Scripting the Male Head:
Exploring Male Sexuality Through Narratives

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Spring, 2018
Male sexuality can be at times misrepresented, and this misrepresentation has real impact on how men perceive themselves, as well as how others perceive male sexuality. The man who lacks the sexual appetite might feel marginalized; the sensitive man who doesn't fit into hegemonic stories might suffer from exclusion, especially when part of a homosocial environment. To show these old-fashioned stereotypes, it is important to get behind the scenes of how these stories unofficially reveal other sides of masculinity. Exploring real life men, real life setting to combat so widely misunderstood male sexuality is meant to broaden these misconceptions. Stereotypes create symbolic boundaries - they often limit and define us. People act according to their narrative identities, but stories do influence how people understand themselves and how they act in the world. We are in a time of changing sexual molds, while there are still ways in which men are supposed to behave. Thus, claiming agency in stories is a way in which men fight these stereotypes, reclaim masculinity and negotiate with hegemonic stories.

First of all, this study explores what men talk about when they tell their sex stories. The multivoicedness and multifaceted nature of these stories are presented in light of narrative framework, highlighting the importance of understanding male sexuality through narratives while challenging traditional male sex scripts. Secondly, I look at what these stories accomplish, using the interview situation as an important bridge for understanding.

Nineteen men had been interviewed for this study which was conducted in Oslo, Norway. Fourteen of the nineteen men's stories are included, where half of the men are from Latin America, the other half is a mix of European men, including Norwegian
men. A qualitative interview study was conducted using dialogical narrative analysis, a method of interviewing and analysis coined by Arthur Frank (2012) where the interview situation is an interactive process conducted through open storytelling and active listening. Storytelling is presented here as a constitutive, creative process that constructs identities, giving new representations to older frames, and through reflection opening up for change. Narrative analysis is the backbone of the methodology in this study. The methods chapter includes important issues such as conducting a pilot study, the steps for conducting interviews, problems and solutions during analysis, ethics, and being a female researcher.

Results ranged from stories about virgins and shy men, to erotic stories and stories about sexual art of hustling and prostitution stories. I draw on theories of narrative criminology, homosociality, script theory and prostitution research. Overall, findings showed a range of sexual practices, where stories, often fun and entertaining, laced with humor, showed an interplay between the participants' self-determination and adherence to a homosocial culture. An overall impression of the study was that men's sexual life was under stimulated, as stories proved a de-emphasis on sex, and an existential sexual crisis. The four predominant themes were as follows: (i) – sexual modesty in men; (ii) – erotic stories; (iii) – the art of sexual hustling; (iii) – stories of men paying for a sex and romance. Results showed a straying away from mainstream male stereotypes and a move towards another sexual narrative identity, construction of counternarratives and alternative formula stories.

The data presented in this thesis reveals rather atypical tales of sexual modesty that separate and even alienate men from a masculine culture of sexual pursuit and sexual prowess. Unlike hegemonic sexual stories, the stories in this study are characterized by shyness, avoidance, even sexual innocence. Told in private, perhaps only once, men might risk social exclusion if they shared these. The untapped narrative potential of these stories paves ground for another, hidden and conservative masculinity, presented as an alternative to homosociality and hegemonic masculinity. Although the rest of the findings demonstrate erotic, experimental stories involving S&M and other "taboo" activities, these reflect yet another side of erotic masculinity, where a man shows his readiness to succumb to the sexual appetite of a woman, or two women, coining himself as the pleaser, secretly.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In the modern world of "pornosphere" and "striptease culture" (McNair, 2002), male sexuality is a central theme in popular literature, film, and online media. Women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* write on topics such as "10 Crazy-Simple Things All Guys Want During Sex" (Kobola, 2017), male sexuality being on the forefront of relationship topics. Yet research has not given much importance to the exploration of male sexuality using qualitative methods, thus limiting the possibility of access to nuances needed for a broader understanding.

