

A Double Life:
The Psychological Being of
Heterosexually Married Men
Who Have Sex with Men

A Thematic Analysis

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A dissertation submitted to
Auckland University of Technology
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Psychotherapy

2016

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Abstract

Heterosexually married men who have sex with men (HMMSM) are considered an ‘invisible’ group in society and research exploring the psychological being of these HMMSM has been scarce. This dissertation explores the perceptions and experiences of these HMMSM in a New Zealand context and presents a thematic analysis of the transcripts from three participants’ interviews using a semi-structured interviewing approach.

Three main themes were identified: ‘Sexual Satisfaction’, ‘Sexual Stressors’ and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect’, with each theme supported by three or more sub-themes. ‘Sexual Satisfaction’ related to participants’ positive feelings and sexual rewards of pleasure, arousal and enjoyment from engaging in same-sex activities. ‘Sexual Stressors’ encompassed the participants’ struggles with feelings of guilt, shame, anxiety and fear for their extramarital same-sex inclination and behaviour. ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect’ related to participants’ coping strategies for managing their same-sex needs and desire and for protecting their wives and families from their same-sex proclivities outside marriage.

An interplay of these three main themes captured the dilemmatic struggle of these HMMSM as they split their lives between having extramarital sex with men and staying married to a woman. This study attempts to better understand the impact a double life has on the psychological well-being of these men.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), or material to which a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning.

Signed _____

Seng Poh Lee
15 April 2016

Acknowledgements and Dedication

There are many people I would like to acknowledge and thank for helping me in a multitude of ways on this scholarly journey. Without your guidance, support, care and love, completing this dissertation would have been unachievable.

First and foremost, I would like to express my utmost gratitude to the participants whose willingness to be involved made this study possible. My wish is that, with your courageous and generous contributions, you will help give others hope and make a difference.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Joanne Emmens, for her wisdom, encouragement and patience in helping me to explore my research topic and challenging me in the process.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the New Zealand Aids Foundation for their generous support, which has provided me the time and space most needed to write.

I would like to acknowledge my psychotherapeutic colleagues for their kind support and help. Thank you Mihili Salpitikorala, James Driver and Jane Tuson for sharing your PGR1 at the very beginning, Steven Colligan for your clinical supervisory support and Phoebe Hunter for your proof-reading and feedback. My sincere thanks to Mary King for your unwavering containment that kept me going through difficult moments. To Gerald Maclaurin, thank you for your holding and helping me tolerate the many unknowns.

To Daniel and Jeff, the roles you played are greatly appreciated. My thanks to Tony, for being there and listening patiently. A special big thank you to Dr Malcolm McKinnon, you have always been there when I needed help and have kept me grounded.

Lastly, I dedicate this dissertation to my partner, Gary. Without you, I would be a very different *being* and this writing would not *be*.

Structure of Dissertation

Chapter 1 – presents an introduction to the research topic and provides the purpose and rationale for the choice of topic.

Chapter 2 – offers an insight into existing literature that is relevant to this current research population of heterosexually married men who have sex with men (HMMSM).

Chapter 3 – outlines the methodological framework, method of data collection (semi-structured interview) and method data analysis (thematic analysis).

Chapter 4 – describes how the research was conducted and detailed the processes and issues including recruitment of participants, ethical issues, conducting of interviews, data analysis, and identification of final themes and derivation of thematic map.

Chapter 5 – describes and explores the findings of this analysis, and explores the relevance of the identified themes (with extracts from the interview transcripts) to the research topic.

Chapter 6 – discusses the meaning, significance and implications of the findings, in relation to this study. It also highlights salient points of the study's limitation and recommendations for future research and therapeutic interventions; and concludes the study.

1. Introduction

Throughout the last few decades, much research has been conducted on the nature of same-sex sexually attracted men who are also in heterosexual marriages (Hudson, 2013; Malcolm, 2008; Nance, 2008). However, there appears to be little research exploring the subjective lived experience of heterosexually married men who have sex with men (HMMSM) and the myriad of studies has had limited direct focus on the psychological well-being of these men, particularly in research from a New Zealand context.

For the majority of twentieth century research on gay/homosexual men and women, the focus is on a circumscribed number of topics based on an understanding of homosexuality as a mental illness and issues on ‘curing’ or treating homosexual desires, behaviours, and arousal (Shelton, 2015). Moreover, there is an increasing number of studies on heterosexually identified men who have sex with both men and women (MSMW) as a common medium for spreading STI (Sexual Transmitted Infections); most particularly HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) (Reback & Larkins, 2013). It is only when homosexuality was removed from the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) in 1973 that there was a refocus of research on efforts to promote the mental health of gays and lesbians, and more recently on STI/HIV prevention for the population of men who have sex with men (MSM), which would have been inconceivable a few years earlier.

Additionally, there appears to be little research concerning the experience of HMMSM and their desire and need for sex with men while being married to a woman. Men who live in conventional marriages, and at the same time have significant love-sex relationships with member of their own sex, are largely an ‘invisible’ group in our society. This is in part a result of their own decisions. In most cases, such men choose to hide their extramarital sexual activities from their wives, as might a man engaging in an extramarital affair with a woman, whilst the fact that this extramarital activity involves a man, not another woman, adds an additional element to the concealment.

On account of these circumstances, this population is very difficult to identify and reach and this, in turn, has meant there is a very sparse scholarly/ethnographic literature addressing their circumstances. For these reasons, I find there is a lack of in-

depth reflections of the lived experiences of these HMMSM in literature to date. What literature there is takes the form of descriptions of events ‘dressed up’ as answers without any insight or analysis as to why these men engage in such same-sex activity and ‘what it is like’ for them.

My psychotherapy training at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) involved a placement with the Burnett Centre, a branch of the New Zealand Aids Foundation (NZAF) that provides HIV testing, counselling and psychotherapy for both the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) and wider community, including my proposed research population. I have acquired a certain level of personal experiences being with HMMSM in a clinical setting and have received a glimpse of these men’s same-sex experiences as they shared their life struggles with me. As a gay man who has experienced discrimination and societal stigmatisation for same-sex orientation, I could identify only to a certain extent to what these married men have experienced, which includes emotional and psychological stressors such as anxiety, shame, guilt and incongruence of sexual identities, behaviours and desires. Hence I would like to further understand and make meaning of the lived experiences of these heterosexually married men and their same-sex activities outside marriage.

Furthermore, I have met many HMMSM who are emotionally committed to their wives but are conflictingly attracted to men sexually. Such men have disclosed to me that they feel ashamed of their same-sex attraction and often do not understand the depth and meaning of their homosexual feeling; moreover, they often cannot find the means to talk about their internalised turmoil. They are in constant fear that their ‘secret’ will be revealed and it could cause marriage and relationship breakups and psychological sufferings. Hence this initial insight into the lived experiences of HMMSM has propelled me to research further into the psychological well-being of these men.

‘Being’ has been defined as the state of existence (Being, n.d.). ‘Psychological being’, according to Martin, Sugarman and Thompson (2003), is the reality of individual humans (consisting of emotions, memories, intentions, imaginings, experiences, action and so forth) that “emerges as a consequence of the immersion and participation of biological human individuals in the societies and cultures” of a physical world “into which they are born and within which they grow and develop” (p. 107).

This study potentially looks at how the equilibrium of these HMMSM's state of being and their psychological well-being could be destabilised and tempered by the dilemmatic struggle of their need for sex, their sense of homophobia, heteronormativity and marital fidelity, and their longing for societal and self-acceptance, against the insatiable sexual excitement, arousal and ultimately sexual pleasure gained from engaging in extramarital sex with men. Paradoxically, HMMSM may experience that they are 'being judged' for their sexual rights to seek pleasure yet at the same time, this moral opinion could also contribute dialectically to the excitement and riskiness of their engaging with same-sex sexual partners.

In this research, I wish to identify and explore recurring themes in HMMSM in relation to sense of self, sense of authenticity, sexual desire and incongruity, which are caused by the non-alignment of behaviours with sexual attractions and self-identities (Cass, 1979). I will also explore and hope to gain some understanding of the experience of these HMMSM from their own perspective i.e. 'what it is like' for them to engage in sex with men while married to a woman?

By giving voice to these men's lived experiences, this research is an attempt to improve the understanding of the issues experienced by HMMSM and also to understand why these men have sex with men, or women. In doing so, it also aims to provide valuable insights for health professionals and researchers that may help develop appropriate interventions and directions for future clinical practice.

2. Literature Review

This chapter offers an insight into the existing relevant literature and focuses on this current research population of heterosexually married men who have sex with men.

2.1 HMMSM Is Not a Rarity

The ‘invisible’ nature of HMMSM activity has meant that the literature on it is correspondingly sparse, particularly in a New Zealand context. Homosexual behaviour is still perceived by many in society as abnormal and infidelity is deemed morally unacceptable. Hence I believe a significant number of homosexually active married men resort to secrecy, struggle to disclose their extramarital same-sex behaviour and choose to stay hidden.

With inexorable societal discrimination and stigmatisation of homosexuality, many HMMSM who live in a heteronormative society would not identify as either gay or even bisexual and many would also prefer not to have any association with the gay community to avoid being identified as possibly homosexual (Warren, 1974). Additionally, “many societies consider infidelity to be a ‘deviant behaviour’” (Jackman, 2015, p. 72) and these men, perchance with moral scruples, could possibly feel shame and guilt for breaking their marriage vows. Hence, this minority of non-gay identified or self-professed ‘straight’ HMMSM require uncompromising anonymity in order to conceal both their infidelity and same-sex inclinations. They are therefore very difficult to reach and this contributed to the difficulty in obtaining information about them.

However, I concur with Brownfain (1985) that there is evidence to suggest married MSM are “not rare, only rarely identified” and very little has been explored about these individuals in the literature of sexuality (p. 173). This postulation corresponds historically with the empirical research conducted by Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin (1948) on *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. This pioneering study has described a sample and touched on the topic of married men who chose to engage in same-sex¹ (Hudson, 2013). It found 10.6% of men in marriages age 21 to 25 reported having sexual contact with other men, and this percentage dropped to 2% within an

¹ The word ‘same-sex’ has been used interchangeably in this context as both an adjective and a noun that includes (homo)sexual activities, behaviour and encounters.

older sample of men age 45. However, this landmark research has indicated the difficulty in attaining a sample as true representation of the prevalence of MMSM because of the concealment and homophobia of these men (Nance, 2008).

2.2 The Search for Literature

I began my literature review process by sourcing articles using the AUT library proprietary search tool for its catalogue and also the specialised health databases PsycINFO, PsycARTICLES, PsycBOOKS, PsycEXTRA and PEP, which are psychology databases that include journal articles, books, book chapters, technical reports and dissertations. Other general health databases and resources that have substantial access to thousands of peer reviewed journals, e-books, e-magazines such as CINAHL Plus with Full Text; EBSCO Health and MEDLINE (via Ovid) databases were also used. Additionally, an Internet search via Google for topics related to my research topic was undertaken as well to make my review more comprehensive.

Because of the complexities associated with sexual identity and behaviour, coupled with the general assumption that HMMSM are mainly either closeted homosexuals or bisexuals, this combination of indistinctness has made it difficult to locate topics that represent categorically and precisely this research population of HMMSM. Descriptive terminology used for the search was strategically considered because there is an absence of a definitive epidemiological category for non-gay identified men in heterosexual relationship (married and de facto) who are homosexually active (Keen, Kinder, & Maddedu, 1996). Acronyms such as 'MMSM' and 'MSM', as the primary key terms were used. To widen the search, secondary key terms in the form of sentences with key words such as, 'men who have sex with men'; 'heterosexual men who have sex with men' were also used for the search criteria. Subsequently, to ensure the search was specific and inclusive, I incorporated the additional key words of 'married' and 'non-gay identified' into the search and that helped to refine the results.

2.3 What Is Found? Very Little with Relevance

Consequently, I ended up with a significant collection of articles but unfortunately with very little relevance to my research question. Among the broadly,

semi-related literature identified, I found an absence of in-depth exploration and discussion of the lived experience of these men, their desire to have sex with men, their mental health and psychological adjustment, why they choose to have sex with men while married to a woman; and what engaging in same-sex means to them. They were mostly written from either a clinical or anecdotal perspective and they were also predominantly written about MMSM but not necessarily married men who identified as straight, heterosexual or non-gay.

Topics covered include issues such as same-sex behaviours of MSMW (Siegel, Schrimshaw, Lekas, & Parsons, 2008), explorations into why MMSM choose to marry (Bozett, 1982; Higgins, 2002, 2006; Isay, 1998), issues pertaining to the female partners of MMSM and the spousal relationships (Yarhouse, Gow, & Davis, 2009; Yarhouse, Pawlowski, & Tan, 2003; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006); studies on MMSM coping mechanisms and adjustment modes (Buxton, 2001; Schrimshaw, Siegel, Downing, & Parsons, 2013), and most commonly, research on same-sex behaviour as “bridgers” (Reback & Larkins, 2013, p. 151), for spreading STI and HIV (Klaar, 2012; Reback & Larkins, 2013; Siegel et al., 2008).

Although there was literature found on the lived experience of MMSM reported but the research was superficially descriptive and conducted from the perspective pertaining to ‘bisexuality’ or closeted ‘homosexuality’, and how MMSM confront issues of their same-sex proclivities in mixed-orientation marriages (Coleman, 1982, 1985).

Recent studies pertaining to MSM, which also include the closely-related population of this study, discuss how they seek opportunities to interact and connect homosexually using the Internet for online activities and hook-ups (Dew, Brubaker, & Hays, 2006; Goodlin-Fahncke & Cheeseman Dial, 2012), and locales such as bathhouses (Tewksbury, 2008), and settings such as men’s public toilets known as ‘tearooms’ (Humphreys, 1970) which men adopt to engage in same-sex activities.

2.4 Literature of Closest Relevance

The following pieces of literature are considered most relevant to this research topic. Jeffrey H. Hudson’s comprehensive literature review, pertaining to MMSM, has

provided an insightful and far-reaching overview into this ‘invisible’ population. The editor of Journal of Bisexuality, Dr James D. Weinrich has considered it an impressive ‘magnum opus’ (Weinrich, 2013). Hudson’s (2013) review covered literature up to early 2009 and was updated in 2013 with studies published between late 2008 and mid 2013. This qualitative systematic literature review, which utilised an analytic and descriptive approach, not only supports and adds value to research/studies on the phenomenon of MMSM, it also provides a better glimpse into the world of these men as to how, where and what MMSM do when engaging in same-sex activities. More importantly, Hudson’s work also showed how men’s sexual identities could be fluid as well as historically and culturally variable and attempted to better understand why these MMSM choose to engage in extramarital sex with men.

However, Hudson’s (2013) review has highlighted the limited information concerning the lived experiences and perception of HMMSM engaging in same-sex activities, particularly from a New Zealand context. The literature that most closely resembles this is *On the Down Low* (King, 2004), which provides a glimpse into the lived experiences of straight-identified MMSM known as ‘Down Low’ (DL), but from an African-American prospective.

King (2004), is a self-confessional account of the author’s own journey as a non-gay identified, straight, black man who had sex with men while married to a woman. This literature exposed internationally a closeted culture of sex among ‘heterosexual’ or ‘straight’ identified MSM and the impact it had on the transmission of HIV and the health consequences for female counterparts of these men. Hudson (2013) comments that King’s books are “mainly personal narratives, and despite gathering little statistical information, King was seen as an expert in the field of the DL” (p. 476). Despite considerable attention in United States media, this social phenomenon of DL has attracted limited empirical research to investigate further its anecdotal evidence (Barnshaw & Jetukas, 2010).

The next relevant literature is Ross’s (1983) psychological study, *The Married Homosexual Man*. Even though the study deals mainly with homosexuality, it has inadvertently contributed information on HMMSM and relevant problems faced by these men. Furthermore, this study led to the discovery of additional research on how married men (mainly self-identified ‘homosexuals’ and ‘bisexuals’) adapt and adjust in

their marital life with same-sex inclinations (Malcolm, 2008; H. L. Ross, 1971; M. W. Ross, 1989).

Brownfain's (1985) qualitative study of 60 married 'bisexual' men is another attempt to understand the lived experience of HMMSM and self-perceptions of their atypical sexuality. It investigates two key paradoxes that include (1) "the contradiction between their heterosexual public identity which places them comfortably in the mainstream of society and their stigmatised and forbidden homosexual desires and behavior [sic]" and (2) "the ethical issue of deceiving their wives as well as others to whom they are intimately related" (p. 173). The author also postulated that the concept of bisexuality is a threat to human's hard-wired dichotomised sexual identities and proposed that a life-enhancing resolution for these MMSM's well-being is to be able to express their bi-sexual orientation, however they choose to define it.

Reback and Larkins's (2010) qualitative research offered an understanding on how heterosexually-identified MSM (not necessarily married, hence a proxy to this research) maintain their heterosexual identity. This study's salient finding showed participants universally reported an avoidance of intimacy, emotional connection and resulting altered behaviours to discredit their same-sex sexual encounters so as to maintain their heterosexuality and also masculinity. Even though this study was limited by a convenience sample of both married and non-married men, it provided valuable insight to how heterosexually-identified MSM behave to maintain health.

2.5 Literature with Elements of Psychological Well-being

An unpublished doctoral dissertation by John C. Nance in 2008 is a rare find of research that explores the mental health of men in heterosexual marriages who also choose to engage in same-sex activities. This quantitative study utilised an online confidential survey of a sample of 529 heterosexually married men throughout the United States and Canada to explore how sexual orientation identity, levels of internalised homophobia, outness and marital satisfaction impact on the participants' psychological well-being. The results showed moderately strong correlations between dependent variables (stress, anxiety, depression and negative mood states) and independent variables (sexual orientation identity, level of outness, internalised homonegativity and marital satisfaction). It also highlighted the significant negative

correlation between two demographic variables (recent same-sex activity and whether participant is in therapeutic relationship) and the negative mood states of these HMMSM (Nance, 2008). This finding was supported by Hudson (2013) that, “[m]arried life and secret gay sex does generate distress and depression for some MMSM” (p. 498).

Nance’s (2008) research managed to tap into a substantial sample of the hidden population by using the Internet as an aggressive recruitment approach to reach a wider base of respondents. This study has merits in its inclusion of all sexual orientation categories as an effort to reach men who exclude themselves based on a heterosexual identity label but do engage in same-sex activities. The survey is also very thorough with inquiry about same-sex activities, as it offered a wide selection ranging from ‘Watching other man masturbate’ to ‘Kissing’, ‘Hugging’, ‘Anal Intercourse’, to ‘Cyber Sex’ and ‘Phone Sex’ (p. 81). It also adopted a thorough measurement approach by using several empirical scales (DASS [Depression Anxiety Stress Scale], IHP [Internalized Homophobia Scale], KMSS [Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale], OI [Outness Inventory]) to analyse the data for assessing the participant’s psychological well-being. Having said that, this study has its limitations in that it relied on the willingness of the participants to disclose and complete the survey regarding their moods, sexual orientation, identity, behaviour and activities on line. Interestingly, only 7 out of the 529 men self-identified as heterosexuals hence there is the potential of not capturing more non-gay/homosexual identified HMMSM and additionally there is an under representation of ethnicity, race, and country of origin in this study since the sample is mainly white Caucasian (501 men) from the Northern American² region.

2.6 Research from Aotearoa

From a New Zealand perspective, there is empirical research consisting of a series of twelve reports by NZAF – *Male Call/Waea Mai Tane Ma*, which is the first nationwide survey of MSM in Aotearoa undertaken to provide baseline data and facilitate the development of programmes in HIV/AIDS prevention. Report No. 8 – ‘Men who have sex with men and women’ attempts to investigate the socio-sexual lives of MSMW as they are often considered a “potentially dangerous ‘bridging’ group between the ‘gay community’...and the relatively safe ‘heterosexual community’”

² North America is used to refer to the United States and Canada together.

(Reid et al., 1998, p. 1). This understudied group potentially includes HMMSM that are relevant to this study. Similarly, it highlighted the importance of making a distinction between sexual behaviour and sexual identities in order not to exclude those who identified as non-gay/homosexual or bisexual. The finding of this research has provided a glimpse of the sexual behaviour of New Zealand men when engaging in sex with both casual and regular male partners and also female partners. It raised an alarming concern that MSMW surveyed were not practising safe sex and posited that they may have difficulty discussing condom use and HIV status with their male sexual partners.

Although the last two pieces of empirical research discussed are relevant from both geographical localised and psychological perspectives, they lack a qualitative aspect and fell short of providing a deeper understanding of the research sample's lived experience of homosexuality and infidelity. Without 'sharing their stories', the opportunity to explore and make sense of the profundity of why these HMMSM engage in extramarital same-sex activity is missed.

3. Methodologies and Methods

This chapter presents the chosen approach for this study. It introduces the epistemological framework, methodologies, methods of data collection and analysis used; and discusses the rationale for the methodologies and methods chosen.

This research falls under the overarching framework of qualitative research as it uses *words* as data and also utilises a meaning-based form of data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). It recognises the subjectivities of both the researcher and the participants and emphasises that those with first-hand experience of a phenomenon hold both knowledge and expertise.

This inquiry also positions itself within the phenomenological and interpretative framework, focusing as it does on the lived experience of individuals in their everyday world. It utilises a text-interpretation approach, aiming to understand experiences by using participants' narratives and recollections (their 'texts') to access embedded meanings.

Data was collected using semi-structured interviews that explore and capture the participants' accounts of events and their subjective reactions within a particular cultural context and time. Thematic analysis (TA), based on guidelines provided by Braun and Clarke (2006), was used to analyse the dataset and themes were identified that provide insights to the human conditions being investigated. Details of both data collection and analysis are provided in chapter 4.

3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is typically viewed as most appropriate for investigating phenomena, culture and behaviours. It makes a fundamental assumption that there is no one correct version of 'reality' and rejects the notion of a "single, static or objective truth" but rather concerns itself with the negotiation of multiple "'truths' through a series of subjective accounts" (Winter, 2000, p. 6). Qualitative research has goals such as discovering understandings, achieving explanations and conclusions from accessible evidence i.e. data, in order to "make sense of the world in a particular way" (Morse & Richards, 2002, p. 5).

Willig (2013) also posits that qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with how people find meaning and make sense of the events they have experienced and aim at understanding *what it is like* to experience a particular situation. Braun and Clarke (2013) believe that qualitative methods allow “access to people’s subjective worlds and meanings, and to groups marginalized (e.g. by their gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity/culture) and often invisible” (p. 8).

For all these reasons, this methodology is ideally suited to research on HMMSM whose accounts tend to be marginalized or discounted. It provides an appropriate framework to explore what it means for these ‘unseen’ men in society to have extramarital sex with men, and offers a much deeper and richer investigation into how they live with their sexual desire, attraction, behaviour and activities, for and with other men.

3.2 Interpretative and Phenomenological Research

As this research focuses on the everyday lived experiences and interactions, I have also chosen the methodology that broadly fits within an interpretative and phenomenological framework in which knowledge is culturally constructed.

Interpretative methodologies accept that different people experience a similar event differently. Research within this paradigm also assumes that any understanding, reconstruction and interpretation of an experience under investigation is limited by the researcher’s subjectivity, and also by the intersubjectivity between the researcher and the researched (Grbich, 2013).

Sharing many similarities with interpretative methodologies, phenomenological inquiry attempts to make sense of human being’s perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular situation i.e. phenomenon. It is concerned with fathoming the hidden meanings. Phenomenological methodology is an effective research approach for understanding individuals’ moment-by-moment subjective lived experiences and gaining insights into people’s motivations and actions in order to make sense of a phenomenon (Lester, 1999).

