

Behaving Outrageously: Contemporary Gay Masculinity

Clive Moore

Historians readily acknowledge that settlers in Australia carried ‘cultural baggage’ with them, which was unpacked and altered to suit the necessities of life in the antipodes. Historians have given less thought to forms of sexuality packed away in the immigrants’ ‘cultural bags’ and to the social construction of sexuality which has occurred as Australian society evolved over two centuries. ‘We are increasingly aware’, writes Jeffrey Weeks, ‘theoretically, historically, even politically, that “sexuality” is about flux and change, that what we so readily deem as “sexual” is as much a product of language and culture as of “nature”’.¹ Studies of Australian sexuality and gender have taken cognisance of the socially constructed nature of sexuality, but most have concentrated on women, restoring a sense of their history, in the process exploring the patriarchal nature of our society. Within most studies heterosexuality is assumed almost unthinkingly as the norm for females and males.

Male-to-male sexual desire and its role in wider dynamics of power is seldom addressed as a central issue. When it is, the analysis is usually concerned with contemporary gay masculinity, often depicted as a post-Stonewall 1970’s creation with no historical depth. This article deals with contemporary gay self-imaging as depicted in the gay media, but also attempts to establish links and continuities with earlier expressions of male-to-male sexual desire.

Australian contemporary gay masculinity and identity may have matured in the 1970s but it was born out of same-sex desires that found expression in European urban society onwards from the eighteenth century. Transported to the colonies in the convict era, bolstered by the overwhelming maleness of frontier society, male same-sex desire found fertile ground in which to develop.² A national male ethos based on rural life and mateship became a dominant cultural theme by the second half of the nineteenth century, leaving the boundaries very unclear between mateship, homosocial and homosexual behaviour.³

There are indications from as early as the 1830s in Sydney that a small urban homosexual subculture was beginning to emerge. A clearly observable urban subculture with dress codes and appropriation of public space was well established by the 1890s and 1900s at least in Sydney, Melbourne and to a lesser extent, Brisbane.⁴ Large cities, although segregated by class and ethnicity, allowed anonymity and enabled communities of like-minded peoples to fraternise.⁵ With the advent of the consumer society and separation of work and home came an eroticisation of the public domain. Sex became separated from reproduction; it became an amusement, part of personal erotic leisure.

Gender-inversion seems to have been at the base of this early gay identity, at last in part based on the legitimisation provided by psychiatric and medical notions of sexual perversion and gender inversion. Camp men adopted women’s names as gay identifiers and lesbians had a contrasting ‘butch’ identity. A cautious urban gay and lesbian subculture was certainly alive and well by the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s,⁶

bolstered by the upheavals of the Second World War and the arrival of one million Americans who spread their favours widely⁷: the term 'cock sucker' entered the Australian vocabulary at this time through the preferences of the American armed forces. After the war new patterns of migration diversified Australia's largely Anglo-Celtic society; and women remained in the workforce, allowing them more financial independence. Pre-war societal strictures were never successfully re-established. But perhaps as late as the 1950s and 1960s, the typical identifiable homosexual male type remained 'feminised': sexual relations were between 'normal' (non-effeminate) men who saw themselves as quasi-heterosexual, the 'real male' in the relationship, and effeminate passive 'camp' men. Transition from homosexual identity based on gender-inversion to identity based on same-sex attraction seems to have begun by the 1940s, although gender-inversion remains institutionalised in 1990s gay venues in the form of ubiquitous drag shows. Regardless of this residual anomaly, since the 1970s there has been a marked shift away from the old stereotype towards a 'masculine' one, weakening the link between male homosexuality and female gender.