Research on masculinities is vast, as Connell (2001) claims, encompassing studies on how men construct their masculinities in different cultures and milieus. Common findings from these studies show that there is "no one pattern of masculinity"; masculinities are the result of a dynamic process that is socially constructed (Connell, 2001, p. 16). Although there has been some research on men sharing their sexual adventures as a group ritual, such as in fraternities and in organized sports (Flood, 2008), men sharing their own, complex, individual stories is a relatively unexplored topic. This is perhaps because their stories don't match the stereotypical sex-craved male stories, or perhaps because sharing stories that don't fit the formula story (Loseke, 2001) adheres to what is supposed to be a feminine activity. Another cause for this might be due to the notion that behavior that challenges hegemonic masculinity is suppressed (Bird, 1996, p.121), and behavior that supports hegemonic masculinity and male dominance is encouraged.

Norway is considered to be one of the most gender-equal countries in the world (Sainsbury, 2001), yet few studies reflect on how this gender equality has had an effect on male sexuality. One study shows how Norwegian men challenge the idea of hegemonic masculinity and strive to please the woman sexually, sometimes at the cost of their own pleasure (Sandberg, Jordheim Larsen & Pedersen, 2005, p. 319). Still, studies such as this one are rare, as studies on sexuality in Norway are often part of the findings in studies on alcohol, where sexual experimentation, eroticism and risky sexual behaviors are elements in rite-of-passage, college initiation week, and partying in college (Fjaer, Pedersen & Sandberg, 2016; Pedersen, Tutenges & Sandberg, 2017).

Although there have been a lot of studies that focused on homosexuality and assault research (Pape, 2014; Pedersen & Skrondal, 1996), feminist researchers claim that there is not enough research on male sexuality from a male perspective. These authors and others (cf. Halpern, Waller, Spriggs & Hallfors, 2006; Lefkowitz & Gillen,
call for "increased focus on males' experience of sexuality" (Morrison et al., 2015, p. 656). Quantitative studies have been conducted on male sexual patterns, male fantasies, even deviant sexuality. Earlier quantitative studies have looked at male sexual fantasies (Crépault & Couture, 1980) while later, also quantitative studies, explored risk behaviors in party settings, such as condom use (Træen, B. & Hovland, 1998) and HIV/AIDS (Sales, Milhausen, & DiClemente, 2006). More recent studies explore male sexuality through narratives, focusing primarily on young males (Morrison et al., 2014). Results from this study showed a great variety of male sexual scripts, stressing that understanding this will help improve intervention for risk behaviors as well as intimate partner aggression (Morrison et al., 2014, p. 666).

Men are often thought of as adapting traditional sexual scripts, stereotypes, or conventions during sexual or social interactions. The idea that men are the dominant sex (before, during and after the sexual act) prevails both in popular culture as well as in research. This is especially true considering the fact that most popular literature and media revolve around stories about sex, where even pornography is based on imaginative story plots implemented into the erotic. There is a need for a counternarrative that challenges the idea of the hypersexed male as presented by the pornography industry and the images of masculinity reinforced by popular sexual culture. As sexual scripts are bound to change, so do narratives change in the way they contribute to the creation of new and fresh way of looking at and constructing sexuality. It is through these "inconsistencies, irregularities, uncertainties" of "lived experience" (Loseke, 2001, p. 197) that this reconstruction becomes a possibility.

There is also a dearth of research on the interview situation involving male participants and a female interviewer, even more so when the subject of research is sexuality. Gailey & Prohaska's (2011) study explore the challenges of interviewing men about sexually degrading behaviors (p. 366). This is another unexplored field that needs to be looked at more closely, especially because it might tell us more about several aspects of male narratives, such as that of a male participant presenting himself as a typical or atypical sex-crazed male as stories emerge in a situation where a man is talking to a woman. While the aforementioned study focuses on degrading sexuality, this paper will include a variety of sex stories, while also exploring the dynamics of as the interview situation.

Using previous research that suggests that interviews are socially constructed by the participants as well as the interviewers, this paper intends to further explore this
creative relationship, and how this is manifested through language use. It repeatedly
takes into consideration my role in shaping that story as someone using a different
discourse as the participant. The social situation of organizing and presenting the story
is of considerable importance. Thus, boasting, making jokes, expressing regret or even
changing body language are indicative of the changes that are due to the interaction, in
this case a male-female interaction.

