

# Desiring difference, desiring similarity: Narratives on sexual interaction between boys and men in the Swedish homosexual press 1954–1986

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## Abstract

The article explores talk about young men and relations between younger and older men in the homonormative rhetorical context of the Swedish homosexual press from the 1950s through the 1980s. The discussion is related to meanings of sexuality for the sake of pleasure (the pleasure ideal) and sexuality for the sake of love (the love ideal). Meanings of sexual relations between boys and men are nuanced in the homosexual press: by providing a variety of descriptions of sexual desire between men and boys, representing the boy as someone who can take both an active subject position and a passive object position in the relationship, and by separating homosexual practices from paedophilic practices. An earlier homonormative ideal or at least a socially sanctioned possibility of relationships between men and boys, as a less equal couple and partner ideal, is gradually replaced though, by a more equal couple and partner ideal based on an expectation of similarity.

## Keywords

boys, young men, older men, homosexual press, gay press, bisexuality, homosexuality, age

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## Introduction

I find the cult of youth a surprising phenomenon. A lot of older people are fascinated with, even fixated on, youth. It seems like their definition of homosexuality is love for young men (women). My definition has always been love for men or women. To me, the man is the important thing; age is less important.<sup>1</sup>

The introductory quotation, which dates from the mid 1970s, describes men's sexual desire for younger men as peculiar and surprising. Men's love for men is presented as the important thing and as a more obvious definition of homosexuality. Several scholars have discussed the genesis of a love-oriented ideal of (hetero)sexuality in Sweden and, in that connection, the difference between love-oriented and pleasure-oriented attitudes toward sex (see Bjurman, 1998; Kulick, 2005; Laskar, 2005; Lewin and Helmius, 1983). A study of depictions of homosexuality and homosexuals in the Swedish straight press supports a corresponding construction of differences between homosexual subjectivities in the mass media in relation to this love-oriented ideal. A 'good' subjectivity is created by using talk about sexuality as emotionality and sexuality – or sex for the sake of love – and talk about monogamous couplehood. A 'bad' subjectivity is created by using talk about sexuality as sexuality – sex for the sake of pleasure – and talk about non-mono-gamy (Henriksson and Ytterberg, 1990). In this article, I will explore the meaning of *age* (see Robertson, 2001) in discussions of constructions of a better or worse kind of male (homo)sexuality.

The quotation comes from the Swedish homosexual<sup>2</sup> magazine *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* (*Revolt*). Several issues of *Revolt* from the early 1970s feature a cartoon depicting an older man in an overcoat enticing a teenager. The picture is used to advertise subscriptions to the magazine. Non-subscribers are encouraged to become subscribers. A similar picture is found in one issue from the mid 1980s, showing a young and smiling man shaking hands with an older man holding a fistful of money on a page with a special offer on subscriptions to *Revolt*.<sup>3</sup>

The cartoons may be seen as an expression of ambivalent play with a representation of male homosexuality as sexual encounters between older and younger men that accentuates differences in age and affluence. *Revolt* was always ambivalent towards this relationship. During the 1970s, while the magazine repeatedly brought up sexual encounters between young and older men as one avenue of homosexual pleasure among many, statements are found in the same magazine in which this desire is constructed as something in need of explanation.

Several 20th century debates about homosexuality in Sweden and elsewhere revolved around the dilemma of differentiating between true homosexuality ('constitutional' homosexuals) and false homosexuality ('pseudohomosexuals').<sup>4</sup> The question of age was central to the debate. Sexual encounters between men were legalized in 1944, but the age of consent was 18, unlike the age of consent for heterosexual encounters and sexual encounters between women, which was 15.

Sex between an older man and a man aged between 18 and 21 who was somehow dependent on the older man was a crime. The Swedish criminal code was tightened in 1965 and casual homosexual relationships with men under 21 were made illegal. Andreaz Wasniowski believes that Freudian seduction theory<sup>5</sup> was so predominant in Sweden in the mid 1960s that it influenced the law (Wasniowski, 2007). The age of consent was lowered again in 1969 when the age of majority in Sweden was lowered from 21 to 18 (Rydström, 2007; see also Wasniowski, 2007). The age of consent laws in Sweden were not amended until 1978, when the age of consent was set at 15 for all sexual encounters.<sup>6</sup>

In a debate linked to decriminalization of homosexuality that arose in 1950 in the Swedish straight mass media, constitutional homosexuality was portrayed as the homosexual (male, older) subject. Pseudohomosexuality was portrayed by young men or boys who engage in same-sex practices until they marry women. The debate in the 1950s revolved around boy prostitution and the consequences of the 1944 law, primarily for potentially heterosexual boys and young men (see e.g. Henriksson and Ytterberg, 1990). Based on Henriksson and Ytterberg's study of depictions of homosexuality in the Swedish straight press from the 1950s to the 1980s, the issue of boy prostitution, or sex between younger and older men, is a recurring theme throughout the second half of the 20th century.<sup>7</sup> During the decriminalization debate and later debates, sexual encounters between older and younger men in Sweden in the 20th century were understood from two perspectives. In the first of these, this was understood as a consequence of the social hardships faced by homosexuals and the problems of socially maladjusted boys. From this perspective, homosexual men – often affluent – were described as victims of social discrimination against homosexuals. The boys were understood as exploiters of homosexual men's situations, but also that older men could help them get over their asocial teenage phase. The relationship ends when the young man marries, and the break up is understood as something that hits the homosexual man the hardest. On the other hand, relationships between older and younger men were understood in line with the seduction theory as a consequence of men who seduce or rape boys in a vulnerable phase of identity development. This could also be seen as an expression of a discourse of protection (see Egan and Hawkes, 2009) or homosexuality as an infection (see Schneider, 2008). From this perspective, the relationship emerges as something that can primarily be blamed on the homosexual man exploiting the young man in a vulnerable or unstable situation (Henriksson and Ytterberg, 1990: 19f., 31. See also Andreasson, 1996: 67; Nilsson, 1998: 23f; Norrhem, 2001: 44, 176, 180; Rydström, 2003: ch 5; Sahlman, 2005).<sup>8</sup>

Several studies in Sweden and other western countries have described sexual encounters between younger and older men as a recurring topic of concern and debate in the straight mass media. There are also several studies dating from the mid 1990s and later that have described these encounters based on court records (e.g. Maynard, 1997; Robertson, 2006; Rydström, 2003; Silverstolpe et al., 1999), case histories, or field notes from youth crime records (Romesburg, 2009), texts written by sexologists and other observers of male prostitution (see Kaye, 2003),

minutes of meetings of associations for homosexuals and bisexuals (see Wasniowski, 2007), or retrospective interviews with homosexuals and bisexuals who were involved (e.g. Nilsson, 1998, 2006). The discussion among sexual historians about relations between young and older men is dominated by talk about young male sex workers and the relationship between the young male sex worker and the older male client (see e.g. Kaye, 2003: 49; Maynard, 1997; Romesburg, 2009).