However, phenomenological methodology taken by itself is limited as it uncovers the perceptions and experiences of the researched only from the participants' own perspectives. This highlights the impossibility of truly understanding a phenomenon from another person's viewpoint. By adding an interpretive dimension to it, I believe this combined approach ensures the accounts of experience will be generated not entirely "at face value" but also include possible underlying "meaning within a particular social and cultural context" (Willig, 2013, p. 17).

Willig (2013) asserts that "qualitative research is inherently interpretative in that the qualitative data ...needs to be read through particular lens which gives it (a particular) meaning" (p. 39) and also posits that "interpretative phenomenologists do not believe that it is possible to produce a pure description of experience and that description always involves a certain amount of interpretation" (p. 17). Hence I believe this combination of interpretative and phenomenological methodologies is a fitting choice for this research on individual experiences because it attempts to illuminate a deeper meaning to the question as to why HMMSM engage in extramarital same-sex and provides a richer "insight into, and understanding of, the human condition" (Finlay, 2011, p. 10).

3.3 Semi-Structured Interviewing

Historically, storytelling and recollection of experiences through narratives have been crucial ways for humans to make sense and share their experiences (Seidman, 2013). In recent decades, these 'knowledge-producing conversations' refined as *interviews* (Brinkmann, 2013) provide a formalised way for recording narratives and allowing participants to "select details of their experience from their stream of consciousness", reflect on them, give them order and make sense of them; and have become prime means for research data collection because of their ability to provide understanding of complex social and psychological issues (Seidman, 2013, p. 7). Interviewing is therefore considered well suited for this experience-type study as it enables the researcher to gain access via the participants' narratives of their lived experiences and perceptions in relation to the researcher's predetermined topic (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

From the range of interviewing styles available, the popular semi-structured format was chosen for its “purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena” (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, p. 6). Hence it fits the research framework of interpretative and phenomenological methodologies of this study. Semi-structured interviews are valuable data collection method in circumstances “where little is known about the topic of interest – where the topic of interest may be particularly sensitive” (Adams, 2010, p. 18). This is the case in respect of this research topic. Not only is there limited knowledge, but it is also a difficult and sensitive one for these participants who already are ‘hidden’ from view, to discuss their same-sex experience.

3.4 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is an accessible and theoretically-flexible method of qualitative data analysis that systematically identifies, organises, and offers insights into patterns of meaning (i.e. themes) across datasets (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It allows the researcher to see “what is common to the way a topic is talked or written about and of making sense of those commonalities” that relate to a research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). According to Joffe (2012), TA “is well suited to use with social phenomenology” because it is not anchored to any particular theory and epistemology (p. 211).

Critics of this method often assume that it is no more than a realist and descriptive method that lacks nuance, subtlety or interpretative depth. However, Braun and Clarke have asserted that TA is not limited in such ways (Braun & Clarke, 2014). It is rather a deliberative, reflective and thorough approach that provides researchers the flexibility to deploy TA in most types of research questions, which allows for various degrees of researcher interpretation. In this study, the qualitative analysis is definitely more than descriptive; it is situated towards the interpretative end of the continuum. It seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the collected data by looking ‘beneath the surface’ to understand *how* and *why* the particular accounts were generated (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 174).

TA in this study takes on a realist/essentialist stance, where linguistic data gathered from participants forms the medium that provide direct access to the

researched individuals' inner world or reality. Additionally, the TA chosen for this qualitative analysis has taken a combination of inductive/semantic/descriptive form, which aims primarily to summarise and describe patterned meanings and stay as close as possible to those meanings in the data. There is also a touch of latent/interpretative element as attempt is also made to decipher meanings that lie under the data surface and interpret their importance. The overall aim of this eclectic approach is to provide useful rich and detailed themes across the entire dataset.

Moreover, TA is generally considered as part of a wider tradition of interpretative methodologies within the qualitative paradigm that rejects the possibility of discovering universal meaning (Clarke, Braun, & Hayfield, 2015). Like many other qualitative methodologies, it seeks "to arrive at an understanding of a particular phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it" (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013, p. 398) and indeed has even been introduced as "one part of phenomenology" (Holloway & Todres, 2003).

TA is also considered an appropriate approach for this research because of its philosophical underpinnings within the interpretative and phenomenological traditions that places the individual's subjective experience at the core of the research; this is a significant factor in predicting a positive psychotherapeutic treatment outcome (Pesale, Hilsenroth, & Owen, 2012). Therefore, it is essential that researchers and clinical practitioners in the field of psychological health understand the lived experiences of HMMSM and discover what can contribute to a better outcome in treatment.

3.4.1 Phases of thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) divide the process of TA into the following six phases which forms a step-by-step guide for conducting the qualitative analysis:

- (1) Familiarising yourself with the data.
- (2) Generating initial codes.
- (3) Searching for themes.
- (4) Reviewing themes.
- (5) Defining and naming themes.
- (6) Producing the report.

They emphasised that the phases are not rules but basic guidelines that need to fit the research questions and data, and be used flexibly. Additionally, TA is conducted in a recursive manner rather than a linear one, with the analyst moving back and forth between phases when required. Each phase may involve multiple steps depending on the results generated.

In this study, I have approached TA by adhering closely to Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide but also incorporated techniques from the 'thematic network model' developed by Attride-Stirling (2001). I found this approach, which entailed adapting elements from both published qualitative researchers, helpful. A brief description of the steps follows.

Phase 1 – Gaining familiarity with the data. This phase required the analyst to be immersed in the data to the extent of being “familiar with the depth and breadth of the content” and this requires “repeated reading” in an active and rigorous manner as it provides the foundation for the rest of the process (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). In this study, the familiarisation phase actually began with the transcribing process; this helped the analyst to develop a deeper and thorough understanding of the data.

Phase 2 – Generating initial codes. This phase involved the production of initial codes by analysing the transcripts line-by-line in order to identify aspects of the dataset that is of interest and relevance to the research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Descriptions ranging from a single word to brief phrases were systematically applied to small chunks of data that could be subsequently interpreted meaningfully. An inductive approach was taken for analysis as the coding process was data driven and it did not fit any pre-existing framework or preconceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase 3 – Searching for themes. This phase for theme development began when all the data had been coded and collated. The task was to group similar established codes with shared patterns and commonalities into sets (i.e. themes), with an aim to say something relevant to the research question and “create a plausible and coherent thematic mapping” of the data (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 236). This phase had similarities to step 2a – ‘abstract themes from coded text segments’ in Attride-Stirling (2012) TA methods where the painstaking process of identifying themes required a

“great deal of interpretative work”, “close attention to conceptual detail” and flexibility to allow for new codes to be accommodated into emerging themes (p. 392).

Phase 4 – Reviewing themes. This phase involved the two-way recursive process whereby candidate themes identified previously were refined and checked against the coded data extracts to ensure a coherent pattern was formed. Once that was established, they were then reviewed against the entire dataset to ensure the validity of individual themes against the dataset. The aim of this phase was to provide a ‘quality check’ “to ensure that both individual themes and the analysis as a whole capture[d] key meanings and patterns in the data” (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 238). As a result, themes might be renamed, consolidated or discarded. At this stage, I also utilised Attride-Stirling’s (2001) method, which I found visually helpful, to construct a thematic network to encapsulate all the different levels of themes.

Phase 5 – Defining and naming themes. This phase began once a robust mapping of the themes was established and involved defining and further refining of the themes to attain clear and concise thematic ‘names’. The aim of this phase was to identify the ‘essence’ of what each theme was about, to have a good understanding of the scope, purpose and focus of each theme, how it related to other themes and in the overall scheme, and what essential meaning of the underlying data and extracted codes had captured. Another task in this phase was to write a detailed analysis of the theme i.e. theme definitions, explaining how the theme originated, how it related to the original data, and what sub-themes that underlay and supported it.

Phase 6 – Producing the report. This phase involved the write up of the final analysis that compiles and edits existing analytical narratives, which included those from phase 5 and expanded it with new writing. The task was to reflect the merits and validity of the analysis by integrating the themes with illustrative data extracts in order to convincingly narrate a story of the data. Additionally, the “analytic narrative needs to go beyond description of the data” but needs to make an argument in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93).

The execution of each phase of TA for this study is further elaborated in section 4.4 – Data Analysis.

4. Data Collection and Analysis

This chapter describes in detail how the study was conducted, starting from the recruitment and selection process for interview participants through to the analysis of data and identification of final themes. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews with three participants aged from 57 to 62. The interviews were transcribed, coded and analysed using Braun and Clark's (2006) six-phase thematic analysis, which produced a series of initial codes, basic themes, sub themes, main themes and an overarching theme. Key steps from Attride-Stirling's (2001) method of thematic analysis were also used to establish a thematic network that helped to hold all the themes together coherently.

4.1 Participant Recruitment and Selection

The first step of the data collection process was to find suitable participants who were willing to come forward to partake in this study. In this case, participant recruitment was extremely challenging because of the 'sensitive' research topic coupled with the difficulty reaching these 'hidden' men. This sample group of HMMSM is less inclined to partake in research because they may deem participation risky and may feel discredited, incriminated and even vulnerable if they engage in a topic they perceive personal, private and sensitive (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

According to Englander (2012), it is crucial in recruiting participants for phenomenological research to select individuals who claim that they have experienced the phenomenon of interest. He also suggested that "phenomenological method in human science recommends that one uses at least three participants" (p. 21). Additionally, I adhered to Seidman's (2013) advice not to recruit as participants individuals with whom I have an existing relationship. The goal of the researcher is to present "the experience of the people he or she interviews in compelling enough detail and in sufficient depth that those who read the study can connect to that experience, learn how it is constituted, and deepen their understanding of the issues it reflects" (p. 54).

Therefore, taking into consideration the above parameters, and also having known and worked clinically with HMMSM, I hoped to be successful in recruiting the

required number of participants. I established the following criteria for eligibility. Participants had to

- be male,
- be residents of New Zealand for most of their life,
- be married or had been married to a female,
- not self-identified as gay or bisexual, but with a strong heterosexual identity, and
- have had a sexual act with another male.

I began the recruitment process with the intention of recruiting 3-4 participants and used 'purposeful sampling' to help identify participants who could best inform the research (Creswell, 2013).

Given the small sample size required for the study, I commenced the recruitment process by using my networks to help identify potential participants. First, I asked fellow clinicians from the three main centres of the NZAF (Burnett Centre (Auckland), Āwhina Centre (Wellington), Te Toka (Christchurch)) who were likely to have had heterosexually inclined MMSM as their clients and requested their help to inquire whether these potential individuals were willing to participate in the study. Second, I contacted selected practitioners in the psychotherapy profession who specialise in sexual issues and also those who work with the LGBT client group to help identify potential participants.

This initial search did not deliver any responses from likely participants; the general feedback was that there were men who fit the criteria 'out there' but none were willing to come forth. When it became apparent that it would not be possible to find participants through my professional network, the search field was cast more widely to include contacts in the LGBT community. I asked gay friends who had had sexual contacts with hidden HMMSM to assist with the recruitment process bearing in mind that having a third party making contact with potential respondents avoided the possibility of coercion.

Through this channel contact was made with five individuals who met my criteria for participation. A Participant Information Sheet (Appendix C) was then emailed to one of the contacts by the researcher directly and printed copies were given

to the other four contacts by the third party. The former expressed agreement to partake by returning email, and two of the four contacts by third party expressed agreement by texting the researcher directly. The remaining two did not follow through the process. At this stage of the research, I had reached my target sample size of three participants and all three men who had confirmed interest in participating had agreed to be interviewed. I then made contact by text message to arrange the place and time for the interviews.

All three participants were New Zealand males of European descent who were married to a woman and had children. They were all from the same region in the New Zealand therefore no extended travel was required for interviews. All three men were non-gay identified but have had sexual engagement with another man and could be classified as middle to upper middle class, holding as they all did managerial positions and being in stable financial circumstances.

Six weeks after interviewing these three participants, a colleague from Āwhina Centre in Wellington was able to pass the participant information sheet to a client who had come to the centre for STI testing. This respondent expressed the view that he met the criteria and was interested in participating in the research. Subsequently, email correspondence was conducted to discuss the possibility of a face-to-face interview. However, he expressed on several occasions his fear of being exposed for his same-sex inclination. Despite a number of exchanges, the interview failed to take place, ostensibly because the respondent could not commit to a specific time and place to meet even though he had expressed strong interest in the aim of the research. Moreover, he believed he would personally benefit from having a conversation about the topic with another person. Arguably this is another example of the anxiety experienced by HMMSM; their reluctance to expose themselves and to disclose to anyone their 'secret' of having extramarital sex with men.

4.2 Ethical Issues

Ethics approval was necessary because participants might experience some discomfort and feel vulnerable during interviews, given that they are exploring or describing their lived experiences and perceptions. To minimise this, the following steps were taken to address the ethical considerations undertaken for this study.

Ethics approval was initially sought and granted by AUTECH (Auckland University of Technology Ethic Committee) for this study (Letter of approval attached as Appendix B) and also for the use of the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form (Appendices C and D).

Next, I ensured that consent was informed and participants were fully aware that participation was voluntary and clearly understood their right to withdraw consent without explanation or any negative consequences at any time. During interviews, as a trained psychotherapist, I utilised the necessary listening and observational skills to pick up on cues that might indicate any distress or embarrassment. If this happened, the participants were informed of their right to discontinue the interview/audio recording process at any time, and if required, were offered free counselling at the Burnett Centre in Auckland.

The most crucial ethical consideration for this group of participants was not subjecting them to unnecessary risks by maintaining very strict confidentiality and anonymity. I was mindful that participants might feel vulnerable and exposed when discussing their sexual behaviour and ran the risk of spouse/partner, employer and/or society at large finding out about their same-sex inclination. It was crucial to assure participants of the confidentiality of the interview by offering them the opportunity to review transcripts and remove any identifying elements. I also reiterated that utmost care would be taken for handling data and reporting findings in order to protect their privacy and anonymity.

Lastly, it is generally perceived that societal groups, in this case the LGBT communities in New Zealand, are small. Hence I am mindful of 'dual relationships' i.e. that participants know or are connected to people I know since these participants were referred to me by a gay friend i.e. a common denominator. Hence I had to make sure the participants did not feel pressured to disclose information during the interview that they would prefer to withhold. It was also necessary to acknowledge that interviewers in *acquaintance interviews* "need to be aware of and make explicit the part that prior relationships play in the process of data generation" but also acknowledge the benefit of these interviews allowing "researchers access to resources that not always available in more traditional social sciences interviews" (Garton & Copland, 2010, p. 548).

4.3 Conducting interviews

4.3.1 Before the interview. Prior to the actual interviews, consideration was given to the choice of a private and pleasant space, technical preparations (e.g. spare batteries for recording devices, mobile contact in case of no show) and safety protocols for both interviewer and interviewees (Adams, 2010).

All participants were offered the opportunity to choose the time and place for their interviews. Two of them were comfortable with being interviewed at the researcher's therapy room and the third opted to meet at an appropriate public location. The participants were advised the interview would last between 60 to 90 minutes with a preliminary allocation of 10-15 minutes to provide more detail about the nature of the study and the space for them to address any queries or concerns they might have.

Part of the method of conducting semi-structured interviews is to have a list of open-ended questions, which have been approved by AUTECH (Appendix E), to guide the interviewing process. The following is a sample of some of the questions prepared:

- Please describe your experience when you had your first sexual encounter with another man?
- I wonder what your attitude/thoughts/feelings are about male-to-male sexual encounter.
- Once you realised that you have a same-sex attraction, tell me what happened?
- How do you feel when you are having sexual encounter with another man?
- What is it like to being married and engaging in male-to-male sexual encounter?

These questions were used only when necessary and not adhered to in any rigid manner. They helped guide the interview and not all questions were asked.

A crucial part of preparation as interviewer involved consideration of the possible influence of my own subjectivity of preconceptions and prejudices relating to the research topic. Qualitative research recognises that these subjectivities exist and tends not to eliminate them but rather take them into account for analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In order to minimise 'perspectival subjectivity' or 'biasness', the

researcher must be reflexive both functionally and personally and “pay critical attention to the way our research tools and process may have influenced the research”, and also to make researchers themselves “visible as part of the research process” by acknowledging factors such as who, what and how we are that influence the production of knowledge (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 37).

According to Willig (2013), reflexivity in qualitative research shared similarities with how psychotherapists uses ‘countertransference’ (researcher’s reactions to the data and research context) to gain a better understanding of the client (possible insights and understandings of the phenomenon). Hence to remain as neutral and unbiased as possible, the “important thing is to include reflections on the researcher’s role in the research in a way that is clear, honest and informative” (p. 25). Hence I kept a self-reflective journal as a means of engaging reflexivity. Further, I took issues arising from my reading and writing (including any responses, reactions and awareness relating to my research process) to supervision. I found this consultation helpful and supportive for exploring any preconceptions and prejudices I may have had.

4.3.2 During the interview. Before the interview proper began, the participants were asked to re-confirm their willingness to participate. They were then given the consent form to peruse and sign. This approach heeds to Thompson and Chambers’ (2011) recommendation that participants should be given the opportunity to “reaffirm (or not) their wish to continue in a study” (p. 29) I was also mindful that “processual consent” may be sought during the interview process (Willig, 2013, p. 26).

The interviews were recorded and the participants were again reminded of their rights to discontinue the process at any time. When interviewing, I utilised my psychotherapeutic skills to provide participants the supportive and holding space to explore and describe their experiences as they come to the forefront of their consciousness, without impinging upon their ability and opportunity to freely associate their lived experiences in their own words. During the interview, when participants expressed hesitation in their responses, or seemed unsure of their responses offered, I treated these moments as opportunities to put further exploratory questions.

4.3.3 After the interview. The task of transcribing the interviews began only when all three interviews were conducted. I have chosen an orthographic style, which

means it includes pauses, intonation and all verbal utterances both in words and non-semantic sounds, with an aim to create a clear and complete rendition of what was said. Additionally, the transcriptions were also anonymised³ at this point for confidentiality and saved as password protected Microsoft Word files.

This transcribing process is a very time-consuming exercise because numerous repeated playbacks and listening to small sections are necessary, but it has the benefit of providing the opportunity to familiarise myself with the data. This process aligns with Braun and Clarke's (2006) phase one of thematic analysis. I became intimately familiar with the content of the interviews once the transcriptions were completed and thereby gained a better feel and understanding of the data.

4.4 Data Analysis

This process started only when all three interviews were fully transcribed, which helped ensure that subsequent interviews were not unduly influenced by any themes, preconceptions or prejudices that arose after interviewing the preceding participant.

I conducted the analysis by adopting the six-phase guidelines from Braun and Clarke's (2006) and the third step from Attride-Stirling's (2001) analytic technique to construct a thematic network.

It is worth highlighting that in theory this process may appear linear, involving a gradual reduction of the data when moving from initial codes to first-order themes and then second-order themes. In reality, it was much more a recursive process, one entailing moves back and forth between phases two to five, with not just the simple reductions of data but its expansions and/or alternative reductions being canvassed in all phases. This ensured there was internal consistency between codes, themes and overarching themes and guards against lower order themes being grouped together prematurely to form a higher order theme.

An account of the steps taken to carry out the data analysis is described in detail below and complements the brief descriptions of phases in Chapter 2.

³ Pseudonyms were used to maintain a human element in order to portray the participants' story effectively. They were chosen from the Internet using a random baby name generator.

4.4.1 Essential beginning of reading and familiarisation. As noted previously this ‘immersion’ process of data familiarisation began during the typing up of the interview transcripts. To get a fresh sense of the content, I re-read each transcript from start to finish in a “curious and questioning” manner as prescribed by Braun and Clarke (2012, p. 211) before commencing the formal part of analysis. While doing so, I noticed and marked ‘things of interest’ and casually weighed up and journalised their relevance to the research topic.

During this initial stage of data analysis, I began to have in mind the ‘very rough’, ‘broad’ or ‘key’ categories into which the data could possibly be fitted such as ‘anxiety’, ‘desire’, ‘excitement’ and ‘satisfaction’, all related to how HMMSM experience sex with men.

4.4.2 Coding. This next stage of analysis, which corresponds with Braun and Clarke’s (2006) phase 2 of TA, involved identifying aspects of the data that were of interest and relate to the research question. This essential step “facilitates deep engagement with the data and the production of an analysis that goes beyond the immediate or obvious” (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 234). From the two approaches to coding – selective or complete – I chose the latter, which means the aim is to identify “*anything* and *everything* of interest or relevance” to answering the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 206).

My initial attempt was to carry out an inductive TA where codes are ‘data-derived’ and required me to code as closely as possible to what the participant had said and avoid any interpretation. However, in practice, I found that difficult and I concurred with Braun and Clarke (2012) that codes “will almost always be a mix of the descriptive and interpretative” and “can be done at the semantic or the latent level of meaning” (p. 61).

Braun and Clarke ((2006) emphasised the importance of being systematic during coding to ensure that equal attention is given to the entire dataset. To minimise the interference of my perspectives or preconceptions, I used the process of ‘bracketing’ (Moustakas, 1994) in the attempt to remain focused and open to participants’ description of their own experiences. I found this very challenging, as we all harbour

subjectivities and the codes generated will be more or less influenced by the subjectivities of the researcher.

When unsure of the relevance of particular data, Braun and Clarke's advice is to 'inclusively' code it i.e. by including appropriate surrounding data to provide context so that these codes could be recoded, reviewed or discarded later (Braun & Clarke, 2012, 2013). I therefore adopted a style where the codes were not merely single words, but in phrases with substantial description for meaning. I was initially overwhelmed by the size of this task and grappled with questions such as "what should I be coding for?" and "what is considered relevant and what is not?"

I created three individual tables configured with two columns in different spreadsheets and placed each interview transcript in the left-hand column of the table, with each cell alternating between the words of the interviewer and the interviewee. Codes generated in relation to the corresponding segment of the transcript were initially handwritten in the right-hand column. This allowed for easy review and making changes.

Two different colours highlighted the demarcated chunks of verbatim and the corresponding codes so that it was visually easy to keep track of which codes were related to which statements made by the interviewee. Where necessary, bracketed words were denoted to add contextual support to the code as discussed above. Once the first code was generated, I continued reading the data until another 'chunk' of it could be coded. A decision then was needed as to whether a new code was required or whether the previous code(s) could be applied to the new data extracts. During this process, I realised the codes (description of them) were not set in concrete but could be modified to incorporate meanings from new data and to better fit what the participants were saying. It was a tedious but worthwhile exercise to revisit the earlier codes to check that they still fitted well and were addressing the research question. This step was then repeated throughout each data item and also the entire dataset.

