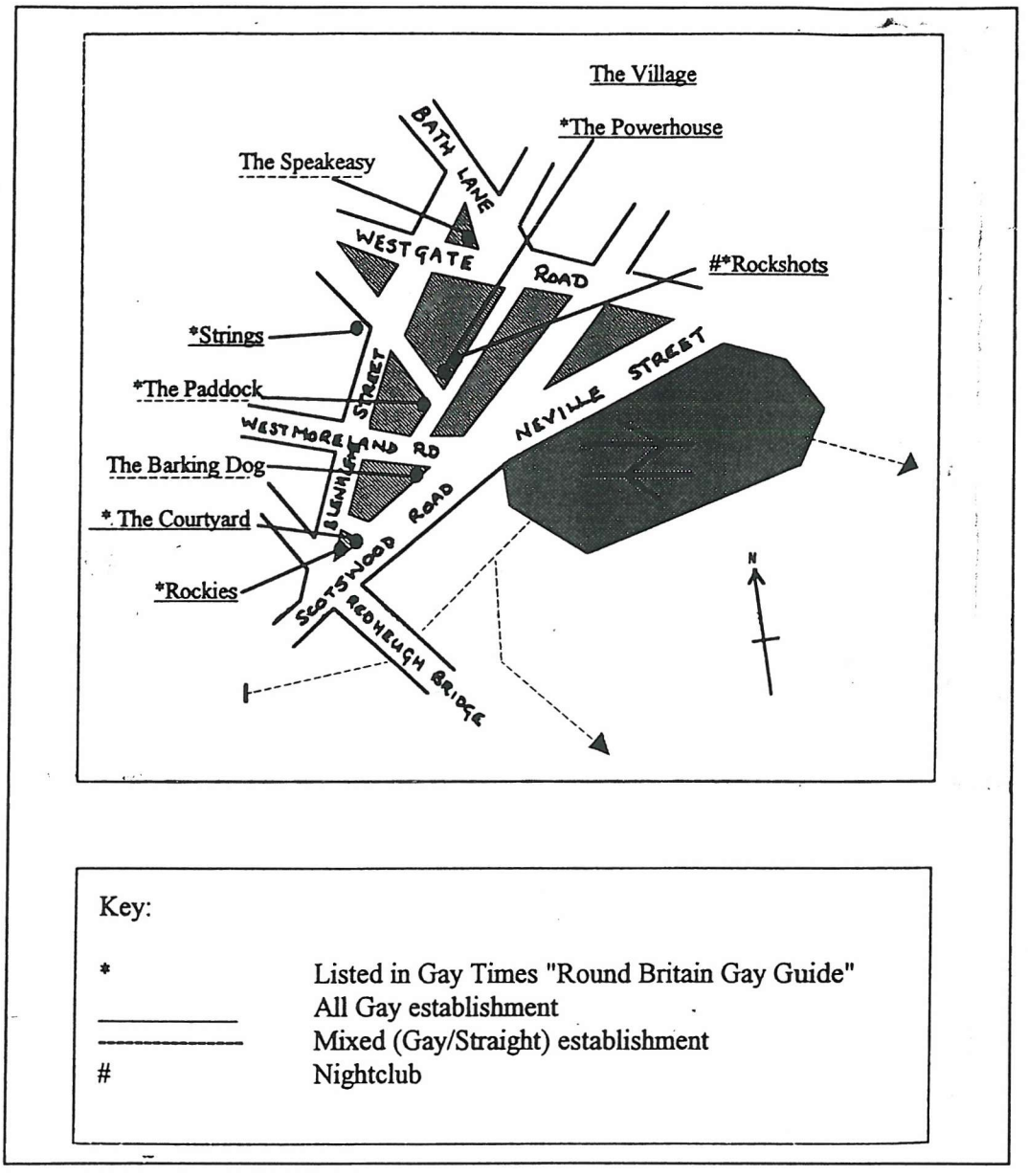


Figure 2.4: The commercial gay scene in Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1993 (Lewis, 1994: 86) (Reprinted with kind permission of Arena Press, Aldershot)

Thus, as certain researchers have suggested, historical constructions of non-urban, non-Anglo-American sexualities need to be constructed in order to permit understandings of divergent expressions of sexuality (Davis and Kennedy, 1986; Kennedy and Davis, 1997; Bonfitto, 1997; Grube, 1997). In short, sexual spaces are perceived to exist in a far more negotiated and contingent fashion, rather than as some totalised, fixed and fixing entity.

Race, class, HIV and sexuality

In addition to concerns of gender and sexuality, other issues such as race, class and HIV status became increasingly studied throughout the 1990s. Drexel (1997), for example, attempted to reclaim black gay histories and spaces that were frequently excluded from 'traditional' accounts of gay histories. Furthermore, Drexel also considered the extent to which experiences of black gay men in Chicago were complicated by racial factors, commenting that:

> 'for complex reasons related to the poverty and racism impacting upon these communities, they were often able to create niches for themselves within individual families and even in the public life of black communities. The contradictory treatment [of gay men by relatives and residents of the local black community] illustrates the ambivalent status of gay men in black working-class communities during this period' (Drexel, 1997: 128)[12].

Alternatively, black gay men and lesbians have often experienced racial discrimination within gay communities and gay politics, either excluding blacks on the basis that 'being gay was being white', or racially objectifying them as an eroticised 'other' (Beemyn, 1997b: 201). Elder (1995) illustrated the complex interrelationships between race and sexuality even further by suggesting that the social intolerance of male homosexuality in South Africa was profoundly influenced by issues of race. Whilst black homosexuality was permitted by the state in South Africa, sex between white men was outlawed through an amendment to the Immorality Act. Thus,

> 'whereas a history of black male homosexuality was openly acknowledged in compounds and elsewhere, it was white middle- and

[12] Refer also to the work of Skelton (1995) and Bhugra (1997) in the consideration of the complex interrelationships between sexuality, race, and space.

> upper-class homosexual encounters that came under extreme scrutiny by the state ...The reasons for the clear bias that informed much of the debate and legal precedent around male homosexuality lay in an attempt by the state to contain a perceived threat. Unlike the spatially-containable threat of black masculinity in the mines, white male homosexuality threatened the very existence of a patriarchal apartheid system' (Elder, 1995: 62).

In addition to issues of race, other differences have been considered to illustrate differing contexts of sexual expression in space. Differences on the basis of disability (Peake, 1993), age (Grube, 1991), class (Weston and Rofel, 1997; Chapple *et al.*, 1998), as well as sado-masocistic sex (SM) (Califia, 1997; Bell, 1995a; Geurtsen, 1994) and prostitution (Jackson, 1989; Larsen, 1992; Murray, 1995; Hart, 1995; Hubbard, 1997; 1998) have undermined simplistic accounts of unitary sexual spaces. Through these diverse experiences, gay men and lesbians are shown not to belong to an undifferentiated, singular community or space, but instead express their sexualities in different spatial and temporal contexts[13].

Thus, as Beemyn (1997b) and Drexter (1997) have discussed, the acceptance of homosexuality within black communities increased during periods where racist violence stimulated a greater need for supporting racial solidarities rather than sexuality. Similarly, in studying the politics of the workplace in a lesbian car workshop, Weston and Rofel (1997) found that class divisions occasionally transcended senses of sexual solidarity. Research on prostitution has also illustrated that prostitutes construct their own particular spaces in relation to wider forces of control within society (Bell, 1995b; Jackson, 1989). For example, 'Red Light' districts were shown to change over time in relation to legislative policy and levels of physical violence (Hart, 1995; Larsen, 1992).

Finally, HIV and AIDS has also influenced the way researchers have considered sexual communities and spaces. Adelman and Frey (1992), for example, have illustrated how senses of community are asserted strategically amongst personal differences in an attempt to generate necessary support for those in the terminal stages of AIDS[14].

---

[13] In this regard, it is interesting to consider the work of Rothenburg (1995) who described multiple senses of lesbian communities occurring at a variety of spatial and temporal contexts.

[14] Refer to the work of Kippax *et al.* (1997) and Morris *et al.* (1995) for further discussions on constructions of social networks among gay men at the time of AIDS.

Similarly, Odets (1994) has reviewed the impact of HIV and AIDS on senses of gay community, suggesting that a new bounded sense of community has been constructed on the basis of HIV+ and HIV- serostatuses in San Francisco. Other researchers have also considered the impact of HIV and AIDS on gay politics, generating a necessary sense of togetherness amidst personal difference (Geltmaker, 1992; 1997; Brown, 1995b; Sommella, 1997).

Brown (1995a), Murray (1995) and Murray and Robinson (1996) have illustrated the various spatialities of HIV and AIDS support networks from World AIDS Day to local, spatially contextual education programmes. For example, questioning the spatially bounded strategies for HIV prevention, Murray and Robinson (1996) have condemned the uncritical application of HIV education and prevention schemes from one area to other spatial contexts. Brown (1995c; 1997) has also condemned the mapping techniques of geographers in evaluating trends within HIV infection for denying understandings of the process of the virus and the life-experiences of those living with AIDS. He goes on to state,

> 'Although gay spaces are not completely ignored by the geographies of AIDS, they are heavily coded in scientific metaphors that deny their social geography. This mode of representation further distances gay space from geographers... The invasion or [sic] ground-zero metaphors surely contribute to the us - them distancing as they decontextualize what are often gay neighbourhoods or districts. As incubators on a metropolitan scale, gay men's bodies and spaces become distances, serving as biological hosts to the natal virus' (Brown, 1995c: 168).

Summary: Critiquing Dynamic Conceptions of Sexuality and Space

This section has attempted to illustrate that at a time when gay politics altered its political agenda to disrupt asserted 'norms' of socio-sexual behaviour, geographers have similarly attempted to explore the constructed aspects of gay male and lesbian lives (Valentine, 1995). Consequently, rather than being concerned with bounded, static conceptions of gay urban ghettos, researchers increasingly explored more dynamic, fluid and contextual understandings of sexuality and space.

Differences expressed on the basis of gender (Adler and Brenner, 1992; Valentine, 1993c; 1996), race (Drexel, 1997), disability (Peake, 1991), class (Weston and Robinson, 1997) and HIV serostatus (Brown, 1995a) illustrate the extent to which a unitary perception of sexuality and space should be rejected. Similarly, non-urban-based studies of sexuality reveal the limitations of confining understandings of sexuality within a bounded territorial unit (Bell and Valentine, 1994; Ormrod and Cole, 1996). Instead of propounding a limiting biological understanding of sexual location, this research revealed the dynamic, processual and fluid negotiation of sexual identities within and across space.

However, whilst this research proffered invaluable insights into the everyday life experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals, it often remained descriptive and thus failed to relate the fluid negotiation of sexual identities and lifestyles to broader forces of social regulation and control. The previous section suggested that, whilst bounded constructions of gay communities and spaces were able to reflect the importance of solidarity at times of homophobia and heterosexism, they failed to consider issues of process, context and exclusion. Conversely, whilst fluid and contingent constructions of sexual spaces and communities were able to explore the negotiation, difference and dynamism of gay male and lesbian lifestyles, they failed to provide coherent understandings of forces of regulation and resistance operating with individual sexual lives.

This difficulty is evident in Bell *et al.*'s recent article, 'All Hyped Up And No Place To Go' (1994), in which the authors considered the limits and potential of 'gender play' and identity performance in transgressing and exposing the social constructedness of sexual and gendered identities. Whilst the authors felt that the 'hypermasculinity' in gay skin-heads had a subversive potential[15], 'hyperfemininity' did not share this same quality[16] (refer to Kirby [1995] on this point). Given the differences and conflicts over

[15] For example, they suggest that the presence of gay male skin-heads 'transgresses heterosexual preconceptions of gay and straight identities, which disrupts straight space and creates queer space. If you accept this can you ever be sure again of what you see and what you think you know about gender identities and spatial identities?' (Bell *et al.*, 1994: 38).

[16] Thus, they comment that, 'Whilst to those in the know, butch-femme style may have parodied masculinity and femininity, because heterosexuals were not aware of the complex meanings of these

the issues of sexuality and gender, the researchers were unable to assert a unified account of the performance of identities and spaces, adopting an 'I/I/I/I' style of narration, as opposed to a common, coherent understanding. Thus, they concluded by asserting that, 'our viewpoints, like our identities, are constantly in a state of flux!' (Bell *et al.* 1994: 45).

The lack of direction in this article provoked Knopp (1995b) to comment that, 'If You're Going To Get All Hyped Up You'd Better Go *Somewhere!*', illustrating his sense of frustration with the denial of a common theoretical framework. 'Better, in my view', he continues, 'to seek common ground in the midst of difference, and endure criticisms of exclusivity and essentialism, than to offer no answers at all.' (Knopp, 1995: 88). Similarly, Probyn stated that, 'this particular article tends to be a bit like a wireless; it picks up on several tendencies in cultural theory and at times it is hard to follow, not quite in tune. While I want to emphasise the importance of such work, the argument here seems to be structured around a missing or unclear connection that I fear may derail a crucial project' (Probyn, 1995: 78). In addition, Lisa Walker (1995) corrects Bell *et al.*'s reading of Judith Butler[17], commenting that,

> 'The problem with the rhetoric of intentionality that creeps into Bell et al.'s discussion of how we can self-consciously perform genders in subversive ways is not that it falls back on philosophical essentialisms about subjectivity. The problem is also that, as Butler argues, an account of subjectivity that relies too much on intentionality does not take into account how people are compelled and constrained by the very regulatory norms of gender identity that are the condition of our resistance. This means that many of us do not experience our genders as being very fluid or available to choice' (Walker, 1995: 72).

Therefore, whilst there is a need to embrace diversity, fluidity and negotiativity within sexuality and space, it is nevertheless necessary to acknowledge the importance of constructing senses of solidarity and commonality amongst gay men and lesbians. This point was addressed by Brown (1995c) who suggested that whilst a singular

---

apparently heterosexual identities, butch-femme did not transgress the heterosexual norm nor disrupt heterosexual space.' (Bell, *et al.*, 1994: 40).

[17] The work of Judith Butler (1990, 1993a) as well as other identity theorists (Probyn, 1992; 1996; Segwick, 1991; 1994; Fuss, 1991) will be considered in more depth in Chapter three.

'geography of HIV and AIDS' should be critiqued, the strategic importance of place and space should nevertheless not be forgotten. It is this aim of relating difference and fluidity to permanence and solidarity which will be considered in the final section of this chapter.

V: Blurring the Boundary - Negotiated senses of Sexuality and Space

Finding the Frequency: Tuning in to Sexuality and Space

More recently, researchers have attempted to extend understandings of the contextuality of gay male and lesbian lifestyles, 'tuning in the wireless' of social research, and relating individual lifestyles to wider forces of socio-sexual regulation. This section will evaluate such research, exploring the inter-relationships between sexuality and capitalism, dialectics and queer politics. These research aims have reflected recent changes within gay politics where rising queer commercialism, continuing right-wing homophobia and the HIV crisis have created further commitment to gay politics.

It was felt by several academics that purely transgressive political activities, such as mock-weddings and queer shopping expeditions, were limited only to their immediate shock value (Sontag, 1989; Binnie, 1994). Thus a new style of politics was suggested which attempted to challenge regulatory forces of repression by combining a politics of identity with a politics of space, relating individual differences and diversity to issues of committed and coherent sense of solidarity (Davis, 1995).

Homosexuality and Capitalism

In an article entitled '*Capitalism and Gay Identity*' D'Emilio (1993) argued that gay identities were created in relation to forces of capitalist production. D'Emilio suggested that despite the restrictive emphasis on biological reproduction, the sexual division of the workplace under capitalism inadvertently promoted homosocial spaces and a greater potential for expressing homosexual lifestyles through increased income and greater independence from marital bonds. Whilst this view has come under considerable criticism, his article was nevertheless influential in demonstrating how gay

identities occupied a contradictory situation which was both supported and undermined by forces of economic control.

Other researchers have also illustrated how capitalism has unintentionally promoted the formation of gay urban spaces whilst privileging nuclear family 'norms'. Knopp, for example, continuing Castells' (1983) study, draws upon research undertaken in the Marigny District of New Orleans (Figure 2.5) to evaluate the ambiguous ways gay territories are created within the process of urban capitalism (Knopp, 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1997a). Knopp suggested that gay entrepreneurial interests were of central importance in the development of gay spaces in regions located away from highly conservative, family oriented districts. As gay men moved into the Marigny district, they gentrified the houses in which they lived, resulting in profiteering by land speculators and developers with the rise of house prices (Knopp, 1996). Property developers soon developed a housing market for the gay community, and thus, whilst supporting their commercial interests, they also strengthened local senses of community (Knopp, 1990b; 1997):

> 'The schemes had an unusual benefit in that they facilitated the social and political development of New Orleans's gay community, albeit in the context of developing a market for housing. In the neighbourhood that developed the strongest gay identity, the Hudson firm, with its connections in the gay community, probably brought hundreds of gays into the market, many of whom would not otherwise have been able or inclined to enter it at that time...This had a strong positive impact on the cultural life of the gay community, and on the way in which it was perceived by outsiders' (Knopp, 1990a: 58).

Conversely, Knopp also perceives forces of capitalism to outlaw and repress homosexual desire due to the need for social reproduction from nuclear family units, naturalising heterosexuality as the social 'norm' whilst stigmatising homosexuality as a sinful and diseased 'other' (Knopp, 1987; 1992; 1994). One of the fundamental contradictions within capitalism, Harvey (1982) suggests, occurs with its dependence on the domestic realm as a site of consumption and work-force reproduction. The (limited) power resident within the domestic private realm thus necessitates the

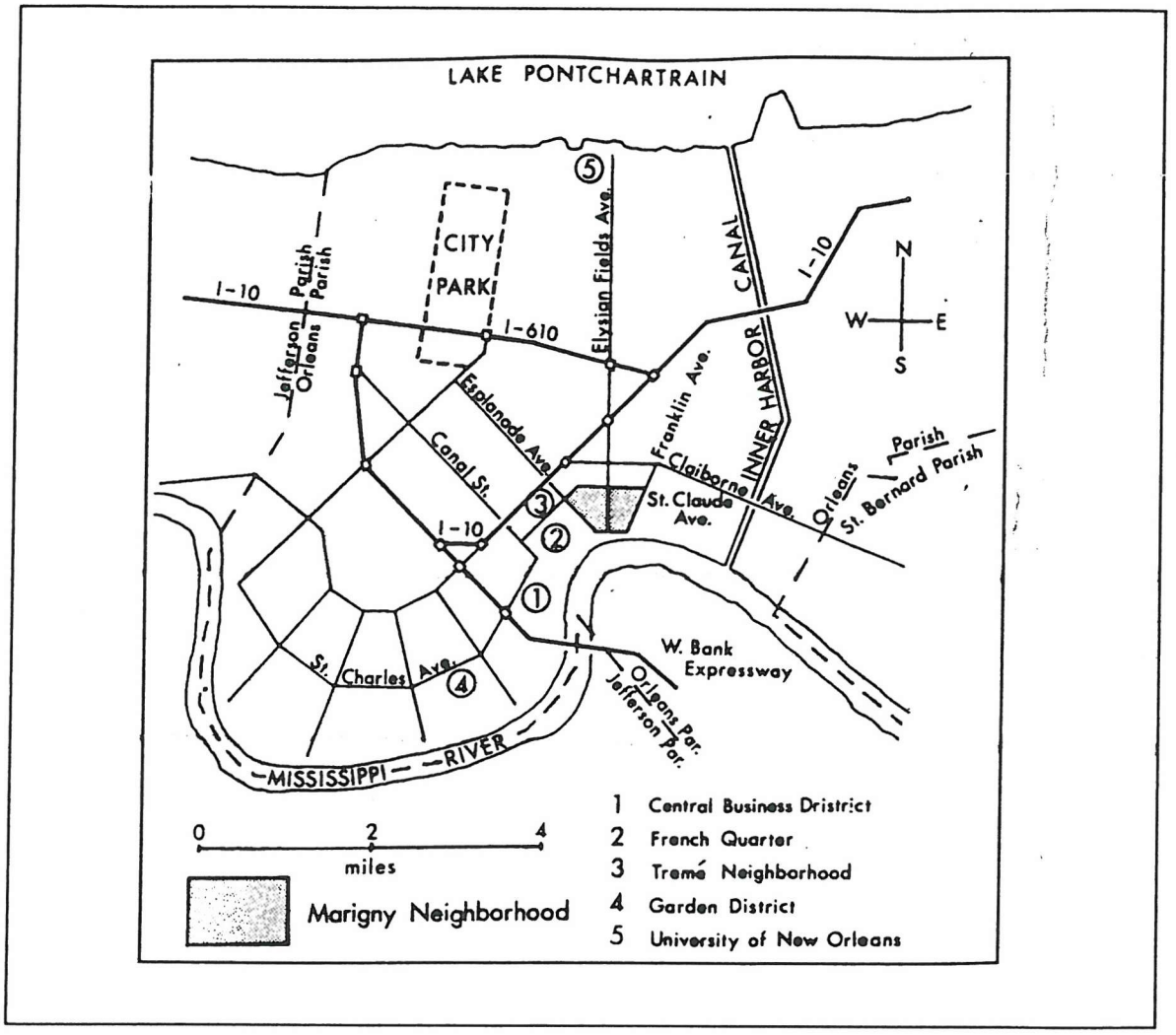


Figure 2.5: The location of the Marigny neighbourhood in New Orleans (Knopp, 1997a: 48) (Reprinted with kind permission from Routledge, New York)

assertion of 'compulsory heterosexuality' through the ordering of the private 'female' realm as the place of nurturance and propagation (Rich, 1993).

In this regard, it is worth recalling Lefebvre's writings on sexuality in *The Production of Space* (1991a). For Lefebvre, capitalism attempts to control the spontaneous sexual attraction between two individuals by reducing the lived experience of 'love' to its abstract representation. Thus, sexual subjects must be constrained by the symbolic conceptions of 'husband' and 'wife' through the ceremony of marriage. The gender of the couple becomes important for the first time as they strive to attain the symbolic and ideological constructions of 'man' and 'wife'. Displays of sex and sexuality therefore had to be excluded from the rational and dispassionate public realm, becoming a nocturnal activity; sexuality only became acceptable on the basis of its exchange value (Lefebvre, 1991). Those who engaged in non-reproductive sex (sodomy) were made to feel spiritually damned, socially corrupt, anti-social and selfish given that they were not 'contributing' to the welfare of the state (Weeks, 1977; Matthaei, 1997).

Due to these repressive impacts of capitalism on sexuality, those gay communities and spaces founded on commercial forces were imbued with elements of control and exclusion. In this regard, as Knopp commented:

> 'The density and cultural complexity of cities...has led to frequent portrayals of sexual diversity and freedom as a peculiarly urban phenomenon. As a result, minority sexual subcultures, and the community and social movements sometimes associated with these, have tended to be more institutionally developed in cities than elsewhere. On the other hand, the concentration of these movements and subcultures in urban space has made it easier to both demonise and control them (and to sanctify majority cultures and spaces)' (Knopp, 1995a: 149).

Similarly, Quilley (1995; 1997) and Hindle (1994) have explored the paradoxical economic context of Manchester's 'Gay Village'. Quilley in particular related the formation of Manchester's 'Village' to the attempts by entrepreneurs to stimulate and

secure market profitability at times of economic recession[18]. Consequently, whilst commercial interests did promote the development of an overt gay scene, it was argued that the liberatory potential of such spaces ironically excluded those who could not afford to take part in the scene (Quilley, 1997). Like Whittle (1994) and Binnie (1995a), Quilley suggests that senses of gay community solidarity are undermined by class differences due to the subsumption of gay interests by a capitalist 'entrepreneurial' logic:

> 'In so far as the Village has been incorporated into this economic project, marginal sexualities have become involved in a "sexual accumulation project"...But commercialisation has brought its own tensions. Sexual transgression has been recuperated, but not on its own terms...The Village has institutionalised a visible gay presence in the city. But involvement in the wider cultural economy has meant that, to an extent, gay sexuality is being exploited as an urban 'spectacle'. ... But at the same time one cannot ignore the undeniable problems that this mode of legitimation entails' (Quilley, 1995: 48).

Consequently, although commerce has brought with it an unprecedented degree of gay visibility (Edge, 1996a, 1996b), it has at the same time excluded those who are not considered 'economically viable' (Warner, 1986; Simpson, 1997). Even the assertion that gay men and lesbians are financially 'better off' than their straight counterparts on account of their assumed DINK (Dual Income No Kids) status has been contested in recent research which suggests that gay men and lesbians have on average lower incomes than their heterosexual counterparts. This is partly understood to be the result of workplace discrimination, whereby many gay men and lesbians are forced to take a drop in income rather than work in a more unfriendly environment (Bagdett, 1995; 1997; Bagdett and King, 1997; Bagdett and Hyman, 1998).

Thus, it is evident that capitalist forces, whether through land markets (Knopp, 1990), advertising (Mort, 1996) or gay commercialism (Edge, 1997a) both support and

---

[18] The support of gay clientele during times of economic difficulties was also noted by Chauncey (1994). Chauncey noted that during the prohibition period of America, many venues attracted gay customers because it was felt that supporting marginalised sections of society would maintain their clientele levels. However, once the prohibition regulations were lifted, many venues returned to barring their gay customers.

undermine gay male and lesbian lifestyles (Escoffier (1995, 1997). Furthermore, given that gay commerce cannot be removed from the contradictions of capitalist accumulation, the creation of gay spaces cannot be awarded any sense of permanent value (Binnie, 1995a). Rothenberg (1995), for example, in her study of Park Slope, New York, demonstrated that gay men and lesbians remained 'undesirable' tenants of rented property, and thus landlords 'moved them on' as house prices increased.

Consequently, the reaction towards homosexuality (whether supportive or intolerant) can be seen to be closely implicated within capitalist processes (Gluckman and Reed, 1997; Peake, 1991; Cornwall, 1997). Escoffier (1997) has suggested that this relationship has changed over time as capitalist forces have evolved, whether through the exclusion of homosexuality from the public realm[19], the establishment of a more overt ghettoed bar culture, the 'hyper-consumerism' of the 1990s, or with the recent alleged profiteering surrounding HIV/AIDS.

The consequence of associating the construction of sexualities to forces of capitalism has been a critique of earlier divisions between static and fluid senses of sexuality and space. Fixed gay 'ghettos' are critiqued for denying the very capitalist processes inherent in their production and their associated exclusions (Binnie, 1995; Quilley, 1997). Conversely, fluid and transgressive expressions of sexuality are criticised for failing to contend with the regulatory systems operating on such 'identity play' (Walker, 1995). As a result of these difficulties, it has been suggested that a more dialectical, relational and strategic view of space would reconcile the contradictions and complexities inherent within constructions of gay spaces (Gluckman and Reed, 1997; Cornwall, 1997).

Dialectics and the Politics of Being Queer

'At the 1992 gay pride parade in New York City', Sedgwick (1994: xi) recalls, 'there was a handsome, intensely muscular man in full leather regalia, sporting on his distended chest a T-shirt that read, KEEP YOUR LAWS OFF MY UTERUS.' Like

[19] Escoffier (1997) referred to this as the 'blackmail capital' of the pre-1970s period, where bars catering for gay clientele could only guarantee protection from the police and homophobic social institutions through donating large sums of money to those groups (as described in Duberman, 1995).

Désert (1997) and Betsky (1997), Sedgwick suggests that such a politics of subversion, transgression and dislocation epitomises the tenets of queer theories. However, whilst concerns of 'polymorphous sexual identities' are important in thinking about sexuality and space, it is nevertheless necessary to accept that society, with its sexual mores, is very much structured and shaped by systems of regulatory control (Walker, 1995). Thus, transgressive forms of queer politics, like those fluid constructions of sexual identities discussed previously, have been the subject of much recent critique. Geltmaker (1997), for example, condemned the fact that:

> 'Some Queer Nationals[20] even went so far as to argue that the truly subversive act was sex between gay men and lesbians. Others rejected such prescriptions as "pseudo-feminist neo-heterosexuality"' (Geltmaker, 1997: 240-241).

Geltmaker therefore suggested that a truly radical understanding of queer politics derived from the blurring of sameness and difference, separatism and assimilationism, stressing the importance of negotiating a sense of togetherness whilst recognising differences among individuals[21]. These needs reflect Young's arguments in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990) where concepts of bounded communities and universal senses of justice are critiqued for being totalising, exclusionary and repressive. Young cites the city as the ideal location for the more liberative sense of anonymity and variety, where lifestyles can engage with difference and diversity (Young, 1990, 1992). However, as Wilson (1991) suggests, the potential for individuals to enter this anonymous, *flâneuristic* lifestyle is often limited to male inhabitants of the city. Similarly, Berman's (1981) critique of Jacobs' *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1967) suggests that the diversity and fragmentation of urban social life celebrated in that work is restricted by structures of race, gender, sexuality and class discrimination. These concerns illustrate that the political and social ideals of diversity and difference must engage with forces of control and regulation if their liberative potential is to be retained.

---

[20] Queer Nation was a radical gay political organisation which began in America in 1989 when it separated from ACT UP on the basis that ACT UP was an AIDS oriented organisation and not a specifically gay one (Geltmaker, 1992; Sommella, 1997). Queer Nation has been incorporated into UK gay politics where it is known as 'OutRage!'.

[21] Refer to Sommella's interview with Maxine Wolfe of the Lesbian Avengers for a further understanding of this issue (Sommella, 1997).

Any engagement with queer theory must therefore go further than merely reducing experiences and expressions of sexuality to individual differences and fluidities, and engage with wider structural processes. As Betsky comments in *Queer Space*, queerness can no longer resort to imposing diversity and fluidity on social processes, but must succeed to queer diversity, to queer queerness in an effort to relate polymorphous sexualities dialectically to systems of control (Betsky, 1997). These aims support arguments put forward by Tatchell (1991) and Weeks (1985) in relation to gay politics, both of whom suggest that a political agenda can no longer support a purely exclusionary separatist basis, but must negotiate with other oppressed minorities. This view contrasts significantly with Sullivan's (1995) controversial ideas, which condemn any form of gay politics that does not remain exclusively focused on the interests of gay people.

The blurring of the division between singular, unitary gay spaces and broader, more diverse concerns has a particularly significant spatial dynamic. For example, political organisations such as New York's REPOhistory project have attempted to illustrate how strategic and defined sexual spaces and histories operate outside 'gay ghettos' (Hertz, *et al.*, 1997). REPOhistory attempted to 'repossess history' by erecting signs throughout New York, thus 'claiming public space as contested territory for the construction of history and the meaning of space and site' (Hertz, *et al.*, 1997: 368). Their campaign was based on five aims: first, to contest dominantly asserted histories and territories within urban space; second, to confuse separatist and assimilationist agendas by appropriating municipal signage strategies for their own radical and destabilising objectives; third, to blur the boundaries between public and private space by inscribing previously hidden histories and spaces within the public domain; fourth, to illustrate that sites of struggle and repression were related to sites of strength and resistance in the histories of gay men and lesbians in New York (The Stonewall riots being a very good case in point); and fifth, to place signs at strategic sites beyond the ghettoised areas of Christopher Street and Park Slope to illustrate that gay histories and spaces existed beyond bounded territories[22].

The Dyke Action Machine! (DAM!) adopted a political agenda that had similarly spatial goals. DAM! was a specifically lesbian venture that involved the placing of posters in prominent positions throughout New York, thus challenging dominant heterosexist constructions of identity within that space. This was achieved through parodying straight images found on mainstream poster advertising, printing texts such as 'Dykes were family by golly, before families became trendy' and 'Gee whiz tradition has been showing up in the most lesbian places' (Moyer, 1997). Such a campaign provided necessary moments of strength for lesbians in predominantly hostile environments.

In sum, recent political activities have indicated the strategic importance of upholding both a fixed, bounded spatial agenda and a fluid, dynamic of sexuality and space. As Tim Davis describes in his account of the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organisation's involvement with the Boston St. Patrick Day Parade, strategically combining a politics of space with a politics of identity forms a considerable agenda which seeks to influence 'wider' society whilst retaining a coherent sense of self-identity (Davis, 1995). These political and conceptual agendas illustrate the liberative potential of adopting dialectical techniques in challenging the oppositions of self / other, inside / outside, public / private, fixed / fluid and repression / resistance, indicating the need to negotiate between both stable and fluid perceptions of sexual communities and spaces.

Queer and Queering Bodies

In addition to theoretical and political concerns of queer and queering space, recent post-structuralist concerns have illustrated a similar resistive potential in queer constructions of sexuality identities. Wittig (1992) in particular has drawn upon the power of sexuality to subvert the binarisms of gender difference. These differences, as

Wittig argues, are repressively defined:

[22] Refer to Chauncey (1994) and Grube (1997) who demythologise the significance of Stonewall and re-evaluate other gay histories and spaces (Grube, 1997).

> 'The concept of difference has nothing ontological about it. It is only the way that the masters interpret a historical situation of domination. The function of difference is to mask at every level the conflicts of interest, including ideological ones.' (Wittig, 1992: 29)[23].

The compulsory heterosexuality that Rich (1980) suggests exists within Western culture is thus predicated upon repressively defined differences between men and women. Wittig deconstructs differences between homosexuality and heterosexuality, perceiving them to be determined by gender distinctions rather than sexual orientation. The freedom of self-expression from such constrictive systems therefore lies within lesbianism, a sexual expression that exists beyond such classificatory roles. For this liberative quality of lesbianism to be realised, however, Wittig asserts that:

> 'it would be incorrect to say that lesbians associate, make love, live with women, for "woman" has meaning only in heterosexual systems of thought and heterosexual economic systems. Lesbians are not women.' (Wittig, 1992: 32).

This is an extremely utopian argument, a point highlighted by Butler in her critique of Wittig's work:

> 'In a self-consciously defiant imperialist strategy, Wittig argues that only by taking up the universal and absolute point of view, effectively lesbianizing the entire world, can the compulsory order of heterosexuality be destroyed.' (Butler, 1990: 120).

Given the exceptionally utopian quality of the 'lesbian world', Butler contests Wittig's separation of lesbianism from repressive definitions of sexuality, and thus locates homosexuality within the field of cultural politics. In contrast to Wittig, Butler argues that

> 'power can be neither withdrawn nor refused, but only redeployed... the normative focus for gay and lesbian practice ought to be on the subversive and paradoxic redeployment of power rather than on the impossible fantasy of its full-scale transcendence.' (Butler, 1990: 124).

[23] It is interesting to relate Wittig's arguments to those of Young, who argues (equally paradoxically) for a politics entirely predicated on difference: through upholding difference, Young sees society rejecting the repressive sameness associated with formations of bounded communities (Young, 1991).

However, in rethinking Wittig's detached and idealistic view of lesbianism, Butler ironically becomes fixed within an equally utopian obsession with transgression. This results in similarly extreme lines of argument:

> 'When the neighborhood gay restaurant closes for vacation, the owners put out a sign, explaining that "she's overworked and needs a rest." This very gay appropriation of the feminine works to multiply possible sites of application of the term, to reveal the arbitrary relation between the signifier and the signified, and to destabilize and mobilize the sign.' (Butler, 1990: 122).

Which is to argue, contra-Wittig, that the political possibilities of femininity are not the sole prerogative of women alone, but can be used more widely to subvert heteropatriarchal systems. This, however, as Bersani comments, is 'Heavy stuff for some silly and familiar campiness' (1995: 48). The difficulty here is that it appears that Butler focuses on the transgressive potential of gender play to such an extent that she fails to consider the regulatory systems that operate upon them: all acts of campness thus become transgressive when the weight of sexual control is sidelined.

In this regard, the concept of 'transgression' is politically naïve in that it either neglects systems of regulatory constraint, or fails to consider that such concepts of transgression are prone to recuperation (Quilley, 1997; Bersani, 1995)[24]. In her later work, Butler thus rearticulates her argument of identity-politics, noting the limits of fluid notions of identity:

> 'efforts to underscore the fixed and constrained character of sexuality...need to be read carefully, especially by those who have insisted on the constructed status of sexuality. For sexuality cannot be summarily made or unmade' (Butler, 1993a: 94).

Consequently, she stresses that:

> 'Although many readers understood *Gender Trouble* to be arguing for the proliferation of drag performances as a way of subverting dominant gender norms, I want to underscore that there is no necessary relation between drag and subversion, and that drag may well be used in the service of both the denaturalization and

[24] Refer here to the work of Sontag (1979) who critiques notions of transgression and subversion.

> reidealization of hyperbolic heterosexual gender norms. At best, drag is a site of a certain ambivalence.' (Butler, 1993a: 124)

Butler argues for an understanding of sexual politics which relates the fixed orders operating on the body to the 'psychic-excess' of the subject (Butler, 1993b); a process of replaying, mimicking and transgressing strict codes of identity construction. This process is never completed for, 'If there is, as it were, always a compulsion to repeat, repetition never fully accomplishes identity.' (Butler, 1993b: 315). Thus, in thinking through the complexities of identity construction, a negotiative understanding between fixed and fluid identities is asserted in the reconciliation between biological essentialism and social constructivism.

In this light, sexual identities have not only been shown to be limited by legislation, but are also implicated in much of recent Western legislation (Weeks, 1977; 1989; Spencer, 1995; Jeffery-Poulter, 1992; Moran, 1989; 1997; Wintemuth, 1997). Such legal restrictions (and proscriptions) of sexuality have always appealed to an embodied spatial dynamic. For example, a consideration of laws pertaining to sodomitical acts reveals constraints placed upon corporeal subjectivities, senses of ownership to personal (i.e. body) space, and an assertion of a common civilised good within society (Moran, 1989). This constraint of sexual subjectivities continued with a shift from religious-spiritual to medical-physical condemnations of same-sex sexual practice at the turn of the twentieth century (Foucault, 1990; Weeks, 1977). Moving from conceptions of sinful to criminal sex, sexuality was still constrained by a division between the care of the self and the good of the society. Across these divides, non-conformist sexualities, as we have seen earlier, were forced to express themselves in covert and strategic ways. Humphreys (1970), for example, noted that the use of 'private sex in public places' was disproportionately oriented towards married, Catholic men who, due to their religious convictions and social pressures, 'resorted' to this form of anonymous sex.

However, within this public/private spatialisation, contradictions occur which disrupt these simplistic and controlling distinctions. Bell, in his consideration of the

'psychogeography of perverse possibilities' draws upon the destabilising influence of queer bodies (Bell, 1997a: 81), where he comments,

> 'Within the portfolio of queer performativity, transgressing public heteronormativity remains one of the most forceful and challenging tactics. Queer nights out to straight nightspots, kiss-ins in shopping malls, safer sex workshops, and forms of public sex all perform a resonantly troubling political pleasure-praxis, which might articulate the disruptive potential which queer is said to embody' (Bell, 1997: 83-84).

However, Bell also recognises that 'the need for privacy remains a fundamental requirement for those whose erotic configurations and tastes pass into forbidden zones. There must be a private realm into which the state and law cannot pry' (Bell, 1997: 84). Within this context, Bell elsewhere considers the spatial contradictions inherent in the appeal to 'crimes against the common good' used in the trial and imprisonment of 16 men engaged in consensual acts of SM in UK in 1990[25]. The terms of public citizenship used during this trial provoked Bell to state:

> 'The notion of the public resonates throughout citizenship discourse, and is often deployed in these terms; something is either for or against the common good. If something is against the common good, albeit in a highly abstract way..., then the public is victimized, and the perpetrators excluded from the public. This is of course a highly contradictory series of moves: the public must be aware of something hitherto private, sin then becomes a crime, and the activity brought into the public ends up projected back into a reduced private' (Bell, 1995b: 146).

Similarly, Woodhead, in considering HIV/AIDS education programs aimed at cottaging also drew upon the public/private disruptions of 'leaky' male cottaging spaces. Woodhead suggested that,

> 'The public toilet is literally a constructed space. However, its function could be read as being discursively confused. The public toilet is a device to protect men from public embarrassment (read: female gaze), yet it retains a decidedly public feel... It seems to blur the point of definition at which the public becomes the private and vice versa....The toilet becomes a public *and* a private space' (Woodhead, 1995: 238).

[25] The trial also demonstrated the extent to which the law governed the control of personal bodies. One reasoning behind the convictions of the 16 men in question, who had engaged in consensual acts of SM in private and who were over the age of 21, were that they were 'conspiring against themselves' in allowing such behaviour to be enacted with them (Bell, 1995c).

Given the complexities surrounding the spatialities of non-conformist sexualities, the divisions between public and private must be challenged and exposed for their constructedness. However, at the same time, they cannot be dismissed out-of-hand, given their use as a site of private protection and public display (Duncan, 1996b). Similarly, the aims of queer politics and the constructions of queer lifestyles cannot be removed from the dominant socio-political structures, just as they cannot be subsumed within the wider regulatory logic.

Researchers addressing issues of 'bodyspace' have recently explored how such corporealities are situated within a broader context of social control and interaction (Duncan, 1996a). As a spatial site with its own situation and history, the body has been shown to be a site of challenge and contradiction to widely constructed social 'norms'. For example, Bersani (1995) and Golding (1993a) consider acts of SM to be both inscribed by and resistant to social roles of power and submission. Calling for the appropriation of 'radical pluralism', Golding perceives the negotiation involved in SM role-play enactments to be an act which 'escapes the usual Law of binary divisions', blurring the distinctions between self-determination and social control. Thus,

> 'Indeed, the 'we and the 'them', the 'I' and the 'you', bleed into one another, stain at the centre, flicker in the distance without for a moment missing the beat, without for a moment missing the rhythm or the spaces in between this thing we have so long called the Self' (Golding, 1993a: 25).

As such, there is no essential truth to sex and sexuality. 'For there is no greater depth to a ground [of sexual manners] (itself fractured and multiple): *only the surface*, only the superficial interplay of, in this case, the sexual game; only, that is to say, the play of the game' (Golding, 1993b: 87). It is the surface where sexualities are contingently negotiated; where the dynamic relationship between self and other, gay space and straight space, mutually construct and destruct each other. 'At its most basic understanding, otherness is simply and only a cosmetic wound; a very thin, virtual, and in this sense 'impossible' limit' (Golding, 1997b: xiii). Thus, in conceiving the embodiment of space, it is possible to perceive stable geographies and sexualities as an

impossible limit, reduced to a 'stain', and consequently contingent with other socio-political contexts. This dialogical understanding of sexy bodies[26] and sexy spaces, considers queer spaces to be both present, concrete and real, as well as absent, abstract and unreal (Golding, 1993b).

Bisexual identities, like SM sex, also blur consistently fixed definitions, such as homosexuality and heterosexuality, by existing in a space 'in-between' (Bell, 1994; Hemmings, 1995). As Hemmings suggests,

> 'A contemporary bisexual identity (and in particular a bisexual *feminist* identity) is intricately bound up with theories, practices and politics of difference versus sameness. Discourses of bisexuality come out of the relationship between these conflicting positions. Bisexuality could almost be seen as the embodiment of those tensions' (Hemmings, 1995: 45).

The existence of bisexuality reveals the relation of sexual individuals to fixed constructs of straight or gay identities and spaces. The extent to which bisexuality exists within gay and straight spaces (indicating a degree of double acceptance) is countered by exclusions from both spheres (suggesting a level of double repression). That is to say, bisexuality exposes the fixed binaries of homo/hetero and questions the degree of sameness within such categories by existing in an (impossible) site beyond such typological binaries (Bell, 1994; Hemmings, 1997). Bisexuality thus suggests 'a move towards a politics of location that actually does take into account the relationships *between* individuals' (Hemmings, 1995: 52).

Other expressions of non-conformist and non-conforming bodyspaces have a similarly disruptive influence. Johnston (1996), for example, discusses female body-builders playing with expected codes of gender behaviour and subjectifications. Playing with the boundaries of formed and formless bodies exposes the embodiment of gendered norms, claiming the body beyond the expecting male gaze and making body-space its own (albeit constructed through the negotiation of such a gaze). Similarly, Lewis and Pile (1996) suggest that the presence of female nudity within the Rio Carnival both supports and undermines the objectification of female bodies by blurring the repression

[26] I take this term from Grosz's book *Sexy Bodies* (1991).

of the female body as the recipient of the male gaze with the contradictory assertion of the female presence within the public realm. Finally, Cream (1995) has indicated other 'bodies' which contradict commonly asserted sex/gender binarisms. For Cream, transsexuals, intersex children and XXY women[27] exist outside the limits of clear male/female typologies, and experience conflict over their bodies. Transsexuals are refused legal status, intersex children 'become' a sex through surgical intervention after birth, and XXY women are excluded from athletics on accounts of not being 'pure women'. Thus, as Cream reminds us, 'The body, and especially a woman's, is not...a postmodern playground, but a battleground' (Cream, 1995: 33).

These accounts of the contested constructions of body space illustrate the extent to which somatic geographies resist *and* support the disciplining dichotomies of straight/gay, public/private spaces and identities. Indeed, any consideration of the geographies of (homo)sexuality must embrace the ways that gay men and lesbians expose, undermine and support constructions of sexuality.

Summary: Beyond Fixities and Fluidities

Despite the diversity of research on recent experiences of sexual lifestyles within space, several common themes can be extrapolated in an effort to consider the inter-relations between sexuality and space. First, issues of sex and sexuality cannot be restrained to the corporeal level due to economic, social and legislative systems that seek to regulate individual life choices. Second, this said, the body cannot be reduced to a series of structural causalities, but must be related to a contradictory moment of repression and resistance. Finally, within queer politics, there is a need to retain a coherent defence of queer bodies, communities and spaces whilst recognising the complexity and diversity inherent within these processes. Thus, any theory of sexuality and space must incorporate understandings of strategic, coherent and diverse spaces, whilst embracing the negotiative dynamic between individual desires and identities, and wider socio-structural forces.

[27] XXY women are women who are born with an extra Y chromosome, whereas most women have an XX genetic structure (Cream, 1995: 35).

VI: Conclusions: Towards a Negotiated Understanding of Sexuality and Space

This chapter has attempted to explore the changing and varied understandings and representations of (homo)sexuality and its relation to space. Relating this research to gay politics of that time, the diverse nature of queer geographies suggest that they are contingently and negotiatively linked to socio-sexual processes. Given the contextuality of research, it is necessary to refrain from privileging one conceptual framework of queer space above another.

Four representations of queer spaces were suggested in this chapter and are illustrated in Table 2.1. These representations have been defined as *covert-static* (exploiting the social margins of space and culture predominantly at times prior to the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967), *overt-static* (associated with public assertions of homosexuality relating to the creation and defence of gay ghettos at the time of and immediately after the GLF), *fluid-diverse* (reflecting the transgressive and differing expressions of sexualities associated with the OutRage!/Queer Nation political agenda), *contextual-strategic* (an understanding of the strategic conceptualisation of stable as well as diverse sexualities, reflecting recent political events which combine a politics of space with a politics of identity).

Whilst Table 2.1 may provide an effective overview of research frameworks, it still serves as a simplistic generalisation. Table 2.1 aims to illustrate general inter-relationships between sexuality and space within research, not within the lived experiences of those (queer) individuals involved. In reality, although not removed from changing socio-political contexts, formations of sexual identities, communities and spaces cannot be reduced to a simple, singular historical development, but are influenced by other factors such as race, gender, class, HIV serostatus, spatial and temporal context. Thus, the issue is not one of accepting or rejecting concepts of sexuality and space outlined in Table 2.1. Rather, all frameworks are equally valid, depending upon the context in which they are employed.

Spatial Concept	Social Context	Period	Research Examples
covert-static	Post-war family values McCarthyism	(1945-1970)	Humphreys (1970) Hooker (1956) Gagnon and Simon (1967)
overt-static	Post Stonewall GLF	(1970-1985)	Castells (1983) Levine (1979) Weightman (1980)
Fluid-diverse	Onset of AIDS New Right backlash Queer Nation/OutRage!	(1985-1995)	Valentine (1993a) Johnston and Valentine (1995) Hall (1989)
contextual-strategic	Post-Queer Nation Growth in commerce	(1990-)	Knopp (1992) Golding (1992b) Davis (1995)

Table 2.1: Trends within and social context of geographical research into sexuality

For example, covert-static spaces are still expressed today, depending on the degree of social constraint operating upon that space, and the level of eroticism associated with covert sexual behaviour. Bolton, *et al*, (1994), Ricco (1993) and Tattelman (1997), for example, have revisited gay baths to explore their situation both as a site of sexual fantasy and as a negotiated site away from social repression, whilst de Witt *et al.* (1997) has done similar work in gay bars. van Lieshout (1997), Ingram (1997c) and Bell (1997) illustrate how covert 'public' cruising still exists, often as a site of sexual desire. Sanchez-Crispin and Lopez-Lopez (1997), however, illustrate the importance of (overt-static) gay ghettos in Mexico, whilst Rothenberg discusses the importance of maintaining lesbian senses of gay territories in New York (1995). In addition, Forrest (1995) indicates how a defensible sense of place is still very important ideologically for gay men living in West Hollywood. Finally, the publication of, and reaction to, Bell *et al.*'s (1994) article suggests that concepts of fluidity and diversity are still very important in understandings of identity construction.

With such varied research, it is clear that concepts of space are deeply imbued with sexuality, just as sexuality is intimately spatialised (Duncan, 1996b, 1996c; Morris, 1992; Meyorwitz, 1990). It is inaccurate, therefore, to review the conceptual shifts implicated in Table 2.1 as indicative of an abrupt sexualisation of space with the

creation of more overt sexualities after 1967. Space has always been embodied, gendered and sexualised, and constructions of sexualised representations must always be related to a particular sexualised discourse (Kirby, 1996; Nash, 1996). Consequently, the rejection of gay male and lesbian sexualities from public discourse at the turn of the century illustrated a sexualisation of space, just as the defensive construction of gay ghettos did in 1970s America.

The implications of this for conceptualisations of sexuality and space are considerable. Any bounded spatial representation, whether nationalities, cities or public spaces, should be understood for their inherent sexualised nature (Sharp, 1996; McDowell, 1995; 1996; Stein, 1997). Post-structuralism and queer theory have been particularly potent forces in addressing the inter-dynamics of sexuality, identity and place, exploring their inherent complexities and confusions (Myslik, 1996; Ingram, 1997b, Désert, 1997; Betsky, 1997), and exploring the strategic and negotiations between fixity and fluidity, sameness and difference (Ingram, 1997a; Sparke, 1996).

As yet, this negotiative framework has been limited in a discipline that prioritises artificial constructions of mind/body dualisms within geographical methodologies (Longhurst, 1995). Adopting this negotiative framework permits a self-reflexive agenda which challenges static representations of lived spaces, and acknowledges the importance of different bodies within geographical discourse (Anderson, 1996; Namaste, 1996). Whilst the concept of negotiated and strategic identities, communities and spaces clearly reconciles difficulties experienced with the divisions of stasis/fluidity, inside/out, sameness/difference, bounded/boundless, structure/agency, there is still a need to develop a theoretical framework which can relate these concepts to the expression of sexuality and space. It is such a theoretical enquiry which will be undertaken in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Sexual Histories, Sexual Communities and Sexual Spaces: Constructing a Negotiative Framework

CHAPTER THREE

SEXUAL HISTORIES, SEXUAL COMMUNITIES AND SEXUAL SPACES: CONSTRUCTING A NEGOTIATIVE FRAMEWORK

I: Introduction

One of the central concerns arising from the previous chapter was the need to adopt a negotiative framework in the consideration of the dynamics of sexuality and space. It was argued that this framework would permit both an understanding of the politics of space (associated with 'overt-static' spatial mapping techniques) and the politics of identity (associated with 'fluid-diverse' concerns of transgression and performativity). By situating varying concepts of sexuality and space within the context of changing political events impacting upon Western expressions of sexuality, it was suggested that there was no correct method for researching sexuality and space, but that all techniques had their strengths and weaknesses depending upon the context in which they were deployed.

Therefore, representing a mapped area of a gay scene would be useful in illustrating areas where senses of sexual communality are expressed, but would also neglect the contradictions, exclusions and processes occurring within these sites. Conversely, processual understandings of sexual identities would be useful in looking at dynamic and fluid expressions of sexual identities, but would fail to address necessary sites of commonality and solidarity. In short, what is needed in exploring gay communities and spaces is a framework which effectively reconciles these tensions and complexities of sexuality and space, embracing communal solidarities without excluding difference, and spatial territorialism without excluding processes of spatial negotiation.

The final section of Chapter two suggested that post-structuralism and queer theory provided a useful basis from which to consider these themes. This chapter develops this enquiry further, relating concerns of boundedness, fluidity and negotiativity to

related areas of sexual histories, sociological understandings of community, and work by post-structuralist, queer-theory and literary critical writers. Addressing these concerns will enable a framework to be constructed and applied to explorations of senses of communities and spaces amongst gay men in Brighton.

II: Constructing Histories of Sexuality

It should be evident by now that a singular, diachronous sense of gay community cannot be constructed for gay men in the UK due to the differing articulations of sexual communities and spaces occurring as a result of changing social and political contexts. Even the construction of a teleological history of gay community development has to be rejected on account of the ways that gay men negotiate their lives against changing political and social situations. In this regard, Appendix I summarises events impacting upon gay lives in the UK, outlining their influence on formations of gay communities and spaces.

The concept of sexual histories is crucial in understanding gay communities and spaces given the degree to which they can be used for both supportive and repressive social and political means. Sexual histories can be divided into two broad camps, each with its own political consequences: biological essentialism and social constructivism. Biological essentialists appeal to naturalising concepts of genetically determined sexual orientation. Whilst this conceptual framework legitimises gay sexualities through the assertion of a 'natural' gay genetic marker, biological essentialism paradoxically promotes the homophobic view of 'dysfunctional', 'abnormal' and 'diseased' sexualities requiring medical 'cure' or extermination (Rosario, 1997).

Conversely, social constructivists, such as Weeks (1977) and Foucault (1990), appeal to particular historical events, such as Benkert's 'invention' of 'homosexuality' in 1869, to denaturalise and locate sexuality within its cultural constitution. Again, whilst constructivist accounts of homosexuality expose the cultural construction of all sexualities, they equally lay themselves prone to homophobic concerns of 'indoctrinating' and 'corrupting' individuals into 'deviant' lifestyles. Furthermore, even committed social constructivists, such as Weeks (1977), Padgug (1979) and

Halperin (1990), suggest that some biological sense of identity based on same-sex sexual desire must exist prior to their medical typologisation.

The contradictions and complexities surrounding essentialist and constructivist arguments still dominate research into sexuality, for as Milligan suggests, 'the outstanding problem remains: the impasse between biology and society. The social determination, even the *social construction* of sexuality, still stands balefully opposed to the 'appetites' and 'drives' of our *essential* organic constitution' (Milligan, 1991: 14). Rather than repeat the dizzying toing-and-froing between these extremes, what I wish to explore in this section is the ways in which essentialist and constructivist arguments can be reconciled in a line of enquiry that draws upon the negotiation of gay men with changing social and political contexts. Consequently, this section is divided into two sections: first, an account of significant events impacting on the lives of gay men, their social context, and the spatial considerations associated with them; second, an exploration of how these debates influence theories of sexual histories, drawing particularly on the writings of Foucault. Through this discussion, a clearer understanding of the operation of gay communities and spaces, and their negotiative processes, can be attained.

Gay histories within the UK: Moments of resistance and control

This section will consider three aspects of sexual histories: first, a history of events impacting upon expressions of UK gay male sexualities; second; the spatialities inherent in these constructions of sexuality; and third, the contradictory relationship between forces of control and resistance.

The chronology of events impacting upon gay lives in the UK (illustrated in Appendix I) support Foucault's rejection of the 'repressive hypothesis' in volume one of his *History of Sexuality* (1990). This hypothesis states that discussions of sexuality were silenced in the 19th century as a result of social and legal repression epitomised by common representations of 'Victorian values'. For Foucault, the shift from religious concerns of sexual behaviour to a medical pathologisation, described as the *'scientia sexualis'*, resulted in a 'plurisecular injunction to talk about sex' (Foucault, 1990: 12). This is illustrated in Appendix I where a series of legislations and publications sought

to define and delimit sexual identities within the UK. For example, in 1826 Sir Robert Peel referred to 'homosexuality' as the 'inter Christianos non nominandum' ('the crime not to be named among Christians') (Weeks, 1977), thus illustrating the extent to which homosexuality was outlawed without being defined[1].

The growth in the pathologisation of homosexuality resulted in a shift from classifying individuals on the basis of a sexual *act* to an account of their sexual *identity* (Weeks, 1985). For example, when Henry VIII passed a law in 1533 that made the act of sodomy a capital offence, the law referred to any non-procreative sexual activity regardless of the gender of those involved (Moran, 1989; 1997). Even when the death penalty for sodomy was abolished in 1861, the act of buggery was defined as a form of sexual intercourse *per anum* by a man with a man or a woman, or *per anum* or *per vaginam* by a man or a woman with an animal (Wintemute, 1997). However, Section 11 of the 1885 Sexual Offences Act couched homosexuality in terms of 'gross indecency' and, whilst not statutorily defining male homosexual acts, was related to 'any act involving sexual indecency between male persons ... usually tak[ing] the form of mutual masturbation, inter-crural contact or oral-genital contact' (EHRR, 1981: 155). Similarly, by the second half of the 19th Century sexologists increasingly typologised individuals on the basis of their sexual object choice, a trend dominant even in the 1950s with Kinsey *et al.*'s 7-point scale of sexual identity (Kinsey *et al.*, 1953; 1955).

Related to this growth in sexual pathologisation was a change in the social context of British culture during the 19th and 20th centuries (Appendix I). In the period proceeding the French Revolution, concerns about social unrest in Britain provoked various attempts by forces of government to control the lives of British citizens (Weeks, 1977; Moran, 1997). The disciplining of individuals occurred not through the functioning of unitary systems or repression, but rather through the operation of multiple forces of political and social control (Foucault, 1977; 1984). The control of individual sexual lives at the end of the 19th century has been associated with the

[1] Homosexuality is referred to in quotation marks here given that it was defined 43 years after Peel's comment.

decline of British colonialism, where socially ascribed deviant cultures were seen to be a threat to the nation's sovereignty (Weeks, 1985)[2].

This was particularly the case after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1854, the contents of which were readily applied to social concerns. Concepts such as 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest' did much to stigmatise and condemn marginalised individuals (Weeks, 1977). The issue of sexuality was deeply implicated in these systems of control and regulation, given the role sexuality and reproduction had in the biological function of society. Consequently, sexuality soon became defined and limited through the functioning of political, medical and social (i.e. 'plurisecular') discourse (Foucault, 1990).

During the 1950s, expressions of sexuality were still central to the constitution of senses of nationhood. In 1951, British spies Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean took flight to Russia, contributing to US Senator Joseph McCarthy's purge of homosexuals from the echelons of government (Weeks, 1977; Duberman, 1994). Liaison between the FBI and Sir John Nett-Bowers, Police commissioner of Scotland Yard, over the McCarthyite regime also resulted in an increase in arrests of gay men engaged in homosexual activity during the early part of the 1950s in the UK (David, 1996). Within this context, the existence of homosexuality was literally deemed to be a significant threat to national security[3].

Whereas D'Emilio (1993) related the social regulation of sexuality to the functioning of capitalist processes, Foucault was adamant that the strictures of sexuality throughout the 19th and 20th century should be seen as the latest articulation of a long history of the social determination of sexual behaviour (1993a; 1993b). Often, the systems of sexual repression were related to other areas of social restraint, such as gender and class structures. Thus, Chauncey (1994; 1996) suggested that sexual orientation was not only defined by the gender of the sexual object in pre-1940s New

[2] In this regard, refer to the work in 'imagined communities' by Anderson (1990).
[3] Ironically, it was assumed that gay men posed a greater threat due to the increased likelihood of divulging secret information as a result of blackmail resulting from their sexual behaviour. This provoked Weeks (1977) to question why the US and UK governments did not resolve this risk by removing the homophobic legislation in question rather than employing a McCarthyite program.