Results from this study revealed an unexpected number of stories on sexual
abstinence, sexual reservation, as well as virginity stories and shy scripts. Erotic tales
were also told, but in a surprisingly reserved tone, where the woman was often the
initiator. Results also showed stories about sexual hustling, providing inciting
reflections on the subject related to male prostitution. The findings in this chapter
demonstrate the presence of agency in these accounts as well as an interplay of several
discourses, such as the oppressed discourse versus scripts of "sexual capital" (Pedersen,
2005) where several participants educate and incite through stories. The last chapter of
analysis contains stories on paying for sex and romance. Unlike the rest of the stories,
these stories are characterized by misogynistic, degrading language and phallocentric
discourse (Sanday, 1992), supplementing the existing literature related to commercial
sex, and testing the boundaries in a gendered interview situation.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. Following the introduction (chapter
one) is the chapter on theoretical framework that delineates the theories that I will use
throughout the thesis, presenting and elaborating on broader theories, such as narrative
theory, first. Chapter three will introduce and describe in detail the methodological
approaches that will be used throughout the thesis. In chapter four, I will bring forth
stories of sexual modesty in males, or unconventional male sex stories about men being
shy, reserved, and/or inexperienced sexually. Chapter five is allocated to erotic stories.
Chapter six explores the art of hustling among several participants, or stories where
men used their sexuality or sexual capital in order to obtain their goals or dreams.
Chapter seven takes this further, dealing with stories that involve paying for sex.
Chapter eight sums up the thesis and suggests topics for future research, as well as
presenting the strengths and limitations of the study.
1.1 Research Question

This thesis explores the personal sex stories of a group of men living in Norway, focusing on the following research questions: 1) What do men talk about when they tell sex stories to a female researcher? 2) What do these stories accomplish, both for the storyteller as well as for the interview situation? While the first question examines the content of stories, the second question looks at how men express themselves in an interview situation, and why. The narrative framework would allow me to explore the inconsistencies and ambiguities of sexual stories. Moreover, this thesis will place these stories within the context of theories of homosociality and sexual scripts (Gagnon & Simon, 1973).

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

My attempt is to shed light upon the nature and uses of male sexual stories. This paper has therefore two main objectives. One, it will try to place sexual stories into categories through coding of data found in interviews and dissect these categories through the use of theories such as narrative criminology, script theory and homosociality. Secondly, it will try to look at what these sex stories do, both for the speakers as well as for the interview situation. In order to achieve the second aim of the thesis, theories on narrative analysis, such as the dialogical narrative analysis, by Frank (2010), will be employed. In addition, I will present a spectrum of research on prostitution in order to provide a background for the last two chapters.

2.1 Narrative Criminology

As Presser and Sandberg (2015) specify in their book on narrative criminology, "narrative may be seen as shaping experience". Leuprecht, Hataley, Moskalenko & McCauley (2009) take this further in their article on jihadi narratives, proposing that if narratives can be constructed, so it is "culturally possible to disassemble or criticize truths" (p. 26). Furthermore, the proposition that the authors in this article make is that there needs to be a variety of counter-narratives in order to challenge the existing jihadi narrative (Leupricht et al., 2009, p. 32). This gives another function to stories, where previously, narratives had been regarded as accounts or interpretations, showing a recent tendency that explores the multiuse of storytelling.
This constitutive, or constructive function of narrative is that which this thesis aims to explore, with particular focus on how this is done in an interview situation. Frank (2010) takes this further through a term he coins as "dialogical narrative analysis", where he focuses on the fact that stories are told to and for others, whether to interviewers or friends - stories are meant to be heard by other people. Furthermore, Frank (2010) claims that "People's stories report their reality as they need to tell it, as well as reporting what they believe their listeners are prepared to hear (88-93). This echoes in Polletta's (1998) work as well, as the author claims that narratives are "differently intelligible, useful, and authoritative depending on who tells them, when, for what purpose and in what setting" (p. 137).

In his book, "Telling Sexual Stories", Ken Plummer (1995) explores the culture of sexual storytelling. The author claims that sexual stories "mark our identities" and that they are often "conservative and preservative – tapping into the dominant worldview" (p. 178). Plummer (1995) stretches out the spectrum of sexualities, serving as a base for learning as a base for learning about the art of sexual storytelling (and listening), as it also presents the roles storytelling plays in society.