The contemporary gay and lesbian community is only two decades old, politicised by the liberation movements onwards from the 1970s.⁸ As Robert Padgug suggests:

the emergence of a gay movement (like that of the women's movement) has meant major alterations in homosexual and heterosexual realities and self-perceptions. Indeed, it is abundantly clear that there has always existed in the modern world a dialectical interplay between those social categories and activities which ascribe to certain people a homosexual identity and the activities of those who are so categorised. The result is the complex constitution of 'the homosexual' as a social being within bourgeois society. The same is, of course, true of 'the heterosexual,' although the process and details vary.⁹

The contemporary gay and lesbian community includes older forms of homosexual identity now reshaped by a fuller understanding of the fluidity of gender and sexuality, which encompasses bisexual and transgender individuals, as well as by both their usurpation and society's acceptance and allocation of social space for a 'gay world'. What began as a subculture has now become part of popular culture, courted by commercial culture using advertising aimed at the gay market.¹⁰ As Dennis Altman points out, the tolerance for others inherent in acceptance of multiculturalism has led to new acceptance of the gay male and lesbian communities.¹¹ Running against this acceptance is a continuing tradition of homophobia and legal and medical codes which were strongly anti-homosexual into the 1970s. Male homosexuality was decriminalised in various jurisdictions, 1972-1997.

Building on a string of television documentaries since the early 1980s, the 1994-97 annual televising of the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras has planted contemporary gay imaging firmly in the consciousness of the nation. Watched annually by a crowd of hundreds of thousands and viewed on television a day later by millions, the Mardi Gras parade vamping its way through central Sydney has become the nation's public image of gay masculinity. Ornate themed floats, outrageous solo drag queens, dykes on bikes, and scantily costumed super-fit men and women dance and gyrate along the roads, celebrating their sexuality. Understanding and care for Australians with HIV/AIDS has become an integral part of the public message of the parade; but so too is the rights of the gay male and

lesbian communities to public space. Some flaunt perceived differences between the gay and straight community; others more gently show pride in acknowledging diversity in Australian concepts of gender and sexuality.

Sydney's Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras, born out of political protest in 1978, now draws visitors and floats from all over Australia and the world.¹² The parade is a culmination of a month of artistic and cultural festivities. At its end the mums, dads and families among those who line the barricaded roads for the spectator sport go back to the suburbs titillated by the experience, but thinking no more of it than other epic events celebrating Australian popular culture. Groups of drunken males among the straight spectators turn nasty when no longer mesmerised by the spectacle, their sexuality affronted. But tens of thousands of the spectators, gay and straight, continue on to the big dance party in the nearby Showgrounds and other party venues, public and private. The Mardi Gras has become a focus for the Australian gay community: for many living in the inner city gay ghettos it is the annual culmination of their life cycle and core of their identity; but other men and women who choose same-sex partners slip away, back to suburbia and anonymity. They are happy to be momentarily part of the gay subculture, not wishing, for a variety of reasons, perhaps because they consider themselves bisexual, to be totally gay-identified. Yet others, who enjoy the spectacle, would never admit to homosexual experiences let alone to gay identity, although somewhere in their lives, occasionally or regularly, they have physically expressed their homosexual desires.

The public Mardi Gras image belies the vast differences between men who desire men: they have gay identities far more diverse than those presented in the parade. There was a time not so long ago, certainly up to the 1970s, when the standard gender-inversion image of the Australian homosexual male was the pansy, queen or fairy; and there still remains a perception in the wider community that homosexually identified men are effeminate, deviants from a heterosexual masculine norm. They were imaged as limp-wristed fags, poofters, flouncing about in semi-feminine attire. Yet the major male imagery from the 1990s Mardi Gras, gay magazines and venues is rampant masculinity: gym-trained taunt muscles and an unrestrained maleness. A century removed from the image of the legendary Australian bushman, the egalitarian male national image fostered at the end of last century, which included close friendships between males said to have sublimated same-sex desires, the modern gay image places similar stress on physical fitness and male friendships. The difference is that they do not sublimate their desires to be sexually active and in love with their mates; instead they flaunt these desires.