York, but also by the extent to which the individual in question adopted an assertive (masculine) or passive (feminine) role. Similarly, in late 19th century Britain, it was felt that homosexuality only existed within the effeminate upper classes, and thus same-sex desire amongst working class men was seen to be a result of their 'corruption' (Spencer, 1995; Weeks, 1985).

Given the spatial dimension to constructions of sexuality and nationality, it is not surprising that British legislation concerning sexual behaviours was itself often spatially located in urban areas. Indeed, it has been suggested that it was the growth of urban districts in which gay men and lesbians socialised which stimulated increases in arrests and homophobic legislation (Norton, 1982; Bray, 1984; Trumbach, 1977). Furthermore, the legislation of sexual behaviour often became focussed on urban expressions of sexuality. For example, the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869, the Offences Against the Person Act of 1861 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 all aimed to control the presence of prostitutes and homosexuals within urban areas (Adam, 1987). Similarly, the Indecent Advertisements Act of 1889 outlawed the advertisement of VD remedies in urban areas due to their sexual content (Bristow, 1977). The Housing Commission of 1884 and the resultant 1905 Incest Act perpetuated the assumed inter-relationship between sexual 'deviance' and urbanism due to its belief that overcrowded working-class housing in urban areas incited incestual behaviour (Weeks, 1985).

Finally, Appendix I illustrates the extent to which legislative action often resulted in unforeseen and contradictory consequences through the inadvertent advertisement of particular sexual identities. For example, whilst the trials of Oscar Wilde in 1895 undoubtedly served to limit expressions and explorations of homosexuality, the publicity surrounding this event also promoted the concept of homosexual identities to many who were previously unaware of such sexual orientations (Weeks, 1989; 1997). As a result, membership of organisations such as the 'Order of Chaeronia' increased, and many newly identified 'homosexuals' sought help from sexologists, providing a wealth of information for scientists like Havelock Ellis to publish influential works on the subject (Ellis, 1943; Grossfurth, 1980).

Marguerite Radclyffe-Hall provided a 'role model' for lesbians when she successfully sued Sir George Fox-Pitt for libel in 1920 following his accusation of her 'immoral part' in the break up of Sir Ernest and Una Troubridge's marriage[4]. However, the trial resulted in an attempt in 1921 to extend the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act to include acts 'of gross indecency by females' (Weeks, 1977). Intriguingly, the Bill was defeated in Parliament on the grounds that the Act would advertise lesbianism to those who had previously been unaware of such sexuality (Weeks, 1977). Radclyffe-Hall entered the public eye again in 1927 when her banned book 'The Well of Loneliness' was illegally transported to the UK after its publication in Paris, resulting in the arrest and conviction of the publisher and the distributor (Jivani, 1997). The book soon attained a considerable status amongst lesbians and provided a valuable support for the expression of sexuality amongst women.

During the 1950s, the influence of McCarthyite programs on UK sexualities ironically promoted greater public sympathy. When, in 1954, Peter Wildeblood and Lord Montague were arrested for homosexual conduct, the severity of their treatment provoked such public discussion and sympathy that the government were compelled to set up the Wolfenden Commission for homosexuality and prostitution (Wildeblood, 1955; Edge, 1996c). The report was published in 1957, but the government did not act on its findings until 1967 after considerable political protest from the newly formed Homosexual Law Reform Society. More recently, the New Right legislation of the 1980s also had considerably complex results where, for example, Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act sought to restrict expressions of gay sexualities (Wintemute, 1996; Moran, 1997) whilst ironically inciting greater gay political commitment (Jeffery-Poulter, 1991). Thus, ACT UP, Stonewall and OutRage! were all founded in the years immediately proceeding Section 28, promoting exactly what the 1988 Local Government Act sought to deny (Appendix I).

Given these complex trends, it is not surprising to find that the broad cultural context of such legislation itself generated contradictory effects. For example, both World

---

[4] Ironically, Sir George Fox-Pitt was the son-in-law to the Marquis of Queensbury, the figure at the centre of the libel case that led to the imprisonment of Oscar Wilde.

Wars I and II tended to strengthen family ideology, reinforcing sexual reproduction and inciting greater resentment of 'deviant' groups (Weeks, 1989), but they also provided an opportunity for men and women to leave their conservative home towns and explore their sexual identities in homosocial environments elsewhere (Chauncey, 1994). Similarly, HIV and AIDS had a contradictory impact upon gay communities. New Right groups, religious organisations and the straight press have exploited the HIV epidemic to support a view of homosexuality as a disease, perceiving AIDS to be a divine retribution for sexual sin (Weeks, 1989; Patton, 1985; Sontag, 1988). However, the virus has forged greater communal bonds between gay men and lesbians, resulting in the establishment of research groups (e.g. Project SIGMA), charities (e.g. the Terrence Higgins Trust), and political groups (e.g. ACT UP UK) to support the needs of HIV+ people and Persons With AIDS (PWAs), as well as improving safer sex education.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the diverse features influencing UK gay histories. First, Foucault's rejection of the 'Repressive Hypothesis' is supported, where numerous publications and legislation served as 'mechanisms of increasing incitement' to talk about sex throughout the 19th and 20th century (Foucault, 1990). Second, a dialectic appears to exist whereby cultural phenomenon, such as the growth of gay areas in urban centres, provoked a repressive legislative response, and vice versa. Third, in relation to this, any attempt to define sexual communities and spaces must necessarily consider forces of repression and restraint, and conversely, any account of forces of sexual control must acknowledge the sexual behaviours that provoked such a response. Fourth, it is possible (tentatively) to decipher three 'pulses' of increased socio-political activity occurring between 1894-1928, 1958-1973 and 1987-1994. Each period relates to significant legislative events (the Oscar Wilde trials, the Wolfenden Report and Section 28) and a particular social context (declining Imperialism, McCarthyism, and AIDS / the growth of the New Right). Thus, any consideration of sexual histories, spaces and communities must necessarily incorporate themes of systematic control and sexual excess – issues that profoundly influence understandings of sexual history.

Rethinking the 'History of Sexuality'

Given the complexities and contradictions of events influencing the lives of gay men in the UK, what exactly does a 'sexual history' mean? Whose sexual history is being referred to? Can a historical 'moment' be determined if sexualities exist as sites of both restriction and repression? These questions are of central importance in the consideration of sexual spaces and communities where historical details influence (separatist-essentialist, assimilationist-constructivist) definitions of sexuality. However, the tensions between bounded and fluid conceptions of sexuality and space discussed in Chapter two are replayed here. A fixed, biological understanding of sexual identity posits a trans-historical framework, which, whilst allowing strategic senses of political solidarity, fails to recognise the cultural factors impacting upon sexualities. Conversely, a dynamic, constructivist view of sexuality posits a historically contextual understanding of sexuality which, whilst questioning the 'naturalness' of all expressions of sexuality, nevertheless restricts ubiquitous, biological constructs of sexuality. The difficulty, therefore, in considering sexual histories is the need to negotiate between issues of sameness and difference.

In this regard, it is useful to consider Foucault's three volumes of *The History of Sexuality* in which he neither attempted to prove the ubiquitous phenomenon of homosexuality, nor to provide a simplistic account of events influencing sexual identity. Foucault critiqued any historically deterministic conception of sexuality, addressing instead the way sex was appropriated into a discourse (1990: 12). Rather, he aimed to provide a denaturalised, non-teleological account of changing sexual-moral codes from Ancient Greece to the present day. He commented that 'it seemed more pertinent to ask how, given the continuity, transfer, or modification of codes, the forms of self-relationship ... were defined, modified, recast, and diversified' (Foucault, 1993a: 31-32). Consequently, Foucault avoided binaristic understandings of biological and cultural constructions of the sexual body by considering the changing manner in which moral codes exploited and disciplined sexual behaviour. Employing this understanding, Benkert's coining of the term 'homosexual' in 1869 therefore does not presuppose that same-sex desire suddenly came into being as a result of medicalised control, but rather that it was the context in which sexuality operated that had changed.

Foucault's account of the changing moral codes of sexual behaviour involved a particularly complex understanding of the interrelationships between the body and the state (1993a: 25-37). Summarised in figure 3.1, this model entailed an exploration of the diverse interactions between 'moral codes' (the prescriptive ensemble of regulatory order and its relation to moral subjects) and the 'morality of behaviours' (the processes of complicity or resistance to moral control through the subject's body), entailing the 'determination of the ethical substance' (the ways a subject conducts oneself through self-mastery), the 'mode of subjectification' (the social position from which the subject conducts oneself), 'ethical work' (what has to be done to oneself to comply with the moral code), and 'telos' (the temporal and social positioning of the subject and its relation to the moral code).

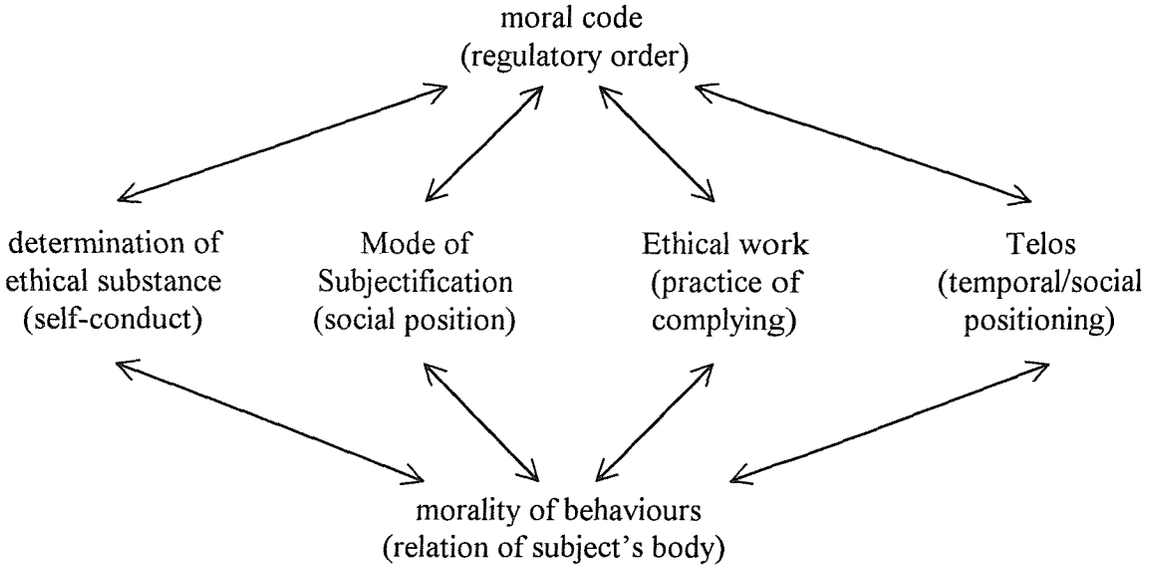


Figure 3.1: The structure of sexual moral codes, adapted from Foucault (1993a: 25-37)

It is evident here that the moral ordering of sexual pleasure had a particularly spatial dynamic. Whereas volume one explores the functioning of state powers in the control of personal sexual conduct (Foucault, 1990), volumes two and three (1993a, 1993b) relate individual desires more closely to the organisation of the state in Ancient Greece and Rome[5]. In Ancient Greece, for example, the major concern surrounding sexual

[5] Bravmann (1995) has conducted a fascinating analysis of the political implications for contemporary symbolic appropriations of Greek perspectives on sexuality.

conduct was one of self-mastery in the proof of social worthiness to take positions of high power within society. Three systems were put forward to illustrate the techniques of self-mastery: *dietetics* (the control of the self through the moderation of bodily desires), *economics* (the control of the self through the functioning of married life), and *erotics* (the control of the self through the moderation of desire in man-boy relationships) (Foucault, 1993a, 92-93).

These moral codes were dominated by two spatial concerns. First, a public/private divide existed where the wife became the house-keeper for the man's *Õikos* (property) whilst he took part in the public sphere (157), and where erotic relations occurred in the public sphere, or *agora*, so that the masculine nature of the relationship could be asserted (197).

Second, the stability of the city was seen to be dependent on the self-control of its male citizens. Men had to control their sexual desires in order to produce the healthiest and most organised bodies possible 'to contribute to the security of the city' (124). In economic relations, a good marriage was 'useful to the entire city in that it adds to its wealth and especially because it supplies it with good defenders' (153). And in erotic relations, boys must strive to retain their honour in order to secure their 'eventual place in the city' (206). It is clear, therefore that the structure of the Ancient Greek cities was profoundly influenced by the sexual behaviour of its citizens. Conversely, it was also clear that 'Individual virtue needed to be structured like a city' (71-72)[6].

The usefulness of Foucault's work on sexuality is that it provides a framework in which it is possible to reconcile sexual desires to social context. To paraphrase Howard's preface to Barthes' 'S/Z', what can be perceived in Foucault's work on sexuality is the demystification of a previously held 'natural' state into a phenomenon

[6] Chapter Four of Lefébvre's *Production of Space* ('From Absolute to Abstract Space') provides an interesting history of spatial concepts from the Ancient Greeks and Romans, through the mediaeval period to the present day. Interestingly, early conceptions of space (such as in Ancient Greece) were attributed to a view of 'absolute space' which related architecture and city planning to 'natural' forces of life practises and death. More recent conceptions related to accumulation were seen to be 'abstract space' in which socio-politico-economic forces attempted to destroy nature through the spatial inscriptions of their power. Lefébvre (1991a) considers the work of Marx and Engels to be central in relating both these concepts (and thus nature and culture) to one another.

which is profoundly cultural (Howard, 1990). The expression of 'natural' sexual desires, although they exist as innate drives, are nonetheless impossible to determine precisely because they lie outside language, outside discourse[7]. It is for this reason that the concept of a 'sexual history' is so problematic, for whilst the changing codes of sexual restraint form a necessary area of research, the ubiquitous (and thus trans-historical) expression of sexuality cannot be denied (Halperin, 1993)[8].

The negotiated understanding of sexuality derived from dialogical structures outlined in Figure 3.1 do lend themselves to a contextual sense of sexual history. However, this is not to presume that such a contextual conception of sexuality is immune from its own systems of restraint and bias. Sawicki (1992) and Foxhall (1994), for example, have noted a gendered bias in Foucault's work and have called upon understandings of female sexual histories:

> 'Foucault produces a sophisticated history of ideas but ignores the complex ethnographic settings of these ideas. In the case of classical Greece ... it is especially crucial that the reflexive self has been limited to an idealized male self - a limitation totally justified by the historical evidence. This kind of masculinist reflexivity underwrites and absorbs the masculine ideologies of the past as part of the process of living out those of the present' (Foxhall, 1994: 134).

Foxhall continues by arguing that a very different sense of sexual history exists for women, and thus uses historical sources to reveal that women did exert significant control over Ancient Greek society. On this basis, Foucault's passive representation of female sexuality was complicated by Foxhall's accounts of female adultery and lesbianism (Foxhall, 1994: 145). However, these critiques may be a little severe, for Foucault did open up sexual histories to other contexts through his rejection of a

---

[7] It is for this reason that Bleys wishes to avoid the term 'histories of homosexuality' due to her awareness of the culturally and temporally contingent assertion of homosexuality during the latter part of the 19th Century. Forced to name 'it' in some way, she prefers the phrase 'male-to-male sexual relationships', which, whilst highlighting the complexities of generalised terminology, nevertheless merely replays the same difficulty (Bleys, 1996).

[8] In this regard, sexual historians offer an invaluable contribution to the changing context of sexuality. See for example Halperin's (1995) work on Ancient Greek sexualities, Boswell's (1992) exploration of mediaeval sexualities, and Weeks' (1991) and Foucault's (1990) work on 19th Century restrictions on sexuality.

totalised and static concept of history (Foucault, 1993a)[9]. It is fair to say, though, that Foucault failed to make the gendered context of his historical enquiry explicit, and was not sensitive to female sexual histories - a factor undeniably compounded by the male-biased structure of his text. It is also true that the ethnographic context of Foucault's reading both in terms of his own subject position and in the context of the material he draws upon, was rarely explored. It is for this reason that the writings of Riley (1991) and Shires (1995) are significant in that they call for a commitment to a contextualisation of sexual and gendered histories and an exploration of certain exclusions that occur through historical determinisms.

Summary

The aim of this section has been to explore the complexities inherent in the assertion of sexual histories. Drawing upon ideas by Foucault (1990, 1993a, 1993b), it has been my intention to resolve the apparently inextricable debates surrounding cultural histories and essential trans-histories (Milligan, 1991). By illustrating the contextual negotiation of identities and their regulation within diverse organisations of power, it is possible to be cognisant of historical events without compromising the essential aspect of particular identities. Consequently, the contextuality of histories must always be deconstructed in an effort to avoid historical determinations.

Exploring the complexities of sexual histories indicates several ways in which those contradictions of bounded and fluid sexual spaces discussed in the last chapter can be considered. First, given that issues of sexuality have consistently been integral to systems of control within society, it is not surprising that any fixed, naturalised view of gay spaces can result in exclusion and repression. Second, it should be acknowledged that any system of power, and similarly any fixed space, is perpetually confounded by its excessive and transgressive components. Thus, these two themes of systemic control and excess have to be present in any research that considers the negotiation of sexuality and space. Third, by changing the terms of the debate to contend with the contexts in which sexual histories are constructed, it is possible to bypass many of the

[9] Indeed, Foucault did consider, for example, the gendered implications of Ancient Greek moral codes (1993a, 78-93).

limits of the essentialist/social-constructivist argument. What I wish to do now is to extend these debates to issues of the constitution of the concept of community.

III: Contested Communities: Sociology, Geography and the Negotiative Sense of Solidarity

In addition to concerns relating to sexuality, history and space, issues of community concepts have to be considered. This is particularly the case when notions of community have experienced similar difficulties in contending with issues of sameness and difference, fluidity and fixity, that were discussed in relation to sexual histories and sexual spaces. This section will be structured into four sections, each dealing with a particular aspect of community construction, and relating it to sexual communities where appropriate.

Social Idealism: Durkheim's 'nomie' and Tönnies' 'Gemeinschaft'

As explored previously, the fear of social decline at the end of the 19th Century brought with it the appropriation of medical and legislative discourse to control society through the disciplining (and scape-goating) of innate biological desires (Weeks, 1977). The disciplining of individual bodies, however, was influenced by the very forces structuring social organisations (Foucault, 1990). Whereas Foucault noted that concepts of city order were used to regulate the body in Ancient Greece and Rome (Foucault, 1993a), the situation reversed by the end of the 19th Century where it was the city that was blamed for moral decline, social disorder and perversity (Crow and Allan, 1994).

Modernity and urbanisation were seen to foster forces of malcontent, with the Malthusian nightmare frequently used to perpetuate the fear of the ultimate destruction of culture through social tension and immorality. Durkheim in particular was a key figure in critiquing the forces of modernity and urbanism for generating a sense of solitariness and dislocation, thus resulting in increased social disorder and spiritual and bodily decay (Durkheim, 1952). The instillation of forces of 'anomie' (social fragmentation and disarray) within modernity were seen to result in scenes of social

and personal violence with urban tensions and increased rates of suicide. The only answer was a return to the 'nomic' forces of family and rural tight-knit community groups. However, Durkheim refrained from merely opposing the two forces, but rather considered the polarised forces of nomie and anomie to exist in a mutually perpetuating dynamic towards social dissolution and catastrophe (Durkheim, 1952). Thus, senses of community were construed negatively in terms of what was about to be destroyed (Albrow *et al.*, 1997).

Similarly, Tönnies (1955; 1974) asserted a distinction between biological senses of family solidarity (*'Gemeinschaft'*) and non-family based communities (*'Gesellschaft'*), associating the former with mutual support and nurturance as opposed to the more opportunistic counterpart. These frameworks were often appropriated by scholars to justify regulatory systems of social control in order to sustain social security and public health (Crow and Allan, 1995a). Consequently, research on communities at the end of the 19th Century was conducted in a highly judgmental and moralistic manner. Furthermore, the politico-medical moral code at this time resulted in the view that social stability and cohesion was predicated upon stable family units, where the strength and stability of the nation was firmly rooted in the 'nomic' forces of the 'Gemeinschaft'. This perpetuated not only a sense of 'social isomorphism' (excluding all 'deviant' individuals) (Harris, 1987), but also generated a distinction between public order and the preservation of traditional private family life (Cheal, 1988).

Within this context, it is not surprising to find that expressions of homosexuality were driven underground, refused any public discourse save that of a diseased, criminal and antisocial existence as opposed to the sanctity and security of family relationships. Even those few sympathetic texts on homosexuality written at the end of the 19th century by figures such as Ellis, Carpenter and Krafft-Ebing were either banned, withdrawn or reduced to private collections (Weeks, 1985). Consequently, it is clear that supporting an understanding of community around notions of 'nomie' or 'Gemeinschaft' restricted expressions of 'deviant' sexuality.

Asserting the 'norm': Sociological analyses of 'deviant' communities

The influence of scientific research methods during the early part of the 20th Century provoked a move away from the conservative concerns of communal solidarities expressed in the Durkheimian and Tönniesian traditions towards an interest in the *explanation* of 'deviant' cultures and communities. Rather than expressing a simple juxtaposition between private family units and state-wide control, sociological enquiries became more concerned with territorial structures of communities at more local geographical scales (Crow and Allan, 1995a).

The 'Chicago School' was of central importance in this new sociological tradition, mapping districts or 'ghettos' in which 'alternative' communities became established within the city of Chicago (Park and Burgess, 1925; Wirth, 1928). Focusing on these urban territories, researchers frequently asserted the normalcy of straight white middle-class America by illustrating how 'other' classes, races, and sexualities used local areas of the city to foster a sense of mutual support and defence against the dominant society (Park and Burgess, 1925). Research publications, such as Anderson's 'The Hobo' (1923), Thrasher's 'The Gang' (1927), Wirth's 'The Ghetto' (1928) and Zorbaugh's 'The Gold Coast and the Slum' (1929) therefore became committed to detailing the social experiences of 'deviant' groups.

This research was considerably influenced by both the Durkheimian/Tönniesian tradition of preferencing local kinship-based ties, and by the impact of Darwin's *Origin of Species* on sociological thought. The latter in particular was used to support ecological explanations of the 'natural distribution' of different sub-cultures within Chicago (Wirth, 1928), justifying urban conflicts and tensions in terms of 'natural' instincts; a short step away from concepts of 'natural selection' and the 'survival of the fittest' in the support of social intolerance (Knox, 1990). Consequently, whilst black, Jewish and gay communities had to eke out their living and identity as deviant subcultures within the city, the hegemony of straight white America was never contested.

The Chicago School approach to sociology had a profound impact upon research within the UK, particularly after the Second World War. Like the Chicago School,

researchers engaged with sociological research explored supportive senses of togetherness within tightly bounded territorial units. For example, Rees (1950) and Brennan *et al* (1954) undertook research looking at local communities in Wales, whilst Stacey (1960) explored community ties within Banbury. Similarly, Young and Wilmott's (1957) study of areas within East London in particular focused on the role of family and kinship ties amongst residents within that area.

As explored in Chapter two, issues of sexuality were increasingly perceived to be a local peculiarity deserved of sociological inquiry, with notable research undertaken by Leznoff and Westley (1956), Hooker (1956; 1961; 1963; 1965), Cory (1960), and Gagnon and Simon (1967). 'Gay ghettos' were soon used within research as a conceptual tool which related urban expressions of homosexuality to earlier understandings of community formations among Jewish and black populations (Harry and De Vall, 1978; Levine, 1979; Lynch, 1987). Like the attempts by social scientists to map bounded territorial areas within various cities, the concept of gay communal ghettos was predicated on the understanding of biological and thus 'natural' senses of community, and thus often failed to consider the processual and cultural aspects of their constitution.

Communities of Symbols: the social construction of togetherness

As Bauman (1994) commented, social changes influenced by forces of globalism associated with recent trends within cultural, political and economic processes have profoundly influenced concepts of community amongst researchers. The biologically deterministic and at times morally loaded models of the Chicago School, Durkheim and Tönnies were superseded by the concerns of the cultural and social constitution of communal bonds and boundaries (Cohen, 1985a). Rather than diametrically oppose 'deviant' against dominant cultures, social scientists considered how these terms were mutually defined. In their influential study of 'Winston Parva', for example, Elias and Scotson explored the extent to which the established community of the town constructed their sense of history and identity in relation to an outsider status, thus critiquing perceptions of a simplistic, 'natural' division between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Elias and Scotson, 1994). As Elias went on to comment:

> 'even where differences in physical appearance and other biological aspects that we refer to as "racial" exist in these cases, the socio-dynamics of the relationship of groups bonded to each other as established and outsiders are determined by the manner of their bonding, not by any of the characteristics possessed by the groups concerned independently of it... one cannot grasp the compelling force of this kind of bonding, and the peculiar helplessness of groups bound to each other in this manner, unless one sees clearly that they are trapped in a double bind.' (Elias, 1994: xxx-xxxi).

It is this 'double bind' which Elias used to denaturalise formations of community and reveal their cultural constitution. In this regard, Elias and Scotson (1994) explored the degree to which certain events, such as the 'in-moving' of 'foreigners' to newly constructed housing estates after the Second World War, strengthened and solidified existing 'established' and 'outsider' statuses within Winston Parva.

Similarly, Cohen's study of community formation on Whalsay in the Shetland Islands revealed this mutually constitutive dynamic of insider and outsider statuses. For example, Cohen found that the establishment of new estates with the development of the North Sea Oil reserves after the Oil Crisis of 1974 provoked a distinction between 'true' Shetlanders and the newly arrived workers and their families within Whalsay (Cohen, 1982; 1987). Furthermore, Cohen outlined 'symbols' and 'rituals', such as 'house games', appropriated by Whalsay communities in their effort to assert their own status within a particular area (Cohen, 1982; 1985a; 1985b). In Winston Parva, Elias and Scotson also commented upon various techniques and symbols used by local residents, including 'gossip channels', local press coverage and the friendliness of local pubs, to strengthen the established community and the exclusion of 'outsiders' (Elias and Scotson, 1994).

Exploring the formation of symbolic constructions of community suggests that social groups can no longer be marked as 'deviant' or 'alternative' on the basis of some naturalised function, as was the case with the Chicago School, but must be seen to be relationally defined by forces of social constraint and community resistance (Parry, *et al.*, 1987; Misra and Preston, 1978). This reconceptualisation of community formation had a significant influence on the ways in which spatial concerns were expressed by researchers. Rather than constructing a bounded and fixed understanding of

communities in space, social scientists began to explore the spatial processes inherent in more dynamic and culturally contextual expressions of community.

Crow and Allan (1994), for example, suggested that the constitution of an established community boundary was necessarily predicated on the basis of a sense of 'somewhere elseness'. Returning to Elias and Scotson's (1994), and Cohen's (1987) research, the stigmatisation of this 'somewhere-elseness' served to embolden senses of local community solidarity within Winston Parva and Whalsay. In addition, the processes of ritualistism and behavioural symbolism were central to the construction of a territorial sense of home (Cohen, 1985a). Featherstone (1989, 1990), Eade (1997) and Albrow *et al.* (1997) have suggested that this contingent and dynamic view of community formation has become more pronounced as recent cultural trends towards globalism and the onset of transnational telecommunications, politics and economics have eroded local, place-bound senses of solidarity.

Given these concerns for considering the culturally contextual aspect of community formation, several commentators have drawn attention to the political implications of naturalised understandings of social belonging. Anderson (1991) in particular has critiqued the promotion of national territories, communities and identities as a natural force. Anderson suggests that senses of national pride, reflected in a desire for many individuals to 'die for their country', are forged out of political and economic mechanisms, such as the functioning of 'print capital'. Consequently, the foundation of national senses of belonging are predicated on the politically motivated assertion of a culturally pure and authentic 'home' as opposed to a dangerous, impure and 'ugly' 'other' (Anderson. 1991). Rejecting natural senses of belonging, Anderson argued that 'imagined' senses of community and 'invented' nationalisms were constructed often for repressive and antagonistic means.

As a result of these repressive overtones for community formation, writers such as Young (1990; 1995) have critiqued notions of 'community' for being defined on the basis of often violent exclusionary mechanisms. Rather than withholding any fixing concept of community, Young draws upon modern city culture as an ideal model for a constructing a sense of togetherness and solidarity which celebrates and encourages

difference and diversity (Young, 1990). Ironically, it is this very model of fragmentation which was cited by Durkheim a century earlier as being the process which led to social instability and moral decay.

These ideas have a particular resonance with the establishment of gay communities where the naming of homosexuality as a deviant 'other' was used to sustain a perception of straight social normality. Young, for example, suggests that gay solidarities are important in adopting a 'politics of difference' in the resistance and subversion of processes of 'cultural imperialism'[10]. Furthermore, given the lack of physical markers for sexuality (as opposed to gender and race), Young suggests that homosexuality exposes a 'border anxiety' in the construction of sexualities, thus subverting the distinction between the 'deviant' and the 'norm' (Young, 1990). Adopting a socially constructivist framework of gay solidarities reveals the extent to which the threat of a foreign homosexual 'outsider' supports the construction of an established 'authentic' heterosexual sense of community (cf. Elias and Scotson, 1994). Furthermore, associating 'deviant' sexuality with a diseased 'other' allowed gay men and lesbians to be targeted as an 'ugly' group of people within the 'imagined' sanctity of a British nationality (cf. Anderson, 1991). Nowhere was this more evident than with the McCarthyite movement of the 1950s where to be homosexual was literally to be against the state and thus national security (Jeffery-Poulter, 1991). The construction of community boundaries can be seen to generate their own symbols and rituals which assert the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' citizens (cf. Cohen, 1985a). Thus, everyday symbols of heterosexual partnerships within advertising and the structure of public space support straight codes whilst gay communities appropriate signs (such as the pink triangle), code words (such as Palare) and behaviours (such as cruising) to aid mutual recognition and support social bonds.

Social Cycles and Episodic Communities: negotiated senses of solidarity

It is interesting to note the extent to which those tensions between fixed/bounded and fluid/dynamic senses of sexual histories and sexual spaces are also present in

[10] Those symbols and rituals Cohen considered to be central in the formation of 'insider' statuses can be seen to be forms of cultural imperialism (1985a).

conceptions of communities. Whilst the biological and 'naturalised' perceptions of community formation of the Chicago School tradition may provide valuable details of strategies and experiences of 'deviant' communities, they nonetheless fail to engage with the cultural constitution and processual dynamic of such constructions. Alternatively, whilst recent social constructivist perceptions of sexuality have been useful in elucidating processes and dynamics of community construction, they have nevertheless tended to neglect coherent and committed senses of communality.

With regard to the latter issue, Crow and Allan (1995b) critique Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) work on 'invented traditions' on the grounds that a tangible understanding of 'community' must exist prior to its 'invention'. They go on to critique Anderson's notion of 'imagined' communities on the same grounds, stressing that such imaginations must at some level be predicated on a physical sense of solidarity (Crow and Allan, 1995b). Consequently, Crow and Allen suggest that a concept of community needs to be constructed which reconciles both bounded and dynamic senses of communal belonging.

In exploring dialogical and strategic senses of community, Crow (1996) and O'Byrne (1996) convey the importance of considering historical trends in the formation of communities, recognising the impact changing social forces have on constructions of communal solidarities. Crow and Allan (1995a) therefore suggest that concepts of community must relate spatial processes, shared cultural symbols, and social structures (such as gender and class) to a fourth dimension of time. By adopting this historical perspective, Crow and Allan (1995b) argue that the 'ebb and flow' of community processes can be explored, perceiving communities to cohere at 'strategic' moments in relation to changing social contexts. Bauman (1992) related this 'ebb and flow' dynamic to the impossibility for particular groups to sustain communal bonds over a long period of time, resulting in frequent 'burn outs' and thus an 'episodic' process of community coherence.

Research undertaken on New Social Movements has also drawn upon episodic or cyclical concepts of community formation. Cohen (1985b) and Calhoun (1992), for example, have commented on the potential for political communities to cohere at times

where events such as repressive government legislation threatens the rights of those groups concerned. Consequently, rather than appealing to static senses of solidarity, New Social Movements have been related to a process of conflictual negotiation between grassroots social organisation and repressive regulatory forces (Parry, *et al.*, 1987; Haferkamp, 1989). Examining these processes further, Tarrow (1989) and Young (1990) have perceived such strategic cyclicity within New Social Movements to be related to episodes of political insurgency, followed by repressive forces of recuperation, incorporation and neutralisation. Relatedly, Yinger (1982) has discussed similar trends within 'counter-cultural' movements where periods of socio-political radicalism become subsumed into a cultural 'norm'[11].

These accounts of phases or 'waves' of community action suggest further possibilities in relating strategic senses of solidarity to temporal and spatial processes. For example, Klandermans (1990) has questioned the very notion of 'New Social Movements' on the basis that it obscures what is in reality the most recent articulation of a political solidarity that is consistently present within society, but which manifests itself only at those moments when the interests of the community are threatened. In this vein, Brand (1990) has suggested a certain regularity occurring with 'lifestyle' and 'environmentalist' politics over the past 200 years, each distinguished by a particular phase of conservatism, hedonism, disillusionment and a return to conservatism (Brand, 1990).

Again, these concerns have a particular resonance with formations of gay communities. First, the belief in a community history proffered by strategic senses of communality is important to a culture still stigmatised by homophobia and heterosexism within society (to which current debates surrounding biologically and socially determined communities are a testament). Second, as Appendix I illustrates, periods of increased gay political insurgency do appear to occur, suggesting an ever-present potential for gay community formation, as well as the threat of recuperation and/or communal fragmentation. Third, given the contextual nature of gay community construction,

---

[11] For commentaries about the strategic potential of communities for gay men, see Garnets and D'Augelli (1994), Weeks (1996; 1998), and Richardson (1998).

processes of inclusion and exclusion can occur as individuals cohere around certain issues to the exclusion of others. Fourth, the difficulties and contradictions within the assertion of gay communities can be reconciled, it is argued, by adopting a more negotiative basis of coalition politics which permits an understanding of diversity, difference and dynamism whilst articulating a coherent political goal (Tatchell, 1991; Weeks, 1996).

These strategic and phasic understandings of sexual communities correspond well to those negotiated understandings of sexual histories, identities and spaces outlined in the previous section and in Chapter two. To reiterate the advantage of this framework, a negotiative view of sexuality critiques the binary opposition between nature/culture, established/outsider, locality/globality and allows for a more strategic view of communal belonging (Fennel, 1992). Within this framework, spatial, historical, symbolic and cultural forces are brought together in an understanding of community which permits both a sense of physical togetherness, a political sense of self and an awareness of diversity and change (Crow, 1996).

Summary

Having previously considered issues of sexual spaces and histories, this section explored differing conceptions of community formation. Four 'phases' of research on notions was explored, each reflecting similar trends within concepts of sexuality and space (figure 3.2): first, the moralising framework of Durkeim and Tönnies (reflecting Freud's concerns for primitive man); second, the bounded conception of 'deviant' communities associated with the Chicago School (paralleling sociological concerns of sexual deviance and to some extent the representation of bounded gay ghettos by Castells [1983] and Levine [1979]); third, dynamic and socially constructed perceptions of community formations (reflecting issues of performativity, transgression and fluidity outlined by researchers such as Bell et al. [1994]); fourth, negotiative understandings of community belonging, particularly with recent work on New Social Movement formation (reflecting concerns of negotiated senses of sexuality and space [Davis, 1995]).

COMMUNITY CONCEPT	RESEARCH EXAMPLES	PERIOD	CULTURAL CONTEXT
familial - moral	Freud (1942) Tönnies (1926) Durkheim (1952)	1880-1920	Late imperialism
fixed - natural	Zorbaugh (1929) Wirth (1929) Rees (1950)	1920-1960	Social Darwinism
dynamic - cultural	Elias and Scotson (1994) Cohen (1985) Anderson (1991)	1960-1990	Globalisation, Rise of the New Right, and NSMs
strategic - negotiated	Crow and Allan (1994) Brand (1990) Bauman (1992)	1990-	

Figure 3.2: Four phases of community concepts

Each framework reflects an important aspect of gay senses of solidarity as gay men construct covert, ghettoised, transgressive or negotiative gay communities depending upon the social and temporal context. Consequently, as with considerations of sexuality and space, arguments about whether a framework of community is right or wrong become redundant, and it is the context of each perception that should be considered. Again, a framework is needed that permits a negotiated view of community formation, thus reconciling concerns of diversity and fragmentation, as well as coherence and solidarity. We arrive at the same point outlined in the previous section and the previous chapter: negotiated senses of community provide the most sensitive and accurate conceptualisation of what are in reality highly complex and contradictory processes. The construction of this negotiative framework is still vague, however, and needs to be developed further if it is to be useful in elucidating the complexities of gay male communities and spaces occurring in Brighton. The next two sections attempt to develop such a framework, drawing upon post-structuralism, queer theory and the writings of Barthes.

IV: Geography, Queer Theory, Post-structuralism and the Negotiation of the Place/Space Dynamic

Recent work on reconciling place-based, particular localities with spatial, general globalities has had a significant impact upon constructing a framework which seeks to reconcile sameness (generalities) with difference (specifities). In particular, realist, post-structuralist and what may be loosely termed as 'queer theoretical' approaches have had a significant impact on these theorisations of spatial dynamics. Consequently, this work is pertinent to an enquiry that seeks to construct a theoretical standpoint from which to reconcile conceptual differences such as fixity and fluidity, repression and resistance. This section will therefore explore each of these conceptual areas, relating these spatial concerns to issues of sexuality.

Massey, Negotiativity and the Politics of Place

A consideration of the dynamics of place and space, locality and globality should in no way imply a unilinear, top-down, causative relationship between global forces and local lives. Harvey, for example, has constructed a dialectical understanding of space and place, conceiving the issue as being a relationship between that of permanences ('relatively stable configurations of matter and things') and processes (1996: 72). In this regard, 'The process of place formation is a process of carving out "permanences" from the flow of processes creating spaces' (Harvey, 1998: 261). Consequently 'what goes on in a place cannot be understood outside of the space relations which support that place any more than the space relations can be understood independently of what goes on in particular places' (316).

This argument reflects his earlier writings, for example, in his condemnation of the 'fetishism' lying behind social diversity:

> 'It would be all too easy in the face of such diversity [of urban processes] to succumb to that 'spatial fetishism' that equalizes all phenomena *sub specie spatii* and treats the geometric properties of spatial patterns as fundamental. The opposite danger is to see spatial organization as a mere reflection of the processes of accumulation and class reproduction... I view location as a fundamental material attribute of human activity but recognize that location is socially

> produced. The production of spatial configurations can then be treated as an 'active moment' within the overall temporal dynamic of accumulation and social reproduction' (Harvey, 1982: 374).

Harvey uses a Marxist framework in an effort to illustrate the degree to which money operates as a universal value against which social diversity can be constructed. Other researchers, such as Jameson (1984) and Merrifield (1993), have also discussed ways in which Marxist dialectics is useful in theoretical concerns of space and place. Lefébvre has also considered the importance of dialectical conceptions to considerations of space and place:

> 'Space ... is both *abstract* and *concrete* in character; abstract inasmuch as it has no existence save by virtue of the exchangeability of all its component parts, and concrete inasmuch as it is socially real and as such localized. This is a space, therefore, that is *homogeneous yet at the same time broken up into fragments*' (Lefébvre, 1991a: 342).

This dialectical framework provides an understanding of the complexities and contradictions of place, space and process. However, recent post-structuralist analyses have criticised dialectical forms of analysis. Golding, for example, has stated that:

> 'though the very cunning of dialectical logic (historical, metaphysical, or otherwise) has already produced many interesting political dalliances with empowerment, necessity and change, it has, more often than not, simply recast, or (worse) simply reproduced the very practices it is seeking to overcome – the usual either/or 'deep cut' posturings nonchalantly taking as given a binaristic divide.' (Golding, 1997b: xii).

In other words, whilst a dialectical framework is useful in exploring tension, conflict and contradiction, its explanatory potential is limited by the incessant recourse to binaristic oppositions. Indeed, it could even be argued that a dialectical mode of enquiry actively fixes the world into diametrically opposed forces in order to (tautologously) justify itself as the only viable conceptual model[12]. Furthermore, the desire to retain (modernist) senses order and permanence above (postmodernist)

[12] Lukác's (1971) work on Marxist dialectics can be critiqued in this way. See Derrida (1979) for his rethinking of dialectics.

disorder and process has been seen by some to be the result of a male-privileged social order[13]. For example, Kirby comments in her critique of Jameson (1984) that:

> 'Jameson tends to see the postmodern landscape as a problem, one that needs clearing up. His usual forms of orientation are disabled; he finds no clearly marked or familiar reference points in the way he is accustomed to thinking of them... Given the way he has framed the 'problem' of the postmodern landscape, Jameson's solution - 'the need for maps' - arrives as a great relief' (Kirby, 1996: 50).

Consequently, whilst dialectics may suggest ways of exploring the contradictions inherent in gay community and place formations, it is the negotiated, processual understanding of place and space argued in critiques of dialectical approaches that offers particularly useful conceptual possibilities. Massey in particular has illustrated how such a processual sense of negotiated place can be constructed. In her exploration of the regional impact of structural industrial change, Massey noted that 'it was not possible to construct [local particularities] by simply proclaiming that each local change was underlain by capitalism - that is, by simply asserting 'the general'' (Massey, 1991: 269). Taking a critical realist stance[14], Massey articulates the need to overcome a conceptual binarism between the local and the global:

> 'localities, as I see them, are not just about physical buildings, nor even about capital momentarily imprisoned; they are about the intersection of social activities and social relations and, crucially, activities and relations which are necessarily, by definition, dynamic, changing... It is an accepted argument that capital is not a thing, it is a process. Maybe it ought to be more clearly established that places can be conceptualised as processes, too.' (Massey, 1991: 275).

This concept of locality therefore rejects any sense of place as a permanence set in opposition to global processes. Massey considers the interconnections and the 'power geometry' between locality and globality (1994a; 1994b): 'Instead... of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in

---

[13] Similarly, McDowell in a recent article wonders whether 'the anxiety apparently caused by displacement and space-time compression is not gender-specific. For many women, the decentring of the local, the widening of spatial horizons may have liberating effects as well as raising new anxieties' (McDowell, 1996: 31). See also Little *et al.* (1988), Brydon and Chant (1989), Katz and Monk (1994), and Hanson and Pratt (1995) for other research on the local ties of women.

[14] Refer to the work of Sayer (1989/1992) for a commentary on the use of critical realist methods in social science.

networks of social relations and understandings' (Massey, 1994a: 154). The intersections of place and space are therefore explored, destabilising the boundaries of stasis and fluidity, time and space (Bammer, 1994; Massey 1996b). In short 'Space must be temporal; must incorporate process... Histories jumble on the streets' (Massey, 1997: 221-222).

Like Kirby, Massey has recently illustrated how the perpetuation of dialectical dualisms and binaries has supported male-dominated concerns (Massey, 1996a). In her work on high-tech industries, Massey suggests that a binarism occurs between 'transcendence' (reason, scientific progression) and 'immanence' (reproduction, stasis of living-in-the-present), such that the industry 'naturally' aligns itself with the transcendence of male activity due to its associations with technological advancement. Hence, Massey states that gender differences are not defined through the binary opposites of home and work, but *within* and *between* the dualism itself:

> 'What was going on was a real rejection of the possibility of being good at *both* science *and* domestic labour. A framing of life in terms of "either/or" ... The implication of all this is not only that these jobs are an embodiment in working life of science and transcendence, but also that in their very construction and the importance in life which they thereby come to attain, they enforce a separation of these things from other possible sides of life (the other sides of Reason and Transcendence) and thus embody these characteristics *as part of a dualism*' (Massey, 1996a: 115-116).

The relevance of Massey's work on the politics of place and space to concerns of the constitution of gay communities and spaces is considerable. Rather than fixing gay communities, histories and spaces as a (natural or cultural) permanence against the regulatory process of a 'norm', a negotiated perspective suggests that not only should local expressions of gay identity, community, history and place be seen as part of a process, but that they should be related to wider socio-sexual forces. Consequently, fixing gay communities and spaces as either fluid or static entities inevitably denies their processual nature. What is necessary, therefore, is the construction of a framework that permits negotiated senses of sexual spaces (Bell, 1995a; Woodhead, 1995), communities (Crow and Allan, 1995a; Albrow, et al., 1997) and place (Massey, 1984; 1991; 1994a; 1996a).

Post-structuralism and the Place/Space Dynamic

Post-structuralist concerns over the relationships between identity, place and space have illustrated the explanatory potential of processual senses of place. Rose (1993; 1996), for example, has admirably illustrated the extent to which self/other, place/space binarisms are structured on sexualised and gendered concerns. Rose critiqued commonly held conceptual dichotomies between 'metaphorical' and 'real' space, 'geographical' and 'cultural'/'symbolic' space (Harvey, 1989; Smith and Katz, 1993), drawing upon Derrida's (1979) notion of *différance* to demonstrate the degree to which 'real' space is predicated on the static non-real space that it excludes, and vice versa[15]. Rose suggests that spatial différance dissolves the binaristic determinism inherent in dialectical approaches, permitting an understanding of how regulatory norms of public space can be transgressed by 'deviant' behaviour, at the same time as transgressive sexual behaviour being recuperated by forces of control.

Like Kirby (1996) and Massey (1996a), Rose considers the binary of 'real' and 'non-real' space to be structured on a division between the known, ordered 'masculine' world of the concrete real and the hidden, abstruse 'female' realm of the abstract non-real. Thus, 'The reiteration of the distinction between real and non-real space serves to naturalize certain, masculinist visions of real space and real geography, and to maintain other modes of critique as ... "outside the project". It is an act of exclusion' (Rose, 1996: 60)[16].

Consequently, Rose opens up a dialogical space between real and non-real spaces, illustrating how notions of 'space' can be construed as a site of negotiation between

---

[15] Derrida's critique also serves to contest purely dialectical formulas on the grounds that they are constructed on the basis of that which exists beyond them (Derrida, 1979). His line of argument is that if dialectics perceives and reconciles phenomena on the basis of conflictual opposites, there must exist something other or 'supplement' to dialectics in order that this resolution can be sustained. See Young (1995).

[16] It is interesting in this regard to consider psychoanalytic writings on the subject of knowledge and power. Gallop (1985), in her work on Lacan, aligns the known with the symbolism of the exposed phallus, which is to say with what is ordered, concrete and rational (the signifier). Conversely, she associated the fear of the unknown, the irrational, the 'what-is-beyond-the-scene' (the signified) to the functioning of the symbolic 'hidden' female genitalia. Horowitz (1977), drawing upon research by Freud, Reich and Marcuse, further associated the operation of the exposed phallus and the hidden female genitalia to socio-cultural forces of repression.

sameness and difference. Such space, Rose argues, can be kept 'alive' by contesting the mirroring of real and non-real space. A dialogical understanding of space and social process would therefore be

> 'as if the mirrors were not solid but permeable, as if the tain could move, as if the glass and silver were melting, as if there was an elsewhere. As if heroes were vampires and as if the women holding handkerchiefs to their faces like shrouds were smiling. It is to write as if the mirrors had bled, bled their violence, bled their ancestry, as if blood could be beautiful, as if an elsewhere was possible' (Rose, 1996: 72).

What Rose is describing here is the very nature of the dialogical, negotiative and processual construction of place, an understanding that is attuned to those needs of senses of sexual spaces, histories and communities outlined previously in which forces of repression mirror forces of restraint, where 'deviant' sexualities construct their lives in a negotiated, dynamic process.

Post-structuralist concerns provide many possibilities for exploring the politics and processes of place which Massey highlights in her call for a non-binaristic framework. In this regard, Grosz has critiqued:

> 'the separation or binarism of design, on the one hand, and construction, on the other, the division of mind from hand (or art from craft). Both Enlightenment humanism and marxism share this view, the distinction being whether the relation is conceived as a one way relation (from subjectivity to the environment), or a dialectic (from subjectivity to environment and back again).' (Grosz, 1992: 245).

She therefore considers the 'isomorphism between the body and the city' (246) whereby 'the city is made and made over into the simulacrum of the body, and the body, in its turn, is transformed, "citified," urbanized as a distinctively metropolitan body' (242). Consequently, rather than separating individuals from socio-spatial forces, 'individuals, subjects, microintensities, blend with, connect to, neighborhood, local, regional, social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic relations directly' (Grosz, 1994: 180).

Similarly, Probyn (1996) has articulated an understanding of identity, community and space that exists outside any binaristic or hierarchical process of categorisation. Intriguingly, Probyn considers the role sexual-social desire has in constructing senses of self which operate as a 'singularity' existing at 'that point of dense connections, that point that carries within it the strongest connection of the local and the global, that singularizes specificities into a momentary structure of belonging' (Probyn, 1996: 69). Conversely, therefore, 'power ... cannot be said to render the local somehow pristine and abstracted from global, transnational, or a-national structures; if anything, it goes some way in showing that the localization of power is where it is at its most dirty and messy... the local is where the global is at its most immediate' (146-147). The desiring body, is constituted within the (ephemeral) structures of 'belonging' and socio-spatial 'inbetweenness', where 'nationality and sexuality constantly rub against each other' (Probyn, 1996: 71)[17].

Other areas of post-structural research have illustrated the diversity with which notions of negotiated spatial processes can be applied. Bhabha, in his work on the constitution of identity, has addressed the need for an 'in-between' space; a space of 'hybridity' in which the 'non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space - a third space - where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences' (Bhabha, 1994: 218). Haraway's work on gender has illustrated how feminist work on identity construction has undermined both simplistic categories of gender and hierarchies of local/global:

> 'Gender is a field of structured and structuring resonance, where the tones of extreme localization, of the intimately personal individualized body, vibrate in the same field with global high tension emissions. Feminist embodiment, then, is not about fixed location in a reified body, female or otherwise, but about nodes in fields, inflections in orientations, and responsibility for difference in material-semiotic fields of meaning' (Haraway, 1991: 195).

[17] In a similar vein, Morris (1992) has explored the gendered and sexualised connotations of local/global, rural/urban binaries, suggesting that researchers should look at the movement between the feminine home (permanence) and the masculine commercial city (immanence), rather than focusing on the two as naturally occurring entities. Thus, like Probyn (1996), Rose (1993) and Grosz (1994), Morris conceives of gender and sexuality as a process as opposed to some rigid classificatory system.

Finally, Golding has also explored the 'third-space' of Sado-Masochism (SM), or 'dangerous' sex, indicating its role in critiquing and existing beyond systems of regulation and control (1993c). From these examples, it is evident that post-structuralist studies of identity, community and space have revealed ways of exploring the non-binaristic processes that Massey describes in her work on localities. Concepts of 'in-betweeness', 'hybridity' and 'third-space' suggest the potential of addressing the negotiations, processes and 'power-geometry' inherent in constructions of sexual spaces, histories, communities and place. It is this conception of inbetweenness that reconciles the divisions between sameness and difference, fixity and fluidity that were noted at the end of Chapter two. Furthermore, post-structuralist concerns not only highlight the degree to which sexual identities are related to spatial processes, but also the extent to which spatial processes are intimately sexualised and gendered.

Massey, Post-structuralism and Queer Theory

In her work on expressions of queer belonging in Montreal, Probyn suggests that queer research should engage with the movement of desire, the relationship 'between self-governance and governmentality' (1996: 132). Indeed, several areas of research undertaken under the loosely termed area of 'queer-studies' have incorporated processual, negotiated understandings of community, place, space and identity (Sedgwick, 1994; Warner, 1996; Betsky, 1997; Morton, 1997). Ingram, Bouthillette and Retter (1997b), for example, call for a 'scrambling' and the 'desanctifying' of spaces through the critique of divisions between 'pure' and 'corrupt' spaces (13), which is precisely what Massey aimed to do with her 'jumbling of spatial histories' (Massey, 1997).

Ingram therefore rejects both static-singular and fluid-diverse representations of 'queerscapes', addressing instead the 'subtle maps of pleasure, threat, isolation, opportunity, and communality' (1997a: 43)[18]. Adopting this framework, Ingram considers the ways in which queer communities forge strategic senses of communal and spatial belonging in relation to changing spatio-temporal events:

[18] Refer here to Bell's (1994a, 1995a, 1995b, 1997) and Woodhead's (1995) work on sexuality and public/ private spaces.

> 'Within such contradictory environments of hatred, risk, anxiety, empathy, and pleasure, queers have often subverted the state-structured divisions between public and private, and for short periods they have appropriated intermediate zones as spaces for mutual support and satisfaction. The tactics used to queer these not-so-open spaces have varied greatly over the years as state policies and social and economic options have fluctuated.' (Ingram, 1997b: 123).

It is because of this negotiative and strategic dynamic that definitions of 'queer space' are vague and difficult to pin down, for as soon as they are defined, they deny their very processual nature[19]. As Désert suggests,

> 'Queer space is in large part the function of wishful thinking or desires that become solidified: a seduction of the reading of space where queerness, at a few brief points and for some fleeting moments, dominates the (heterocentric) norm, the dominant social narrative of the landscape.' (Désert, 1997: 21).

This argues that queer spaces must always be linked within the same dynamic as the constructions of the ideological 'norm'. In this regard Massey's work on the politics of place can be seen to be a queering of previously understood dichotomies of globality and locality. Betsky's definition of 'queerspace' provides an excellent description of Massey's non-binaristic approach:

> 'Queer space is not one place: it is an act of appropriating the modern world for the continual act of self-construction. It is obscene and artificial by its very nature. It creates its own beauty. It allows us to be alive in a world of technology. There we can continually search within ourselves as we mirror ourselves in the world for that self that has a body. A desire, a life. Queer space queers reality to produce a space to live.' (Betsky, 1997: 193).

This is a supreme example of place as dialogue: an understanding that accepts both concerns of governmentality and self-governance, reconciling them to a process of a 'continual act of self-construction'. Thus, in considering possible frameworks from which to explore contradictions of sameness/difference, fixity/fluidity inherent within concerns of sexual spaces, histories and communities, concepts of negotiated and

processual senses of place articulated within the writings of Massey, post-structural thinkers and queer theorists offer a significant potential.

Summary

Whilst the need to adopt a strategic, negotiated sense of sexuality and space, history and community has already been discussed in this thesis, it was necessary to address theoretical explorations of place and space because much research on the inter-relationships between place and space have embraced issues of negotiativity and process.

As a result, three related areas of research were considered. First, Massey's work on the 'power-geometry' between place and space, and the negotiative, processual dynamic of localities were explored. This established the importance of rejecting traditionally held binarisms of place and space in favour of a more processual framework; a framework favoured given its potential in reconciling tensions within expressions of sexual spaces, communities and histories against a constructed social 'norm'. Second, post-structuralist research was considered due to its strength in exploring the functioning of binarisms, such as real/non-real, local/global, regulation/resistance, as well as articulating a framework which addresses the negotiativity, dynamism and process of which Massey speaks. The work of writers, such as Rose (1996), Probyn (1996), Grosz (1995), Bhabha (1994) and Haraway (1991), were considered given the resonance of concepts of 'in-betweeness', 'hybridity', and 'third-space' to expressions of sexuality.

Third, queer-theorists, such as Ingram (1997b), Désert (1997) and Betsky (1997) were considered for their explorations of the very negotiations of the binarisms of governmentality/ self-governance, self/other, stability/fluidity which are addressed by post-structuralists and Massey. These concerns have particular relevance to expressions of gay spaces and communities, given their sensitivity to the importance of strategic stable senses of belonging without excluding process and difference, and an

[19] This blurred vision of space is represented in the series of photographs by Jacobsen which make up his *Interim Photographs*; where the use of out-of-focus imagery illustrates the 'fading into the past' of queer 'moments' (Jacobsen, 1997: 69-76).

understanding of fluidity and dynamism without denying the importance of bounded communities and spaces. Gay spaces, identities, histories and communities must therefore be seen to exist within this ceaseless process, confounding attempts to confine them in restrictively defined binarisms.

Whilst post-structural and queer considerations have been helpful in elucidating upon these concerns, I will now develop these issues into a clear model of sexual communal and spatial expression from which to explore Brighton's gay scene.

V: Synthesis: Roland Barthes and Atopic Senses of Sexual Communities and Spaces

Introduction: The need for a Conceptual Reconciliation

Whereas the previous section explored the usefulness of post-structuralist and queer theoretical considerations of identity, place and space, this section draws upon the writings of the French literary and social critic Roland Barthes to develop these ideas into a framework that can be applied to gay communities in Brighton[20].

[20] I am aware that it is difficult to abstract Barthes' ideas for use in this thesis, for the concept of 'doing' Barthes, or of adopting a 'Barthesian approach', contradicts the intentions of his writing. At a time when there exists a pressure on researchers to strengthen their argument by aligning their ideas with certain thinkers (Foucault and Derrida, for example, have both been appropriated in this manner), Barthes consistently condemns such systematisation of thought and writings within academia, associating it with the 'recuperation' of ideas (Barthes, 1995: 155). Having said this, it was never Barthes' intention to dismiss the practice of writing out of hand; in *The Pleasure of the Text*, for example, he sets out precisely what such a practice should be. In short, Barthes celebrates the *jouissance* of the writer/reader relationship: the site of 'cruising' in which the writer flirts with the reader, and the reader has the control to read, re-read or dismiss whatever he/she reads (Barthes, 1997a: 4). In this regard, it is useful to consider my use of Barthes as a site of cruising: my fieldwork hasn't been determined through some Barthesian method, rather issues arising from the gay scene in Brighton 'moved' me towards the writings of Barthes, and conversely, Barthes' work 'cruised' me given its explanatory (and revelatory) potential. However, it remains to be answered how it is possible to 'write' Barthes without recuperating him, given that he felt the written word was infested with repressive codes and doctrines which served to stifle the pleasure and bliss of the text. Why is it that I maintain a conventional thesis structure whilst claiming to be inspired by Barthes' writings? My response is that, although it is possible to dismiss thesis structure, I must negotiate between the limits and constraints of language in general, and academic language in particular, with the need to convey a politically and socially necessary account of gay communities and gay spaces at a time of continuing homophobia and heterosexism. It is for the sake of clarity and my 'cruising' of the reader that I have constructed my thesis more systematically.

Great care is needed when considering post-structuralist and queer theoretical critiques of binaristic oppositions, such as sameness/difference, fixity/fluidity, heterosexuality/ homosexuality, local/global, and permanence/process. In the same way that Golding (1997b) criticises dialectics for its recourse to oppositional logic, so concerns of negotiativity should refrain from setting itself up as 'anti-binaristic' (and thus the dialectical opposite to dialectical opposition). Barthes offers a way forward with regard to these complexities: throughout his writings (Appendix II), he has constructed a specific way of conceptualising process and dynamism whilst maintaining a sustained critique of repressive structures and their transgressions. These concerns are particularly useful in debates on sexual spaces, histories and communities for they reconcile the need for an understanding of process and negotiativity, with the importance of transgressive expressions of sexuality and the influence of (spatially and temporally contextual) forces of regulation.

Barthes referred to these forces and processes as doxa, paradoxa and atopia (figure 3.3), terms that will be discussed and defined throughout this final section. Drawing upon these ideas will further the concepts of negotiativity outlined previously in relation to post-structuralist and queer theory writings, offering a potent evaluation of the processes inherent in sexuality and space.