Narrative criminology addresses the issue of agency versus structure in its dialectic approach to view agency that is conditioned by a context (Presser & Sandberg, 2015). Specifically, there is a choice to draw on multiple discourses or one, unified narrative. Narrative criminology's emphasis on multiple discourses can be expanded through the use of the concept "intertextuality", or the use of already existing stories, scripts, as a part of the current narrative. Aside from echoing the traditional script theory, this narrative tool is particularly useful when looking at how gender stereotypes are created or while looking at resistance of gender stereotypes in stories. In a study on drug dealers in Oslo, Norway, Sandberg (2009b) identifies two main narratives, gangster and oppression discourse, that are used interchangeably by participants in situations where they must gain self-respect on the street or justify drug dealing to the welfare state. The possibility of using both discourses is explored here, where the author zooms in on the nuances created by the interchangeability of discourses, especially while contemplating the complexity of the researcher's role as white, older male interviewing young, ethnic minority men from another socioeconomic bracket.

The interchangeability of discourses is especially apparent in chapters 6 and 7 that deal with prostitution. Here I will look at the fine line between the victim and the actor in prostitution narratives, how these discourses are used interchangeably and what
they accomplish. Narrative criminology is also used in addition to the literature on prostitution in order to explore the nuances of certain sexual behaviors that might be considered deviant. In Becker's (1985) exploration of deviants, he claims that deviance is created "in the interaction between the person who commits the act and those who respond to it" (p. 14). If the potential for change lies in the interview situation, then deviance can also be deconstructed during this interaction. These possibilities will be explored using dialogical narrative analysis (Frank, 2012).

### 2.2 Script Theory

Sexual scripts are patterns for sexual behavior. These patterns, norms, attitudes, beliefs, cognitive models guide behaviors and interactions. Scripts are like stereotypes in that they are patterns from clichés, unoriginal ideas that have been passed down, orally, as well as through texts and stories. One might consider the connection between intertextuality, or transferring meanings from one text to another, and sexual script theory. As Frank (2012) claims, "Stories are composed from fragments of previous stories, artfully rearranged but never original" (35).

Fritz and Kitzinger (2001) draw on the idea that "sexuality is learned from culturally available messages that define what 'counts' as sex, how to recognize sexual situations, and what to do in sexual encounters" (210). The authors provide us with an example of sexual script theory, specifying that "sexual scripts apparently dictate that (hetero) sexual activities occur in a certain order (Fritz & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 213)". Furthermore, the authors expand on this by claiming that "the sexual script for men has been identified as including elements such as: actively seeking out sexual partners; endorsement of sexual exploits by peers; uncontrollable sexuality once aroused; and seeking sex as a source of pleasure for its own sake (Fritz & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 214). This interpretation runs parallel with the theory on homosociality, which will also be presented in the theory chapter, as both theories explain certain elements of male sexual behavior such as hypersexuality and female objectification.

Sexual script theory, first introduced by Gagnon and Simon (1973), contains several dimensions, and is primarily linked to social constructionism and the social basis for human behavior. Departures from traditional male sexual scripts are apparent as certain sexual behaviors and discourses vary from culture to culture. Harding (2007) explored cultural influences on sexual behavior, claiming that "scripts represent cultural knowledge about a set of behaviors or actions, and an individual may hold several of
these templates, and choose among them in different situations" (Cited in Morrison et al, p. 657). From this standpoint, scripts are not unlike Bourdieu's (1986) concept "capital", whether cultural, economic, street (Sandberg, 2008) or, in this case, sexual capital.

There's a paucity of research in Norway on Latin American minorities and sexuality. More research has ventured into Muslim masculinities, such as studies by (Lien, 2002), one of the few studies on masculinities in ethnic Muslim environments in Norway. Pedersen and Vestel's (2005) study explores Pakistani narratives by young males. Results from this study point out a "language that is not effected by praise or pretense, combined with values tied to a love discourse that is sentimental" (Pedersen & Vestel, 2005, p. 30). The study also pointed to an observation that ethnic Norwegian girls considered these young men as "sensitive", perhaps finding them as appealing (30). Considering the participants in this study with minority background, this is an important observation, something that will be further discussed in the chapter that deals with selling sex and romantic services.