Gay Personal Advertisements

If the public face of contemporary gay masculinity reveals itself at the Sydney Mardi Gras, its recent private visage is the burgeoning classified columns in the gay and straight media. *Campaign* and *Outrage*, the two leading gay magazines carry several thousand advertisements each year from gay-identified men seeking other men. Major gay newspapers such as the *Sydney* and *Melbourne Star Observer*, and *Capital Q*, Brisbane's *Queensland Pride*, Brisbane and Melbourne's *Brother/Sister*, and other regional gay papers such as *Westside Observer* also carry several

hundred personal advertisements each month. More recently 0055-telephone personal advertisements have also become a profitable business, advertised in the gay and mainstream press. Telephone classified advertisement provide quick sexual gratification as do World Wide Web sites such as PinkBoard, enabling quick personal communication for the computer-literate. The gay advertisers in all media are extremely varied, an indication of the multi-faceted nature of gay-identified males in the community.

Any analysis of them needs certain caveats attached. The advertisements display a mismatch between self-perception and reality. They portray a world where every one is handsome and masculine, often younger than their biological age, seldom overweight or balding, and always trying to put the best most attractive picture of themselves forward. There is repetition of advertisements, month by month in the same publication, even occasional duplication in the same issue, sometimes easily recognisable as the same advertiser with perhaps minor variations in wording. The same advertisements often appear in both *Campaign*, *Outrage* and regional gay newspapers. *Campaign*, now in its twenty-second year, and *Outrage*, which began in 1983, have different sales markets: *Campaign* reaches more Sydney readers, while *Outrage* has a Melbourne bias. All of this makes any rigorous statistical analysis of the gay personal advertisements difficult, but still does not invalidate them as a source of information on contemporary gay masculinity.

Kerry Bashford, editor of *Campaign* recently challenged gay stereotypes in an editorial:

... if you're a poof, you're an effeminate, cowardly, whining, bitchy, promiscuous misogynist, as well as being creative, well dressed, affluent, articulate and pretty. If you're a dyke, you're a butch, dangerous, nagging, vicious, possessive man-hater, as well as being industrious, oddly dressed, poor, pedantic and plain ... As ludicrous and illusory as some of these characteristics might be, I could leave my desk right now and within an hour assemble a crowd of queers that bear out the above descriptions. Just as easily in fact as I could gather together a group that bears no resemblance.¹³

As Bashford says, stereotypes such as these are inaccurate and inadequate, but they do exist and have some basis in observable behaviour. The following analysis is based loosely on *Outrage* personal advertisements over the last ten years, and in particular on the advertisements carried during 1995. What are the dominant personal images projected by gay men? Do these images come close to the reality of gay life, and how much does this imaging vary from the wider public depiction of gay men held by the so-called straight world?

Over the years 1983-95 *Outrage* published approximately 32,000 male personal advertisements, averaging at 3,000 to 5,000 per year, varying from around 200 to over 500 per month in recent years. In 1995 there were more than 5,000 male-to-male classified advertisements. More than 50 per cent come from Victoria, followed by 20 per cent from New South Wales, indicating the nature of the magazine's readership not the dominance of Melbourne over Sydney, which unquestionably is Australia's gay capital. Queensland comes third with around 16 per cent of the advertisements. Residence in Sydney dominates New South Wales advertisements (80 per cent) as does Melbourne for Victoria (91 per cent). Queensland is different: 57 per cent of the advertisers live in Brisbane and 43 per cent range through the

coastal cities, an indication of the wider urban spread in the State. Advertisers from the other States and the ACT are insignificant, which may relate to sales figures but also that in other capital cities, such as Canberra and Adelaide, gay advertisements are carried in local papers. There are a small number of overseas advertisers, predominantly from Asia and the USA.