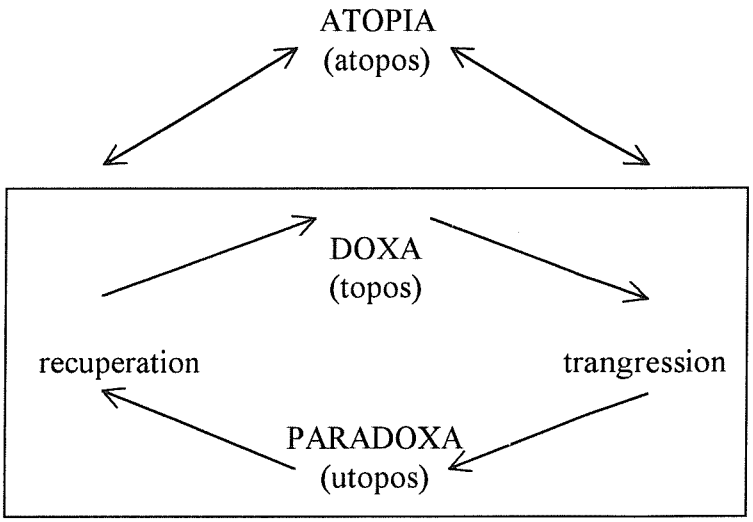


Figure 3.3: Model of Doxa, Paradoxa and Atopia, adapted from the writings of Barthes

System, Doxa, Topos: Demythologising forces of social control

Doxa for Barthes operated as 'the hardened surface of ... new opinion' (Barthes, 1993a: 7-8), as 'Public Opinion, the mind of the majority, petit bourgeois Consensus, the Voice of Nature, the Violence of Prejudice' (Barthes, 1995: 47). These structures are present in every area of social life: in fashion (1985), in writing (1977), in photography (1993b), and in music (1990c).

Barthes' initial concern centred on the practice and politics of writing. For Barthes, modern literature involved the incessant attempt to free writing from the repressive systems of language, for 'language is always a matter of force, to speak is to exercise a will for power' (Barthes, 1990a: 192). The implication of this for literature was extreme: the life, pleasure, freedom and humanity of the writer was suffocated by the repressive structure of language (Barthes, 1990a: 142-148). Barthes' conclusion of this process was as innovative as it was shocking:

> 'As institution, the author is dead: his civil status, his biographical person have disappeared; dispossessed, they no longer exercise over his work the formidable paternity whose account literary history, teaching, and public opinion had the responsibility of establishing and renewing' (Barthes, 1997a: 27).

Thus the personality of the author was denied as he/she succumbed to the deathly authorial role:

> 'we are all caught up in the truth of languages, that is, in their regionality; drawn into the formidable rivalry which controls their proximity. For each jargon (each fiction) fights for hegemony; if power is on its side, it spreads everywhere in the general and daily occurrences of social life, it becomes *doxa*, nature ... A ruthless *topic* rules the life of language; language always comes from some place, it is a warrior *topos* (Barthes, 1997a: 28).

It was the diversity of these forces of regulation through society which Barthes sought to demythologise in his work, being concerned with the avidity with which individuals were uncritically consuming structures of regulation (1993a; 1997b)[21]. This process of

[21] In this regard, Barthes' work is resonant with Foucault, who was concerned with exploring the diverse systems of repression that operated to govern individual lives (Foucault, 1977; 1990).

myth creation was viewed by Barthes to involve naturalising intensely cultural and political phenomena. In this regard, 'our society takes greatest pains to conjure away the coding of the narrational devices which seek to naturalize the subsequent narrative by feigning to make it the outcome of some natural circumstance and thus, as it were, "disinaugurating"' (1972). It was Barthes' intention therefore to establish precisely what these structures are, whether in literature (1990b), or within popular culture (1993a; 1997b)[22].

The functioning of doxa occurs through a variety of naturalised techniques. In *The Pleasure of the Text*, for example, Barthes commented that:

> 'encratic language (the language produced and spread under the protection of power) is statutorily a language of repetition; all official institutions of language are repeating machines: schools, sports, advertising, popular songs, news, all continually repeat the same structure, the same meaning, often the same words: the stereotype is a political fact, the major figure of ideology' (Barthes, 1997a: 40).

So potent are these (often unspoken) forces of restraint and repression, sites of resistance have to be vigilant to avoid being absorbed into their control: 'modernity can do nothing: the exchange recuperates everything, acclimating what appears to deny it' (Barthes, 1997a: 24). Even politically radical organisations are affected for 'Culture is a fate to which we are condemned. To engage in radical countercultural activity is therefore simply to move language around, and, unless one is very careful, to rely on the same stereotypes, language fragments what already exists' (Barthes, 1991: 153).

The concept of doxa has particular resonance with expressions of marginalised sexualities. First, with reference to concepts of sexuality and space, concerns with the fluid and fragmentary constructions of sexual identities cannot be articulated within

---

[22] Barthes employed semiological methods to demythologise techniques of cultural control, suggesting that such myths operate as a 'metalanguage of signs' created by a 'second order semiological system' (Barthes, 1993a: 114-115). That is to say, beyond the recognition and definition of objects 'in nature' (the first order semiological system of Saussure), a further level of meaning is ascribed which implies 'something else' beyond the signified object. Western culture, Barthes suggests, is dominated by these myths, whereas Japan is structured by empty signs, i.e. where there is no second order semiological systems to foster hidden meanings (Barthes, 1997d).

some postmodern understanding of diversity, but rather must be located within the context of changing regulatory codes (Walker, 1995; Butler, 1993a; Bersani, 1995). Similarly, the work of spatial mappists should not presume a naturalised, biological sense of sexual territorialism, but rather should perceive the distribution of gay men and lesbians to derive from profoundly political and cultural forces.

Second, sexual histories also have to contend with processes of sexual repression, or, as Foucault described, an understanding of the changing sexual moral codes (Foucault, 1993a). In this vein, Foucault effectively 'demythologised' homosexuality, critiquing its construction as a purely natural, biological force, and located it within its social and cultural context. Homosexuality is defined through encratic language, symbolising the pathologising of deviant sexuality and the normalisation of heterosexuality, thus giving credence to anti-essentialist sentiments (Milligan, 1991)[23].

Third, the construction of communities also has to be located within the context of forces of constraint. In this light, the assertion of the communitarian ideal within the work of Durkheim (1952) and Tönnies (1974) can be related to repressive forces of cultural order. Similarly, the work of Young (1990, 1995) can be considered to be justified in considering the concept of community to be founded on exclusionary ideals. Furthermore, as with sexualities, the concept of community as a natural entity (as suggested in the social Darwinianism of the Chicago School) can be challenged for its neglect of cultural and doxical constructions.In sum, the explanatory potential of doxa lies in its ability to acknowledge the varied structures of social and political constraint occurring within constructions of sexual spaces, communities and histories, thus revealing their temporal and spatial contexts.

Asystem, Paradoxa, Utopia: The Excess of repressive structures

Barthes' concern for social doxa would be pessimistic were it not for his consideration of the Utopian excess existing within and beyond repressive systems. The functioning of systems of repression operate in such a way as to lay themselves vulnerable to

[23] Wittig's (1988) critiquing of the category 'woman' can also be seen in this encratic light.

transgression. Consequently, as figure 3.3 demonstrates, there always exists a paradoxical potential within forces of regulation.

This site of transgression occurs beyond the place (topos) of doxa, and is thus situated in the non-place (utopos) of excess, of paradoxa. The modern writer typifies this negotiation of doxa and paradoxa, inevitably struggling with/against the system of language:

> 'The writer is always on the blind spot of systems, adrift; he is the joker in the pack, a *mana*, a zero degree, the dummy in the bridge game: necessary to the meaning (battle), but himself deprived of fixed meaning; his place, his (exchange) *value*, varies according to the movements of history, the tactical blows of the struggle: he is asked all and/or nothing' (Barthes, 1997a: 35).

Consequently, 'for the writer, the world is a medal, a coin, a double surface of reading, his own reality occupying its reverse and the utopia the obverse' (Barthes, 1995: 76). The writer therefore articulates an existence between the doxa of his/her craft, and the excess, the Utopia, that his/her own desires, history and culture bring to the text.

For Barthes, sexuality frequently exists as a paradoxical force: in *A Lover's Discourse*, for example, he perceives love and desire to initiate a 'utopia of language'. Thus, 'To try to write love is to confront the *muck* of language: that region of hysteria where language is both *too much* and *too little*, excessive ... and impoverished' (Barthes, 1990a: 99). Within the written text, the utopic moment of the writer attempting to exceed the strictures of language and engage the reader exists as a site of cruising, 'the voyage of desire' (Barthes, 1991: 231). More directly, 'deviant' sexualities and 'perversions' automatically occupy a utopic position, for 'Perversion is the search for a pleasure that is not made profitable by a social end, a benefit to the species. It is, for example, the pleasure of love that is not accounted for as a means of procreation' (Barthes, 1991: 232).

However, the transgressive possibilities of paradoxa are limited by its conceptual bind to systems of doxa[24]. Consequently, forces of recuperation are never far away: either utopia succumbs to a renewed doxa (the language of utopia), or else is reappropriated into a pre-existing doxa[25]. Thus, the

> 'destruction of discourse is not a dialectic term *but a semantic term:* it docilely takes its place within the great semiological "versus" myth (*white* versus *black*); whence the destruction of art is doomed to only *paradoxical* formulae (those which proceed literally against the *doxa*): both sides of the paradigm are glued together in an ultimately complicitous fashion: there is a structural agreement between the contesting and contested forms' (Barthes, 1997a: 55).

Again, sexuality is clearly embroiled in this process. The practice and action of sex and sexuality, as was discussed earlier in relation to the writings of Foucault (1990) and Lefébvre (1991a) are reduced to an oppressive discourse of sexuality: 'sexuality, *as we speak it, and insofar as we speak it*, is a product of social oppression, of men's wicked history: an effect of civilisation, in other words' (Barthes, 1995: 165).

The concerns of paradoxa and recuperation reflect issues arising from debates on sexual spaces, histories and communities. First, both mapped gay ghettos and diverse identity-plays indicate a transgressive and paradoxical principle in that they actively negotiate and flaunt their existence against forces of social and political control. In this regard, issues of transgression are not the sole prerogative of the politics of camp and drag (Bell *et al.*, 1994), but are rather indicative of all form of sexual and political

---

[24] In his analysis of photography, for example, Barthes suggests there are two processes which disturb the doxa of the photo: the *studium* ('application to a thing, taste for someone, a kind of general enthusiastic commitment') which serves as the paradoxa, and the *punctum* (an element which 'rises from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me') which, as will be explored later, serves as atopia (Barthes, 1993b: 16). The studium is the Utopian dream of the photographer, who wishes to reject the doxa of the photographic science, and create an image that affects the spectator through the general interest of the represented event (Barthes, 1993b: 41). This, however, is impossible for it can only be constructed within the context of the photographic doxa. Only the punctum can operate beyond the doxa/paradoxa relationship, and this cannot be planned due to its unexpected and accidental property.

[25] Again, the writings of Foucault are similar here: for Foucault, true acts of revolution are a matter of process, not an establishment of alternative systems of power (1977). As Barthes commented, one of the features of Stalinism was that it replaced the practice of revolution with the language/writing of revolution (1991).

resistance. Thus, multiple forms of sexual paradoxa perpetually confound multiple forces of sexual regulation.

Second, histories of sexuality illustrate the ironic force of the paradoxical principle: mechanisms of sexual repression are necessarily founded upon the sexual identities they seek to deny. Consequently, there exists some justification for anti-social constructivist lines of argument in that a history of sexual typologising must also presuppose a history of innate sexual orientation (Milligan, 1991). In this regard, it is to be expected that moments of sexual repression result in the inadvertent promotion of homosexualities (as, for example, with the publicisation of male homosexuality after the trials of Oscar Wilde in 1895, and Lord Montague and Peter Wildeblood in 1954) (Weeks, 1977). Histories of sexual repression, therefore must always be associated with histories of sexual transgression (Foucault, 1990).

Third, the paradoxical potential of communities of resistance should not be dismissed. As hooks (1995) and Sedgwick (1994) illustrate, strategic senses of solidarity do form an important and necessary sense of togetherness at times where the civil rights and freedoms of those groups in concern are threatened. Similarly, committed senses of communal cohesion, epitomised by New Social Movements, do occur at times of greatest need (Bauman, 1992; Tarrow, 1989). It is for this reason that outright rejections of communities on the basis of their repressive overtones should be rejected for denying their paradoxical possibilities.

Atopia and reconciliation of the semiological myth of opposing systems

Barthes was conscious of the need to move beyond the constraints of the doxa/paradoxa binarism, to escape the 'sclerosis of systems' (Barthes, 1993c: 5). 'Liberty', Barthes comments, 'is never the opposite of order, it is *order paragrammatized*: the writing must simultaneously mobilize an image and its opposite' (Barthes, 1997c: 111). This search for liberty arose through a non-binaristic conception, described by Barthes in *A Lover's Discourse* as *atopia*, a concept which is 'unclassifiable, of a ceaselessly unforeseen originality' (Barthes, 1990a: 34):

> 'As innocence, *atopia* resists description, definition, language, which is *maya*, classification of Names (of Faults). Being Atopic, the other makes language indecisive: one cannot speak *of* the other, *about* the other; every attribute is false, painful, awkward: the other is *unqualifiable* (this would be the true meaning of *atopos*)' (Barthes, 1990a: 35).

This 'atopia' exists in many cultural phenomena. In *Camera Lucida*, for example, the atopia of photography was defined as the 'punctum', the 'wound', 'prick', 'sting, speck, cut, little hole' (Barthes, 1993b: 26-27) which occurs in contradistinction to the 'studium', the paradoxa. The punctum exists as a moment of personal (shocking) identification beyond any moral, cultural, or political codes. Consequently, the '*punctum* arouses great sympathy in me, almost a kind of tenderness. Yet the *punctum* shows no preference for morality or good taste: the *punctum* can be ill-bred' (Barthes, 1993b: 43).

'Sexual erotics' also exhibited atopic properties, existing in an unclassifiable non-place, beyond the constraints of discourse:

> 'Christian discourse, if it still exists, exhorts him to repress and to sublimate. Psychoanalytical discourse (which, at least, describes his state) commits him to give up his Image-repertoire as lost. As for Marxist discourse, it has nothing to say. If it should occur to me to knock at the doors to gain recognition *somewhere* (wherever it might be) for my "madness" (my "truth"), these doors close one after the other; and when they are all shut, there rises around me a wall of language which oppresses and repulses me - unless I *repent* and agree to "get rid of X"' (Barthes, 1990a: 211)[26].

It is for this reason that Barthes relates in his *Incidents* that

> 'F.W. announces that one of these days I'll have to explain myself about the rejected aspects of my sexuality (in this case

[26] Whilst Barthes is referring to all experiences of love, it does, of course, have particular resonance to homosexuality. The themes of Barthes' work here clearly had an impact on Foucault whose three volumes of the History of Sexuality (1990, 1993a, 1993b) reflect the changing modes of sexual morality through differing discourses, illustrating the intolerance and disciplining of subversive behaviours by power systems who wished to keep populations under control. Reflecting other research by Foucault (1977), it is possible to perceive the recuperation of excessive actions under the scientific doxa of madness.

> sadomasochism), about which I never speak; I feel a certain irritation at this: first of all, quite logically, how could I explain myself about what does not exist? All I can do is *report*; and then, it's so discouraging, this fashion - this doxa - of constituting sadomasochism as a norm, as normal, so that any failure to acknowledge it had to be explained - accounted for' (Barthes, 1992: 64).

Were sexuality ever to be defined, it would be recuperated into a doxa, or placed within the impossible limitations of paradoxa. Thus, 'eroticism itself is a kind of access to a transcendence of sexuality' (Barthes, 1991: 298). Consequently, whilst sexuality exists as a site of utopian transgression or even social doxa, it is the sense of eroticism which exceeds the very system of defining sexuality.

The relevance of the atopic principle goes beyond concerns of sexual identity formation, however, and provides insight into concepts of sexual histories. By definition, sites of queerness exist as an ongoing dynamic beyond processes of classification (Sedgwick, 1994; Betsky, 1997). Within this process, the repressive medical typologisation of sexuality and the resistive biological expression of sexual desires define and support each other. They form both the reverse and obverse of sexual orientation: to define sexuality therefore exposes its doxical and paradoxical context. Consequently, both fixed (biological) and fluid (cultural) definitions of sexuality have a doxical and paradoxical possibility, depending upon the context in which they are expressed.

Concepts of community can also be related to this atopic perception. Senses of community attachment occur as a site of ongoing negotiation between forces of constraint and forces of freedom. Both fixed and fluid perceptions of community formation (outlined in the work of the Chicago School and Elias [1994] respectively) can be perceived to be doxical and paradoxical, repressive and liberative, depending upon the context in which they were constructed. Thus, whilst natural, biological perceptions of community can be supportive of marginalised and stigmatised groups in society (illustrated in the work on racial ghettos by Wirth [1928], and more recently in the context of gay ghettos [Levine, 1979]), they can also support the very structures that define such groups as 'deviant'.

Socially constructed perceptions of community are politically resistive in that they are able to articulate themselves against diverse systems of regulation, as well as contesting all assumptions of naturally determined 'normal' communities (Cohen, 1985a). However, social-constructivist accounts of community formation are also limiting in that they privilege diversity above solidarity, and thus deny the importance of tangible senses of togetherness (Crow and Allen, 1994).

Cyclical and episodic frameworks of community development, particularly in the New Social Movement literature (Tarrow, 1989; Klandermans, 1990) should therefore not be viewed as an 'ebb and flow' of communal attachment, but rather as a perpetual dynamic of negotiations of social doxa and paradoxa. The process of community belonging from which shifts in attachments are made must therefore be viewed atopically: that is as an ongoing process between and beyond doxa and paradoxa.

Finally, concepts of atopia have a significant influence on those concerns of place, space and identity outlined previously in relation to post-structuralist and queer theoretical research. Atopia is a profoundly spatial concept, literally meaning a 'non-place' beyond the boundaries of classification (Bjornerud, 1989). For Barthes, it is the ultimate 'contradictory space' (Barthes, 1992: 3), a place where 'one waits, here one trembles; to enter it is a temptation and a transgression' (Barthes, 1993c: 171). It is surprising that work within geography has remained resistant to the writings of Barthes, considering the degree to which writers within what may loosely be termed as 'literary criticism' have engaged in issues of spatiality, (Knight, 1997; Johnson, 1997; Frank, 1963).

The spatialities within Barthes' work are most evident in his *Empire of Signs*, (Barthes, 1997d; Knight, 1997), in which Japan exists as an atopic site outside the doxical/paradoxical orderings of Western analyses:

> 'Hence Orient and Occident cannot be taken here as "realities" to be compared and contrasted historically, philosophically, culturally, politically. I am not lovingly gazing toward an Oriental essence... What can be addressed, in the consideration of the Orient, are not other symbols, another metaphysics, another wisdom (though the

> latter might appear thoroughly desirable): it is the possibility of a difference, of a mutation, of a revolution in the propriety of symbolic systems.' (Barthes, 1997d: 3-4)

Thus, just as Barthes uses the term 'biographeme' to displace the regulatory order imposed by a structured biography, perhaps a sense of 'geographeme' (the ongoing, dialogical processes of place formation) should by used in preference to a geography (the structured academic spatialisation of social processes). It is this spatially negotiative concept which is used in Massey's (1994) work on processual senses of place, as well as post-structuralist concerns of 'third spaces' (Golding, 1993b), sites of 'connectivity' (Probyn, 1996), 'hybridity' and 'inbetweenness' (Bhabha, 1994).

Summary

It was noted previously that post-structuralist and queer theoretical understandings of negotiated senses of sexual spaces and communities were significant in contending with the contradictions inherent in concerns of sexuality, communality and space. This section developed these notions of 'negotiativity' by engaging with the writings of Barthes. Three elements within Barthes work were outlined: doxa (systems of repression and control), paradoxa (forces of transgression) and atopia (the processes occurring between and beyond these forces) (Figure 3.3). This model provides a basis for reconciling differences outlined in Chapter two between fixed and fluid conceptions of sexuality and space by changing the terms of the debate. Both fixed and fluid representations of sexual histories, communities and spaces were argued to be equally paradoxical depending upon the context in which they occurred.

Thus, issues of sexuality, communality and space should not consider purely fixed or fluid representation of sexual communities and space, but should be seen to exist within the context of the complicitous interactions between doxa and paradoxa. As sites of doxa are diverse and spatial/temporally contextual, so should paradoxical transgressions (such as gay ghettos and identity-plays) be seen to be contextual. Figure 3.4 therefore situates varying accounts of sexuality and space into the model of doxa/paradoxa/atopia in order to perceive the differing contexts in which they were conducted. Finally, a Barthes-inspired approach contributes to the post-structrualist and queer theoretical constructions previously addressed by relating issues of

negotiativity and process to the functioning of systems of restraint (doxa) and resistance (paradoxa). Within this framework, not only can the trends of doxa and paradoxa be related together, but an understanding of ongoing process can be appreciated.

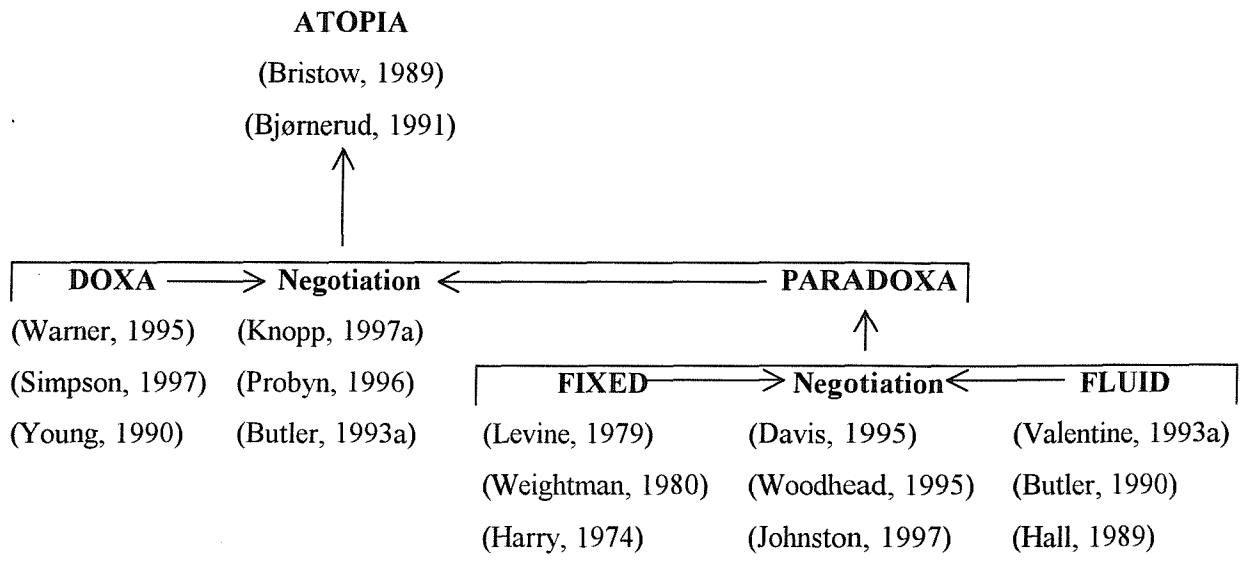


Figure 3.4: The Doxa, Paradoxa and Atopia of Research into Sexual Identities, Communities and Spaces

VI: Conclusions

This chapter has sought to extend those issues raised in regard to work on sexuality within geography outlined in the previous chapter. Chapter two suggested that there had been a shift from fixed, quantitative mapping techniques in the representation of gay male and lesbian lives, through more fluid, qualitative ethnographic approaches towards a more negotiative framework between these methods. The aim of this chapter has been to develop this framework so that it can be used to consider gay spaces and communities of Brighton.

The first section of this chapter considered the issue of sexual identities and their historical constitution. Two conflictual accounts were considered: biologically

essentialist (trans-spatial, trans-historical) understandings, and social-constructivist (spatially and historically contingent) perceptions of sexuality (Milligan, 1991). Again, like the issue of sexual spaces, it was argued that a negotiative framework needed to be constructed which related these competing paradigms together.

The second section extended the debate on sexual spaces and histories to consider the construction of sexual communities. Interestingly, the trend in sociological and anthropological work on community formation was similarly noted in shifts in understandings of sexuality in geography. A shift was noted from the biological, naturalising perceptions of community (associated particularly with the Chicago School) to the socially constructed model used by Elias (1994), Cohen (1987) and Anderson (1990), and more recently to a strategic and negotiated sense of community lying between these frameworks (Crow and Allen, 1994).

The third section approached this issue of negotiativity within sexual communities, histories and spaces by drawing upon the work of Massey (1991; 1994; 1996), post-structuralists (Probyn, 1994; 1996; Grosz, 1995; Rose, 1996), and queer-theorists (Ingram, 1997a; Désert, 1997; Betsky, 1996) to illustrate the need for a processual, non-binaristic approach. The fourth section developed issues of negotiativity and process by exploring concepts discussed in the writing of Barthes. Drawing upon his work, a three-pronged model was constructed (Figure 3.3) which permitted a processual perception of sexual communities and spaces whilst accepting the importance of acknowledging the significance and potency of socio-political binarisms (e.g. repression and resistance). In this regard, a concept of process (atopia) could be developed that nonetheless critically acknowledged issues of repression (doxa) and resistance (paradoxa). Consequently, a concept of negotiativity could be developed which reconciled those contradictions previously outlined in relation to sexual communities, histories and spaces by situating paradoxical forces within and against the (cultural, historical, political) context of doxa, and visa versa. It is this three-pronged model that will therefore be used to explore expressions of communities and spaces amongst gay men in Brighton. Before that, however, it is necessary to consider how the issue of process and negotiativity can be related to the research project itself.

Chapter Four

Knowing the Difference: Methodology, the 'Field' and the Politics of Writing

CHAPTER FOUR
KNOWING THE DIFFERENCE: METHODOLOGY, THE 'FIELD' AND THE POLITICS OF WRITING

I : Introduction

If the idea of using Barthes to construct a research framework seems abhorrent to 'pure Barthesists' (itself an oxymoron), then a chapter on methodology would be intolerable. The construction of any research methodology imposes a language upon the social field, defines its limits and thus perpetuates a new doxa. In this vein, the concept of 'doing methodologies' has come under much criticism, drawing attention to the politics of research within areas such as anthropology, sociology and geography (Kulick, 1995a; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus and Fisher, 1986; Freeman, 1983; Said, 1979; McDowell, 1992a, 1992b; Schoenberger, 1992; Nast, 1994; England, 1994; Staeheli and Lawson, 1994). A consistent feature of this literature has been the need to remain cognisant of political forces inherent within the academic 'project', without silencing necessary research on the needs and experiences of disempowered and marginalised sections of society (McDowell, 1992a; Killick, 1995; Chouinard and Grant, 1996). This chapter, however, will indicate ways in which Barthes' writings provide a means to contend with these difficulties.

Issues of sexuality are particularly relevant to this debate, given that gay men and lesbians deserve recognition within academia through their social marginalisation on account of homophobic and heterosexist forces (Bell, 1991). However, as a result of sexism, racism and homophobia within the academy (Haraway; 1991; Spivak, 1988), research relating to (homo)sexuality has often been rejected as trivial and inconsequential, being stigmatised by a discourse which asserts itself as centred, rational and 'normal' whilst constructing the 'Other' as marginal and deviant (Weeks and Holland, 1996; Bell, 1995c; Kulick, 1995; Bolton, 1995). Consequently, studies of sexuality and space not only communicate important understandings of the negotiation of lesbians and gay male lives in relation to societal homophobia and heterosexism, but also

confront the very politics of writing and researching within academia (Désert, 1997; Haver, 1997; Binnie, 1997a).

Thus, any research exploring issues of sexuality has to contend with the need to undertake necessary areas of study whilst recognising the limitations of working within a politically biased academic discourse. Or, as McDowell puts it, it is imperative to engage with the politics of 'speaking from inside and outside "the project"' (McDowell, 1992a: 56)[1]. Any researcher who is engaged in exploring the life experiences of 'marginalised' groups must therefore consider not only the politics of his/her own position, but also the power implications inherent in the researcher/researched relationship. In this chapter, I will consider each of these issues, first exploring the researcher/researched relationship and the 'way we do geography', second reflecting upon and justifying the methodology selected in this study, and third considering the research 'field' of Brighton.

II: Research as Process: Challenging the doxa of 'the project'

Speaking within and outside the project: Feminist critiques of academic discourse

Recent studies have criticised the myth of a passive, rational and scientific stance from which a 'truth' of subjugated populations can be determined. Said (1979) and Freeman (1983), for example, have illustrated a neo-colonialist bias inherent within Western anthropological and sociological studies on non-western societies, whilst Bhabha (1988) and Anderson (1996) have similarly explored racism within Western academic discourse. In addition, feminist writers, such as Haraway (1991), Harding (1986; 1987) and Alcoff (1996) have considered the masculine basis of scientific knowledge, perceiving the construction of such 'knowledge' to be founded on the marginalisation of non-male identities.

This work, however, perpetuates a certain paradox: recognising the need to undertake research with marginalised groups, how is it possible to conduct research without recuperating those subjugated standpoints into mainstream academia? More

disconcertingly, to what extent can such studies be used to support the 'normalcy' of a straight, white, male mainstream academia? Is it not surprising, given this association between 'scientific' research and social control, that many marginalised groups remain suspicious of researchers, questioning their motives for conducting research (Lee, 1993; Gowans, 1995)?

Feminist writers have been particularly outspoken about gendered power dynamics within research, contributing significantly to methodological debates in geography in three ways. First, feminist geographers have critiqued the concept of a detached, neutral observer within research, calling for the awareness of the researcher's positionality and the extent to which her/his subjectivities influence the research field (Haraway, 1991; McDowell, 1990). Consequently, the commonly upheld belief of the distanced observer is rejected in favour of a more interrelated and mutually constitutive understanding of the researcher/researched dynamic (Kulick, 1995; Nast, 1994; Hunt, 1984). Thus, for Kobayashi,

> 'The political is not only the personal, it is a commitment to deconstruct the barrier between the academy and the lives of the people it professes to represent' (Kobayashi, 1994: 73).

By exposing the relative position of power often present with 'mainstream' research, it has been possible to perceive the potential threat posed to research respondents by the research itself. For example, when dealing with sensitive subjects such as illegal or socially criticised sexual behaviour, the confidentiality of respondents is vital for their own physical and social security (England, 1994; Lee, 1993). Studies relating to gender and sexuality therefore not only have to embrace a more negotiative and interactive understanding of the research process but must also permit the construction of more sensitive research methods (Williams, 1993; Staeheli and Lawson, 1994; Bolton, 1995).

Second, feminist thinkers have critiqued notions of 'the field', rejecting the realist sense of a passive, detached world 'out there', and perceiving the research site to be constructed within the same social process of which research is a part. Consequently,

[1] Similarly, Harding asks, 'Is it possible to use for emancipatory ends current theories and methods that are so imbued with western, bourgeois, and masculine projects?' (Harding, 1986: 9).

the concept of the 'field' within research is inevitably an intensely political one (Kobayashi, 1994; Katz, 1994). For example, conceptions of a removed and bounded field are often constructed in gendered terms of a passive female space needy of penetration by masculine research in order to make it productive (Killick, 1995; Myslick, 1996). As Crapanzano questions, 'We say a text, a culture even, is pregnant with meaning. Do the ethnographer's presentations become pregnant with meaning because of his interpretative, his phallic fertilizations?' (Crapanzano, 1986: 52)[2].

The 'field' is thus not 'a place with identifiable borders and homogeneous topography' (Killick, 1995: 101), but is rather a battleground, a place where the experiences of marginalised populations come into conflict with the politics of doing research. Or, as Kobayashi puts it:

> 'every discursive field is a site of negotiation and struggle for power, and the politics of doing fieldwork will inevitably come up against the politics of the field' (Kobayashi, 1994: 79).

In an effort to dissolve the division between the research 'field' and the research, Katz reminds us that 'we are always already in the field' (1994: 67), or as Bolton suggests, 'A rallying cry for the feminist movement has been the slogan, "The personal is political". To that notion should be added the acknowledgement that "the personal is also professional"' (Bolton, 1995: 162).

It has also been suggested that academia attempts to retain the power differentials between 'us' and 'the natives' (Blackwood, 1995) through the recuperation of senses of otherness into a 'theory of deviance' (Sharp, 1996; Sedgwick, 1994) in which the 'other' is 'fetishised' (England, 1994: 84). Mapping exercises operate as one such theory of deviance, striving to reduce the unknown and hidden (female) to the exposed, ordered and contained (male). Thus:

> 'Being "lost" not only describes the subject in space; it describes the subject *as* space. The elevation of the subject over its surrounding

[2] Similarly, Gallop (1985) has associated the field with the unknown, the hidden, the subterranean, that is to say with characteristics associated with women, in contradistinction to the exposed power of phallic order.

> space collapses the minute vacuum assuring their separation disintegrates, likewise decomposing the pure compartmentalisation of the subject. "Being lost" becomes something like a crisis of differentiation, a dysfunction of the logic ensuring ordered space' (Kirby, 1996: 49)[3].

Again, the dissolution of the boundaries between the researcher and researched not only reveals the political nature of representing 'the field', but also indicates the possible influences and dangers to the researcher. Bruce (1987), for example, has commented on the vulnerability of the researcher to exploitation by respondents, whilst Moreno (1995) has discussed her experience of being raped whilst undertaking fieldwork.

Third, feminist lines of enquiry have critiqued concepts of ultimate truths and pure reason, exposing the gendered constructions of knowledge (Hall, 1994; Anderson, 1996). Lloyd (1984), for example, has commented that 'the confident affirmation that Reason "knows no sex" may likewise be taking for reality something which, if valid at all, is so only as an ideal' (107). Instead, theorists such as Braidotti (1991) and Hartsock (1983) have considered the degree to which epistemologies are neither detached nor distant, but are rather involved and socially contingent. As Hartsock argues, 'epistemologies grow out of differing material circumstances' (Hartsock, 1990: 158), a notion she develops elsewhere into an understanding of 'standpoint theory' (Hartsock, 1983). Similarly, Haraway (1991) has called for the use of 'situated knowledges' to expose the positions from which researchers speak, critiquing their 'views from nowhere', and situating the greater understanding of social processes within those 'on the margin', the oppressed, the subjugated and the dominated.

Putting the subaltern into discourse: 'Writing-up' and the politics of representation

The themes of the researcher/researched relationship, the socio-political construction of the field, and the status of academic knowledge have generated a crisis in representing subjugated social groups within research. Returning to the initial question, how is it possible to write about marginalised groups without recuperating them within the doxa of academic discourse? Or, as McDowell asks, 'how may we write so as to include not

[3] In this regard, space, or 'that which is to be mapped' operates as a form of female receptiveness, whilst the masculine academic 'eye' exists beyond space as a form of 'Godtrick' (Haraway, 1991).

only the previously excluded others as subjects and objects of our texts but also write for multiple excluded *readers*?' (McDowell, 1992a: 65).

Spivak (1988) has contributed much to this debate, questioning the extent to which Western academic discourse can provide a voice for the subaltern. She criticises Foucault and Deleuze, for example, for failing to acknowledge the ideology present within their own discourse, despite their concerns for exposing the micro-processes of power and capitalism. The subaltern's voice, suggests Spivak, can only be present in research if it can be articulated within the doxa of academic discourse. However, she suggests that this is impossible given the extent to which the ideology[4] of a predominantly male-biased, colonialist academic discourse is predicated on the exclusion of 'othered' voices. Bringing the subaltern from the margin to the centre of intellectual concern denies the very nature of subjugated groups and imbues them with the doxa of academic institutions. That is, it denies the very potential of the standpoint theory suggested by Hartsock (1983) and Haraway (1990). The subaltern's 'voice' can only be heard in as much as it is beyond the definitions of institutionalised research.

It is for this reason that Spivak argues:

> 'the substantive concern for the politics of the oppressed which often accounts for Foucault's appeal can hide a privileging of the intellectual and of the "concrete" subject of oppression that, in fact, compounds the appeal' (Spivak, 1988: 292).

In this regard, Spivak concludes that within academia, 'There is no space from which the sexed subaltern subject can speak' (Spivak, 1988: 307).

The politics of writing, or the 'putting into discourse' of the research subject, have been considered by Portelli, who notes the processes whereby the voices of oppressed minorities are corrupted by the oppressive discourse of the academy:

> 'Traits which cannot be reduced to segments are the site...of essential narrative functions: the emotional function, the narrator's participation

[4] Let's not forget that Barthes rejected the term 'dominant ideology' on the grounds that it operated as a pleonasm: you cannot have an ideology without dominance (Barthes, 1997).

> in the story, the way the story affects the narrator....By abolishing these traits, we flatten the emotional content of speech down to the presumed equanimity and objectivity of the written document. This is even more true when folk informants are involved: they may be poor in vocabulary but are generally richer in the range of tone, volume and intonation, as compared to middle class speakers who have learnt to imitate in speech the dullness of writing' (Portelli, 1981: 98).

Consequently, there exists an incompatibility between the spoken and the written word. Thus, 'The first thing that makes oral history different, therefore, is that it tells us less about events as such than about their meaning' (Portelli, 1981: 99), and similarly 'the only act contemporary with the act of writing is writing itself'.

Barthes also commented on the limitations inherent in reducing the spoken word of his interviews to a written text:

> 'We talk, a tape recording is made, diligent secretaries listen to our words to refine, transcribe, and punctuate them, producing a first draft that we can tidy up afresh before it goes on to publication, the book, eternity. Haven't we just gone through the "toilette of the dead"? We have embalmed our speech like a mummy, to preserve it forever. Because we really must last a bit longer than our voices' (Barthes, 1991: 3).

After transcription, the owner of the voice, like the author of her/his text, is dead. Every time a quotation is selected, arranged and interpreted, the spoken word of the interviewee is obscured by the doxa of writing (unless, as Portelli suggests, the respondent already speaks with the 'dullness' of 'conventional' language). England (1994) commented on this tendency within her research, noting the frequency with which she found herself privileging the need for obtaining 'a good quote' above the need for sensitivity and support for her respondent's disclosures.

The politics of writing are particularly relevant to concerns of sexual orientation, especially considering the extent to which the 'putting into discourse of sex' has been used oppressively to constrain the lives of gay men (Foucault, 1990). Moreover, Rich (1993), Wittig (1993) and Rubin (1993) have indicated the extent to which systems of legal, social, medical and political language have been constructed to control the expression of non-white / male / heterosexual individuals within Western culture.

Sedgwick (1991) suggests that the naming and stigmatisation of homosexuality has been so considerable in the functioning of systems of regulation and power that the binarism of homosexual/heterosexual has become a defining moment in modern Western society.

In this vein, commentaries on research texts that aim to be supportive of lesbian and gay concerns have often revealed considerable heterosexist biases[5]. In Miller's (1993) critique of Sontag's *Notes on 'Camp'* (1979) and *AIDS and its Metaphors* (1989), for example, he suggests that her desire to demystify the politics of AIDS and camp has resulted in an inadvertently homophobic and heterosexist discourse. Indeed, he claims that Sontag silences the experiences of gay men living with AIDS in her work:

> 'It is not that Sontag's statements, as such, are untrue; what is disingenuous is rather the pattern in which they are all made, a pattern that consists of denying, in the form of an invitation to move beyond the specifically gay bearings of AIDS metaphors' (Miller, 1993: 214).

Opening up academic discourse to include the voices of stigmatised others is fraught with considerable difficulties. If all academic research ceased to engage with marginalised groups due to fears of recuperating their experiences into institutionalised language, crucial projects would become derailed (Probyn, 1995). Furthermore, McDowell suggests that denying centred, coherent understandings of social processes in favour of more fragmentary frameworks is not politically desirable for marginalised groups (1992a). Addressing the marginal position of women, McDowell finds it frustrating that postmodern contestations of the conceptual centre have perpetuated the side-lining of female concerns and interests in research: 'Fragmentation has less appeal to those of us who have neither been whole nor at the centre' (McDowell, 1992a: 61). Similarly, Haraway has commented on the need for researchers to be aware of issues of difference and diversity whilst retaining a coherent understanding of regulatory constraints:

[5] It is for this reason that Hallam (1997) suggests that the structure of academic writing is incompatible with expressions of sexuality.

> 'Some differences are playful; some are poles of world historical systems of domination. Epistemology is about knowing the difference.'(Haraway, 1991: 560)[6].

Knowing the difference: Feminism, literary criticism and the politics of writing

On what basis, however, is it possible to 'know the difference' within research? Feminist methodologies have suggested ways in which an understanding of the inter-dynamics of the researcher, the researched and the research 'field' relationship can support the process of 'knowing the difference' (McDowell, 1992a; 1992c). I would also suggest that debates within 'literary criticism' can strengthen these concerns and be used to provide useful insights into the politics of representation within academia.

McDowell (1992a), however, rejects literary critical techniques as a research method, perceiving literary criticism to be absorbed with the apolitical concerns of textuality, and aligns these concerns with the fragmentation and confusion associated with postmodernism (64). Furthermore, McDowell finds something politically dubious about literary critical methods, drawing upon Miller (1986; 1990) to illustrate the gendered implications of the 'Death of the Author'. Miller suggests that concerns of the limitations of the author within the text are not particularly useful to marginalised groups who have long been silenced within language. As Miller comments in relation to forces of institutional power, 'Only those who have it can play with not having it' (1990: 118). As such, the death of the author is more profoundly felt by women who are silenced within the text whilst structures of power remain unchallenged (McDowell, 1992a; Miller, 1986).

Whilst I agree that it is important to be aware of the gendered, sexualised and racialised context of literary theory, I would contest McDowell's equation of literary criticism with postmodernism and apolitical discourse. Indeed, I would go on to suggest that issues within literary theory, semiology, and linguistics can be used to further understandings of the researched / researcher / research relationship. McDowell's elision of Barthes, deconstructivism and postmodernism replays a problematic critique seen earlier in Harvey (1989). Here, Harvey comments that the

[6] Gibson-Graham (1996) and Singer, (1992) have similarly addressed the issue of multiple voices within research, using a postmodern perspective.

> 'loss of historical continuity in values and beliefs, taken together with the reduction of the work of art to a text stressing discontinuity and allegory, poses all kinds of problems for aesthetic and critical judgement. Refusing (and actively 'deconstructing') all authoritative or supposedly immutable standards of aesthetic judgements, postmodernism can judge the spectacle only in terms of how spectacular it is. Barthes proposes a particularly sophisticated version of that strategy. He distinguishes between *pleasure* and *'jouissance'*...and suggests we strive to realize the second, more orgasmic effect...through a particular mode of encounter with the otherwise lifeless cultural artefacts that litter our social landscape' (Harvey, 1989: 56-58).

Harvey goes on to cite Huyssens' (1984) work who criticises Barthes for constructing a problematic distinction between 'lower pleasures for the rabble. i.e. mass culture', and the '*nouvelle cuisine* of the pleasure of the text, *jouissance*'. However, I have never seen such hierarchies in Barthes' work, and indeed it was precisely Barthes' intention to dismiss these bourgeois binarisms. Moreover, the concept of a removed 'higher social critique' was, for Barthes, either illusory, or at best, utopian; it certainly did not proffer the qualities of atopia, of *jouissance* (1997a). Barthes was only too aware that the functioning of systems of repression, of doxa, could not be casually dismissed, and thus his concern with *jouissance* was entirely to construct a site of bliss in excess of the doxa/paradoxa relationship. Consequently, the pleasure of the text is a highly political principle, rejecting boundaries of lower- and higher-class pleasures.

In this vein, Barthes attempted in *Mythologies* to expose the systems of power ordering and controlling of society, as well as the attempts at obscuring their presence through the constitution of social myths, of things 'taken-as-given' (1993a). This social demythologising is, ironically, not far removed from Harvey's attempt at decrypting (and 'defetishising') urban space in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (1985). Thus, to reduce Barthes' work to a level of bourgeois navel-gazing ignores what is infact a highly political concern; a concern for the politics of repression and resistance in society.

There are three areas in which Barthes' work strengthens feminist concerns for the politics of social research. First, Barthes was well aware of the extent to which he wrote from within the power constraints of his own academic position (Calvet, 1994). At a conference in 1979 of which Barthes was the subject, for example, the writer compared himself to a French-fried potato:

> 'In the skillet the oil spreads, smooth, flat, matte (barely any smoke): a kind of *materia prima*. Drop a slice of potato into it: it is like a morsel tossed to wild beasts only half-asleep, waiting. They all fling themselves upon it, attack it noisily: a voracious banquet. The slice of potato is surrounded - not destroyed, but hardened, caramelized, made crisp; it becomes an object: a French-fried potato' (Barthes, 1986b: 355).

In other words, Barthes is aware of the tendency to recuperate the writer, to award the academic a degree of truth determined by his/her institutional position. The social issues conveyed by the researcher lie beyond the language of academia, and thus the subaltern within research suffers from a similar authorial demise as the writer to her/his text. The process of writing research must therefore negotiate with the power structures within academia and the need to convey social issues.

Second, returning to McDowell (1992a), she stresses that, 'One of the aims of feminist writers is to build a continuity between women as writers, women as subjects of the text, and women as readers' (1992a: 67). This is precisely Barthes' aim: to expose the position of all writers who claim to speak from a position of 'truth'; to highlight the politics of representation within writing, and to engage with more egalitarian constructions of the writer-reader relationship. This site of continuity between the reader, the writer and the subject is reflected in Barthes' understanding of atopia, of *jouissance*, and of the 'cruising' of the reader (Barthes, 1997a). Elsewhere, Barthes considered such writing to be related to the *ecrivain* (the writer as a dynamic lived being), as opposed to the *ecrivant* (the repressive system of writing) (Barthes, 1977), or to the *scriptible* text (the writerly text which the reader can rewrite, or desire to rewrite), as opposed to the *lisible* text (the readerly text, which can only be read) (Barthes, 1997c). To cruise, to write as the ecrivain, to write a scriptible text are the techniques involved in promoting greater equanimity between the writer and the reader.

Third, Barthes offers an understanding of where this site of cruising can occur. Applying concerns over the politics of writing to figure 3.2, it is possible to associate the repressive, exclusionary system of language to doxa, or the 'warrior topos'. The utopian, paradoxical excess of doxa can be related to the expression of marginal voices, the site of the subaltern, of difference, a site in which recuperation is forever present

(McDowell, 1992a; Spivak, 1988). What exists beyond this system is atopia, the site of bliss, the punctum, dialogue, process (Bjørnerud, 1992). This atopic quality is reflected in Spivak's call for the 'unlearning' of gendered bias within postcolonial discourse (1988: 295), in Bhabha's (1988) concern for the 'agonistic relations'[7] within feminist and class politics, and in Humm's (1989) understanding of the 'extopic' potential of writing[8]. In short, the concept of atopia provides a framework in which the continuity of the research / researcher / researched relationship can be supported[9].

Summary

Given the arguments outlined above, several summary comments can be made. First, whilst acknowledging that I am part of the field I am studying, it is necessary to acknowledge that I cannot express issues 'within the field' in any way that is removed from the doxa of my own academic position (Katz, 1994). Second, whilst recognising the impossibility of speaking for the 'other' in my research, it is important to strive to retain a sense of political solidarity with those represented in my work (Spivak, 1988; McDowell, 1992a). Third, whilst it is impossible to select, transcribe and interpret the voices of respondents in any way which is immune from the structures of my own position and the research environment in which I am a part, it is imperative that this awareness does not limit the need to embrace with marginalised groups in research. Fourth, in order to undertake this negotiated understanding between myself as researcher and the research respondents, it is necessary to reveal atopic processes within my research whilst remaining critically aware of forces of doxa and utopia (Bristow, 1989; Bjørnerud, 1992). Consequently, the next section of this chapter will consider this negotiative dynamic, justifying the methodological techniques chosen, and discussing issues encountered when interacting with the field.

---

[7] Agonistic relations are defined as relations that form their own rules in a process of becoming, rather than by a set of predetermined rules (Bhabha, 1988).

[8] Humm's definition of extopia is very similar to that of Barthes' atopia drawing upon ideas of writing as a process of becoming, of existence, rather than occurring as the essence of being.

[9] Work by queer theorists (such as Bristow [1989], Bjørnerud [1992] and Brown [1997]) have indicated the advantages of using literary critical techniques in conducting research into marginalised sexualities. Similarly, Mercer (1993) has employed Barthes' understanding of the punctum in his reading of Mapplethorpe's photographs of black men to illustrate both the repressive and resistive possibilities of these black sexualities. Nancy (1997), Désert (1997) and Laclau (1997) have commented upon concepts of the 'double elevation', the 'double space' and the 'double impossibility' of marginalised sexual identities in their critique of bounded doxical and paradoxical frameworks of sexuality.

III: Conducting Research as a Site of Atopia

Introduction: Constructing Methodologies

There exists a difficulty in writing a methodological chapter similar to that encountered with the construction of a Barthes-inspired framework of analysis. If research and the research field exist as a site of process and dynamism, how is it possible to construct and adhere to a set of pre-determined methodological techniques and tools? As Brannen (1992) considers, social research[10] is frequently a messy and complicated business, and is only portrayed as a straightforward and simple affair at the moment of reportage or 'writing up'.

The concept of 'atopia' outlined previously is useful in this regard, however. Just as atopia reconciles the divisions of doxa and paradoxa, so too can this principle be used to bring together both the construction of a research design and the negotiations associated with the research as process. Therefore, it is possible to construct an understanding of research as a site of 'cruising'; a relationship in which I cruised the research field (set up the research framework, conducted interviews and so forth), and in which the research field cruised me (brought about a change in my ideas, influenced my position as researcher). It is for this reason that I will now consider these issues in detail.

The Methodological Framework: Cruising the field

Conceiving the research process in an atopic manner by no means relativises issues relating to methodological concerns. On the contrary, perceiving research to be a negotiative process places greater onus on the careful selection of appropriate research methods. This section will therefore address and justify the techniques used to explore issues of gay male communities and spaces in Brighton.

First, it is necessary to explain why it was that gay men were considered in this study. One reason was that being a gay man generated an understandably sceptical and hostile response from many lesbians, understandable because a) they could not comprehend why

[10] And scientific research, for that matter. See for example Schumm (1980).

a man was interesting in their experiences and views[11], and b) there were perceived dangers on their part in being interviewed by a man (see for example Herod [1994]), dangers compounded by the fear of homophobia. Another reason was that, as Adler and Brenner (1992), Valentine (1993c) and Bouthilette (1997) have explored, lesbian experiences of place and community are radically different from those of gay men on account of such differences as income and sexism. Thus, lesbians construct a very different geography, a difference which made it difficult to conduct a study of both gay male and lesbian communalities and spatialities over time in a three-year period.

Second, this concern should not presume that there is a distinct, unitary understanding of 'gay men' in Brighton, and consequently the issue of representativeness needs to be addressed. Given that many guidelines for social research stress the need for sound sampling techniques to ensure the research validity (Alreck and Settle, 1985: 63-94; Morton-Williams, 1993), what techniques can be adopted to generate a representative sample of gay men in Brighton? This issue is more complex than it may at first appear, for there is a difficulty in ascertaining just what a representative sample may mean (Plummer, 1981; Davies, 1986). Even highly defined and essentialist research strategies, such as Kinsey *et al*'s seven point scale of sexuality (1948: 1953), was strongly influenced by social and political contexts[12]. In addition, recent post-structuralist research has revealed sexual identities to be highly dynamic and negotiated phenomena, thus questioning the very understanding of the 'representative gay man' (Butler, 1993a). Furthermore, upholding ideas of representative gay men may fix an academic ideal onto the research field, recuperating the expression of 'otherness' into the structure of academic discourse (Portelli, 1981).

However, whilst the category of 'representative gay man' needs to be critiqued, the differing ways in which sexuality is expressed necessitates careful selection of research respondents. This is not solely to encourage explorations of gay male sexualities across age, class, race, HIV status and ability contexts, but also to minimise bias from my own

---

[11] Gowans (1995) noted similar issues involved with her position as a hetersosexual women conducting focus groups with lesbians.

[12] With the example of Kinsey *et al's* (1948; 1953) research, their work was almost entirely based on experiences of urban, white, middle-class people (Weeks, 1977).

research standpoint as a young, white, middle-class, HIV negative gay man. Respondents were initially selected through reading articles from gay newspapers and magazines, such as *Boyz*, the *Pink Paper* and *G-Scene*, and through listings in the *Gay Times* which provided contact addresses for social, political, commercial and study groups. There was a concern, however, that information obtained from this source was inevitably biased towards commercially active gay groups, generating a distinct commercial and economic privileging in the research (Badgett, 1997).

In this regard, an advertisement for gay male respondents was placed in the *Argus* newspaper, whose distribution covered Sussex and Hampshire (Appendix III). The Argus was selected above gay publications because the latter was often only available in commercial premises, thus providing a more diverse range of respondents than may otherwise be obtained (Brannen, 1988). A subsequent article published in the *Argus* on my research also served to advertise my research aims to a wide range of gay men. As a result of such advertisements, 94 respondents expressed a wish to be involved in the study either through written or verbal contact. Other respondents were chosen through 'snowballing techniques', whereby one respondent suggested further individuals to contact. Several lines of snowballing were undertaken to minimise possible areas of bias derived from respondents recommending other individuals with similar experiences and views (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981). Finally, respondents were also obtained through general contacts made in and around Brighton.

Respondents were selected to be a part of this study on the basis of two criteria: experiences of different senses of community and space amongst gay men in Brighton across time; and differing experiences of gay male communities and space in Brighton due to age, race, HIV status, class, disability and degree of political affiliation. A total of 78 respondents were finally selected, themselves broken down into two categories: 11 individuals selected in a preliminary period of study between November 1995 and May 1996 in an effort to ascertain key research themes; and a further stage in which 68 respondents were interviewed between June 1996 and March 1998 in order to develop and contribute to these themes.

It was felt that semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate source of information in researching lives of gay men. Whilst much methodological literature suggested that inter-subjective influences between researcher and researched should be minimised as much as possible (Clark and Schober, 1992; Abelson *et al*, 1992; Dovidio and Fazio, 1992; Fowler and Mangione, 1990; McCrossan, 1991; Cannell, 1985; Alreck and Settle, 1985; Singer *et al*, 1983; Guenzel *et al*, 1983), I thought that such approaches were utopian, and felt it advantageous to adopt a more negotiative, dialogical relationship. This approach allowed me to remain cognisant of the influence of my own positionality within the research process, as well as to be aware of the influence the research process had on me as the researcher. Given those arguments about the researcher as colonialist and the research field as a detached entity outlined above, monitoring the research relationship appeared to be a far more profitable exercise than striving to extricate the 'self' as researcher from the 'other' as researched.

Semi-structured interviews were selected due to their potential for obtaining detailed and intensive information, as well as sensitive to often emotive and personal accounts from respondents (Frey and Oishi, 1995; Morton-Williams, 1993; Lee, 1993). The flexibility offered by such an approach was important in permitting avenues of enquiry to be developed which hadn't been addressed in a defined list of questions. In addition, semi-structured interviews allowed respondents to have greater input into the interview, providing a relaxed framework, helping them to recall certain issues and memories (Abelson, 1992; Suchman and Jordan, 1992; Fisher and Quigley, 1992; Humphries, 1984). A structure of questions was still retained to ensure that comparable issues were discussed from the differing viewpoints of respondents.

Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 4 hours. Respondents were asked to select the location of the interview and whether they wished the interview to be tape-recorded (of the 78 respondents, 63 gave permission for the interview to be recorded). The location was of central importance given the sensitive nature of the research (many respondents took part in activities still criminalised by law, were fearful that their families would discover their sexuality, were afraid of possible homophobic repercussions, or were concerned that their HIV-status being might be made public). Discussions about living with AIDS, for example, could only be discussed within the respondent's home whereas

less sensitive issues could be talked about more openly in a bar or restaurant. A further consequence of the sensitive nature discussed in many interviews was the need for confidentiality (Lee, 1993; Kennedy-Bergen, 1992; Fielding, 1990; Bailey, 1988; Jenkins, 1987). Tapes were stored in a private location, whilst all transcripts were anonymised. During the process of writing-up, respondents' names were replaced with a system of codes, describing the capacity in which they were interviewed in this research (pub-owner[2], OutRage! spokesperson[1]).

In addition to these semi-structured interviews, two 'group interviews' were conducted[13]: group interview[1] consisting of five gay men familiar active in the early (1945-1970) gay scene of Brighton, and group interview[2] involving nine gay men with divergent opinions of the present scene. These group interviews aimed to discuss issues arising from the one-to-one interviews, providing a format in which ideas can be shared, challenged and discussed.

Archival research was also undertaken primarily at the Brighton Public Library and at the Cambridge University Library. The purpose of such research was not because written sources of information was nearer social and historical 'truths' (Portelli, 1981), but because they provided an alternative 'voice' from which to consider events impacting upon formations of gay communities and spaces in Brighton. Not surprisingly, Brighton Public Library was useful in reviewing material relating specifically to Brighton (with archival resources including copies of *G-Scene*, and local press reports), whereas Cambridge University Library was useful in accessing material which put Brighton's gay scene into the UK social and political context[14].

Finally, various events were attended, such as local meetings, police liaison groups, and Pride festivals. Such interaction permitted a deeper and more sensitive understanding of issues amongst Brighton's gay communities and spaces than would be attained through the (hopeless) attempts at maintaining an 'objective' and 'distanced' standpoint. Indeed,

[13] The term 'group-interviews' is preferable to 'focus groups' given that the respondents were not selected in advance, but took part spontaneously and voluntarily on the days in question.
[14] Other material, such as leaflets, photographs, videos, were obtained through interviews and group-interviews.

the concept of 'participant observation' associated with this method is an inevitable consequence of the critique of the researcher/ researched dichotomy. Moreover, given the methodological considerations of the previous section, the term 'participant observation' appears to be pleonastic: to observe is to participate and vice versa. To uphold concerns of participant observation is to suggest that a researcher can observe in a removed, non-participatory way, which itself is derived from a myth of scientific objectivity. Similarly, the methods associated with participant observation, such as note-taking, can ironically impose an objectivity which the concept of participation seeks to reject. For example, noting the weather, the dress, the noise can often accord the written text a stable scientific truth that contradicts the processual dynamic in which the material was collected. However, the concept of the researcher as a participatory observer is central in a methodological framework that seeks to explore the interrelationships between the researcher, the researched and the research field.

It was intended that the period of fieldwork would end once the 'saturation point' was reached (that is, when no significantly new information or opinions were being expressed) (Bieracki and Waldorf, 1981; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). However, the concept of research saturation was soon rejected as a myth founded upon the positivist belief in a removed and static research field. For example, if, as I have argued previously, the field is not static or removed, but rather processual and interactive, it is impossible for it to become saturated. To say that no significantly new information can be obtained is non-sensical because: a) a sample population cannot be determined for gay men; b) people's views do not remain fixed; c) the research field changes such that new people become relevant to the research; d) everything has meaning, even if it just repetition. Consequently, the fieldwork ended at the point in which the major issues arising from the research were covered in sufficient depth, acknowledging that the coverage of the research themes was limited by time, money and spatial location, as well as by my own subjective influence on the research process. By allowing feedback from the respondents on the nature and methods of my inquiry, and by constructing the research in a more interactive and dialogical manner, it was hoped that such limitations would be minimised.