However, Laufer (1976) gave more importance to the internal schemas than cultural influences:

Sexual cultural scenarios endure but no longer provide the exclusive interpretive context. While operative cultural scenarios substantially condition overt behavior, both in behavior and in the anticipation of behavior, internal rehearsals represent the trials or experiments where the confluence of a multitude of accumulated desires are tested for compatibility with each other, allowing for an initial crystallization of a sexual identity (Cited in Simon & Gagnon, 1986, p. 115)

Maxwell's (2007) findings echo young men's desire for more female initiation, as well as desire for romantic attachments, at least within established relationships. This conceptualization echoes another study on male sexuality, conducted by Sandberg, Larsen and Pedersen (2004), where male narratives were analyzed in order to explore male perspectives on sexuality. Men in this study exhibited a passive attitude sexually and were concerned about their performance. Studies like this one are rare, especially when those exploring the nuances men present in their stories on sex. I intend to fill this
gap by providing an in-depth analysis of the male perspective on their own individual sexual experience.

2.3 Homosociality

This paper will also employ the concept of homosociality as a theory that explains not only male sexual interactions but storytelling as well. Homosocial relations are non-sexual and non-romantic same-sex relationships. The concept of homosociality is controversial because it insinuates homosexual desires or behavior in heterosexual men, Sanday (1990) claims that sexual experimentation with other men, such as group sex consisting of all men and one female, exemplify repressed homoerotic desires. Following the debauchery men tell stories to each other, about each other, in order to reinforce the homosocial interaction. One of the elements of homosocial storytelling is

Studies on homosociality have been primarily conducted in America and Australia (Bird, 1996; Flood, 2008), but it is not just these cultures that promote homosocial behavior. In fact, one might assume that in all cultures, homosocial behavior can develop through certain rituals, such as hogging, or simply "pregaming" and girl-hunting (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010; Grazian, 2007). As Connell (1995), Messner (2002) and others argue, it is not the majority that drives these cultures, but rather "the dominance of hegemonic masculinity is often sustained by the aggressive actions of a minority within a context of normative complicity by a more or less 'silent majority' of men who nevertheless benefit from the subordination and sexual objectification of women" (Cited in Grazian, 2007, p. 226). However, many participants in this study challenged this view and claimed their own agency when it came to sexuality. Some of the men shared with me that they didn't have that much sex, resisting the stereotypes of the hypersexual male. A few said something along the lines of "I don't know how much I'd be of use to you in your research", admitting that they didn't have much experience dating, didn't have much of a sex life or didn't know much about sex. The majority of the respondents claimed to have an awareness about their sexuality, while resisting to side with a collective performance of masculinity.

In the context of homosociality, "the presence of a homosocial and male-centered environment seems to be an important factor in the development of men's storytelling cultures" (Flood, 2008, p. 352). In this study on heterosexual young men in Australia, the author explores the effect homosocial bonding has on storytelling and
sexual behavior, claiming that "men's sexual storytelling is shaped by homosocial masculine cultures" while "homosociality shapes the sexual relations in which these men engage, the meanings given to their sexual involvements, and the development of narratives about them" (Flood, 2008, p. 339).

Homosociality might characterize certain group cultures, such as those of fraternities, sports clubs, and the military, settings where masculinity is reinforced through group behavior. In such group settings, activities such as drinking and hooking up that are normally carried out in moderation, form part of a ritual, induced with a competition that often drives the activity to the edge. In a study on the homosocial game of sexual predation, coined by the men as "hogging", Prohaska and Gailey (2010) explore through men's narratives the meaning behind hogging, or collectively pursuing, having sex with and sharing stories about unattractive women, or "hogs". These stories are told in aftermath of the activity, using Sykes and Matza's (1957) theory to show how men neutralize hogging. Results from this study also show that men who have sex with unattractive women mask their inner desire using a variety of neutralizations. Thus, homosociality might also be a kind of neutralization, where men have the excuse to chase women that other men confirm as acceptable to hook up with, where the more unattractive, the more entertaining the story.