Sixty per cent of the capital city advertisements do not specify suburbs, but in the remainder of the advertisements the main gay residential areas for Melbourne are the inner-ring of older terrace house or apartment suburbs such as Prahran, Carlton, Brunswick, St Kilda and South Yarra, with a reasonable scattering in the Bayside suburbs. The inner-city pattern continues for Sydney: not unexpectedly Newtown, Surry Hills and the Northshore show up as favoured areas. Beyond the focus on gay ghettos, advertisements show a surprising diversity of locations, perhaps supporting American research which suggests that there are increasing numbers of non-ghetto gays who have followed national trends and for reasons of work or affordable housing live in outer suburbs and smaller towns. Inner city suburbs and proximity of gay venues hold an allure only for some. The modern media and technology, along with efficient transport systems, have made it possible to maintain a gay life-style while living more peripherally to the core gay areas.¹⁴

If we are to believe the advertisements, the gay male community contains an over-abundance of straight-acting handsome masculine men interested in casual hot raunchy sex. Overall the desires of the advertisers are avowedly carnal. Requests for hot sexual encounters, often explicitly specifying likes and dislikes far outweigh those for romantic friendships maturing into deep relationships. Advertisers place far greater emphasis on physical descriptions, mental images, race, fetishes, and social interests than types of work. There is constant loose use of the term 'professional' far beyond the real proportion in such occupations. There is constant repetition of emphasis on fitness, ranging from body builders looking for gym partners to footballers looking for others with the same interests. 'Swimmers bodies' are a dominant type, as are 'clean' bodies, which presumably means trim, well-muscled and healthy. Beards are totally out of fashion unless you are a 'bear looking for a cub', but moustaches are in with some.

The advertisements average out at 30-35 words (the free word limit), but vary from brief staccato notes to occasional 100-word missives. The advertisers range from policemen wanting to meet disciplined forces personnel, to pure sleaze, or Asian students wanting to meet Australian men, and the hundreds of 'Mr Averages', much like the following three who quite clearly want relationships not just casual sex:

35yo professional, good looking with firm body. Interested in the arts, fitness and outdoors. Seeks potential partner, under 40yo who is attractive, fit, genuine, happy and affectionate.¹⁵

Good looking, late 20's, 6', 82kg, short blonde hair, athletic build, career minded, witty, green eyes, olive complexion, caring and loyal. My interests are snow skiing, travel, beach, clubbing, dining, nights at home, socialising and having fun. Seeking a good looking young guy 18-30yo, st/acting, genuine and has similar interests. Able to commit as a lover and mate, with a direction in life. Photo appreciated. Write soon.¹⁶

I am r/ship material. 27yo, good looking, professional, fun, humorous and also a really nice guy. You're 25-45yo, fit, not brain dead and know what you want.¹⁷

Many of the advertisers are involved in the gay scene, stating that they like clubbing, like modern music, dining and movies, and are looking for an age-mate with similar interests.

Non-scene advertisers are also numerous, home-bodies who enjoy quiet times more than raging. Occasionally there is the hint of desperation and almost palpable frustration and hurt:

38yo Leo, chubby. Looking for non scene companion for f/ship. Not interested in r/ship yet. Have been hurt once too often. Age and physical appearance don't matter. Disabled, migrant, HIV+ all can apply. Send photo.¹⁸

There are also a good number of first-timers and those who admit their inexperience and shyness.

I am looking for a non-scene, not out guy 18-20 for f/ship. I am into computers, old cars, outdoor stuff, going to movies and having a good time.¹⁹

Few of the advertisers admit to being over 45 years old, although some must be stretching reality a little to creep in under the magical age limit. Quite noticeably the emphasis is on youth; gay men over 50 seldom advertise. Gay male sexuality is also generally expressed on a one-to-one basis, although there are occasional advertisements for a ménage à trois, and jack-off sessions.