In parallel with the discussion among sexual historians, mainly during the 2000s, about the links between sexuality and age, there was a contemporary sociological and psychological discussion, mainly taking part during the 1990s, of age preferences among men who have sex with men (e.g. Adam, 2000; Harry and DeVall, 1978; Hayes, 1995; Kenrick et al., 1995; Over and Phillips, 1997). Sociologist Barry D Adam believes that same-sex sexual relationships have developed relatively egalitarian forms characterized by age and gender 'endogamy', rather than age and gender differentiation. Adam describes this as a contradictory ideal that encompasses both an idealization of youth and an ideal of age similarity. In his interview study, Adam shows how different men express desire in which the age of the object of desire is significant, despite the silence in the wider society concerning the eroticization of older men and stigmatization of encounters between older and younger partners, primarily through discourses about sexual molestation in the mainstream media. Adams posits that the respondents' descriptions of their preferences for older or younger men reveal 'the vitality of a somewhat subterranean cultural tradition that is now little celebrated' (Adam, 2000).

My premise in this article is that texts of various kinds, such as printed articles and court records, are discursive and rhetorical (see Holgersson, 2005: 154; Maynard, 1997). Socialpsychologist Michael Billig argues that the subject is rhetorically (socially) constructed within (internal or external) debates (Billig, 1996 [1987]). Inspired by Billig, my point of departure is that sexual subjectivity is also made rhetorically, in relation to norms and debates in the homo- and heterosocial worlds (rhetorical contexts). Articles printed in the press and court records may be seen as expressions of statements in a heteronormative rhetorical context (see Bertilsdotter Rosqvist, 2007). George Chauncey has argued that the sexual subculture – albeit always in a complex relationship with the dominant culture – played a more important role in the creation and upholding of sexual identities than the medical discourse emphasized by scholars in Foucault's wake (Chauncey, 1985; see Romesburg's 2009 critique of the arguments of Kaye, 2003). Like Chauncey, my emphasis is on the interaction among different cultures. I intend to base this article on statements in the *homonormative* rhetorical context of the homosexual press. Susan Stryker argues for using the term in way that inspires a *critical* perspective within the LGBTQ-group. Stryker defines the term as 'a privileging of homosexual ways of differing from heterosocial norms and an antipathy (or at least an unthinking blindness) toward other modes of queer difference' (Stryker, 2006; see also Herman, 2003; Stryker, 2008). Thus defined, the term can be used as a mechanism for uncovering and problematizing

gender and sexuality in normative gay and lesbian contexts.<sup>9</sup> The homosexual press is one example of such a context.

The aim is to study talk about young men and relations between younger and older men in the homonormative rhetorical context of the Swedish homosexual press from the 1950s through the 1980s. I will also relate the discussion of sexuality and age to the perspective on sexuality for the sake of pleasure (the pleasure ideal) and sexuality for the sake of love (the love ideal). The question I want to answer is how the homosexual press constructed young men and relationships between young men and older men in relation to the pleasure ideal or the love ideal. Secondly, I am interested in any changes in attitudes during the studied epoch.

## Materials

This study is based on material from The National Library of Sweden.<sup>10</sup> The library has been collecting virtually everything printed in Sweden or in Swedish since the 17th century. The study includes all nationwide publications with editorial content of general interest to non-heterosexual men published in Sweden between 1954 and 1986. I excluded publications primarily described as 'personal papers' or 'pornographic magazines' for guys who like guys, that is, publications whose sole or primary content was pornography or personal ads. I also excluded newsletters distributed exclusively to members of local political, social, or professional organizations, except for *Organet*, published in advance of Liberation Week in 1979 by the Stockholm chapter of the Swedish National Association for Sexual Equality, (RFSL), which I assessed as intended for a nationwide audience. Thirdly, I excluded publications directed at specific groups of non-heterosexual men, such as paedophiles and sadomasochists. Publications focused on sexuality whose readers might have included non-heterosexual men, but which are not primarily focused on male non-hetero sexuality, such as magazines published by the Swedish Association for Sexuality Education (RFSU) or the organization *Befria Mannen*, as well as primarily heteroerotic magazines like *FiB Aktuellt* are not included in the study.

Finally, I have chosen to exclude publications in languages other than Swedish, even though they presumably had a substantial Swedish readership, because I was interested in magazines primarily aimed at a Swedish rhetorical context that took a stance and provided commentary on events understood as significant in Sweden.

I set the time frame based on publishing eras. RFSL issued the first Swedish homosexual magazine, *Följeslagaren*, in 1954, while a defined era in homosexual press history ended in 1986, when printing of the magazine *Revolt mot sexuella fördomar* stopped. Other homosexual magazines can be found after 1986, but they are beyond the scope of this (historical) study.

Materials from the homosexual press are fragmented and cover a broad spectrum. The homosexual press permitted the expression of more experiences and opinions, even if one discourse had primacy and talked about what was acceptable, or at least more reasonable and apparent. This is where the homosexual community's thought

structures took shape. Thus, old homosexual magazines can help us understand, in a new and different way, what was conceivable, what was desirable, and what was incomprehensible (see Holgersson, 2005: 154). The Swedish homosexual press may be viewed as a hub in the Swedish homosexual rights movement and thus something performed in relation to specific events central to the homosexual rights movement in Sweden (see Rydström, 2008). Another hallmark of the Swedish homosexual press was the literally intimate exchanges with the rest of the western world, primarily the other Nordic countries, Germany, Holland, England, and the USA in connection with news reporting, the dissemination of ideas, and network creation. Recurring articles about places and events outside Sweden of interest to men who have sex with men is one manifestation of this. Another is the occurrence of personal ads by men from other countries seeking contact with Swedish men and vice versa. The men who wrote and took pictures for the magazines cultivated networks with magazine producers in other countries. Material published in American or British homosexual magazines is frequently found translated to Swedish in *Revolt*. The era I studied is distinguished as a time when a homosexual (male) subjectivity took shape before the outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Sweden and elsewhere in the western world in the mid 1980s (see Plummer, 1981; Weeks, 1981).