This was also a factor in Tutenges' (2012) research on nightlife tourism, where young men had sex with a prostitute because it made for good story content. In the following, a group interview is conducted where one participant employs the first-person plural, "we", as well as locker room jargon in front of other men: "We have to get a blow job from a whore, just for fun. Just to say that I've done it" (144). Had they come back without wild stories, they might be considered boring or even untrustworthy, such as a person who doesn't drink in drinking group settings. Using competition for entertaining stories or peer pressure as a potential excuse for experimenting or practicing sexuality that is unacceptable, such as enjoying sex with women that are forbidden.

2.4 Research on Prostitution

The vast majority of research on prostitution focuses on street prostitution, which is only a small portion of women in sex work. Indoor and male prostitution, on the other hand, are hidden groups that are relatively unexplored. Prostitution clients also form part of a hidden group of men that are not easily available for interviewing,
as they don't just sit in jail nor are they part of a recognized social program. As we cannot interview them through institutions, prostitution clients are a group that we often speak about but rarely talk with.

In a recent report on young people and prostitution in Oslo, Norway, Bjørndahl (2017) points out a tendency in attitudes that accept "using sex as capital in exchange for non-sexual goods" (p. 2). Findings from this report show a presence of "gray zones" - motives and context for using sex as capital that fall outside of the stereotypical description of prostitution (Bjørndahl, 2017, p. 6). Among some of the motives for prostitution in Bjørndahl's (2010) study are such non-monetary goods such as excitement, sexual experimentation, social status, confirmation and attention (20). Also, it is observed that more underaged boys than girls exhibit a positive attitude to selling sex as well as towards other people who do it (Bjørndahl, 2010, p. 18). These reports challenge the typical descriptions of prostitution by presenting new ones as described by the participants, thus urging for closer and deeper knowledge of the subject.

There are several predominating theories around the topic of prostitution, which revolve around viewing the prostitute as a victim, a deviant, or an independent agent of her/his life. Skilbrei (2013) discusses the political and ideological shift that departed from viewing the prostitute as a street and sexual deviant to viewing her as a victim of trafficking (Cited in Johansen, Ugelvik & Franko Aas, 2013). This approach sides with the feminist approach that views prostitution as violence against women (Jarvinen, 1993). On the other hand, from a social interactionist approach, the relative aspects of prostitution are considered, raising questions as to what is considered to be sex work and what is not, depending on the situational context and cultural differences as some of the factors. In the book When Sex is Work – A Sociological Analysis of prostitution at massage parlors, Skilbrei (1998) uses both the feminist and social interactionist approaches in her analysis, drawing on both theories in order to accentuate the interplay of various discourses. Using several approaches while delving into the analysis seems appropriate when dealing with such a controversial and sensitive topic. Both social interactionist and feminist approaches will be employed in this study, as a supplement to the literature on narrative criminology, script theory and homosociality.

In his study on white, middle-class male clients, Sanders (2008) employs script theory, claiming that "the creation of new roles, rules and sexual scripts unsettles the socially shared expectations about the cultural environments, values and behaviors that
inform sexual behavior and the acting out of gendered roles” (401). The results from this study claim that "for many men who are involved in commercial sexual relationships with sex workers, the lived relationship is not much different from other relationships" (Sanders, 2008, p. 410). Furthermore, this study explores the blurring of the boundaries between a commercial and non-commercial relationships, claiming that "the role of commerce is interwoven in all of these relationships (wife, mistress and courtesan)” (Sanders, 2008, p. 411).

Applying the theories in narrative criminology to a topic such as prostitution is also appropriate, as stories that revolve around prostitution accomplish several objectives. First of all, stories such as those of one-time sex with prostitutes, for instance, are often about giving people something to talk about, something to share, an experience (Tutenges, 2012). On the other hand, and as is the case with some of the men in my study, a story is presented in order to defend himself in front of a female researcher, such as the story of a man who has paid for sex. As in Sandberg's (2009b) study on street drug dealers, the participants often sounded as if they presented a certain story, an oppressive discourse, in order to defend themselves. By presenting themselves as victims, they saved face. In a similar way, the prostitute/hustler male has to defend his status as a man and not as a victim through what Sandberg (2009b) called "gangster" discourse, where those stories accomplished to reinforce masculinity among men who were given low status as street thugs in a welfare system. I suggest that one could see how the meanings of a street gangster and a male hustler in the Caribbean run parallel in that these stories both accomplish the same objective – to raise status from victim to an independent, street "entrepreneur". One of the ways in which this was done was through using "sex capital", or knowledge about sexuality as an asset.