More often than not the advertisements are extremely sexually explicit, containing references to being 'well hung' and indicating passive/active preferences. Take for example the 32 year old Melbourne tradesman, 'fit, hairy, hung, horny with days free' who was looking for men with 'big cocks' for 'occasional discreet, sleazy sessions', 'no pretenders, no strings'.²⁰ Or perhaps the 20's Wangaratta country guy equipped with blue movies who wants 'to suck dick and have hot, horny times with guys 18-25yo'.²¹ Or the Melbourne man, age unspecified who wanted 'Young cocks to pamper, any size, cut or uncut. Let me cover your tool with oils and work it up to a hard, throbbing erection and explosive orgasm! Send Hot letter'.²² Such advertisements leave little doubt of the casual erotic intentions.

Some advertisers declare their speciality interests indicating particular anatomical advantages and disadvantages. Penis size is definitely a major issue, with descriptions and preferences erring on the large size, although small penises do have their admirers. Shapely backsides are always an asset. Advertisers who admit their HIV+ status are not as numerous as could be expected in the capital city gay communities, but amongst them there is a healthy acceptance of their condition:

HIV+ good looking 26yo guy want to meet other HIV+ guys 18-36yo for f/ship as well as support plus good, clean hot times together.²³

There are a sprinkling of sadomasochists, bondage and discipline lovers who specify fairly exactly what they require. One Albury man invited like-minded men who love leather and boots to travel to 'the edge' with him,²⁴ while others promise obedience, slavery or discipline:

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Obedient young slave needs master to 40yr to complete training. All orders obeyed and accept humiliation, discipline, punishment when deserved. Respect limits, but expandable. Leather, b&d, s&m, toys, whatever you think is necessary.²⁵

Headmaster seeks naughty mature school boys over 18yo for strict discipline sessions in my office.²⁶

Bear-types, presumably large and hairy, are also scattered through the advertisements:

City bear 40yo, cuddly, affectionate, very sexual. Now waking up after long hibernation and looking for new wildlife. Wants to share nuts and so on with other animals. ALA [all letters answered]²⁷

Humour has its place occasionally, although most of the advertisers are very serious in their intent. A self-depreciatory advertiser will admit his balding head and growing paunch, or complain at the type he has attracted before:

I'm sick of getting replies from geriatric air headed bimbo's with 10m dicks. Just because I'm 35yo, companionable and seeking a monogamous r/ship with a similar dignified and charming fun loving level headed guy. Please help!²⁸

There is a large degree of similarity between many advertisements. Smart advertisers also attract attention through clever phrasing:

If you like Chinese food, I'm your dish. Seeking hungry Caucasian under 35yo to consume 23yo before expiry date. No sleaze please.²⁹

Asians seeking partners make up a surprising seven per cent of the 1995 figures, which is higher than the proportion of Asians within the wider Australian community. The number of Caucasians seeking Asians is also high, at just below four per cent. Almost all Asian or Asian-seeking advertisers come from the capital cities, and twenty-five per cent of the Asian advertisers identify themselves as of Chinese origin. Only a few Asians are looking for 'sugar daddies' or men older than themselves. The average Asian using the classifieds is in his twenties, and expressing an age preference close to his own. The average Caucasian seeking an Asian lover is in his thirties or forties and looking for a younger man. A significant number of the Asians are students, although there are also a number claiming professional status and long-term residence. There are a number looking for casual sex but most are seeking elusive monogamous relationships:

Good looking, well educated Chinese 28yo, 172cm, 55kg, str/act, gentle, inexperienced. Seeks fit, good looking, str/act 28-40yo well educated professional Aussie for support and healthy 1 to 1 f/r/ship. Interests include: Music, art, travel, sports. St/act a must. ALA³⁰

Good looking 31yo Chinese professional seeks guys same. Prefer Chinese, Caucasian or Japanese up to 45yo. First ad.³¹

Of other non-Caucasian racial and ethnic types, those of Mediterranean origin are popular, and dark-skinned men of any nationality have an established though not mainstream clientele. Generally the preference is for the standard Aussie male of British or northern European extraction: Caucasian is the term most widely used, both in making a non-Caucasian preference clear, and in attracting fellow Caucasians.