Once all three transcripts from the interviews (in separate Excel worksheets) were completed with initial coding, the codes were then typed in a format that corresponded and related to the segment of the verbatim as closely (visually) as possible. This gave the opportunity to review the initial coding response and prompted

several modifications of codes. Additionally, with each code generated, I provided a two-character ‘marker’ - made up of the interviewees’ pseudo first initials and the page number from where the verbatim in the printed pages corresponded. This was to facilitate easy referencing when it was necessary to review how the codes were generated in the context of the whole interview. Furthermore, I found typed codes were helpful for the later phase of the analytical process; it had merits for ease and efficiency for visual representations and using software for processing, compared to cut-up paper slips of more than a thousand codes. An example of a segment of this process is shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Example of Transcript and Corresponding Close-to-text Codes

Transcript	Codes
Interviewer: What do you feel about that constant, need or desire for this [sex with men]?	
Richard: Yea-ah...I guess I, I put in down to the fact that-I-am, I felt highly sexed and, I had to, get some release from, and that sortof sex gave me that release. I’ve never been too sure whether it was the fact that-I-was just highly sexed or whether I actually like the fact that-it-was a little, illicit or different, illicit u’know the, the fact that-it-was, a bit left left of center I suppose in terms of the sex hav’ as against, just normal sex in a marriage umm, so, umm, and sex in, my marriage has always been, I wouldn’t say it’s, it’s Victorian certainly isn’t but, was never, sortof, outof, was never weird or, never umm, when I hear of people being risqué in their, sexual encounters I was never like that, Interviewer: [umhm, umhm], umm, so it was, fairly middle of the road type sex but with males, yeh they tend to be in, for a start it was always secret and, and that havin’, probably a level of desire about it, Interviewer: [umhm, because of the secret], that I like the excitement u’know...	Feels highly sexed [strong sex drive] (R3). Feels strong sex drive creates desire for sex with men (R3). Seek release from strong sex drive with same-sex (R3). Same-sex activities provide release for strong sex drive (R3). Attracted to the illicit nature of same-sex (R3). Unsure whether desire for same-sex is because of strong sex drive (R3). Unsure whether attraction to same-sex is because of illicit nature of the sexual act (R3). Same-sex is different to sex with wife (R3). Same-sex is abnormal, left of centre, unusual; sex with female is normal (R3). Sex in heterosexual marriage was neither Victorian (stiff & boring) nor weird/risqué (different & exciting) (R3). Sex in heterosexual marriage was “fairly middle of the road” average in enjoyment (R3). Same-sex is concealed, hidden, secretive (R3). Secrecy of same-sex activities drives

	the desire for it (R3). Secrecy about same-sex = excitement = high desire for it (R3). Same-sex behaviour/activities is exciting (R4).
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Codes are meant to be succinct and work as a ‘shorthand’ descriptor for something that is understood by the analyst. For this reason, I found at times it was useful to go beyond the superficial description of the participants’ use of language and meaning and seek (interpret) the underlying meaning of the data extracts using an analyst’s frame of reference. For example, when the participant described his marital sex “fairly middle of the road type sex” and not “Victorian”, a level of interpretation is required to label the experience as of “average enjoyment”.

Ultimately, the aim is to attain a “comprehensive set of codes that differentiates between different concepts, issues and ideas in the data, which has been applied consistently to the dataset” (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 211). This process generated 1462 codes. In re-examining them at this stage, I came across small sections of transcripts that were deemed of no strong correlation to this research but could have potential for future studies with a developmental focus; for example, one participant’s recollection of his dysfunctional childhood and realisation of his ACOA [Adult Child of Alcoholics] traits through counselling. However, as recommended by Braun and Clarke, it is best not to presuppose relevance and disregard interesting and idiosyncratic information at this stage of the analysis, but to review such information in the next phase.

4.4.3 Searching for patterns and creating first-order themes. Once all 1462 codes had been established as one single spreadsheet, the analysis for grouping and clustering the codes to form first-order themes could begin. Because of my familiarity and immersion with the data after having transcribed the interviews, and having listened to the audio-recordings several times, I had a feel for various broad categories. These broad categories (first-order themes) were formed on the basis of recurring use of language by the participants during interviews, and they were generally related to issues involving the participants’ perceptions and experiences of sex, both marital and same-sex, and how they lived, coped, managed their lives with same-sex desire, behaviour, activities, and anxiety, just to name a few.

I adopted Ryan and Bernard's (2003) technique for finding patterns and themes by identifying KWIC (key-words-in-context) in repetition and then searching through the dataset for relevant instances. According to the authors, the repetitive occurrence of key words is often perceived to be significant in the minds of the respondents therefore "the more the same concept occurs in a text, the more likely it is a theme" (p. 89). A flow-on illustration using an excerpt from the previous example in Table 1 shows the broad categories (first-order themes) that have been identified and created include 'Attraction', 'Needs and desire', 'Risky', 'Wife', 'Excitement', 'Enjoyment', 'Concealment' and 'Heteronormativity' in Table 2.

Table 2.

Example of Creating First-order Themes

Transcript	Coded meaning units (Codes)	First-order theme (KWIC)
Richard: I've never been too sure whether it was the fact that-I was just highly sexed or whether I actually like the fact that-it was a little, illicit or different, illicit u'know the, the fact that-it was, a bit left left of center I suppose in terms of the sex hav' as against, just normal sex in a marriage umm, so, umm, and sex in, my marriage has always been, I wouldn't say it's, it's Victorian certainly isn't but, was never, sortof, outof, was never weird or, never umm, when I hear of people being risqué in their, sexual encounters I was never like that, Interviewer: [umhm, umhm], umm, so it was, fairly middle of the road type sex but with males, yeh they tend to be in, for a start it was always secret and, and that havin', probably a level of desire about it, SP: [umhm, because of the secret], that I like the excitement u'know...	<p>Attracted to the illicit nature of same-sex (R3).</p> <p>Unsure whether desire for same-sex is because of strong sex drive (R3).</p> <p>Unsure whether attraction to same-sex is because of illicit nature of the sexual act (R3).</p> <p>Same-sex is different to sex with wife (R3).</p> <p>Same-sex is abnormal, left of centre, unusual; sex with female is normal (R3).</p> <p>Sex in heterosexual marriage was neither Victorian (stiff & boring) nor weird/risqué (different & exciting) (R3).</p> <p>Sex in heterosexual marriage was "fairly middle of the road" average in enjoyment (R3).</p> <p>Same-sex is concealed, hidden, secretive (R3).</p> <p>Secrecy of same-sex behaviour/activities drives the desire for it (R3).</p> <p>Secrecy about same-sex = excitement = high desire for it (R3).</p> <p>Same-sex behaviour/activities is exciting (R4).</p>	<p>Attraction</p> <p>Needs and desire</p> <p>Attraction</p> <p>Risky</p> <p>Wife</p> <p>Hetero-normativity</p> <p>Wife</p> <p>Enjoyment</p> <p>Concealment</p> <p>Concealment</p> <p>Excitement</p> <p>Needs and desire</p> <p>Excitement</p>

Detailed descriptions of the laborious technical steps taken to analyse all 1462 codes generated to form first-order themes have been provided in Appendix G but here in brief, the process utilised Microsoft Excel's analytical functions to firstly identify similar codes with KWIC and then group them into first-order themes.

Upon completion of this step where every coded meaning unit (1462 codes) had been distributed by category into themes, a total of 37 broad first-order themes were established (see Table 3). This was the first rudimentary ordering of the large dataset.

Table 3.

List of 37 First-order Themes

First-order themes
ACOA
Dysfunctional childhood
First same-sex experience
Pornography
Psychological help
Sex worker
Sexual needs and desire
SOSV
Times have changed
Addictive characteristics
Sexual arousal
Excitement
Risky
Pleasure
Enjoyment
Sexual attraction
Concealment/hide/secret
Dishonesty (lie, deceit, fraud, duplicitous)
Act of pretending
Anonymity
Disclosure/exposed
Identifying with similar others
Wife
Female/woman/opposite sex
Erectile dysfunction
Guilt and shame
Anxiety and fear
Same-sex
Double life
Coping strategies
Sense of self
Sexual identity/orientation

Heteronormativity
Heterosexism
Masculinity
Homophobia
Acceptance of homosexuality

4.4.4 Reviewing first-order themes and generating second-order themes.

This next stage of analysis corresponded to Phase 4 of Braun and Clarke's (2006) 6-phase TA. I further analysed and reviewed the codes in the different first-order themes to ensure they were fitting for their first-order themes. An example of further reconfiguration being required was the theme 'Same-sex' that had no less than 224 codes grouped under it. Hence that was a good starting point to fine-tune that theme and begin reviewing the underlying codes to verify whether they fit appropriately into the broad first-order themes and to create a better data-theme fit. This resulted in the reduction of codes from 224 to 49 in the first-order theme "Same-sex" and they were redistributed to other themes such as 'Pleasure' for engaging in same-sex, experiencing 'Anxiety and fear' of same-sex, 'Coping strategies' for double life with same-sex, just to name a few. The remaining codes that could not be transferred were left in the "Same-sex" category and renamed as "Perceptions of same-sex".

A key consideration for this phase was to explore the relationship amongst themes and to consider how themes would work together in telling an overall story about the data and form a satisfactory thematic map that would accurately summarise and represent the fundamental meanings identified in the dataset. To do that I realised I needed more detailed information from the very broadly and briefly described first-order themes. Each worksheet containing relevant codes belonging to a first-order theme was re-analysed and reviewed for key words, for patterns, and for whether there was an overlap of meaning in the words. Out of this exercise (an example is illustrated in Table 4), 81 second-order themes (listed in Table 6 in Appendix F) made up of phrases that I felt best represented the essence of the 37 first-order themes were generated.

Table 4.

Examples of Relationships Between Codes, First-order Themes and Second-order Themes

Coded meaning units (Codes)	First-order themes (KWIC)	Second-order themes
<p>Same-sex is concealed, hidden, secretive (R3).</p> <p>Feel sad to conceal and not be truthful (H12).</p> <p>Fear of causing harm/pain to others has maintained desire to conceal same-sex behaviour (B27).</p> <p>Living with the burden (concealment of same-sex behaviour) for a very long time (B19).</p>	Concealment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feel bad and wrong doing for hiding same-sex behaviour as secret. • Concealing same-sex inclination is to avoid harming others. • Concealing the secret of same-sex inclination has been a burden in life.
<p>Unsure whether attraction to same-sex is because of illicit nature of the sexual act (R3).</p> <p>Same-sex behaviour is very naughty because it is risky with fear of being caught (B2).</p>	Risky	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same-sex is risky because of illicit elements of naughtiness, forbiddenness and the fear of being caught.
<p>Same-sex is abnormal, left of centre, unusual; sex with female is normal (R3).</p> <p>Sense of heteronormativity – find the right person to get married and have children (H5).</p>	Heteronormativity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of heteronormativity – perceived heterosexuality is the norm. • Married a woman and have children to fit into the heterosexual majority.

This step provided further clarification of the essence of the grouping of codes besides the initial step using KWIC. It assisted me to review and confirm whether the themes were distilling something from the dataset that was relevant to the research question.

4.4.5 Creating organising-themes. From this point of the analysis, if I were to adhere to Braun and Clarke's (2006) phase 4, the goal would be to establish a satisfactory thematic map of my data. I found it challenging to represent all 81 second-order themes in one structural representation. I wanted to preserve the richness of the data that represented the experiences of these HMMSM and not lose any complexities, contradictions and nuances. Hence, I found the guidelines from Attride-Stirling's (2001) thematic network analytical method helpful for creating my thematic map.

According to Attride-Stirling (2001), thematic networks aim to "explore the understanding of an issue or the signification of an idea, rather than reconcile conflicting definitions of a problem" (p. 387). Therefore, by adopting her concept, it helped facilitate the structuring and depiction of themes in an organised web-like network that best illustrates the data. To enable the formation of a thematic network, I created middle-order themes to organise all second-order themes with similarities into one or more clusters efficiently in order to summarise the principal assumptions of a group of themes (i.e. second-order themes). This step resulted in ten organising themes ready for the final phase of generating the global themes, i.e. the super-ordinate themes that encompass the principal metaphors informing the data as a whole (p. 389).

At this stage, it is worth mentioning that any second-order themes I deemed not fitting into the overall scheme or directly address the research questions were discarded. These include 'ACOA', 'Dysfunctional childhood', 'First same-sex experience', 'Sexual attraction', 'Psychological help', 'Erectile dysfunction' and 'Times have changed'.

4.4.6 Global themes and the final thematic map. Global themes basically encapsulate the organising-themes in order to present an argument, or a position or an assertion about a given issue or reality. My initial attempt resulted in two candidate networks consisting of a broad interpretation of the HMMSM's experience of same-sex as 'Healthy' and 'Diseased'. With further consideration of the themes, there was a strong sense of effort on these men's part to manage their same-sex behaviour because they needed to protect their wives and families and also themselves from the implications of engaging in same-sex. After further reviewing and refining, a third network of 'Effort and Attempts to Protect' was created. Hence the resulting data

analysis of the interview transcripts finally led to the identification of three thematic networks, ‘Sexual Satisfaction (Health)’, ‘Sexual Stressors (Disease)’, and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect (Adaptive)’.

The following table is an excerpt from the full thematic network analysis that shows one of three thematic networks with its core global theme – ‘Sexual Satisfaction (Health)’ and also illustrates the underlying organising-themes and the first-order and second-order themes that support it. The full thematic network of all three global themes is shown in Appendix F.

Table 5.

Example of a Global Network 'Sexual Satisfaction (Health)'

First-order themes	Second-order theme	Organising-themes	Global themes
Pornography	Options for engaging in same-sex to satisfy sexual need and desire.	OPTIONS FOR ENGAGING IN SAME-SEX	SEXUAL SATISFACTION (HEALTH)
Sex worker			
SOSV			
Sexual arousal	Sex with men is more sexually arousing than sex with wife.	RISKY ILLICIT SEX WITH MEN IS MORE EXCITING AND SEXUALLY AROUSING THAN SEX WITH WOMEN	
Excitement	Same sex is more exciting because of elements of unknown, secrecy, forbiddenness and fear of being caught.		
	Seeking opportunities to engage in same-sex is anxiety provoking but exciting.		
	There is an addictive enhanced excitement to same-sex.		
Risky	Same-sex is risky because of illicit elements of naughtiness, forbiddenness and the fear of being caught.		
Pleasure	Same-sex is mostly for pleasure.	SEX WITH MEN IS MORE PLEASURABLE AND ENJOYABLE THAN SEX WITH WOMEN	
	Same-sex is more pleasurable because it feels freer and requires no emotional effort.		
	Same-sex orgasm is very intense and pleasurable.		
Enjoyment	Same-sex is more enjoyable because men know and understand what men feel and		

	want.		
	Same-sex is intense, free of emotional pressure hence more enjoyable.		
Perceptions of same-sex	Sex with men is non-committal and feels freer compared to sex with wife.		
	Same-sex is a merely physical act with no responsibilities and commitments to sexual partners.		
Female/woman /opposite sex	Sex with women is less physical with more spiritual and emotional connectedness compared to sex with men.	IDENTIFY WITH OTHER HMMSM AND DISCLOSURE IS BENEFICIAL	
Identifying with and disclosing to others	Disclosing secret to understanding other creates feelings of comfort and reduces anxiety and isolation.		
	Identifying with similar HMMSM gives a sense of belonging and not feeling abnormal.		

Individually, each global theme has been underpinned by organising-themes (lower order) and formed three non-mutually exclusive thematic networks. Although it was helpful to conceptualise the findings as three separate spherical themes, this approach was somewhat artificial and limiting.

Attride-Stirling (2001) highlighted that “a set of texts may well yield more than one Global Theme” (p. 389) and this was elaborated in this analysis how a lower-order organising-theme can be applied to more than one global theme. As examples, the organising-theme ‘Sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation’ has been allocated to two global themes i.e. ‘Sexual Stressors’ and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect’. Similarly, the organising-theme ‘Coping strategies to adapt and manage double life with same-sex’ has been allocated to the global themes of ‘Sexual Satisfaction’ and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect’. The reason for these dual applications will be elaborated in the ‘Findings’ chapter.

Therefore, it is noteworthy that by overlapping and juxtaposing the three spherical depictions, it not only captured the complexity within each sphere but it also recognised the interrelations, tensions, contradictions and complementarity between the

three global themes and their underlying sub-themes. This resulted in a deeper insight to the rich and detailed descriptions by these HMMSM lived experiences of same-sex activity. By overlapping the three perceptual and experiential spheres, I have intuitively created a fourth theme ‘Double Life’ as a focal point, which captures the participants’ perceptions of their lives and the approach to their existence i.e. their psychological being.

The final pictorial representation of three networks of global themes – ‘Sexual Satisfaction (Health)’, ‘Sexual Stressors (Disease)’ and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect (Adaptive)’, represented by three overlapping perceptual and experiential spheres and their corresponding supporting sub-themes, together with the central thematic focus of a ‘Double Life’, is shown as a thematic map in Figure 1.

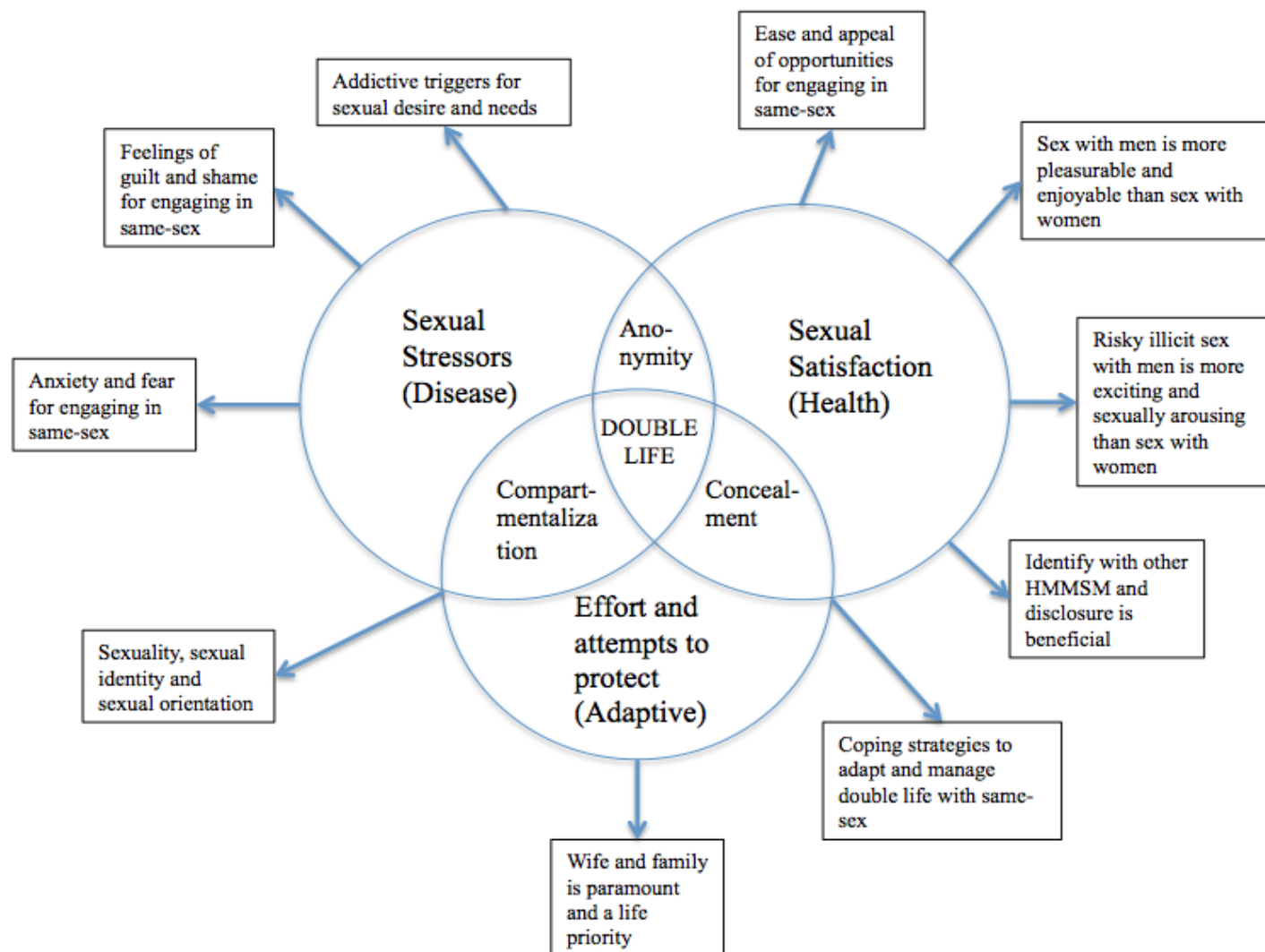


Figure 1. Thematic Map of Global Themes and Sub-themes

5. Findings

This chapter outlines the findings of the research and describes and explains the derivation and underlying meaning of the resulting global themes, and their associated sub-themes and the relevance of these themes to the research topic.

I will be using quotable data from the interview transcripts to provide an etic gaze into how heterosexually married New Zealand men who have sex with men, live their marital lives with the secret of having same-sex (i.e. a double life). The words of the three research participants' have formed evidence of real experiences and perceptions of HMMSM and they are used as an attempt to answer my research question and in the hope of postulating convincingly, the existence of a certain knowledge or phenomenon (A. B. Ryan, 2006).

Nevertheless, I concur with Green (2013) and wish to highlight that the thick descriptions of the participants' experiences and perceptions inevitably will "entail a range of judgements on the part of the researcher about what constitutes relevant evidence for the matters under investigation" (p. 107). I hope these interwoven verbatim comments within context will provide a balance and assist in maintaining an emic perspective throughout the analysis and explanation.

5.1 Global Theme 1: Sexual Satisfaction (Health)

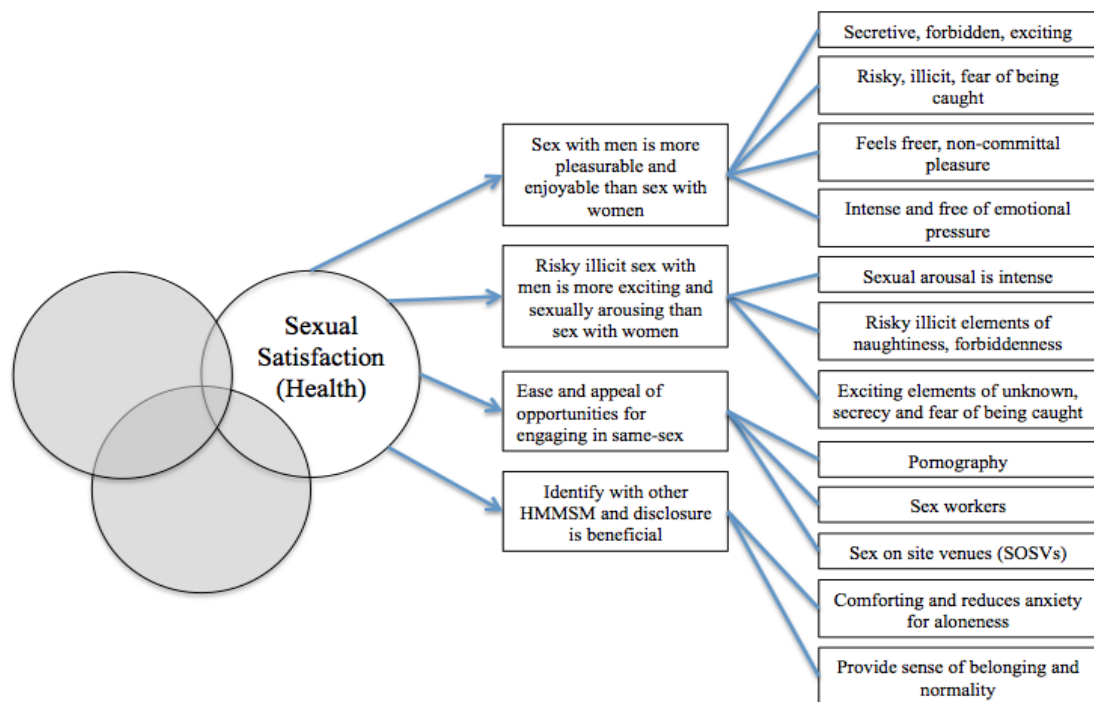


Figure 2. Global theme 1 ‘Sexual Satisfaction (Health)’ and supporting sub-themes

Sexual satisfaction is considered by World Health Organisation (2010) as an important component of sexual health, an outcome of sexual well-being and also a basic human sexual right (Carvalho & Costa, 2015). It has been conceptualised as a complex and nuanced construct that comprises emotional, relational, physiological, social and cultural dimensions (Štulhofer, Ferreira, & Landripet, 2014). Hence this subjective element of satisfaction in life is very difficult to define and measure with exactitude (Shpancer, 2014).