Instead of using the terms "prostitute" or "sex worker", which some of the participants would have considered derogatory, I employ the terms used by the participants themselves, such as "hustler" or "boy toy", or even "Latin lover". More unique stories were told by former hustlers, or men who talked about being exposed to providing a niche in sex tourism economy in the Caribbean. Several men from the Caribbean in this study talked about being a "boy toy", identified with being looked at as a "Latin lover", meeting female tourists and coming to Norway as a result of that relationship. These findings point to a tendency in female tourists to seek out contact with the local men, perhaps one of the reasons that many women travel to the Caribbean alone. It is no longer the typical male tourist that is in focus. Phillips (2008)
explores this idea in a study on women on vacation in Barbados and their interaction with the local men. Findings from this study, similar to findings in this thesis, confirm that the men were not necessarily looking for payment (Phillips, 2008). "Hustlers" were described as "male locals engaged in sex tourism" and made up "one out of five couples" that were on the beach and "constituted the majority in clubs" (Phillips, 2008, p. 202).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Conducting A Pilot Study

While in utter despair over choosing a topic for my master's thesis, I arrived at one solution. I decided to conduct a pilot study. According to Weiss (1994), pilot interviews can be used "in order to clarify aims and frame of study" (15). These open-ended, informal, tentative interviews allowed me to tune into my topic. It was due to this pilot study that I was able narrow down my topic through the process of elimination, plus it served as a creative way of experimenting on important details such as, for instance, the use of interview location as a safety net. Aside from narrowing down the research aims and the main theme, I was able to test my interview guide as well as probe the interview situation as a female researcher interviewing men. Because I considered these to be initial exploratory interviews, and none of the interviews would form part of my research outputs, I did not apply to NSD for permission of the pilot study.

Prior to interviewing, I obtained verbal consent from the participants, explaining to them that these were tentative interviews for an anonymous study, and that none of their personal information would be recorded. During the pilot study, I did not record any information about age, ethnicity, marital status or any other background information. All of the participants were aware of this and consented to being part of the pilot study. Because of the linguistic/narrative focus of the study, I asked for permission to tape the interviews and explained to them that their recording will be deleted shortly after the transcription. Because I had not yet purchased a recorder, I used my telephone as a recording device. I would then transfer the files to a personal computer, which required a password. I deleted all the interviews from my phone shortly after the file was transferred. I transcribed these interviews partially and erased them from my computer shortly after I had finished the transcriptions. I didn't plan on
using any of the interviews from the pilot study in this study, but I did contact the Norwegian Center for Research Data about whether it was possible to do so. I was advised that had I decided to use some interview data from the pilot study, it would not be a problem as long as I provided the participants with the necessary information in regards to the study.

3.2 Anonymity and the Norwegian Center for Research DATA (NSD)

Initially, my idea had been to conduct an anonymous study, where none of the information about one's age, ethnicity, marital status, and other personal information would be included in the data material. I would then be asking my participants to avoid any personal information during the interview. Because I was unsure whether my study would in fact turn out to be completely anonymous, I contacted NSD for advice, and communicated with them many times both by phone and through emails. NSD claimed that the recording in itself does not qualify as personal information, even though the voice of the speaker can be recognized by others. Secondly, NSD also claimed that data about one's personal life (such as one's sexuality) is not automatically considered as personal information and if it doesn't contain any information that can link one back to the participant (such as personal identification number, ethnicity, age, work place, etc), then it can be as personal and intimate as one is legally allowed. I received approval from NSD on 27.04.17, advising me to provide the participants with written information about the study. NSD also reminded me about deleting all direct and indirect personal data by June 1, 2018 (scheduled date for the end of the project).