While there can be no doubt that the advertisers exaggerate their winsome natures, and the sample is skewed towards youth, clear general patterns do emerge which illustrate contemporary Australian gay masculinity. There is enormous variety in the subculture: gay venues cater for only a small minority of gay men, multiple thousands of others finding alternative ways to meet, and personal advertisements have become central to their lives.

Male homosexuality has been a constant, flourishing, activity in the margins of Australia's intensely masculine society. What can we conclude from the 5,000 male-to-male advertisements under review, and the several thousand others that are printed or made available in Australia through the electronic media each year? Certainly most of the men who use the advertisements are not the 'desperates' of the gay world, although a minority obviously are. There are many reasons to advertise. Some gay men live in geographic locations where it is not easy to meet like-minded men, or have work schedules which preclude them socialising at usual times. Others are bored with smoky noisy bars, are not interested in the public gay scene in any way, or are cautious about AIDS and other diseases. There are lots of married men interested in occasional homosexual contact, or men in gay relationships who want a bit on the side, for excitement or to satisfy some sexual desire beyond their partner's interests. Then there are those who are just coming out and want to experiment in secret, or are afraid, for work or personal reasons (such as their profession) and do not want to be seen out on the gay scene, or are socially inept because of shyness. Lastly, but not least, there are the romantics, a not inconsiderable number who want courtship before sex, or want old-fashioned romance and are not very interested in sex at all.

Certainly, Australian gay men, like their counterparts overseas,³² have taken to advertising as an alternative way of meeting, supplementing contact through bar and disco venues, saunas and back-room venues, general socialising and meetings at 'Beats' — the common name for gay-appropriated public space. Commercial venues are meccas for the young who like loud music and can put up with smoky environments; they have a reputation for socialising between friends, and one-night stands, not as a places to find a partner for a relationship. But are advertisements solely an extension of the mainstream subculture or have they extended more secretive homosexual cruising in public places into print and electronic media?

One has only to browse through gay guide books for international travellers, to confirm that public cruising is not purely an Australian phenomenon. Regardless of laws, social opprobrium or acceptance, all over the world gay males have appropriated public space for arranging and perpetrating sexual encounters in a manner not available to women: it is a dangerous adrenalin-producing game reminiscent of primitive hunting, from which women are restricted because of lack of safety for women in any public area; and presumably their lesser interest in instant physical gratification.³³ Beats were once at the core of male homosexuality in Australia, both in its pre-and post-liberation forms.

They were the major homosexual gathering places of the nineteenth century before designated commercial gay venues existed, or newspapers were risqué enough to carry personal advertisements. City Beats, such as Sydney's Hyde Park and Boomerang street close by,³⁴ Melbourne's botanic gardens, the banks of Brisbane river around the inner-city bridges, as well as parks and less salubrious sites in smaller towns, have been in use since last century. In smaller towns and in the outer suburbs of big cities local Beats are often still the only homosexual meeting places. Beats are central to the sexual web binding together both closeted and uncloseted homosexual men, and homosexually-active but non-gay-identified men, including all ages, classes and races. Beats are the communal territory of local gay society and function as a focus for local gay subcultures. Park and toilet block Beats still flourish but recent decades have seen diversification to suburban shopping centres, while automobiles have enabled easier access to isolated gay beaches.³⁵

Recent surveys of homosexually-active men show that Beat-going is still an important way to meet men.³⁶ Urban Beat habitués report that the clientele is aging: the main users are men between forty and sixty years old; and large numbers are married, satisfying sexual needs unknown to and beyond their wives' abilities to fulfil. Younger men passing too or from work might call in at a Beat. Those who attend gay venues might also call in at a Beat on a casual basis, or in frustration early in the morning after an unfulfilled night out, but they are not part of the regular clientele. A substantial number of men using the personal advertisements state that they are and prefer 'non-scene' contacts, but there does not seem to be a direct connection between the Beat subculture and newspaper advertisers. Even with the improvement in contact time between placing an advertisement and receiving a reply — in the 1990s telephone links have been established and browsing on World Wide Web sites has also cut contact times — contact is still far from instant in the way that Beats can be.