Methodological Issues: Cruised by the Field

There is something problematic about a methodological ideal of separating the researcher from the researched (Clark and Schober, 1992; Fowler and Mangione, 1990; McCrossan, 1991), not only because it can obscure the inevitable influence that the researcher has on the research field, but also because it denies the possibility of the research field influencing the researcher and the research. In any study, the perception of the academic must be seen to be closely related to the object of perception. This was Kant's (1901) intention in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, a work in which he sought to relate *neumena* (the lived experience of an object) to *phenomena* (the perception of that object). In this regard, whereas the previous section set out the ways in which I structured my methodology and negotiated with my own influence on the study, this section will explore the ways in which the research field influenced my role as researcher and the research process itself This interactive understanding suggests that if, as Lefébvre (1991b) suggests, everyday life should be conceived of as a lived project, then the research project should be conceived of a lived process.

First, it should be understood that my knowledge of the research field extended far beyond the three years of the study: I had grown up within 14 miles of Brighton ever since the age of 9 months. This intimacy with the area of study has been critiqued by Katz (1994) who suggests that a degree of research bias may result, but considering the disadvantages associated with detached, objective perceptions of the research field (Anderson, 1996; Kirby, 1996), I feel it important to acknowledge and explore such interrelations and influences, rather than to dismiss them out-of-hand.

Although my proximity to Brighton did assist in setting up useful contacts for the research, it is significant that I 'came out' only two years previous to the study. Consequently, I was particularly naïve in terms of sexual readings of Brighton's space and in taking part in gay community networks. The following anecdote illustrates well the difficulties associated with the stance of a sexually naïve researcher.

A rich source of material came from graffiti inside toilet cubicles: times and dates for sexual rendezvous, police warnings, comments (often vitriolic) on the state of the local scene were all present there. Often I would take note of these comments, and on one

such occasion found myself being observed whilst in the process of note-taking. No doubt my actions would have been interpreted as of someone looking to engage in sexual activities. My position within this misunderstood socio-sexual interaction caused much embarrassment and fear on my part as I had to negotiate myself out of an awkward situation. Why was I embarrassed? What was I afraid of? In short, I feared not knowing the codes of behaviour, I was outside the *language* of the cottage. Two opportunities presented themselves when dealing with this situation: first, to make a speedy retreat and forget that the event took place (thus fulfilling the role of the detached observer); second, to learn from the situation and to allow both myself as researcher and the research to develop from these experiences (complying with the need for an interactive research approach).

What this example illustrates is the potential of adopting a conception of the researcher as being 'lost' in the field, and thus constituted as part of the field (Kirby, 1996), as opposed to any detached or remote realm of academic observation. Understandings of issues relating to sexuality, communality and space in Brighton were thus derived from an interactive researcher/researched relationship, and as such, issues from the 'research field' often stimulated or provoked certain lines of inquiry. For example, the need for a framework that resolved tensions between sameness and difference, resistance and repression, and my subsequent interest in Barthes, were all initially raised from views voiced by research respondents.

There were other ways in which my own identity as researcher was influenced through the process of conducting research. For example, it is interesting that at the time of devising the advertisement for the *Argus* paper (Appendix III), I was not 'out' to my parents. This caused considerable tension as my family received the paper in which I hoped to advertise. As a result, I 'came out' to my parents before the advert was published. Obviously, I would not be so grandiose to suggest that I 'came out' because of my Ph.D., but it nevertheless demonstrates the extent to which my experiences with the research field influenced the construction of my own identity. Alternatively, I could not read the spaces of Brighton in the way I did were it not for my own psycho-sexual development.

Finally, retaining this interactive view of research implies that some degree of control and power was present with the respondents, an issue made only too aware by the work of Bruce (1987) and Moreno (1995). For example, on several occasions a certain sexual reciprocity was expected by the interviewees; they give me an hour or two of their time, and in return they expect sexual repayment[15]. Two options immediately presented themselves: to sleep with the respondent (not to be dismissed as a professional no-no [Bolton, 1995; Binnie, 1994]); or to resist and proclaim that such relations were not part of the agreement for the interview. Between these polarised options, a third possibility presented itself: to proclaim one's subjective reasons for resisting sexual liaisons, and to set out honestly the reasons for rejecting sex (a monogamous relationship and personal lifestyle choice). The latter permits a more interactive approach than would otherwise be attained by a more objective, detached perception of the researcher role. This of course may not change the perception of the interviewee, who may still feel that the debt remains to be paid or bartered, but this should be dealt with from the position of the field relation, not from the position of a neutral observer[16].

Summary

The previous section outlined the need for research methodology to be constructed as a site of ongoing, dynamic process, whilst remaining cognisant of the limitations of the researcher and the politics of representation. This section has discussed more directly the ways in which my research was experienced as a site of negotiation between the researcher, the researched and the research field. First, I considered the way I 'cruised' (influenced) the field, noting the varied techniques (semi-structured interviews, groups interviews, archival research, participant observation) used to obtain the information needed. It is important to note that all methodological techniques have their limitations (their doxa), and consequently, the techniques selected had to be used in a ceaselessly interactive (atopic) process of research conduct, rather than desiring (utopically) to uncover a fieldwork 'truth'.

---

[15] Similar issues have been addressed about gender issues inherent in the research processes, with the threat both to female respondents and to female researchers (Herod, 1994; McDowell, 1993c; Moreno, 1995).

[16] I am aware that this negotiative potentiality does not exist regardless of gendered positions: often female researchers are not in the same position to resist sexual advances as are men.

Second, I considered the ways in which I was cruised (moved) by the research field, noting how I frequently became absorbed into the field, developing my own identity as researcher as my research progressed. Similarly, issues and pressures stimulated from the research were also shown to change the direction of the study. By denying my 'voice' as the ultimate truth of an academic and celebrating the active role of the researched, it was possible to conduct research as a site of atopic negotiation, as opposed to a simplistic appeal to an independent piece of research conducted on a particular area.

Obviously, the politics of representation which Spivak (1988) and Portelli (1981) discuss within this thesis cannot be rejected. It is difficult not to recuperate respondents' voices within the discursive limits of academia. After transcription, coding, selection, representation and interpretation, the presence of those I interviewed is somehow lost. The 74 year old tic-tac man, sitting in his two room bedsit drinking Bacardi and coke shares the same page with the 28 year old ex-London club worker with a newly furnished apartment over-looking Brighton seafront. Only I can recall their faces. How is it possible not to reduce these voices to the written text, to subject them to an execution by narration?

All I can do is to reiterate the need to remain cognisant of the limits of research, of academic writing; to strive to represent as accurately as possible those voices I heard throughout my study, voices telling stories still too often denied in academia. But as I write, I am no longer participating in the Brighton scene. My thesis is typed, printed and bound; perhaps passages will be revised, but the text remains fixed whilst Brighton moves on. Demonstrations will continue, Gay Pride festivals will take place, more individuals will be diagnosed as being HIV+, and their stories, each as clear and meaningful as each other, will be beyond this text. Once again I must repeat my desires for this research: I do not hope to create the definitive account of gay male communities in Brighton, to expose the *deus ex machina* of sexuality, space and community formation (such an aim will recuperate those very forces I wish to embrace). Rather, my aim is to write an atopic text, one that exists within process, one that promotes debate. Having been derived from (social and methodological) dialogue, I hope this thesis will continue rather than foreclose debate on sexuality and space.

IV: Brighton's Space as Atopia

Introduction: Atopic Space

Why choose Brighton? What is it about Brighton's space that lends itself to this research? There is a problem inherent in this question: if space should be thought of atopically, as a geographeme (an ongoing process of spatial becoming) as opposed to a geography (a bounded spatial concept), how is it possible to write Brighton's space without recuperating its dynamic and negotiative nature? This concept of the 'geographeme' reflects well the negotiated and processual understanding of place set out by Massey (1994a, 1994b)[17]. In this regard, I wish to consider why it is that Brighton should develop strong associations for lesbians and gay men, drawing not upon a simplistic chronological ordering of the popularisation of Brighton's space, but rather exploring the ways in which its history is imbued with conflict and tension.

Brighton: a history of sex, money and conflict

In 1680, Brighton, or 'Brighthelmstone' as it was then called, existed as an isolated fishing village. The popularity by which the town is associated today can primarily be assigned to the publication of Dr Richard Russell's 'Dissertation on the Use of Sea-Water in the Diseases of the Glands' in 1750 (fig. 4.1). This thesis promoted the bathing and internal consumption of sea-water as a cure for various ills (Manning-Saunders, 1951; Pimlott, 1976; Gilbert, 1954), and was influential on seaside resorts such as Scarborough and Ramsgate, replacing the declining spa towns as the new tourist destination (Stokes, 1947; Walton, 1983). Brighton was in an ideal situation to take advantage of these trends: less than fifty miles from Dr. Russell's practice in London, the town was cited by the author as the perfect location for the treatment of patients. As the health industry developed, the population of Brighton grew astonishingly, such that by 1753, Dr. Russell moved his practice to Brighton and constructed property purely for the use of his patients (Gilbert, 1954).

[17] Intriguingly, Shields (1991) explored a similar sense of marginality and liminality within space, relating these ideas to a (selective) history of Brighton, but without referring to the life experiences of lesbians and gay men.

DE

TABE GLANDULARI,

SIVE

DE USU AQUÆ MARINÆ

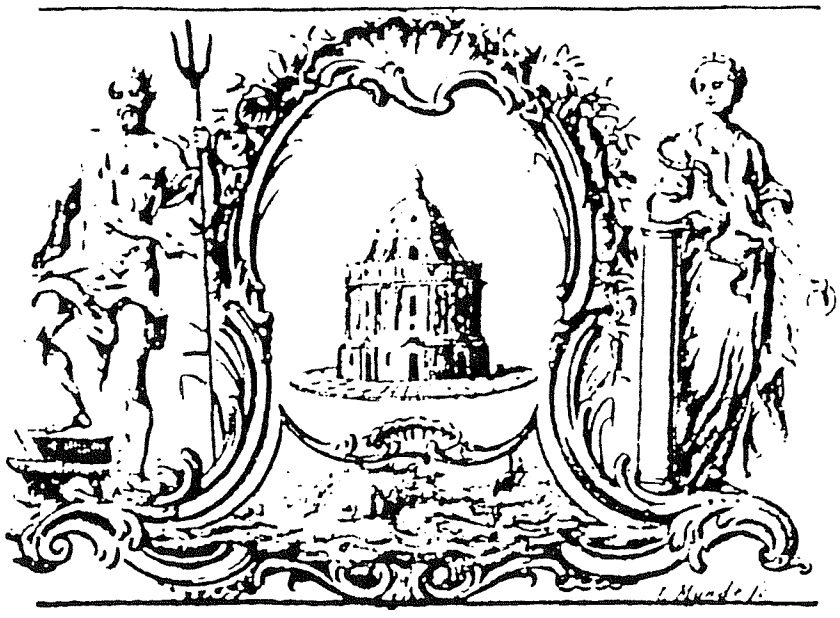
IN

MORBIS GLANDULARUM

DISSERTATIO.

Auctore RICARDO RUSSELL, M. D.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.
Mare abluit omnia hominum mala.
Euripides Iphigen. in Taur. V. 1193.



E THEATRO SHELDONIANO,
Proſtant venales apud JACOBUM FLETCHER, *Oxon.* & J. & J. RIVINGTON, *Lond.* MDCCL.

Figure 4.1: Title-page of the first edition of Dr. Russell's Publication, 'Dissertation on the Use of Sea-Water in the Diseases of the Glands'

Prior to Dr. Russell's work on sea-bathing practices, swimming or bathing in the sea or in open water was viewed as a highly immoral and debauched activity (Manning-Saunders, 1951). Consequently, taking pleasure in bathing was prohibited, and was only tolerated if it was pathologised within a medical and scientific discourse (Pimlott, 1976)[18]. In this regard, Dr. Russell asserted a highly religious and moralising discourse, suggesting that the gift of sea-water was designed by 'the omniscient Creator of all Things' as 'a Kind of common Defence against the Consumption and Putrefaction of Bodies'. Hence there were 'authoritative stories of the almost miraculous cures which were affected. The blind regained their sight; cripples threw away their crutches; the paralytic were made whole.' (Pimlott, 1976: 56).

In spite of Russell's concern for the use of sea-water for solely physically and morally cleansing means, pleasure bathing rapidly developed in Brighton for two reasons. First, the town's Royal connections during the 18th century strengthened Brighton's image as a 'rich man's playground' and as a place to hob-nob with the wealthy élite (Gilbert, 1954). In 1765, the Duke of Gloucester visited the town, followed by a visit from the Duke of York the next year. Both the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Cumberland lived in Brighton by 1771, and in 1785 the Prince of Wales constructed his seaside palace near the seafront (Hern, 1967), a palace embodying the decadence and flamboyance associated with the new king (fig. 4.2).

Second, the growth of the railways from the 1840s stimulated a renewed interest in tourism and pleasure bathing. In July 1838 a railway link between London and Brighton was under construction, and in 1843 Sir Rowland Hill operated the first London to Brighton excursion train, followed in 1845 by Thomas Cook. By 1847, 54 excursion trains were running every day to and from Brighton (Hern, 1967; Pimlott, 1976). The railways brought cheaper travel to those who previously could not afford the cost of transportation, and consequently, Brighton became a desirable destination for many working-class families. Day trips to Brighton became increasingly regular with the Bank Holidays Act of 1871 and the Holiday Extensions Act of 1875 (Walton, 1983).

[18] The similarities here with Foucault's (1990) 'putting into discourse of sexuality' is striking..

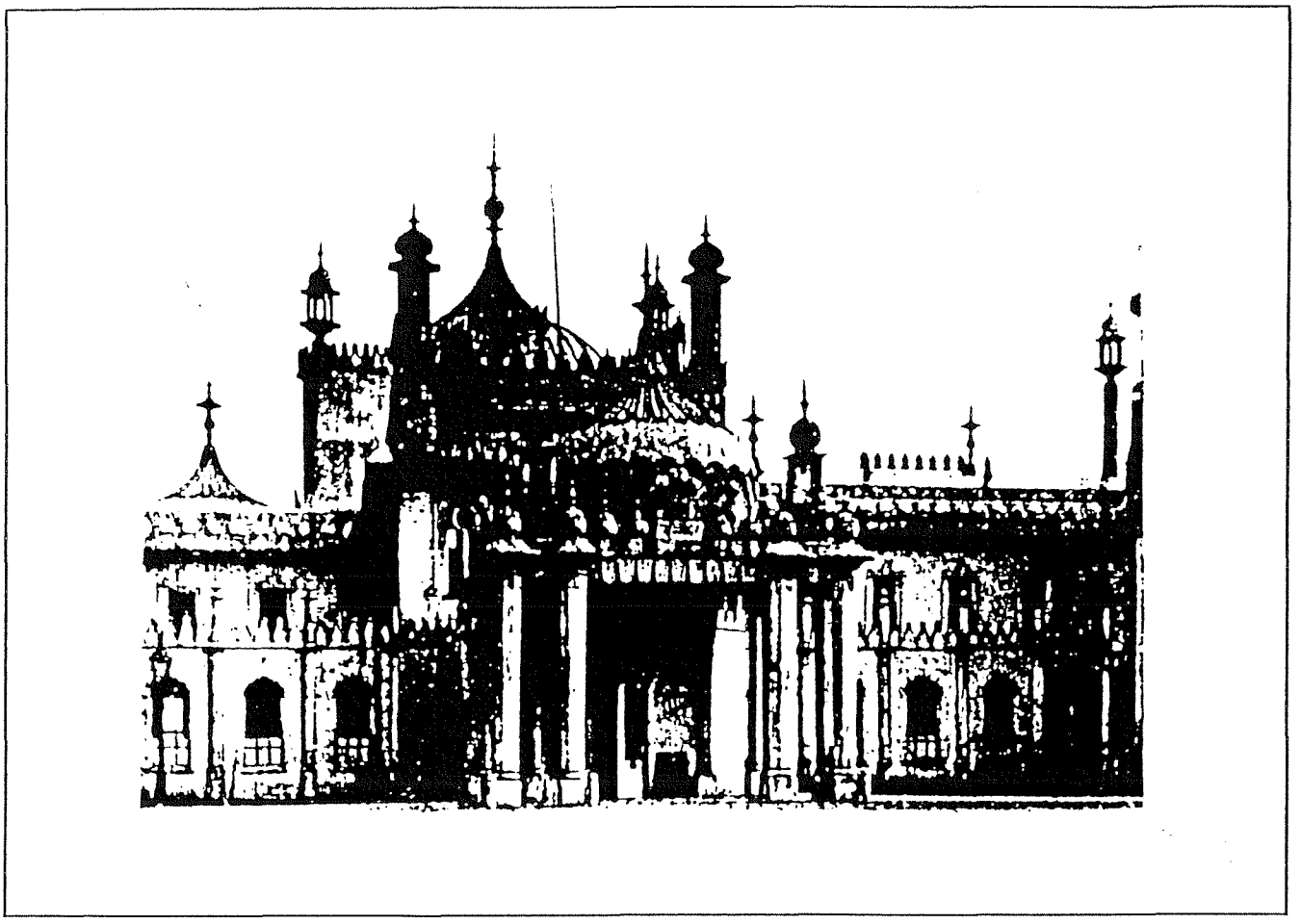


Figure 4.2: West Front of the Royal Pavilion in the 1930s
(Source: Brighton Public Library)

The growth of pleasure-bathing fostered concerns for the moral decline of coastal populations. In 1815, for example, John Styles, preaching at the Union Street Chapel, stated that:

> 'fashionable watering places are not only filled with the thoughtless, the gay, and the dissipated; but in addition, too many of the stated residents of an opposite description, persons of a graver character, of high religious attainments, with their long train of children, feel it is necessary to unbend from the cares and the common routine of existence.' (Styles, 1815, quoted in Gilbert, 1954:103-4).

In an effort to ensure that proper and sober decorum was maintained in seaside resorts, bathing machines were constructed in the 1730s to allow for greater privacy for bathers, and hoods were attached to the machines in the 1860s to ensure privacy at the point of descent into the water (fig. 4.3) (Manning-Saunders, 1951; Pimlott, 1976). In addition, mixed sea-bathing was banned throughout the country, and in some areas, such as Scarborough in 1866, nude bathing was banned altogether (Manning-Saunders, 1951; Walton, 1983).

It is not surprising, however to learn that such restrictions were difficult to enforce and were often flounced by holiday makers. Even the separate bathing regulations and bathing machines were insufficient to prevent sexual pleasure from being derived from visits to the seaside. As postcards produced in the 1850s and 1860s demonstrate (fig. 4.4), it was common for 'dirty old men' to leer at female bathers descending into the sea through telescopes or opera glasses (Pimlott, 1976). Furthermore, Brighton became a major site of prostitution where, for example, in 1859, 325 prostitutes were known to operate in Brighton, working within areas such as Dorset Street or Edward Street, or within one of the 97 brothels operating at that time (Gilbert, 1954).

The growth in Brighton's popularity generated more than just sexual tensions, however. During the 18th Century, for example, traditional fishing industries were sidelined in favour of the burgeoning upper-class sea-bathing practices. In 1861, the Brighton Corporation decided that the coastline should be used for commercial interests, resulting in the prioritisation of medical and tourist industries, and as a result, fishermen found the

Figure 4.3: 'A mermaid' (1854) by John Leech (Source: Brighton Public Library)

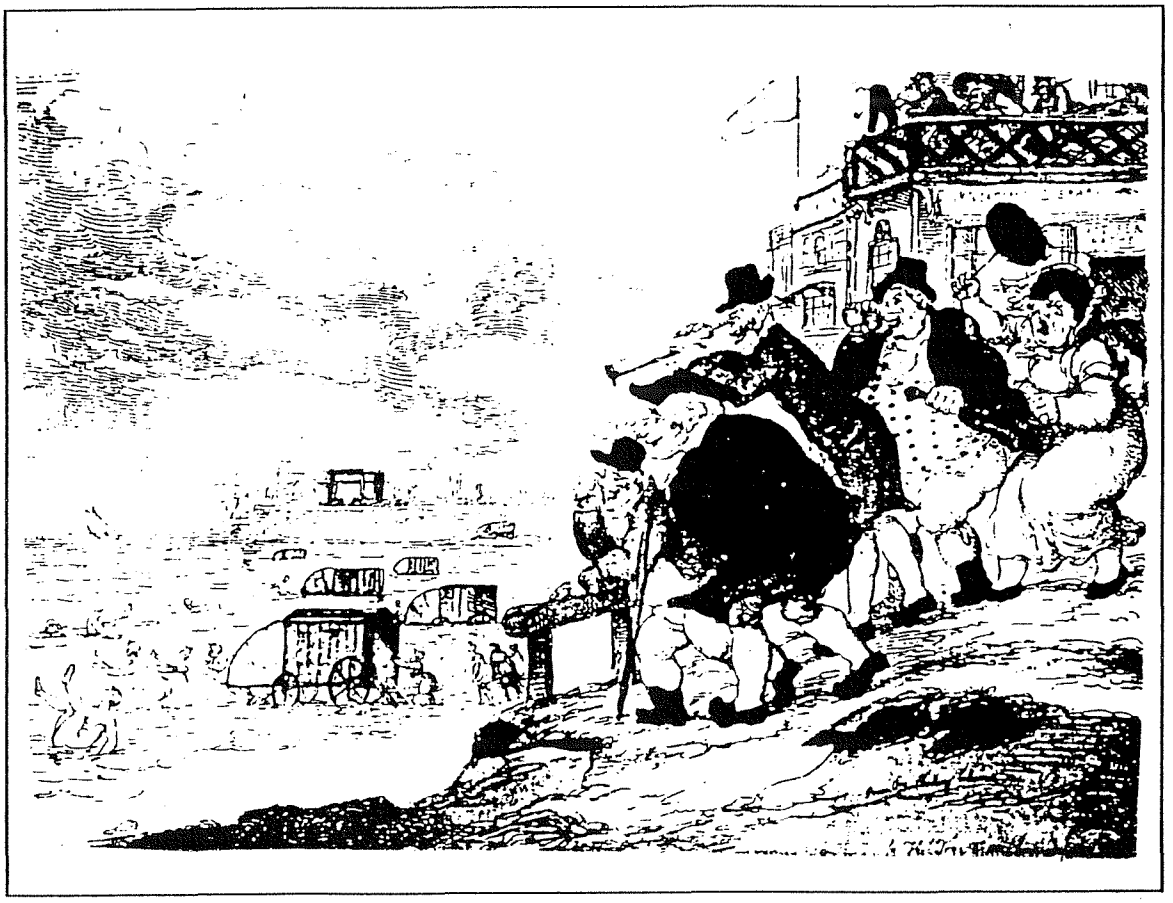


Figure 4.4: 'Summer Amusements' of 1813: the sexualisation of sea-bathing (Source: Brighton Public Library)

areas of coastline they could use increasingly limited (Walton, 1983). All three industries were competing for the use of Brighton's seafront in 1880, but by 1910, only health and tourism industries remained (Shields, 1991).

These changes brought with them their own problems of changing employment structures and economic interests within the town. The expansion of the tourist industry, for example, brought problems of highly seasonal employment where musicians, photographers and entertainers, as well as shop owners, inn-keepers and landladies, risked poverty and starvation outside the holiday season (Stokes, 1947; Gilbert, 1939). Furthermore, the divisions between the wealthy residents and tourists, and the poor servants and service workers created a two-tiered social structure. Dr.William Kebble, writing in 1848, commented that 'In no town throughout the Kingdom do cleanliness and filth meet in such extremes as in this' (Kebble, 1848, quoted in Gilbert, 1954: 175). Whilst property developers were constructing palatial coastal residences, slums were developing further inland for the domestic servants and employees of the wealthy élite and hotels (Dale, 1947). The New Monthly Magazine of 1841 commented that:

> 'Tier after tier, as you ascend from the sea-shore, the houses are of smaller and smaller pretensions, till you arrive at the unprotected summit of the hills, open to every breath of heaven, and principally tenanted by washerwomen, the poorest fishermen and the least accommodated persons of the community.' (New Monthly Magazine, 1841:166, quoted in Gilbert, 1954:187).

William Cobbett, as part of his 'Rural Rides', noted the divided town, with handsome property for the wealthy, and the slum conditions for the 'verminous' inhabitants of the town (Cobbett, 1885)[19].

By the 1930s and 1940s, tourism became the only major industry in Brighton. The restrictions on sea-bathing ceased to function, bathing machines had long been out of use, and compulsory separate bathing ceased to operate. Bathing areas became zoned to provide areas for separate and mixed bathing, and thus a male-only beach was

[19] Poverty has remained an important feature in Brighton. Local publications, such as *Monetarism and the Local State*, criticised the local government for prioritising private above public interests in the post World War period (Queenspark Books, 1983).

established, which itself was imbued with considerable homoeroticism (Brighton Ourstory Project, 1992). Brighton became increasingly associated with 'the dirty weekend', a place free from the restrictive morals of the rest of the country (Shields, 1991), a perception that still remains to the present day.

Summary

How does the preceding historical account demonstrate the atopic characteristics of Brighton's space? First, there is no single history behind Brighton's space, but rather its history is one of ongoing tension, contradiction and conflict both within the town and between local and national trends. Second, Brighton exists as a liminal site, existing on the very edge of respectability and order, a marginal town in which systems of economic and political control and conflict are met with social and sexual excesses (Shields, 1991). Thus, any historical account of Brighton has to embrace both systems of transgression and constraint; in other words, it has to conceive of the town in an atopic sense.

Nowhere is this more evident than with the construction of codes of sexual behaviour. Wherever systems of social and religious constraint limited the expression of pleasure bathing, paradoxical, transgressive sexual negotiations also took place. For example, whereas bathing machines, costumes and segregated beaches attempted to assert a social doxa, a socio-sexual excess always found a way to confound it. Thus, Brighton existed as an atopic site beyond the functioning of systems of doxa and paradoxa.

V: In Sum...

Before discussing issues and themes from my research, a few summary comments would be useful. The first section of this chapter illustrated how geography as a discipline has remained resistant to ideas ongoing in literary criticism, semiology and other related interests. I attempted to redress this imbalance, indicating its possibility in considering the politics of writing and representation within research. It was suggested that the difficulties of relating an academic discourse to the voice of the (non-academic) 'other' closely reflect those issues of doxa and paradoxa outlined in chapter three. Thus, literary critical concerns were found to be highly illuminating within methodological concerns in

geography. On this basis, I suggested that the relationship between the researcher, the researched and the research field should be perceived in an 'atopic' manner, that is to say, one founded on negotiation, contingency and process.

Section two attempted to illustrate research methodology as a site of negotiation, first by indicating ways in which I, as the researcher, cruised (influenced) the research field, and second, in how the research field cruised (moved) me. The final section demonstrated the ways in which Brighton's sexualised space was constituted out of a contested and contradictory (i.e. atopic) process.

In sum, yet again I find the concept of doxa, paradoxa and atopia useful in resolving many of the difficulties encountered in considering methodology and the politics of research. The call for an atopic understanding of research has implications over the structure of this thesis: the empirical research should not be seen as nearer the 'truth' than other 'theoretical' concerns, but rather another way of putting things. Hence, those issues and aims raised in the previous chapters are inherent in what follows, and those themes discussed in relation to empirical research are contained within earlier theoretical enquiries. Their organisation is derived from the sake of clarity, for the desire to 'cruise' the reader, and for the necessity of cogently raising issues too frequently silenced in academia.

Finally, it is important to reiterate the need to negotiate with the voices of the research 'other'. Yes, I can never speak with the voice of the subaltern, but I must reflect upon my negotiation with the field; must illustrate how my methodological (self) reflexivity is moved by those I have interviewed and researched. After all, if I end the discussion of gay lives and gay places, I would feel that I have failed (have killed that which I wish to represent): rather, I hope that what I write would be seen as a part of a process, and thus a means to debate, to discussion, to change. This would be the ultimate justification for what and why I write.

Chapter Five

Brighton's Gay Communities and Spaces: Exploring the Doxa, Paradoxa and Recuperation of Marginalised Sexual Identities in Urban Space

CHAPTER FIVE
BRIGHTON'S GAY COMMUNITIES AND SPACES: EXPLORING THE DOXA, PARADOXA AND RECUPERATION OF MARGINALISED SEXUAL IDENTITIES IN URBAN SPACE

I: Introduction

Recent commentators on 'queer culture' have demonstrated the complexities and conflicts inherent within concepts of gay community and place formation. Whereas Simpson (1996b), Tatchell (1996) and Woods (1996), for example, have critiqued the excesses of gay commercialism, Edge (1996a) has celebrated the openness and visibility associated with the 'Pink Economy'. Similarly, Sullivan (1995) has argued for a separatist queer agenda, whilst Tatchell (1992) and Weeks (1986) have both stressed the need for a strategically aligned political framework amongst differently marginalised social groups. In this regard, it is not surprising that Brighton, a town that arguably has the highest concentration of gay men and lesbians in the UK[1] as well as one of the longest histories, has been a site of tension amongst gay communities.

Over the next two chapters, I will consider these tensions and differences, using the triadic framework of doxa, paradoxa and atopia outlined in figure 3.3 to explore Brighton's gay male communities. This chapter will be structured into three sections: first, a consideration of doxa (the systems and structures limiting and constraining constructions of sexual communities and spaces); second, an exploration of paradoxa (the transgressions of socio-sexual doxa by gay men); third, an examination of recuperation (the risk that paradoxa can be reappropriated by new doxa, aligned or pre-existing doxa) (Table 5.1).

[1] Estimates range from 19,000 in 1988 (*New Statesman and Society, 1988*) to 37,500 in 1995 (*Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1994*).

TABLE 5.1: Processes of doxa, paradoxa and recuperation within Brighton's gay scene, 1950 to present

DATE	DOXA	PARADOXA	RECUPERATION
1950-1970	Legal • homosexuality as offence • police arrests • Sexual Offences Act – 1967 Social • Homophobia	Social • underground venues • parties • cottages/cruising grounds • secret codes (e.g. Palare) • Switchboard (1975) Political • Sussex GLF • Sussex CHE • BGCO	Pre-existing doxa • homophobia • police arrests Aligned doxa • gender • race • age • class New doxa • political radicalism • generational
1970-present	Legal • Section 28 • Age of Consent • police inquiry (1991) • police raid (1995) • police cameras (1996) Local Govt. • CHE conference (1978) • monument denial (1992) • funding Pride 1992 • age of consent voting • denial of Pride 1995 site Social • Sun article (1988) • Homophobia	Political • Brighton OutRight • Stonewall • Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause • BRILGAP • Speak Out • Pink Parasol • LGPMSG Social • commercial scene • Gay Pride • Brighton Grapevine • MCC • Rainbow Centre trust Historical • Brighton Ourstory Project	Aligned doxa • gender • race • class • age • profiteering New doxa • political agenda Pre-existing doxa • homophobia
1980-present	Medical • HIV/AIDS	Social • Sussex Beacon • Brighton Cares • Body Positive • Open Door • imPACT Political • FAB Medical • Street Outreach Service • Wiseguys • ACET Research • Zorro	Pre-existing doxa • homophobia • economic Aligned doxa • gender New doxa • set agendas

The concept of atopia (the negotiative process of spatial and communal belonging occurring amongst gay men beyond the forces of doxa and paradoxa) will be considered more closely in Chapter six. The structure of this argument should not imply that notions of doxa/paradoxa/atopia can be considered as separate, distinct moments, for as figure 3.3 illustrates, these themes should rather be understood as moments within a dynamic process. The following two chapters will therefore illustrate the negotiative processes by which a sense of solidarity can be maintained as a defence against homophobia and heterosexism in society, whilst indicating possible differences and exclusions that such solidarity entails.

II: Doxa: Systems and structures of oppression operating upon and within gay communities of Brighton since 1950

> 'The *Doxa* ... is Public Opinion, the mind of the majority, petit bourgeois Consensus, the Voice of Nature, the Violence of Prejudice. We can call (using Leibnitz's word) a *doxology* any way of speaking adapted to appearance, to opinion, or to practice.' (Barthes, 1995: 47).

The control of non-heterosexualities provides a perfect example of Barthes' definition of doxa: 'Public Opinion' renders homosexuality a crime against public order and decency (Bell, 1995b, c); 'the mind of the majority' reduces gay men to the role of dangerous deviants (Weeks, 1977); 'petit bourgeois Consensus' operates as a class interest that privileges reproductive domesticity (Knopp, 1992); 'the Voice of Nature' pathologises sexuality and renders its cultural construct as natural (Foucault, 1990); 'the Voice of Prejudice' corresponds to the homophobia and discrimination faced by gay men and lesbians from intolerant sections of society (Herek and Berrill, 1992). In this section, I will explore these various processes in relation to gay male communities in Brighton.

The early scene: legal and social constraints in Brighton, 1950-1970

The outlawing of male homosexuality and the impact of McCarthyism clearly had an important impact upon gay male communities prior to 1970. The Brighton Ourstory

Project (a local lesbian and gay oral history group) recently published interviews illustrating the fear stimulated by the criminalisation of homosexuality:

> 'One had to...not expose it. There were employers who simply did not and would not tolerate known gay employees; and people were frightened of losing their jobs, especially if they were apprehended by the police on even a minor gay charge. Once it hit the media, there was always somebody in the firm who was willing to send it anonymously in an envelope to one of the directors; and people were much more in fear of their careers in those days.' (Gerald, in BOP: 30-32).

Within this context, police arrests were a common feature within early venues, cottages and cruising grounds. For example, Dennis, a Brighton Ourstory Project respondent, recalled a relationship between two local gay men:

> '[Percy's] father read the [love] letter and went to the police with it, you see, so they arrested him at work, they arrested the boyfriend at his work and took them both to the station and did the usual thing...Anyway, the upshot of it all was that they both got three years in prison simply on the strength of a letter that one had written the other.' (BOP, 1992: 38)

Similarly, cottaging activities were often associated with police hostility in Brighton:

> 'Ra: But of course in those days, there were plenty of public toilets. But the real down and out skin-rotting...
>
> Rb: That hasn't changed to this day.
>
> Ra: Well, it's not there any longer. They really were rake, those places.
>
> Rd: They used to come in and attract people, and that hasn't changed, except they use technology instead of going in there and standing there waiting to be picked up. But, you know, they used to find their police records empty one week, and go down to one of the cottages and arrest a few gays just to fill up their books.
>
> Ra: And not just gays. Most people using public loos as cottages did so because they were probably straight, and because of their misses or girlfriends. It was terrible.
>
> Rd: It was really. It cost peoples' marriages, jobs, even lives'

(Group Interview[1])[2]

Furthermore, pubs and clubs with a predominantly gay clientele were also prone to police raids and closure. One respondent recalled,

> 'I remember there must have been about twelve or fourteen bars which either closed down or stopped being gay-friendly within just a few years during this time [the early 1960s]. The police would bust in and that would be that... So pubs and clubs changed hands very quickly in those days. You would go out on the scene and there would be different places open and more places closed. There would always be places where you could go, but it was difficult to keep up with the changes.' (Venue owner[4])

Another respondent active in the scene since 1932 commented that 'the police were corrupt anyway... The whole police force were crooked. You could drink in this town all night, if you paid the police. So I'm sure in the gay scene, they paid the police' (local resident[21])[3].

As a consequence of such repressive political and legal strictures, life for many gay men and lesbians was often isolating and depressing:

> 'Certainly I've been aware over the years of attempted suicides and I've attempted suicide several times. It was part of the stresses that I knew in my life and in other people's lives around me at the time. Certainly part of that was to do with being lesbian, the isolation. I wasn't conforming to any heterosexual role.' (Shiobhan, BOP, 1992: 36)

In an effort to conform to a heterosexual 'norm', lesbians and gay men took extreme measures. Aversion therapy was a particularly brutal example of the attempts made to 'normalise' sexual 'deviants', as illustrated by the following recollections of one Brighton resident:

---

[2] With all excepts from group interview transcripts in this thesis, 'I:' designates myself as interviewer, 'Ra:', 'Rb:' etc. designates the respondents. This coding, like all quotations from interviews, is undertaken for the anonymity and security of the interviewees.

[3] Martin Duberman, in his book charting the Stonewall riots of 1969, described in more detail the phenomenon of police pay-offs (1995).

> 'I ended up with an appointment to see a Dr Sheelah James, a medical research assistant at the Hollymoor Clinic in Birmingham... her first question, put quite casually, was: "Have you come through the courts?" It transpired that many of her young men had. What a choice: the nick or aversion therapy.
>
> Next morning, I was given a full physical examination, including a blood test, "to make sure you are fit for treatment". A male chaperone was brought in while the good Dr had her look at my genitals. Meanwhile, much tidying up was going on. The consultant was expected; baited breath all round. In due course, I was ushered in for my audience. He sat behind a suitable big desk, with a minion taking notes. His manner was abrupt. "Are you capable of performing with women? How do you know?" I quote his actual words; his coldness and arrogance are not easy to forget.' (David, in the *BGCO Newsletter, January, 1989: 3-4*)

Although these difficulties were experienced by many gay men throughout the 1950s and 1960s, it would be wrong to assume that every gay individual experienced socio-sexual doxa in the same way. For example, whilst the 1967 Sexual Offences Act did provide a 'kind of citizenship status to homosexuals' (BOP respondent)[4], the impact of such legislative changes had clear spatial and cultural variations. First, only England and Wales partially decriminalised homosexuality in 1967; Scotland not doing so until 1981 and Northern Ireland until 1994. Second, within England and Wales, Brighton's associations with 'liminality' and 'carnivalesque' permitted a greater potential for transgressing many of the regulatory systems operating within the UK (Shields, 1991). The resultant bohemian culture of 1950s and 1960s Brighton, and the associated cultural clashes (such as those between the MODs and Rockers), took attention away from illegal homosexuality activity:

> 'I didn't really see any raids on pubs and clubs. I think the police were too busy because during the 50s, there was a lot of trouble in the town with fights from London boys coming down here, going to the dance halls, and then fight. There was awful activity on the seafront during Bank-Holidays, terrorising the seafront. So the police really had their work cut out trying to control the young thugs more than the gay scene' (Local Resident[32]).

Similarly, Brighton's renown as a bohemian, theatrical town resulted in more tolerant

[4] It is important to stress that, as the BOP spokesperson was in his late twenties, he was speaking on the basis of respondents' oral histories collected through his research.

attitudes to homosexuality than elsewhere:

> '1967 didn't really have any effect down here. You see, Brighton has always been a liberated and tolerant place for gay people, and going back to the theatrical years of the late 19th Century, queens would go out and literally flaunt their sexuality in the street. And most gay men were very open, and everybody knew that they were gay. And so when 1967 came along, people just lived their lives as they had done in the 40s and 50s.' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[2]).

Furthermore, the 1967 Sexual Offences Act was to have a limited influence on the lives of gay men due to its restrictive decriminalisation of homosexuality. Homosexuality was only legal if it was undertaken in private, with no more than two people present, and if both partners were consenting and over the age of 21. Thus, the police

> 'still were snatching people from cottages. They still had the agent provocateur activities here in Brighton. Kissing in public, even holding hands in public were grossly indecent and not allowed. So, you know, homosexual law reform was only really a very small achievement, by comparison with what we really should have had' (John, in BOP, 1992: 94).

But even here, not every gay man in Brighton experienced police and legal activity in the same way. Often differences in class and age factors influenced an individual's experience of socio-sexual doxa:

> 'It was generally only wealthier men, the 'chandelier queens' as we called them, who could afford to be open about their sexuality, particularly the self-employed. They hadn't to worry about losing their jobs because they were gay. Older queens, they could be really out and camp, but then they were retired and had saved up a lot of money. The younger ones could be more obviously gay because they were more 'in-your-face' and didn't have work responsibilities.' (Local resident[14])

Thus, it would be a mistake to assume that legislative doxa restricted all gay men in the same way: there were clear spatial and personal differences in the impact of legal systems of oppression.

Legal and social restrictions in Brighton: 1970-1998

Ironically, the initial period after 1967 saw an increase in arrests for homosexual

offences, given the rigorous classification of illegal sexual behaviour in the Sexual Offences Act (Weeks, 1989). Even in a comparatively tolerant town like Brighton, increases in arrest occurred:

> 'Things really came to a head in the 1970s. The police were really quite malicious. There was a big crackdown on cottaging and up at Dukes Mound. Gay parties were frequently raided, and so it's wrong to think of the 1970s as being some great era of liberation. It wasn't. Many people were still closeted and afraid to come out.' (Journalist[2])

In addition, there was a concern that other, non-gay legislation may be used homophobically. For example, the Brighton Gay Community Organisation commented on the 1985 Public Order Act[5], stating that it was

> 'a direct threat to our civil liberties. For example, ...if the annual Gay Pride, with all that it symbolises could not take place as we want then the authorities would have stolen our voice and threatened our right to exist!' (*BGCO Newsletter, December, 1985*).

The growth of the New Right political agenda during the 1980s also resulted in a series of explicitly homophobic legislation (such as Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act, which prohibited the promotion of homosexuality as a 'pretended family relationship'), as well as restricting possible paths of gay law reform (for example, with the 1994 Criminal Justice Act, which reduced the age of consent for consensual gay sex from 21 to a still unequal 18). Consequently, sexual activities amongst many gay men throughout the UK were still outlawed by central government legislation[6]. The severity of these legal codes are apparent with the recent trial of the Bolton 7, a trial in which the private, consensual sexual behaviour of seven adult men almost resulted in their imprisonment.

However, the enforcement of legislative control was less severe in Brighton than other parts of the UK. For example, the local council voted overwhelmingly to reject the guidelines of Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act (local councillor[2]) and the

[5] The 1985 Public Order Act made it an arrestable offence to organise demonstrations without prior police permission.
[6] See Bell (1995b, 1995c) for further analysis of the consequence of such legislation on the citizenship status of gay men in the UK.

Brighton Police Force stated that it would no longer use entrapment methods in cottages (*Speak Out, 1996*)[7]. Therefore, yet again it is evident that despite central government's attempts to control the sexual lifestyles of gay men through legislative doxa, the implementation and consequence of this doxa varied spatially (Brighton generally adopting a more tolerant attitude due to its higher concentration of gay residents and long gay history).

Alternative sites of doxa: police behaviour and homophobia

In addition to the aforementioned legislative-based police arrests, Brighton police force has come under criticism for behaviour interpreted as being homophobic. In 1990, for example, controversy arose after a police inquiry into the murder of gay barman, Peter Halls, in which the police distributed 1,337 questionnaires to local gay men (*Evening Argus, September 1992a*). After assuring respondents that the information would remain confidential during the inquiry and would be destroyed after its completion (*Evening Argus, September 1992b; Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1991*), an individual's testimony was discredited in 1992 when details from the questionnaire was read out in court (*Evening Argus, April 1992; June 1992; Brighton and Hove Leader, June 1992*). Consequently,

> 'a lot of people ...were absolutely appalled when that information not only was given to the murderer, but was also leaked out in court a few years later. And they [the police] said, "Oh no, we had to do that." Well I don't think they did. They could have said, "Well we're not going to do it, and that's that." It's simple, and if some judge said, "Well you've got to do it.", they could have turned to them and said, "Contempt of court. Ha! Ha! Ha!" Their relationship with the gay community is much more important." (Local Councillor[1])[8]

Further outrage occurred in 1995 when the 'OUT!' bookstore was raided by police for stocking 'obscene material'. The reason given was that residents had complained of a window display of a magazine with Jarvis Cocker on the front cover (the name

---

[7] This contrasts with police forces elsewhere. For example, in Worthing, just 14 miles away, the police announced that it was increasing surveillance on local cottages (*Worthing Guardian, October 1997: 1*).

[8] Interestingly, through my fieldwork, I spoke to the partner of the convicted murderer in the Peter Halls case, who spoke with great praise at the sensitive way with which he was dealt. This indicates the problems inherent in assuming an undifferentiated experience of doxa.

'Cocker' having caused offence). The 'OUT!' bookstore was thus targeted for the raid despite similar displays elsewhere in Brighton (interview with 'OUT!' owner). More recently, the murder of 19 year old Justin Hayward in October 1996 at Dukes Mound resulted in increased tension between Brighton's gay communities and the local police force. At the time of the incident, the police announced plans to install cameras at Dukes Mound and along the seafront in order to, according to one seafront community officer, arrest men 'indulging in unlawful sexual activity'[9].

Further repression in Brighton arises from homophobic violence, which is often exacerbated by a homophobic press. 'The Sun', for example, published an article in 1988 entitled 'Oh we do like to camp beside the seaside', listing 'Places you'll hate if you're straight' (*The Standard, 1988*). The article proceeded to list gay and lesbian pubs, clubs and hotels in Brighton, generating fears of increased homophobic violence. One respondent commented:

> 'I think it did have an effect. There were more people attacked. There was damage to property immediately after the article was written. Whether that was as much as we perceive it now, I suppose it's up for debate because the article prepared us to be ready to recognise it more. But I still think there was a big backlash from the article.' (Local Councillor[2])

In 1990, the group 'Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause' presented a report on homophobic hate crimes in Brighton to the local council's police sub-committee in which it was found that 52% of hate crime victims would not report incidents due to fears of interrogation and further prejudice (*Evening Argus, September 1990*). Two years later Brighton Outright released figures in a similar study, suggesting that 27% of its sample had been physically attacked within the last year, of whom 51% would not report the incident to the police (*Evening Argus, June 1992b*)[10].

Interviews with victims of homophobic attacks illustrate the extent to which

[9] Interviewing members of the police force a year after this incident, Brighton police (as we shall see later in this chapter), rejected this explanation for the instalment of cameras, citing the reason as being one of protection for local gay men in these areas from homophobic attacks.

[10] I am aware that there is a difficulty in reporting attacks as being specifically homophobic. Tatchell (1991), for example, suggests that in many cases purported to be 'hate crimes', the sexual orientation of the victim is often an accidental rather than causative factor.

homophobia affects lives of gay men in Brighton:

> 'I remember last year, I went to meet my mother, and I was walking down a leafy lane, and there were three youths walking towards me, and I crossed the pavement to walk on the other side. And I thought to myself, "What are you doing? These are just three ordinary boys, absolutely fine, going about their business". But it actually gets you like that. It actually gets you inside. It bites within you.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

Not all attacks on gay men were directly attributable to homophobic hate crimes. As one ex-attacker explained:

> 'When I needed money, a group of us mugged gay guys. It was easy. We used to mug them on the train... We went for gay guys because we knew they would be carrying money on them, and they wouldn't be likely to go to the police.' (Local resident[29])

From these examples, it is evident that whilst levels of homophobic violence are undoubtedly related to national issues, such as Section 28 (Jirvani, 1996; Jeffery-Poulter 1991), other more specific events, such as the 1988 Sun article, have influenced such attacks in Brighton. Thus, the rigorous doxa of homophobia does not operate in an undifferentiated manner, but again functions at a variety of spatial contexts. Similarly, certain areas of Brighton (in particular, the more visible gay areas of St James Street, Dukes Mound and the seafront) appear to witness more homophobic violence than other regions in the town.

Alternative sites of doxa: HIV/AIDS

The issue of HIV/AIDS has had a significant impact in the structuring of gay lives (Herek and Green, 1994; Adelman and Frey, 1994; Watney, 1992; Weeks, 1997; Brown, 1998). Odets (1995), for example, has noted that in San Francisco, two significant trends have occurred: first, the 'AIDSification of homosexuality' (where AIDS is seen to be a gay disease to such an extent that homosexuality is perceived to be synonymous with the virus); second, the creation of HIV- and HIV+ identities and communities. Brighton, although not being influenced by the virus to the same extent as San Francisco, does appear to have similar processes occurring.

By December 1997, 1162 people in Brighton had been diagnosed as being HIV+, 1014 of whom had contracted the virus through anal sex (Table 5.2). With such a large number of people living in and around Brighton with HIV or AIDS, a degree of the 'AIDSification of homosexuality' has occurred over the last 15 years:

> 'There is a feeling of an HIV- status where a person's identity is just not important to straight people. However, if you are HIV+, you do have a status and you do get sympathy. If you are HIV+, you conform to a diseased image of homosexuality, and straight society is happy with that. But if you're healthy and gay, straight society just don't want to know... Ironically, it's the reverse in gay society: if you healthy, that's accepted, but if you're HIV+ or have AIDS, you're excluded.' (Fighting AIDS Brighton Spokesperson[1])

Routes of transmission	Numbers of PWAs by transmission category	Numbers diagnosed HIV+ (inc. AIDS) by transmission category
Sex between men	506	1014
Sex between men and women	29	72
IV drug use	18	55
Blood products / other	12	21
Number of deaths	391	391
Numbers surviving	174	771
Total numbers	565	1014

Table 5.2: Numbers of PWAs and persons diagnosed as being HIV+ in Brighton, from October 1984 to December 1997 (Source, *Gay Men's Health Matters*)

Given the large number of HIV+ people in Brighton, it is not surprising that HIV and AIDS has structured gay communities in Brighton into negative and positive serostatus groups:

> 'you find in Brighton cliques developing because of a person being positive or negative. You get groups of people who are HIV+ just sticking with each other. They do the same things and go to the same bars. [A certain public house] is a particular place where the HIV+ groups go. They really have a bar to themselves, and you can only really get a drink from that side of the bar if you are positive or have AIDS.' (FAB Spokesperson[1])

Consequently, HIV and AIDS has directly influenced gay senses of communal

belonging in Brighton:

> 'you can't be gay now without thinking about HIV or AIDS. It is always with you. You wake up in the morning and you think about AIDS. You go to work and think about AIDS. You meet your friends and think about AIDS, and you go to bed and have nightmares about AIDS. It's there all the time... you go to a club and pick up a guy and you think, "Is he infected? Am I infected?" How on earth can you get close to anyone if all you think about is whether they are positive or not?' (Local resident[6])

It is apparent, therefore, that HIV and AIDS has influenced both formations of gay communities and the perception of homosexuality by members of straight society.[11] The potency of doxa surrounding AIDS is unquestionably aligned with political and cultural forces which appropriate HIV to uphold 'traditional' moral codes; codes that have long been used to hinder the lives of lesbians and gay men[12]. Furthermore, there has been a tendency in Western cultures to blame homosexuality for AIDS and to see those affected as deserving of their illness (Weeks, 1989; Patton, 1990). Sir Ian Percival, former Conservative Solicitor-General, for example, felt that the spread of AIDS was attributable those who 'have strayed so far and so often from what we are taught as normal moral behaviour' (*Guardian, December 1986*); and Manchester's former Chief Constable, James Anderton stated that 'People at risk are swirling around in an human cesspit of their own making' (*Guardian, December 1986*). With homophobic conceptions of HIV and AIDS, it is evident that in different ways, all gay men in Brighton have been influenced by the doxa related to the virus.

Alternative sites of Doxa: Local Government

In 1978, the Campaign for Homosexual Equality planned to hold its national conference in Brighton. A motion was proposed by the local council to ban the conference because of an 'ugly side to homosexuality', where, 'Some prey on young children and corrupt them.' (*Brighton Gay Community Guide, July 1978*). These

---

[11] In July 1998, for example, the House of Lords voted against the lowering the age of consent for gay men as part of the Criminal Justice Bill. One of the main arguments for this was the fear of 'indoctrinating' 16 and 17 year olds into a gay lifestyle, laying them vulnerable to the HIV virus (*Independent, July 1998*).

[12] I refer to Foucault's concern with the moral codes of sexual behaviour (1993a), summarised in Figure 3.1.

sentiments resulted in Brighton Council being accused of bigotry and desiring to repress local expressions of gay culture.

These accusations also occurred in 1992 when the group 'Pink Parasol' requested £11,546 from Brighton Council to fund the first local Gay Pride event, presenting a petition of over 1000 names to the council's grants sub-committee (*Evening Argus, February 1992a; November, 1992a*). The council provided a grant of £4,963 for the event (*Evening Argus, February 1992a*), provoking members of the national press and the Conservative Party to denounce the grant as an example of 'left lunacy' (*Evening Argus, February 1993; May 1993*). Resultedly, the 1993 Pride Festival organisers were rejected in their request for £500 from the local council due to the negative media attention and debts outstanding from the previous year (*Evening Argus, May 1993*). In 1995, the organising committee of 'Brighton Pride' was refused a grant of £8,185, although £500 was provided from the council for disabled facilities (*Evening Argus, January 1995*)[13].

Brighton Council has also been criticised for restricting the location of the Pride events. In 1992, Pink Parasol requested the use of Preston Park for the Pride carnival, but was turned down by the Parks Committee due to concerns about noise levels for the local residents (*Evening Argus, March 1992a*). In addition, plans for holding a 'Queer on the Pier' event were refused due to concerns of interrupting family holidays (*Brighton and Hove Leader, May 1992*). As a result, Pride organisers felt themselves to be victims of a prejudiced local council and called for local gay residents to 'recast their sizeable vote' (*Evening Argus, March 1992b*).

The proposed use of Preston Park and Stanmer Park for Brighton Pride 1995 was rejected due to both sites being previously booked by the Brighton Festival (*Evening Argus, March 1995*). The Pride festival was thus held at The Level, although concerns for noise levels resulted in the refusal of the proposed funfair (*Argus, April 1995*). Furthermore, the Pride March route through Marina Drive was also banned due to

[13] 'Brighton Pride' also received £800 for disabled facilities for Brighton Pride 1996 and 1997 (*Brighton and Hove News, October 1995; Argus, May 1996*). One councillor described these grants as a 'disguised' form of local council support for Brighton's gay communities (local councillor[1]).

fears of disturbance with Bank Holiday custom (*Argus, April 1995; May 1995*).

Similarly, as discussed in Chapter One, the local council rejected proposals from the Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial Steering Group to construct a lesbian and gay monument in Old Steine park in 1992 (Fig. 1.1) (*Evening Argus, June 1992c; November 1992b*) on the basis that its proximity to the war memorial would cause offence (*Brighton and Hove Leader, November 1992*). One LGPMSG spokesperson condemned the decision, stating that

> 'It makes a nonsense of the council's equal opportunities policy. There are already six memorials in the gardens. There would be seem to be no good reason for refusing another.
>
> 'Brighton is the lesbian and gay capital of this country, if not Europe. That is not a horrible secret to keep quiet about. It is something to be proud of.' (LGPMSG spokesperson, quoted in *Brighton and Hove Leader, November 1992*)[14].

Summary

The aim of this section has been to illustrate how various systems of doxa (central government legislation, local government decision-making, police activities, homophobia, and HIV/AIDS) limit and constrict the lives of gay men in Brighton. These modes of oppression are not mutually exclusive but frequently reproduce and sustain each other. For example, Baroness Young, speaking in the House of Lords, justified the rejection of an equal age of consent within the 1998 Crime and Disorder Bill, stating that 'It is clearly not wanted by the public at large...homosexual practices carry great health risks to young people' (*Independent, July 1998: 8*). Here, two doxa work together to justify a third: public opinion is conjoined with HIV/AIDS fears to justify the discrimination of gay male sexuality. These modes of oppression have

[14] In addition to these council-based concerns, former Conservative MP for Brighton Pavilion, Sir Derek Spencer, was criticised for being homophobic when in 1994 he voted for the Age of Consent to remain at 21 in the Criminal Justice Bill (*Evening Argus, January 1994*), arguing that 'Equalising the age of consent would send out a signal that society treats homosexual and heterosexual acts as equivalent. They are not.' (*Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1994*). In response, a Brighton Outright spokesperson commented that Brighton 'is one of Britain's gayest constituencies ...He [Spencer] knew the strength of local feeling and he chose to ignore it rather than represent it. He is a homophobe and a bigot' (*Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1994*). Interestingly, it was suggested that the 'gay vote' was significant in ousting Sir Derek Spencer from his seat in 1997 and in electing Labour candidate David Lepper.

become so entrenched that they are often used in a tautologous fashion. Nigel Lawson, justifying Section 28, commented that:

> 'I think it is unfortunate for them that they are. I don't think it is a happy condition and I think it is unfortunate and I don't think we'd want to have that promoted or proselytised' (Nigel Lawson, quoted in *Capital Gay, October 1988*).

Socio-sexual doxa, however, do not operate in a spatially undifferentiated manner, but function at a variety of spatial scales, both in terms of their organisation and their influence. It is clear, for example, that Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act attempted to limit local council decision-making through more centralised governmental control, in contrast to localised doxa (such as the impact of a tabloid article)[15]. Similarly, the operation of certain doxa has influenced localised areas differently, where, for example, Brighton has not been affected by Section 28 to the same degree as other regions due to high concentrations of lesbians and gay men within the town and the council's relatively more tolerant attitude[16].

What these doxological trends illustrate is the negotiative dynamic inherent in socio-sexual controls operating between individual, local and national levels. In other words, with reference to Foucault's model of sexual moral codes (1993a) (Fig. 3.1), it is possible to understand how such codes operate through the interrelations of central government structures, the individual lives of gay men, and the historical, spatial and cultural specificities of place (in this case, Brighton). Thus, a diverse system of spatially and temporally contingent doxa needs to be constructed in order to understand the limitations placed upon local expressions of gay male sexuality.

---

[15] Of course, local socio-sexual doxa must be set in context with broader, national and international contexts. Issues influencing localised expressions of sexuality must be set in a negotiated understanding of place.

[16] In addition, socio-sexual doxa operate within a temporal context, where changing cultural attitudes and events influence the potency of particular modes of oppression. In this regard, the scape-goating involved in the medical-moral panic surrounding HIV/AIDS can be related to other periods when the government has used sexually transmitted infections to stigmatise sections of the population (such as with the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1880s) (Weeks, 1989; Mort, 1987).

II: Paradoxa: The transgressive and utopic movement beyond sexual doxa operating within Brighton's gay communities

> 'It is characteristic of our (historical) contradiction that significance (bliss) has taken refuge in an excessive alternative: either in a mandarin *praxis* (result of an *extenuation* of bourgeois culture), or else in an utopian idea (the idea of a future culture, resulting from a *radical, unheard-of, unpredictable* revolution...)' (Barthes, 1997a: 38-39).

With every doxa, there exists an impetus to rebel or negotiate an existence beyond such doxa. Sexual communities and spaces offer an excellent example of the *paradoxical* ways in which socially ascribed 'deviant' individuals are able to articulate an existence beyond repressive sexual mores. In this section, I wish to explore the negotiated senses of togetherness occurring amongst gay men in Brighton against and beyond those varied sexual doxa outlined in the previous section. This line of enquiry will illustrate the extent to which a history of sexual repression must not neglect a history of sexual resistance, or as one respondent put it:

> 'You must remember that a sense of community always found a way to express itself, even if it was in a highly underground manner... the ingenious ways people lived their lives, particularly in the early part of the community, is absolutely wonderful and is something to be really excited about.' (BOP Spokesperson)

Sites of Paradoxa, 1950-1970: Early bars, parties and cruising grounds

Despite the frequency of venue closures in Brighton after the 1940s, a considerable network of gay places did operate in the town prior to 1970 (fig.5.1). Like those venues described by Hooker (1956; 1967), Cavan (1963), Rechy (1964), Achilles (1967), Weightman (1980), and Read (1980) many places were secretive, covert and heavily coded in their organisation:

> 'Everywhere was underground at that time. The 42 Club on the Brighton seafront, 42 Kings Road, was above a shop. Everyone knew of its existence, but never talked about openly. The Curtain Club was literally underground, under the arches in Kings Road. The Spotted Dog and the Greyhound pub were tucked out of sight. But again, they were pubs everyone knew about, but never discussed' (Local resident[22]).