Several research has shown the correlation between sexual satisfaction and individuals’ psychological health and well-being (Apt, Hurlbert, Pierce, & White, 1996; Scott, Sandberg, Harper, & Miller, 2012) and how sexual satisfaction impacts on the stability of marriages (Henderson-King & Veroff, 1994) and is considered a ‘barometer’ for the quality of intimate relationships (Sprecher, 2002). Therefore, I concur with Carpenter, Nathanson and Kim (2009) that it is crucial to have a better understanding of the dynamics of sexual satisfaction and the impacts it has on the overall well-being of individuals.

Pascoal, Narciso and Pereira's (2014) findings have highlighted themes that captured positive aspects of personal sexual well-being and dyadic sexual experiences and comprised elements of pleasure, arousal and orgasm as meaningful representations of sexual satisfaction. Similarly, in this context, I find the global theme of 'Sexual Satisfaction' captures fittingly the main purpose for these HMMSM to effortfully seek out opportunities and to engage in same-sex in order to attain the positive feelings and rewards of sexual satisfaction, which include sexual sub-elements of pleasure, enjoyment and heightened arousal and excitement gained from engaging in same-sex. These individual components are elaborated later in this chapter.

One of the questions asked during the interview was *what* it felt like for the participants to engage in same-sex. The following verbatim extracts identified a common description of sexual satisfaction these HMMSM attained from engaging in same-sex and helped formed the over-arching tenor to the first global theme of 'Sexual Satisfaction'. It not only captured and summarised these HMMSM perceptions and experiences of their same-sex encounters but also explored indirectly the questions about *how* did they experience sex with men and the reason *why* these men chose to engage in extramarital same-sex.

All three participants expressed sexual satisfaction from engaging in same-sex. For example, Bill said "I enjoy it and then aarr I feel sexually satisfied" and Richard expressed "touching and...having sex in that area [anus] is physically...satisfying really, physically satisfying".

According to De la Garza-Mercer (2006), humans no longer engage in sex solely for the purpose of procreation but "to achieve sexual pleasure", which is "an innate component of human sexuality" (p. 107). **Sexual pleasure** has been declared "as a component of holistic health and well-being", hence sexual health should not be considered as merely an absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity (World Association for Sexual Health, 2008). Furthermore, Rye and Meaney (2007) have shown how 'sexual pleasure' is a primary motivator for why people engage in sexual activities, and for these HMMSM, they attained their desired sexual pleasure by having sex with men.

Bill has described that he seeks out same-sex because of the pleasurable rewards, “sex itself it is just...the pleasure of the experience...from going wherever it happens, the anticipation, the forbiddenness of it still, the adrenaline, the intimacy, the orgasm, and then bang that’s it”.

Henry reminisced, “when you do have someone doing that [oral sex] to you I find it quite pleasurable”. Furthermore, he expressed the mutuality of pleasure from giving it, “being able to suck other guys, as well, I’m quite happy doing that as well ummm, giving them pleasure.” When Bill was asked to describe what the act of same-sex felt like:

[V]ery intense so it’s a lot of...build-up...a lot of anticipation, ya’know lots of nervousness and fear n’, umm lot of apprehension...so when the sex finally happened...the orgasm’s very intense...huge attraction for that sort of sexual pleasure.

Difference between same-sex and marital sex. The ‘difference’ experience in having sex with men and women was expressed very well by Richard when he responded to the interviewer “What does having sex with a male mean to you?”

[I]t’s a lustful sexual experience umm, I feel heightened sexual arousal...I often feel a sense of fulfilment when I’m finished...often, sex with a male, umm physically umm I find more stimulating than sex with a female I mean it’s obviously different...it stimulates different parts of you...and that’s very satisfying and very enjoyable...because I’m a male [...and...] if I am with another male who enjoys that sexual arousal...it’s mutually satisfying...sex with a woman is different that they’re more loving caring type sex...it’s different.

However, all three participants at a certain point during their interviews have made comparative reference between what sex is like in their marriages and anonymous sex with men. Richard exemplifies this common sentiment,

I actually like the fact that-it [same-sex] was a little illicit or different...a bit left of centre...as against just normal sex in a marriage...sex in my marriage has always been...fairly middle of the road type sex but with males yeh they tend to be in for a start it was always secret...probably a level of desire about it that I like the excitement.

The following four sub-themes (organising-themes) support the overall thematic network of sexual satisfaction gained from engaging in same-sex. Despite these men

being married to women, they prefer sex with men and take risks to find opportunities to engage in extramarital same-sex.

5.1.1 Organising-theme 1.1 – Sex with men is more pleasurable and enjoyable than sex with women. Participants contrasted what same-sex felt like compared to marital sex or sex with women. The latter was less physical and involved attached emotional and spiritual connectedness,

I think with a woman...there's probably a more of a spiritual feeling there, I never describe that with a man. (Richard)

[I]t's [same-sex] more a physical thing...it's more action. (Henry)

Henry expressed his sexual frustrations (i.e. lack of pleasure) from marital sex.

[I]t's usually shorter time span and it's more umm almost me trying to pleasure her...and I don't get much back from her because she's not into...holding my cock or sucking my cock definitely not and or even much kissing either.

To summarise these participants' comparative narrations made between sex with men and sex with their wives, I find an overarching flavour that the former is preferred, possibly because there are no responsibilities and commitments to their male sexual partners and it is merely a physical act, expressed by Richard, "there's no...baggage to carry around with it [same-sex]." Hence the resulting organising-theme of 'sex with men is more enjoyable and desirable than sex with women'.

5.1.2 Organising-theme 1.2 – Risky illicit sex with men is more exciting and sexually arousing than sex with women. Like sexual pleasure and sexual satisfaction, sexual arousal is also considered a complex construct with multi-components of stimulation that go beyond genital responses (Mitchell, Wellings, & Graham, 2014). Janssen (2011) posited that sexual arousal has connections and overlaps with components of sexual motivation and desire. Zilbergeld (1999) described arousal as a sense of being 'turned-on' and feeling excited and is "most of what makes for a sexual experience that feels really good" (p. 200). I find this description fitting to how the participants of this study feel about their same-sex behaviour and engaging in same-sex activities. They were not only genitally aroused but were also receiving the

positive feelings of excitement due to the secretive, forbidden and risky nature of the activities.

Same-sex is exciting. Bill described his same-sex experience as “very forbidden, very naughty, very umm exciting in that sense, alot of adrenaline sortof thing, fear of getting caught, umm all of that thing so...it was quite exciting.” And Richard shared that “the whole, feeling of, sexual excitement is heightened yeah that’s the best way I can put it really.”

From the men’s narrative, sexual experience with men is interpreted as more exciting, more sexually arousing because of the illicit nature of sex compared to marital sex, which is ‘normal’. The fear and anxiety of getting caught and exposed for their extramarital homosexuality added heightened feelings of excitement and arousal hence made same-sex more desirable. This is further supported by Corley and Kort (2006) clinical experiences of some men “wanting to increase their sexual nirvana through intense and increased risk” (p. 169).

5.1.3 Organising-theme 1.3 – Ease and appeal of opportunities for engaging in same-sex. Unlike marital sex, HMMSM need to make an effort to seek out same-sex activities. Bill expressed this sentiment, “to have sex with male...you have to go looking for-it”. But they also expressed how easy it is for them to engage in same-sex as Richard shared, “I can make contact with people and or go places umm where I know I can have sex’n...really-isn’t a major problem” and Bill said it is “relatively easy to get”.

All three participants discussed where and how, which also contributed to the ‘why’, they seek and engage in homosexual activities to satisfy their sexual desires, urges and needs. There are many ways men, not gay exclusive, who desire to engage in sex with men could often successfully do so when they made the effort to search for it. The following are the participants’ chosen options for finding and engaging in same-sex.

Sex worker. Henry shared his early experiences of same-sex by engaging a male sex worker. His chosen approach not only satisfied his curiosity i.e. his need to

make real his sexual fantasy of the male form, it also provided a release for his homosexual yearning.

I...move from not just an image thing, to then craving actually a physicality of trying it out with a guy and hence that's why the hiring effectively a [sex worker].

Pornography. Similarly, pornography was not only used for educational purposes of gaining better understanding of one's own sexual orientation but it was also a medium to enhance the pleasure of masturbation.

So, you were in masturbation basically mode...the pictures of those [male nudes] would be something you could masturbate off to...that was more arousing than thinking of other things basically. (Henry)

Public sex environments (PSEs) and Commercial Sex Environments (CSEs). Locales classified by Hudson (2013) as 'public sex environments' (PSEs) including parks, public toilets and remote beach sections are places where MSM, including HMMSM, can often have sex with men. For example, Richard disclosed, "I noticed that you can have, you can find, people to have sex with in toilets." And Bill had looked for sex in the earlier days, when options for venues to engage in same-sex were limited, "where would you go looking for it well, public toilets ya'know, may be bushes may be, mostly public toilets."

All three participants shared that they did frequent a particular type of 'commercial sex environments' (CSEs) i.e. saunas, also known as bathhouses, that restrict patronage to men only. This spatial preference offers its paying customers "a space within which a wide range of interactions, sensations and pleasure can be experienced" (Holmes, O'Byrne, & Gastaldo, 2007, p. 273) and often is a "highly charged erotic environment where the possibilities for sexual gratification are always just around the corner" (Bolton, Vincke, & Mak, 1994, p. 258).

Hudson (2013) posited that these exclusive 'private' environments have several desirable advantages over other PSEs because they offer HMMSM a mostly discreet, social erotic space where anonymous consensual sex between men can take place. Moreover, in this 'erotic oasis', a term coined by Edward Delph (1978), where it is not only "physically and socially safe (according to subculturally defined standards) from

threats to exposure” (Tewksbury, 2002, p. 79), it is very much protected from discrimination, abuse, violence and blackmail. Furthermore, the removal of clothes is a norm that erases any issues of class and social boundaries and makes patrons take temporary refuge from societal homophobia and have a sense of camaraderie and democracy in their nakedness (Bérubé, 2003). This can also be perceived as a form of sexual pleasure that contributes to overall sexual health.

Richard shared his experience at a sauna, “just became more and more comfortable I think I got less and less nervous, with-it and may be part of that is that you could go to places [saunas] where it was entirely safe to do that, instead of ya’know illicit places”. Similarly, Henry felt “less nervous about going to the odd umm, sauna type places.”

5.1.4 Organising-theme 1.4 – Identify with other HMMSM and disclosure is beneficial. The participants expressed positive feelings where they were able to disclose their same-sex inclination to another trusted individual who was in a similar dilemma to their own. Having met many other like-minded HMMSM in the course of their same-sex activities, the realisation that they were not alone or abnormal had given them a sense of reassuring comfort and helped them cope with managing their ‘secret’.

Bill: I see this in lots ‘n lots...of men just like me doing exactly the same thing I even asked them sometimes...so you’re married aren’t you, just like me...so they don’t think they instantly have to lie...

Interviewer: ...how’s that feel for you?

Bill: I actually kind of feel a bit better ‘cos I know...how’s it with people, like me, dat-u think you’re the only one, the only person ever being so downright ya’know dishonest ‘n and living two lives ‘n of course then...after visiting saunas for awhile, I realised...in fact at least half of the guys in here, just like me...so that kind of makes me feel a bit better I don’t feel like such a freak or such a bad person ‘cos I’m one of many.

Henry found disclosing to another understanding individual helps,

I was able to cope with that is effectively umm I did make a connection with one other person, a gay guy, and was able to be open with him about who I was...that released some pressure in terms of being able to talk with someone in an open way about that aspect of me.

Knowing that someone else is experiencing the same problems, troubles and struggles, or being able to disclose to someone empathetic, can provide some form of support and confidence to cope and move through the painful transitions/stages in life.

In summary, the global theme 'Sexual Satisfaction' captured the various positive feelings and rewards these three participants have experienced when they engage in same-sex activities.

5.2 Global Theme 2: Sexual Stressors (Disease)

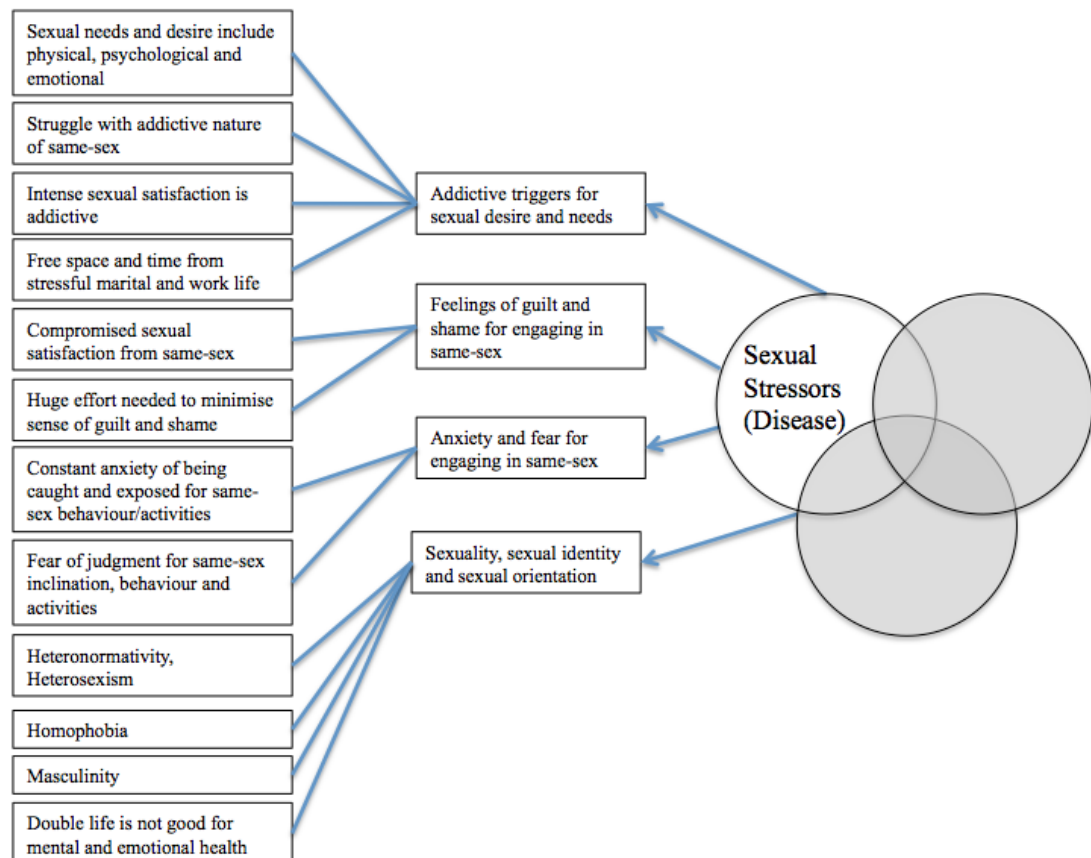


Figure 3. Global theme 2 ‘Sexual Stressors (Disease)’ and supporting sub-themes

Stressor is defined as a source of stress or “any factor that increases a person’s mental or physical stress; virtually all stressors can be described as related to environment (e.g., inadequate housing) or personal (e.g., health related, sexual, social or related to work)” (stressor, n.d.). In the context of this analysis, I have identified a theme that described the participants’ experiences and perceptions of having same-sex that caused them a certain level of mental stress. This resulted in my derivation of the second global theme ‘**Sexual Stressors**’ i.e. stress that is generated from these HMMSM’s same-sex inclination and behaviour.

Several comments from the participants have highlighted their perceptions and experiences of having same-sex as a source of stress that compromised their being. They do not express much negativity about the physical sex itself being a form of stress, but the other elements that surround the same-sex behaviour, desire and needs of sex with men that are causing stress.

Stress to psychological well-being.

It's [same-sex activity] not good for your mental health. (Bill)

Bill later elaborated that it was the duplicitous life of same-sex activities outside marriage that was unhealthy and not the homosexual act itself,

[T]o live this sort of [double] life...it's not good for you emotionally, mentally...And I'm not, talking about, the moral aspect of sex, male or female or anything like that I'm not talking about that. It's morally wrong to be so basically deceitful and duplicitous.

The following four underlying sub-themes helped encapsulate the overarching theme of 'sexual stressors' i.e. different sources of stress from engaging in same-sex.

5.2.1 Organising-theme 2.1 – Addictive triggers for sexual desire and needs. The participants shared their various sexual desires and needs for having same-sex. Richard has expressed desire to be the 'receiver' of penetrative anal sex,

For years I wanted to be able to have anal sex...now I can and do have anal sex and I enjoy it greatly.

Whereas Henry avoids it but prefers mutual kissing and oral sex, which he does not get from his wife.

I don't really engage in invasive sex...just pleasuring and sucking that kind of stuff but not...penetration basically.

Desire to hug, touch and feel another man was a prerequisite for Bill whereas others prefer not to engage in any intimate foreplay that could be deemed as being 'gay'.

If I do have a sexual experience with a male, do-u-know what I would always always like to do first is, is hug...touch...feel...just arms around, one another, particularly if it's reciprocated, yeah, I really want it.

All these men have something in common, they have a wish to understand why they have the desire and need to engage in same-sex and what triggers their needs. The following are Richard's reflections as to why.

High sex drive. I put in down to the fact that I am, I felt highly sexed.

Too much free time, boredom. Well often it's boredom, yah if I'm busy with work, I find that I have far far less sex with men, cause I'm, busy doing other things I just don't even think about it, but it is when I have spare time...that's when it gets dangerous.

Internet access. Richard finds internet access not only an easy and rapid method to make anonymous contact with other MSM and negotiate sexual encounters through classifieds, chat rooms and virtual communities, but also a trigger for his sexual desire and needs.

Interviewer: So what would trigger?

Richard: [Sigh] I think the most dangerous thing of all is that bloody NZ Dating site, soon as I seen-it or read about it those're triggers for me, umm ya'know just thinking about going to [name of] sauna or ya'know that would be a trigger.

Space away from married life. Richard thought of occasions, "I've been away with work say down to [other NZ cities] or wherever ya'know had to stay away...I know what I would like right now."

Struggles with addictive nature of same-sex. From the various triggers mentioned, the one that the participants struggle with the most is the addictive nature of same-sex. Two of the participants outrightly correlated their sexual desire and needs for same-sex to a form of addiction, made comparison to alcoholics, drug and gambling addicts who have a need to 'have a fix' for their 'cravings', and gave a sense that they struggle to starve their addictive behaviour to repeatedly engage in same-sex.

Men like me heterosexual men that have sex with men, I do think it is, at least partly, motivated by addiction, yeah I really believe that...the more you end up doing it the more you want to do it 'n...like alcohol or drugs or...gambling or...any other addictive behaviour...you need more and more, n'that behaviour's getting more and more intense, and more often umm, and more risky...that of course quickly [snigger] keep the cycle going bring you back every time" (Bill).

After that experience [first same-sex encounter] it was constant, I just had to get more and more of it [sex with men]... there're big periods of my life and there's still are, where it's it's almost a craving...it's almost as if...you're a sexaholic, and you've got to get release. (Richard)

Having more sex with my wife arr-does that lessen the need to go out and have sex with men...sometimes, it does, but it in-other times it just heightens my desire...hit some trigger somewhere and, I have to go out and have sex with...a male to umm...just to put a tick in a box as much as anything... just to get...form of relief really...thankfully I'm not an alcoholic so I'm not in that boat but...it feels a bit that way...it's like a drug...once I had sex, umm I could go weeks possibly without another umm encounter, but then something would trigger it and...then here it goes again. (Richard)

5.2.2 Organising-theme 2.2 – Feelings of guilt and shame for engaging in same-sex. With the addictive behaviour of wanting to engage in same-sex, Bill often thought about stopping it, “many many times say right, that's it, never doing it again” and expressed why, “because I feel guilty, because I shouldn't be doing it in the first place”. This sub-theme encapsulated the commonalities of feeling regrets, guilt and shame among the participants when they engage in same-sex.

I, hardly ever...let some guy do it [penetrative anal sex] to me...similarly I don't, ya'know, do it with other guys...probably because of my guilt with my wife. (Henry)

I've got this, attraction addiction to sex with men [clear throat], which I don't feel good about by the way, not one tinsy-little-bit. (Bill)

Time helps to lessen Bill's guilt, “I feel a certain degree of regret...and guilt, way more in the past then now.”

Bill expressed shame for his extramarital same-sex activities, “what I've been saying about all this [same-sex]...it's a shame the whole thing's a shame” and later claimed that, “I'm not proud of it at all”.

And what caused these feelings of guilt and shame is the behaviour of being deceitful, dishonest and having to lie and pretend. These HMMSM have a sense of moral judgement because they feel that having sex, not only with men but also outside their marriage, is 'wrong'.

There's always, always has been a niggling feeling of guilt there that I shouldn't be doing this 'cos I'm married and-the, ya'know when you're married to a partner...you're not supposed to be doing these things. (Richard)

[T]here is an element I guess of umm guilt around the fact that partly for my wife, in terms of...guilt with the church. (Henry)

I shouldn't be doing it [extramarital same-sex] in the first place, yah...This was the wrong thing to do. (Bill)

Bill further expressed remorse for his act of pretending,

I've spent my life pretending...that I'm this totally happily married, monogamous sexual heterosexual man, but I know and nobody else knows, except you now...that I'm actually have this whole other side to my life that I've been keeping secret 'n pretending for, all these years.

5.2.3 Organising-theme 2.3 – Anxiety and fear for engaging in same-sex.

Because of the illicit and secretive nature of engaging in extramarital same-sex, these HMMSM expressed feelings of both fear and anxiety for their same-sex inclination and extramarital sexual activities.

Anxiety of being found out. Richard expressed anxiety that his marriage would be destroyed if he was caught for extramarital same-sex behaviour, "I think it [marriage] would-be the end I think it'll just [pause] I don't think her-reaction would be very good at-all." Similarly, with Bill, "there's always that...distant fear of getting caught, and...it all all falling apart."

Fear of consequences of disclosure. Henry, who is religious, knows his church is accepting of homosexuality but feels fearful about disclosing his same-sex orientation and desire to his church and family as he anticipates losing everything he treasures.

[There's] a lot of things I enjoy whether it be my wife, my children, my church, and a lot of that...I would almost certainly lose if I was more open with some of those parties so, if I want that enjoyment of those other aspects of my life then I've got to understand that limitations on me disclosing.

And Richard expressed his catastrophisation of disclosure.

[It] would ruin my relationship for a start, would ruin my life umm it would just be...catastrophic 'n it's just not worth it.

For Bill, the thought of the consequence of being exposed was so frightening that he refused to talk about disclosing the 'hidden' part of his life.

- Bill: I kind'na weighed-up, may be I'm-just justifying my umm cowardliness, I kindof justify umm not not revealing this other side to me.
- Interviewer: I think you touched on earlier on it seems like there's a lot to lose if you do that.
- Bill: Yah! Yea there is, yeah I don't really wanna go into that, but there is...ya.
- Interviewer: You don't want to go into that in terms of this conversation?
- Bill: In terms of this conversation...yah there's a very great deal to lose.