### The Swedish homosexual press: An overview

In 1954, RFSL (the Swedish National Association for Sexual Equality) published the first magazine in Sweden aimed at an audience primarily made up of men sexually attracted to other men: *RFSLs medlemsblad*. The publication, whose name was eventually changed to *Följeslagaren*, was published until 1972. *Följeslagaren* was described in 1961 as 'having the primary task of providing trustworthy information about homosexuality'.<sup>11</sup> Sexual politics activist and journalist Michael Holm described the magazine retrospectively as a journal whose editorial staff feared being regarded by outsiders as a 'boulevard paper' and thus avoided writing for a 'lay audience'. As a result, the journal attracted a 'very limited readership' (Holm, 1971: 52f.). RFSL did not publish its own magazine in 1973, appearing only in a separate section of the independent (from RFSL) homosexual magazine *Revolt* (presented later in this article). The organization published *Tidskrift för RFSL* between 1974 and 1978. A special magazine was issued for Liberation Week in 1979, *Organet. För Frigörelseveckan*.<sup>12</sup> Publication of *Kom Ut!* began in 1980 and the magazine is still in circulation (2012).

A new era in the history of the Swedish homosexual press began with *HOMO*. Five issues of *HOMO magazine* were issued in Sweden between 1966 and 1969 by publisher and editor Carl Rådemyr-Regman.<sup>13</sup> This gave Sweden a homosexual press that was independent of RFSL and whose objective can be described as reaching a wider readership by writing for a lay audience and from the radical perspective.<sup>14</sup> *HOMO* ceased publication in 1969, but publication of the Swedish-language magazine *Viking* began in Denmark the same year.<sup>15</sup> Swedish journalist Michael Holm was the editor of *Viking* and the Swedish editorial staff moved the



magazine to Sweden in 1971. In connection with the move, the name was changed to *Revolt – mot sexuella f rdomar*. Like *HOMO*, *Revolt* stressed reaching a wider readership and promoting change in sexual politics (Holm, 1971: 52 f.). Unlike *HOMO*, which described itself as both an international magazine<sup>16</sup> and an ‘independent journal for minorities, especially homophile and biphile’,<sup>17</sup> *Viking/Revolt* was described more in line with *F ljeslagaren* as a ‘Swedish homo magazine’<sup>18</sup> or ‘HS journal’.<sup>19</sup>

Except in 1983/1984, *Revolt* was published from 1971 through 1986, when it was replaced by a magazine called *Reporter*. Publication of *Revolt* was temporarily suspended in 1983 to make room for *Magasin Gay*. Four issues of *Magasin Gay* were published in 1983 and seven issues in 1984. The magazine folded thereafter and *Revolt* was resurrected for a couple of years.

## Representations of boys in the homosexual press

The statements use words like ‘youngster’,<sup>20</sup> ‘boy’, ‘lad’,<sup>21</sup> or ‘young man’. The language varies, but a general analysis of word usage in all articles shows no clear pattern; the various terms are sometimes used in statements to denote various ages, sometimes as synonyms in a single statement. For this reason, I will use the term ‘boy’ consistently in my analysis, other than in direct quotations taken from the statements. The first section is intended to provide a general description of how the boy is linguistically constructed in relation to power, sexuality, and age.

A few statements deal directly with the boy as someone characterized by various manifestations of ambivalence in terms of gender<sup>22</sup> and sexuality, or bisexuality.<sup>23</sup> Several researchers have shown how talk about bisexuality, age and gender ambivalence is repeatedly coupled to explain or elucidate each other.<sup>24</sup> I believe several other definitions of ‘the boy’ are grounded in this ambivalence. They can also be understood as the backdrop to flare-ups of controversy and media concern about sexual encounters between younger and older individuals. However, much of the material is related to either the boy’s age in relation to criminal law or whether the boy can be understood as a passive object, active subject, or both in relation to older men.<sup>25</sup>

The boy is defined in the material primarily on the basis of talk about age in relation to the institutional power structure, specifically criminal law. Most statements are related either to sexual encounters between older and younger partners, where the boy would have been sexually legal if not for the gender distinction in the law. These statements are those in which the boys are described as 15 to 17 years old.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, focus may also be on sexual encounters between men and sexually legal boys,<sup>27</sup> between sexually legal girls and boys,<sup>28</sup> or between sexually legal boys of the same age.<sup>29</sup> However, a few statements involve sexual encounters between older and younger people where the boy is described as under the age of 15.<sup>30</sup> In these statements, the sexual encounter is described primarily as an expression of a sexual assault. The perpetrator is either someone who is personally sexually legal<sup>31</sup> or would have been sexually legal if the law made no distinction between

heterosexual and homosexual relationships.<sup>32</sup> Just a few statements describe these sexual encounters as natural and good for the boy.<sup>33</sup>

The boy's age is sometimes unspecified in the statements; instead, age is put in relation to talk about the partner as someone who is either older or the same age. The boy is sometimes described simply as someone who has a sexual encounter with an older person<sup>34</sup> or someone the same age.<sup>35</sup> Talk about power imbalances is found in the relationships between younger and older partners. The boy is made into someone who can be a subordinate, passive object of sexual desire for the older man,<sup>36</sup> as someone who can be seduced into homosexuality by an older man,<sup>37</sup> or as someone who is financially unequal.<sup>38</sup> The boy is also made a subordinate in an asexual relationship to his parents.<sup>39</sup>

However, the age/power relationship is not always clear-cut. Several statements emphasize the boy as an active subject: someone who is sexually adventurous,<sup>40</sup> developing,<sup>41</sup> and capable of seducing an older man. The boy is sometimes described as both subject and object: someone who can be seduced by an older man while also being the older man's rival for the sexual or emotional favours of another young person.<sup>42</sup>

## **(Homo)sexuality and the pleasure ideal**

In this section, I will show the occurrence of three perspectives within a single discourse on boys and the pleasure ideal of (homo)sexuality: (1) homosexuality as pleasure, (2) homosexuality as exploitation (child molestation, seduction), and (3) homosexuality as surrogate (prostitution/lust for money/problems/loneliness).

### *Homosexuality as pleasure*

Several statements, particularly reviews of film and theatre as well as serial fiction, emphasize homosexuality as a temporary sexual pleasure for boys. From this perspective, boys are described as engaging in homosexual practices as a temporary game,<sup>43</sup> an adventure,<sup>44</sup> or a thrill,<sup>45</sup> but who are also resisting inhibitions.<sup>46</sup> The boys are understood as thrill-seekers<sup>47</sup> and predatory.<sup>48</sup> The temporary nature is stressed in several of the statements by describing how the games eventually end when one party in the relationship tells the other that he is going to marry a woman.<sup>49</sup> While in some instances this temporary or situational homosexuality and the temporary homosexual practices of boys may be represented as something positive, several statements talk about the phenomenon as something that must be explained.