Figure 5.1: Map of Brighton 1950 - 1970

Key

gay commercial venues

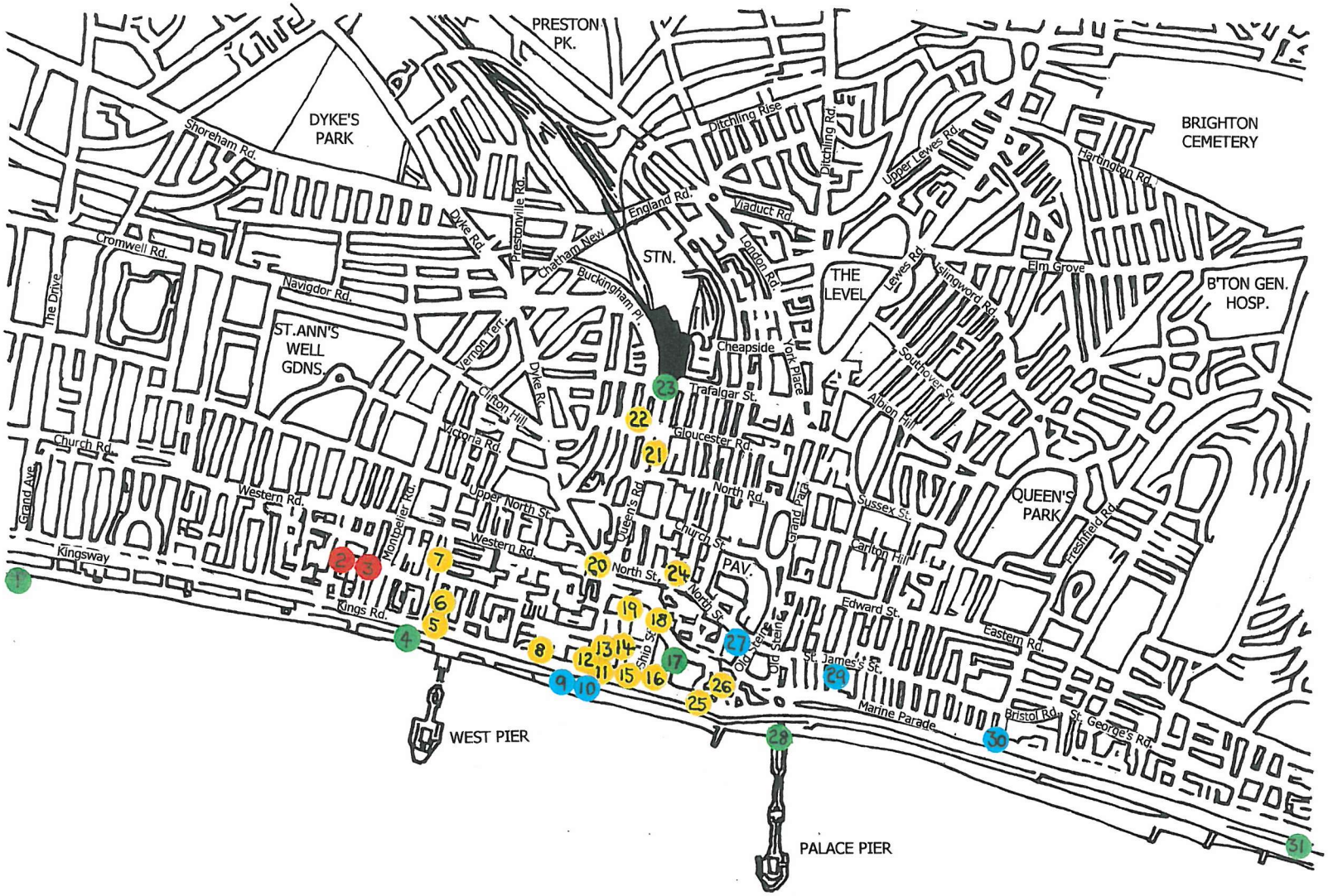
lesbian commercial (incl. one-nighters)

cottages/cruising grounds

social group meeting places

gay saunas

5 St. Alban's Club
6 Regency Club
7 Queen of Clubs
8 Harrison's Bar
11 42 Club
12 Chatfield's
13 Sherry's Bar
14 Spotted Dog
15 Argyle Hotel
16 Heart and Hand
18 Lorelei coffee bar
19 Variety Club
20 The Quadrant
21 Unicorn Bookshop
22 Joker's Club
24 Regina Club
25 Curtain Club
26 The Greyhound
9 Belvedere
10 Fortune of War
27 Golden Fleece
29 Pigott's Bar
30 British Legion Club
1 Gay Men's Beach, Hove
4 Hove seafront cottage
17 Black Lion St. cottage
22 Brighton Station cottage
28 Palace Pier cruising ground
31 Duke's Mound cruising ground
2 Minorities Research Group
3 Spartacus magazine offices



Given the variety and number of gay venues operating prior to the Sexual Offences Act of 1967 (Fig. 5.1), it is clear that many gay men were able to negotiate a site in which they can express themselves beyond legislative and social doxa. As gay sexualities were outlawed, many venues were forced to adopt covert locations and practices. Consequently, many pubs and clubs assumed a more back-street location in Brighton, away from the town centre (Fig. 5.1). Entry into gay bars frequently became a site of 'induction and training' (Hooker, 1967: 178), in that once inside the venue, a person was 'out' to the gay scene:

> 'When I first went into the Greyhound, I would stay and drink downstairs, but I would watch these people climbing upstairs to go to the gay part above. One day I decided to go up there myself, and so I walked across the bar and walked up the stairs. Everyone turned to look at me because they knew that anyone who went up there was gay. And so, it was like 'coming out' really.' (Local resident[22])

'Word-of-mouth' mechanisms were frequently deployed to convey information about newly established venues and parties surreptitiously. 'Palare' and euphemistic speech were often used:

> 'pubs like the Spotted Dog were called 'so-so' pubs. They weren't called by name. You would never say, "That's a gay pub", you'd say, "Oh, it's a so-so pub where 'those' sort of people go", and then you'd know where to go if you wanted a gay night out.' (Local resident[9])

Other means of meeting gay people involved the adoption of certain visual and behavioural codes. For example:

> 'There were many ways in which you could find out if someone was gay without anyone else knowing. Basically, it was eye contact: if you liked the look of someone, you'd look at them, and if they looked back, you'd know they were gay... Another way was, if you walking in town, to walk infront of the guy you were interested in and then walk infront of a shop window. If the guy liked you, he would walk up and stand next to you, and would ask something like "have you got a light", and then you'd walk off without anyone else knowing.' (local resident[4])

Private parties were also important sites of gay socialising and were particularly

successful in providing relatively secure environments away from legal and social restrictions. Many parties were situated in Kemptown, an area popular with the gay theatrical élite of the town:

> 'The commercial scene was tiny, and there was therefore a lot of parties. There was a lot of grand old queens who lived down here for a long time and had big houses and would send people down to the pubs and clubs to invite people along to their parties. So there was a huge private scene, but it was completely directionless.' (Local councillor[1])

Finally, sex in public areas remained an important feature of 50s and 60s Brighton despite the dangers of arrest, harassment or homophobic violence. As Troiden and Goode (1975) and Humphries (1970) have explained, these areas had to be away from heterosexual areas, with reasonable privacy, easy access and retreat; areas such as the Kings Road Arches toilets, underneath the Palace Pier[17], and the bushes at Dukes Mound (Fig. 5.1). Any risk from the police appeared to add, for some, an element of danger and excitement:

> 'Cottaging, of course, had almost an attraction to it. The risk element gave it a bit of a thrill, the risk of getting caught. There was very little mugging threat in those days, it was nearly all risks of policemen hiding in the broom cupboard and peering out through the grating in the top, things like that. And yet people used to be quite outrageous in their cottaging.' (Arthur, in BOP, 1992: 98).

Another important area at this time was the men-only beach in Hove. This region had been popular amongst gay men since the 1930s, and was a remnant of earlier segregations of bathing areas:

> 'If you went far enough down [the beach], there was no such thing as wearing any clothing, and it was quite a wide stretch of beach too. It was probably one whole space between two groynes. And on a weekend in the summer, you literally had to find a spot about a foot square. And you just walked around and when you found somebody who hadn't got a friend, or wasn't talking, you sat down, and started chatting away. And if you didn't click, well, you got up and you walked around again.' (Grant, in BOP, 1992: 100).

[17] Carson's novel 'Sucking Sherbet Lemons' (1992) provides a good account of the Palace Pier as a site of sexual experimentation in the early scene of Brighton.

As a result of these early, negotiated gay communities and spaces in Brighton, it is evident that, despite harsh social and political doxa, the paradoxical expression of gay sexuality was still possible and was extensively developed[18]. However, like the socio-sexual doxa with which they had to negotiate, paradoxical expressions of sexuality were influenced by spatial and temporal contexts, as well as individual life circumstances. Consequently, given the relatively tolerant attitudes of people within the town, it can be argued that a greater capacity to be more open about gay sexualities occurred in Brighton than elsewhere. Similarly, certain individuals, such as the 'wealthy queens', were more able to flaunt with social mores than other, less privileged gay men.

Political Organisations: 1970 to present

One of the first political organisations in Brighton was the Sussex GLF, established in 1971 at the University of Sussex by Ian Langley-Strick-Michell and Tony Berry. As one GLF newsletter suggested, the central aim of the organisation was to foster a high degree of political and social solidarity:

> 'So why G.L.F.? To bring homosexuals together in a different atmosphere, away from the ghetto, away from isolation, to bring an end to their treatment as psychiatric cases, to reject all that we have been told about ourselves. To bring all homosexuals together, from the most flamboyant queen to the straightest of straight, from the good bad [*sic*], the old and the young, so that each can end their oppression.' (*Sussex GLF Newsletter, July 1973*)

The political necessity of this solidarity is reflected in the following extract from the 'Service of Remembrance for the Gay Dead of World War II':

> 'United we stand, divided we fall,
> And if our backs should be against the wall,
> We'll be together, together you and I,
> There's nowhere else in the world that I'd rather be
> Than with you my love.
> And there's nothing in the world that I'd rather see
> Than your smile my love.
> And if the world around should fall apart my love,

[18] This supports the work of Chauncey on gay lives in pre-1940 New York (1989, 1994).

Then I'll still be here.
And if the going gets too rough along the way,
You should call on me, my love.
For united we stand, divided we fall.

Gay power salute
For united we stand, divided we fall. Amen. Amen.'
(*Sussex GLF Newsletter, November 1973*)

The Sussex GLF became very active in the local scene, organising various symposia, seminars, discussion groups, demonstrations, and marches. In addition, the Sussex GLF offered a strong social network, organising dances at the Stanford Arms, discos and fancy-dress parties. By 1972, the Royal Albion Hotel became the venue for the GLF fancy-dress dances, and the GLF soon held official formal dances funded by the local authority at the Royal Pavilion. As one organiser stated, 'this was acceptance to the 'n'th degree' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[2])[19].

However, by the late 1970s,

> 'the bubble burst. There were more clubs open, there were more bars open, and we couldn't provide the things that people started to want. They were giving goodies like very attractive bar staff. In a sense we started doing things that nobody else did, and then everybody else started to do them. It became very public. You had lots of open meetings and GLF lost its way and disappeared down the plug-hole. What could we offer that was different? The radical thing was passé. We just faded away.' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[2])

Another important organisation operating throughout the early 1970s was the Sussex Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE). The public profile of the organisation was recollected by one Sussex CHE member:

> 'the Campaign for Homosexual Equality was running in this town immediately after the '67 amendments on the Sexual Offences Act. And CHE had a national meeting and would include in it a march, and that march subsequently developed into the Gay Pride... CHE wanted to bring it to Brighton, and there was a massive exposure around this issue. There were meetings in church halls, taking out

[19] The acceptance from the local council here contrasts with its more repressive decisions and behaviours outlined in the previous section. This not only indicates the contradictions inherent in the doxa/paradoxa framework, but also suggests that issues of temporal context needs to be addressed whereby the local council enter periods of greater or less tolerance and support.

> page adverts in the Argus saying "How dare these perverts come and corrupt our children", and, "This is against Leviticus". And there were page adverts being taken up by leading churchmen saying "This was a human rights issue. There are lots of gay men, there's always been gay men". So there was a great furious local debate. Now locally that raised the issue of homosexuality.' (Spokesperson from the Sussex CHE)

Similar controversies occurred when plans were announced to hold a national CHE conference in Brighton in 1978. As was seen previously, despite attempts by the local press and conservative councillors to ban the conference, it was held as planned on August 10th, 1979. Intriguingly, 'More people turned up to the conference as a result of controversy than if it hadn't happened at all' (Sussex CHE spokesperson).

By 1981, only the Sussex CHE remained in operation, changing its name to the 'Brighton Gay Community Organisation' in 1985. In that year, BGCO Newsletters expressed concern at the low numbers of people taking part in the meetings, suggesting that the organisation might have to end (*BGCO Newsletter, December 1985*). However, membership of the BGCO rose significantly in 1987 with the introduction of Clause 28 of the Local Government Bill. Members of the BGCO and other lesbians and gay men formed the Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause, and on the 9th April 1988, organised a demonstration march between Hove and Brighton Town Halls (*BGCO Newsletter, May 1988*). One BGCO member noted the paradoxical nature of this renewed political coherency:

> 'the notorious Section 28, if anything, seems to have produced more pro-gay material then anything else... In addition, the widespread indignation of both gays and non-gays at Section 28 seems to have triggered off a renewed feeling of solidarity, energy and purpose in the gay community - all of which is very reassuring and must be making Mother absolutely **furious**.' (*BGCO Newsletter, July 1988*).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the right-wing backlash against homosexuality and the need to defend and support people living with HIV and AIDS resulted in the formation of OutRage! and Stonewall (Appendix I). Although London-based, these organisations became a significant force within Brighton, OutRage! being known locally as 'Brighton Outright'. In 1992, as discussed previously, members of Brighton

Outright formed the 'Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial Steering Group' in an effort to construct a memorial in order to 'confer respect for an otherwise ignored or vilified sector of Brighton's population.' (LGPMSG spokesperson, quoted in the *Brighton and Hove Leader, November 1992*).

Further political activity developed during 1994 in response to the age of consent debate in the Houses of Parliament. Members of Brighton Outright and local members of Stonewall travelled up to London by minibus and demonstrated outside the Houses of Parliament. One person present that night recalled the senses of solidarity expressed that night:

> 'It was the pinnacle, the apex of all we've been fighting for. And people were chanting. "What do we want? 16. When do we want it? Now."... And then the news came out that we'd lost the vote... And this sense of complete and utter disillusionment, and it was as quiet as you can possibly imagine; it was unearthly quiet. And the people in despondency, some were in tears, started to walk away from the square. And I was walking away, and we were going passed St. Stephen's Gate, and there was this little black youth sat in the road, and the police tried to drag him away. They said he was blocking the way. So I instinctively sat behind him, and I looked round and there were about a hundred people sitting behind us.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[2])[20]

Finally, Brighton Outright and Stonewall played an important role in mobilising support over debates about the age of consent in the Crime and Disorder Bill, 1998. At the bill's first reading in the House of Commons, a significant Brighton contingency demonstrated with others outside the Houses of Parliament, and even more demonstrated in London when the House of Lords rejected any reduction of the age of consent.

These trends in political organisation illustrate that where legislative and social doxa explicitly attempted to limit the expression of gay lives, strategic political responses were articulated. Consequently, a paradoxical situation arose whereby anti-gay

[20] It is difficult, however, to find one causative moment for the 1994 Age of Consent riot. As Duberman (1994) found with the Stonewall riots, there were many accounts of what happened, and the most accurate representation of the event is that many different factors came together to initiate the retaliation.

decisions and policies (such as Section 28 and the 1994 Criminal Justice Act) effectively promoted the very issues of sexuality they wished to deny. In this regard, political activity is not a unitary, consistent force in Brighton, but rather is attuned to and coheres at times when the rights and security of lesbians and gay men are most threatened.

Communities of Need and Support: HIV and AIDS

It has already been suggested that the influence of HIV and AIDS on Brighton has been particularly severe. As a result, the Sussex Beacon became established in 1988 to provide social support to those living with HIV and AIDS. The Sussex Beacon was officially opened in November 1992, providing hospice and continuing care for PWAs, admitting over 400 people in the first three and a half years (*Sussex Beacon Website, July 1998*). The Residential Unit now comprises eight single and two double rooms and a day room, providing nursing, medical, psychological, spiritual and social help. The nature of the support provided by the Sussex Beacon has been closely related to the development of the virus and its treatment. There was an initial emphasis, therefore, in the Sussex Beacon for patients in the terminal stages of illness, but the introduction of combination drug therapies in 1995 resulted in a shift in care towards patients suffering drug side-effects and dealing with issues resulting from their longer life expectancy (Table 5.3). As Wastie (1998) comments,

> 'The new culture of combination therapy has far-reaching medical, social and psychological implications. Patients are often faced with a new set of problems. Drug regimes can be complicated and may restrict daily activities. Many people are beginning to adjust to the prospect of returning to work and the possibility of having financial benefits reassessed. Suddenly the goal posts have been moved and new decisions have to be made.' (Wastie, 1998).

As the 1980s progressed, Fighting AIDS Brighton (FAB), a political activist group, was established to provoke greater discussion and awareness of HIV and AIDS issues[21]. With the improvement of medical treatment for AIDS, the nature of the social

[21] It is significant that many members of FAB were also members of Brighton Outright. Clearly, the doxa of homophobic legislation, such as Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act, contributed to and reflected concerns surrounding HIV and AIDS. Attempts to limit local authorities discussing

Quarter	Admit No.	Bed Days	Conval-escence	Respite	System Control	Terminal Control	Initiation of Treatment	Current Arrivals	Deaths
Oct-Dec 1995	40	529	13	10	13	4	0	3	6
Jan-Mar 1996	38	512	13	8	11	4	2	11	7
Apr-Jun 1996	39	573	10	11	13	2	3	11	5
Jul-Sep 1996	38	596	13	16	4	1	3	17	3
Oct-Dec 1996	44	584	13	14	15	1	1	19	3
Jan-Mar 1997	35	580	16	13	9	1	1	19	3

Table 5.3: Quarterly figures for types of admission to the Sussex Beacon since October 1995. (Source, Wastie: 1998)

organisations changed. Groups such as ACET (AIDS Care Education and Training) and Wiseguys still aimed to provide care for people with HIV/AIDS and to educate people about HIV and its prevention, but other groups such as imPACT became established to provide help and support for people (often HIV-) directly involved with HIV or AIDS at an emotional and carers' level (*Sussex Beacon Website, July 1998*). Groups, such as Body Positive and Open Door became established during the 1990s to provide a supportive environment for people *living* with HIV and AIDS, as opposed to solely helping those who are ill or in the terminal stages of the illness.

Again, the size of the gay scene in Brighton is such that the acceptance of HIV and AIDS in the town may be greater than that experienced elsewhere. One councillor discussed the support he received from local non-gay residents over the relocation of the Open Door day-centre:

> 'There was a hate campaign started about this move. An anonymous person wrote an unbelievable little pamphlet which he shoved through people's doors, saying that there's going to be an 'AIDS centre' built next door to them. The amount of post-bag we got about that was

homosexuality in schools influenced the availability of safer-sex education, and it was argued by Stonewall and OutRage! that not lowering the age of consent in 1994 and 1998 would promote the disinformation about safer-sex amongst gay men, thus placing 16-18 year olds at greater risk. Ironically, it was this very reason that was used by Baroness Young to propose a rejection of the lowering of the age of consent for gay men in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Bill, arguing that it would encourage dangerous sexual activities amongst young men (*Independent, July 1998*). In this regard, not only are the forces of doxa similar, but the aims of gay political groups are also united.

> totally supportive. I didn't receive one anti-letter at all. I got letters from neighbours saying, "Have you seen this? This is disgusting. How can people like that live in Brighton?" When it came for planning permission, everyone was outraged that there had been planning objections to this... The HIV and AIDS issue has been interesting because it has made people think about gay people in a different way. Whereas in some areas, you can think that people have reacted badly towards HIV and AIDS, and treated people living with it as bad people, my experience in Brighton has certainly been very different from that. It's made people who are not gay think about issues of HIV and AIDS and the reaction has been remarkable and very supportive indeed.' (Local councillor[1])

Consequently, although HIV and AIDS has generated divisions both between straight and gay communities and within gay communities, there is evidence to suggest that within Brighton, a sense of tolerance has occurred amongst straight people towards the special needs of gay men.

Amongst gay men, it has been suggested that the HIV and AIDS issue has generated a greater sense of solidarity:

> 'HIV and AIDS has brought people together, and genuinely brought them together, rather than some silly sense which some people have called for in the past. This is particularly the case on the Walk for Life, organised by the Sussex Beacon in June and on World AIDS Day. There is a terrific sense of shared strength, hope, and grief amongst gay people here in Brighton.' (Sussex Beacon spokesperson)

Furthermore, the nature of social and medical support organisations has changed in relation to trends in HIV infection rates. Thus, whereas early HIV infections resulted in safer-sex campaigns and support networks, such as Brighton Cares and the Sussex Beacon, recent 'second phase' infections (typically young men aged between 16 and 25) have provoked a renewed effort in promoting local AIDS awareness and safer-sex programmes, such as Zorro (Scott, 1998).

There are several themes apparent here. First, that as the structure of HIV and AIDS changes over time, so local support groups adapt to contend with these difficulties. Second, although HIV and AIDS has created severe limitations for gay communities, a contradictory process has occurred whereby stronger senses of coherence, support and

solidarity are expressed. Finally, the effect of HIV and AIDS on gay men and the acceptance of local people is influenced by spatial location whereby levels of HIV infection, treatment and support are related to concentrations of local gay people.

Communities of Defence and Support: Social-support Networks

In addition to HIV/AIDS advice and support groups, other organisations have become established to meet the needs of local gay men. In 1975, for example, Brighton Lesbian and Gay Switchboard was set up to provide a broad range of support for local individuals. Other groups include 'Brighton Grapevine', a gay male social organisation set up in 1986 to provide a supportive environment for individuals who, for whatever reason, found it difficult to socialise with others. A member explained:

> 'As the commercial scene grew in the '80s, it seemed to be easier for a lot of younger gay men to come out. However, things really didn't change for older guys. Many of them had spent most of their lives in the closet, were married, and so on. And Grapevine was started for those sort of people; people who needed to find an extra bit of support away from the club scene.' (Brighton Grapevine respondent)

At the same time, the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) became established in Brighton[22]. The MCC did not have a permanent place of worship in Brighton until 1996, when it acquired premises through its associated organisation, the Rainbow Centre Trust. The Trust was established in 1994 and aimed to

> 'acquire and manage a building or buildings for groups within the gay community, including the MCC. Because there is no space other than commercial space in the town ... we came up with this building. It's used by four different groups at the present time.' (Rainbow Centre Trust spokesperson)

The four groups include the MCC, a bisexual group, a gay Alcoholics Anonymous and a gay male social group, all involving individuals who felt removed from the gay commercial scene in Brighton.

[22] The Metropolitan Community Church was established in America in the 1960s, and now has 17 churches in the UK. Although the MCC is not specifically a 'gay church', its tolerant attitude and 'Rights of Blessings' for gay men and lesbians has made it very popular with gay people.

In 1992, the withholding of questionnaire information by local police after the murder of Peter Hall provoked the formation of BRILGAP (Brighton Lesbian and Gay Policing):

> 'it was clear that we needed some protection in Brighton from homophobia and harassment from the police. People were being attacked and not coming to the police for help because they were afraid of further harassment... We set up BRILGAP to monitor police behaviour and to provide a safe environment in which gay people can come if they are in trouble.' (BRILGAP spokesperson[2])

It was partly due to the pressure from BRILGAP and the NCCL (National Council of Civil Liberties) that the local police eventually destroyed the questionnaire files in June 1992, whilst retaining some data in Lewes headquarters under the Data Protection Act (*Evening Argus, June 1992a*).

In an effort to improve relations with local gay communities, WPC Rachel Williams established a weekly confidential police surgery, called 'Speak Out', at the Scene 22 coffee bar in 1994 (*Brighton and Hove Leader, September 1994*). In its first report, Speak Out set out its aims and objectives:

> '"Speak Out" is a community safety and crime prevention initiative. "Speak Out" project workers, liasing with the lesbian, gay and bisexual community, are actively encouraging victims to report incidents/crimes to the Police, and so help reduce the undetected crime and improve community safety...
>
> "Speak Out" is sending a clear message to the perpetrators of 'hate crime' that the lesbian, gay and bisexual community and Sussex Police will not tolerate such violence; those involved in hate crime must be expected to face the full force of the criminal justice system.' (*Speak Out Report, 1996: 3*)

Speak Out project workers presently visit gay clubs and bars in Brighton at least three times a week, familiarising gay people with the 'Speak Out' service and advising individuals about protection from homophobia[23]. Between the 1st January 1996 and

[23] Attending several of these police surgeries, it was evident how successful they were. Speak Out operates every Monday evening between the hours of 6:00pm and 10:00pm, during which a central caucus of about 15 people are present, including two police officers. On those nights I attended, between 7 and 10 people visited and sought advice. All of them were male, however, as was the

the 1st July 1996, approximately 1050 people visited the centre for reasons ranging from death threats and rape to domestic violence and stalking (*Speak Out Report, 1996*). So effective has this liaison group been, that police agencies in Soho, London and Manchester have chosen to adopt similar strategies *(Brighton and Hove Leader, September 1994*). Furthermore, the 2nd National Conference of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Policing held in Brighton in 1998 also recommended Speak Out as a model for police/gay communities negotiation.

In addition to social support groups, the Brighton Ourstory Project was set up in 1989 to reclaim gay histories in the town:

> 'In Brighton, the official bodies hold no records of lesbian and gay life from 1950 to 1969. It's a dislocating experience to visit Brighton Borough Council, Brighton Reference Library, Brighton Museum and find nothing. It's as though lesbians and gay men have not existed, have no contribution to the culture and economy of the town. Are we all ghosts then, muttering in dark corners and whispering in the wind? In Section 28 Britain, institutions cannot be trusted to tell the story of our lives. Emergency oral history work is urgently needed. Every lesbian and every gay man is a walking library of information on our life and times.' (BOP, 1992: 9-10)

The Brighton Ourstory Project aimed to provide 'oral history interviews to preserve a record of our lives', to produce 'exhibitions, publications, performances to increase awareness of our lives and visibility of our history', and to 'establish a lesbian and gay history archive in its own premises' (*BOP Website, July 1998: 2*)[24]. Its work reflects well the exclusions encountered by lesbians and gay men from the 'official' history of Brighton and Hove. Many historical accounts of the town, from Gilbert (1936; 1954) to Shields (1991), have remained silent over the lives of lesbians and gay men.

In sum, it is apparent that in addition to explicitly political groups and HIV/AIDS support organisations, social networks have been established to support those who are excluded from 'mainstream' culture. Even when the repression of lesbians and gay

---

general caucus, suggesting a clear gender bias in these surgeries. This is significant given the levels of violence, domestic or otherwise, experienced by lesbians (Valentine, 1993a).

[24] In this regard, the work of the Brighton Ourstory Project (1990; 1992; 1995a; 1995b) is similar to other archival organisations elsewhere, for example in Manchester, Soho, London and Park Slope, New York (Rothenburg, 1995).

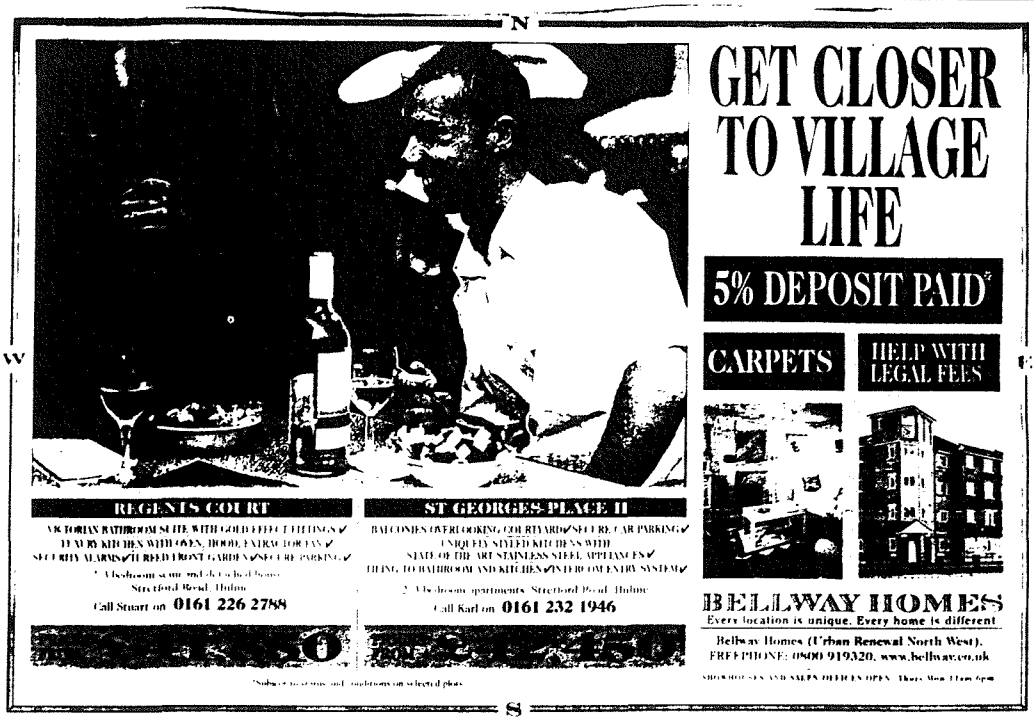
men has been at its most potent, organisations have been set up to support alternative lives and histories away from socio-sexual doxa. Again, the locality of Brighton, with its large gay population and significant gay histories has resulted in a greater potential to respond positively to social restrictions, and indeed, with the Speak Out group, to lead the way in support for lesbians and gay men.

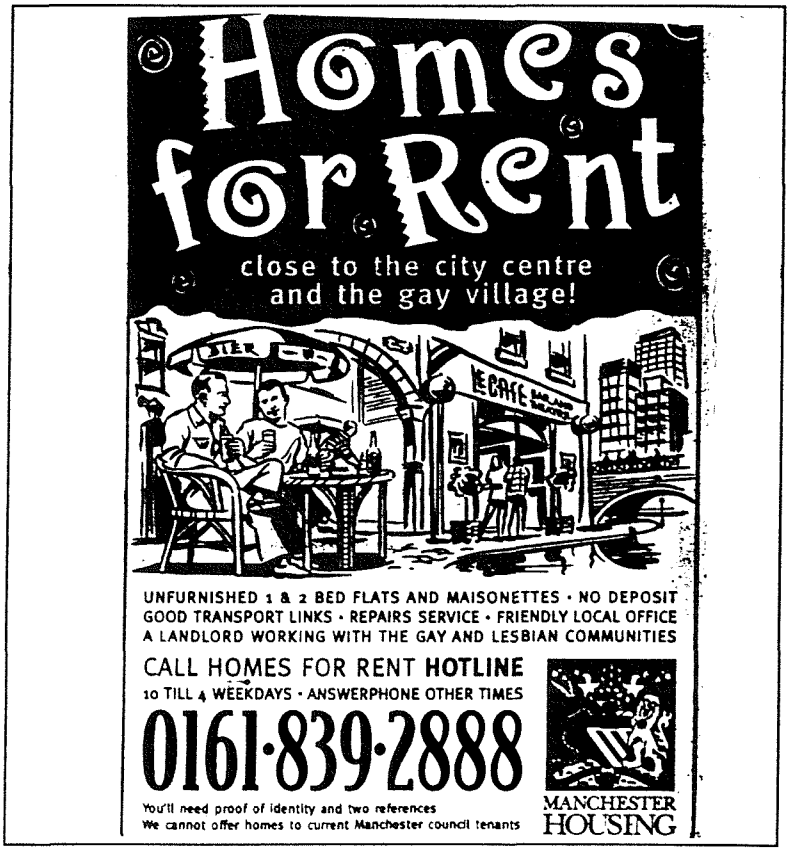
Gay Commerce 1970 to present: The construction of an overt gay space in Brighton

It has been suggested elsewhere that gentrification has been a major force behind the creation of gay urban areas where gay individuals, being an 'undesirable' group, have sought refuge and support in cheaper, less conservative areas of the city (Weightman, 1981; Castells, 1983; Knopp, 1994; 1997a). This opportunistic settling of gay people has generally been associated with the improvement of the inhabited areas in question (Knopp, 1994; 1997a; Forest, 1995), to the point that lesbian and gay tenants are sought to increase property values (Rothenburg, 1995).

In large urban gay scenes, such as in London and Manchester, proximity to the 'gay village' is often used to attract gay people to particular residential areas (Quilley, 1994; 1997). Figures 5.2 and 5.3, for example, illustrate the extent to which gay residents are targeted for new property development schemes in Manchester. Similarly, Salford City Council has recently advertised in the gay press for high-rise accommodation on the basis that they would appeal to social groups without children and with a desire to be near to the city centre (*Pink Paper, April 1996*). A similar argument was used in the advertisement of a £2 million warehouse conversion in Sackville Street, backing onto the gay village of Manchester (*Pink Paper, June 1996*). Furthermore, Jeremy Norman, owner of the Heaven club in London, announced a property scheme of developing loft-converted apartments for gay people in Covent Garden (*Pink Paper, June 1996*).

It is paradoxical, therefore, that capitalism, a social system that has so long been associated with the intolerance of homosexuality (Reich, 1943; Marcuse, 1956; Horowitz; 1977; Knopp, 1992), has recently been a means for gay men to achieve greater visibility and strength (D'Emilio, 1993; Edge, 1996a). Brighton has also illustrated this paradoxical potential of commerce, but in ways different from US and UK urban centres.





Figures 5.2 and 5.3: Advertisements for accommodation targeted at gay men from the *Pink Paper* (27th February, 1998 and 16th January, 1998, respectively)

As stated previously, the town's link with the theatre has long promoted associations with decadence and homosexuality (Burton, 1991; BOP, 1992; Munt, 1995). The influx of wealthy gay men to the town in the late 19th and early 20th century with the growing theatre industry brought about an early degree of gay spatial concentration around Kemptown:

> 'Sex and money was at the heart of the gay community in Arundel Terrace, Lewes Crescent and Chichester Terrace. It was an upper-class jungle. When I came here it wasn't such a mixed social group as it is now. The Terrace had a class thing about it, a moneyed thing.' (Kay in BOP, 1992: 56).

As the town's comparatively tolerant atmosphere became more distinct, the numbers of gay men and lesbians migrating to Brighton increased, particularly after the Second World War (BOP, 1992: 26-28). However, as explored earlier, given that male homosexuality was still criminalised, any commercial scene had to be highly secretive and covert. Brighton town centre was thus too open to allow a gay social scene to occur, and Kemptown was not preferable due to its popularity with the lesbian and gay theatre élite, most of whom only took part in private party networks. Consequently, a covert gay commercial scene developed initially towards the West of Brighton in the 1950s and 60s around Regency Square and Montpelier Road, and in the back-streets behind Kings Road and Queens Road (Fig. 5.1).

After the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967, the commercial scene slowly developed and adopted a more overt position[25] (Fig. 5.4). Explicitly gay venues, such as The Caxton Arms, the Green Dragon and the Longbranch Club, all opened in more central or Eastern locations, towards the Royal Pavilion. Given the new legitimacy for gay venues, many previously gay friendly places were able to be more open and advertise freely about their gay clientele.

These developments were extended during the 1980s (Fig. 5.5). Many of the earlier 'underground' venues closed as more overt commercial places became established.

---

[25] Continued police harassment and homophobia, however, continued into the 1970s, creating a very gradual expansion of the gay commercial scene of Brighton (*Brighton Gay Guide, July 1978*).

Figure 5.5: Map of Brighton, 1980 - 1990

Key

- gay commercial venues
- lesbian commercial (incl. one-nighters)
- cottages/cruising grounds
- social group meeting places
- gay saunas

1	Bedford Tavern
2	The Rockingham
3	Beacon Royal Hotel
4	The Oriental
8	42 Club
9	The Cricketers
10	Collonade
11	Black Horse
13	Cockatoo
16	Queen's Arms
17	The Bulldog Tavern
18	Queen's Head
19	Secrets
20	Aquarium
22	The Village
14	Longbranch Club
5	Hove seafront cottage
7	King's Road Arches cottage
12	Brighton Station cottage
21	Palace Pier cruising ground
23	Duke's Mound cruising ground
15	Sussex University
6	Bright'n Beautiful sauna

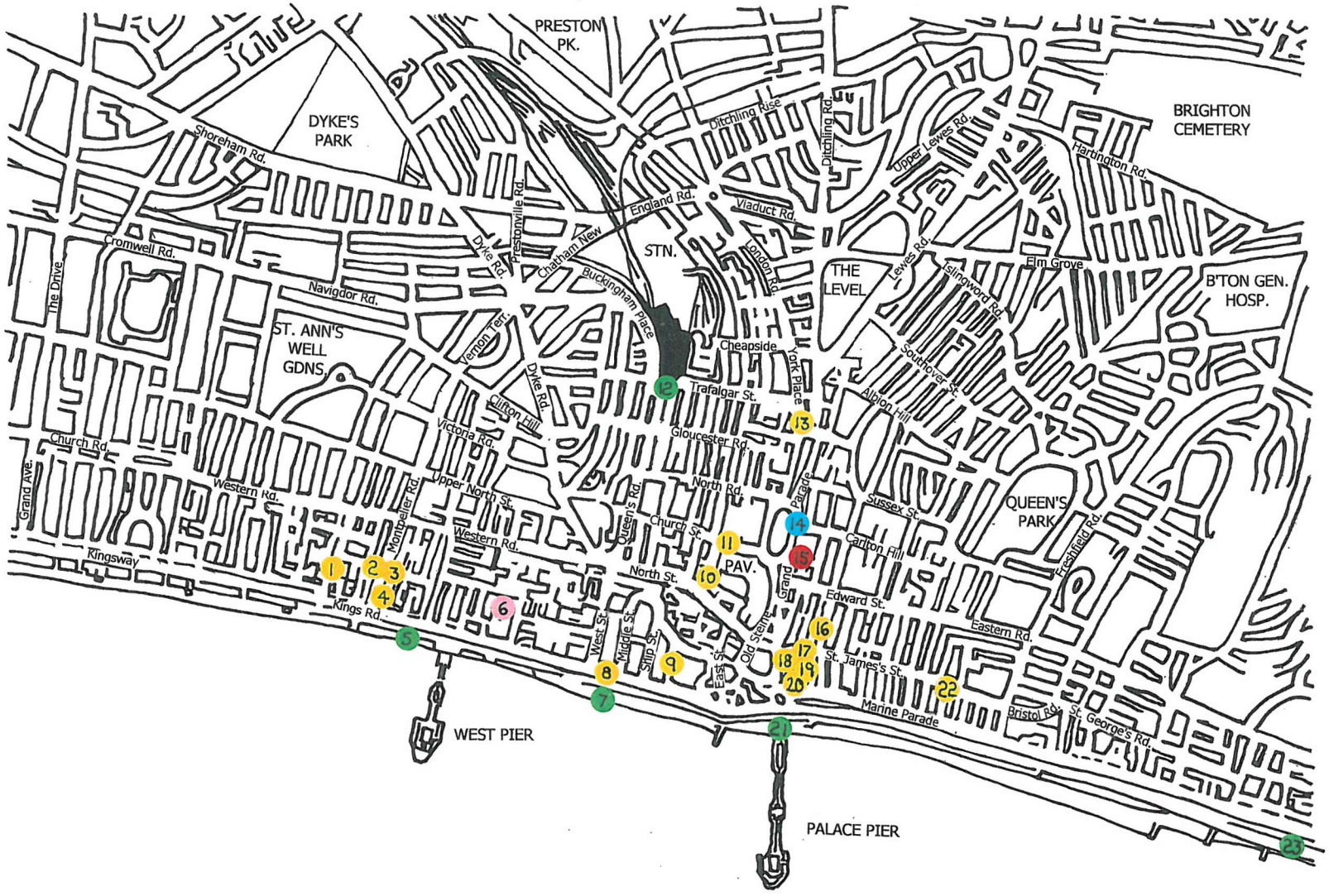
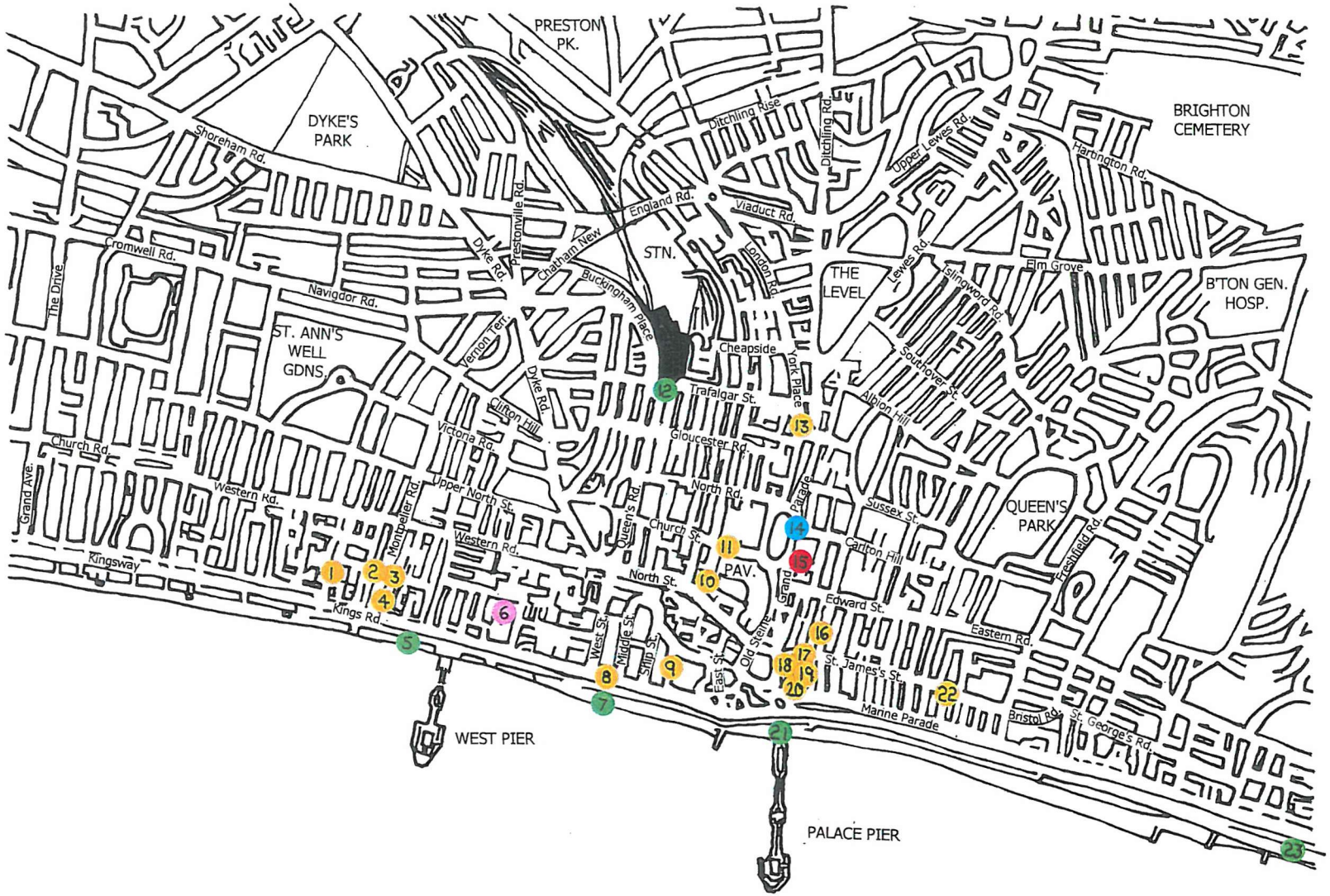


Figure 5.5: Map of Brighton, 1980 - 1990

Key

- gay commercial venues
- lesbian commercial (incl. one-nighters)
- cottages/cruising grounds
- social group meeting places
- gay saunas

1	Bedford Tavern
2	The Rockingham
3	Beacon Royal Hotel
4	The Oriental
8	42 Club
9	The Cricketers
10	Collonade
11	Black Horse
13	Cockatoo
16	Queen's Arms
17	The Bulldog Tavern
18	Queen's Head
19	Secrets
20	Aquarium
22	The Village
14	Longbranch Club
5	Hove seafront cottage
7	King's Road Arches cottage
12	Brighton Station cottage
21	Palace Pier cruising ground
23	Duke's Mound cruising ground
15	Sussex University
6	Bright n Beautiful sauna



Only the Rockingham, the 42 Club and the Longbranch Club (the only permanent club to allow lesbians) remained operating throughout this decade, with new premises including the Cricketers (where the BGCO met), the Bulldog Tavern, the Aquarium and Secrets (*BGCO Newsletter, December 1985*). During the latter part of the 1980s, other venues, such as the Oriental, the Beacon Royal Hotel and the Bedford Tavern opened around Montpelier Road to provide areas where local gay residents could socialise:

> 'Two gay areas came about in Brighton. Here around Montpelier road and West Street, which are the quieter venues for the local residents; and the area around St James Road, which has generally been livelier and for people visiting the town.' (Venue Owner[8])

In the latter half of the 1980s, other venues opened up that strengthened the image of a gay commercial centre in Brighton around St. James Street, including the Queen's Head, the Queen's Arms and the Black Horse, all of which were previously gay friendly but now officially advertised themselves as gay pubs (Fig.5.5).

Figure 5.6 illustrates a significant increase in the number of gay oriented venues throughout the 1990s, particularly around the area of St. James Street. This expansion in numbers of gay venues should not be interpreted as a progression towards the clustering of gay interests within a defined and distinct gay 'village' as gay business owners have sought to portray in their own mapping exercises (Figure 5.7).

At this point, it is perhaps necessary to provide a commentary on the intentions, representations and limitations of the mapping techniques used in Figures 5.1, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6. All representations, whether graphic, cartographic or textual, are both inherently pertinent (in that they seek to represent the researched) and problematic (in that it is an abstraction from the researched). However, these complexities do not justify the rejection of mapping exercises. Rather, as Chapter Two explored, it is the context in which these representations are produced that need to be examined.

Figures 5.1, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 do not function as a location map of a naturally determined and static gay ghetto in any Castellian sense; on the contrary all the original

maps in this chapter are included to illustrate the *process* of gay place formation. In this regard, the maps demonstrate changes in the locations, variety and size of venues in relation to differing socio-political contexts, rather than a naturalised teleological progression to a final unitary gay territorial state.

Considering the processes of gay place formation permits the examination of certain trends. First, the growth in the number of gay venues does not presuppose an all-inclusiveness of the gay scene where certain individuals are excluded from the changing scene. For example, as will be discussed later, the number of venues for lesbians has remained disproportionately smaller than that of gay male sites. Indeed, contrasting figures 5.1 with 5.5 suggest that the number of lesbian-only venues has actually declined.

Second, Figures 5.1, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate that the major force behind the growth in the scene has been a commercial one. However, beyond this gay commercial expansion, other expressions of sexuality within Brighton's space have been retained. For example, the cruising grounds of the Palace Pier and Duke's Mound have remained throughout the 1990s. These alternative sites for gay men indicate the diversity of paradoxical spatial expressions of gay sexuality.

Third, and relatedly, unlike the maps of gay areas of Chicago and New York (Levine, 1979; Weightman, 1980), the original maps produced in this chapter do not focus solely on commercial spaces, but include other contexts of spatial organisation. In this regard, it is interesting that Figure 5.6 illustrates a growth in the number of social sites that support individuals with HIV or AIDS and their partners / families.

Certain limitations exist with these cartographical representations. It is tempting, for example, to perceive each location to exist as a fixed entity when infact no permanence can be attributed to any site. It is therefore important to contrast Figures 5.1, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 with each other to perceive broader processes, rather than considering each map as a single 'snap-shot'.

A further limitation derives from a degree of generalisation that is an inevitable

consequence of cartographic abstraction. For example, gay spaces demarcated by yellow circles do not suggest that all venues attributed to that colour exist in the same manner. As the commentary on the early gay scene in Brighton suggested, gay pubs in the 1950s and 1960s were more secretive and covert than the visible and overt clubs of the 1990s. Similarly, the gay commercial venues of the 1990s are not all identical, but support different clientele. Hence the Bulldog is more popular with the leather-scene and the Village is popular with older gay men.

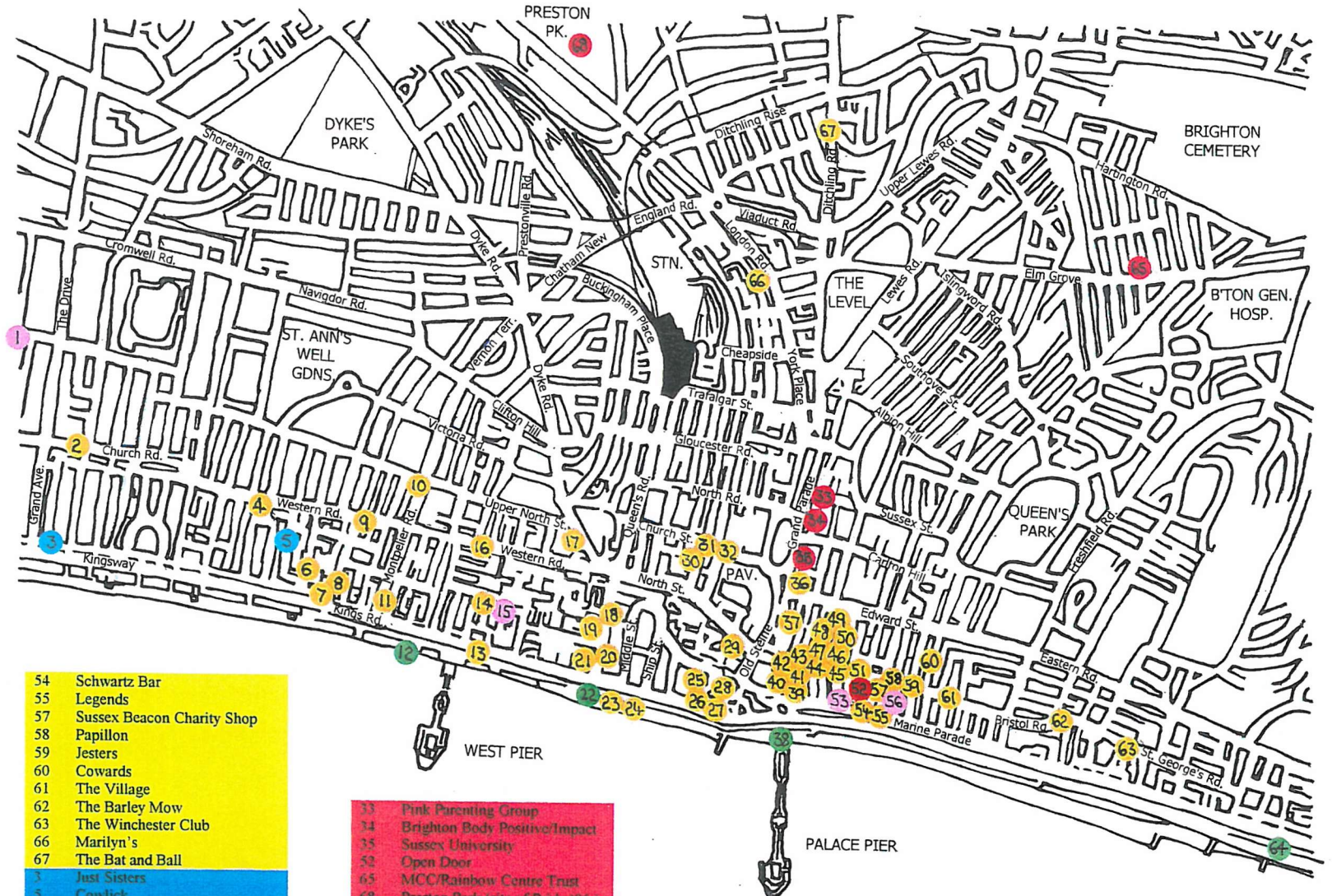
Finally, certain processual dynamics cannot be represented in these maps. For example the move to 'blurred-spaces' (previously gay or straight venues becoming mixed) actively contradicts the separate listing of gay-only venues denoted by yellow circles. The development of gay separatist spaces is challenged here by venues that support the shared use of the venue by people of all sexual orientations.

Having said this, the limitations of these maps does not diminish the need to convey and represent the resistive potential of paradoxical expressions of gay male sexuality. Hence, the extensiveness and openness of the gay scene during the 1990s represented in Figure 5.6 should be perceived to be part of a process of spatial negotiation occurring amongst gay men in Brighton.

The process of increasing openness and visibility in the 1990s gay scene was reflected in changes in the style of gay venues in Brighton. Club Revenge, for example, adopted a more overt image when it opened in 1991:

> 'We wanted to be as open as possible. The club that was here before, the Savannah, was a big place, it didn't really make use of its location. So we wanted a bright strong image when we took it over, and we called it "Revenge" to reflect that. It was getting our own back on a society which forced us to socialise in clubs like Secrets - a club in which its name says it all.' (Venue owner[7])

Figure 5.6: Map of Brighton, 1990 - present



Key

gay commercial venues
lesbian commercial (incl. one-nighters)
cottages/cruising grounds
social group meeting places
gay saunas

2	Oscar's
4	Freemasons Tavern
6	Iron Duke
7	Marmalade and Friends
8	Bedford Tavern
9	Madison Travel
10	The Montpelier
11	The Oriental
13	Fudges
14	Regency Tavern
16	Stars and Stripes
17	The Shrine
18	Green's Café
19	Dynamite Boogaloo
20	Wildfruit
21	Fluff
23	Zap
24	Passion
25	KMA
26	Dr. Brighton's
27	Zennons
28	Read all About It
29	Transister
30	Surfers @ Paradise
31	OK Café
32	Black Horse
36	Kirk's Club
37	The Marlborough
39	Aquarium
40	Club Revenge
41	Secrets
42	Queen's Head
43	The Bulldog Tavern
44	Scene 22
45	Zanzibar
46	Rough
47	Queen's Arms
48	Kentucky Woman
49	Out! Brighton
50	Galeria Travel
51	Cardome

54	Schwartz Bar
55	Legends
57	Sussex Beacon Charity Shop
58	Papillon
59	Jesters
60	Cowards
61	The Village
62	The Barley Mow
63	The Winchester Club
66	Marilyn's
67	The Bat and Ball
3	Just Sisters
5	Cowlick
12	Hove seafront cottage
22	King's Road Arches cottage
38	Palace Pier cruising ground
64	Duke's Mound cruising ground

33	Pink Parenting Group
34	Brighton Body Positive/Impact
35	Sussex University
52	Open Door
65	MCC/Rainbow Centre Trust
68	Preston Park (site of Pride '96-)
1	Denmark Villas
15	Bright'n Beautiful
53	St. James' Sauna
56	The Fitness Camp

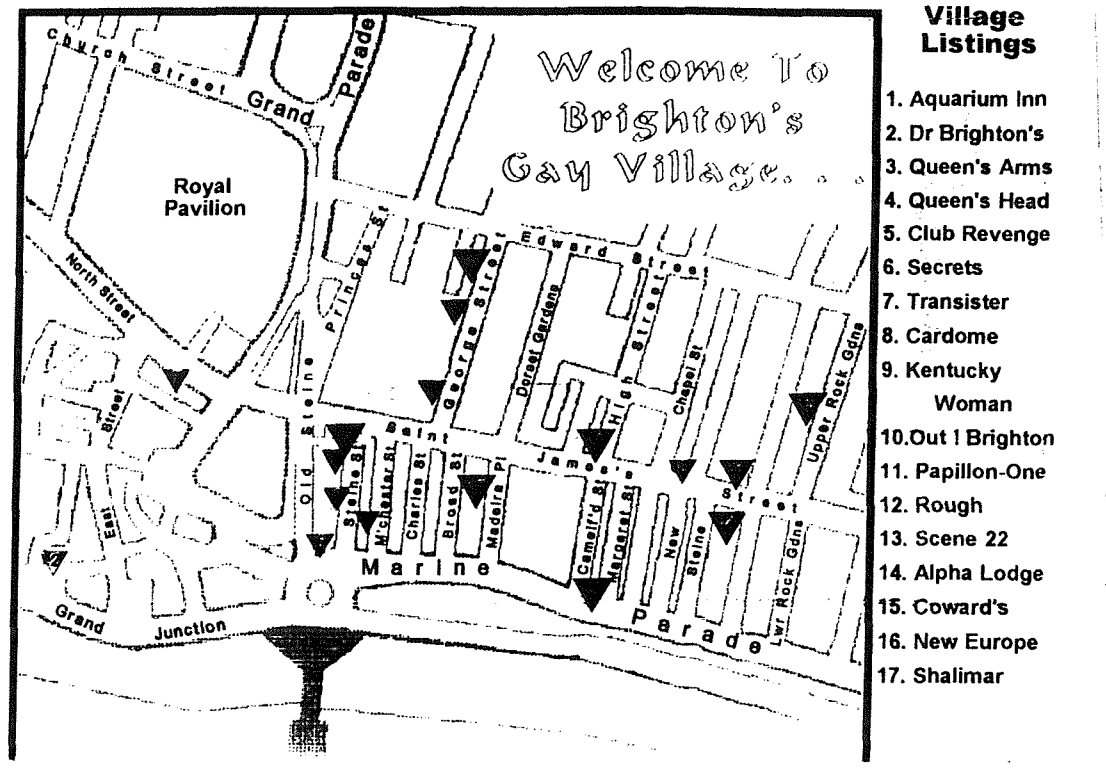


Figure 5.7: Brighton's Gay Village commercial listings map of 1996

Similarly, other venues, such as the Queen's Head and Scene 22 have appropriated symbols, such as the rainbow flag, to advertise their gay status. It has been suggested by several respondents that this overt style promoted a greater acceptance of gay culture:

> 'To go across the Steine, it's like stepping into another world. Crossing that road, it's like going to London, and it's only minutes away, but it seems like hell to get there. You cross that road, and you start at the bottom of St. James Street and all the way up, you've got various pubs, you've got various clubs, businesses. Camel Street, they've got gay oriented guest houses. It's not really like a gay village, it's like a town. You can do your shopping there, and everyone who passes you is either gay or gay friendly. We have a game, "S.T.Q.", "Spot the Queen", but there it's like "Spot the Straight".' (Local resident[22])

Speaking to venue holders within this area, it was clear that a strong gay business culture exists:

> 'It is interesting that people have started talking about the Pink Triangle of Brighton - an area in which most of the commercial scene is situated. This is an area around St. James Street where it is thought it best to be located as it is the place where many gay people take part in the scene. The brewery, when we first looked for a location for a new pub in Brighton, were worried about the venue being located too far out of the gay business district for it to be profitable. But in the end, we located here which proved to be a good area for customers.' (Venue owner[4])

A degree of dialogue exists between venues within this district. For example, when in 1997 Bass Charringtons announced plans to open a club on St. James Street, a group of gay businesses and their clientele signed a petition to stop the venue from receiving planning permission. Their concerns were threefold: first, that it would be owned by a straight company whose sole aim appeared to be 'creaming-off' the local gay market; second, that the application procedure was illegal (applying for a pub license when their intentions were reported to be otherwise); third, that the size of the proposed venue would force other smaller venues to close. One venue owner who had previously worked in the Manchester and London scene commented that:

> 'there is an over-capacity of venues in Brighton, and hence there is a mood to compete more and fight more than they do in London. We started talking to one another there; we talked prices and agreed not to undercut prices unless we were doing promotions... In Brighton, we are about 5 years behind London and Manchester. I think things are going the same way as Manchester, which is good. A way of communicating to one another over this idea of a gay village.' (Venue owner[11])

Although many Brighton venues are designed to meet local residential and touristic needs, several gay commercial businesses are part of a wider corporate culture. For example Wild Fruit, a monthly event attracting between 900 and 1200 people, has modelled itself on similar events in London; the owners of 'Kudos' in London took over the Zanzibar in 1997; and Clone Zone[26] took over the Pink Triangle Video Store in 1996.