All three HMMSM harbour a constant anxiety of not knowing when, where and how they will be exposed for their same-sex inclination and also fearful of the consequences if their infidelity and true sexual orientation are discovered. They also expressed unthinkable losses that will impact on their lives with respect to their marriage, family, career and religious belief.

5.2.4 Organising-theme 2.4 – Sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation. How one perceives one's sexuality is shaped by many factors including one's values, beliefs, attitudes, sexual experiences, physical attributes and societal expectations. Throughout the narratives, there appeared to be a sense of heteronormativity, heterosexism, internalised homophobia and gender discrimination i.e. masculinity. I have captured and themed the discourses that reflect these men's struggles and attempts to make sense of their sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation, which have become potential life stressors that possibly compromised their enjoyment of sex, their relationships with others, wives, families and societies. The following verbatim described these HMMSM attempts to figure what their sexuality means to them.

Attitude (accepting) towards homosexuality. Richard sees his same-sex inclination as part of life and expressed his acceptance of it accordingly, "I'm pragmatic enough to think...it's just the way it is."

Choice to sexuality. So you live with that...it's not easy but I don't feel sorry for myself...we make our own choices, and I've certainly chosen to do what I do but I don't feel good about it. (Bill)

[I]t's, entirely my choice...I'm mature enough responsible enough to know not to umm not to become some sort of victim out of this. (Bill)

Choice of sexual orientation. All three participants expressed clearly that they do not want to form loving relationships with male sexual partners and perceived that to be potentially difficult and painful.

I have seen some guys that have been in marriages and then gone into sort of homosexual relationships...And I haven't seen too closely how they interact with their previous partners and all that sort of stuff but obviously it's been painful from what I've seen. (Henry)

[B]ecause I already have a loving relationship...that I've had for-a-long time, I don't...I'm not looking for...a male...regular long term partner at all so...what's it about then, it's about the sex. (Bill)

I do not want to form a relationship I don't see myself umm in a loving caring partnership with that person...[b]ecause they're male and yeah, and I don't want to live with a male. (Richard)

Figuring out one's sexuality, sexual orientation and identity. These HMMSM indicated that they have been struggling to make sense of their same-sex behaviour and also shown acceptance of their same-sex inclination.

I can't relate to a fully homosexual man and I know many would say that I'm kidding myself that I'm homosexual n'pretending...it's really not true and I've spoken to other men just like me it's not it's not true. (Bill)

[Q]uestioning myself as-to why I'm doing it why am I like this umm, not all men are like this why am I like this umm and I thought about that all my life I can't umm the only answers I've ever managed to get are that it-just I am what I am. (Richard)

I think you have to be true to yourself...have to front up to people that in fact I am...a bisexual umm probably and and I mean you don't go through continuums but as I've got older I'm more gay than bisexual. (Henry)

Same-sex orientation impacts on psychological well-being. Bill was very sure that his propensity for same-sex (considered as a component of bisexuality) has impacted on his psychological well-being.

I know for certainty that if, if the bisexuality thing was not there...my mental state mental 'n emotional state would be alot more mature [healthier].

The supporting sub-themes of the global theme of 'Struggle with sexual identity and orientation' comprised various sexual prejudices against non-heterosexual orientation. I have attempted to elaborate and define the key themes of homophobia, heteronormativity and heterosexism, which are generic terms used to capture the perceptions and feelings of these three HMMSM's sexuality, sexual identity and orientation.

Sense of homophobia. Richard expressed his homophobia,

I mean it's just being naked with another man it's quite I mean...[sigh] it's not normal in society [sad laugh].

[M]ost people now are fairly liberal in their views about such things it's only when you get into certain parts of the country among certain occupations [laugh] that you can find that there're people who're still pretty bloody redneck.

Paradoxically, Richard shared his sense of acceptance of homosexuality in public, "I very firmly think that-if a man wants to have sex with a man, fine" and he further expressed, "if we've a discussion 'n someone said, so you don't mind men having sex with men and I'll say no that's fine I don't, don't have an issue." But when asked if he is questioned about his own same-sex behaviour, it was a different response, "if someone question me and said how would you feel if someone else put their penis in your mouth...um-obviously...I'd have to lie...I can't admit to them in public that I have sex with men."

Sense of heteronormativity. In this context, all three participants have expressed a sense of heteronormativity and perhaps that is the reason why they have chosen to get married, have children and denied themselves of the 'homo' aspects of their sexuality. They think that being heterosexuals is the norm and acceptable way of being.

I grew up always expecting if I could find the right person, I get married have children, that sort of path...in that sense was going a sort of a traditional heterosexual path...what I saw was the norms of...a married life and religious views 'cos some of them are quite rigid in terms of umm homosexuals. (Henry)

And Bill expressed his marginal feelings towards same-sex, "being queer, homo, poof, whatever was umm...socially unacceptable...was kind of fringe behaviour" and expressed his desire to be different, to be like the majority in society i.e. a heterosexual, "I wish it wasn't the case [with same-sex inclination], I wish I was fully heterosexual" and "wish I could just somehow rewire my head or my sexuality...and flick a switch and it's all different."

Leading a Double Life – impact on mental and emotional health. With the struggle of sexuality, sexual orientation and identities, all participants have expressed that they have the experience of leading two different lives – one being married to a woman, and the other secret life that engages in same-sex without the knowledge of their wives or anyone of significance. In their discourse, they shared their perceptions and experiences that leading such a 'double life' is fundamentally stressful and unhealthy.

I'm slightly living this double life and guilt with the church in terms of that double life aspect that says well, there is a percentage risk that things could all come out. (Henry)

[U]nless you're honest with your wife n'get-it-all out in the open which I didn't and haven't...then you end up leading a kind of a double life, umm-which is not great...it's not good for your mental health...it's not right to lead two lives...it's not easy. (Bill)

Bill also perceived men, who are fully heterosexual, without leading a double life to be more 'complete' and perhaps psychologically healthier,

[Men] living a single life...they're their own person...they are definitely...got their lives more together they're more confident they're more mature.

Despite the stress caused by their duplicitous lifestyle, these men 'chose' to continue with it because the temporaneous and addictive sexual pleasure from having same-sex provides the inducement for them not to stop. Furthermore, the overall sexual

satisfaction they gained probably outweighs the dissatisfaction from marital sex and other life stressors they have experienced.

[Y]ou can either quit that [double life] and do your own thing or you can live with it. (Bill)

[A] person like me leading two lives realises it's not a natural state for a human being...what I'm doing it's not ideal at all but, I've got to the age I am now, doing it and, probably die doing it. (Bill)

[T]he wonder of it is that you can enjoy it...it's just...what it is and you go you enjoy it, you leave it you go home or you go back to work or you do just carry on with the rest of your life. (Richard)

In summary, the global theme 'Sexual Stressors' captured the various stressors these three participants have experienced when they engage in same-sex, and attempted to encapsulate the participants' perceptions, values, beliefs and attitudes towards sex between men and also their struggle with their sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual identity and a 'split' life.

5.3 Global Theme 3: Effort and Attempts to Protect (Adaptive)

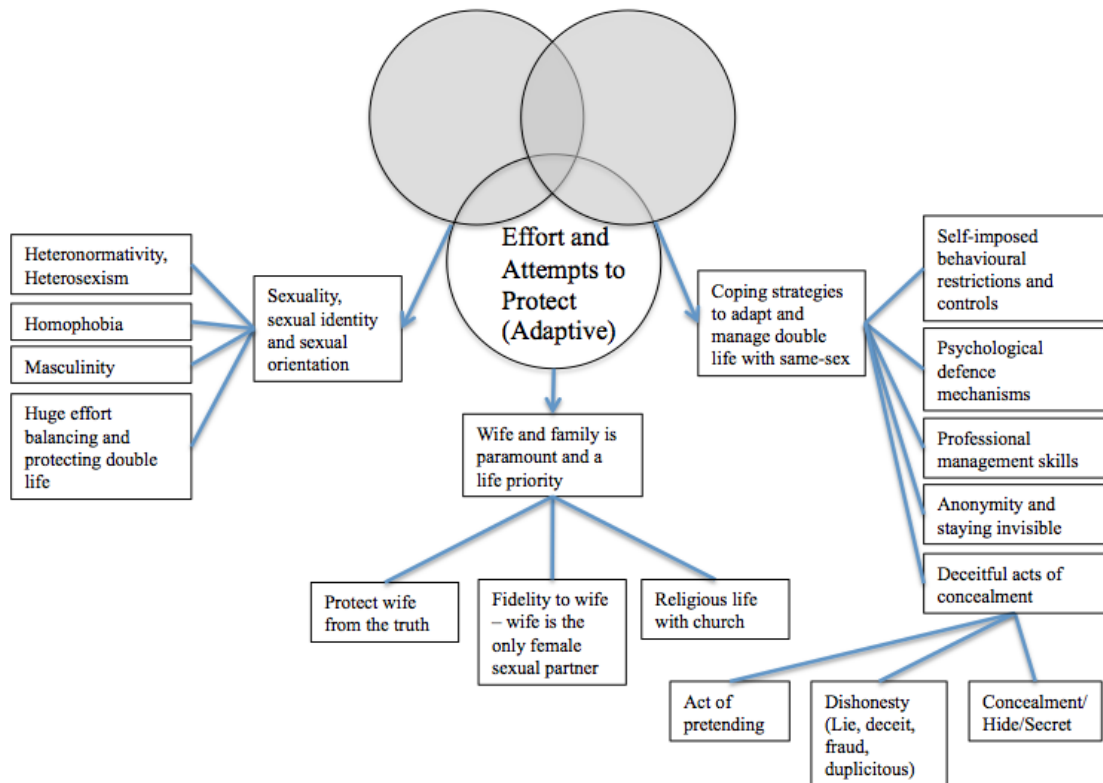


Figure 4. Global theme 3 'Effort and Attempts to Protect (Adaptive)' and supporting sub-themes

In the preceding global theme 2, I elaborated the participants' negative experiences and feelings about engaging in same-sex and leading a double life as a source of stress. Additionally, these HMMSM's struggles with sexuality, sexual identity and orientation, possibly triggered by their perceptions of what their societies, families and wives would think of them if their infidelity and same-sex orientation were disclosed, have also been demonstrated verbatim in the previous theme as sexual stressors. Simultaneously, the stress of the multi-faceted feelings of fear, anxiety, shame and guilt required tremendous energy and effort to cope in order for these men to carry on living their double lives.

During the interviews, the following questions were asked of the participants, "what would happen if the secret of double life was found out?" "how would you think you'll deal or cope with it?" and "what happens if wife does find out?" They reacted with thoughts of catastrophic or devastating consequences. The conversation led to them talking about how they would take all measures to avoid being caught and their

wives finding out. Subsequently, they shared their need to protect their wives, their families, their worlds. The verb '**protect**' has been simply defined as

- to keep (someone or something) from being harmed, lost, etc.;
- to defend or guard from attack, invasion, loss, annoyance, insult, etc.; and
- to cover or shield from injury or danger.

5.3.1 Organising-theme 3.1 – Sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation. The following further describe why these HMMSM need to protect themselves from the vulnerabilities of feeling shame, guilt, fear and anxiety and what is required for these men to protect themselves from their fear of societal judgement, discrimination and being an outcast. And perhaps for Richard who enjoys anal sex, the fear of social castration as he loses his sense of masculinity by being a 'receiver'.

Bill expressed his fear of the revelation of true sexuality and infidelity would hurt many others, "[I] have the desire not to hurt other people...there's always other people there's never just the one person there's extended family there's friends."

Henry feared losing involvement in church, "I would definitely be out of my current church...I would have to stand down as an elder and probably and leave the church if it came out that I was umm, gay."

Extra effort taken to protect sexuality. To protect one's true sexuality, it is necessary to conceal any signs of same-sex inclination, behaviour or activities. For Bill, he harboured the false belief that sexual satisfaction in marriage would help him be rid of his same-sex propensity and married to protect his true sexuality that had an element of same-sex desire.

I thought that if I, married and have a regular sex life...with-a woman that that the desire for male sex would, either diminish or jus'go-away, yep but it doesn't.

This aligns with Isay's (1998) postulation that most MMSM marry with the hope that regardless how strong their homosexual desires are, a matrimonial commitment will 'cure' them.

For Henry, to avoid the suspicion of his wife, he has made extra effort to show his acceptance of homosexuality, and to normalise homosexuality by making it natural and ‘normal’ to have gay friends. This is also a way that Henry manages and copes with his guilt of dishonesty and being deceitful. In a way it is reverse psychology, which counters Warren’s (1974) postulation that MMSM would prefer not to have any association with the gay community to avoid being exposed of any homosexual inclination.

I mean I’ve been open...she’s [wife] very much aware I umm attend sometimes concerts sometimes singing things which have been gay events so to speak...I’m quite open about that so it’s that’s part of me being semi-open in terms of not being dishonest.

Hence the desire of these men to protect themselves from their struggles with sexuality, sexual identity and orientation has been themed under the same organising-theme of ‘Sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation’ and is shared with the preceding global theme ‘Sexual Stressors’⁴.

5.3.2 Organising-theme 3.2 – Coping strategies to adapt and manage double life with same-sex. For HMMSM to survive their secretive lives, they have devised strategies to cope, adapt and manage their double lives. This organising-theme captures how these three participants strategized their way of life to deal with their same-sex lifestyle and concurrently live a heterosexually married life.

[J]ust learn to live with it and adapt...and so while it’s not ideal at the same time...ya’know you just get on with life I guess. (Bill)

The self-imposed pressure on these men to ‘get things right’ and not make mistakes of exposing themselves has put a toll on their psychological being.

It’s important that I do it right...that I don’t slip-up that I don’t leave trails that I make sure...I’ve kept it all safe and secure. (Richard)

It is noteworthy that this organising-theme is shared by the global theme ‘Sexual Satisfaction’ because these HMMSM are making a huge effort to manage their lives in

⁴ It is noteworthy that the organising-theme ‘Sexuality, sexual identity and sexual orientation’ is shared between two global themes ‘Sexual Stressors’ (i.e. organising-theme 2.4) and ‘Effort and Attempts to Protect’ (i.e. organising-theme 3.1). A line emanating from between two spherical global themes 1 and 2 in the thematic map illustrates this dual allocation.

order to continue receiving sexual satisfaction from extramarital same-sex. Hence the line emanating between two spherical global themes indicates this correlation in the thematic map. These HMMSM's various rigorous approaches are elaborated as follow.

Self-imposed behavioural restrictions and controls for same-sex activities.

One of the ways these participants manage is to change the behaviour when engaging in sex. The difference between sex with men and sex with women helps them to split and accept their double lives with different sexual orientation.

Examples of self-imposed behavioural restrictions and controls,

- **When to engage in same-sex.**

[If] I gonna have sex with a male it will be during the day and it will be during the week, it'll never be at night 'n-it'll never be at the weekend. (Richard)

[J]ust restrict it to Sunday afternoon where I could say I am going to the gym...people think that I'm going to the same gym and on Sunday afternoons so that's one way of being able to umm, I guess work it in my life balance so to speak. (Henry)

This coincided with the fundamental finding by Goodllin-Fahncke and Cheeseman Dial (2012) that "married men desire encounters within certain time frames so as to not be caught by their spouses" (p. 135).

I think I needed and recognise...that you need time to yourself, as part of a week and so...I was to get into a pattern as I have been to some degree every couple of weeks where you are meeting anonymously with guys. (Henry)

Hence, creating a regular time and space for same-sex.

- **Restricting sexual behaviour.**

[J]ust pleasuring and sucking...but not umm penetration basically...I don't really engage in invasive [anal] sex. (Henry)

[K]issing sexually is not part of that at all. (Bill)

- **Avoid triggers.**

So...the rule is if I can, for god sake don't think about it and don't go looking on site on computer. (Richard)

- **Manage same-sex desire and urges with masturbation.**

If it got to the point where I just...so busy or I couldn't get it out or...I couldn't umm, manage...to organise umm male sex, I would simply masturbate n'ma-makes it go away for a while. (Richard)

Psychological defence mechanisms. These men have adopted many defence mechanisms to manage their double lives, including compartmentalisation, splitting, rationalisation and dissociation. They have also utilised the primary defence of denial that they are not cheating on their wives and committing adultery/infidelity because they are having sex with another man and not a woman. The different defence mechanisms are supported by the verbatim of the participants:

- **Compartmentalisation.**

I can lessen the desire I can, put things to one side umm so I'm able to compartmentalise...I'm quite capable of prioritising and family and work all come first and I don't have any issues with that... my desires to have sex with men just doesn't impinge on that...I'm strong enough not to let it so. (Richard)

I'm able to compartmentalise that [life]...I'm not one that...worry over, over aspects that are other components [same-sex], that's how I've been able to deal with stress in my both work environment and my multi-faceted home environment as well. (Henry)

- **Splitting.**

[Y]ou developed the ability over a long long long time to be able to simply shut one out. (Bill)

- **Dissociation.**

I don't feel any emotional attachment umm with a male it's just not there I enjoy what what happens...I don't feel that emotional attachment it's a physical [thing]. (Richard)

I just, shut it out, block it ‘n block it, you become very good over a long period of time of just blocking stuff out that shouldn’t really block out at all you should deal with it of course...just block it...and then you get on with the rest of your life. (Bill)

- **Denial.**

[U]’know you hear all the time about males cheating on their wives, off with other woman...I don’t do that [snigger]. (Richard)

- **Rationalisation.**

[I]t’s just a part of you and...umm that’s what you are that’s who you are it’s a bit different but umm you can’t deny yourself you are what you are and...really in lots of ways...try to justify it this way I’m not cheating on my wife because there’s no emotional attachment to what I’m doing, there’s none at all. (Richard)

Henry rationalised what is best for himself and his wife, “I guess her not knowing that full part of me...well I just have to accept...that’s how it’s best in some ways I I rationalised it...is best for me to operate and for her.”

These participants’ rationalisation and denial coincided with the postulation by Goodlin-Fahncke and Cheeseman Dial (2012) that some married men who have sex with other men may not see it as cheating on their wives.

Wife is not a man. Furthermore, Richard shared his sentiments,

I’m not actually shunning her for other woman I’m not...she’s not a man ‘m not, I can’t make her a man...I’m not pushing her aside because I don’t think she is good enough and going after other woman that are good enough, it’s got nothing to do with her, that’s all to do with...umm men really ‘n man sex it’s totally different kettle of fish...that’s how I justify it...probably plenty of people think I’m still a bastard.”

This aligns with King’s (2004) comment that “[n]othing will make a [man] who likes to have sex with other [man] stop. I know that sounds harsh, but it’s true. If a man enjoys sex with a man, there’s not a woman alive who can compete with that desire because, it’s simple, *she’s not a man*” (p. 47).

Professional management skills.

[I've] been a manager all my life so I've managed things and I can manage that too...that's my skill...so I use those skills to help me umm deal with this side of my life. (Richard)

[I]n my work life means that I'm used to balancing a lot of balls in the air so a lot of umm different things are on the go, in my world [double life]...I can dip in and out of and treat almost separately...I guess that helped me cope. (Henry)

Anonymity and staying invisible. Bill valued anonymity and confidentiality seriously.

If you knew what I was like with my confidentiality and anonymity, you know how serious I am about putting prevention mechanisms in place.

I stay very anonymous...I never give out my personal details to anyone, I use a false name umm...I don't give out my phone...I don't really want to hook up.

Henry avoided having ongoing interactions,

"I'm usually careful around I don't...hang or interact with guys in those more anonymous like sauna settings not in any sort of home situations or anything some guys have said you know...here's my phone number or whatever and I haven't ever taken that sort of up."

Acts of concealment – lying and pretending.

I'm actually have this whole other side to my life that I've been keeping secret 'n pretending for all these years. (Bill)

I have I guess a technique...which I don't wear my glasses when I'm in that environment in some extent 'cos I can't see people as clearly, I sort of fool myself and think they can't see me as clearly and in the sense...who I am...probably a bit of a false belief. (Henry)

5.3.3 Organising-theme 3.3 – Wife and family is paramount and a life priority. As discussed earlier, if these HMMSM are caught or exposed for their same-sex inclination, they fear that their relationship, their world would end. They have no idea whether their wives would leave them, and even if they do not, the thought of having to re-establish the trust again is unthinkable. The fear of losing trust was expressed by Bill,

The turmoil 'n the pain...to shatter someone's trust, trust is what a relationship is all about and then to shatter it, is not good...I don't want to do it to somebody else...it's the one thing I avoid happening at all cost.

One of the motivations that drives these HMMSM's effort to protect is their desire not to hurt their wives, family and avoid destroying their own lives, their career, and for Henry, his religion.

Fidelity. These HMMSM have a strong sense of faithfulness to their wives because they are not having sexual encounters with women other than their wives. They are in denial of committing infidelity because they do not consider sex with men as being unfaithful but rather a protection (non-direct manner) for their wives.

I have a strong desire to be loyal to my wife...I've never actually had sex with another female other than my wife...I haven't gone looking for sex with other females...I know it's not really that different but it seems to be in a different category. (Bill)

Sense of responsibility to wife.

I've never really look at other woman other than my wife so I don't look at a female form...I feel I should be fulfilling my role partly as husband, to help with her, sort of slightly sexual needs as well...making her feel wanted because if she's, if I'm not, getting aroused with her then, if I was in her situation I would be feeling, ya'know finding that difficult as well. (Henry)

Sexually transmitted infections.

Henry protects his wife by using condoms when having marital sex. This is to ensure no STIs are passed on to his wife.

To be fair on her I've always made sure I've actually worn a condom when I've been with her because again that helps me umm understand...if I've been with someone and it's caused any kind of diseases or anything, I shouldn't be giving that to her.

He managed to convince his wife by rationalising the reason for using protection with her and avoided any suspicion of his sexual infidelity with men,

I've always given her the excuse of she's never like the mess anyway so in terms of, if you have unprotected sex, she ends up with semen in her own thing which

she always found a bit funny anyway so this is a way of being able to rationalise that.

There is another protection that is not explicitly talked about during the interviews. It is an implicit one that has been interpreted and that is these men are protecting themselves from the pain, hurt, the losses, their vulnerability if they were to be caught or exposed of their extramarital same-sex behaviour and activities. As Bill has asserted, “there is a lot to lose”.

5.4 Summary

This chapter described three global themes and eleven anchoring subthemes that captured ‘what it is like’ when heterosexually married men have sex with men. In engaging in extramarital same-sex activities, HMMSM (at global theme level):

- Gain sexual satisfaction.
- Experience stress.
- Attempt to protect effortfully.

Underlying themes that support why HMMSM find satisfaction are because:

- It is more pleasurable than sex with wife.
- Its illicit nature enhances enjoyment.
- It is available in appealing environments.
- It is endorsed by encounters with other men engaged in the same activity.

Conversely, HMMSM also experience stress when engaging in (homo)sexual activities, and the stressors include:

- Feelings of guilt and shame about their behaviour.
- Harbours constant anxiety and fear of judgement and of being exposed of having homosexual proclivities.
- Being addicted to the need for same-sex activities.
- Struggles with sexuality, sexual identity and orientation.

To balance between the desire and need for sexual satisfaction and the corresponding stress from gaining it, these HMMSM made tremendous effort to:

- Adopt coping mechanisms to manage married life with same-sex proclivities.
- Hide their true sexuality, sexual identity and orientation to avoid societal judgement and discrimination.
- Protect wives and significant others from their ‘secret’ and protect themselves from being caught.

The interplay of these three global themes resulted in a fourth centripetal theme – ‘double life’, which encapsulated the dilemmatic struggle of these HMMSM as they desire and engage in extramarital sexual relationships with other men while remaining married to their wives. The perceptions and experiences of leading such a duplicitous life, and how it impacts on their psychological being, are discussed and elaborated in the following chapter.

6. Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings of this analytic study and highlights the salient points that present an interpretation of the perceptions and experiences of heterosexually married New Zealand men who choose to engage in same-sex activity while being married to a woman. It also provides an understanding of the psychological being of these men who perceive themselves to be leading a ‘double life’; which addresses the fundamental question of this research. The limitation of this novel contribution of findings and its relevant implications for further research and clinical practice will also be considered and discussed.

6.1 Identification and Exploration of Recurring Themes

One of this research’s objectives is to identify and explore recurring themes of HMMSM in relation to gaining some understanding of the perceptions and lived experiences of these men, from their own perspective i.e. ‘what it is like’ for them, to engage in sex with men while being married to a woman. I have broadly construed their responses as positive (Sexual Satisfaction), negative (Sexual Stressors) and adaptive (Effort and Attempts to Protect), and the interplay of these three themes resulted in a fourth dimension that captured the participants’ ‘split’ state of being (Double Life); as explained in the preceding chapter.

6.2. HMMSM’s Sense of Self

Another objective of this study is to gain further understanding in relation to HMMSM’s sense of self, sense of authenticity, sexual desire and the resulting incongruity, which is caused by the non-alignment of behaviours with sexual attractions and self-identities. The following discussion highlights the notion of these elements and attempts to elucidate the impact they have on the psychological being (i.e. mental health) of these HMMSM when they lead a double life.

The following sections are not organised into a ‘neat fit’ orderly manner in relation to the global themes in the findings. However, they are in overlapping ‘clusters’ and wherever possible, correlations of appropriate sections to global themes have been highlighted in the discussion.

6.2.1 Self-concept. In psychology, the sense of self is a dynamic notion and, simply defined, is the way an individual thinks about his or her traits, beliefs and purpose within the world. Additionally, the dual aspects of inner and outer selves further complicate the concept since human beings are living and interacting with the outside world incessantly, hence this concept of self and self-related perceptions is both a cognitive and social construction. The self-concept has been extensively recognized for its role in affecting human cognition, emotions, motivation and associated social adjustment and is useful in explaining individual's behaviour and mental well-being (Self-Concept, 2011); thereby fitting in this context for elucidating the New Zealand sample of HMMSM's sense of self.

Carl Rogers (1902-1987), a humanistic psychologist, is by far the most influential and eloquent voice in developing a concept based on the importance of self. In humanistic terms, *self* is who we really are as a person. It is our inner personality and can be likened to the soul, or Freud's psyche. Rogers described self as a social product, developing out of interpersonal relationships and striving for consistency. He maintained that there is a basic human need for positive regard both from others and from oneself. He also believed that in every person there is a tendency towards self-actualization and development so long as this is permitted and encouraged by an inviting environment (Purkey & Schmidt, 1987).

Rogers (1959) posited that the self-concept has three components that relate intimately:

- **Self-image** – how we see ourselves and how that influences the way a person thinks, feels and behaves in the world; it is important for good psychological health.
- **Ideal-self** – how we wish we could be.
- **Self-esteem** – what we think about ourselves, how positively or negatively we accept and approve of ourselves.

He also suggested that people tend to have a concept of their ideal-self and the problem is that our image of who we think we should be does not always match up with our perceptions of who we are today. Furthermore, what actually happens in life and

the experience a person has often may not be consistent with the desired 'ideal'. For these reasons, when our self-image that influences cognition, behaviour and emotions, does not line up with our ideal-self, this mismatch is likely to impact on self-esteem, i.e. the value one places on oneself and resulting in a state of incongruence.

Examples of this notion of mismatch in the findings included one participant who said, "probably plenty of people think I'm still a bastard", which is a negative self-related perception that is inconsistent with his ideal self-image of being a 'perfect' husband who is fully heterosexual and faithfully committed. Another participant said "it's morally wrong, to be so, basically deceitful and duplicitous" and wishes he could be truthful and honest, living an ideal life with no deception and lies. From a sexual behavioural perspective, the third participant has a wish for an ideal-self to be in sexual relationship with a man (preferably a pornographic male model who is willing to perform reciprocal oral sex). But in reality, the self-image is a non-gay identified man married to a woman who has no desire for oral sex. Hence, these participants are in a state of incongruence when some of their self-perceptions and experiences are unacceptable to them and are denied or distorted in the self-image.

When these men's preferred perceptions and experiences did not match their self-image, they adopted defence mechanisms such as compartmentalisation, splitting, denial, dissociation and rationalisation (discussed in preceding chapter) to protect themselves from the undesirable cognition, behaviours and emotions that they feel threatened by. As these HMMSM's self-concepts lack essential congruence, I observe a defensive need to keep these split experiences separate from each other. When HMMSM choose to act on their same-sex desire, it could be perceived as their sexual right and being true to oneself and honest in the world. Conflictingly, they feel considerable guilt for deceiving their wives and dishonouring their marriage commitments (Swan & Benack, 2012). They potentially view their same-sex behaviour as uncaring, selfish and potentially 'abnormal'. As a result, they could become acutely self-critical and disapproving of themselves and consequently their self-esteem suffers.

6.2.2 Incongruity from an identity formation perspective. These participants do not identify themselves as homosexuals. I found Cass's (1979) identity formation model useful in discussing their sense of self, sense of authenticity, and the incongruity caused by the non-alignment of their sexual orientation and their sexual

identities. The model is based “within the framework of interpersonal congruency theory” and assumes that “stability and change in human behavior are dependent on the congruency or incongruency that exists within an individual’s interpersonal environment” (p. 220).

According to Cass (1979), incongruency arises when an individual’s perception of some characteristics attributed to the self are in discord with both the individual’s perceptions of one’s own behaviour resulting from those characteristics and another person’s view of those characteristics. This aligns with the notion of congruence in Rogers’ model of self-concept but with an added perspective from the ‘other’ i.e. societal norms and views. Hence when the sexual behaviour (self-image) differs from the HMMSM’s self-perception of identity (self-ideal), it causes incongruity.

6.2.3 Public self vs. private self. Cass (1979) has also made a distinction between a private and public aspects of identity and claimed that an individual can hold a private identity that is different from the public one. It can be assumed that everyone has both a public and private aspects to themselves, which is not an uncommon phenomenon (Baumeister, 1986). The public self can be shown to the world and how much is revealed depends on the context. Similarly, one’s private self is generally more concealed and unobservable. Baumeister (1986) named this process of impressing and communicating to others as *self-presentation* and posited the reason “people behave differently in public than in private is they *care* about how others regard them” (p. vii).

In this context, the participants are unable to integrate their public self/identity (i.e. presenting as married heterosexuals) with their private self/identity (i.e. harbouring homosexual proclivities), which remains unfathomed and unclear. They need to hide their ‘secrets’ of infidelity from people that are closest to them such as spouses, children, friends and families. Only one of their two existences can be disclosed and the other concealed rigorously because of the possible existence of overwhelming guilt, shame, constant fear and anxiety. When this discordance occurs, these non-integrated men struggle and their psychological wellbeing is likely be compromised.

6.2.4. True and false self. The concept of true and false selves, introduced by Donald Winnicott in 1960 and remains hugely influential in the field of childhood development and object relations (Winnicott, 1965). In the case of all three

participants, at this stage of their lives, it appears that they are wearing social masks in order to present different sides of themselves to different people (spouses, family members, friends and colleagues) who are of significance, hence living with a ‘false’ self. Winnicott has termed this aspect of being a ‘false self’ as a “psychosocial functioning that results from accommodating and responding to environmental demands and not one that come from inner spontaneity” (Akhtar, 2009).

In contrast, Akhtar (2009) stated that Winnicott did not define ‘true self’, but its derivation came about because a formulation is needed to balance the concept of false self. According to Winnicott, the state of being true is simply the essence of living authentically and being ‘alive’. However, compliance with the demand of societal fabric of heteronormativity, homophobia and masculinity perhaps contributed to these HMMSM giving up the ‘authenticity’ of their inner world and developing a false self as a “defense against rejection of a more vulnerable core identity” in order to protect themselves and survive (Coopersmith, 1997, p. 413).

Having said that, I concur with Akhtar (2009) that some degree of false self is inevitable, and can be necessarily helpful if used in an adaptive manner. However, for these HSMMS, living with a façade of being married ‘heterosexual’ men have resulted in their leading a wistful and not fully realised existence that is compromised by lies, deceit, shame, guilt, fear and anxiety for a prolonged period of time. To a deeper degree, these HMMSM might have even considered their ‘false self’ as their ‘real self’ conditioned by a “defensive structure and imbued with a sense of negativity” (Coopersmith, 1997, p. 398) because their duplicitous way of life has become a ‘comfortable’ second nature and they might consider that having sex with other men while being married has become simply a ‘part of life’. To deal with the vulnerability of feeling incongruent, these men made constant efforts to maintain a heterosexual identity, as shown in (global theme 3 of) the findings and elaborated as follows.

6.3 Maintaining a Heterosexual Identity

The participants in this study go to extreme lengths to make sure their same-sex proclivities are concealed in order to maintain a heterosexual identity. They are fearful that exposure of their sexual encounters with men will challenge their spouses’ expectation of fidelity and the marital ideal of monogamy, which will result in

devastating consequences. The findings (in global theme 3) showed that they have adopted various strategies such as defence mechanisms (psychological), professional management skills, restrictive controlled sexual behaviour and deceitful acts of concealment (behavioural) to avoid exposure of their infidelity and same-sex inclinations. Furthermore, they also manage their feelings towards male sexual partners (emotional) to perhaps avoid intimacy.

Reback and Larkins (2010) found that heterosexually identified MMSM “did not consider their occasional same-sex behaviours as threatening to their heterosexual identity as these activities were coded as infrequent, recreational or sport” (p. 769) and “no emotional connection was made to their male sexual partners” (p. 771). Similarly, the participants of this study control their frequency of same-sex activities, minimise the meaning of their sexual experience and discount their sexual encounters by avoiding intimacy, which involves depersonalising their sexual partners and limiting gestures such as kissing, hugging and engaging in conversation. They seemed to consider connecting emotionally as being weak and vulnerable because it challenges their sense of masculinity and heterosexuality. As a result, they compartmentalise their same-sex behaviours from their sexual identity to maintain their manhood and more importantly, their heterosexual identity.

Furthermore, HMMSM also strategically distance themselves from “common stereotypical images of a gay lifestyle” by rejecting “gay-associated locations, people, and behaviors” (Reback & Larkins, 2010, p. 770). This aligns with Warren’s (1974) postulation that MMSM conceal their homosexual proclivities by disassociating from the gay community. However, participant Henry proves otherwise when he shared with his wife his participation in cultural activities in the gay community and association with a gay friend in order to ‘strategically’ avoid suspicion and questioning. The following sections 6.4 and 6.5 discuss why HMMSM choose to engage in same-sex and correlate to the findings in global theme 1, ‘Sexual Satisfaction’.

6.4. Sexual Desire

Sexual desire is both an important aspect of a person’s sexuality and a complex phenomenon. According to Regan and Berscheid (1996), there is “no single common understanding of sexual desire” (p. 110) but is defined as a “motivational state that can

be understood broadly as an interest in sexual objects (e.g., other people) or activities, or as a wish, need, or drive to seek out sexual objects or to engage in sexual activities” ((Regan & Atkins, 2006, p. 96).

The traditional psychoanalytic libidinal model by Freud (1905) asserted that people are motivated by ‘bodily’ drives that seek pleasure and demand satisfaction and sexual expression (Harding, 2001). On the contrary, Leiblum (2010) posited that “many sexual theorists now suggest that relational, cognitive, motivational, and evaluative factors play a more significant role” in energising sexual desire (p. 2). An example of such perspective is Levine (1987), who defined sexual desire as “the psychobiologic energy that precedes and accompanies arousal and tends to produce sexual behaviour” (p. 36) and also suggested that sexual desire is produced by the interaction of the following three components (Levine, 1984):

- Biologic drive – includes anatomical and neuroendocrine processes that generate sexual impulses such as endogenous stimulation, genitalia excitement, and masturbatory or partner-seeking behaviour.
- Cognitive aspiration – i.e. ‘the wish for sex’. It is a cultural component, which is external to the individual and includes societal/cultural values, ideals and rules about sexual expression.
- Psychologic motivation – the most important component, includes intrapsychic stimulus (e.g. sexual appetite/libido), interpersonal stimulus (e.g. verbal, non-verbal, tactile behaviours), social stimulus (e.g. non-behavioural attraction and voyeuristic experience), and the ‘willingness’ to behave sexually.

Findings of this study indicate that the key motivation for these HMMSM to engage in same-sex activities is to gain sexual satisfaction. Participants described a hunger for sexual elements of pleasure and enjoyment that they experience as producing heightened sexual arousal and eventually an “intense orgasm” as described by Bill. These men are prepared to precariously seek out opportunities to engage in same-sex activities, particularly in a social setting, i.e. bathhouses, that allow them the sexual freedom to relate with men.

However, to bring about the propensity to behave sexually, it is essential for the mind's capacity to integrate the component of 'willingness' with the other two components, i.e. level of biological sex drive (e.g. Richard's perceived feelings that he is "highly sexed") and the cognitive aspiration towards same-sex. All three participants described their desire to engage in same-sex activities, which include (homo)sexual expressions of "skin to skin contact", "holding/sucking my cock" and "to have anal sex", which they are not able to have with their wives.

6.5 Why HMMSM Choose to Have Sex with Men?

6.5.1 Rationales. Cheeseman, Goodlin-Fahncke and Tewksbury (2012) argued that many similar rationales used by men who engage in extramarital sex with female partners could also be applied to heterosexually married men who are seeking sexual infidelity with male partners. Reported reasons include "boredom, lack of sexual variety, desire for additional partners, or desire to explore or engage in sexual encounters that have been repressed due to males trying to conform to traditional male roles (i.e. strong, heterosexual, sports loving male)" (pp. 147-148).

I find these rationales helpful in explaining why this research sample chooses to engage in extramarital same-sex activities. For example, Richard has described his marital sex as "just normal...middle of the road" which possibly means it is boring because it lacks diversity and excitement. Additionally, he has expressed his yearning, "for years I wanted to be able to have anal sex...now I can and do have [it]" which could have been a sexual expression that has been inhibited because of his earlier, more restrictive sense of masculinity and homophobia.

Glass and Wright (1992) have posited that men may engage in sexual relationships outside of marriage because they are sexually dissatisfied with marital sex and are "more approving of extramarital involvement when justification is curiosity, novelty, or sexual excitement" (p. 379). As an example, Henry shared,

I quite enjoy, kissing...which...my wife's not so heavily into uhmm. So...I wasn't...reflecting on hindsight...getting in my marriage so that's sort of I guess led me down a bit of a [different] path to explore how I could achieve that.

Furthermore, Cheeseman et al. (2012) posited the reason why married men engage in extramarital sex with men is because they are “getting some type of sexual activity that their wives are unwilling or physically cannot perform” (p. 148). Examples include Henry’s sexual dissatisfaction with his wife’s unwillingness to perform oral sex and also sexual satisfaction gained from sexual mutuality with male partners i.e. being able to receive and also give oral pleasure.

Tripp (1977) speculated that heterosexual men could possibly seek sexual adventurism that is not offered by traditional marriages and same-sex activities may provide the eroticism and sexual pleasure they desire. Greenberg (1995, as cited in Hudson, 2013) suggested that for some HMMSM, the reason they have sex with men is simply to “seek such pleasures of homosexuality” (p. 491) and this rationale is exemplified by Richard’s inability to enjoy being a receiver of penetrative sex from his wife, and perhaps chooses not to explore alternatives of getting it (e.g. dildo sex).

These are examples when HMMSM who are strongly interested and compelled to indulge in various sexual experiences and have preferences that are very often accompanied by renewed excitement when they engaged in sexual activities with multiple unfamiliar male partners. However, these sexual needs would often be identified as homosexual and perceived as unusual or abnormal sexual expressions by society at large. Hence, to avoid being labelled in this way, HMMSM seek out men whom they perceive as non-judgmental and willing to satisfy their sexual desire or fetishes (Kort & Morgan, 2014). In a way, what is missing sexually in marriage for these HMMSM, they make up by having extramarital sex with men.

All three participants differentiated sharply between sex with men and sex with spouses and the findings captured the contrast in their sexual experiences. These HMMSM viewed sex with men as more sexually arousing and exciting than sex with their wives because of the risky and illicit nature. They also described sex as more pleasurable and enjoyable for them with men because of its ‘physicality’ and lack of emotional commitments. Hence the disparity in sexual satisfaction gained from same-sex and marital sexual experiences drives these HMMSM’s motivation and desire to seek sex with male sexual partners outside their marriage.

6.5.2 Perception of infidelity. HMMSM often perceive their infidelity as non-committal ‘serial affairs’ (Subotnik, 2010) with no emotional closeness and merely for the ‘here and now’ sexual pleasure and excitement. These men “often rationalise their behaviour by thinking that they love and provide for their [wives], but ‘a little on the side’ doesn’t hurt anyone” (Subotnik & Harris, 2005, p. 5). This is reflected by Richard,

[I]f...you gonna have a vice, umm be a married man and play around with other women or be a married man and play around with men, I think, play around with men is less a vice in terms of, my wife anyway.

It seems that many HMMSM do not feel their marriage is threatened because they have no intention of leaving their marriages for another woman. They express a sense of control in that they choose when they wish to disengage from their male sexual partners.

I don’t wanna leave my wife and...form a partnership with that person [male sexual partner] and have a, have a loving caring relationship with it’s not...what I’m after...yep, not at all. (Richard)

6.5.3 Practicality. The findings also show that another practical reason why HMMSM have sex with men is the opportunities, in particular the ease of accessing potential sexual partners and circumstances, that allow these men the ability to arrange discreet and secretive ‘hook-ups’. The participants use appropriate time frames (weekdays or weekend gym session), communication technology (internet dating), and SOSV (saunas and public toilets) to facilitate their repeated same-sex activities and perhaps maintain the persistence of their extramarital ‘affairs’. This rationale is further supported by Corley and Kort’s (2006) clinical experience with HMMSM. They have reported that sex with men is convenient, inexpensive, less emotionally involved and largely anonymous, which allow them to effortlessly seize any opportunity to have sex with men.

The following sections (6.6 to 6.8) highlight HMMSM experiences of sexual stressors (global theme 2) overlapped with considerations on how they adapt to and protect (global theme 3) their double lives (global theme 4).

6.6 Why HMMSM Engage in Same-Sex Repeatedly?

Hull (2008) recognised that “for all the enjoyment sexual relationships can provide, there are countervailing forces of guilt and disappointment at work on the individual psyche”. It could be argued that religious and social norms influence and limit sexual expressiveness as contained within these cultures are explicit and implicit ‘rules’ and assumptions as to what is morally acceptable or not. Hull also stated, “[d]eeply planted understandings about inappropriate behavior can cause individuals to feel shame and fear when faced with choices about their sexuality and particularly their desires” (p. 133). Although these societal restrictions and self-controls are meant as ways to protect individuals in marriage or de-facto relationships from suffering caused by infidelity, a conflicting imbalance between these limitations and the potential sexual pleasure can give rise to many sexual health problems which could lead to ill psychological health.

Similarly, sexual satisfaction for the men in this study comes at a cost to their sexual health, i.e. the downside of experiencing sexual stressors (detailed in the preceding chapter), which compromise the positivity gained by these HMMSM’s choice to engage in extramarital sex with men. The findings found these men are predominantly impacted not only by negative feelings of guilt and shame for their same-sex proclivities, but also fear and constant anxiety for being caught and exposed of their true sexuality, sexual orientation and identity. Hence, I propose that emotional turmoil articulated by HMMSM could be categorised as a manifestation or example of a sexual health problem.

There could be several possibilities why these HMMSM repeatedly engage in same-sex activities despite the stressors. As the participants described their excitement attained from seeking out men for sex, engaging in same-sex activities, there is a sense that these HMMSM could possibly find the harbouring of secrets and lies just as exciting. This contributes to the fear and anxiety of getting caught and exposed for their infidelity and illicit/forbidden behaviour, which makes the process of same-sex more tantalising and arousing. As Bill said, “it was very forbidden...semi-public, illegal umm, fear of getting caught, there’s certain thrill in the whole thing...it’s addictive”. The risky nature of same-sex generates an emotional rush, which is a powerful

reinforcement for a behaviour that keeps these men wanting more, or to continue repeating the behaviour and to get that ‘high’.

Both Bill and Richard have analogised the need for same-sex as a form of addiction. They are unable to stop having sex with men and perceived themselves as ‘sex addicts’ for their compulsive sexual behaviour. Therefore, having perceived the homosexual side of themselves as addicts, perhaps these men attempt to justify their homosexual behaviour with an identified cause/label for their same-sex activities and “regard it [same-sex behaviour] as part of their life they wished to avoid” but so far demonstrated their failure to stop it (Schneider & Schneider, 1990, p. 234).

There is the possibility that participants use physical sex with men as a way to cope with anxieties and stress in daily life, e.g. pressure from work and family life. Richard shared his need for sex with men when he has been away for work all day, “I know what I would like right now...it [same-sex] is a release.” Furthermore, research by Mark, Garcia, and Fisher (2015) suggests that “on average men may experience greater sexual satisfaction from the more casual sexual contexts than the more committed sexual contexts” (p. 121), which is the case for these HMMSM who are able to have easy access to casual sex with a variety of male partners when they visit the bathhouses.

As described by Bill, having same-sex is an option that he has chosen and will not be likely to stop. As long as he gets away with not being exposed, he describes that he will continue to engage with men and make tremendous effort to avoid getting caught. Bill also finds telling lies and committing deception gets easier over time but continues to feel guilty and not good about himself because he does have a clear conscience about what he is doing, but perhaps not feeling as shameful as when he first engaged in same-sex.

6.7 Leading a Double Life

For most HMMSM to continue having extramarital sex with men, they will need to alter their authentic self and lead a life encumbered with deceit, lies and secrets. The findings of this study suggest that for these HMMSM to manage a double life, they need to split the different aspects of their personality and compartmentalise their lives by

creating two different selves to manage both a married life and an anonymous life that engages in same-sex. This binary lifestyle is achieved by these men meticulously hiding away what they believe to be an unacceptable part of their life (a part that they believe could in no way co-exist with the other part of their life) from most people and resulting in these men ‘leading a double life’.

According to Gubby and Halliday (2010, February 28), a Melbourne-based psychologist in private practice Marcus Squirrell, who specialises in treatment of sexually compulsive behaviour both online and offline, has said that the number of people living sexual double lives is growing. A third of his patients are leading what can be described as ‘true double life’ – an entirely separate existence unknown to anyone in their ‘real’ life. Their partner, friends and work colleagues have no idea of their compulsive sexual behaviours, affairs, bisexuality, or less conventional sexual interests such as attending orgies and swingers’ parties, indulging in fetishes or spending hours each day engaged in erotic ‘cybersex’ chats with strangers.

When individuals, including HMMSM are unable to integrate the two conflicting aspects of their personalities or dualistic nature of their lives, consequences such as marital breakups, shattered families and ruined careers can become realities. The findings showed the three participants naming some of these consequences as devastating losses and inconceivable catastrophe,

[R]uin my relationship...ruin my life...it would just be catastrophic. (Richard)

[T]here’s a very great deal to lose. (Bill)

[M]y wife, my children, my church, and a lot of that...I would, almost certainly lose. (Henry)

These ramifications of leading a double life could potentially eventuate when these men’s extramarital liaisons, same-sex proclivities, or both, are exposed.