The main conclusion to be drawn from all three meeting places — commercial venues, advertisements and Beats — is impermanency and the predominance of casual gay male sexual encounters. There is an accompanying rhetoric of seeking stable relationships, and they do develop: it is easy to find examples of gay couples who have lived together for many years, anything up to several decades, in relationships which run similar courses to heterosexual marriages, but they are a minority. There is a clear heterosexual expectation that sexual attraction and love leads to a permanent partnership, usually sustained by children; although contemporary statistics on divorce and on unmarried couples living together for varying periods indicates that this expectation is no longer heterosocial reality. For many gay men a two week 'relationship' is the norm, two months a lucky break and six months heaven-sent bliss. Should we conclude that the strong anti-homosexual undercurrent in Australian society forces gay men into dysfunctional lives, destined to be unrequited in love? Or in viewing gay male sexuality are we seeing truly liberated sexuality freeing itself of Christian morality and the legal and medical restraint of the State?

Up until the late nineteenth century there was no real concept of homosexual identity as we understand it today. Earlier, there was legal classification of the act of sodomy, which included a wide variety of acts beyond male-to-male anal intercourse. Sodomy was narrowed legally to mean penetration of a male by a male, and medical knowledge was influenced by the sexologists who moved discussion away from morality to psychoanalysis. The slow result was changes to

society's attitudes which led to the decriminalisation and destigmatisation of homosexuality in the 1970s and 1980s. Alongside this came the growth of a politicised urban gay subculture. As we move into the twenty-first century there is a greater acceptance and understanding of human sexuality, more realisation that humans are very bisexual, and less condemnation of homosexuality. There is a new generation — the queer³⁷ generation — of gay males and lesbians who are not really conscious of earlier gender-inversion and the separate socialisation of men and women which led to misogyny, or even of the political struggles of recent decades. The queer generation is breaking down barriers, accepting their sexuality as natural not problematic.

In behaving outrageously are gay men fulfilling the unrequited dreams of Australian mateship, being part of the queer generation, or perhaps just expressing dominant patriarchal sexuality, minus the constraints of society's construction of heterosexuality? One thing is certain: modern gay male identity extends far beyond the visible subculture, and it is intimately tied to wider concepts of Australian masculinity.

Endnotes

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- 3 Dennis Altman, 'The Myth of Mateship', *Meanjin*, vol. 46, no. 2, 1987, pp. 163-72; also refer to my 'Colonial Manhood and Masculinity'.
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- 12 Graham Carbery, *A History of the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras*, Melbourne, 1995.

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- 13 *Campaign Australia*, no. 223, August 1995, p. 5.
- 14 Frederick R. Lynch, 'Nonghetto Gays: An Ethnography of Suburban Homosexuals', in Gilbert Herdt (ed.), *Gay Culture in America: Essays from the Field*, Boston, 1992, pp. 165-201.
- 15 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 11831. (To preserve anonymity the exact reference to the month of the issue and the page have not been used.)
- 16 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 74747.
- 17 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 749740.
- 18 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 458414.
- 19 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 581407.
- 20 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 370415.
- 21 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 475405.
- 22 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 467409.
- 23 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 490405.
- 24 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 140403.
- 25 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 420417.
- 26 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 334419.
- 27 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 10341.
- 28 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 263410.
- 29 *Outrage* Advertisement no. 426470.
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- 37 'Queer' was once a derogatory term like 'poofster'. The word has recently been adopted by the homosexual community as a political statement of a different non-heterosexual sexuality, encompassing a wide variety of sexuality and gender types.