It is evident that the gay commercial scene in Brighton has developed through a negotiation between socio-sexual doxa (particularly legislation pre-1967) and the restistive, paradoxical expressions of local gay sexuality. Given that the generation of a gay commercial district was established at a time in which the expression of homosexuality was illegal, such areas by definition were *para*doxical. In addition to existing beyond doxa, these gay areas also generated a (accidental or deliberate) paradoxical increase in gay visibility and acceptability in the town.

An example of this increased visibility can be seen with the commercial sponsorship of the Brighton Gay Pride festival. Whilst the first three Pride events were relatively small events, Brighton Pride 1995 attracted over 10,000 people, and raised over £3,000 for local charities, including Body Positive and the Sussex Beacon, due principally to increased sponsorship from local businesses (*Brighton and Hove News, October 1995*). In 1996, the Brighton Pride organisation appealed again to local sponsorship, attracting 18,000 people to the event and raising over £4,000 for local charities (*Argus, May 1996*; *Pink Paper, May 1996*). With such large numbers taking part, the Pride march through the centre of Brighton acquired even greater visibility than experienced previously (Figs. 5.8). One Trustee explained the importance of a visible march route:

[26] Established 18 years ago, Mike McCann started one of the first gay shops in the UK, which has become so successful that he has opened similar venues in Manchester and Sheffield.

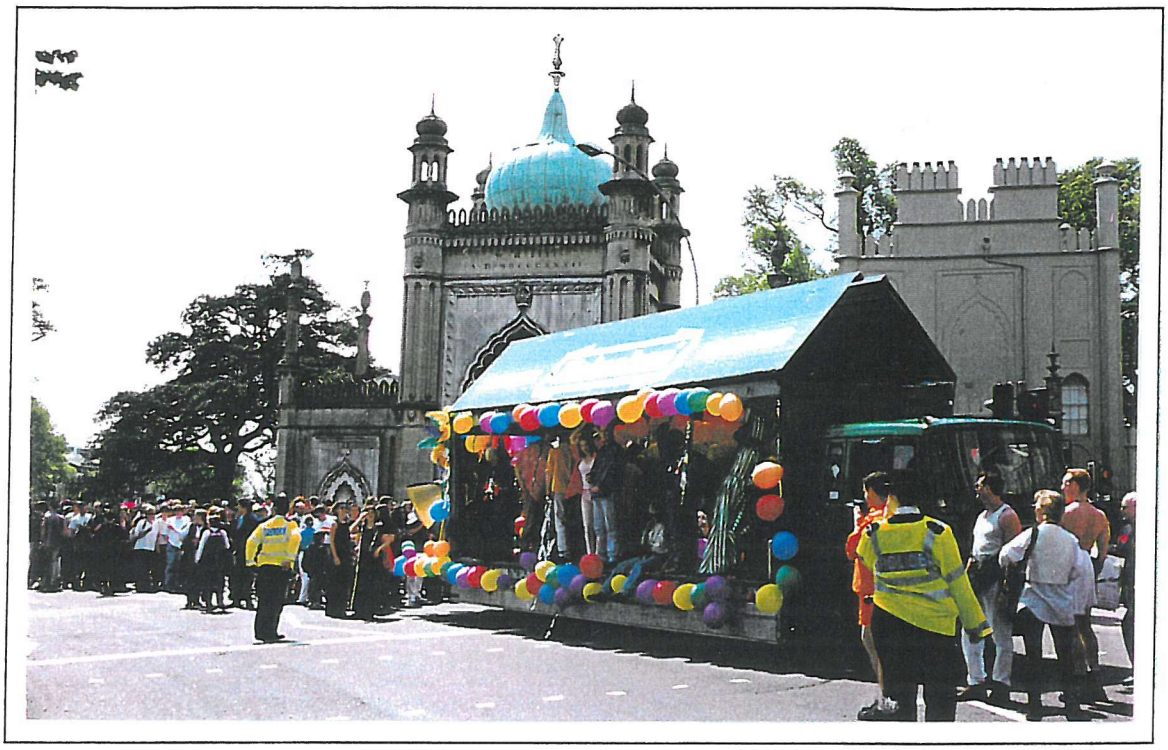


Figure 5.8: Brighton Pride March 1996, taken at the West front of the Brighton Pavilion

> 'For one day a year, lesbians and gay men can literally take control of the streets. The police block the traffic and allow the procession to go right through the centre of Brighton. That's wonderful. Everyone who's in Brighton that day knows who we are and why Brighton is so special... Literally, for one day, straight people are guests within our space, and they have to abide by our rules.' (Brighton Pride Trustee)

Police estimates for Brighton Pride 1997 (Figs. 5.9-5.10) suggested that between 20,000 to 25,000 people took part in the march and the festival, with a further 40 million potential viewers tuning into the live broadcast of the event through the gay internet site 'Q Vision' (*Pink Paper, April 1996*). The expected attendance for Brighton Pride 1998 was between 30,000 and 35,000 people (*G-Scene, August 1998a*), although the estimated turn out on the day itself suggested that a total of 75,000-80,000 people took part, due primarily to significant official sponsorship by Heineken and through the cancellation of the London Pride festival and party (*Brighton Pride Website, September 1998*).[27] Again, with such publicity, the visibility derived

[27] London Pride was cancelled due to controversy surrounding the level of straight sponsorship for the event), an outstanding £160,000 debt from the previous year, Lambeth Borough Council's refusal of the use of Clapham Common for the event (*Pink Paper, January 1998*), the poor sale of the £5 tickets for entry to the festival, and insufficient advertising for the event.

Figures 5.9 and 5.10: Scenes from the 1997 Brighton Pride March

from a commercially sponsored event did much to reinscribe the importance of gay male and lesbian lives in Brighton.

Summary

It was Barthes' intention to relate the restriction associated with social doxa to the resistance of paradoxical forces. Research in Brighton illustrates just how potent this paradoxical force can be, where gay communities, identities and spaces have consistently and successfully negotiated their existence in the face of severe social and political homophobia and heterosexism. Consequently, any historical account of expressions of gay male lives has to engage with the complex interrelations between forces of resistance and control.

Within this chapter, five paths of transgression and paradoxa were explored: first, the establishment of an early gay scene centring around 'underground' venues, parties, cottages and cruising spaces at a time of severe legal and social restrictions; second, the formation of gay political organisations amongst gay men and lesbians within Brighton at times in which their civil liberties were threatened (as with Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act); third, the forging of communities and places of tolerance, support and education for people living with HIV and AIDS in reaction to social, legal and medical limitations; fourth, the creation of a coherent, resistant response amongst local gay men to local police intolerance, homophobia and the silencing of gay concerns; fifth, the recent developments in the gay commercial scene which, whilst arguably supporting financial interests, have generated a paradoxical increase in the visibility and tolerance for gay cultures in Brighton.

Given that sites of transgression and paradoxa have existed in relation to forces of doxa, spaces and communities of resistance must be explored for the context in which they were expressed. In other words, whatever sexual phenomenon is being explored (gay ghettos, drag performance, gay communes, etc.), they cannot be perceived to exist as a natural entity, but rather as a negotiative, contextual process between doxa and paradoxa. Similarly, just as socio-sexual doxa are spatially and temporally contingent, so too are paradoxical expressions of sexuality. In this regard, local socio-sexual reactions have to be situated in relation to broader national and international

events (such as the Stonewall riots and the 1967 Sexual Offences Act), as well as to the historical context in which they were expressed (for example, whether pre- or post-1967). Finally, just as Figure 3.3 indicates that doxa cannot exist without the possibility of its paradoxical transgression, so too must paradoxical expressions of community and space be related to the risk of recuperation into the same or a new doxa. This process of recuperation will be considered in the last section of this chapter.

IV: Recuperation: The assimilation of gay male paradoxa into new doxas

> 'Reactive formations: a *Doxa* (a popular opinion) is posited, intolerable; to free myself of it, I postulate a paradox; then this paradox turns bad, becomes a new concretion, itself becomes a new *Doxa*, and I must seek further for a new paradox.' (Barthes, 1995: 71).

Within Foucault's rejection of the binaristic division between power and resistance lies a certain difficulty for concepts of paradoxa: paths of resistance are always threatened by forces of repression and doxa (Foucault, 1977). For Barthes, this was a process of 'recuperation'; the ever-present threat of assimilation of paradoxical forces into pre-existing or newly constructed doxa (1995). This section will explore how the processes of recuperation manifest themselves within Brighton's gay scene, indicating ways in which spaces and communities of gay resistance can propagate new and old forms of doxa.

The early scene 1950-1970: Class, age and homophobia

As explored previously, not everyone had the opportunity to exploit the paradoxical potential of the early gay scene. One resident commented that,

> 'The venues and social groups in the early community catered for two distinct groups of people: the young set and the older gay men who were considered to be the 'rich queens'. The older gay men had enough money to be able to be more open about their sexuality and the younger people were of the age where they were prepared to be more in-our-face.' (Local resident[12])

Consequently, the possibility of being a part of the pre-1970s gay networks were frequently influenced by the doxa of class and age. In addition, early venues and parties often excluded people on the basis of gender:

> 'we'd heard about the Queen's Club coming up for sale, it was on the market, so we decided to go after it and we came to Brighton. It was a men only club. It had gambling rights, it had gambling machine rights. Well, we walked through this club full of men and you could have heard a cigarette drop on the floor. It came to an absolute silent standstill. Cards poised, you know, dice in mid-air! Women in *their* club! Would they ever get over it?' (Vicky, BOP respondent 1992: 78)

Similarly, race was another point of exclusion in Brighton:

> 'I can't remember any black faces, really. It would stick in my memory, I'm sure. One only, I can remember one black student, who actually had a bedsit above the Variety Club, who was a lovely lad.' (James, BOP 1992: 63)

Consequently, it was generally only a specific type of individual (urban-based, white, middle class, male) who was able to express his sexuality most freely.

In addition, many of the early gay areas illustrated in fig. 5.1 were recuperated into the very doxa of social/legal homophobia and police surveillance that they were striving to transgress. For example, with cottaging:

> 'You had to be very careful. The local police were fond of using 'pretty-boy' tactics. If their books were a bit empty at the end of the week, they used to send a pretty policeman into the toilets to lure gay men... You also had to be careful of queer-bashers. They could come in and kick you about, and of course they knew you wouldn't go to the police because it would be, "Well, why were you in there in the first place?"' (Local resident[25])

Gay-friendly venues and events were also threatened by hate crime and police harassment. In 1980, for example, continued police harassment of Brighton gay venues resulted in the closure of four gay clubs, and the showing of the film 'Word is Out', led to an organised homophobic attack from an extreme right-wing group (*Brighton Gay Centre Newsletter No.1, 1980: 2*).

These examples illustrate the degree to which early paradoxical expressions of gay male communities and spaces in Brighton were often recuperated into aligned doxa of class, race and gender, or incited more fervent reaction from pre-existing socio-sexual doxa.

Conflicts with Political Organisations: 1970 to present

Political organisations established after 1970 were more radical than earlier groups due primarily to the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality and the Stonewall Riots. The new sense of pride is evident in the Sussex GLF's setting of a Formby song:

> '(to the tune of "Leaning on the Lamp post")
>
> We've been guilty and ashamed of it,
> but now we're rather proud of it,
> No longer will we try to live a lie,
> Oh me, oh my, that lie can lay
> itself right down and die,
> When I think of all the bad old days,
> the secret shameful sad old ways,
> It makes me want to sit right down and die,
> We've been guilty and ashamed of it, but now we're
> rather proud of it,
> No longer will we try to live a lie.'
> (*Sussex GLF Newsletter, November 1973*)

This sense of solidarity was not shared by everybody, however; those individuals involved in the pre-70s social and political scene were often dismayed by the activities of the Sussex GLF movement:

> 'The GLF took to the scene just when [the pre-70s] world was ending. The early crowd wanted to keep their stable networks and their stable communities, even though they were very "closeted". For them, their worlds were safe, and then these out and in-you-face dykes and queers were caught up in this strong liberation talk: taking to the street and shouting about their pride... this threatened a lot of the older people who felt that it was dangerous to get in trouble. They really felt that, you know, "Ssshh! Keep it quiet. We've been safe up to now, and you're ruining everything by being so noisy.' (Local resident[7])[28]

[28] Grube (1990) also addressed these tensions between pre- and post-1970s political activists, noting the existence of three groups: the 'natural community' (those who remained involved in the more

It was also felt that the aims of the GLF were entirely male oriented:

> 'They [the male members of Sussex GLF] were so obsessed with the idea of solidarity and everybody coming together under the pink banner, that they never thought that their could be any other issue than that set by the male agenda. Everyone rallied around gay men's cottages and men's discrimination at work, but where was the concern for domestic violence in lesbian relationships?' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[1]).

One founding member of the Sussex GLF justified the attitudes towards female members by saying that,

> 'The split thing between lesbianism and gay men was certainly there. Some people tried to argue that one of the things about the original idea about the Gay Liberation Front was to be all embracing to include gay girls. But I think it would be true to say that a lot of people including myself were not particularly happy in the company of what I might call "female extreme sexuality", because I met a few of the extreme lesbians, and they could be very violent in their attitude. And I was not in the position of promoting any form of extremism... In the GLF, we were trying to get acceptance and equality for homosexual men. Now if other people wanted to start up and do the same thing for lesbians, let them, but I'm trying to do what I can for gay men.' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[2])

Consequently, women only political groups became established, including the Brighton branch of the Minorities Research Group and the Brighton Lesbian Group (BOP, 1992: 86-88; *Brighton Gay Guide, 1978: 4*).

Class tensions also existed within political organisations:

> 'There is an underclass and the underclass is growing. The underclass are those vagrants and squatters who occupy every major conurbation. Then there is the more intelligent kind of class who are the people who actually form organisations around notions like justice. And they are a quite organised and growing group. They are people of great education, and form this middle-class bias in politics. Now the difficulty is, how to establish a political organisation which

---

cautious social networks), the 'organised community' (those who came out and celebrated their sexuality in an overt manner) and the 'transitional community' (those who took part in the earlier scene, but became involved with gay political radicalism). See also Duberman (1994) for a description of the tensions between the GLF movement and the earlier campaigns for gay legal reform in America.

> is non-classist when most of its members are middle-class? That's a real problem.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

In addition, whilst the 1970s and early '80s saw a degree of co-operation between the commercial and political scene, gay commerce after the mid-1980s increasingly became a site of friction. Several respondents argued that local political groups were compromising the festive image of the town:

> 'I remember the Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial Steering Group wanted to erect a memorial to gay people by the cenotaph in Brighton. And I asked "Why? Brighton's always been a place of enjoyment and holiday for gay people. It is a celebration of gayness; you don't want to have a memorial to dead gay people"... I don't think it is helpful to adopt this humourless political strategy. I'm not angry about being gay. I think it's great!' (Local Councillor[1])

Gay political organisations therefore provide a prime example of the threat of recuperation. Reacting against the constraints of conservative, prejudiced doxa, these organisations have tended to impose new structures that excluded individuals.

Medical doxa and the recuperation of HIV/AIDS

The issue of HIV and AIDS is unusual in that, to some extent, it has been used to recuperate male homosexuality into a homophobic, right wing doxa. Prior to the categorisation of AIDS, for example, the illness was referred to by medical science as GRID (Gay Related Immuno-Deficiency) (Weeks, 1986; Watney, 1994). This medicalised typology reinvigorated the 'putting into discourse of sex' (Foucault, 1990), resulting in a renewed alignment between gay male sexuality and the perception of a diseased, damned and deviant individual (Sontag, 1989). From the very outset, gay men have had to negotiate with the politics of degaying and regaying AIDS, rejecting the equation of homosexuality with AIDS whilst avoiding the denial of gay men living with HIV and AIDS. It is for these reasons that the doxa outlined above (namely the imposition of HIV- and HIV+ boundaries, and the use of HIV and AIDS to perpetuate homophobia) form an ever-present threat to those paradoxical responses addressed in the previous section.

The diverse ways in which gay communities have reacted to issues of HIV/AIDS in

Brighton has resulted in a degree of competition between groups:

> 'There's a strange phenomenon really in that the groups won't work together. They're very clinging to each other, "You keep out of this, this is our job." And with groups dealing with HIV and AIDS, it's amazing and very relevant, there's a lot of cross over in their work, and instead of combining them together and using the facilities in a more economic way, they're virtually incestuous. "We're going to do this, and if you're doing it, well so what? We're going to get the funding for it."' (Rainbow Centre Trust Spokesperson)

Given the competition among existing HIV/AIDS groups, funding has become of paramount importance. In 1992, concern was expressed about the Brighton Cares charity group for distributing £14,000 to people living with HIV and AIDS in its first two years whilst paying the managing director £26,000 plus a company car (*Evening Argus, February 1992b*).[29] The funding decision was later justified as 'Paying someone well to do a good job and reap the rewards in the long term' (*G-Scene, September 1997: 20*). Despite the contributions made by Brighton Cares in recent years (particularly in organising the 'Golden Handbag' charity awards), the organisation has been tainted with this controversy, illustrating that the financial arrangements of such organisations have become of considerable concern.

Another recuperative threat exists with a fixing of ideals within HIV/AIDS organisations. As one local councillor commented:

> 'I do feel sorry to a certain extent for non-gay people in Brighton. Brighton has seen a tremendous pulling together within the gay community for people with HIV or AIDS, but straight people lie outside such community networks... Open Door is a good case in point. They are set up to support all people who have AIDS, and yet it's really only gay men who use the service. It's very difficult for straight men to go in and receive help.' (Local Councillor[1])[30]

[29] Bracchi compared this figure to the directors fees of between £15,570 and £17,898 offered at that time by Dr. Barnado's, a charity that raised £65 million the previous year (*Evening Argus, February 1992b*). Interestingly, the recently closed London Lighthouse project was criticised in 1996 when Christopher Spence awarded himself £50,000 redundancy pay at a time when a change-over resulted in the loss of 20 jobs and £230,000 (*Pink Paper, August 1996*).

[30] Occasionally, HIV/AIDS organisations do support non-gay needs. In 1997, for example, Brighton Cares paid for the wedding reception for a women whose AIDS diagnosis threatened her marriage (*G-Scene, September 1997: 20*).

Finally, tensions arose over the ways in which HIV/AIDS projects have responded to the needs of gay men in the Brighton and Hove area. Between 1995 and 1996, there was a 42% increase in the number of gay men testing HIV+ (72 in 1995 to 106 in 1996), sparking concerns that safer-sex programmes were failing (Scott, 1998). The local Health Authority appeared to be oblivious to these concerns, stating that 'The Health Authority is not aware that recent trends show Brighton having a disproportionate number of positive results' (*East Sussex Brighton and Hove Health Authority, February 1997*). Consequently, the local gay-community funded and managed its own research project in 1997, headed by Peter Scott, to assess the HIV prevention needs of local gay communities. As Scott commented:

> 'Project Zorro was set up in response to an apparent neglect of public health responsibilities. The aim of the Zorro Project was to take an objective view of the local HIV epidemic amongst gay men, and what could be done about it. Its purpose was to provide findings directly useful for local decision-making and clear recommendations for the improvement of existing services and the development of new initiatives.' (Scott, 1998: 7)

The key recommendations from the report were fivefold: first, to undertake a complete restructuring and reorientation of current HIV prevention services; second, to undertake a staged disinvestment from services not directly relevant to HIV prevention; third, to set specific targets involving a high proportion of the total population of local gay men; fourth, to support gay community networks to maximise their potential for HIV prevention; fifth, to instil proper targeting towards gay men, sexually active sites and settings where the largest number of gay men interact (Scott, 1998: 129-130).

These recommendations, however, provoked further controversy. On July 23rd, 1998, members of the Zorro Steering Committee voted by a majority that the final draft of Scott's report would not be printed, and four days later, unanimously resigned from the Project. They did this on the grounds that 'opinions in the draft were not shared by all members of the committee', and that 'trust between the researcher, Peter Scott and the Steering Committee had irreconcilably broken down' (*G-Scene, August 1998b*).

It is clear, therefore, that the support from HIV and AIDS organisations in Brighton has been limited by recuperative forces. Not only has HIV and AIDS provoked a renewed perception of homosexuality as a disease, it has also resulted in political and economic competition between support groups, and fixed the aims of such groups, thus excluding individuals on the basis of gender, sexuality, and differences of opinion.

The commercial scene from 1970 to present: the reinscription of class, age and gender doxa

Whilst it has been previously suggested that queer commercialism has resulted in the paradoxical promotion of gay culture (Edge, 1996a, b, c), commentators have also addressed contradictory exclusions inherent within this process (Simpson, 1996; Knopp, 1994; Castells, 1983). Early tensions, for example, arose with a generational divide occurring between pre- and post-1970s gay communities:

> 'It was usual then and kind of funny to have this sort of camp kind of witty talk where you'd talk in Palare all the time. We did in our house; some of the provincial people who moved in, they knew Palare and they used to talk like this. The younger people who moved in downstairs had no idea what was going on. They didn't realise this was relevant to the gay experience, having a sort of secret language.' (Local councillor[1])

Consequently, a situation arose where gay men could quite literally not communicate to each other due to their differing senses of communal belonging.

Similarly, whilst the early gay scene appeared to be more accepting of lesbian clientele (with the presence of Piggot's Bar, the Golden Fleece and the Lorelei Coffee Bar), the number of lesbian and lesbian-friendly venues declined throughout the 1970s and '80s (Figures 5.4 amd 5.5). During the 1980s, only the Longbranch Club organised women-only nights, but these ceased to operate when the club was taken over in 1988 (Pink Paper, October 1988), provoking one resident to comment:

> 'As a lesbian in Brighton for the last three years, I have witnessed the decline of women-only venues and events and the loss of the Longbranch Friday night was a blow too many for us.' (Local resident quoted in the Pink Paper, November 1988).

A local pub owner explained one possible reason for neglecting lesbian clientele:

> 'People like me try to create an atmosphere where everyone can enjoy themselves... but at the end of the day, it's a business, right? Women drink less and more slowly and so if I don't serve where the market is, takings will be down, and I may lose [the pub].' (Pub owner[3])

Brighton Pride has also revealed a gendered nature. As one local resident commented:

> 'To an extent, there are tensions between lesbians and gay people. I must admit, if I go to a gay bar, I like it to be a gay bar. It's a bugbear for me. When they call it Lesbian and Gay Pride, it really irritates me because they think they've got so much hold, and yet they were never illegal as we were. And I cannot for the life of me understand why they've got such a chip on their shoulder. And most of them aren't lesbians, they're feminists. And bands of lesbians, lesbian mothers, lesbian this and that. And it gets right up my nose. And it's our Pride, not theirs.' (Local resident[18])

Tensions have also occurred between commercial and political groups, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. For example, as the Brighton Pride festivals became more established, local gay commercial businesses took over much of the organisation, and the political input, illustrated in 1994's 'March for Life', became more sidelined (Figures 5.11 and 5.12). For example, one Brighton Outright member questioned the liberative potential of gay commerce:

> 'In some ways, commerciality kind of might be seen to publicise the gay community, but it seems to be a fundamental selling out to the market place. I think it would be right that increasing commercial visibility were to somehow be able to stimulate a political agenda of rights, but it doesn't. It seems to me that the majority of the energy of the young is spent as the customer with the emphasis on trade as opposed to getting out there and fighting.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

Thus, as a cartoon from the Pink Paper illustrates (Fig. 5.13), the liberative potential of gay commerce is seen to be limited by purely profiteering concerns. Some respondents questioned the 'Pink Economy' to the extent that they see it as being anti-communitarian:

Figures 5.11 and 5.12: Local commercial sponsorship of Brighton Pride, 1997

Figure 5.13: The limits of liberation through commerce (Source: *Pink Paper*, 2nd February, 1996 – Reproduced with kind permission of Grizelda Grizlingham)

> 'The commercial scene has still not quite seen itself as being part of the gay scene. They often see themselves as being the providers, the benefactors. [A pub owner] is like that. He would never put out a rainbow flag because he doesn't see it as a gay pub. He sees it as his little empire, and he's being a good, kindly, charitable person to poor gay people like him. [A club owner] comes from that group where he sees himself as a benefactor to the gay community, rather than being a part of the gay community. So if you said to him, "Why don't you put a rainbow flag outside?", he would say, "Why?" The sense of pride which it gives me, for example, he doesn't have. He has the attitude of "Gay community, what on Earth is that? They're my customers. That's my holiday, that's my big house." Yes of course as a businessman there's got to be that kind of thinking. But there doesn't seem to be amongst the commercial providers enough of the gay community thinking.' (Local councillor[1]).

Consequently, the commercial gay areas outlined above may serve to make space become concretised around commercial doxa, and thus exclude other practices beyond its commercial doxa. In 1994, for example, the Brighton and Hove MCC attempted to take over premises in St James Street, provoking criticism from commercial venues at having a church in the gay village (*Evening Argus, February 1994*). An MCC spokesperson stated that:

> 'The local reaction was that you couldn't have a church and a gay centre together. What they saw was the old homophobic attitude of churches, and suddenly, there was a church right in the centre of the gay community. They wanted us out. They wanted to keep their little gay commercial area together.' (MCC spokesperson)

Furthermore, as discussed elsewhere (Binnie, 1995) the construction of a gay commercial space may perpetuate an ideal of the 'legitimate gay identity', thus excluding individuals from that space on the basis of gender, HIV serostatus, age and race. As one person wrote in the Pink Paper:

> 'It seems to us that if you haven't shaved your head or had your nipple or nose pierced; if you don't sport a tattoo somewhere about your person; if you don't get "off your face" with drugs every Saturday night and stay out clubbing until the early hours of Sunday afternoon - then nobody wants to know. If you don't do these things, it seems as if you don't stand a chance of meeting anyone and what is even worse, you feel completely alienated from gay culture.' (*Pink Paper, August 1996*).

Alternatively, the construction of an overt gay commercial village has laid the St. James Street area prone to homophobic attacks (*Speak Out Report, 1986*). One pub owner, situated in the 'residential village' around Montpelier road stressed that:

> 'We get very little homophobic activity here. You see we're a long way from the station and quite a bit from the town centre. Most homophobic attacks occur in the town or around St. James Street because they're more obvious and easier to find. Attackers come down on the train and look for a queer to bash, and they can just hop off the train and walk down to St. James Street, and they're all there.' (Pub owner[8])

In sum, the growing commercialisation of the scene in Brighton has had strong recuperative influences on senses of gay communities and spaces. Without question, gay commerce has promoted greater visibility and acceptance (Edge, 1995; 1996a), but it has also resulted in renewed systems of constraint and exclusion. First, gay commercial communities and spaces have become recuperated within the old doxa of homophobia and intolerance: paradoxical gay spaces become sites of increased homophobic activity on account of their overtness. Second, gay commercial sites can become recuperated into alternative areas of doxa: only profitable, 'legitimate' gay identities are supported by the scene. Third, gay commerce can perpetuate its own doxa: women, HIV+ people and PWAs, non-white people, political groups and older people are often neglected from Brighton's gay commercial scene.

Summary

Barthes' concern over the recuperation of paradoxical (utopian) processes into renewed doxa has clearly occurred within the gay scene of Brighton. Each moment of resistance from social, legal, political and medical doxa has promoted its own tensions and exclusions. Thus, the scene prior to 1970 often excluded others on the basis of age, class and gender, and also put individuals at risk from pre-existing forces of homophobia and police intolerance. Similarly, political organisations were also prone to exclusion of individuals on the basis of age, class and gender through the support of a fixed political agenda. Likewise, HIV/AIDS organisations not only were threatened by the doxa of structuring gay communities via HIV serostatuses fuelling homophobic sentiments, but were also criticised for becoming concretised in their objectives (thus excluding individuals from their concerns) and for being preoccupied with other, economic concerns.

Finally, gay commerce was seen to be a prime example of processes of recuperation. Whilst increased public visibility cannot be doubted (particularly with the creation of the St James Street gay village and Brighton Pride festival), certain exclusions and conflicts were noted. Gay commercial activities, and the communities and spaces they fostered, were seen to exclude individuals through age, gender, class and race, to promote increased opportunities for homophobic violence, and to be more concerned with economic issues than with gay communities.

These findings reflect other arguments suggested earlier in this thesis, namely that creating spaces and communities of resistance also run the risk of generating further exclusions (Castells, 1983; Knopp, 1994; Young, 1990). These recuperative forces, like their doxical and paradoxical counterparts, operate at a variety of spatial and temporal scales. For example, the processes of recuperation in Brighton operate both at different times (e.g. with the generational split between pre- and post-1970s communities) and at different spatialities (e.g. with the threat of increased homophobia around more visible areas of St. James Street). Thus, any understanding of gay community and place formation must engage not only with socio-sexual doxa and paradoxa, but also with the geographies and histories of recuperation.

V: Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how the dynamics of doxa (topos), paradoxa (utopos) and recuperation (Fig. 3.3) provided an enlightening framework from which to consider those forces of socio-sexual control, resistance and conflict operating within and upon Brighton. Section two highlighted significant forces of doxa, noting legal (local government, central government, police), social (homophobia) and medical (HIV/AIDS) systems of repression. It was also suggested that such doxa did not exist in any ubiquitous fashion, but was rather spatially and temporally contingent.

Section three considered the processes of resistance to such doxa, including commercial venues (both pre- and post-1970s), political organisations (e.g. Sussex GLF, Sussex CHE and Brighton Outright) and social groups (FAB, BRILGAP, Brighton Grapevine, etc.). Again, the importance of spatial and temporal factors was stressed. Section four illustrated the varied ways in which these paradoxical forces were recuperated into new, pre-existing or aligned systems of doxa. Consequently, those political, social and commercial groups outlined in section three were all found to contain exclusions and conflicts. Given the contextuality of doxa and paradoxa, it was argued that forces of recuperation must be seen to exist within their own spatial and temporal context.

As Table 5.1 suggests, these forces of doxa, paradoxa and recuperation operate as moments within processes of gay place and community formation (see also Fig. 3.3). For this reason, it is necessary to return to debates outlined earlier; namely the importance of retaining a politically defensible (paradoxical) sense of community, history and space without denying its contradictions (recuperations), and thus its dynamism. Whilst this chapter draws attention to those contradictory moments of gay male community and place formation in Brighton, it is still necessary to consider exactly how these communities or spaces can be defined. In other words, where do senses of communal and spatial belonging lie in relation to this doxical/paradoxical/ recuperative dynamic? This will be the concern of the next chapter of the thesis, exploring ways in which individuals negotiate senses of community and space within Brighton.

Chapter Six

Atopic Communities and Spaces: Negotiating Senses of Belonging Amongst Gay Men in Brighton

CHAPTER SIX

ATOPIC COMMUNITIES AND SPACES: NEGOTIATING SENSES OF BELONGING AMONGST GAY MEN IN BRIGHTON

I: Introduction: revisiting the problems of sexual communities and spaces

The previous Chapter outlined forces of doxa (order, system, constraint), the transgression into paradoxa (utopia, disorder, asystem), and the threat of recuperation into pre-existing, aligned or new doxa in relation to the life experiences of gay men in Brighton. This chapter illustrated the varied ways in which Doxa operated to limit expressions of gay male sexuality within the town, as well as the diverse ways in which Paradoxical, resistive sexual communities and spaces could be forged (figure 5.1). In this regard, both bounded and boundless expressions of gay communities and spaces (for example, the construction of the 'gay village' around St. James' Street, and the politics of drag associated with OutRage! and Pride Events) offered a subversive *and* recuperative potential, depending upon the context in which they were expressed. Consequently, the lives of gay men in Brighton cannot be limited to simplistic conceptions of support and denial, but rather must be perceived to exist within an ongoing dynamic of negotiation and dialogue.

Whilst the complexities of gay male lives may be apparent within these concerns, there is still a need to return to those issues addressed in Chapters two and three: namely, in what ways can senses of sexual communities and spaces be articulated within such process? What precisely does it mean to say that gay sexualities exist in a negotiative dynamic? These themes will be addressed within this Chapter, drawing upon constructions of community and concepts of place from gay male respondents in Brighton. First, I will consider the divergent perceptions of gay communities in Brighton, going on to consider the context in which these perceptions were articulated. Second, the same line of enquiry will be applied to sexual spaces, exploring the contexts in which the concept was supported or refuted.

Third, I will relate these contextual understandings of sexual spaces and communities to the concept of 'Atopia'. Drawing the themes outlined throughout this thesis together, I will demonstrate how this atopic principle provides a definition for the negotiative sexual communities and spaces occurring in relation to forces of doxa and paradoxa, as well illustrating the potential that the concept of atopia has in reconciling those tensions between bounded and boundless sexual communities and spaces discussed in Chapters two and three. Adopting this framework, I will suggest that the opposition between conceptual boundedness and boundlessness within sexuality and space needs to be rephrased, perceiving issues of negotiativity to exist between doxa and paradoxa, rather than fixity and fluidity. Both bounded and boundless expressions of sexuality, I will argue, need to be considered for their paradoxical and contextual potential, a context appreciable through an atopic, negotiative understanding.

II: Communities of Context: Divisions in the Concept of 'Community' Amongst Gay Men in Brighton

Gay Male Perceptions of Community in Brighton

It is not surprising, given the complexities inherent in doxical and paradoxical forces impacting upon gay lives in Brighton, that divisive perceptions of 'gay community' exist. So divergent have been these beliefs in constructions of community that it may seem at first impossible to determine any common understanding of sexual communities. For example, one local resident in Brighton recently conveyed his belief in a gay community phenomenon:

> 'It is estimated that up to 35,000 gays, bisexuals and lesbians live in Brighton, a recipe for the most wonderful "community" ever. But does it exist? Not in your wildest dreams. The town has become a place of infighting and bitchiness. The hopes of building a gay "community" are as probable as all of us becoming straight.' (Letter to the *Pink Paper, October 1997: 8*).

Similarly, respondents from my study contested the existence of a common sense of belonging amongst gay men in Brighton:

> 'You'd do well to find a community here. There's no community in Brighton. People would stab you in the back at the first chance they get. I used to work in gay bars, but I only work in straight ones now. I feel more a sense of community with straight people than I do with gay people.' (Local resident[17])

It would appear therefore that a broad definition of community based upon a common sexual orientation cannot be determined. However, recent findings from Zorro's research into the social and sexual lives of gay men in Brighton and Hove has revealed a very different understanding of gay community construction[1]. After conducting 536 'zap' (i.e. 15 minute) interviews with men at various local gay venues, and 567 interviews at Brighton Pride 1997 (Scott, 1998: 9-28), the project found that 79% of those interviewed felt part of a gay community, which was seen to be provide 'incontrovertible evidence for the existence of a large gay community' in Brighton and Hove (Scott, 1998: 43). Furthermore, Zorro found that 43.4% of those men interviewed as part of the Zap survey had at some time been involved in gay community groups (such as CHE, Grapevine, Open Door, Sussex Beacon and Wiseguys) (Scott, 1998: 44-45).

Consequently, there exists a considerable disparity between an unequivocal support for a gay community concept and an outright rejection of such understandings. In this regard, it is perhaps to be expected that moments of community cohesion can equally result in senses of difference and exclusion. For example, as was seen previously, the issue of HIV and AIDS has been cited by many respondents as a considerable force for bringing gay men together:

> 'We have a thing here in Brighton called the 'March for Life', which is organised for all those gay people who have died from AIDS. And during this event, a name-call is given out, it all goes quiet, and this sense of combined grief is quite overwhelming. And I think to myself, yes, there is a gay community. This is where people really do come together.' (Local councillor[1])

Conversely, however, it has also been seen to be an issue of community tension:

---

[1] Zorro based its research sample on an estimated gay male 'population' in Brighton and Hove of between 20,000 and 25,000 (approximately 25% of the total population of the town), calculated on the basis of gay migration estimates, estimated attendance at the Brighton Pride 1997 (accounting for female participants and gay visitors), estimates of readers of local gay press (such as *G-Scene*), and estimates derived from subsets of the population (such as membership of the gay club, Club Revenge) (Scott, 1998: 42).

> 'I don't go to [Brighton] Pride any more... Last year, they released red balloons for all those people who had died of AIDS, and some people actually cheered and applauded, and I thought, I cannot feel any sense of attachment to these people.' (FAB Spokesperson[2])

Even where the concept of a gay community appeared to be widely accepted, certain complexities arose. For example, the Zorro Report's finding that 79% of interviewees believed in the existence of a gay community in no way implies that those individuals questioned shared a common understanding based on a shared sexual identity: 46.7% of 30 bisexual men, and 30.4% of 46 straight men questioned at Brighton Pride 1997 also felt themselves to be a part of the gay community, despite differences in their sexual orientation (Scott, 1998: 43).

Thus, it is apparent that although residents in Brighton have expressed decided opinions over the existence of a gay sense of community, many contradictions and complexities occur. Given the seemingly singular ways in which a gay community concept has been affirmed or rejected, how is it possible to define this concept without denying these divergent views? I would argue that a preliminary inquiry into this issue should first consider the contexts in which understandings of sexual communities are accepted or denied.

Communities of Context: Situating Contested Perceptions of Gay Communal Belonging

In his rejection of the concept of a gay community, the resident writing to the *Pink Paper* appears to base his opinion on the criticism of any automatic association between the size of the local gay population ('35,000 gays, lesbians and bisexuals') and the development of 'the most wonderful "community" ever'. In other words, in this example, the belief that sexual orientation is a necessary precondition for community formation is refuted: no gay community can be said to exist as a result of shared sexual desires alone. As one respondent put it:

> 'You cannot really have a gay community. It makes no more sense to say that people belong to the same group because of their sexual orientation than it does to suggest that people should do so because they've got blue eyes.' (Local resident[3])

This is to say that a biologically essentialist argument cannot provide sufficient justification for the occurrence of a gay community: a sense of solidarity cannot be determined on the basis of a single biological characteristic.

In addition, supporting a biologically constructed model of community formation necessarily implies that sexual desire and sexual behaviour is the only basis of gay male solidarity, a view that many felt perpetuated the stigmatisation and oppression of gay men:

> 'If it is generally felt that gay men are defined by sex, this is very detrimental to the rights of gay men. You get the old arguments about child-molesting, disease spreading gays. And the argument with gay rights is not that gay men want to have sex everywhere, it's that gay men want to have sex *somewhere*: they want to have the right to live their private lives the way they want to. And, indeed, this view goes against just thinking of gay rights in terms of sex. This issue is that who you sleep with shouldn't affect your social position, your job prospects, your personal safety. This is a cultural issue, not a sexual one... So, no, the gay community isn't defined by sex, and neither should it be.' (Local Councillor[2])

Alternatively, whenever senses of gay community were related to purely sexual concerns, the culture this fostered often provoked resentment and criticism:

> 'The scene is all about sex. Everybody only wants to get other people into bed with them. If it wasn't for the sex, the whole network would break down. So there's no community, people are just after their own sexual needs.' (Local resident[17])

It is evident, therefore, that the rejection of the gay community concept is often articulated within the context of a denial of any sense of solidarity founded on the basis of a single, biological determinant. Although 35,000 people may share aspects of a common sexual orientation, other differences and social contexts prohibit any automatic, unitary belief in a gay community.

Similarly, the issue of context is equally important with affirmations of the gay community concept in Brighton: any expression of sexual solidarity cannot be accepted as a simple and taken-as-given phenomenon, but rather must be considered for the context in which it is expressed. Thus, returning to the Zorro Report, the

difficulty with its findings is that it constructs a broad understanding of gay communal belonging without differentiating what those communal bonds are. Hence, when Scott reports that 79% of gay male respondents in Brighton feel part of a community, he fails to account for the different meanings respondents may place upon notions of 'community'.

Furthermore, Scott (1998) also fails to recognise that the very context within which Zorro's survey was conducted was inherently biased. Conducting interviews at Brighton Pride and within the local commercial scene involves only those individuals who actively take part in the scene. But as one respondent commented, this in itself automatically excludes many individuals:

> 'If there is any sexual research to be done, they go to the commercial scene. And what do they get? Well, they get people in the commercial scene as respondents. And what else do they get? They get the ideology within the commercial scene. And actually there's this whole massive iceberg that they never get to. Now that's quite a problem.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

Such bias can be seen in considering the techniques Zorro used to calculate the resident 'gay population' of Brighton and Hove from which they based their research sample. First, although it attempted to account for lesbians and gay male visitors to Brighton Pride 1997, there was no consideration of numbers of non-gay men residents of Brighton and Hove participating in the event. Second, in using estimates of readers of the local gay press, there is no necessary relationship between obtaining a gay magazine or newspaper and being gay, and no account was given of the spatial area in which such estimates were based. Third, the estimation of sub-community groups through the use of resources such as membership of *Club Revenge* indicates a degree of commercial bias in their research. This bias is evident when considering the gay venues most frequently used by its respondents (table 6.1).

It is apparent when looking at the list of gay venues in table 6.1 that the pubs and clubs associated with young gay men active on the scene form a significantly disproportionate number of respondents (80.7% of Pride respondents and 87.7% of Zap respondents often frequented Revenge, Dr. Brighton's and Zanzibar). In contrast,

VENUES	PRIDE TOTAL	ZAP TOTAL	PRIDE %	ZAP %
base	567	536	100.0%	100.0%
Aquarium	83	111	14.6%	20.7%
Bedford Tavern	0	11	0%	2.1%
Black Horse	28	30	4.9%	5.6%
Bright'n Beautiful Sauna	6	6	1.1%	1.15%
Bulldog	34	96	6.0%	17.9%
Denmark Sauna	7	4	1.2%	0.7%
Dr Brightons	119	121	21.0%	22.6%
Dynamite Boogaloo	1	9	0.2%	1.7%
Legends	78	71	13.8%	13.2%
Marilyns	6	5	1.1%	0.9%
Marlborough	34	72	6.0%	13.4%
Oriental	21	32	3.7%	6.0%
Passion	48	75	8.5%	14.0%
Queens Arms	63	80	11.1%	14.9%
Queens Head	15	58	2.6%	10.8%
Rawhide	4	2	0.7%	0.4%
Regency	13	23	2.3%	4.3%
Revenge	256	245	45.1%	45.7%
Scene 22	4	9	0.7%	1.7%
Schwartz	34	23	6.0%	4.3%
Secrets	24	58	4.2%	10.8%
Unit One Sauna	0	7	0%	1.3%
Village	7	11	1.2%	2.1%
Wild Fruit	34	16	6.0%	3.0%
Zanzibar	83	104	14.6%	19.4%
London bars	67	306	11.8%	57.1%
Other	55	150	9.7%	28.0%

Table 6.1: Venues used by Zorro's respondents (Scott, 1998: 49)[2]

those venues popular with non-scene gay men (older gay men, leather men, and so forth) were not reflected in their figures (3.3% of Pride respondents and 6.3% of Zap respondents often visited the Bedford Tavern, Rawhide, Scene 22, and the Village). Whilst it is understandable that larger and more public pubs and clubs will attract more individuals, a neglect of non-mainstream venue clientele could silence other perceptions of community.

[2] Refer to figure 5.8 for a location map of these venues.

Consequently, when Zorro reveals that 79% of interview respondents believe that a gay community exists in Brighton and Hove, this should not imply that a singular sense of commonality occurs amongst gay people, but that such solidarities are derived from a particular context. For the Zorro project, the issue of commercial and social behaviour provided a significant context, and it is for this reason that sexuality was not a necessary precondition for assertions of community belonging (and hence, this is why it is not a contradiction to find that both straight and bisexual men may also feel part of the gay community).

Commerce, of course, does not provide the only context in which a sense of community is articulated: all those forces of paradoxa illustrated in table 5.1 have the potential of generating a committed sense of queer communality. This contextual view of community formation, as one respondent suggested, provides a more accurate understanding than a singular, unqualified definition of solidarity:

> 'When you talk about the gay community in Brighton, I think that's a very loose use of the term, because the use of the word community implies that everybody down here is very similar, and the one thing about the gay community in my own experience since I've been down here in 1968 is that it's a very loose mesh of people... Yes, there is a vague sense of community in Brighton gay circles, but it's never been a solidified thing. It tends to occur around particular moments of need and around certain issues.' (Sussex GLF spokesperson[2])

In addition, issues of temporality and spatial location provide an important context to expressions of gay communities. For example, returning to an argument put forward by Harry (1974), it was suggested that the significance and diversity of gay communities were dependent upon the size of population of which they were a part, and hence the potential concentration of gay men within a particular locality. Although Harry's biologically deterministic approach is problematic, there are elements to his argument which are pertinent to urban expressions of gay communality. It is apparent, for example, that particularly large urban populations provide a range of contexts other than sexual orientation around which gay men can cohere:

> 'I moved to Brighton from Oxford, and there was a much greater sense of community there than there is here. It's just too big down here. It's so bitchy because everybody is out to get everybody else. But in Oxford, people had to get on with each other, and so it was more friendly.' (Local resident[17])

With smaller scenes elsewhere, the importance of constructing a community solely around the context of sexual orientation is arguably more significant than larger gay populations due to greater restrictions on gay men within those areas, as well as the lack of support needed to sustain different expressions of sexuality amongst gay men. However, there are occasions where larger concentrations of gay men in areas such as Brighton do provoke more committed senses of communalities. For example, after Sir Derek Spencer, former Brighton Pavilion MP, and Sir Andrew Bowden, former Brighton Kemptown MP voted against an equalisation for the age of consent in 1994, the size of the local gay population was a contributing factor to the ousting of both MPs during the 1997 General Election.

In addition to geographical location having an important influence on the contexts in which gay male communities are expressed (or refuted), temporal issues are also significant. As Appendix I indicates, during those periods in which gay male sexualities are most threatened by social and political intolerance, gay men are able to assert a high degree of resistance and solidarity. For example, the issue of HIV and AIDS, and its impact upon gay men in Brighton and Hove, has been central in generating recent senses of community:

> 'Rg: I would say that there's a stronger sense of community now over the AIDS issue than there ever was before.
>
> Rc: Except back in the 1950s.
>
> Rg: Well, perhaps, but it seems to me that the gay community thing was falling apart in the 70s and 80s, but it's coming back together again with AIDS.
>
> Rd: I would agree, yes, senses of community have come and gone... It seems ironic, though, that it takes a problem like AIDS to bring people together. It doesn't say very much for gay people the rest of the time.' (Group interview[2])

Consequently, constructions of gay communities do not remain consistent features over time, but appear to be supported and undermined depending upon the temporal context.

What this section illustrates is the extent to which simplistic affirmations and rejections of community amongst gay men should be rejected in favour of a more contingent and contextual understanding. In this regard, the context in which broad definitions of gay community are rejected (as with the quote from the *Pink Paper* above) is often in reaction to the belief in social solidarity founded on an undifferentiated, biologically determined understanding of sexual orientation. Conversely, any support for the gay community concept also has to be placed within its (social, political, economic) context, rather than being asserted as a unitary phenomenon (as was the case with the Zorro Report). Furthermore, the support for or refutation of gay community concepts was closely related to spatial and temporal context, where Brighton, for example, was able to generate committed senses of solidarity around particular issues at times of greatest need. Given this contextuality, how is it possible to define gay communities without sustaining a singular and simplistic acceptance or denial of community phenomena? This will be the concern of the last section of this Chapter, before which it is necessary to consider how these debates influence concerns of the construction of a sexual space in Brighton.

III: Spaces of Context: Divisions in the Concept of 'Space' Amongst Gay Men in Brighton

Gay Male Perceptions of Space in Brighton

The concept of a gay territory within Brighton has provoked similar complexities and conflicts to those associated with constructions of gay communities. At a regional level, the popularity of Brighton as a 'Gay Capital' has arguably remained considerable, resulting in significant processes of 'gay migration' to the town. For example, 46.9% of the gay migrants involved in the 'Zap' interviews conducted by the Zorro research group stated that their reasons for moving to Brighton and Hove were related specifically to gay concerns (Table 6.2).

Reason for moving to Brighton	Number citing reason	% citing reason
Gay scene/gay community	183	25.0%
Gay friends and partners	82	11.2%
Gay-friendly town	78	10.7%
Nice, likeable cosmopolitan town	52	7.1%
Sea/countryside	46	6.3%
London-by-the-sea	14	1.9%
To get away from London	10	1.4%
Cheap, or cheaper	12	1.6%
College or University	77	10.5%
Work related	92	12.6%
Get away from family	8	1.1%
Moving with family	19	2.6%
Born in Brighton and stayed	24	3.3%
Other	34	4.7%
Total	731	100.0%

Table 6.2: Reasons for Zorro's 'Zap' Respondents Moving to Brighton (Scott, 1998: 41)

These figures are all the more remarkable when considering that 91.6% of Zap respondents had migrated to Brighton, 90.6% of whom had moved to the area from beyond East Sussex, West Sussex, Surrey and Kent (Scott, 1998: 39).

At a more local level, the area of St James Street and its surrounding locale (Figure 5.7) has increasingly become known as Brighton's 'Gay Village', although as was explored in Chapter five, this has only really developed since the late 1980s. As the Internet site, *Virtually Gay Brighton*, describes:

> 'Brighton has a thriving and diverse gay scene which ranges from leather bars, to country and western line dancing, to techno clubs. Brighton has long been known as the number one gay seaside resort in the south of England....Much of the Brighton gay scene is concentrated in the Kemptown area of Brighton, the focal point being St James's Street and the Old Steine. It's here you'll find most of the clubs, shops and bars..., so many in fact that Kemptown has become known as Brighton's Gay Village.' (*Virtually Gay Brighton Website, 1998: 1*)

In addition to the gay region around St. James Street, local political organisations have also highlighted the importance of a gay territory for the assertion of a degree of ownership of the town's space by its gay residents. For example, one Brighton

Outright spokesperson recalled the importance a politics of place had for gay people at the time of the Clause 28 protests:

> 'hundreds and hundreds of people gathered outside Hove Town hall, and we marched into Brighton. And it was wonderful. At last we were saying, "We are here, this is our space as much as anybody else's, and you cannot adopt homophobic policies". This was politics at its best. This was going back to the GLF days.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

Similarly, the local visibility of gay people derived from the annual Gay Pride marches through the centre of Brighton was seen by many respondents as an example of the existence of a gay space (figure 6.1).

In contrast, other respondents dismissed the existence of a gay territory in Brighton:

> 'There is no gay space in Brighton. Yes, you might say that St. James Street, with all its gay shops and pubs and clubs, is a gay area, but it's not. It's a commercial area, not a gay one. You cannot say somewhere's a gay space just because someone can go and buy a leather jock-strap.' (Local resident[19])

Similarly, another respondent rejected the tendency to associate the extent of the commercial scene with the concept of a gay space:

> 'I would estimate that on a Saturday night, between 1,500 to 2000 local gays and lesbians go out on the scene. All the others are travelling from elsewhere. Now if you think that about 25,000 people in an around Brighton are gay, most of them are not going out on the scene. So you can't really call it a gay space, because it's not really for all gay people.' (MCC spokesperson)

At a regional scale, the importance and popularity of Brighton as a 'gay seaside resort' has also been questioned. As interviews with local residents has suggested, the extent of the local lesbian, gay and bisexual population, the number of gay venues and the distribution of the gay press associated with Brighton in no way presupposed the town's notoriety as a 'gay haven'. Many respondents, even those who had recently moved to the area, had no idea of the links Brighton had with gay sexualities:

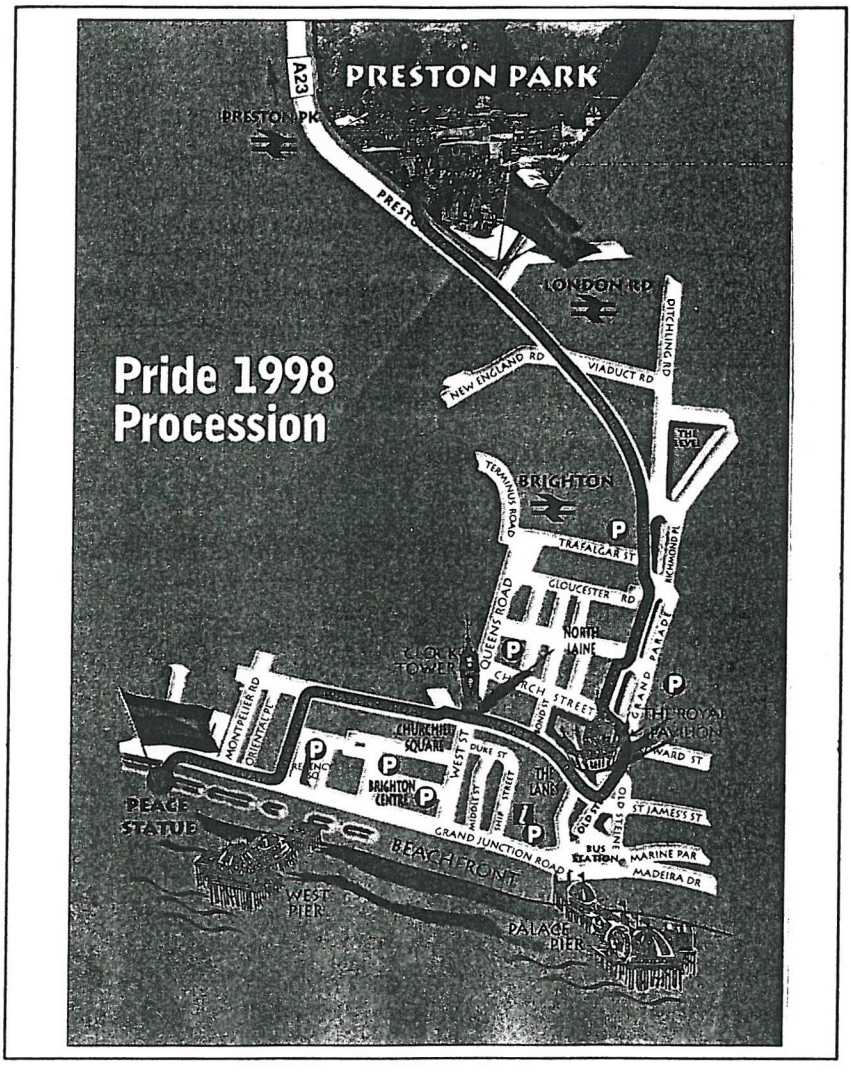


Figure 6.1: The Procession Route of the Brighton Pride March of 1998 (Source: *G-Scene, August 1998: 6*, Reprinted with kind permission of *G-Scene*)

> 'I moved from the outskirts of London to Brighton about 9 years ago, and I had no idea that it was a gay place... When I got here, I thought "Wow, all these gay guys!" It was a real revelation. Now you might find that hard to believe, but back in London, I was straight, seeing a girl actually, and because I hadn't identified myself as gay, I had no idea of what this place was like... So, "Do I think Brighton is the [Gay] Capital of the South?" Well, yes in that there is such a big scene here, but you have to be out and "into the scene" to know that it's here. For those people like myself before I came down, Brighton might as well never have existed.' (Venue owner[14])

Thus, it is evident that the belief in the existence of a gay space in Brighton, both in terms of a gay village and a gay capital, is highly contested amongst local gay male residents. Like the concept of a gay community, opinions appear to cohere around an affirmation or rejection of a gay space, resulting in such contradictory responses that it may often appear impossible to define a 'gay space' in Brighton at all. Consequently, I would argue that, again, it is important to consider the contexts in which concepts of sexual spaces are supported or refuted.

Spaces of context: Situating Contested Perceptions of Gay Spatial Belonging

The Zorro Report illustrates the continuing popularity of Brighton as the 'gay capital of the South', with significant numbers of gay migrants strengthening the perceived 'gayness' of the area (Scott, 1998). This is supported both by the description of Brighton's gay village on the internet site (*Virtually Gay Brighton Website, 1998*) and the location map of the village produced by local businesses (Fig. 5.7).

This concentration of gay premises in and around St. James Street does appear to lend credence to the mapping devices within the quantitative analyses of Castells (1983), Levine (1979) and Weightman (1980). However, as with this research, these spatially bounded representations of queer territorialism are constructed within a particular commercial context. When Scott, for example, reports that 46.9% of Zap respondents had moved to Brighton and Hove for issues relating to sexuality, it is likely that the results would have been different if the Zap interviews had been conducted in non-commercial environments. Arguably, it is more likely that those who frequent venues such as Club Revenge, the Zanzibar and Dr. Brighton's moved to the area because of the gay scene than with non-scene gay men for whom the commercial environment would be less of an enticement.

Consequently, the representation of the 'gay village' in figure 5.7 does not reflect some natural, biological sense of gay territorialism, but rather illustrates the importance of commercial forces in the generation of queer districts. It is for this reason that, as the previous chapter revealed, non-gay and non-commercial interests were excluded from the St. James Street area. The proposed site of the MCC in St. James Street was thus rejected by local individuals who felt that it deviated from the gay commercial theme of the area. Similarly, the proposed take-over of empty premises by Bass was challenged by local businesses that feared that customers would be taken away from their venues.

Thus, gay areas of Brighton do exist, but only within particular contexts, such as commercial forces. Intriguingly, as with constructions of communities, so extensive has this commercial context become for the gay scene in Brighton, that sexual orientation has no longer become a necessary prerequisite for entrance into the area, questioning the extent to which a 'gay village' of the town should be equated with an individual's sexuality.

> 'There is in Brighton a recent shift to what I would call 'cross-over' spaces. Many of the gay venues around St. James Street, such as Revenge and the Zanzibar increasingly cater for straight people as well as gay. Alternatively, you also get previously straight places, like the Bat and Ball, becoming mixed places as they welcome local gay men and lesbians. And that's the way things are going, a dwindling of the old style, secretive gay world, and the growth of the more open cross-over spaces.' (Local councillor[1])

In addition to commercial constructions of gay territorial formation, political organisations also provide important contexts for senses of a gay place. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the importance of visibility for gay men and lesbians in Brighton and Hove has often led organisations such as Brighton Outright and the Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause to actively appropriate the town's space for demonstrations and protest marches. For example, the selection of march routes between the Brighton and Hove town halls in 1987 for the protest against the Clause 28 of the Local Government Act, and the 'March for Equality' in 1994 was decided on the most visible and open routes possible.

However, the presence of these political groups and political events does not suggest a degree of gay ownership for the town. As one political activist commented, 'In no area of Brighton and Hove do gay men and lesbians form a majority. We must therefore negotiate our rights as a minority group within the broader community of the town' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1]).