6.7.1 Impact on psychological being of leading a double life. The findings demonstrated the participants’ desire and need to maintain a state of existence in equilibrium by effortfully balancing the three aspects of sexual health (positive), sexual

disease (negative) and copious amount of energy required to cope strategically (adaptive), in order to survive their ‘double life’.

To manage a double life, these HMMSM adopt strategies (elaborated in preceding section 6.3) to maintain a heterosexual identity. These strategies perhaps help them ease their guilt, shame or any discomfort they may feel about the extramarital sex they are having, however it also keeps them from being fully conscious (i.e. being in denial) of the emotional toll that could have taken on both themselves and everyone else important in their lives.

Leading a double life could prevent these HMMSM from being a ‘complete’ person, as expressed by Bill,

[A] person like me leading two lives realises it’s not a natural state for a human being. It’s not a complete person; it’s not an emotionally complete happy [person].

It could be postulated that these HMMSM lack intimacy in both their marriages and extramarital lives, and possibly are not fully engaged in both their sexual lives, resulting in a lose-lose predicament.

Firstly, they restrict themselves from emotional connectedness with male sexual partners outside the marriage, which is reflected in the findings where the participants stipulated their avoidance of making any form of relational connections (verbal, non-verbal, behavioural), particularly after a sexual encounter as shared by Bill, “once sexual climax is actually happened, there’s nah there’s actually no more to it, it’s goodbye.” These men’s perception that sex with men is merely physical with no expectation for intimacy,

[I]nteraction with guys [is] on a more physical level. (Henry)

I’m not interested in intimacy or anything after the sex and before. (Bill)

I don’t feel that emotional attachment it’s a physical [connection]. (Richard)

Secondly, the findings also indicated that these men have a sense of ‘sacredness’ when engaging in marital sex. As Richard described, “I think with a woman...there’s

probably a more of a spiritual feeling there, I never describe that with a man”, which could imply there is emotional connectedness but possibly lacks physical sexual intimacy in marital sex.

Additionally, it could be postulated that intimacy and sexual satisfaction from engaging in marital sex for these HMMSM are potentially compromised because there is relentless anxiety for these men not only to protect their spouses from being hurt when they discover the infidelity and same-sex orientation of their husbands but also as a safety precaution to protect their wives from sexually transmitted diseases. These concerns have been captured by the theme – ‘Wife and family is paramount and a life priority’.

Several studies have shown a positive correlation between intimacy and sexual satisfaction in the relationships of ‘partnered-heterosexual men’ (Štulhofer et al., 2014), men with exclusive homosexual or heterosexual behaviours (Carvalheira & Costa, 2015), both men and women in ongoing sexual relationships i.e. married, engaged, exclusive dating, casual dating and friends with benefits (Birnie-Porter & Hunt, 2015). Applying this notion to HMMSM, it could be posited that these participants are not fully engaged with marital sex because they feel deprived of physical sexual pleasure and perhaps even emotional connectedness caused by the psychological baggage of leading a double life. Consequently, this deficiency in sexual satisfaction potentially could affect the level of interest in sex and sexual activity, hence compromises the quality of marital sex life and relationship (Sprecher, 2002), which has been shown to affect both physical and psychological health, and the overall quality of life (Chao et al., 2011; Lindau & Gavrilova, 2010).

For these HMMSM to combat their fear and anxiety of being caught out and exposed for both their infidelity and same-sex inclinations, the findings showed how these men had to invest tremendous effort and energy to vigilantly maintain anonymity and invisibility, and possibly made the *act of concealment* a fundamental goal in their double life. Research by Schrimshaw et al. (2013) found that concealment of sexual orientation was associated with lower positive affect and more depressive and anxious symptoms among ‘bisexual’ men. In line with other existing theory (e.g. Critcher and Ferguson (2014) and Pachankis (2007)) the constant vigilance and concern required for the act of concealment serves as life stressor and challenges the psychological being of

some non-disclosing ‘bisexual’ men. I find these notions applicable to the participants of this current study as well. While the act of concealment may afford these HMMSM an escape from stigmatisation, discrimination as well as lessen their guilt, shame and fear, it also creates a psychological toll on them (Pachankis, Cochran, & Mays, 2015).

6.7.2 Psychological toll of concealment. Acts of concealment for these HMMSM include lying about their routine peppered with extramarital same-sex activities, hiding their same-sex behaviour which they feel places them beyond the pale, pretending to be someone who does not have same-sex proclivities, and most importantly, preventing their wives, families, friends and work colleagues from knowing about a fundamental fact of their existence.

According to Critcher and Ferguson (2014), secret-keeping is exhausting and it can damage intimacy and lead to a subsequent decline in marital satisfaction. The stress from having to keep secrets can cause “deficits in intellectual acuity, interpersonal restraint, physical stamina, and executive function” (p. 721). Active concealment requires both self-regulatory processes of monitoring for non-divulgeable contents and altering them by fabrication if necessary. Lane and Wegner (1995) perceived keeping secrets as a “dangerous business” because it requires hard work to strategically avoid giving away the hidden information through “a slip of the tongue or body” and also “effortful mental control” to suppress unwanted thoughts (pp. 237-238).

Pachankis’ (2007) process model illustrated the impact the act of concealing a stigma has on the overall psychological being of an individual. Applying his theory to HMMSM, the findings of this study support the postulation that the association between cognitive implications (i.e. vigilance, preoccupation and suspiciousness) and affective implications (i.e. anxiety, guilt, shame and depression) that arise from concealment, could possibly lead them to behavioural difficulties such as constant “self-monitoring, impression management...and challenges to close relationships” (p. 337).

Additionally, there is a self-evaluative consequence of the men’s negative view of themselves (morally wrong and bad), identity ambivalence on the heterosexual-homosexual continuum (struggle with sexuality, sexual identity and orientation), and diminished self-efficacy (concern about contracting HIV/STI) could compromise their sexual performance.

Moreover, research has showed that for people with stigmatised social identities, arguably a proxy to this study sample, the act of concealment sharpens the cognitive divide between their public and private selves, which influences the psychological functioning and heightens distress ((Sedlovskaya et al., 2013). This could potentially impede the self-actualisation process for them to achieve their potential of “human-beingness” (Rogers, 1959) and contribute to costs to the psychological well-being of these HMMSM.

6.7.3 Double life becomes second nature. An experiential therapist Melvyn Bowler posited, “living a double life becomes simply a part of life – second nature if you like. And some people can handle stress better than others” (Gubby & Halliday, 2010, February 28). Hence it can be argued that perhaps, at this point of these three participants’ lives, leading a split life has become habitual and they are more comfortable (healthier) than others and able to manage better with the stressors of leading a double life. They are possibly able to strike a good balance between the satisfaction gained and the stress that comes with having sex with men, and to manage and cope well with a life that is riddled with guilt, shame, constant anxiety and fear. This habitual sentiment is expressed clearly by participant Bill,

[L]ike anything you just get accustomed to it ‘n used to it and...ya’know feelings changed, and then I go back to my main life, which is ninety-nine percent of my life yep.

[I]t becomes habitual, like any habit, becomes easier over a period of time, it’s just the way it is.

Another possibility could be that these participants have a reasonably stable sense of self and more acceptance of their sexuality at the stage of their lives, and tend to exude greater confidence hence cope better with the challenges of leading a double life more effectively.

I think you have to be true to yourself...as I’ve got older I’m more gay than bisexual in other words...if you’re looking at this sortof, the line, I’m probably more on the gay side. (Henry)

I’m pragmatic enough to think...it’s just the way it is [laugh]...I’m a manager so I manage things I make them work, that’s what I do. (Richard)

Nevertheless, this ability to cope with a duplicitous life could be a ‘double-edged sword’ since becoming better at managing a defence of denial or deceit is potentially detrimental to the psychological health.

6.7.4 Feeling stuck – no way out. Despite the fact that all three participants demonstrated in the findings, as discussed in the foregoing sections, that they are not in distress and are managing and coping reasonably healthily leading a double life; the researcher gains an intuitive interpretation of these men living in a state of ‘stuckness’ – an unexpected overall theme derived in this study (illustrated by Figure 5).

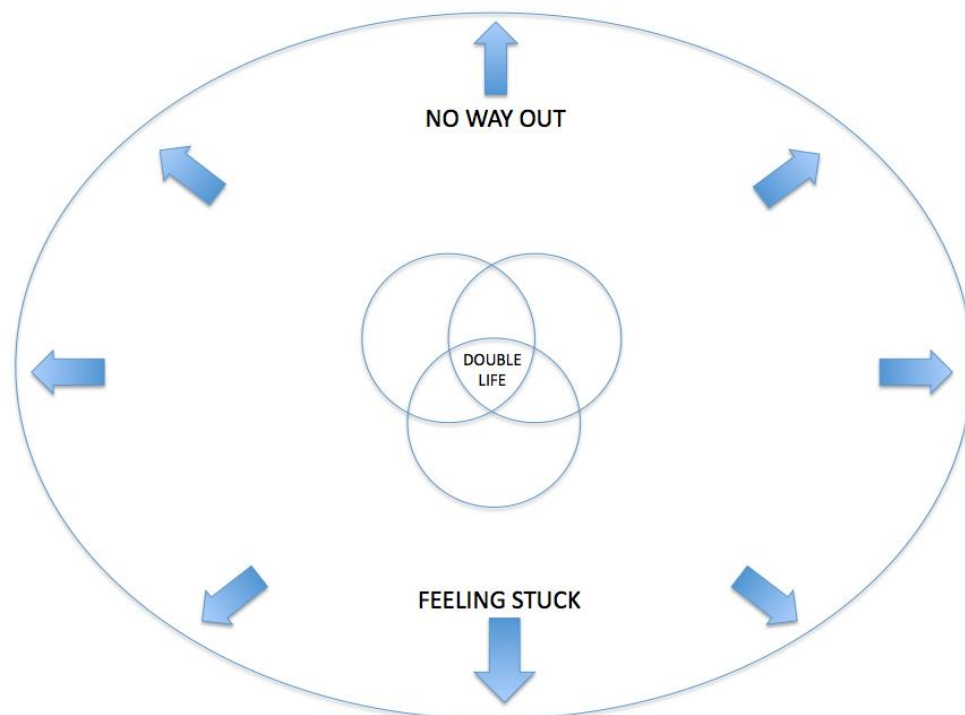


Figure 5. Illustration of a sense of 'No Way Out' for HMMSM

In transactional analysis theory and practice, the experience of “feeling stuck” is usually understood as the “manifestation of an impasse”, a developmental *roadblock* that usually carries a negative connotation that needs to be overcome (Petriglieri, 2007, p. 185). Petriglieri also viewed the sense of *stuckness* as a symptom that “might conceal a momentary inability or unwillingness to change” (2007, p. 187). In the context of this study, it can be perceived as a halt to the participants’ motivational process of self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943; Rogers, 1959), which impedes the search for their true self (Winnicott, 1965).

Petriglieri cleverly used lyrics (Appendix H) from a pop song by Bono of the Irish band U2 (Bono & the Edge, 2000) written for a friend who committed suicide, as a psychotherapy vignette to offer reflections, theoretical underpinnings, and practical implications of considering stuckness as a potentially developmental experience. I find it useful and wish to highlight three relevant repeated lines from the chorus that fittingly describe the state of being of the participants of this study.

Firstly, “You’ve got to get yourself together” – could suggest these HMMSM’s lives are in parts, not complete as reflected in their narratives. They constantly try to get themselves together by effortfully coping and managing their ‘split’ lives.

Secondly, “You’ve got stuck in a moment” – suggests a place in time, moment in their lives that these men feel trapped, burdened and stumped by leading a double life. They feel that they are unable to be truthful and disclose their same-sex proclivities to their wives and also feel that they are not able, or unwilling, to stop engaging in same-sex activities because they are confident enough not to get caught. Hence, the sense of stuckness.

Thirdly, “And now you can’t get out of it” – suggests they can’t stop leading a double life and possible reasons include:

- Double life has become habitual, just part of life.
- Compulsive behaviour and addicted to the sexual satisfaction from engaging in same-sex activities.
- The thrill of beating the odds of being caught or exposed for double life.
- Fear of the real repercussions the concealed secret would bring when disclosed.
- More intense fear of the unknown i.e. inconceivable and fantasised as catastrophic consequences for being ‘outed’ for both homosexuality and infidelity.

Similar to Petriglieri’s view of stuckness, Anderson-Nathe (2008) suggested that the moment of stuckness is not only *not-knowing* but also with an added physical element of *not-being-able-to*. According to the writer, not-knowing for some people is “connected to a sense of isolation...having no one and nothing to look toward for support, guidance, or sympathy...completely lost”. For some others, not-knowing has a physical sense of “being crushed under the pressure of such burdensome weight” (pp.

58-59). Anderson-Nathe's notion of an immovable deer transfixed by the car headlights that faces the imminent danger of being crushed can aptly be used to describe the possible unsettling and 'dangerous' sense of stuckness this study's participants could have. This could possibly mean that if they are incapable of acting and moving away from their current stuck position, i.e. exploring the possibility of change, they could be in danger of facing detrimental consequences such as their secret being exposed, negative impact on their sexual health and psychological well-being, and the inability to lead fulfilling and meaningful lives.

Contrarily, Petriglieri (2007) also perceived stuckness positively as a developmental opportunity to "shape new ways of being with oneself and with others" (p. 193). This less judgemental and spacious approach does not necessarily perceive being stuck as a 'bad' place to be. Rather it brings attention to the self, just like the participants of this study. Their willingness to partake offered them the opportunity to contemplate in an unscripted space and navigate in uncharted territory and potentially evoke the reworking of the very meaning of who they are so that something positive might come out of it.

6.8 Limitations of This Study

There are a number of limitations to this research that should be acknowledged. Firstly, the study is based on a small convenient sample of a specific subgroup of HMMSM – those who are non-gay or bisexual identified and non-disclosing of their same-sex behaviour. Although the sample was sufficient for the qualitative analyses reported here, it is not necessarily representative of the population of HMMSM who are open about their sexual behaviour, sexually fluid or vague about their sexual identity.

Secondly, the data was collected using non-probabilistic sampling, which precludes any prevalence estimations. Although the analytic process identified some significant similarity between participants' perspectives, at times they were also quite divergent therefore findings of this study could not be generalised outside of this research.

Thirdly, the findings of this study are limited by a considerably homogenous sample consisting of a similar age group of professional white European men who are

well educated with a high socioeconomic status, securely established at the stage of their lives and residing in the same region. This limitation could be useful for identifying common themes for analysis, but it also precluded valid comparisons to be made within and across specific age, racial, ethnic, occupational groups and the results may not be generalisable to other population in New Zealand. Additionally, the homogeneity is likely to have introduced an overrepresentation of a more liberal view on sex and life managerial capabilities. Hence consideration is required for the potential bias for the increased levels of sexual satisfaction and sexual stressors from engaging in same-sex activities and the ability to cope and manage a double life.

Lastly, an important caveat worth noting is the possibility of recall bias for this study. Participants were asked during interviews about their past experiences, attitudes and perceptions of engaging in sex with men. This type of bias could arise when the participants' recollection of past events is systematically different between individuals who have experienced an outcome of interest and those who have not. It also relies on the accuracy of information provided and the motivation and willingness of the participants to share it.

6.9 Implications for Future Research

Despite these limitations, the findings of this research began to tunnel into the trapped world of HMMSM and offer a better understanding of how leading a double life has influenced the psychological being of these men. Because this sub-population of MSM is very hard to reach, there is a sense of 'no way in' for researchers or practitioners to gain access into their highly protected hidden lives and this novel study has shown otherwise. There is a strong requirement (i.e. anonymity, confidentiality and trust) 'at the border' to manage the fear of being exposed. This need for a great level of concealment and non-disclosure has been theorised as barriers for seeking support to make sense of the conflict in 'self' (Schrimshaw et al., 2013). Hence there remains limited research and knowledge for clinicians to assist these men who choose to seek help.

This study could be considered a pilot study of HMMSM in New Zealand, particularly from the perspective of how leading a double life has an impact on the psychological being of these men. Further research is certainly required and if possible,

to include a more substantial sample size. Also, as far as the researcher is aware, there is currently no research on HMMSM that explores the connection between age, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class, despite the increasingly multicultural nature of New Zealand society.

The findings from this study have several important implications for future research efforts aimed at this group of men. As one participant has disclosed voluntarily his experience of ‘invisibility’ when growing up and his knowledge of ACOA (being a child of an alcoholic father), was not incorporated into this analysis. Perhaps future research could explore correlates of childhood history and ascertain potential connections between the childhood experience of attachment and same-sex sexual behaviours of these HMMSM. The same participant has mentioned that he has sought psychological help for his alcoholism and his inner self-conflict between marriage and same-sex desire. Hence future research could also investigate the possible links between therapeutic client experiences of treatment for their struggle with leading a double life and its associated meaning.

Additionally, research could also be conducted on the psychological distress (e.g. shame, guilt and other associated depressive symptoms) caused by infidelity of these HMMSM from a perpetrator’s perspective rather than the more common victim’s viewpoint when the betrayal is revealed. The findings from this study could be used as a starting point for these future explorations.

6.10 Implications for Therapeutic Interventions with HMMSM

Although this is one of very few studies of the psychological health correlates of HMMSM, the cross-sectional findings from this research must be considered as preliminary. It adds to the base of knowledge regarding men who choose to engage in (homo)sexual activities outside marriage; and it also suggests potential implications for the way therapeutic interventions for these HMMSM are conducted.

The findings from this research showed the act of concealment is fundamental for these HMMSM to manage their double lives. This behavioural pattern of secret-keeping has been posited by previous research as possibly making an adverse impact on these minority’s psychological well-being (Pachankis, 2007; Pachankis et al., 2015).

However it must not be taken for granted that public disclosure has a positive correlation to mental health as Nance's (2008) findings showed that concealment of same-sex sexual activities has an overall lower negative mood states than disclosure. Similarly, Schrimshaw et al. (2013) found that disclosure (to friends and families) was not associated with the mental health of 'bisexual' men and suggested that the revelation of sexual orientation "may not be a necessary therapeutic goal" (p. 150), and offered the following interventions that I find applicable to working with HMMSM therapeutically:

- Focus on addressing these men's own perceived needs for concealment and associated hypervigilance.
- Facilitate by helping them better understand their sexuality and reduce the guilt for their sexual orientation.
- Assist them to assess realistically the potential consequences of a failure to conceal.

Additionally, Swan and Benack (2012) offered helpful suggestions to support clients of this sub-population by:

- Providing a safe non-judgmental therapeutic space, which they cannot find in the wider social world, and where their feelings of "unscriptedness, confusion, and contradiction" for their conflict between marital infidelity and same-sex sexual desire can be examined with acceptance.
- Assisting them to bear the uncertainty of staying in a state of 'unknowing' and to endure the pain from conflicts, guilt and seeming hopelessness and not making sense of the circumstance.
- Evaluating the truthfulness and making explicit the assumptions of dominant social scripts of sexual desire, love, monogamy and fidelity and explore the possibilities for the "non-normal" (pp. 61-63).

6.11 Conclusion

The paucity of qualitative studies exploring the perceptions and lived experience of HMMSM, and also focusing on their mental health, raises more wonderings and leaves many important questions unanswered. This study has provided for other scholars a nuanced sense of the situation of such a group of men who have not, as far as this researcher knows, been the object of any comparable study either in New Zealand or other countries. It also captures Alessi's (2008) sentiments fittingly, "problems related to sexual orientation and sexual identity are some of the most difficult issues to grapple with in the psychotherapeutic process. In the majority of cases, there are no clear-cut answers to very complicated problems" (p. 200).

In summary, the participants' experience of extramarital same-sex activities has been analytically themed as a motivational satisfaction from sex with men but the gain in sexual health is offset by associated stressors that require these men to lead a double life, to adapt to a life fraught with years of deceit and crippled with unknowns. Despite the findings showing them coping, they continue to suffer from shame about their same-sex desire, guilt about their infidelity, anxiety about being caught out and fear of hurting their wives and losing the privileges of a married heterosexual life. Furthermore, these men could possibly suffer from a sense of failure for their inability to honour their marital vows and fit into the traditional norms of society. It could be postulated that they have a sense of powerlessness, i.e. stuckness, and feel unable to make sense to themselves and continue to struggle with their dilemmatic desire for sexual relations with men, while also wishing to remain married.

Finally, the study aims to give voice to this 'invisible' minority. From my experience of carrying out this research with three subjects, I have learned the value of providing a space for such men to talk about their experiences and in so doing recognise that they are neither alone nor necessarily 'abnormal'. The potential therapeutic value of this reflective space cannot be underestimated; indeed it is possible that the three men from this study could convey a sense of hope to others in similar predicaments. The individuals themselves may gain a perspective on the conventional wisdom that silently but powerfully fosters defensive actions and strategies. Given enough space and time, an enhanced consciousness (and therefore capacity for thinking about these positions of 'stuckness') could be obtained, resulting in a greater sense of freedom and real choice.

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Appendix A – Glossary and Abbreviations⁵

Glossary

- AIDS (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) – The advanced stage of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) disease, characterised by a severe deterioration of the immune system and a susceptibility to a number of opportunistic infections and cancers.
- Anal intercourse (fucking) – Sexual penetration through the anus.
- Bathhouse (saunas, steam rooms, the baths, the tubs) – a place (usually with water facilities) where men meet for sex with other men. Often have single rooms or lockers for rent, steam rooms, saunas, video (porn) rooms, slings, or glory holes.
- Bisexual – Someone who has sex with (or is attracted to) men and women.
- Cock – Penis/dick.
- Condom – A latex wrapper placed over the penis before sex to protect against sexually transmitted diseases and/or prevent pregnancy.
- Cyber Sex – using a computer to engage in sexual activities online.
- Dildo sex – Using a sex toy, often explicitly phallic in appearance, intended for sexual penetration or other sexual activity during masturbation or with sex partners.
- Down low – a term that refers to the practice, originally within the Black male community, of having sex with men in secret while otherwise living a typically straight life.
- Fetish – A sexual fixation/obsession with a specific act, body part, type of person, etc.
- Gay – Someone who has sex with someone of the same sex.
- Glory hole – a hole cut into a wall that is large enough to fit a penis through, usually between two toilet cubicles, stalls, booths, etc. Used for anonymous sex, one man inserts his penis through the hole; the person on the other side sucks it. Can also be used for rimming and fucking if a man's anus is placed against the hole.
- Heterosexual – Someone who has sex primarily with the opposite sex.
- Homosexual – Someone who has sex primarily with the same sex.
- Intercourse (fucking) – Sexual penetration (anal or vaginal).
- Masturbate – To stimulate one's own penis or genitals with hands and usually lead to orgasm (ejaculation for men).
- Nirvana – A state of well-being (spiritual).
- Oral Sex – Stimulating the penis or genitals with the mouth, lips, tongue, throat, etc.
- Orgasm – To climax, cum, ejaculate.
- Penetration – When a penis enters an opening (anal/oral/vaginal).
- Penis – Dick/cock.
- Phone Sex – engaging in sexual chat over the phone, often while one or both people masturbate.
- Porn(graphy) – Films, videos, images, etc. of sexually explicit acts for viewing for sexual pleasure.

⁵ Adapted from Hudson (2013, pp. 419, 497-601)

- Sauna – Usually a commercial sauna for men only where they can meet other men for sex.
- Straight – Heterosexual
- Tearoom – A toilet or change room (usually public) where men look/meet for sex of have sex on site.