### *Homosexuality as exploitation*

The boundaries between volition and abuse/exploitation are discussed on the basis of talk about homosexuality as exploitation. Who is positioned as the victim or perpetrator becomes central here.



*Följeslagaren* repeatedly published articles on the theme of seduction, in which men were enticed by boys and ended up in trouble. In several statements, the older man ends up swindled or exploited as the result of the boy's trickery and seduction. The boy may gain financially from an old man's feelings,<sup>50</sup> or seduce the older man by fooling him into believing that the boy is a young woman.<sup>51</sup> Some statements include stories of 'erotic double-dealing'<sup>52</sup> and an older man's 'ambiguous feelings'<sup>53</sup> for a boy. As the story goes, a boy more or less deliberately seduces an older man while betraying the older man with a young woman. The young woman is either someone the older man has asked the boy to seduce on the older man's behalf,<sup>54</sup> or the older man's daughter.<sup>55</sup> An example of trickery is found in an early statement in a 1957 issue of *Följeslagaren* that deals with the dangers of picking up boys in one's car based on an article in *Expressen*, a Swedish evening paper. The article in *Expressen* was about a married man who picked up a boy near Humlegården Park, a notorious sexual meeting place for men. The boy asks if he can hitch a short ride. This is witnessed by a member of the police 'homosexual activity squad'. According to the man, once he got in the car, the boy talked about nothing but 'homosexual sex' and the man was seduced. The man was prosecuted because the boy was not older than 16. Both the man and the boy, already known to the police from previous 'escapades', were interrogated. The man was convicted and sentenced to one month's probation. The police investigation was carried out 'discreetly' and the man's wife did not find out. *Följeslagaren* first states that it is a good thing that police investigations can be managed discreetly and expresses the hope that 'unmarried homosexuals will also be treated with the same consideration'. Secondly, the magazine opines that 'the court's understanding that a 16-year-old boy can seduce an older man' is interesting.<sup>56</sup>

Some statements on the theme of seduction have to do with neither deliberate trickery nor deliberate seduction, but the boy nevertheless manages to get the older man to 'totally lose his head'.<sup>57</sup> When he meets the boy, the older man goes from being a mature man in control of his life and his surroundings to one utterly consumed by his desire for the boy.<sup>58</sup> This desire sometimes leads to strong controlling behaviour and jealousy on the part of the older man with regard to the younger,<sup>59</sup> and consequently to the boy's destruction<sup>60</sup> or ruin.<sup>61</sup>

The age differences are usually presented as considerable in the statements, for instance by talking about 'boys', 'youngster', and 'young men', versus 'men' and 'older men'. However, one statement includes a story about a sexual encounter between a '15-year-old youngster' and a '19-year-old man'. This encounter also ends in ruin for the older of the two, who is prosecuted under the law on 'criminal homosexuality' after having appeared in a pornographic film along with the boy and his fiancée.<sup>62</sup>

With a few exceptions, the statements refer to sexual encounters that would have been legal if they were heterosexual, that is, sexual encounters between individuals at least 15 years of age. *Följeslagaren* is consistently critical of the differences in age of consent for opposite-sex and same-sex sexual encounters.<sup>63</sup> The statements may be regarded as an expression of this critical attitude. Inequality before the law is

repeatedly criticized through examples of sexually active or precocious boys on the verge of legality who, because of the law, visit destruction upon older men, who either do not know that they are not legal, or do not know that their seducers are not young – but legal – women.

Although *Följeslagaren* maintains a critical attitude to the differences in age limits, the magazine clearly repudiates sexual relationships between men and boys under 15 years old. The magazine also stresses that these relationships have nothing to do with homosexuality. This may be seen as an example of a discursive line of demarcation, where child molestation is excluded from a discourse on homosexuality: homosexuality is emphasized as something which takes place between adults. In a statement from 1964 that refers to an incident in which a '17-year-old youngster' was arrested for molesting children of both sexes between the ages of five and eight, the headline in *Följeslagaren* was 'Child molestation is not homosexual' and stresses that 'gender is of lesser importance in connection with the sexual molestation of such young children'.<sup>64</sup>

However, in *Revolt* in the 1970s and *Magasin Gay* in the early 1980s, relationships between boys and men, including boys clearly younger than 15 years old, are presented as something fairly positive. They are presented as expressions of 'normal, natural, and harmless human urges'<sup>65</sup> and as an expression of resistance to inhibitions.<sup>66</sup> Erotic short stories in which sexual encounters between boys and men are represented as good for both parties are one manifestation of this.<sup>67</sup> Another is a recurring narrative that emphasizes the relationship as an expression of a boy's development into adulthood, exemplified by stories of sexual practices between adolescents and older men among the Siwa people in North Africa,<sup>68</sup> in Iran,<sup>69</sup> in Japan,<sup>70</sup> among Arab men,<sup>71</sup> or among the ancient Greeks.<sup>72</sup>

### *Homosexuality as surrogate*

In parallel with talk about homosexuality as exploitation, there is talk about homosexuality as a surrogate for something else. This 'something else' may be a dearth of heterosexual encounters, 'lust for money', or an expression of loneliness and personal problems. Of these, lust for money or lack of money and thus same-sex prostitution are the most common in the material.

Talk about homosexuality as an expression of a dearth of heterosexual encounters<sup>73</sup> and talk about homosexuality as an expression of age differences, exploitation, and the question of money ('age buys youth')<sup>74</sup> are repeatedly problematized in the material.