Conversely, individuals rejected the existence of a gay space within Brighton on the basis of reacting against a singular, undifferentiated and biological understanding of sexual territory. Thus, a 'gay village' was criticised by those who did not feel part of the commercial scene. Similarly, those who were not politically active in Brighton did not feel represented in political appropriations of place. In other words, just as with constructions of gay communities, a unitary sense of gay place could not be presumed to exist on the basis of a singular, undifferentiated gay population. A more diverse, contingent and contextual perception of gay spatial construction, as noted by Johnson and Valentine (1995) and Rothenburg (1995), can be said to occur. As one respondent commented:

> 'There isn't really a gay space to Brighton. There are lots of different spaces. If you're young and the clubby sort of person, you'd go to the commercial bit in St. James Street. If you're into cottaging, you'd go up to Duke's Mound or somewhere like that. If you're into SM, you've got to go to the underground party networks. They're multiple spaces in Brighton really, and they tend to shift in importance over time.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

Given this contextual expression of gay territorial formation, spatial and temporal influences become increasingly apparent. In this regard, under certain contexts, constructions of a gay territory in Brighton are more committed than at other times:

> 'There was a far greater sense of gay space then [in the 1950s] than today. I know that may sound a strange thing to say, but you see before attitudes to homosexuality changed, everybody came together in the various pubs we had. The danger of being found out if anything brought us closer together. There was a sense of camaraderie... Today, you've got so many places you can go to, but they're popular with heterosexuals, bisexuals, transvestites, leather people and so on. Now that isn't a gay community in a gay space, it's many different communities in many different spaces.' (Local resident[22])

This quote reveals the varied ways spatial and temporal concerns impact upon expressions of gay territories. First, changing social and legal contexts within the UK have profoundly influenced the meanings given to gay senses of place in Brighton. Thus, prior to the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1967, a more discrete and covert, but nevertheless significant sense of gay spaces occurred. In addition to the hidden, back-street formation of gay territories (figure 5.1), Brighton was perceived as a haven for many gay men and lesbians.

After the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, the gay scene became more overt. Consequently, the importance of a gay haven became less important for many as the desire to be part of the growing commercial scene began to develop. This is not to say that Brighton's associations as a town of relative sanctuary away from homophobic and repressive forces elsewhere ceased to become important. With the onset of HIV and the AIDS crisis, for example, the relative openness and acceptance of Brighton was a significant attraction for many HIV+ men and PWAs. However, what has occurred is a profound shift and diversification of meanings associated with Brighton as the commercial scene in the town has grown.

Second, also relating to this temporal aspect, the relative importance of asserting a unitary perception of a gay town has fluctuated over time. During periods of significant legislative restraint, such as immediately after the 1967 Sexual Offences Act and during the 1988 Local Government Act, the resultant political insurgency generated a renewed coherence around a political sense of place:

> 'It often worries me that so few people turn up to our regular meetings. Anyone would have been quite oblivious to the fact that we are supposed to be the "gay capital of the South" if they looked at our attendance figures... But one thing that amazes me is that when it counts, such as the Section 28 and with the Age of Consent, people really do take to the streets. It's then that I think to myself, "yes, it really is our town"' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[2])

Third, spatial considerations are also central in the contextualisation of Brighton's gay space. As with formations of gay communities, the local particularities of Brighton with its greater tolerance and more bohemian associations have been important in

allowing significant gay spaces to occur[3]. It is due to the size of the resident gay population and popularity of the town with gay tourists that a commercial gay village could develop. In addition, the diversity of sites in Brighton (both commercial, political and social) has been possible as a result of the size of the local gay population.

What this section has illustrated is the extent to which gay spaces, like gay communities, cannot be simply affirmed or rejected, but rather must be situated within the context of their assertion. Hence, rejections of a gay territory occur through the reaction against a singular, unitary sense of gay place determined on the basis of a shared sexual orientation. Conversely, the acceptance of a 'gay space' cannot be perceived to be some 'fact' of gay sexuality (as represented in the Zorro Report), but rather exists within specific cultural and political contexts. Commercial bases of gay territories can thus be seen in Scott's Report as well as the description of Brighton on the *Virtually Gay Brighton Website* (1998). Political senses of gay spaces are evident through the public protests and demonstration marches associated with the Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause march in 1987 and March for Equality in 1994. Considering these contextual constructions of gay spaces revealed the importance of spatial and temporal location for the perceptions of queer territories.

In short, a simplistic, binaristic 'yes/no' logic for the affirmation or rejection of gay territories should be rejected in favour of a more negotiated, contextual consideration. Uncritically accepting a gay space reveals the resistance, the paradoxa of queer sexualities, but denies the possible exclusion or recuperation. Alternatively, the refutation of queer spaces reveals the exclusion, or the recuperation of gay territories, but ignores the strategic paradoxical potential of their creation. In other words, accepting or denying gay spaces (and communities) reveals either the obverse or reverse of queer commonality. What is needed is a perception of gay spaces and communities that can reveal the context of their construction, resisting fixed ideas of queer senses of spatial and communal belonging and opening up these concerns to an ongoing process of dialogue and negotiation. The concept of atopia, the third facet of the diagram in figure 3.3, I would argue, would meet these negotiative requirements.

[3] Refer to Shields (1991) and Chapter four for an historical account of Brighton as a site of liminality.

IV: Constructing Atopic Understandings of Sexual Communities and Spaces

Rejoining with doxa, paradoxa and negotiativity: communities and spaces of atopia

It is evident that definitions of gay spaces and communities in Brighton are by no means static and unitary, but are instead imbued with significant tensions and contradictions. As soon as a gay community is defined, it generates either a strategic affirmation or refutation. There is no inherent truth within the Zorro Report's acceptance of the community phenomena, nor within the rejection of a singular definition of community expressed within the *Pink Paper*. Similarly, the belief in a bounded gay village propounded by *Virtually Gay Brighton*, and the rejection of any queer territory by certain local residents suggests that there is no simple truth to perceptions of gay spaces. Rather, both views are equally valid and problematic depending upon the context in which they are expressed.

The reason why perceptions of gay communities and spaces can appear so divisive can be appreciated in considering themes addressed in Chapter five. Gay communities and spaces are imbued with forces of doxa and paradoxa, such that, as Barthes was to comment, the two forces are glued together 'in a complicitous fashion'. Gay sexualities in Brighton, as elsewhere in the UK, have been marked by a history of stigmatisation and repression. On this basis, it is understandable why certain individuals wish to reject the essentialism inherent in biological determinants to communal and spatial bonds. Similarly, it is also understandable why other individuals feel that these bounded definitions of gay communities and spaces foster significant processes of recuperation. As one respondent commented:

> 'I think gay groups are really founded on prejudice. That's why we are part of that community, because people are subtracted from it and left on the outside. If you are drawing boundaries, the boundaries are set, they do not move, because you are taking people out of that, or putting them into it.' (Local councillor[2])[4]

Conversely, as was also explored in Chapter five, gay communities and spaces exhibit a significant paradoxical, resistive force. On this basis, it can equally be understood why the belief in a defensive, singular definition of gay spatial and communal

[4] This quote clearly reflects Young's criticisms of the community concept (1990, 1995).

togetherness is also potent. Both the visibility of gay commerce and gay political demonstrations have revealed their importance in generating increased tolerance and understanding.

As a consequence of this 'double-bind' in the formation of gay communities and spaces, moments of repression in Brighton have contradictorily fostered moments of resistance, and vice versa[5]. Thus neither the acceptance nor the refutation of gay communities and spaces can provide sufficient explanation of these gay senses of solidarity. For example, the political solidarities expressed during the 1970s with the Campaign for Homosexual Equality and the Gay Liberation Front contradictorily resulted in a period of increased police raids on venues in Brighton. Conversely, repressive political legislation, such as Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act, ironically fostered a greater visibility and solidarity than would otherwise have occurred.

Returning to methodological arguments outlined in Chapter two, there is no inherent truth to the techniques that can be used to explore gay senses of place and community. Quantitative mapping techniques can be employed in Brighton to reveal the formation of the gay 'CBD' around St. James Street (figures 5.6 and 5.7). However, adopting this technique both excludes those expressions of sexualities that lie beyond the construction of that space and ignores the processes of recuperation inherent in this process.

In contrast, qualitative ethnographic exercises can reveal the diversity and fluidity of expressions of sexuality present, for example, in drag performances within the Brighton Pride march (Figure 6.2). However, focussing on these diverse concerns neglects the importance of paradoxical formations of communal and spatial cohesion against potent social doxa. Thus, like the affirmation and rejection of the gay community and territory concept, methods of exploring these phenomena in Brighton are both inherently useful and problematic, depending upon the context in which they are used.

[5] In this regard, refer to Foucault (1990) and Section two of Chapter three.

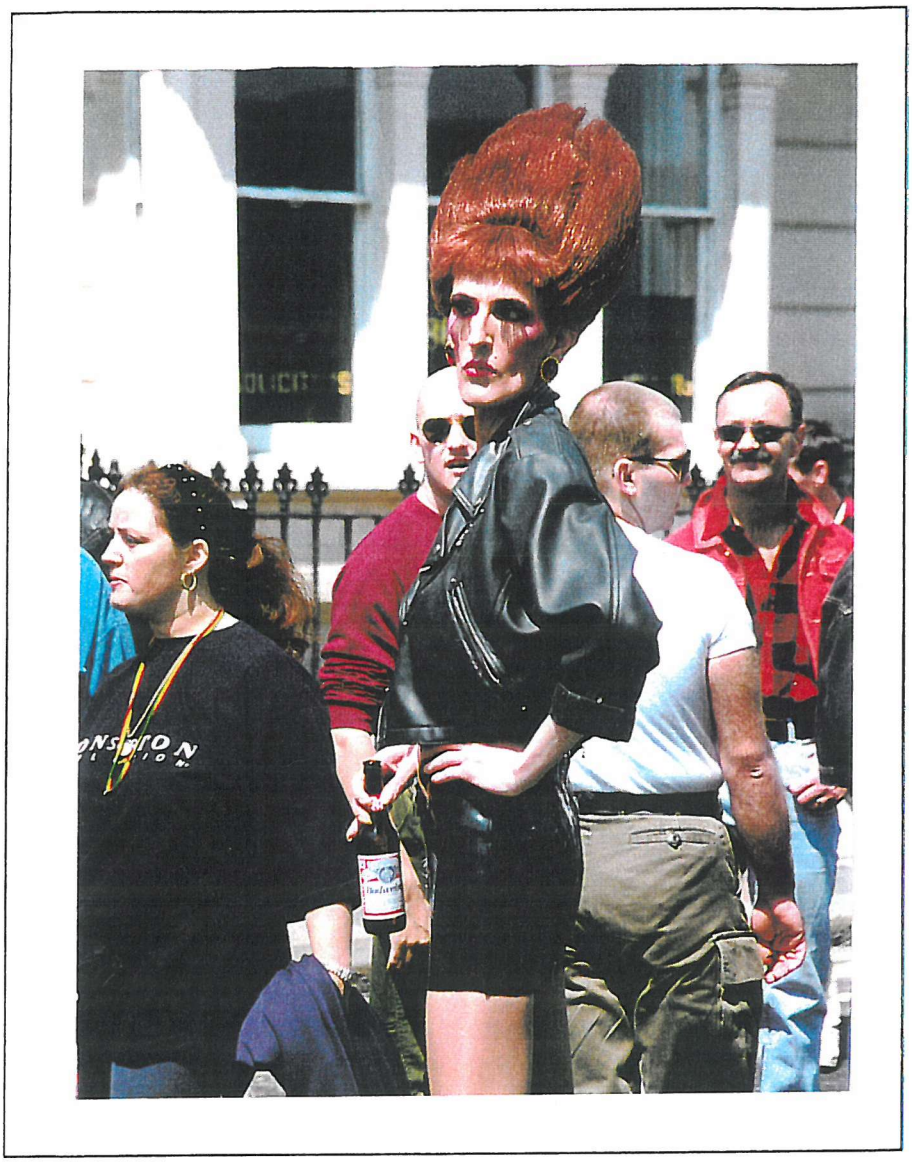


Figure 6.2: The presence of drag in the 1996 Brighton Pride March

Conceptions of gay communities and spaces in Brighton have to be redefined, therefore. No longer is it a matter of juxtaposing a unitary support of gay spatial and communal togetherness against its denial and rejection, nor is it a matter of opposing diametrically mapped, singular representations of sexuality against diverse and divergent perceptions. Rather, a framework of perpetual negotiation is more pertinent, one that appreciates this ongoing dynamic as well as the strategic and contextual importance of sexual solidarities and their limitations. It is this negotiative process that suggests the atopic potential of gay communities and spaces in Brighton.

Brighton's gay spaces and communities as a site of atopia

An over-arching definition of community or territory for gay men cannot be defined. As soon as a sense of cohesion is articulated, it ceases to represent the processes of its construction and instead reflects its repressive or resistive side. The concepts of 'gay communities' or 'gay spaces' are therefore impossible to define and restrain within a simplistic methodological design. To paraphrase Barthes, neither the production nor the destruction of gay communities and spaces are representative, it is the seam, the flaw between them which becomes so. Senses of gay territories and communities exist on the blind-spot of the lived experiences of gay men:

> 'Yes, a gay community is always there. It doesn't quite exist at Pride; you don't really see it in Club Revenge, but it's there. It's like something that you know is there, but you can never quite see it. You can't put it into words, but it's there as a feeling of togetherness.' (Local resident[15])

This is the perception of gay communities and spaces as something 'beyond the scene'; this is the processual understanding inherent in the *geographeme*. It is Golding's 'third space' (1993b), Probyn's 'sites of connectivity' (1996), and Bhabha's sites of 'hybridity' (1994). It is the dynamic between the changing moral codes and the innate sexual desire (Foucault, 1993a), the *différance* and the structures of defined gay male communities and territories (Derrida, 1979).

From this ongoing dynamic, communities and spaces can form, destruct and reform as they manifest themselves strategically at times of need and desire. This is the strategic sense of solidarity of which hooks (1995) and Sedgwick (1994) write: not some weak

sense of communal opportunism, but a profound attachment achieved whenever it is needed:

> 'I: Would you say, therefore, that a sense of community exists amongst gay men in Brighton?
>
> R6: It comes and goes. At the moment, I would say that there isn't a gay community. But a sense of community did exist when AIDS first came onto the scene. People did bond together then, but they've all got rather complacent since then.
>
> R3: But at some level, a community-feel does exist amongst gay men. Yes, there are always differences that separate us, but it's easy to focus on these and ignore our similarities. When the chips are down, people come together. Whenever there's an AIDS charity bash, or a Pride Event, gay people want to take part. So there is always something there...
>
> I: So how would you define this community?
>
> R3: It's difficult. I would say that it is a "potential" community. The potential's always there, but it only occurs when the chips are down.' (Group Interview[2])

This 'coming-and-going' appears to give credence to the cyclical dynamics of community development considered in the New Social Movement literature. One political activist explicitly drew upon this cyclical metaphor of community:

> 'There appears to be a cycle to political events, and the odd thing is that the cycle seems to actually get bigger. So there was a little bit of commercialisation prior to Section 28, which was followed by a political type of swing, and then it got away from that towards the commercial scene and then it came round with the age of consent. But they do seem to be bigger waves all the time.' (Brighton Outright spokesperson[1])

However, this proclaimed cyclicity should not be seen to justify some notion of an 'ebb-and-flow' dynamic. Gay communities and spaces in Brighton are not distinguished by a process of cohesion and fragmentation (transgression and recuperation); rather, they indicate an ever-present sense of attachment amongst gay men which can manifest itself during particular contexts when it is required. This ability to adapt and respond to particular contexts is a mark of strength for gay men in Brighton:

> 'The changes in the gay scene have not been a problem for gay people. On the contrary, the gay community has always demonstrated the ability to adapt to its surroundings, to change its nature to challenge anything that might threaten it. I think this a wonderful thing and something to cheer about, not to worry and get upset about.' (BOP Spokesperson)

Recapitulation: Changing the Debate on Sexual Communities and Spaces

Arguing for a contextual view of sexual communities and spaces redefines the question of gay solidarities. No longer is it a question of whether these gay communities and spaces exist; it is the context in which they are expressed that becomes important. As figure 3.3 demonstrates, this contextual view suggests that a bounded understanding of fixed or fluid gay spaces should be rejected in favour of a framework that explores the way in which those communal or spatial processes in question negotiate with forces of repression (doxa) and resistance (paradoxa).

In this regard, there are contexts in which defined gay communities and spaces in Brighton exist, particularly with commercial and political constructions of togetherness. Equally, rejections of gay communities or spaces are also constructed within their own particular context. Definitions of moments of communal and spatial cohesion, fragmentation or denial thus occur as part of the same negotiative dynamic revealing their explicit strengths and contradictory limitations.

This atopic understanding of gay communities and spaces provides the very negotiative framework outlined in Chapter two. Fixed, mapped representations of gay sexualities and fluid, ethnographic descriptions of identity-play are neither inherently true nor incorrect, their applicability depending upon the context in which they are formulated. Moments of resistance and repression discussed in relation to sexual histories (Chapter three) should neither be segregated nor merged indistinguishably into each other, but rather be placed as a continuing site of negotiation. The concept of community cannot be limited to constructions of its bounded coherence, or its ultimate destruction and repression, but should instead be defined in a ceaseless dynamic.

Furthermore, explorations of gay spaces and communities should not resort to dialectical postulations of their existence and their denial, their construction and their destruction. This framework would result in the patterning of contradictory opposites without understanding the atopic processes occurring beyond them; they would fail to appreciate the *différance* occurring in addition to dialectical forces. Work within post-structuralism and queer theory has illustrated the importance of adopting this non-binaristic response, a perception developed usefully in conjunction with the writings of Barthes.

The concept of atopia has proved invaluable in looking at the perceptions of community and spatial development in Brighton. Given that gay lives in Brighton have been influenced strongly by forces of doxa and paradoxa, transgression and recuperation (table 5.1), defining moments of gay community and spatial expression can only highlight their doxical or paradoxical nature, never their atopic, processual dynamic. Consequently, defining these explicit moments immediately makes the obverse possibilities evident.

Thus, searching for simplistic affirmations or rejections of gay communities and spaces reveals potentially equally valid perceptions. However, the most accurate representations of community and spatial phenomena occur beyond these defined moments in an atopic fashion. As the discussion of gay communities and spaces in this chapter has illustrated, the concept of atopia should be used to explore these ideas given the emphasis which is placed on situating these expressions within a broader, ongoing context.

V: Conclusions

Whereas Chapter five considered the forces of doxa and paradoxa, transgression and recuperation operating upon gay men in Brighton since the 1950s, this chapter has been concerned with relating these issues to constructions of communities. First, divergent perceptions of the concept of community were explored, drawing upon findings within the Zorro Report, which supported the gay community concept (Scott, 1998), and a letter from a Brighton resident to the *Pink Paper* arguing to the contrary.

It was suggested that both perceptions were valid, depending upon the context in which they were expressed. The acceptance of the gay community concept resulted from a commercial context to the Report, whereas the rejection of a sense of community occurred in relation to a singular, unitary expression of social cohesion based on a biologically determined sexual desire. In this regard, it was suggested that a simplistic framework of the acceptance or denial of community phenomena should be rejected in favour of a more negotiated and contingent perspective.

Second, similar divisions were considered in relation to the concept of space, considering the perceptions of the *Virtually Gay Brighton* Website, which propounded the belief in a 'gay village' around St. James Street, and views from local residents who dismissed the existence of such a territory. Again, it was suggested than the opposition between the acceptance and the rejection of gay territories should be dismissed in favour of a more contextual view. The context in which the concept of gay space was refuted was, like the rejection of gay communities, based upon the dismissal of a singular, bounded gay territory determined by sexual orientation. Conversely, specific contexts occurred in which gay spaces were supported, for example, through the commercial context of St. James Street and the political context of the 1994 Brighton Outright 'March for Life'.

The final section of this chapter explored how definitions of communities and spaces could be constructed whilst appreciating these complexities and contradictions. It was suggested that the concept of atopia (the third facet of the diagram inspired by Barthes – Figure 3.1), was the most illuminating representation, appealing to a ceaseless process of ongoing negotiation. Those contradictions between affirmed and rejected communities and spaces were explained in terms of opposing perceptions which, as Chapter five explored, were bound together through forces of doxa and paradoxa, trangression and recuperation.

Consequently, as soon as a perception of gay community or gay space was voiced, it became a defined moment within the process of place and communal negotiation, and thus denied the atopic potential of such togethernesses. Each defined moment revealed the doxa and paradoxa, the reverse and the obverse, and thus each perception was both valid and flawed. Coherent communities and spaces of desire and need do

occur, but ignore exclusions and recuperations whenever they are portrayed as a naturalised fact of gay existence.

Articulating perceptions of gay communities and spaces through issues of context within process does support those ideas discussed earlier in this thesis. First, that fixed/quantitative and fluid/ethnographic frameworks for evaluating sexual spaces should not be opposed diametrically or be assumed to reveal an inherent truth about gay place formation. Rather, a more negotiative understanding of gay territorial formation should be articulated. Second, that histories of repression and histories of resistance should not be opposed, but related to the same, ongoing dynamic of changing sexual moral codes and their excess. Third, that concepts of communities cannot be structured as either an innate liberative truth, or a social and repressive fallacy, but should instead be seen to be a matter of process and negotiation.

Just as the writings of Barthes were helpful to these earlier concerns, they were also useful in elucidating issues of gay territorial and communal formation amongst gay men in Brighton. The concept of atopia provided a detailed understanding of the ongoing process of negotiation and strategy without resorting to a simplistic dialectical posturing of forces and perceptions of communal and spatial support and destruction, liberation and repression. The ongoing dynamic of reformation of gay communities and spaces was perceived to be a strength, implying a flexibility and adaptability against forces of socio-sexual doxa.

Exploring changing senses of community and space within Brighton since the 1950s, both this and the previous chapter have revealed the extent that these negotiations amongst gay men as sites of doxa and paradoxa have changed. Hence, defining moments of gay place and communal formations revealed strategic moments of these expressions, and as such revealed either their doxical or paradoxical sides. The processual dynamic from which these expressions are derived, however, always lies beyond these definitions as an atopic site of sexual attachment and negotiation. It is through these negotiativities that the temporal and spatial contexts of the doxa / paradoxa / atopia process become of paramount importance, and it is the specificities of Brighton and the changing social context within the UK that has dominated much of the concerns addressed in this and the preceding chapter.

Fundamentally, what has occurred is a rearticulation of the central tenets of this thesis: the question is no longer 'Is there a sense of community and space amongst gay men in Brighton?', or 'In what ways do gay communities and spaces in Brighton correspond to fixed or fluid models?' Rather, the question becomes, 'In what ways and in what contexts do senses of communal and territorial solidarities negotiate with continuing processes of doxa and paradoxa?' It is this reformulation and this understanding of processes that provides the most accurate representation of gay community and place formations.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions: Sexuality, Communality, Spaces and the Reconciliatory Potential of Atopia

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS: SEXUALITY, COMMUNALITY, SPACE AND THE RECONCILIATORY POTENTIAL OF ATOPIA

I: The beginning

It would be useful, having explored the complexities of constructions of communities and territories amongst gay men in Brighton, to return to the opening problem discussed in Chapter one: the Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial of 1992. The memorial was designed to stimulate a committed sense of socio-sexual solidarity and to serve as a site of remembrance of a gay past for residents and tourists in a similar way to the Homomonument in Amsterdam (Binnie, 1995). It was assumed that the proposal would meet with wide support from people within Brighton, on account of the town's large resident gay population (an estimated 25,000 gay men in Brighton and Hove in 1998 [Scott, 1998]). However, the reaction from the local people could not have been more different. Whereas a degree of conflict was expected between gay and non-gay people over the proposed memorial, what was surprising was the extent of tensions and divisions between gay men.

This unexpected reaction provoked several questions that became the basis of this thesis. First, a consideration of the foundation upon which gay communities are forged, reconciling a socially and politically necessary sense of solidarity whilst recognising inherent differences and tensions. Second, an inquiry into the importance of space, embracing the need for symbolic places of queer solidarity and a gay territory whilst being aware of possible exclusions and differences experienced by individuals within these spaces. Third, the impact that temporal and spatial contexts have in influencing the construction of gay communities and spaces in Brighton (the monument being proposed after Section 28). In short, the conflicts surrounding the monument necessitate the exploration of ways of defining gay communities and

spaces such that expressions of sameness and difference can be reconciled with processes of solidarity and exclusion.

The concerns associated with the proposals for the Pride Monument are resonant with broader debates within geography and other areas of social science. For example, they reflect recent discussions over the politics of place and the degree to which localities should be seen as sites of negotiation and process (Massey, 1994a). Similarly, the lesbian and gay memorial controversy reflects debates within sociology over the nature of community construction. Recent work, for example, has attempted to illustrate the importance of reactive senses of solidarity with communities of resistance, counter-cultural groups and New Social Movements, whilst other research has critiqued the concept of community for its appropriation into sites of exclusion and intolerance (Young, 1990). Finally, paralleling these debates is the difficulty in constructing senses of solidarity amongst stigmatised groups where the histories of such identities are often marked by contradictory forces of cultural control (Foucault, 1977). In this regard, asserting a common basis of togetherness not only obscures the expression of personal difference, it also fails to recognise the possibility of propagating systems of oppression (Milligan, 1990).

Consequently, the issues involved in discussions of constructions of communities and territories by gay men in Brighton extend beyond concerns of sexuality and space, and embrace those questions at the centre of many cultural concerns: the political processes of oppression and resistance, and their associated constructions of communities, spaces, identities and histories.

II: The Argument

In exploring the possibility of constructing spatial and communal solidarities amongst difference and fragmentation, several lines of enquiry were embraced. Chapter two considered previous literature on sexuality and space, addressing not only the varied ways researchers engaged with this issue, but also the historical, spatial and political context in which this research was undertaken.

After a brief consideration of the inherent spatiality of early psychological discourse on sexual behaviour (Freud, 1942; 1954; Bleys, 1996), four distinct phases of research were explored (Table 2.1). First, the 'covert-static' model (1950-1970) was discussed, describing the expression of 'deviant' sexualities within secretive and underground networks at a time of highly restrictive legislation and societal homophobia (Hooker, 1956; Gagnon and Simon, 1967; Humphries, 1970). This model was considered to be static on account of the highly 'fixed' way in which sexual spaces and sexual identities were conceptualised. Although these studies were influential in providing legitimacy for non-heterosexual lifestyles, they were critiqued for often being articulated in a highly moralistic and judgmental manner.

Second, the 'overt-static' model (1970-1985) was suggested, occurring at a time when the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in the UK and the Stonewall Riots in New York provided new opportunities and a greater potential for more visible, often territorial forms of political and social expression. Research undertaken within this context often involved 'spatial mapping' techniques in exploring the construction of bounded territorial districts (or 'ghettos') as a means to establish areas of greater mutual support, defence and political representation (Levine, 1979; Weightman, 1980; Castells, 1983). These concepts were again highly fixing in their formulation and were thus critiqued for omitting processual, exclusionary and contradictory forces inherent within spatial constructions.

Third, the 'fluid-diverse' model (1985 to present) was considered, evaluating its use of ethnographic techniques to explore the varied and fragmentary ways sexual identities and communities were articulated across differing spatial contexts (Hall, 1989; Valentine, 1993a; Johnston and Valentine, 1995). Again, the research was strongly influenced by the context in which it was undertaken, occurring at a time in which gay politics in the UK and the US were concerned with a rising Right-wing backlash and the onset of HIV and AIDS. As Davis (1995) suggested, this period marked a change in the structure of political organisations from the earlier politics of space to a politics of identity. Ironically, these approaches were critiqued for focusing on issues of fluidity and diversity to the extent that a rigorous understanding of forces of regulatory control and the importance of strategic solidarities were denied.

Thus, a contradictory situation became apparent: concepts of sexual spaces were either fixed and static (permitting an understanding of a politically necessary sense of solidarity and cohesion, whilst ignoring the processes which led to its creation and possible ensuing exclusions), or were diverse and fluid (allowing a processual and dynamic understanding of sexual identity, whilst denying the possibility of appreciating forces of regulatory control as well as more stable concepts of sexual spaces).

In this regard, a fourth model was considered, the 'contextual-strategic' approach (1995 to present), that sought to engage with both fixed and fluid perceptions of sexuality and space. This work combined a politics of identity with a politics of place, often drawing upon concepts of strategic, negotiative and contextual expressions of queer identities, communities and spaces (Bell, 1995a; Woodhead, 1995; Ingram, 1997a). Again, the context in which the research was conducted influenced the nature of this work. Continuing homophobia and heterosexism provoked the need to adopt a more coherent political framework whilst recognising the transgressive and subversive potential of identity politics.

However, whilst this negotiative framework suggested a means of resolving tensions between fixed and fluid sexual spaces (and the associated contradictions between sameness / difference, repression / resistance), these understandings often remained abstruse and vague. Consequently, a need was recognised to explore possible ways in which this negotiative understanding could be constructed and implemented. Chapter three therefore extended this discussion in an effort to create a framework of exploration that could be used to explore gay male communities and spaces in Brighton. First, histories of sexuality were discussed, drawing particularly on the writings of Weeks (1977; 1985; 1989) and Foucault, (1990; 1993a; 1993b). Interestingly, similar tensions of static and fluid concepts of sexuality were considered in relation to biologically essentialist and social constructivist constructs of identity (Milligan, 1990). Yet again, a processual, negotiated view of sexual identity was considered to be the most illuminating perception of sexuality.

Reviewing the impacts of historical events upon gay lives in the UK (Appendix I), it became apparent that a singular account of sexual history could not be determined,

given the differing contexts in which processes of sexual control and resistance were expressed. Appendix I illustrated the varied techniques of socio-sexual control constraining the expression of 'deviant' behaviour, and also indicated the equally diverse ways in which stigmatised sexual groups created places and communities of resistance. It became apparent that a paradoxical process was occurring whereupon forces of social and political control (as experienced with the trials of Oscar Wilde in 1885) could promote homosexualities, whilst sites of sexual resistance (as seen in the construction of gay urban spaces) incited further homophobic activity (Weeks, 1977). From this discussion, it was suggested that a conceptual reconciliation of fixed and fluid sexualities had to engage with issues of changing forces of repression and resistance, themselves spatially and historically contextual.

Second, concepts of 'community' were explored, drawing principally upon anthropological and sociological texts. It was noted that research into 'communities' followed a similar path of conceptual development to that of sexuality and space (Table 3.1). A shift was noted from fixed, general and morally loaded concepts of community (Tönnies, 1885; Durkheim, 1955) to more specific, bounded concerns of 'deviant' or abnormal communities (Burgess, 1928). In the post-war period, a further shift occurred towards more fluid, socially constructed senses of community (Elias and Scotson, 1994; Cohen, 1985; 1987), and more recently, towards a more negotiated, strategic and contextual sense of community formation (Klandermans, 1995; Tarrow, 1989; Eade, 1997b). Consequently, research into the concept of community construction has had to engage with the contradictions between fixed and fluid perspectives, reconciling these tensions by an appeal to more negotiative understandings.

Third, given that research into sexuality and space, sexual histories and community formations indicated the importance of adopting a negotiated and processual framework, several theoretical lines of enquiry were considered for their relevance to these debates. Massey's work on negotiated senses of place (1994a, 1997), for example, was considered for her processual, and temporally and spatially contextual perception of place. In this regard, senses of place and community become highly chaotic and disorganised, rejecting any binaristic understanding of an essentialist versus constructed space.

Post-structuralist writers (Grosz, 1991; 1994; Probyn, 1991; 1996; Rose, 1996) furthered this argument, demonstrating the rich and illuminating possibilities derived from a non-binaristic perception of social processes. Thus, issues of fixity and fluidity, repression and resistance, order and disorder, were rejected in favour of a framework that permitted far more dynamic and processual approaches. 'Queer theory' was also discussed for its potential in promoting a non-binaristic, processual and negotiated understanding of identities, communities and spaces (Sedgwick, 1994; Désert, 1997; Betsky, 1997). Queer sexualities indicate precisely this need for a rejection of opposites (norm/abnorm, divine/sinful), privileging instead more dynamic and contextual understandings of queer identities. In this regard, the work of Massey, post-structuralists and queer theorists are all related in their desire for articulating a non-binaristic approach.

Consequently, an exploration into the negotiativities inherent in fixed and fluid expressions of sexual communities and spaces were seen to involve a non-binaristic framework in which forces of control and order could be related to processes of resistance and disorder. On this basis, the writings of Barthes were used to illustrate this potential of exploring the processes of negotiation between forces of repression and resistance.

The model comprised of doxa (regulatory systems and structures), paradoxa (sites of resistance beyond doxa), atopia (the negotiative processes existing beyond the binaristic opposites of doxa and paradoxa) (figure 3.4). Associated with these concepts were processes of transgression (the paradoxical flouncing of doxical codes of conduct) and recuperation (the rendering of paradoxa into new, aligned or pre-existing doxa). Thus, expressions of sexual control, order and regulation were reconciled to transgression, disorder and excess within the atopic understanding of dynamism and process. Given the clarity and explanatory potential of this framework, it was decided that the model of doxa, paradoxa and atopia would be used as an interpretive lens through which to consider events influencing the construction of gay male communities and spaces in Brighton.

Chapter four considered the applicability of the writings of Barthes to the research process itself. It was argued that if the research field existed in a processual manner,

then the undertaking of research should also be seen to exist as a process, complete with its own structures (ways of doing things), excesses (problems and personal influences) and negotiations. Methodological considerations of the researcher, the researched, the research field, and the relationship between them were thus examined. It was suggested that literary-critical concerns supported feminist methodologies (McDowell, 1992; 1994a) in that they illustrated the power operating within academic discourse, the need to consider the standpoint of the research respondent, and the need to construct a dialogical view of the reader/writer, researcher/respondent relationship.

In this regard, I justified the methodological techniques selected in the research, and critiqued my own position in the fieldwork, illustrating the degree to which an interactive dynamic occurred between myself as researcher and the research 'field'. Finally, I considered why it was that Brighton was selected as the research site. Drawing upon accounts of the local history (Gilbert, 1939; 1954; Shields, 1991), it was suggested that Brighton has long existed as a site of atopic negotiation between forces of constraint (doxa) and resistance (paradoxa).

Chapter five considered the ways in which processes of doxa, paradoxa, and recuperation were played out in the construction of gay male communities and spaces in Brighton since 1950 (Table 5.1). Varied techniques of doxa were noted, including central government legislation, local government support, HIV/AIDS and homophobia, all operating within particular spatial and temporal contexts. Diverse paradoxical transgressions of these doxa included gay cruising grounds/cottages, political organisations, social groups, Pride Events and the creation of a gay village, again all influenced by spatial and temporal contexts. However, these paradoxical forces did not exist without their contradictions, and thus the final section indicated areas of recuperation, including exclusions on the basis of age, gender, class, race and HIV serostatus.

Chapter six extended these debates and explored the very nature of community and territorial concepts existing amongst gay men in Brighton. Both the denial and acceptance of a gay community and a gay space were considered and were thought to provide equally valid representations of processes amongst gay men. This seemingly contradictory situation was explained by suggesting that these perceptions had to be

placed within the particular context in which they were expressed. Hence, notions of a stable gay space and community were rejected within the context of a singular, undifferentiated sense of belonging determined by a shared genetic factor. Conversely, the belief in gay communities and spaces were expressed within the context of certain strategic formations of togetherness (such as commerce and politics). It was therefore suggested that communities and spaces do occur amongst gay men in Brighton, existing as a site of atopic negotiation between order and control, sameness and difference, repression and resistance.

The model of doxa/paradoxa/atopia outlined in Chapter three was found to be useful in engaging with these complexities. Given that forces of doxa and paradoxa were bound together in their influence on gay male lives in Brighton, concepts of community or space had to adopt this atopic perception of an ongoing dynamic of communal and spatial negotiations. Defining discrete moments of gay community or territorial formation denied this atopic process and thus revealed either its doxical or paradoxical side. Once held within a definition, the perception of community or space revealed both its explicit and reverse side. Hence, the acceptance of gay communities and spaces was both valid and problematic as it reflected important aspects of gay communal and spatial formation and also denied the alternative possibilities.

Hence, the triadic framework of doxa / paradoxa / atopia is useful in elucidating the complex issues inherent in the construction of gay communities and spaces. An ongoing process can be understood that acknowledges the contradictory dynamic between forces of constraint and resistance. Thus, moments of control and liberation, transgression and recuperation are related together in a broader understanding of contradictory negotiations. The issue of defining gay communities and spaces in Brighton was therefore redefined into an exploration of the contexts in which gay communalities and spatialities were constructed and challenged.

This rethinking of conceptions of sexuality and space is relevant to conceptions of gay spaces, identities, histories and communities. No longer is it a matter of finding some truth in fixed, bounded ghettos against fluid understanding of identity play. No longer is it an issue of opposing biological against socially constructed perceptions of identity. Nor is it a matter of perceiving histories of repression to be contrary to

histories of resistance, or liberative, bounded communities to be oppositions to repressive, fragmented togethernesses. Rather the issue of context and process should be addressed to contend with these complexities and explore their inherent contradictions.

III: The Ending

In what way does this argument contribute to the issue of the Lesbian and Gay Pride Memorial discussed in Chapter 1? Were the monument to be built, what meaning would it have for gay residents and tourists? Considering these issues returns us to the central concerns of the thesis; drawing upon the theoretical, conceptual, empirical and archival evidence, does a sense of community exist amongst gay men in Brighton, and if yes, how is this constructed?

It has been six years now since the proposal for the Lesbians and Gay Pride Memorial was rejected by the local council, and within this period, moments of community cohesion, fragmentation and exclusion have occurred within Brighton. Local issues, such as a 42% increase in the number of gay men testing HIV+ between 1995 and 1996 (Scott, 1998) have made the concern of community attachment and support highly relevant and necessary.

At one level, the scene in Brighton has achieved considerable moments of community cohesion. At the Brighton Pride festival of 1998, for example, an estimated 70,000 to 85,000 people took part in the festivities, the largest turnout in its ten year history. Similarly, the commercial scene has developed and concentrated to such an extent that the concept of a 'gay village' has been actively promoted by local gay businesses (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Hence, for the first time in Brighton's history, a process of 'gay ghetto' formation has occurred similar to, although not on the same scale as, the Castro district in San Francisco (Castells, 1983) and St. Christopher Street in New York (Weightman, 1980).

Alternatively, gay men in Brighton have demonstrated the ability to cohere as a source of communal defence and strength in the light of social, political and health concerns.

Therefore, in reaction to the ongoing AIDS crisis, members of Brighton's gay male population succeeded in generating funding, support and research groups such as Brighton Cares and Zorro.

However, whilst it may seem apparent from the evidence that communal networks do exist, processes of exclusion and fragmentation have also occurred. In recent years, for example, political organisations such as Brighton OutRight have boycotted the Brighton Pride march and festival on the grounds that it had become more of a commercial than a political enterprise. These activities have questioned the extent to which Brighton Pride's attendance figures can be used to indicate senses of communal belonging amongst gay men.

Similarly, the development of the gay commercial scene has also generated its own exclusions and tensions. In particular, lesbians have felt excluded from the commercial scene for, whereas the number of gay male venues has increased, the number of lesbian-only pubs and clubs has decreased since the 1970s. Recently, women-only sites have begun to develop, such as 'Just Sisters', but these venues tend to open infrequently and are short lived. Thus, yet again, the development of a 'gay village' does not necessarily suggest a growth in senses of communal attachment and shared experience in Brighton. On this basis of these examples of communal fragmentation and exclusion, it is apparent that those concerns expressed by Young (1990) in her critique of the community concept can be given some credence.

The conceptions of community amongst gay men in Brighton therefore illustrate the contradictory situations discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Senses of community amongst gay men do exist in Brighton, but this does not render these processes immune from exclusion and fragmentation. Gay communal attachments are a matter of negotiation and process, and as such, the contexts of community cohesion and exclusion must be considered. The concept of 'atopia' is an apt description of gay community formations in Brighton because it both recognises and contextualises these processes. Consequently, the Lesbians and Gay Pride Memorial, were it ever to be constructed, would reflect this atopic dynamic. The construction of the pride monument could (and indeed should) never express a sense of pride and solidarity for all lesbians and gay men in and around Brighton; it could never convey a gay 'truth'.

However, the Pride monument would symbolise those negotiations faced by gay men and lesbians in their everyday lives against social doxa and the strengths and limitations of their own solidarities.

The need for a strategic place of togetherness, hope and remembrance is necessary when social and political doxa still constrain and discriminate against gay sexualities. Even though different meanings may be attached to the monument, the potential for such attachments amidst change and conflict reflects a very important atopic aspect of gay communities. A fixed paradoxical site would exclude divergent senses of solidarity (may even have its meaning reappropriated as a site of homophobic vandalism), but the importance of continued commitment to concerns pertaining to sexuality cannot be denied. Thus, a lesbian and gay pride monument would, I would argue, reflect this atopic potential.

The need to recognise senses of solidarity for gay men will remain particularly important in the future. At present, sexual doxa is highly potent within British society: there is still an unequal age of consent for gay men, partnership rights are still not recognised by the state, no gay anti-discrimination laws exist, gay men and lesbians are still barred from serving in the armed forces, rates of HIV infection are still increasing in some areas of the UK, and homophobic hate crimes remain an important social concern (Mason and Palmer, 1998). However, as recent political demonstrations and Pride Events have shown, gay and lesbian sexualities have illustrated the potential for significant and highly visible expressions of sexuality away from these repressions. In this regard, the adaptability of gay communities and spaces indicates the potential for processual senses of sexual solidarities to generate sites of continuing support, defence and celebration.

Appendices

APPENDIX I: Major impacts, studies and political reactions impacting upon UK gay men, and their cultural contexts

Year	*Legislative Context*	*Influential Research on Sexuality*	*Socio-Political Reaction*	*Social Context*
1533	Act - execution for sodomy			*Sodomy seen as spiritual sin*
1690	Increased executions for sodomy			
1753	Marriage Act			Growth in urban gay male subculture
1758		Tissot - Defined Onanism as illness		eg. Molly houses / brothels
1802				
1826	Robert Peel - arrests for sodomites			
1834	New Poor Law -against single mothers			*Reign of Queen Victoria*
1836	Last execution for sodomy			Increased executions for sodomy
1840		Kaan - sodomy as social danger		Deviant sexuality as disease
1841	Lord Russell - repealing sodomy laws			
1857	Matrimonial Causes Act Obscene Publications Act			Urbanisation created growth of gay subculture, eg. brothels and cruising grounds
1861	Offences Against the Person Act			
1864	Contagious Diseases Act - prostitutes	Ulrich - defines 'sexual inversion'		
1866	Contagious Diseases Act			
1869	Contagious Diseases Act	Benkert - defines 'homosexuality'		
1870		Westphal 'contrary sexual impulse'		
1881	Industrial Schools Amendment Act			
1883	Contagious Diseases Act abolished	Symmonds 'A Problem with Greek Ethics'		Decline of Imperialism
1884	Housing Commission - Incest			Social Darwinism
1885	Criminal Amendment Act (Section 2)			
1889		Ellis 'The Criminal'		
1891		Freud 'On Aphasia'		Castration common for homosexuals
1894		Ellis 'Man and Woman'	Order of Chaeronia	
1895	Oscar Wilde trials 'Love's Coming of Age' withdrawn			
1898	Vagrancy Act - Importuning		Hirschfeld's SHC	
1905		Freud '3 Essays'		
1908	Punishment of Incest Act	Carpenter 'The Intermediate Sex'		

Year	Legislative Context	Influential Research on Sexuality	Socio-Political Reaction	Social Context
1967 1969	Sexual Offences Act - England+Wales Stonewall Riots - New York	Gagnon and Simon 'Sexual Deviance'	New York Gay Liberation Front Scottish Minorities Group	Growth in gay commerce
1970	Lib. leader Eakes arrested at Highbury	Humphreys 'Tearoom Trade'	London Gay Liberation Front GLF march on Highbury Fields NWHLRS → Committee HE	
1971		Altman 'Homosexual'	1st London GLF march 1st GLF disco in London Committee HE → Campaign HE	
1972	International Times guilty for gay ads	Deleuze + Guattari 'L'Anti-Oedipe' Hocquenhem 'Homosexual Desire'	1st London Gay Pride march Sappho lesbian group forms Gay News started	Divisions in the GLF
1973	Matrimonial Causes Act		London GLF closes	
1974			London Gay Switchboard begins	
1975		Wilson 'Sociobiology'		
1976	Adoption Act	Foucault 'History of Sexuality' Vol. 1	NCCL supports 16 age of consent	Communist Party reviews sexuality
1977	Dennis Lemon fined for poem Labour MP Colquhoun deselected	Weeks 'Coming Out'		
1978			International LG Association	
1979		Masters+J. 'Homosexuality in Perspective'		*Conservatives enter office*
1980	Criminal Justice (Scottish) Bill		CHE splits to become CHE+GCO	
1981	Police and Criminal Evidence Bill Dudgeon defeats N. Ireland at ECHR			Rising Right-Wing sentiments
1982	Homosexual Offences (N.I.) Order		Terence Higgins Trust	AIDS first diagnosed in UK
1983	Guernsey - homosexuality legalised		Switchboard HIV Conference	Tatchell pilloried at Bermondsey
1984	Chris Smith comes out 'Gays the Word' raided	Foucault 'History of Sexuality' Vol. 2 Foucault 'History of Sexuality' Vol. 3		
1985	ILEA attacked for gay book	Weeks 'Sexuality and its Discontents' Patton 'Sex and Germs'		TUC votes to support gay rights
1986	Education Bill - supporting families Local Government Bill first proposed AIDS issue first debated in Commons	Altman 'AIDS and the New Puritanism' Project SIGMA		

Year	*Legislative Context*	*Influential Research on Sexuality*	*Socio-Political Reaction*	*Social Context*
1912	Criminal Law Amendment Act		SHC - British Branch	*World War I*
1914			BSSSP	Homosocial environments increased
1919		Redfern - 1st Freudo-Marxist text	Institute for Sexual Science-Berlin	Post War family ideology
1920	Radclyffe-Hall v Fox-Pitt - libel case		BSSSP → BSS	*Post War social concerns*
1921	Gross Indecency by Females Act-failed		Congress of Sex Reform, Berlin	Lesbian venues, eg. The Orange Tree
1923			World League for Sex Reform	
1927	'Well of Loneliness' trial			
1928			WLSR - British Branch	
1930				Aversion therapy began
1933		Malinowski 'The Sexual Savages'	Hirschfeld Institute closed	*Rise of Nazi party + World War II*
1934				USSR criminalises homosexuality
1939			BSS + BWLSR closed	
1943		Reich 'The Sexual Revolution'		
1945		Kinsey, 'Sexuality and the Human Male'		Post War homosocial bonding
1947			Sex Education Society	
1948		Journal of Sex Education		Post War family ideology
1949		Mead 'Male and Female'		Socialist resistance to homosexuality
1950	Public Morality Council			*McCarthyism + social stability fears*
1953	Peak in arrests of gay men	Kinsey, 'Sexuality and the Human Female'		Homophobic Press coverage
1954	Montague/Wildeblood Trial Wolfenden Committee set up			Sympathy for gay 'illness'
1955		Marcuse 'Eros and Civilisation'		
1957	Wolfenden Report published			
1958	Lord Chamberlain bans gay plays		Homosexual Law Reform Society	
1960	Private Members Bill for WR - failed			
1961			Albany Trust	
1962	Leo Abse tries for gay reform - failed		North Western HLRS	
1964	Thomas Moore tries for reform - failed			
1965	Sexual Offences Bill passed in Lords	Hooker 'Sex Research'	Minorities Research Group	*Urban riots + social unrest*

Year	*Legislative Context*	*Influential Research on Sexuality*	*Socio-Political Reaction*	*Social Context*
1987	LG Bill passes 3rd reading in the Lords Knight introduces LGB into Commons Wiltshire adds C28 to LGB	Shilts 'And the Band Played On' National AIDS Manual	Anti-Clause 28 demonstrations BAAAC demos in Brighton SIGMA Project	Arson attack on Capital Gay
1988	Local Government Act (S.28) Norris defeats Ireland at the ECHR	Sontag 'AIDS and its Metaphors'	London S28 Protest march Manchester S28 protest march	Minimal funding for AIDS causes frustration amongst gays + lesbians
1989	Childrens Act - against gay parents		ACT UP UK Stonewall UK	
1990	Jersey - homosexuality decriminalised Operation Spanner - SM arrests Human Fertilisation + Embryology Act	Butler 'Gender Trouble'	OutRage!	'Pink Pound' concept operates
1991	Criminal Justice Act - armed forces	Sedgwick 'Epistemology of the Closet'	SM Pride March through London AIMGLC	
1992	Isle of Man - homosexuality legalised Prosecution for forces gays dropped Spanner SM arrests appeal to EC		Gay Men Fighting AIDS	
1993	Gibraltar - Homosexuality legalised		Stonewall challenge AC at ECHR	
1994	Criminal Justice and Public Order Act P takes Cornwall CC to ECJ	Wellings et al Sexual Behaviour in Britain	Riot outside Houses of Parliament Stonewall challenge dropped	
1996	Sutherland case reaches ECHR Grant takes British Rail to ECJ Perkins takes UK armed forces to ECJ P's claim upheld by the ECJ		25th Anniversary of Stonewall	
1997	ECJ find against Spanner victims Gay partner immigration permitted ECHR supports Sutherland Age of Consent free vote announced		25th London Gay Pride March Stonewall launch 'Equality 2000'	*Labour enter office*
1998	ECJ finds against Grant Bolton 7 arrested Lords defeat Equal Age of Consent Bill		OutRage! protest Easter Message OutRage! demonstrate at Lords Stonewall lobbying campaign	
1999	Sex. Orientation Bill passes 1st reading Lords defeat Sex. Orientation Bill		Stonewall lobbying campaign	

KEY	
AIMGLC	Amnesty International Members Gay and Lesbian Committee
BAAAC	Brighton and Area Action Against the Clause
BSS	British Sexological Society
BSSSP	British Society for the Study of Sexual Psychology
BWLSR	British Section of the World League for Sexual Reform
CaHE	Campaign for Homosexual Equality
CoHE	Committee for Homosexual Equality
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECJ	European Court of Justice
GCO	Gay Community Organisation
GLF	Gay Liberation Front
HLRS	Homosexual Law Reform Society
ILGA	International Lesbian and Gay Association
LGB	Local Government Bill
NCCL	National Council of Civil Liberties
NWHLRS	North Western Homosexual Law Reform Society
SHC	Scientific Humanitarian Committee
WLSR	World League for Sexual Reform
WR	Wolfenden Report.

APPENDIX II: 'Phases' of Roland Barthes[1]

Intertext	*Genre*	*Works*
(Gide)	(desire to write)	*On Gide and his Journal (1993c)*
Sartre, Marx Brecht, Racine Michelet	Social Mythology	*Writing Degree Zero (1977)* *Michelet (1987)* *Mythologies (1993a)* *The Eiffel Tower and other Mythologies(1997b)* *On Racine (1983)*
Saussure	Semiology	*Elements of Semiology (1968)* *(Critical Essays) (1972)* *The Fashion System (1985)* *(New Critical Essays) (1990d)* *Image-Music-Text (1990c)*
Sollers, Kristeva Derrida, Lacan	Textuality	*S/Z (1990b)* *Empire of Signs (1982)* *Sade, Fourier, Loyola (1997c)*
(Nietzsche), Werther Proust, Gide	Morality	*The Pleasure of the Text (1997a)* *Roland Barthes on Roland Barthes (1995)* *A Lover's Discourse (1990a)* *Camera Lucida (1993b)* *Inaugural Lecture (1993c)* *Deliberation (1993c)* *Incidents (1992)*

[1] There are limits, of course to such a representation. As Barthes himself commented on his table, 'between the periods, obviously, there are overlappings, returns, affinities, leftovers; ... as one nail drives out another, so they say, a perversion drives out a neurosis: political and moral obsession is followed by a minor scientific delirium, which in its turn sets off a perverse pleasure (which is the undercurrent of fetishism)' (Barthes, 1995: 145).

APPENDIX III: Advertisement for respondents placed in the *Argus*, February, 1997[1]

Gay men wanted to take part in research project.

I am a gay man currently undertaking postgraduate research in the Department of Geography at the University of Southampton. My research explores how senses of communities and spaces are forged amongst gay men in Brighton in relation to changing social contexts.

Do you feel that a community exists for gay men in Brighton? Do you have any strong views about the concept of community? Do you take part in any community groups? Did you take part in the early gay scene?

If the answer is yes, I would like to come and interview you for the research. All interviews are confidential and will last approximately one hour. If you would like to take part in the research, or if you have any queries about my work, please contact me at the address below:

David Wright
Department of Geography
University of Southampton
Highfield
Southampton
SO15 1BJ

Tel: (01703) 592215
E-mail: dnmw@soton.ac.uk

[1] In addition to the advert, the *Argus* ran an article on my research a week prior to the advert being printed.

Bibliography

Bibliography

Abelson, R. P., Loftus, E. F. and Greenwald, A. G. (1992) in J. M. Tamur (ed.) *Questions about Questions: Inquiries into the Cognitive Basis of Surveys*, Russell: Sage, pp.138-153.

Achilles, N. (1967) 'The development of the homosexual bar as an institution', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds.) *Sexuality Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row, pp.228-244.

Adam, B. D. (1978) *The Survival of Domination*, Elsevier/Greenwood: New York.

Adam, B. D. (1987) *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement*, Twayne Publishers.

Adelman, M. B. and Frey, L. R. (1997) *The Fragile Community: Living together with AIDS*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Adler, S. and Brenner, J. (1992) 'Gender and space: lesbian and gay men in the city', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 16, pp. 24-34.

Albrow, J. C. and Tully, C. (1979) 'A study of lesbian lifestyles in the homosexual micro-culture and the heterosexual macro-culture', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp.331-344.

Albrow, M., Eade, J., Dürrschmidt, J. and Washbourne, N. (1997) 'The Impact of Globalization on Sociological Concepts: Community, Culture and Mileu', in J. Eade (ed.) *Living in the Global City: Globalization as Local Process*, Routledge: London, pp.20-37.

Alcoff, L. M. (1996) 'Feminist Theory and Social Science: New knowledges, new epistemologies', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.13-27.

Alreck, P. L. and Settle, R. B. (1985) *The Survey Handbook*, Irwin Press.

Altman, D. (1971) *Homosexual: Liberation and Oppression*, New York: Outerbridge and Dienstfrey.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, revised edition, London: Verso

Anderson, K. (1996) 'Engendering Race Research: Unsettling the self-Other dichotomy', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.197-211.

Anderson, N. (1923) *The Hobo*, University of California Press: California.

Andronis, N. and Carrington, N. (1993) 'Peer Education for Rural Gay Men', *National AIDS Bulletin*, Vol.7, No.3, pp.18-21.

Anlin, S. (1989) *Out But Not Down! The Housing Needs of Lesbians*: Homeless Action.

Argus, April 1995, 'We're Friends Again', 22nd, p.6

Argus, May 1995, 'Gay Pride Dresses Up in Style', 29th

Argus, September 1995, 'Pride '96 Appeals for Local Support', 2nd

Argus, May 1996, 'Carnival Whirl for Gay Pride', 27th

Bagdett, M. V. L. (1995) 'The Wage Effects of Sexual Orientation Discrimination', *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol.48, No.4, pp.726-739.

Bagdett, M. V. L. (1997) 'Beyond Biased Samples: Challenging the Myths on the Economic Status of Lesbians and Gay Men', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.65-71.

Bagdett, M. V. L. and King, M. C. (1997) 'Lesbian and Gay Occupational Strategies', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.73-86.

Bailey, K. D. (1988) 'Ethical dilemmas in social problems research: a theoretical framework', *American Sociologist*, Vol.19, pp.121-137.

Bammer, A. (1994) 'Introduction', in A. Bammer (ed.) *Displacements: Cultural Identities in Question*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, pp.xi-xx.

Barthes, R. (1968) *Elements of Semiology*, New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R. (1972) *Critical Essays*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Barthes, R. (1977) *Writing Degree Zero*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Barthes, R. (1982) *The Empire of Signs*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Barthes, R. (1983) *On Racine*, New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R. (1985) *The Fashion System*, London: Jonathon Cape

Barthes, R. (1986a) 'Semiology and the Urban', in M. Gottdiener and A. Lagopoulos (eds.) *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, Columbia: University of Columbia Press.

Barthes, R. (1986b) *The Rustle of Language*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Barthes, R. (1987) *Michelet*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Barthes, R. (1988) *The Semiotic Challenge*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Barthes, R. (1990a) *A Lover's Discourse: Fragments*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Barthes, R. (1990b) *S/Z*, Blackwell: Oxford.

Barthes, R. (1990c) *Image-Music-Text*, London: Fontana Press.

Barthes, R. (1990d) *New Critical Essays*, California: University of California Press.

Barthes, R. (1991) *The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962-1980*, California: University of California Press.

Barthes, R. (1992) *Incidents*, California: University of California Press.

Barthes, R. (1993a) *Mythologies*, London: Vintage.

Barthes, R. (1993b) *Camera Lucida*, London: Vintage.

Barthes, R. (1993c) *A Roland Barthes Reader*, London: Vintage.

Barthes, R. (1995) *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*, London: Papermac.

Barthes, R. (1997a) *The Pleasure of the Text*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Barthes, R. (1997b) *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, California: University of California Press.

Barthes, R. (1997c) *Sade/Fourier/Loyola*, London: John Hopkins Press Ltd.

Bauman, Z. (1992) *Intimations of Postmodernity*, Routledge: London.

Beemyn, B. (ed.) (1997a) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, Gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge.

Beemyn, B. (1997b) 'A Queer Capital: Race, Class, Gender, and the Changing Social Landscape of Washington's Gay Communities, 1940-1955', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.183-209.

Bell, A. P. and Weinberg, M. S. (1978) *Homosexualities: A Study of Diversity among Men and Women*, London: Mitchell-Beazley.

Bell, D. (1991) 'Insignificant others: lesbian and gay geographies', *Area*, Vol. 23, pp.323-329.

Bell, D. (1994a) 'Bi-sexuality - A place on the margins', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.129-141.

Bell, D. (1994b) 'In Bed with the State: Political Geography and Sexual Politics', *Geoforum*, Vol.25, No.4, pp.445-452.

Bell, D. (1995a) 'Perverse dynamics, sexual citizenship and the transformation of intimacy', *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp. 304-317.

Bell, D. (1995b) 'Pleasure and danger: the paradoxical spaces of sexual citizenship', *Political Geography*, Vol.14, No.2, pp.139-153.

Bell, D. (1995c) '[*screw*]ing geography (censor's version)', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.13, pp.127-131

Bell, D. (1996) 'Review of Rodway - *Sensuous Geographies* and Lingis - *Foreign Bodies*', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.14, pp.621-622

Bell, D. (1997a) 'One-Handed Geographies: An Archaeology if Public Sex', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.81-87.

Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (eds.) (1995a) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge.

Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (1995b) 'The sexed self: strategies of performance, sites of resistance', in S. Pile and N. Thrift (eds.) *Mapping the Subject: Geographies of cultural transformation, London: Routledge.*

Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (1995c) 'Queer country: Rural Lesbian and Gay Lives', *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp.113-122

Bell, D., Binnie, J., Cream, J., and Valentine, G. (1994) 'All Hyped Up And No Place To Go', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 1: 31-47.

Berman, M. (1983) *All That's Solid Melts into Air*, London: Verso.

Bernard, L. C. and Epstein, D. J. (1979) 'Androgyny Scores of Matched Homosexual and Heterosexual Males', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.4, No.3, pp.167-178.

Bersani, L. (1995) *Homos*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Betsky, A. (1997) *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, New York: William Morrow.

Bhabha, H. K. (1988) 'The commitment to theory', *New Formations*, Vol.5.

Bhabha, H. K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge.