Abbreviations

ACOA	Adult Children of Alcoholics
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AUT	Auckland University of Technology
AUTEC	Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
CSEs	Commercial Sex Environments
DL	Down Low
DSM	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HMMSM	Heterosexually Married Men who have Sex with Men
KWIC	Key-Words-In-Context
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
MMSM	Married Men who have Sex with Men
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
MSMW	Men who have Sex with Men and Women
NZAF	New Zealand Aids Foundation
PSEs	Public Sex Environments
SOSVs	Sex on Sites Venues
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
TA	Thematic Analysis

Appendix B – AUTC Approval Letter



A U T E C
S E C R E T A R I A T

3 June 2015

Joanne Emmens
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear Joanne

Re Ethics Application: **15/134 Psychotherapy and the psychological well-being of 'heterosexually' married men who have sex with men (MMSM).**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 3 June 2018.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 3 June 2018;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 3 June 2018 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Seng Poh Lee sengpoh.lee@xtra.co.nz

Appendix C – Participant Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Date produced: 1 May 2015

Project title: The psychological well-being of ‘heterosexually’ married men who have sex with men (MMSM).

What is this research about?

You are invited to participate in a research on the psychological well-being of ‘heterosexually’ married men who have sex with men (MMSM). My name is Seng Poh Lee and I am a Master student undertaking the research with the Department of Public Health and Psychosocial Studies at AUT University. I am also a registered psychotherapist in private practice and volunteer at the Burnett Centre in Auckland. The research is an attempt to give voice to the lived experiences of heterosexually MMSM and to improve the understanding of the nature and issues experienced by these men.

In this research, the term *heterosexually married men who have sex with men* includes any man who shares all of the following criteria:

- Male
- New Zealand residents for most of their life
- Married or was married to a female
- Does not identified as gay or bisexual but have a strong heterosexual identity
- Have had a sexual act with another male

You are under no obligation to partake in this research. If you do meet the criteria and do decide to participate, you can withdraw at any stage of the interview without giving a reason. Your participation or non-participation in this research will be kept confidential (including non-disclosure to your therapist/ex-therapist and will not affect any of your current or future care and treatment).

Your involvement in this research will involve a face-to-face interview, which will be conducted at a quiet place of your choosing. The interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed under strict conditions of confidentiality. You will be asked to talk about your experience when you have same-sex activities while married to a woman. If you would like, I will send you a copy of the transcript for your own checking and interest. All information you provide will be stored without your name on it. The consent form, which you would sign, would be stored separately from any other information. All collected data will be securely stored in password protected files and in locked storage at AUT University. After six years, all data will be destroyed.

What is the purpose of this research?

There appears to be little research concerning the experiences of heterosexually MMSM and their desire and need for sex with men while married to a woman. Men who live in conventional marriages and at the same time have significant love-sex relationships with members of their own sex are largely considered an invisible group in our society. The purpose of this research is to offer these men, who have been considered an understudied societal minority, the opportunity to voice their lived experiences in hope to make sense of the nature and to gain comprehension as to why they have sex with men.

What will happen during and after the interviews?

At the pre-interview discussion, I will outline the research agenda and ask you some background questions; this will also provide you with an opportunity to ask me any questions, and to raise any concerns you may have. Following this initial discussion, the actual interview will commence and will typically last 1-1½ hours. A further 10-15 minutes post-interview space will be offered for reflection and to address any concerns or queries you might have regarding the process.

What are the discomforts and risks?

It is very likely that some of the issues explored during the interview process may be sensitive; additionally, you may find yourself reliving painful memories and experiencing discomfort or embarrassment. Hence, there is a slight possibility of psychological or emotional risk.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you find that talking about the same-sex activities could be uncomfortable, embarrassing and distressing to you, and you require post-interview follow-up counselling, this can be confidentiality arranged through the following agencies:

Burnett Centre in Auckland	09 309 5560
NZAF Āwhina Centre in Wellington	04 381 6640
NZAF Te Toka in Christchurch	03 379 1953

What are the benefits?

This research will enable heterosexually MMSM to give voice to their lived experiences as a marginalised minority and allowed their stories to be shared from an unknown perspective. It counters societal heteronormative hegemonies by allowing these men to counterpoint the silence and invisibility that have long impacted their lives.

On a wider community level, the research findings will make a significant contribution to the discourse relating to sexual identity/orientation studies and potentially develop educational resources to minimise the impact of marginalisation and discrimination for heterosexually MMSM who are considered invisible and rarely identified in society.

How will my privacy be protected?

The findings of this research will appear in my dissertation and may also be used in articles for publication and presentations at conferences. However, you can be assured of complete privacy; and confidentiality of participants will be maintained throughout

the research. This means that I undertake not to use or divulge any private information, which has been entrusted to my care, for any purpose other than the proposed research. I will ensure that details of participants (include names of people, places and organisations) will be changed and are coded in such a manner that they cannot be identified by anyone who reads the final dissertation. Participants will be forwarded their transcripts for checking and approval. I will also ensure that consent forms are securely kept in a different location from transcripts and other identifying material.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The most significant cost will be your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Upon receipt of this invitation, I would request that you confirm your willingness and availability within a time frame of 1-2 weeks.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

To participate in this research, please send me an email or call me – my contact details are as follows:

Email: sengpoh.lee@xtra.co.nz Mobile: 021 145 5313

Whom do I contact for further information or concerns about this research?

You may wish to contact me, the primary researcher with any further queries regarding this research. Contact details as provided above.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on day/month/year. Any concerns regarding the nature of this research should be notified in the first instance to the dissertation supervisor, Joanne Emmens

Email: joanne.emmens@aut.ac.nz Telephone: 09 921 9999 Ext 6495

Any further concerns regarding the conduct of this research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor

Email: ethics@aut.ac.nz Telephone: 09 921 9999 Ext 6038

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 3 June, 2015 AUTEK Reference number: 15/134

Appendix D – Participant Consent Form



Consent Form

Project title: The psychological well-being of ‘heterosexually’ married men who have sex with men (MMSM).

Researcher: Seng Poh Lee

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Participant Information Sheet dated 1 May 2015.
- I have had the opportunity to discuss this research, to ask questions and to have them answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that taking part in this research is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me, at any time during or after the interview, without giving reasons, and this will in no way affect my future health care.
- I also understand that my participation in this research is confidential and that no material that could identify me will be used in any reports on this research. The exception to confidentiality would be if the researcher has any significant concerns regarding the safety of others or myself.
- If I withdraw from this research, I understand that all relevant information including audio-recordings and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I have had time to consider whether to take part.
- I know who to contact if I have any questions or concerns about the research and I am aware of the post-interview care (counselling) offered.
- I agree to the interview being audio-recorded.
- I would like to be sent a copy of the interview transcript for my own interest
[please tick]: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I wish to receive a summary of the results of the research
[please tick]: Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Date:

Appendix E – Indicative Research Questions

Proposed questions for semi-structured interview

1. Please describe your experience when you had your first sexual encounter with another man?
2. Please describe any significant relationships you may have with men (particularly male-to-male sexual encounters).
3. I wonder what your attitude/thoughts/feelings are about male-to-male sexual encounter.
4. How and when did you realize you had sexual desires or feelings for another man?
5. Once you realised that you have a same-sex attraction, tell me what happened?
6. How do you feel when you are having sexual encounter with another man?
7. Are there any other elements about your sexual desires/feelings you believe I should know?
8. How do you think the same-sex sexual activities you are having impacts your current relationship/marriage?
9. What is it like to being married and engaging in male-to-male sexual encounter?
10. How do you feel and how do you experience that? (i.e. being married and engaging in same-sex activities)
11. What are your wonderings about what keeps you engaged in male-to-male sexual encounter in spite of your marriage?
12. How do you manage your marriage and your male-to-male sexual encounter(s)?
13. How do you cope with the difficulties you are experiencing with managing both?
14. What do you do to keep these two separate? (i.e. marriage and same-sex sexual activities)
15. Does your wife know about your same-sex desire/feeling/activities?
16. If yes, how does she cope?
17. If no, how do you anticipate handling this situation in the future?

Appendix F – Table 6 showing all Global themes and supporting sub-theme

Table 6.

Three Global Themes and Supporting Sub-themes (First-order Themes, Second-order Themes and Organising-themes)

First-order themes	Second-order theme	Organising-themes	Global themes
ACOA	Insights of childhood development gained through psychological help increased self-awareness and acceptance of same-sex inclination.	NOT USED	DISCARDED
Dysfunctional childhood			
Psychological help			
Times have changed	Accessibility and personal enjoyment of same-sex increased over time with legalised societal acceptance.	NOT USED	
First same-sex experience	First same-sex experience was unexpected, exciting and anxiety provoking.	NOT USED	
Sexual attraction	Variation in the attraction for different aspects of the male form and same-sex activities.	NOT USED	
Erectile dysfunction	Anxiety with maintaining penile erection and the dysfunction is more prominent during marital sex than same-sex.	NOT USED	
Pornography	Options for engaging in same-sex to satisfy sexual need and desire.	OPTIONS FOR ENGAGING IN SAME-SEX	SEXUAL SATISFACTION (HEALTH)
Sex worker			
SOSV			
Sexual arousal	Sex with men is more sexually arousing than sex with wife.	RISKY ILLICIT SEX WITH MEN IS MORE EXCITING AND SEXUALLY AROUSING THAN SEX WITH WOMEN	
Excitement	Same sex is more exciting because of elements of unknown, secrecy, forbiddenness and fear of being caught.		
	Seeking opportunities to engage in same-sex is anxiety provoking but exciting.		
	There is an addictive enhanced excitement to same-sex.		
Risky	Same-sex is risky because of illicit elements of naughtiness, forbiddenness and the fear of being caught.		
Pleasure	Same-sex is mostly for pleasure.	SEX WITH MEN IS MORE PLEASURABLE AND ENJOYABLE	
	Same-sex is more pleasurable because it feels freer and requires no emotional effort.		
	Same-sex orgasm is very intense and pleasurable.		
Enjoyment	Same-sex is more enjoyable because men know and understand what men feel and		

	want.	THAN SEX WITH WOMEN			
	Same-sex is intense, free of emotional pressure hence more enjoyable.				
Perceptions of same-sex	Sex with men is non-committal and feels freer compared to sex with wife.				
	Same-sex is a merely physical act with no responsibilities and commitments to sexual partners.				
Female/woman/opposite sex	Sex with women is less physical with more spiritual and emotional connectedness compared to sex with men.				
Identifying with and disclosing to others	Disclosing secret to understanding other creates feelings of comfort and reduces anxiety and isolation.	IDENTIFY WITH OTHER HMMSM AND DISCLOSURE IS BENEFICIAL			
	Identifying with similar HMMSM gives a sense of belonging and not feeling abnormal.				
Sexual needs and desire	More marital sex does not necessary curtail but sometimes heightened the desire and need for same-sex.	ADDICTIVE TRIGGERS FOR SEXUAL DESIRE AND NEEDS	SEXUAL STRESSORS (DISEASE)		
	Penetrative sex is desirable because it is a relief from constant control in marital life.				
	Desire to hug, kiss, touch physically another man during same-sex.				
	Manage sexual desire and need for same-sex activities by masturbation.				
	Keeping busy with work helps to suppress desire and need for same-sex.				
	Space and time free from married life triggers desire and need for same-sex.				
Addictive characteristics	Too much free time and boredom triggers the desire and need for same-sex.				
	Engaging in same-sex is addictive.				
	Feeling of guilt curtails same-sex urges and behaviour temporarily until addiction kicks in.				
	The intense orgasm from same-sex is very addictive.				
	Struggle to overcome addictive behaviour of engaging in same-sex.				
Anxiety and fear	Having same-sex behaviour causes constant fear in life.			ANXIETY AND FEAR FOR ENGAGING IN SAME-SEX	
	Fear of being caught for homosexuality and engaging in same-sex activities.				
	Fear of being judged by others for homosexual behaviour and activities - assumptions of homophobia.				
Disclosure/ exposed/being caught	Disclosure of same-sex behaviour will result in huge loss and destroy life.				
	Huge efforts made for non-disclosure of same-sex inclination and avoid being exposed.				
	Sense of relief (good feelings) if able to disclose same-sex inclination to 'trusted' other.				
	Disclosure of same-sex behaviour perceived as catastrophic and difficult with many uncertainties.				

Guilt and shame	Feels guilty for having same-sex behaviour and engaging in same-sex activities.	FEELINGS OF GUILT AND SHAME FOR ENGAGING IN SAME-SEX			
	Feels less guilty over time about same-sex behaviour.				
	Feelings of guilt compromised the enjoyment of same-sex.				
	Measures taken to minimise guilt for infidelity.				
	Feelings of guilt and shame for leading a double life.				
Dishonesty (lie, deceit, fraud, duplicitous)	Feel bad and wrong doing for dishonest and deceitful same-sex behaviour.	STRUGGLE WITH SEXUAL IDENTITY AND ORIENTATION		EFFORT AND ATTEMPTS TO PROTECT (ADAPTIVE)	
	Desire to be honest and truthful with same-sex inclination.				
	Engaging in same-sex is a dishonest and deceitful behaviour.				
Act of pretending	Pretending to be fully heterosexual with no same-sex inclinations is struggle.				
Double life	Leading a double life with same-sex and marital sex is a life burden and stressor.				COPING STRATEGIES TO ADAPT AND
	Huge effort required for balancing act to lead a double life with same-sex and marital sex.				
	A solution to stop leading a double life is to leave the marriage.				
Sexual identity/ orientation	No inclination or desire to form same-sex relationship with male sexual partners.				
	Sexual identity and orientation are not simply black and white but on a continuum.				
	Engaging in same-sex does not mean 'gay'.				
Sense of self	Struggle for the desire to be true self with the propensity for homosexuality.				
Hetero-normativity	Sense of heteronormativity - Perceived heterosexuality is the norm.				
	Married a woman and have children to fit into the heterosexual majority.				
Heterosexism	Preference indicated for desire to be 100% heterosexual with no homosexual inclination.				
	Perception that men who are fully heterosexual with no same-sex inclination are happier than married HMMSM.				
Masculinity	Perceived receptive anal same-sex and emotional connection with men as being submissive hence compromised masculinity.				
	Perceived homosexuality as a lack of masculinity and has desire to preserve masculinity.				
Homophobia	Sense of homophobia and denial of same-sex inclination.				
	Experience of discrimination and stigmatisation of homosexuality in both family and society.				
Acceptance of homosexuality	Willing to publicly share accepting attitude towards homosexuality but not one’s own same-sex inclination.				
Concealment/ hide/secret	Feel bad and wrong doing for hiding same-sex behaviour as secret.	COPING STRATEGIES TO ADAPT AND			
	Concealing same-sex inclination is to avoid harming others.				
	Concealing the secret of same-sex inclination has been a burden in life.				

Dishonesty (lie, deceit, fraud, duplicitous)	Resort to lying and deception to engage in same-sex.	MANAGE DOUBLE LIFE WITH SAME-SEX	
Act of pretending	Pretending to be fully heterosexual with no same-sex inclinations is a struggle.		
Cope/manage/deal with same-sex	Self-imposed behavioural restrictions and controls to cope with one's conduct during same-sex activities and desire and need for it.		
	Psychological defence mechanisms such as rationalisation, compartmentalisation, and dissociation are adopted to cope with double life.		
	Utilised professional management skills and self-discipline to be in control and take care of life with same-sex inclination.		
Anonymity	Huge effort made to maintain anonymity, which is paramount.		
	Remain anonymous for same-sex because of the fear of being caught/exposed.		
	Anonymity and staying invisible in society help to adapt and manage life with proclivity for sex with men.		
	Anonymity for same-sex behaviour and activities is a coping strategy and provides safety.		
Wife	Measures taken to protect wife from the truth of one's own sexual orientation.	WIFE AND FAMILY IS PRIORITY AND PARAMOUNT IN LIFE THAT NEEDS PROTECTION	
	Marital sex can sometimes satisfy sexual needs and curb desire for same-sex.		
	Extra-marital sex with men is not considered infidelity but extra-marital sex with women is.		
	Wife is the only female sexual partner - sense of loyalty to wife.		
	Sexual frustrations with marital sex create the need to seek same-sex activities.		

Appendix G – Detailed description of analytical process for generating first-order themes

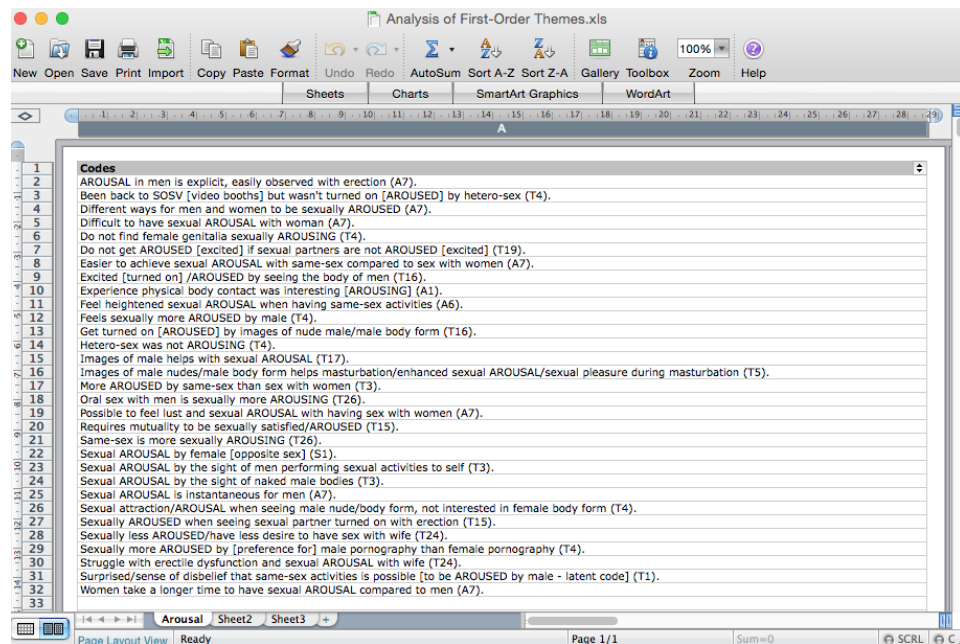
First, all three Word columns of codes were transposed and consolidated into one major Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to facilitate the process for analysing each code. This was done by using the functions ‘Copy’ and ‘Paste Special’ as ‘Unicode Text’. This allowed each code to fill a single cell, which facilitated subsequent analytic functions such as ‘sort’, ‘filter’, ‘cut’, ‘copy’ and ‘paste’. The list was then re-arranged in alphabetical order, which allowed the grouping or clustering of codes with similarities or overlaps to fall into close proximity with one another. This initial step provided me with a casual perspective of what potential pattern can be formed by the data.

To start narrowing the reasonably sized dataset of codes and clustering them into themes, I utilised the Microsoft Excel in-built filtering function ‘DATA’ on the toolbar (note: not reducing) to customise the grouping process for extracted codes with similarities.

To illustrate the concept using an example of an initial candidate theme, the following is an explanation with illustration (screen shots) on how I chose to group codes that depict the idea of how participants experienced **sexual arousal** when engaging in sex with men was narrated during interview.

At this stage of the analysis, I was very mindful that candidate themes are not formed on the basis of ‘frequency’ but rather on the ‘meaning’ of the pattern made up by codes i.e. the coded meaning units.

From the Excel programme tool bar, once the auto-filter option was set up (clicking Data, Filter and Auto-filter), the condition for codes was customised to contain the prefix of ‘arous*’. The asterisk is to cover words such as *aroused*, *arousing* and *arousal*.



The initial result produced 31 codes in the first-order theme “arousal”. Upon reviewing individual codes, it appeared that several of them didn’t fit into this initial broad theme of sexual arousal experienced by heterosexually MMSM. For example, “difficult to have arousal with woman”, “hetero-sex was not arousing”, “possible to feel lust and sexual arousal with having sex with women” and “struggle with erectile dysfunction and sexual arousal with wife” are more relevant to be the experience of having sex with female/wife hence it was more appropriate that they be themed separately. Two new themes “sex with female” and “issues relating to wife” were established to incorporate those codes that did not fit the “arousal” theme well.

After the review and reworking, this grouping of codes resulted in fewer codes that reflected the narratives of the participants’ perspectives and experiences of sexual arousal when engaging in sex with men.

Another example of clustering to form a first-order theme is the overarching theme e.g. ‘Dishonesty’; key descriptors (KWIC) such as ‘Fraud*’, ‘Deceit*’, ‘Lie’ and ‘Lying’ were used to capture words that fit well with a similar meaning, in this example, words describing actions that constitute to being dishonest. Once the codes, with the related KWIC were captured, they were then ‘cut-and-paste’ into the appropriate worksheets. In this way, no codes were unintentionally deleted or duplicated and the original number of codes was reduced to a manageable size. When all of these steps were completed, I reviewed the clusters to see if any of them failed to fit in the initial

theme. If they did not, a new theme was set up to house them and that theme was then used to filter and gather more codes. This method was repeated throughout the corpus of data.

All codes within each first-order theme were re-read and re-distributed into the different worksheets of first-order themes with codes clustered by their commonalities. This provided on-going verification of coherence within the initial themes that were established. Whenever a code proved difficult to understand because of lack of context, it was traced back to the original interview transcript by the abbreviated reference (e.g. Interviewee Initial (page number)) and reworked to provide clarity. This process continued until all codes had been considered and appropriately distributed. As I analysed each code, I was constantly thinking about the relationship between the codes, the existing and potential new themes and even the possible different levels of themes that could be established. Whenever I came across a code that did not fit into the established first-order themes, I would create a new theme for that particular code.

This process was applied throughout the entire set to establish major grouping of data. Then each group (initial theme) was further analysed by reviewing the codes in each group for relevance to the heading. If they fitted, they stayed. If they did not fit, they were transferred to another existing theme. If no theme was available to house them, new themes were formed to accommodate them. I was mindful that “[b]eing able to let go of coded material...that does not fit within [the] overall analysis is an important part of qualitative research” (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 230). My task in analysing the data is a *selective* one and requires me to tell a particular story about the data the answers the research question(s) without representing everything that was said in the data.

Appendix H – Lyrics for Song used in section 6.7.4 Feeling stuck – No Way Out

"Stuck In A Moment You Can't Get Out Of"

I'm not afraid
Of anything in this world
There's nothing you can throw at me
That I haven't already heard

I'm just trying to find
A decent melody
A song that I can sing
In my own company

I never thought you were a fool
But darling look at you
You gotta stand up straight
Carry your own weight
These tears are going nowhere baby

**You've got to get yourself together
You've got stuck in a moment
And now you can't get out of it**

Don't say that later will be better
Now you're stuck in a moment
And you can't get out of it

I will not forsake
The colors that you bring
The nights you filled with fireworks
They left you with nothing

I am still enchanted
By the light you brought to me
I listen through your ears
Through your eyes I can see

And you are such a fool
To worry like you do
I know it's tough
And you can never get enough
Of what you don't really need now
My, oh my

You've got to get yourself together
You've got stuck in a moment
And you can't get out of it

Oh love, look at you now

You've got yourself stuck in a moment
And you can't get out of it

I was unconscious, half asleep
The water is warm 'til you discover how deep

I wasn't jumping, for me it was a fall
It's a long way down to nothing at all

You've got to get yourself together
You've got stuck in a moment
And you can't get out of it

Don't say that later will be better
Now you're stuck in a moment
And you can't get out of it

And if the night runs over
And if the day won't last
And if our way should falter
Along the stony pass

And if the night runs over
And if the day won't last
And if your way should falter
Along this stony pass

It's just a moment
This time will pass