Mainly in the material from the 1950s and 1960s, but also in some statements from the 1970s and 1980s, the two perspectives are positioned as being true for boys who are 'actually heterosexual' and have occasional sexual encounters with men, but are not true for 'homosexual youth'. Distinctions are made in the material from the 1950s and 1960s between homosexual youth and heterosexual boys who occasionally have sex with men. In one statement from 1958, a distinction is made between 'the problems of homosexual youth', where the problem is being

homosexual, and other young people. These other young people are described as individuals who are actually heterosexual, but for various reasons – ‘need for a surrogate, lust for money, etc. – have found temporary refuge in homosexual activity’.<sup>75</sup> In another statement from 1962 that deals with prostitution, a similar distinction is made between the ‘young, genuine homosexual’ and the ‘socially maladjusted male youth’. The statement describes prostitution as something that gives socially maladjusted male youth opportunities to ‘acquire a means to support themselves and avoid working’.<sup>76</sup>

One expression of the problem ascribed to homosexual youth as a group is the feeling of being alone in a ‘hostile world’ and what it means to find out that they are not alone and that their orientation is ‘normal for an entire group of citizens’.<sup>77</sup> Descriptions of the phenomenon recur throughout the studied epoch, as in a statement from 1964 that describes the ‘loneliness and rootlessness of the different’.<sup>78</sup> This is manifest, for example, in descriptions of homosexual youth who are adrift in various ways.<sup>79</sup> Homosexual youth are also described in a statement from 1977 as people who lack adult role models on the emotional level.<sup>80</sup>

In the material from the 1970s and 1980s, the two perspectives are positioned primarily as things that might have been true in another historical context<sup>81</sup> or another national context.<sup>82</sup> In this present, in this national context, the perspective is ascribed to opponents of homosexual liberation in Sweden.

Several alternative perspectives on how homosexual prostitution and prostitutes may be understood are found in statements published in the 1970s and 1980s. This may be seen as an expression of opposition to a more dominating perspective on the phenomenon: that it is a matter solely of exploitation and money.

From one perspective, the phenomenon is essentially described as a kind of entrepreneurship like any other. One statement consists of an interview with a bisexual boy from Copenhagen (Denmark) who had started a company in partnership with a bisexual friend the same age as him to personally sell sexual services to men.<sup>83</sup> The boy is described objectively as an entrepreneur who had not believed the demand would be so high, and who expresses annoyance in the interview that a lot of men call out of curiosity, some of whom just want to talk about sex, and that only a few of them ultimately end up as clients. He says that he and his friend will continue as long as they can, that he currently has difficulties getting an erection with either girls or boys and is a little worried that ‘it’s not a good thing to get used to only older men’. Even though both are bisexual, they do not have much time for girls right now. But, he says, ‘we’ve just barely turned 20, so there’s plenty of time for that’.

From another perspective, prostitution is emphasized as something that happens for the sake of both money and lust. One statement from 1974 dealing with American movies refers to *Midnight Cowboy*, in which a male prostitute is fellated by a boy in a movie theatre during the show.<sup>84</sup> The prostitute describes himself in another statement, wherein he refers to his autobiography as ‘the happy hustler’ and ‘a brilliant and charming young horn dog who sells his body to anybody, man or woman, if the price is right’.<sup>85</sup>

From a third perspective, prostitution is described as an expression of a desire to make money and establish an emotional relationship (see Kaye, 2003). Prostitution is discussed in a statement from 1975 based on an article in *Dagbladet*, a Norwegian newspaper, which described boy prostitutes as people who are mainly of heterosexual orientation and who usually want to make a little money but quite often are also looking for an emotional relationship with an adult man. 'Long-term friendships' between prostitutes and clients are thus common and continue after the boy has grown up and married.<sup>86</sup> In another statement from 1982, a distinction is made between homosexual youth and young men who 'are actually heterosexual'. The statement<sup>87</sup> emphasizes the distinction as having to do with the meaning of the sex between same-sex partners, with focus on feelings versus lust. In an interview with Pinar, a 20-year-old homosexual from Portugal with a history of prostituting himself to 'rich tourist fags', Pinar distinguishes between his personal experiences of prostitution and what it might be like 'for most guys'. For Pinar, prostitution was not uncomplicated: 'If you are doing it only for the money, you should probably avoid more tender feelings and just think about the horniness. That wasn't possible in my case.' 'Most guys' are described as people who see prostitution as a simple matter, as a fast way to make money. They are described as people who do not really sell their bodies, but 'actually their horniness', as people who

think that if they are going to beat off by themselves in the bathroom or behind the shed with a buddy, they might as well do it with a tourist and make a buck. But since they are actually heterosexual, they don't take it seriously. There's nothing strange about sex, after all.

In this statement, same-sex practices among boys who are actually heterosexual are described as sex and nothing more. In one statement, the description instead emphasizes same-sex sexual practices as shameful and that sex in exchange for financial compensation can be understood as something that makes same-sex sexual practices possible by excusing the behavior.<sup>88</sup>

### **(Homo)sexuality and the love ideal**

In parallel with the discourse on sex and the pleasure ideal, a discourse on sex and the love ideal and homosexuality as an expression of love is found in the material dating from the 1970s and onward. Various kinds of sex are also sometimes described as a matter of individual development and homosexual self-acceptance. In several statements, an older man's encounter with a younger man is described as essential to the older man's homosexual self-acceptance: in the relationship with the young man, the older man takes the step of loving another man. A statement in *Revolt* 1979 describes a transition from homosexuality as a shameful sexual inclination to love. This begins in one man's discovery of his 'homosexual inclination' (around age 25). At first, he believed this was 'something shameful,

disgusting, abnormal'. He chose to live with women for a total of 15 years and to express his inclination sexually via brief encounters in semi-public places ('in railway stations, swimming pools, and parks'). He was in his fifties before he went from 'just lusting after' other men to beginning a relationship with a boy – thanks to both the 'life-affirming philosophy that *Revolt* is spreading' and to having met the boy, which led to 'the growth of something beautiful between us'.<sup>89</sup>

## Conclusions

Maynard has described relationships between boys and men as distinguished by both 'sexual danger and sexual possibilities' or a 'contradictory mix of danger and desire'. Consistently with Maynard, an expression of ambivalence in the talk about the relationship is found in the material. I believe the ambivalence has mainly to do with the relation to hetero-societal cultural codings of power and exploitation. Several statements that revolve around relationships between boys and men may be seen as expressions of a then topical discussion about whether the boy may be understood as a passive object, active subject, or both in relation to men (see also Schneider, 2008). This discussion was part and parcel of the issue of power and responsibility within criminal law during the studied epoch: whether men are always culpable or can be held responsible in connection with sexual encounters with boys.

The homosexual press takes a stance on this discussion in three ways: first, by providing a variety of descriptions of sexual desire between men and boys that add nuance to the picture of the same; second, by representing the boy as someone who can take both an active subject position and a passive object position in the relationship, and third, by separating homosexual practices from paedophilic practices.