Bhugra, D. (1997) 'Coming Out by South Asian Gay Men in the UK', *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, Vol.26, No.5, pp.547-557.

Binnie, J. (1995a) 'Trading Places: Consumption, sexuality and the production of queer space', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.182-199.

Binnie, J. (1995b) 'The Trouble with Camp', *Transgressions: A Journal of Urban Exploration*, Vol.1, pp.51-58.

Binnie, J. (1997a) 'Invisible Europeans: sexual citizenship in the New Europe', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol.29, pp.237-248.

Binnie, J. (1997b) 'Coming out of Geography: towards a queer epistemology?', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.15, pp.223-237.

Blackwood, E. (1995) 'Falling in love with an-Other lesbian: Reflections on identity in fieldwork', in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivities in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge, pp.51-75.

Bleys, R. (1996) *The Geography of Perversion: Male-to-male Sexual Behaviour outside the West and the Ethnographic Imagination 1750-1918*, London: Cassell.

Bolton, R. (1995) 'Tricks, friends, and lovers: Erotic encounters in the field', in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivities in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge, pp.140-167.

Bolton, R., Vincke, J., Mak, R. (1994) 'Gay Baths Revisited: an empirical analysis', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, Vol.1, No.3, pp.255-273.

Bondi, L. (1992) 'Gender and dichotomy', *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol.16, pp.157-170.

Bonfitto, V. F. (1997) 'The Formation of Gay and Lesbian Identity and Community in the Connecticut River Valley of Western Massachusetts, 1900-1970', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.33, No.1, pp.69-96.

Boswell, J. (1995) *The Marriage of Likeness: Same-Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe*, London: Harper Collins.

Bouthillette, A. M. (1994) 'Gentrification by gay male communities: A case study of Toronto's Cabbagetown', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.65-80.

Bouthillette, A. M. (1997) 'Queer and Gendered Housing: A Tale of Two Neighbourhoods in Vancouver', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.213-232.

Braidotti, R. (1991) *Patterns of Dissonance*, New York: Routledge.

Brand, K. (1990) 'Cyclical Aspects of New Social Movements: Waves of Cultural Criticism and Mobilization Cycles of New Middle-class Radicalism', in R. J. Dalton and M. Keuchler, *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, Polity Press: Cambridge, pp.23-42.

Bravmann, S. (1994) 'The Lesbian and Gay Past: it's Greek to Whom?', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.1, No.2, pp.149-167.

Bray, A. (1982) *Homosexuality in Renaissance Britain*, London: Gay Men's Press.

Brennan, T., et al., (1954) *Social Change in South Wales*: Watts and Co: London.

Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1991, 'Police Questions Angers Gays'

Brighton and Hove Leader, May 1992, 'Pier Chiefs in Gay Row', 14th

Brighton and Hove Leader, June 1992, 'New Gay Secrets Outrage', 6th

Brighton and Hove Leader, November 1992, 'Gay Memorial Refused', 19th

Brighton and Hove Leader, February 1994, 'We'll Kick You Out of Office', 24th

Brighton and Hove Leader, September 1994, 'WPC's Idea to Avert Gay Attacks', 18th

Brighton and Hove News, October 1995, 'Pride '96 Appeal for Help and Support

Brighton Gay Centre Newsletter No.1, 1980

Brighton Gay Community Guide, 1978

Brighton Gay Community Guide, July 1978

Brighton Gay Community Organisation Newsletter, December 1985, No.7

Brighton Gay Community Newsletter, January 1989

Brighton Gay Community Newsletter, May 1988

Brighton Gay Community Organisation Newsletter, July, 1988, No.4, 14th

Brighton Gay Guide, November 1973

Brighton Gay Guide, July 1978

Brighton Ourstory Project (1990) 'Finding Our Past: Researching Lesbian and Gay History', *Gay Times*, March.

Brighton Ourstory Project (1992) *Daring Hearts*, Brighton: QueensPark Books.

Brighton Ourstory Project (1995a) *Learning Between the Lines: Amusing, amazing and heart-rending real-life stories of lesbians and gay schooldays*, Brighton: QueensPark Books.

Brighton Ourstory Project (1995b) 'Anyone Who Had a Heart: 3 accounts of gay male drug use 1962-1976', *Gay Times*, February.

Brighton Ourstory Project Website 1998
http://www/brighton.co.uk/gay/guide/bop/bophist.htm

Brighton Pride Website, September 1998
http://www.btinternet.com/~brightonpride/main.htm

Bristow, E. (1977) *Vice and Vigilance*, Gill and Macmillan: Dublin.

Brown, C. (1997) 'Figuring the vampire: Death, desire, and the image', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.117-133.

Brown, M. (1995a) 'Sex, scale and the 'new urban politics': HIV-prevention strategies from Yaletown, Vancouver, in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.245-263.

Brown, M. (1995b) 'The work of city politics: citizenship through employment in the local response to AIDS', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol.26, pp.873-894.

Brown, M. (1995c) 'Ironies of distance: an ongoing critique of the geographies of AIDS', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.13, pp.159-183.

Brown, M. (1997) *Replacing Citizenship: AIDS Activism and Radical Democracy (Mappings)*, Guild Books.

Bruce, S. (1987) 'Gullible's Travels: the Naïve Sociologist', in N. P. McKeganey and S. J. Cunningham-Burley (eds.) *Enter the Sociologist*, Vermont: Gower Publishing Company, pp.49-61.

Brydon, L. and Chant, S. (1989) *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*, London: Edward Elgar.

Bullough, V. (1976) *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, Wiley: New York.

Burrell, G. and Hearn, J. (1989) 'The sexuality of organisation', in J. Hearn, D. L. Shepphard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G, Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation*, London: Sage, pp.1-27.

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*, New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993a) *Bodies That Matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"'*, New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1993b) 'Imitation and Gender Insubordination', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale and D. M. Halperin (eds.) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge, pp.307-320.

Calhoun, C. (1992) 'Community', in R. S. Neale (ed.) *History and Class*, Basil Blackwell: Oxford, pp.86-110.

Califia, P. (1997) 'San Francisco: Revisiting "The City of Desire"' , in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.177-196.

Calvet, J-L. (1994) *Roland Barthes: A Biography*, Cambridge: Polity.

Cannell, C. F. (1985) 'Overview: response bias and interviewer variability on surveys', in T. W. Beed and R. J. Stimson (eds.) *Survey Interviewing: Theory and Techniques*, Beckenham: Croom Helm.

Capital Gay, October 1988, 14th

Caplan, P. (ed.) (1987) *The Cultural Construction of Sexuality*, London: Routledge.

Castells, M. (1983) 'Cultural Identity, Sexual Liberation and Urban Structure: The Gay Community in San Francisco', in *The City and Grassroots*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.138-170.

Castells, M. and Murphy, K. (1982) 'Cultural Identity and Urban Structure: the spatial organization of San Francisco's gay community', in N. Fanstein and S. Fanstein (eds.) *Urban Policy under Capitalism*, Beverly Hills: Sage.

Cavan, S. (1966) *Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behaviour*, Chicago: Aldine.

Chapple, M. J., Kippax, S. and Smith, G. (1998) 'Semi-straight sort of sex: Class and gay community attachment explored within a framework of older homosexually active men', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.35, No.2, pp.65-83.

Chauncey, G. (1994) *Gay New York: the making of the gay male world, 1890-1940*, London: Flamingo.

Chauncey, G. (1997) 'The Policed: Gay Men's Strategies of Everyday Resistance in Times Square', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.9-25.

Cheal, D. (1988) *The Gift Economy*, Routledge: London.

Chouinard, V. and Grant, A. (1996) 'On Being Not Even Anywhere Near 'The Project': Ways of putting ourselves in the picture', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, London: Routledge, pp.170-193.

Chung, Y. B. (1995) 'The Construct Validity of the Bem-Sex-Role Inventory for Heterosexual and Homosexual Men', *Journal of Homosexuality*, No.30, Vol.2, pp.87-97.

Clark, H. L. and Schober, M. F. (1992) 'Asking Questions and Influencing Answers', in J. M. Tamur (ed.) *Questions about Questions: Inquiries into the Cognitive Basis of Surveys*, Russell: Sage, pp.15-48.

Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. E. (eds.) (1986) *Writing Culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cobbett, W. (1885) *Rural Rides. Volume One*, Reeves and Turner: London.

Cody, P. J. and Welch, P. L. (1997) 'Rural Gay Men in Northern New England: Life Experiences and Coping Styles', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 33, No.1, pp.51-67.

Cohen, J. L. (1982) 'A Sense of Time, a Sense of Place: the Meaning of Close Social Association in Whalsay, Shetland', in J. L. Cohen *Belonging, Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Cohen, J. L. (1985a) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Ellis Horwood Ltd: Chichester.

Cohen, J. L. (1985b) 'Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements', *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No.4, pp.663-716.

Cohen, J. L. (1987) *Whalsay*, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Colomina, B. (eds.) (1992) *Sexuality and Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press.

Comstock, G. D. (1991) *Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Cooper, J. (1997) 'Growing troubles: authority, sexuality and space', *British Journal of the Society of Education*, Vol18, No.4, pp.501-517.

Cornwall, R. R. (1997) 'Queer Political Economy: The Social Articulation of Desire', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.90-122.

Cory, (1960) *The Homosexual in America*, Castle: New York.

Corzine and Cole, (1977) 'Cruising the Truckers: Sexual Encounters in a Highway Rest Area', in *Urban Life*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp.171-192.

Cox, L. J. and Fay, R. J. (1994) 'Gayspeak, The Linguistic Fringe: Bona Polari, Camp, Queerspeak, and Beyond', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.103-119.

Crapanzano, V. (1986) '"Hermes" Dilemma: Sexual Subordination in the U.S. – Korean Relationship', in J. Clifford and E. Marcus (eds.) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley: University of Californa Press.

Cream, J. (1995) 'Re-solving Riddles: the sexed body', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.31-40.

Crow, G. (1996) 'Community Time as Community's Fourth Dimension', in N. Papastergiadis (ed.) *Imagined Communities*, Institute of International Visual Arts: London, pp.58-62.

Crow, G. and Allan, G. (1994) *Community Life: An Introduction to Local Social Relations*, Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Crow, G. and Allan, G. (1995a) 'Community Types, Community Typologies and Community Time', *Time and Society*, Vol. 2, No.2, 147-166.

Crow, G. and Allan, G. (1995b) 'Beyond "Insiders" and "Outsiders" in the Sociology of Community', Paper delivered to the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association, University of Leicester, April 1995.

D'Augelli, A. (1989a) 'Lesbian women in a rural helping network: exploring informal helping resources', *Women and Therapy*, Vol. 6, pp.119-130.

D'Augelli, A. (1989b) 'AIDS fears and homophobia among rural nursing personnel', *AIDS Education and Prevention*, Vol.1, no.4, pp.277-284.

D'Augelli, A. and Hart, M. (1987a) 'Gay women, men and families in rural settings: toward a development of helping communities', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol. 15, pp.79-93.

D'Augelli, A., Collins, C. and Hart, M. (1987b) 'Social support patterns of lesbian women in a rural helping network', *Journal of Rural Community Psychology*, Vol.8, pp.12-22.

D'Emilio, J. (1993) 'Capitalism and Gay Identity', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale and D. Halperin, *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge, pp.467-476.

Dale, A. (1947) *Fashionable Brighton. 1820-1860*, Country Life: London.

Dalton, R. J., Kuechler, M. and Bürklin, W. (1990) 'The Challenge of New Movements', in R. J. Dalton and M. Keuchler, *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, Polity Press: Cambridge, pp.3-20.

David, H. (1997) *On Queer Street: A Social History of British Homosexuality 1895-1995*, London: Harper Collins.

Davies, P. M. (1986) *Some Problems in Defining and Sampling Non-0heterosexual Males*, University College Cardiff; Social Research Unit Working Paper, No.21.

Davis, M. and Kennedy, E. L. (1986) 'Oral History and the Study of Sexuality in the Lesbian Community: Buffalo, New York, 1940-1960', *Feminist Studies*, Vol.12, No.1, pp.7-26.

Davis, T. (1995) 'The Diversity of Queer Politics and the Redefinition of Sexual Identity and Community in Urban Spaces', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.285-303.

Derrida, J. (1979) *Writing and Difference*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Désert, J. U. (1997) 'Queer Space', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.17-26.

Dovidio, J. F. and Fazio, R. H. (1992) 'New Technologies for the Direct and Indirect Assessment of Attitudes', in J. M. Tamur (ed.) *Questions about Questions: Inquiries into the Cognitive Basis of Surveys*, Russell: Sage, pp.204-237.

Doyle, L. (1995) *Utopias and contested landscapes: spatial representation in Sapphic film*, University of Wales Swansea undergraduate dissertation.

Drexel, A. (1997) 'Before Paris Burned: Race, Class, and Male Homosexuality on the Chicago South Side, 1935-1960', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.119-144.

Duberman, M. (1994) *Stonewall*, New York: Plume.

Duncan, N. (ed.) (1996a) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge.

Duncan, N. (1996b) 'Renegotiating Gender and Sexuality in Public and Private Spaces', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.127-145.

Durkheim, E. (1952) *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, London.

Eade, J. (1997) 'Introduction', in J. Eade (ed.) *Living in the Global City: Globalization as Local Process*, Routledge: London, pp.1-19.

East Sussex Brighton and Hove Health Authority, February 1997, press release.

Edge, S. (1996a) *With Friends Like These: Marxism and Gay Politics*, London: Cassell

Edge, S. (1996b) 'The Politics of Visibility: Hedonism in the Gay Nineties', in N. Papastergiadis (ed.) *Imagined Communities*, Institute of International Visual Arts: London, pp.42-51.

Edge, S. (1996c) 'Peter Wildeblood: Hero Without Applause', *Soundings*, Vol. 3 (Summer), pp.175-184.

Egerton, J. (1990) 'Out but not down: lesbians' experience of housing', *Feminist Review*, Vol.35, pp.75-88.

ECHR 1981, Dudgeon v. United Kingdom, p.155.

Elder, G. (1995) 'Of Moffies, Kaffirs and Perverts: Male homosexuality and the discourse of moral order in the apartheid state', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.56-65.

Elias, N. (1994) 'Introduction: A Theoretical Essay on Established and Outside Relations', in N. Elias and R. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders*, Sage: London, pp.xv-lii.

Elias, N. and Scotson, R. (1963) *The Established and the Outsiders*, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd.

Ellis, H. (1943) *Psychology of Sex*, London: Heinemann.

England, K. (1994) 'Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.46, No.1, pp.80-89.

Escoffier, J. (1995) 'Sexual revolution and the politics of gay identity', *Socialist Review*, Vol.15, pp.119-153.

Escoffier, J. (1997) 'The Political Economy of the Closet: Notes toward an Economic History of Gay and Lesbian Life before Stonewall', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.123-134.

Ettorre, E. M. (1978) 'Women, urban social movements and the lesbian ghetto', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.2, pp.499-520.

Evening Argus, September 1990, 'Gay Victims "Stay Mum" Over Attacks', 26th

Evening Argus, February 1992a, 'Council's £5000 for Gay Festival', 22nd

Evening Argus, February 1992b, 'Official Gets Lion's Share of AIDS Cash', 21st, p.5

Evening Argus, March 1992a 'U-Turn Over Gay Parade in Park', 26th

Evening Argus, March 1992b, 'Gay Fury as Park Parade Bites Dust', 19th

Evening Argus, April 1992, 'Gay's Secret was Broken in Court', 22nd

Evening Argus, June 1992a, 'Angry Gays May Snub Police', 10th

Evening Argus, June 1992b, 'Gays Losing Faith in Police', 13th

Evening Argus, June 1992c, 'Gay Fury Over Memorial Slab', 19th

Evening Argus, September 1992a, 'Police Shred Gay Files', 24th

Evening Argus, September 1992b, 'Gay's Statements to be Shredded', 11th

Evening Argus, November 1992a, 'Gays in Call for Festival Backing', 16th

Evening Argus, November 1992b, 'Gays Lose Fight for Shrine', 18th, p.5

Evening Argues, February 1993, 'Pink Parasol Gets in the Red', 25th

Evening Argus, April 1993a, 'Gay Pride Steps Out Again', 3rd

Evening Argus, April 1993b, 'No Cash for Gay Festival', 6th

Evening Argus, May 1993, 'Gay Pride is Here to Stay', 13th

Evening Argus, January 1994, 'What Age Gay Sex?', 17th, p7

Evening Argus, February 1994, 'Anger at Gay Centre's Religious Conversion', 17th

Evening Argus, January 1995, 'Gays Say Thanks for Pride Cash', 24th

Evening Argus, March 1995, 'Gay Funfair Plans Levelled', 15th

Featherstone, M. (1989) 'Towards a Sociology of Postmodern Culture', in H. Haferkamp (ed.), *Social Structure and Culture*, de Gruyter Press, pp.147-172.

Featherstone, M. (1990) 'Global Culture: An Introduction', in M. Featherstone (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, Sage: London, pp.1-14.

Fellows, W. (1996) *Farm Boys: Lives of Gay Men from the Rural Midwest*, University of Winsonsin Press.

Fennel, G. (1992) 'Local Lives - Distant Ties: Researching Community Under Globalized Conditions', in J. Eade (ed.) *Living in the Global City: Globalization as Local Process*, Routledge: London, pp.90-109.

Fielding, N. G. (1990) 'Mediating the message: affinity and hostility in research on sensitive topics', *American Behavioural Scientist*, Vol.33, pp.608-620.

Forest, B. (1995) 'West Hollywood as symbol: the significance of place in the construction of a gay identity', *Environment and Planning G: Society and Space*, Vol.13, pp.133-157.

Forsyth, A. (1997) '"Out" in the Valley', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.21., No.1, pp.38-62

Foucault, M. (1975) *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Harmondsworth: Penguin

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1984) *The Foucault Reader*, (ed. P. Rabinow), Peregrine Books

Foucault, M. (1990) *The History of Sexuality Volume One: An Introduction*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1993a) *The History of Sexuality Volume Two: The Use of Pleasure*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1993b) *The History of Sexuality Volume Three: The Care of the Self*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Fowler, F. J. and Mangione, T. W. (1990) 'Standardized Survey Interviewing: Minimizing Interviewer Related Error', *Applied Social Research Methods Series*, Vol18, Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Foxhall, L. (1994) 'Pandora unbound: A feminist critique of Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, in A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne (eds.) *Disclocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*, London: Routledge, pp.133-146.

Freeman, D. (1983) *Mead and Samoa: The making and unmaking of an anthropological myth*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Freud, S. (1942) *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Freud, S. (1954) *Civilisation and its Discontents*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Fuss, D. (1991) 'Inside/Out', in D. Fuss (ed.) *Inside/Out: Lesbians theories, gay theories*, New York: Routledge, pp.1-10.

Garnets, L. D. and D'Aughelli, A. R. (1994) 'Empowering Lesbian and Gay Communities – A Call for Collaboration with Community Psychology', *American Journal of Community Psychology*, Vol.22, No.4, pp.447-470.

Gagnon, J. and Simon, W. (1967) *Sexual Conduct*, Chicago: Aldine.

Gallop, J. (1985) *Reading Lacan*, Ithaca: Ithaca University Press.

Gay Men's Health Matters (1998), per. com., November 2nd

Geisen, B. and Schmid, M. (1989) 'Symbolic, Institutional, and Social-Structural Differentiation: A Selection-Theoretical Perspective', in H. Haferkamp (ed.), *Social Structure and Culture*, de Gruyter Press, pp.67-85.

Geltmaker, T. (1992) 'The queer nation acts up: Health care, politics, and sexual diversity in the county of angels', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.10, pp.609-650.

Geltmaker, T. (1997) 'The queer nation acts up: Health care, politics, and sexual diversity in the county of angels, 1990-1992', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.233-274.

Geurtsen, W. (1994) 'Sex in the Margins', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.143-155.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. (1996) 'Reflections on Postmodern Feminist Social Research', in N. J. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, London: Routledge, pp.234-244.

Gilbert, E. W. (1939) 'The Growth of Inland and Seaside Health Resorts in England', *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 55, pp.16-35.

Gilbert, E. W. (1954) *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble*, Menthuen: London.

Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) (1997a) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge.

Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (1997b) 'The Gay Marketing Moment', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.3-9.

Golding, S. (1993a) 'The excess: an added remark on sex, rubber, ethics and other impurities', *New Formations*, Vol.19, pp.23-28.

Golding, S. (1993b) 'Quantum philosophy, impossible geographies and a few small points about life, liberty and the pursuit of sex (all in the name of democracy)', in M. Keith and S. Pile (eds.) *Place and the Politics of Identity*, London: Routledge.

Golding, S. (1993c) 'Sexual manners', in V. Harwood, D. Oswell, K. Parkinson and A. Ward (eds.) *Pleasure Principles: Politics, sexuality and ethics*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Golding, S. (ed.) (1997a) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness'*, London: Routledge.

Golding, S. (1997b) 'A Word of Warning', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness'*, London: Routledge, pp.xi-xiv.

Gottdiener, M. and Lagopoulos, A. (1986) 'Introduction', in M. Gottdiener and A. Lagopoulos (eds.) *The City and the Sign: An Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, Columbia: University of Columbia Press.

Gowans, G. (1995) *'It must be exciting to be heterosexual'. Lesbians in small cities: perceptions of space and identity in Salisbury, Wiltshire*, Royal Holloway University of London undergraduate dissertation.

Grossfurth, P. (1981) *Havelock Ellis: A Biography*, London: Quartet Books.

Grosz, E. (1991) 'Bodies/Cities', in B. Colomina (ed.) *Sexuality and Space*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, pp.241-253.

Grosz, E. (1995) *Space, Time and Perversion*, New York: Routledge.

Grube, J. (1991) 'Natives and Settlers: An Ethnographic Note on early Interaction of Older Homosexual Men with Younger Gay Liberationists', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.20, No.3, pp.119-135.

Grube, J. (1997) '"No More Shit": The Struggle for Democratic Gay Space in Toronto', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.127-145.

G-Scene, September 1997, 'The Show Must Go On', p.20

G-Scene, August 1998a, 'What's on at Brighton Pride 98', p.6

G-Scene, August 1998b, 'Stop Press', p.22

Guardian, December 1986, 12th

Guenzel, P. J., Berkmans, T. R. and Cannell, C. F. (1983) *General Interviewing Techniques: A Self-Instructional Workbook for Telephone and Personal Interviewer Training*, Ann Arbor, Mississippi: Institute for Social Research.

Gutek, B. (1989) 'Sexuality in the workplace: key issues in social research and organisational practice', in J. Hearn, D. L. Shepphard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G, Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation*, London: Sage, pp.56-70.

Haferkamp, H. (ed.) (1989) *Social Structure and Culture*, de Gruyter Press.

Halperin, D. M. (1990) *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*, New York: Routledge.

Hall, M. (1989) 'Private experiences in the public domain: lesbians in organisations' in J. Hearn, D. L. Shepphard, P. Tancred-Sheriff and G, Burrell (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organisation*, London: Sage, pp.125-140.

Hall, S. (1994) 'The question of cultural identity', in *The Polity Reader in Cultural Theory*, Cambridge: Polity, pp.119-125.

Hallam, P. (1997) 'The floor would open', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.209-217.

Hanson, S. and Pratt, G. (1995) *Gender, Place and Work*, London: Routledge.

Haraway, D. (190) 'A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s', in L. J. Nicholson (ed.) *Feminism/Postmodernism*, New York: Routledge, pp.190-233.

Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, London: Free Association Books.

Harding, S. (1987) 'Introduction: Is there a Feminist Method?', in S, Harding (ed.) *Feminism and Methodology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp.1-13.

Harris, C. (1987) 'The Individual and Society: A Processual Approach', in A. Brynam, B. Bytheway, P. Allatt and T. Keil (eds.), *Rethinking the Life Cycle*, Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp.17-29.

Harry, J. (1974) 'Urbanization and the gay life', *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol.10, No.3, pp.238-247.

Harry, J. and DeVall, W. B. (1978) 'Urbanization and the Development of Homosexual Communities', in J. Harry and W. B. DeVall *The Social Organization of Gay Males*, New York, Praegar, pp.134-153.

Hart, A. (1995) '(Re)Constructing a Spanish red-light district: Prostitution. space and power', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.214-228.

Hartsock, N. (1983) 'The feminist standpoint: developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism', in S. Harding and M. Hintikka (eds.) *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology*, Dordrecht: Reidel.

Hartsock, N. (199) 'Foucault on power: a theory for women', in L. J. Nicholson (ed.) *Feminism/Postmodernism*, London: Routledge, pp.157-175.

Harvey, D. (1973/1988) *Social Justice and the City*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1982) *The Limits to Capital*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1985) *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1987) 'Three myths in search of a reality in urban studies', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Vol. 5.*

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1996) *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Haver, W. (1997) 'Queer Research; or, how to practise invention to the brink of intelligibility', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.277-292.

Hearn, J., Sheppard, D. L., Tancred-Sheriff, P. and Burrell, G. (1989) *The Sexuality of Organisation*, London: Sage.

Hemmings, C. (1995) 'Locating Bisexual Identities: Discourses of bisexuality and contemporary feminist theory', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.41-55.

Hemmings, C. (1997) 'From Landmarks to Spaces: Mapping the Territory of Bisexual Genealogy', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.147-162.

Herek, G. M. and Berrill, K. (eds.) (1992) *Hate Crimes: Confronting violence against lesbians and gay men*, London: Sage.

Herek, G. M., Gillis, J. R., Cogan, J. C. and Glunt, E. K. (1997) 'Hate Crime Victimization among Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Adults: Prevalence, Psychological Correlates and Methodological Issues', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol.12, No.2, pp.195-215.

Hern, A. (1967) *The Seaside Holiday: The History of the English Seaside Resort.* The Cresset Press: London.

Herod, A. (1993) 'Gender Issues in the Use of Interviewing as a Research Method', *Professional Geographer, Vol.45, No.3, pp.305-317.*

Hertz, B. S., Eisenberg, E., and Knauer, L. M. (1997) 'Queer Spaces in New York City: Places of Struggle/Sites of Strength', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance,* Seattle: Bay Press, pp.357-370.

Higgs, D. (ed.) (1999) *Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories Since 1600*, London: Routledge.

Hindle, P. (1994) 'Gay Communities and Gay Space in the City', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.7-25.

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Hooker, E. (1956) 'A Preliminary Analysis of Group Behaviour of Homosexuals', *Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 42, 217-225.

Hooker, E. (1961) 'The Homosexual Community', *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 2, pp.40-59.

Hooker, E. (1963) 'The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual', in H. M. Ruitenbeck (ed.) *The Problem of Homosexuality in Modern Society*, Dutton: New York, pp.141-161.

Hooker, E. (1965) 'Male Homosexuals and their "Worlds"', in J. Mermor (ed.) *Sexual Inversion*, Basic Books: New York.

Hooker, E. (1967) 'The Homosexual Community', in J. H. Gagnon and W, Simon (eds.) *Sexual Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row, pp.167-184.

hooks, b. (1991) *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*, London: Turnaround.

hooks, b. (1995) 'Sisterhood', in P. A. Weiss and M. Friedman (eds.) *Feminism and Community*, London: Routledge.

Horowitz, G. (1977) *Repression: Basic and Surplus repression in Psychoanalytic Theory: Freud, Reich and Marcuse*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto.

Howard, R. (1990) 'A Note of S/Z', in R. Barthes *S/Z*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp.vii-x.

Hubbard, P. (1997) 'Red-light districts and Toleration Zones: geographies of female street prostitution in England and Wales', *Area*, Vol.29, No.2, pp.129-140.

Hubbard, P. (1998) 'Sexuality, Immorality and the City: red-light districts and the marginalisation of female street prostitutes', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.5, No.1, pp.55-72.

Humm, M. (1989) 'Women's Studies: pedagogy and dialogy, experts in experience', unpublished paper delivered at the Higher Education of Teachers of English conference, Birkbeck College, April.

Humphreys, L. (1970) *Tearoom trade: Impersonal sex in public places*, Chicago: Aldine.

Humphreys, L. (1971) 'Impersonal Sex and Perceived Satisfaction', in J. M. Henslin *Studies in the Sociology of Sex*, New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, pp.351-374.

Hunt, J. (1984) 'The Development of Rapport through the Negotiation of Gender in Field Work among Police', *Human Organization*, Vol.43, No.4, pp.283-296.

Huyssens, A. (1984) 'Mapping the Post-Modern', *New German Critique*, Vol.33, pp.5-52

Independent, July 1998, 'Baroness Young's Moral Majority', 23rd, p.8

Ingram, G. B., Bouthillette, A. M., and Retter, Y. (eds.) (1997) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press.

Ingram, G. B. (1997a) 'Marginality and the Landscapes of Erotic Alien(n)ations', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.27-52.

Ingram, G. B. (1997b) '"Open" Space as Strategic Queer Sites', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.95-125.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Vintage.

Jackson, P. (1989) 'Gender and Sexuality', in *Maps of Meaning*, London: Unwin Hyman, pp.104-131.

Jameson, F. (1984) 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, Vol.146, pp.53-92.

Jeffery-Poulter, S. (1991) *Peers, Queers and Commons: The Struggle for Gay Law reform from 1950 to the Present*, London: Routledge.

Jenkins, R. (1987) 'Doing Research on Discrimination: Problems of Method, Interpretation and Ethics', in G. C. Wenger (ed.) *The Research Relationship*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Jivani, A. (1996) *It's Not Unusual: A history of lesbian and gay Britain in the Twentieth century*, London: Michael O'Mara.

Johnston, L. and Valentine, G. (1995) 'Wherever I Lay My Girlfriend, That's My Home: The performance and surveillance of lesbian identities in domestic environments', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, 99-113.

Johnston, L. (1996) 'Flexing Femininity: female body-builders refiguring "the body"', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.327-340.

Kant, I. (1902) *The Critique of Pure Reason*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd.

Katz, C. (1994) 'Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.46, No.1, pp.67-72.

Katz, C. and Monk, J. (eds.) (1994) *Full Circles: Geographies of Women Over the Life Course*, London: Routledge.

Katz, J. N. (1983) *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, New York: Harper and Row.

Kelly, P., Pebody, R. and Scott, P. (1996) *A Survey of London Gay Men's Migration and Mobility*, Gay Men Fighting AIDS Ltd.

Kennedy, E. L. and Davis, M. D. (1997) '"I Could Hardly Wait to Get Back to that Bar": Lesbian Bar Culture in Buffalo in the 1930s and 1940s', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.27-72.

Kennedy-Bergen, R. (1992) 'Interviewing survivors of marital rape: doing feminist research on sensitive topics', in C. M. Renzetti and R. M. Lee 9eds.) *Researching Sensitive Topics*, Newbury Parl, California: Sage.

Killlick, A. P. (1995) 'The Penetrating Intellect: On being white, straight, and male in Korea', in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge, pp.76-106.

Kinsey, A., Pomeroy, W. and Martin, C. (1948) *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.

Kinsey, A., Pomeroy, W., Martin, C. and Gebhard, P. (1953) *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders.

Kippax, S. Noble, J. Prestage, G., Crawford, J.M, Campbell, D. Baxters, D. and Cooper, D. (1997) 'Sexual Negotiations in the AIDS era: Negotiated safety revisited', *AIDS*, Vol.11, No.2, pp.191-197.

Kirby, A. (1996) 'Straight Talk on the PomoHomo Question', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.89-95.

Kirby, K. M. (1996) 'Re: Mapping Subjectivity: Cartographic vision and the limits of politics', in N. Duncan (ed.) *Body Space: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.45-55.

Kirby, S. and Hay, I. (1997) '(Hetero)sexing Space: Gay Men and "Straight" Space in Adelaide, South Australia', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.49, No.3, pp.295-305.

Klandermans, B. (1990) 'Linking the "Old" and the "New": Movement Networks in the Netherlands', in R. J. Dalton and M. Keuchler, *Challenging the Political Order: New Social Movements and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, Polity Press: Cambridge, pp.122-136.

Knight, D. (1997) *Barthes and Atopia: Space, Travel and Writing*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Knopp, L. (1987) 'Social theory, social movements and public policy: recent accomplishments of the gay and lesbian movements in Minneapolis, Minnesota', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.11, pp.243-261.

Knopp, L. (1990a) 'Some theoretical implications of gay involvement in an urban land market', *Political Geography Quarterly*, Vol.9, pp.337-352.

Knopp, L. (1990b) 'Exploiting the rent-gap: the theoretical significance of using illegal appraisal schemes to encourage gentrification in New Orleans', *Urban Geography*, Vol.11, pp.48-64.

Knopp, L. (1990c) 'Social Consequences of Homosexuality', *Geographical Magazine*, May, pp.20-25.

Knopp, L. (1992) 'Sexuality and the spatial dynamics of capitalism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.10, pp.651-669.

Knopp, L. (1994) 'Social Justice, *Sexuality*, and the City', in *Urban Geography*, Vol. 15, No. 7, pp.644-660.

Knopp, L. (1995a) 'Sexuality and Urban Space: A framework for analysis', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.149-161.

Knopp, L. (1995b) 'If You're Going To Get All Hyped Up You'd Better Go *Somewhere!*', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.85-88.

Knopp, L. (1997a) 'Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans: A Case Study', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.45-63.

Knopp, L. (1997b) 'Rings, circles and prevented justice: gay judges and moral panic in contemporary Scotland', in S. Pile and M. Keith (eds.) *Geographies of Resistance*, London: Routledge.

Knox, P. (1990) *Urban Social Geography: an Introduction*, Longman: London. (2nd. Edition).

Kobayashi, A. (1994) 'Colouring the Field: Gender, "Race", and the Politics of Fieldwork', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.46, No.1, pp.73-80.

Kramer, J. L. (1995) 'Bachelor Farmers and Spinsters: Gay and lesbian identities and communities in rural South Dakota', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.200-213.

Kulick, D. and Willson, M. (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge.

Kulick, A. P. (1995) 'The sexual life of anthropologists: erotic subjectivity and ethnographic work', in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge, pp.1-28.

Laclau, E. (1997) 'On the names of God', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.253-26.

Larsen, N. E. (1992) 'The politics of prostitution control: interest group politics in four Canadian cities', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.16, No.2, pp.169-189.

Lauria, M. and Knopp, L. (1985) 'Toward an analysis of the role of gay communities in the urban renaissance', *Urban Geography*, Vol.6, pp.152-169.

Laws, G. (1994) 'Oppression, knowledge and the built environment', *Political Geography*, Vol.13, No.1, pp.7-32.

Lee, R. M. (1993) *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics*, London: Sage.

Lefebvre, H. (1991a) *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1991b) *Critique of Everyday Life*, London: Verso.

Levine, M. (1979) 'Gay Ghetto', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.4, pp. 363-377.

Lewis, C. and Pile, S. (1996) 'Woman, Body, Space: Rio Carnival and the politics of performance', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.3, No.1, pp.23-41.

Lewis, M. (1994) 'A Sociological Pubcrawl Around Gay Newcastle', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.85-100.

Leznoff, M. and Westley, W. (1956) 'The Homosexual Community', *Social Problems*, Vol. 3, (April), pp.257-263.

van Lieshout, M. (1997) 'Leather Nights in the Woods: Locating Male Homosexuality and Sadomasochism in a Dutch Highway Rest Area', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.339-355.

Little, J., Peake, L. and Richardson, P. (eds.) (1988) *Women in Cities*, London: Macmillan.

Lloyd, G. (1984) *The Man of Reason: 'Male' and 'Female' in Western Philosophy*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Longhurst, R. (1995) 'The Body and Geography', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.97-105.

Lukáks, G. (1971) *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press.

Lynch, F. (1987) 'Non-ghetto gays: A sociological study of suburban homosexuals', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.13, No.4, pp.13-42.

Lyod, B. and Rowntree, L. (1978) 'Radical feminists and gay men in San Francisco: Social space in dispersed communities', in, D. Lanegran and R. Palm (eds.) *An Invitation to Geography*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

McCrossan, L. (1991) *A Handbook for Interviewers*, London: HMSO.

McDowell, L. (1990) 'Sex and Power in Academia', *Area*, Vol.22, No.4, pp.323-332.

McDowell, L. (1992a) 'Multiple Voices: Speaking from inside and outside 'the project'', *Antipode*, Vol.24, No.1, pp.56-72.

McDowell, L. (1992b) 'Doing Gender: Feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*, Vol.17, pp.399-416.

McDowell, L. (1992c) 'Valid Games? A Response to Erica Schoenberger', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.44, No.2, pp.212-215.

McDowell, L. (1995) 'Body Work: Heterosexual gender performances in city workplaces', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.75-95.

McDowell, L. (1996) 'Spatializing Feminism: Geographic Perspectives', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.28-44.

McDowell, L. and Court, G. (1994) 'Missing subjects: Gender, power and sexuality in merchant banking', *Economic Geography*, Vol.70, pp.229-251.

McNee, B. (1984) 'If you are squeamish ...', *East Lakes Geographer*, Vol.19, pp.16-27.

Malinowski, B. (1932) *The Sexual Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Manning-Saunders, R. (1951) *Seaside England*, B. T. Batsford Ltd.

Marcus, G. E. and Fisher, M. M. J. (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An experimental moment in the human sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marcuse, H. (1969) *Eros and Civilisation*, London: Sphere.

Mason, A. and Palmer, A. (1998) *The Case for Equality: Arguments for an equal age of consent*, London: Stonewall.

Massey, D. (1984) *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*, London: Macmillan.

Massey, D. (1991) 'The political place of locality studies', *Environment and Planning A*, Vol.23, pp.267-281.

Massey, D. (1994a) 'A Global Sense of Place' in D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.146-156.

Massey, D. (1994b) 'Double Articulation: A Place in the World', in A. Bammer (ed.), *Displacements: Cultural Studies on Question*, Indiana University Press, pp.110-121.

Massey, D. (1996a) 'Masculinity, Dualisms and High Technology', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routhledge, pp.109-126.

Massey, D. (1996b) 'The Spaces of Community', in N. Papastergiadis (ed.) *Imagined Communities*, Institute of International Visual Arts: London, pp.30-36.

Massey, D. (1997) 'Spatial disruptions', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness'*, London: Routledge, pp.217-225.

Matthaei, J, (1997) 'The Sexual Division of Labour, Sexuality and Lesbian/Gay Liberation: Toward a Marxist-Feminist Analysis of Sexuality in U.S. Capitalism', in Gluckman, A. and Reed, B. (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, New York: Routledge, pp.135-194.

Mead, M. (1949) *Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World*, London: Victor Gollancz.

Mercer, K. (1993) 'Looking for Trouble', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale, and D. M. Halperin (eds.) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge: pp.350-359.

Merrifield, A . (1993) 'Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*, Vol.18, pp.516-531.

Meyorwitz, J. (1990) 'Sexual geography and gender economy: The furnished room districts of Chicago, 1890-1930', *Gender and History*. Vol.2, pp.274-296.

Mileski, M. and Black, D. J. (1972) 'The Social Organization of Homosexuality', *Urban Life and Culture*, Vol.1, pp.187-202.

Miller, D. A. (1993), 'Sontag's Urbanity', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale, and D. M. Halperin (eds.) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge: pp.212-220.

Miller, N. K. (1986) 'Changing the subject: authorship, writing and the reader', in T. de Lauretis (ed.) *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, London: Macmillan, pp.102-120.

Miller, N. K. (1990) 'The text's heroine: a feminist critic and her fictions', in M. Hirsch and E. Fox Keller (eds.) *Conflicts in Feminism*, London: Routledge, pp.112-120.

Misra, B. and Preston, J. J. (1978) 'Introduction', in B. Misra and J. J. Preston (eds.) *Community, Self and Identity*, Morton Publishers.

Moran, L. J. (1993) 'Buggery and the tradition of the law', *New Formations*, Vol.19, pp.110-124.

Moran, L. (1996) *The Homosexual(ity) of Law*, Routledge: London.

Moreno, E. (1995) 'Rape in the field: Reflections from a survivor', in D. Kulick and M. Willson (eds.) *Taboo, Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork*, London: Routledge, pp.219-250.

Morris, M. (1992) 'Great Moments in Social Climbing: King Kong and the Human Fly', in B. Colomina (ed.) *Sexuality and Space*, New York: Princeton University Press, pp.1-51.

Morris, M., Zavisca, J. and Dean, L. (1995) 'Social and Sexual Networks – Their Role in the Spread of HIV/AIDS Among Young Gay Men, *AIDS Education and Prevention*, Vol.7, No.5, pp.24-35.

Mort, F. (1987) *Dangerous Sexualities: medico-moral panics in England since 1830*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Mort, F. (1996) *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain*, London: Routledge.

Morton-Williams, J. (1993) *Interviewer Approaches*, Dartmouth: Dartmouth Publishing Company Limited.

Moyer, C. and Dyke Action Machine! (1997) 'Do You Love the Dyke in Your Face?', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.439-446.

Murray, A. (1995) 'Femme on the Streets, Butch in the Sheets (a play on whores)', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.66-73.

Murray, A. and Robinson, T. (1996) 'Minding Your Peers and Queers: female sex workers in the AIDS discourse in Australia and South-east Asia', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.3, No.1, pp.43-59.

Myslik, W. D. (1996) 'Renegotiating the Social/Sexual Identities of Places: Gay communities as safe havens or sites of resistance?', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.156-169.

Namaste, K. (1996) 'Genderbashing: sexuality, gender, and the regulation of public space', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.14, pp.221-240.

Nancy, J-L. (1997) 'The birth of breasts', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.137-14.

Nash, C. (1996) 'Reclaiming Vision: looking at landscape and the body', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.3, No.2, pp.149-169.

Nast, H. (1994) 'Women in the Field: Critical Feminist Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.46, No.1, pp.54-66.

National AIDS Bulletin (1993) *Gay Men in Rural Areas*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Australia Post Publication.

New Statesman and Society (1988) 'Gay Bashing in the Lanes of Brighton', September 23rd, p.6

Newton, E. (1993) *Cherry Grove, Fire Island*, Seattle: Bay Press.

Newton, E. (1997) 'The "Fun Gay Ladies": Lesbians in Cherry Grove, 1936-1960', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.145-164.

Nobbs, M. (1994) 'Queer and Welsh: double the trouble, *Rouge*, No.16, pp.22-23.

O'Byrne, D. (1996) 'Working Class Culture: Local Community and Global Conditions', in J. Eade (ed.) *Living in the Global City: Globalization as Local Process*, Routledge: London, pp.73-89.

Odets, W. (1996) *In the Shadow of the Epidemic: Being HIV Negative in the Age of AIDS*: Cassell: London.

Ogborn, M. (1992) 'Love-state-ego: 'centres' and 'margins' in nineteenth century Britain', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.10, pp.287-305.

Ogborn, M. and Philo, C. (1994) 'Soldiers, sailors and moral locations in nineteenth century Portsmouth', *Area*, Vol.27, pp.215-231.

Ormrod, R. and Cole, D. (1996) 'Tolerance and Rejection: The Vote on Colorado's Amendment Two', *Professional Geographer*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp.14-27.

Palmer, A. (1993) *Less Equal than Others: A Survey of Lesbians and Gay Men at Work*, London: Stonewall.

Pagdug, R. (1979) 'Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History', *Radical History Review*, Vol.20, pp.3-23.

Park, R. and Burgess, E. (1925) *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Parry, N., Moyser, G., and Wagstaffe, M. (1987) 'The Crowd and the Community', in G. Gaskell and R. Benewick (eds.), *The Crowd in Contemporary Britain*, Sage: London, pp.212-254.

Patton, C. (1985) *Sex and Germs*, Boston: South End Press.

Patton, C. (1990) *Inventing AIDS*, New York: Routledge.

Peake, L. (1993) 'Race and Sexuality: Challenging the patriarchal structuring of urban social space', *Environment and Planning D: Sexuality and Space*, Vol.11, pp.415-432.

Pimlott, J. A. R. (1976) *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History*. Harvester Press Limited.

Pink Paper, November 1988, 'Brighton's Darker Side', 10th, No.48, p.19

Pink Paper, February 1996, 'The Flatmates', 2nd, No.415, p.28

Pink Paper, April 1996, 'World's First Gay Internet Channel', 12th, No.425, p.2

Pink Paper, May 1996, 'Brighton's Pride', 31st, No.432, pp.1-3

Pink Paper, August 1996, 'Lighthouse boss awards himself £50k to 'retire' as 20 jobs lost', 30th, No.445, p.1

Pink Paper, October 1997, 'Letters', p.8

Pink Paper, January 1998, 'Homes for Rent, 16th, No.515, p.13

Pink Paper, February 1998, 'Get Closer to Village Life', 27th, No.521, p.3

Plummer, K. (1981) 'Researching into Homosexualities', in K. Plummer (ed.) *The Making of the Modern Homosexual*, London: Hutchinson.

Ponte, M. R. (1974) 'Life in the parking lot: an ethnography of a homosexual drive-in', in J. Jacobs (ed.) *Deviance: Field Studies and self-disclosures*, Palo Alto: National.

Portelli, A. (1981) 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *Historical Workshop Journal*, Vol.12, pp.96-107.

Preston, H. (1928) *Memories*, Constable and Co. Ltd: London.

Probyn, E. (1992) *Sexing the Self: Gendering positions in cultural studies*, London: Routledge.

Probyn, E. (1995) 'Lesbians in Space. Gender, Sex and the Structure of Missing', *Gender, Space and Culture*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.77-84.

Probyn, E. (1996) *Outside Belongings*, New York: Routledge.

Queenspark Books. (1983) *Brighton on the Rocks: Monetarism and the Local State*. Queenspark Books: Brighton.

Quilley, S. (1995) 'Manchester's "Village in the City": The Gay Vernacular in a Post-industrial Landscape of Power', *Transgressions: A Journal of Urban Exploration*, Vol.1, pp.36-50.

Quilley, S. (1997) 'Constructing Manchester's "New Urban Village": Gay Space in the Entrepreneurial City', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.275-292.

Read, K. E. (1980) *Other Voices: The Style of a Male Homosexual Tavern*, California: Chandler and Sharp.

Rechy, J. (1977) *The Sexual Outlaw: A Documentary*, New York: Grove Press.

Rees, A. D. (1950) *Life in a Welsh Countryside*, University of Wales Press.

Reich, W. (1951) *The Sexual Revolution*, London: Vision Press.

Reiss, A. J. (1967) 'The Social Integration of Peers and Queers', in J. Gagnon and W. Simon (eds.) *Sexuality Deviance*, New York: Harper and Row, pp.197-228

Rendell, M. (1993) *Results of the Initial Survey to Gather Information on Where Local Gay Men and Bisexual Men Socialise and Meet Other Gay Men*, North Hants Gay Men's Health Initiative.

Ricco, J. P. (1993) 'Jacking off a minor architecture', *Steam*, Vol.1, No.4, pp.236-243.

Rich, A. (1980) 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience', *Signs*, Vol.5, No.4.

Richardson, D. (1998) 'Sexuality and Citizenship', *Sociology*, Vol.32, No.1, pp.83-100.

Richmond, L. and Noguera, G. (eds.) (1972) *The Gay Liberation Book*, San Francisco: Ramparts Press.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, Cambridge: Polity.

Rose, G. (1996) 'As if the Mirrors had Bled: Masculine dwelling, masculine theory and femininst masquerade', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.56-74.

Rothenberg, T. (1995) '"And She told two friends": Lesbians creating urban social space', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.165-181.

Rubin, G. (1993) 'Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale, and D. M. Halperin (eds.) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge: pp.3-44.

Rumaker, M. (1978) *A Day and a Night at the Baths*, California: Grey Fox Press.

Russell, R. (1752) *Dissertation on the Use of Sea-Water for the Cure of Diseases of the Glands*, Oxford.

Said, E. (1979) *Orientalism*, New York: Rondom House.

Sanchez-Crispin, A. and Lopez-Lopez, A. (1997) 'Gay Male Places of Mexico City', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.197-212.

Sayer, A. (1989) 'Dualistic thinking and rhetoric in geography', *Area*, Vol.21, pp.301-305.

Sayer, A. (1992) *Method in Social Science: A Realist Approach,*, London: Routledge.

Schoenberger, E. (1992) 'Self-Criticism and Self-Awareness in Research: A Reply to Linda McDowell', *Professional Geographer*, Vol.44, No.2, pp.215-218.

Scott, P. (1998) *The Zorro Report, http://www.racoon.dircon.co.uk/zorro/zorro.html*

Sedgwick, E. K. (1991) *Epistemology of the Closet*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sedgwick, E. K. (1994) *Tendencies*, New York: Routledge.

Sharp, J. (1996) 'Gendering Nationhood: A feminist engagement with national identity', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.97-108.

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: alternative geographies of modernity*. Routledge: London.

Skelton, T. (1995) '"Boom, Bye, Bye": Jamaican ragga and gay resistance', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.264-283.

Simpson, M. (1996) 'Preface', in M. Simpson (ed.) *Anti-Gay*, King's Lynn: Biddles Ltd., pp.xi-xix.

Singer, E., Frankel, M. R. and Glasman, M. B. (1983) 'The Effects of interviewer characteristics and expectations on response', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol.47, No.1, pp.68-83.

Singer, M. (1992) 'AIDS and US Ethnic Minorities: The Crisis and Alternative Anthropological Responses', *Human Organization*, Vol.51, No.1, pp.89-95.

Sommella, L. (1997) 'This is about People Dying: The Tactics of Early ACT UP and Lesbian Avengers in New York City', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.407-437.

Sontag, S. (1979) 'Notes on "Camp"', in *Against Interpretation*, New York: Delta.

Sontag, S. (1989) *AIDS and its Metaphors*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Smith, N. (1987) 'Dangers of the empirical turn: some comments on the CURS initiative', *Antipode*, Vol.19, pp.59-68.

Sparke, M. (1996) 'Displacing the Field in Fieldwork: Masculinity, metaphor and space', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.212-233.

Speak Out Report, 1996

Spencer, S. (1995) *Homosexuality: a history*, London: Fourth Estate.

Spivak, G. C. (1988) 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, London: Macmillan, pp.271-313.

Spivak, G. C. and Guha, R. (eds.) (1988) *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stacey, M. (1960) *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury*, Oxford University Press.

Staeheli, L. A. and Lawson, V. A. (1994) 'A discussion of "women in the field": the politics of feminist fieldwork', *The Professional Geographer*, Vol.46, No.1, pp.96-102.

The Standard, August 1988, 'Why Suspicion Stalks Brighton's Pink Zone', 19th, p.10

Stein, M. (1997) '"Birthplace of the Nation": Imagining Lesbian and Gay Communities in Philadelphia, 1969-1970', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.253-288.

Stokes, H. G. (1947) *The Very First History of The English Seaside*, Sylvan Press.

Styles, J. (1979) 'Insider/outsider: Researching gay baths', *Urban Life*, Vol.8, pp.135-152.

Sullivan, A. (1996) *Virtually Normal: An Argument about Homosexuality*, London: Picador.

Sussex Beacon Website, 1998, http://www.pavilion.co.uk/beacon/frames/home.html

Sussex GLF Newsletter, July 1973

Sussex GLF Newsletter, November 1973

Tarrow, S. (1989) *Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy 1965-1975*, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Tatchell, P. (1991) 'Equality Rights for All: Strategies for Lesbian and Gay Equality in Britain', in K. Plummer (ed.) *Modern Homosexualities: Fragments of Lesbian and Gay Experience*, London: Routledge, pp.237-247.

Tattelman, I. (1997) 'The Meaning of the Wall: Tracing Gay Bathhouses', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.391-406.

Thomas, D. J. (1986) 'The Gay Quest for Equality in San Francisco', in J. K. Boles (ed.) *The Egalitarian City: Issues of Rights, Distribution, Access and Power*, New York: Praegar, pp.27-41.

Thorpe, R. (1997) 'The Changing Face of Lesbian Bars in Detroit, 1938-1965', in B. Beemyn (ed.) *Creating A Place for Ourselves: Lesbians, gay and Bisexual Histories*, New York: Routledge, pp.165-181.

Thrasher, F. (1927) *The Gang*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Tönnies, F. (1887/1955) *Community and Association*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.

Tönnies, F. (1926/1974) 'The Concept of *Gemeinschaft*', in F. Tönnies, *On Sociology*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, pp.62-72.

Troiden, R. R. (1974) 'Homosexual Encounters in a Highway Rest Stop', in E. Goode and R. R. Troiden (eds.) *Sexual Deviance and Sexual Deviants*, New York: William Morrow, pp.211-228.

Trumbach, R. (1977) 'London Sodomites: Homosexual Behaviour and Western Culture in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 11.

Valentine, G. (1989) 'The geography of women's fear', *Area*, Vol. 21, No.4, pp.385-390.

Valentine, G. (1993a) '(Hetero)sexing space: Lesbians perceptions and experiences of everyday spaces', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol.11, pp.395-413.

Valentine, G. (1993b) 'Negotiating and managing multiple sexual identities: Lesbian time-space strategies', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*, NS 18, pp.237-248.

Valentine, G. (1993c) 'Desperately seeking Susan: A geography of lesbian friendships', *Area*, Vol.25, pp.106-116.

Valentine, G. (1995a) 'Out and About: geographies of lesbian landscapes', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol.19, pp.96-111.

Valentine, G. (1995b) 'Creating transgressive space: the music of kd lang', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geography*, NS 20, 474-485.

Valentine, G. (1996) '(Re)negotiating the "Heterosexual Street": Lesbian productions of space', in N. Duncan (ed.) *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, New York: Routledge, pp.146-155.

Vazquez, C. (1992) 'Appearances', in W. J. Blumenfeld (ed.) *Homophobia: How We All Pay the Price*, Boston: Beacon, pp.157-166.

Virtually Gay Brighton Website, 1998, http://www.brighton.co.uk/gay/main.htm

Walker, L. (1995) 'More the just Skin-deep: fem(me)ininity and the subversion of identity', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol.2, No.1, pp.71-76.

Walton, J. K. (1983) *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History. 1750-1914*, University of Leicester Press: Leicester.

Warner, M. (1993) 'Introduction', in M. Warner (ed.) *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Wastie (1998) *http://www.pavilion.co.uk/beacon/frames/home.html*

Watts, I. (1993) 'Rural and Urban People Working Together', *National AIDS Bulletin*, Vol.7, No.3, pp.22-24.

Waugh, E. (1974) *Handful of Dust*, Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Weeks, J. (1977) *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*, London, Quartet.

Weeks, J. (1985) *Sexuality and its Discontents: Myths, Meanings and Modern Sexualities*, London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.

Weeks, J. (1986) *Sexuality*, Ellis Horwood and Tavistock: Chichester.

Weeks, J. (1989) *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, Longman: London (Revised edition).

Weeks, J. (1991) *Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity*, London: Rivers Oram Press.

Weeks, J. (1996) 'The Idea of a Sexual Community', *Soundings*, Vol.1, No.2, pp.81-84.

Weeks, J. (1997) 'The delicate webs of subversion, community, friendship and love', in S. Golding (ed.) *The Eight Technologies of Otherness*, New York: Routledge, pp.320-333.

Weeks, J. (1998) 'The Sexual Citizen', *Theory, Culture and Society*, V115, No.3-4, pp.35-54.

Weeks, J. and Holland, J. (1996) 'Introduction', in J. Weeks and J. Holland (eds.) *Sexual Cultures: Communities, Values and Intimacy*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.1-16.

Weightman, B. (1980) 'Gay bars as private places', *Landscape*, Vol.23, pp.9-16.

Weightman, B. (1981) 'Commentary: Towards a geography of the gay community', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, Vol.1: pp.106-112.

Weinberger, L. E. and Millham, J. (1979) 'Attitudinal Homophobia and Support of Traditional Sex Roles', *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol.4, No.3, pp237-245.

Weinberg, M. S. and Williams, C. J. (1975) 'Gay Baths and the Social Organization of Impersonal Sex', *Social Problems*, Vol.23, No.2, pp.124-136.

Westlund, J. (1993) 'Too Bloody Busy Slashing the Weeds', National AIDS Bulletin, *Gay Men in Rural Areas*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp.11-13.

Weston, K. (1995) 'Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration', *GLQ*, Vol. 2, pp.253-277.

Weston, K. and Rofel, L. B. (1997) 'Sexuality, Class and Conflict in a Lesbian Workplace', in A. Gluckman and B. Reed (eds.) *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, London: Routledge, pp.24-44.

Whittle, S. (ed.) (1994a) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena.

Whittle, S. (1994b) 'Consuming Differences: The Collaboration of the Gay Body with the Cultural State', in S. Whittle (ed.) *The Margins of the City: Gay Men's Urban Lives*, Aldershot: Arena, pp.27-41.

Wigley, M. (1992) 'Untitled: The housing of gender', in B. Colomina (ed.) *Sexuality and Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press.

Wildeblood, P. (1955) *Against the Law*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Williams, W. L. (1993) 'Being Gay and Doing Research on Homosexuality in North Western Cultures', *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol.30, No.2, pp.115-120.

Wilson, E. (1992) 'The Invisible Flâneur', *New Left Review*, Vol.195, pp.90-110.

Winchester, H. and White, P. (1988) 'The location of marginalised groups in the inner city', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, pp.37-54.

Wintemute, R. (1997) *Sexual Orientation and Human Rights: The United States Constitution, the European Convention and the Canadian charter*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wirth, L. (1928) *The Ghetto*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

De Witt, J. B. F., de Vroom, E. M. M., Sandford, J. G. M. and van Griensmen, G. J. P. (1997) 'Homosexual encounters in different venues', *International Journal of STDs and AIDS*, Vol.8, No.2, p.130-134.

Wittgenstein, L. (1969) *On Certainty*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Wittig, M. (1993) 'One Is Not Born a Women', in H. Abelove, M. A. Barale, and D. M. Halperin (eds.) *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge: pp.103-109.

Wolf, D. G. (1979) *The Lesbian Community*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wolfe, M. (1992) 'Invisible women in invisible places: Lesbians, lesbian bars, and the social production of people/environment relationships', *Architecture and Behaviour*, Vol.8, pp.137-158.

Wolfe, M. (1997) 'Invisible Women in Invisible Places: The Production of Social Space in Lesbian Bars', in G. B. Ingram, A. M Bouthillette, and Y. Retter (eds.) *Queers in Space: Communities / Public Places / Sites of Resistance*, Seattle: Bay Press, pp.301-324.

Woodhead, D. (1995) '"Surveillant Gays": HIV, space and the constitution of identities', in D. Bell and G. Valentine (eds.) *Mapping Desire*, London: Routledge, pp.231-244.

Woods, C. (1995) *State of the Queer Nation*, London: Cassell.

Worthing Guardian, October 1997, 'Close These Loos', No.720, 23rd, p.1

Wright, D. (1997a) 'Sexuality and Space: An analysis of the changing senses and scales of the gay community in Brighton', paper presented the Institute of British Geography Conference, University of Exeter, January 9th.

Wright, D. (1997b) 'Geographies of Sexuality: Theorising gay Space as an Urban Phenomenon', paper presented to the Non-Metropolitan Sexualities: Sexuality, Textuality and Space Conference, University of Wales Aberystwyth, July 13th.

Yinger, J. M. (1982) *Countercultures.*

Young, I. M. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (1995) 'The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference', in P. A. Weiss and M. Friedman (eds.) *Feminism and Community*, Temple University Press: Philadelphia, Routledge: London, pp.233-257.

Young, M. and Wilmott, P. (1957) *Family and Kinship in East London*, Routledge and Keegan Paul: London.

Zorbaugh, H. (1929) *The Gold Coast and the Slum.* University of Chicago Press: Chicago.