The descriptions in the homosexual press include talk about a fundamentally voluntary relationship between the boy and the man, a relationship made comprehensible through talk about temporariness, about seduction and play, but also discuss the relationship as problematic. Even as the relationship is described as voluntary, there is always an element of inequality and the narratives repeatedly deal with how one partner or the other is exploited or betrayed. Based on the idea of the boy as *subject*, the statements describe how the man is exploited and abandoned by the boy. Often, it is the boy who initiates the relationship by seducing the man. Based on the idea of the boy as *object*, we find descriptions of situations in which the man's focus on his own sexual pleasure has gone too far and where the degree of free will is in doubt. This is illustrated by stories about prostitution and men's sexual encounters with boys under 15.

There are four different descriptions, or discourses, found in the material connected to the pleasure ideal in which the question of subject and object is central. Homosexuality as exploitation and homosexuality as surrogate dominate the material. I understand these as the dominant discourses in society outside the homosexual press and as meanings of male homosexuality upon which the homosexual press takes an active stance and attempts to renegotiate by means of two

other discourses. Following scholars such as Don Romesburg (2008) these dominant discourses may be linked to nationalistic ideals of adolescence and manhood and (sexual) citizenship in Sweden – ideals from which homosexual men were excluded during this period. Based on these discourses, sex between boys and men is primarily described as something that should be mainly understood as a financial transaction and exploitation. One expression of this discourse is homosexuality as something linked in the straight press with ‘age buying youth’ and homosexuality as exploitation. Two alternative perspectives are presented in the material that help present a more nuanced picture of these relationships, but also problematize views of the relationships as ‘exploitation pure and simple’ or ‘only a surrogate’, mainly by stressing mutual pleasure, but sometimes by bringing the emotional aspects to the fore. This may be seen as the use of a discourse on (mutual) sexual pleasure and use of a discourse on sexuality as love. Based on the focus on sex for the sake of mutual pleasure, emphasis is put on both the mutuality and delight of sexual relations between men and boys.

The second discussion in the material has to do with differences between boys in relation to talk about essential or temporary homosexuality and talk about sex for the sake of love or sex for the sake of pleasure. Based on an essentialist perspective, the ‘homosexual youth’ is understood as a true homosexual or bearer of an essential homosexuality. The homosexual youth is also ascribed a yearning for love and community with other homosexuals, which is used to explain or make comprehensible sexual encounters between boys and men.

Based on a perspective emphasizing homosexuality as casual, boys who engage in temporary homosexual practices are understood as an expression of a false or situational homosexuality. These boys are positioned as individuals who are looking mainly or only for sexual encounters. They are repeatedly shunned by being described as people caught up in prostitution and through accusations of crime in the form of assault, theft, robbery, or blackmail targeted against men.

The relationship between a boy and a man is described primarily as a relationship based on sex. A small portion of the material explicitly discusses love between boys and men; these instances involve relationships between boys in the ‘homosexual youth’ group and men. In relation to the rest of the material, relationships based on love and community as homosexuals are represented primarily by relationships between two men of similar age.

Over time, the discourse on homosexuality as love becomes more dominant. As a result, relationships based on ‘just sex’ (homosexuality as pleasure) were understood as increasingly incomprehensible and in need of explanation. I have shown in this article how a parallel homonormative ideal emerges, which also shuns relationships between partners understood as too different – here mainly based on age, but also on sexual orientation (bisexually practising boys versus homosexual youth and homosexual men). In this article, I have shown a transition from a homonormative ideal or, at least within the homosexual community, a socially sanctioned possibility of relationships between men and boys, a less equal couple and partner ideal, to a more equal couple and partner ideal based on an expectation of



similarity (see Adam, 2000; see also Sender, 2003). I would like to join to that an ideal of love and a 'same-orientation relationship' rather than a 'mixed-orientation relationship' (see Pierce Buxton, 2004).<sup>90</sup>

Based on my study, homosexual subjectivity eventually became defined on the basis of talk about essence and ideals of love and similarity. This meant that temporary or situational homosexuality, like the pleasure ideal of sex and sexual desire emanating from differences of various kinds, was eventually made incomprehensible and excluded from the expected and the desirable.

The material in which talk about boys is found helps uncover these two competing discursive meanings of male homosexuality. One of these meanings emphasizes male homosexuality as sexual desire, here between men and boys, while the other meaning emphasizes male homosexuality as love between exclusively homosexual men. The first is utterly dominant in the material from the 1950s and 1960s. Starting in the 1970s, relationships based only on same-sex sexual desire are shunned and emphasis is instead on relationships based on love and similarity. Over time, relationships in which age differences are stressed are repudiated, for example by being relegated to another historical epoch or ascribed, as in the introductory quotation, to 'a lot of older people'.

These descriptions may be understood as an expression of opposition to more dominant discourses in the surrounding society during the studied epoch, such as homosexuality as exploitation or homosexuality as surrogate. However, they may also be seen as part of a broader process of exclusion within the Swedish (homo)sexual political movement (see Gunther, 2004: 330) that led to the adoption of new subject ideals and the exclusion of others. This process can be linked to descriptions by sexual historians of a shift from a practice-oriented perspective to an identity-oriented perspective on homosexuality (see e.g. D'Emilio, 1983). The process may also be regarded as something that occurs in tandem with similar changes in heterosexual relationship ideals toward an ideal of similarity, in accordance with that described by Anthony Giddens as the pure relationship (Giddens, 1991). Here, this shift from difference to similarity<sup>91</sup> is linked to a shift of focus from (homosexual) sex for the sake of pleasure to (homosexual) sex for the sake of love.

## Notes

1. Hans, 'Åldersförtryck', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1976: 27) see Wolfgang, 'Fucktory club i Hamburg', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1972: 30 ff.).
2. I have chosen to refer to the papers and the press as homosexual rather than gay. The concept of gay refers to a specific kind of homosexual subjectivity in a specific historical and social context. In my study there are both advocates for a gay identity and a gay movement (e.g. *Magasin Gay*) and activists positioning themselves and their work as part of a 'homo' or 'homophile' movement. I also use 'homosexual' as an inclusive umbrella term, focusing on same-sexual practices and desires rather than identities.
3. *Revolt* (No. 10, 1984: 51).



4. For a discussion of the use of this distinction in relation to the legalization debate in Sweden during the 1930s and 1940s, see Rydström, 2003: 167 f. For a discussion in relation to the writings of western sexologists and early 20th century social workers, see Kaye, 2003.
5. Conceptions of the seduction theory or the idea of the possibility for (mostly young) people to be seduced to homosexuality, and therefore the need of protection of young people have frequently been discussed within the homosexual movement and sexual history research (e.g. Eman, 1999a: 104, 1999b: 148; Henriksson and Ytterberg, 1990: 19 f.; Holm, 1971: 16 ff.).
6. The change of the law was noticed in *Revolt* (No. 5, 1978: 6).
7. For discussions of similar debates in an American straight media context, see e.g. Schneider, 2008; or a Canadian straight media context, see Maynard, 1997.
8. For studies showing similar conceptions in other national western contexts but mostly, in line with George Chauncey's (1985, 1994) research, focusing on the late 19th century to the middle of the 20th Century, see e.g. Koven, 1992; Maynard, 1997; Robertson, 2006; Schneider, 2008.
9. In a Swedish sexual political context the term homonormativity has been used in order to formulate critique towards norms of homosexual exclusiveness by bisexual activists since 2000 (see Bertilsdotter, 2000a, 2000b).
10. See <http://www.kb.se/english/about/> (accessed 5 July 2010).
11. *Följeslagaren* (No. 1–2, 1961: 3).
12. In an article published in *Revolt* 1978 by Robert Sandström, 'Tala om dubbelmoral – Visst fan behövs Revolt!' (*Revolt*, 1978, No. 7: 27) the existence of a paper called *RFSL-Bulletinen* is mentioned, but any references to the paper are missing at the National Library of Sweden. Maybe *RFSL-Bulletinen* used to be an RFSL internally published stencil newsletter.
13. Carl Regman and Carl Regman-Rådemyr are pseudonyms for Carl Rådemyr. I will, however, refer to Carl Rådemyr-Regman in the text.
14. Holm, 52 f.; *HOMO* (No. 1, 1966: 3).
15. Carl Rådemyr-Regman, telephone interview by the author, tape recording, 14 July 2008.
16. That is to say, by the name of the paper.
17. *HOMO* (No. 1, 1966: 3).
18. For example *Viking* (No. 6, 1970), the front page.
19. For example *Viking* (No. 7, 1970), the front page, as well as *Revolt* (No. 2, 1971), the front page.
20. Yngling (in Swedish).
21. Grabb (in Swedish).
22. Alonso, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1957: 10–11); Robert D Robinson, 'Att acceptera sig själv', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1972: 12 ff.); 'Vem var homosexuell? Några tankar om homosex i böcker', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1973: 10).
23. Gary, 'Homosex i fokus', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1975: 60 f.); 'Flärd & Fröjd, Även Bosse Parnevik', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1983: 57); Kurt Schiller, 'Vem skapar fjollan? Könnsrollerna? Kroppens utseende? Personligheten? Funderingar av Kurt Schiller', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1973: 23).
24. See discussion in e.g. Eadie, 1997: 143 f.; Garber, 1995: 140; Morris and Storr, 1997. For an example from sexual history research on conceptions of bisexuality and younger boys, see Grant, 2004.

25. See also a discussion on conceptions of children's (a)sexual passivity versus children's sexual agency in Egan and Hawkes, 2009.
26. *Revolt* (No. 2, 1971: 46); Luciano Massimo Consoli, 'mötet med stefano', *Revolt* (No. 3–4, 1971); Michael, 'Svenska klipp om homosex maj-juni 75', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1975: 11 f.); 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1957: 8); 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1960); Ismael Gabr, 'Helskön film. Tusen och en natt av Pier Paolo Pasolini', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1975: 24); 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1960); Simonne Beckeld, 'Vikten att vara Oscar', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1985: 11).
27. Wolfgang, 'Fucktory club i Hamburg', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1972: 30 ff.); Robert D Robinson, 'Att acceptera sig själv', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1972: 12 ff.); 'film och teater', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1964: 15–16); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1958); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1958: 7); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1959: 11); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1958: 7); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11); 'utifrån', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1962: 10).
28. Laila, 'Jag behöver en väninna också...', *Viking* (No. 1, 1970: 26); 'French love', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1971: 36 f.); Wolfgang, 'Fucktory club i Hamburg', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1972: 30 ff.).
29. Gary, 'Homosex i litteraturen', *Viking* (No. 8, 1970: 43).
30. Björn Vilson, 'Varning för biologerna. Brev till 3 forskare', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1972: 51); 'noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 1, 1964: 8); Edward Brongersma, 'Ska våra fördomar gå ut över barnen?' *Revolt* (No. 10, 1973: 21).
31. Björn Vilson, 'Varning för biologerna. Brev till 3 forskare', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1972: 51).
32. 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 1, 1964: 8).
33. Edward Brongersma, 'Ska våra fördomar gå ut över barnen?' *Revolt* (No. 10, 1973: 21); cf. även 'Farbror Harry', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1976: 20 ff.).
34. Gebe, 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1975: 70); Nils Hallbeck, 'Pojke som partner', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1980: 22 f.); TW, 'Mera om böcker', *Revolt* (No. 6, 1977: 17); Läsare, 'Revoltposten', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1972: 57); Läsare/Michael, 'Revolt Posten', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1976: 72 f.); Hans, 'Åldersförtryck', *Revolt* (No. 5, 1976: 27).
35. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1959: 14); Jörgen Germundsson, 'Utbud. Recensioner & tips', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1985: 40); Ulo Maasing, 'Teater: Hundarna i Casablanca', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1978: 30); Alfredo, 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1976: 37); Kenneth Paine, 'Hite-rapport om mäns sexliv', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1982: 16).
36. Alonzo, 'film och teater', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3–4, 1960: 11); 'Bowie', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1973: 45 ff.); 'Michael', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1982: 27); Janne Paasio, 'Tankar kring filmen Querelle de Brest', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1983: 12); 'En magisk kuk på Père Lachaise', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1975: 66); efter en artikel i Arcadie av André Koeniguer, 'Venedig ett Sodom vid adriatiska havet', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1978: 8).
37. Finn Ståhl, 'Kan homosexualiteten botas?' *Följeslagaren* (No. 1, 1957: 3–4); Gary Bergqvist, 'Homosex i fokus', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1973: 61 f.); Alonso, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1957: 10–11); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1958).
38. Tim McCaskell, 'Gayliv i Nicaragua', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1983: 6); 'Revoltposten', *Revolt* (No. 8, 1972: 52); 'Revoltposten', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1972: 56); Gary Bergqvist, 'Homosex i fokus', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1974: 62); 'Vi och våra grannar. Tankar om pressen uti Norden', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1975: 59); Hanne, 'all makt till kärleken', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1978: 51); Jörgen Germundsson, 'Bokrecensioner. PC Jersild: Efter Floden', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1983:

- 61); Rolf Eriksson, 'Boktips', *Revolt* (No. 7–8, 1980: 74); Berth, 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1977: 56); *Följeslagaren* (No. 1–2, 1956; Nos 1, 2, 3, 1957).
39. Parts of an article written by the tabloid *Expressen's* medical expert Bernt Bernholm, 'Ej frivilligt val', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1964: 4–5); Alfredo, 'Ny Finlandssvensk roman om lesbisk kärlek', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1973: 7); 'FABIAN Privat', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1986: 56); 'Bowie', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1973: 45 ff.).
40. 'Revolt-Posten', *Revolt* (No. 8, 1971); Daniel Curzon, 'Sådant man gör i mörker', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1977: 53 f.).
41. Hanne, 'All makt till kärleken', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1978: 51); Edward Brongersma, 'Ska våra fördomar gå ut över barnen?' *Revolt* (No. 10, 1973: 21).
42. Alonso, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1957: 10–11); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1958); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11).
43. Alonzo, 'film och teater', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2–3, 1965: 32); Lars Kagg, 'Bilder av Bertil', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1980).
44. Alonzo, 'Litteratur', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1959: 6–8).
45. 'Michael', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1980: 4).
46. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1959: 14); 'Osborne och hans pojkar', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1984: 51–53).
47. Michael, 'Svenska klipp om homosex maj-juni 75', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1975: 11 f.).
48. 'Snarare in – än utbrytarkung', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1979).
49. Lars Kagg, 'Bilder av Bertil', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1980).
50. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1958: 7; 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1976: 51); Berth, 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1977: 57).
51. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11); Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1959: 13); 'Vem var homosexuell?. Några tankar om homosex i böcker', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1973: 10).
52. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11).
53. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1959: 11).
54. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1959: 11).
55. Alonzo, 'Teaterkrönika', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1959: 11).
56. 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1957: 8).
57. 'Fy fula porr', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1975: 11).
58. 'Fy fula porr', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1975: 11. cf. Vicinus, 1994).
59. Wolfgang Lohausen, 'Beethoven och lille Karl', *Revolt* (No. 7, 1977: 54).
60. 'En magisk kuk på Père Lachaise', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1975: 66); 'Revolt galleri med dansare', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1985: 57).
61. Wolfgang Lohausen, 'Beethoven och lille Karl', *Revolt* (No. 7, 1977: 54).
62. 'Noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 2, 1960).
63. Andréaz Wasniowski argues that RFSL saw the struggle to change the 21-year of consent law as one of its primary goals (Wasniowski, 2007: 72; cf. Rydström, 2007).
64. 'noterat och kommenterat', *Följeslagaren* (No. 1, 1964: 8).
65. Björn Vilson, 'Varning för biologerna. Brev till 3 forskare', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1972: 51).
66. Ismael Gabr, 'Helskön film. Tusen och en natt av Pier Paolo Pasolini', *Revolt* (No. 3, 1975: 24).
67. 'Farbror Harry', *Revolt* (No. 9, 1976: 20 ff.).
68. Björn Vilson, 'Varning för biologerna. Brev till 3 forskare', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1972: 51).
69. *Revolt* (No. 4, 1975: 29 f.).

70. 'Japan', *Magasin Gay* (No. 4, 1983: 7).
71. Lars Kagg, 'Sagoförtäljaren Ahmit', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1982: 14 ff.).
72. Nils Hallbeck, 'Pojke som partner', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1980: 22 f.).
73. See e.g. 'Diktaturen i Grekland är likadan!', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1974: 12); 'Samhällets syn på åldersgränser för homosexuella', *Tidskrift för RFSL* (No. 3, 1975: 15); Christopher Toll, 'Att somliga är homosexuella är bara en vanföreställning', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1980: 7); 'Homoromantik, homoerotik och blodsbrödraskap. Homosexuella traditioner på Balkan', *Revolt* (No. 1, 1986: 30 f.); cf. Kaye, 2003).
74. Calle Almedal, 'böjiga nyheter. FiB/K och homosexualitet', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1978: 42).
75. Eimi, 'Om ungdomsproblem', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1958: 3–4). See also a description of the view of young same-sexually practising men in the 1950s, published in *Revolt* 1985 ('Trettio år är ingen lång tid', *Revolt* (No. 12, 1985: 25 ff.)).
76. Excerpts from RFSUs chairwoman Dr Elisabet Sjövalles motion, 'Kring sexuallagarna', *Följeslagaren* (No. 4, 1962: 7).
77. Åke Johnsson, 'Homofilen i samhället', *Följeslagaren* (No. 1, 1960: 2).
78. 'film och teater', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1964: 15–16).
79. 'film och teater', *Följeslagaren* (No. 3, 1964: 15–16); Dodo, 'Bokrecensioner. Melvins gränd', *Revolt* (No. 4, 1983: 60).
80. 'Samtalsgrupper för anhöriga', *Tidskrift för RFSL* (No. 3, 1977: 11 f.).
81. See e.g. 'Samhällets syn på åldersgränser för homosexuella', *Tidskrift för RFSL* (No. 3, 1975: 15); Roger Zetterström, 'Prästen och skökan II', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1984: 44–47).
82. Tim McCaskell, 'Gayliv i Nicaragua', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1983: 6).
83. Chris P, 'Brev från Kongens by', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1973: 48 f.).
84. Gary Bergqvist, 'Homosex i fokus', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1974: 62).
85. Berth, 'Plats på scen', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1977: 56).
86. 'Vi och våra grannar. Tankar om pressen uti Norden', *Revolt* (No. 11, 1975: 59).
87. 'Samtal med Pinar. Vår korrespondent i Portugal mötte Pinar, 20 år, f n militär, uppvuxen i Lissabons fattigkvarter', *Revolt* (No. 7, 1982: 18).
88. Alf Svensson, 'Killar som går för pengar. Funderingar om prostitution av Alf Svensson', *Revolt* (No. 10, 1979: 42).
89. Bob, 'Ett annat minne', *Revolt* (No. 2, 1979: 20); cf. Din vän, 'Hassan – mon ami', *Revolt* (No. 7, 1982: 13 f.).
90. In a study on male homosexuality between the 1930s and the 1980s, the sociologist Arne Nilsson makes a distinction between a similar, mixed-sexual orientation relationship and a same-sexual orientation relationship. The mixed-orientation relationship is positioned as being part of a time before norms of homosexual openness and gay identity political movement emerged in Sweden, in the beginning of the 1970s. The same-sexual relationship is positioned as a part of the present time, after the 1970s (Nilsson, 1998, 2006).
91. For more examples where current ideals of partner similarity are discussed, see e.g. Bertilsdotter Rosqvist, 2007.

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