3.3 Qualitative Interview Method

My main interest had been to explore men's experiences through accounts. This is why I chose qualitative interview method, which allowed me to observe while being the observer as well. I was able to interpret and listen to someone else's interpretation of his own story. It was thus possible to base my concepts on their voice, and in a non-judgmental way, try to be attentive to their stories. As Denzin & Lincoln (2002) put it, "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 3).

The interview method has been said to give too much focus to the subjective opinions of individuals. However, an interview has often been considered an effective
method that transmits information about the other person’s world, and perspectives from this other world. In my study the interview plays a central role as I try to get a closer look at the attitudes and motivation within the experience.

My goal was to welcome a more free flow of thoughts about the sexual experience. Through a semi-structured interview form, it was possible to achieve a balance, where I never felt that I ran out of questions and we stood in a silent void, but at the same time this gave space to the participant. As Repstad (1998) explained, “Interview guides should not be written in stone! In many of my own projects I've had interview guides written on memos, often especially made for each interview” (p. 66). Similarly, I felt that each interview situation was unique in that it inspired its own set of questions. This does not mean that I felt that it deviated from the main topic. On the contrary – it provided me with an opportunity to explore its boundaries.

3.4 Recruiting Participants

This thesis will employ qualitative methods to conduct semi-structured interviews. In order to make for a more varied sample, I used several strategies to recruit participants. The first strategy was recruiting through a personal network. I approached a few acquaintances (from different cultures) asking them for an interview. Some of these acquaintances offered to ask their friends if they wanted to volunteer for the study. This method was used in order to create a snowball effect, where those acquaintances then asked their acquaintances if they would be willing to do an interview. Weiss (1994) views snowball sampling and referrals as problematic, claiming that these are "not good bases for generalization." Also, I became aware of the limitations of interviewing acquaintances, pointed out keenly in Sandberg and Copes’ (2012) article, where the authors claim that while the possibility of breaking boundaries between the participants and the interviewee is alluring for those researchers that choose to interview people they know, the downside is overstepping those boundaries, as it "makes it difficult to decide when they are doing research and when not, when to get consent, and what parts of the lives and conversations the consent applies to (p. 190). In this study, 14 out of 19 participants were people I knew, while only 5 had been randomly chosen. One way to determine whether stories had in fact been influenced by my knowing the participants is to recruit two groups of men, one group consisting of
complete strangers, and the other group consisting of acquaintances or friends, conduct the interviews and compare the differences.

This leads to my second approach, which was interviewing random men on campus, also because this provided easy access and environment for an interview. However, I realized that this would mean that my sample would consist of mostly students, plus it would present a problem in that the majority of students are young or men in their 20's. Using both the snowballing effect as well as recruiting random students created a nice variation in my sample, where combined age groups from men in their 20's, 30's and 40's; and had a balanced mix of ethnic and Norwegian men, from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds.

After having conducted the interviews, I noticed an overrepresentation of one culture, as 11 out of 19 participants were Hispanic (mostly Latin-American, where 6 of these 10 were from the Caribbean). Out of 19 participants, 3 were Norwegian. The rest were from South and East European countries. This multi-ethnic sample contained an overrepresentation of men from the Caribbean. Being sensitive to cultural differences doesn't mean that I saw culture as static, as that which determined the way people act or talk. Also, for reasons of anonymity, and respecting the wishes of some of the participants who didn't want to disclose their nationality, not all of the participants' nationalities were disclosed. It is also important to consider that most of these men don't live in their home country.

Recruiting participants was somewhat problematic due to the highly personal nature of the subject area. Interviewing strangers in addition to acquaintances was the solution to this, where even acquaintances also felt uncomfortable sharing and being recorded on details about their private lives. On the other hand, interviewing people I knew (acquaintances) did provide me with the advantage of trust and openness that comes with knowing someone.

Initial contact with the participants involved a detailed explanation about the study. The participants were informed verbally about the anonymity of the study, how their recordings will be protected and eventually deleted. The participants had also been informed about the following (as instructed by NSD in the letter of approval): contact information of the student and supervisor, as well as the institution, the expected end date of the project, whether individuals will be recognizable in the final thesis, and that participation is voluntary.
Even though I provided participants with a written consent form, most participants seemed to be interested in my verbal presentation of the project. Most participants were especially concerned about the anonymity of the study, and that these recordings would be deleted. These concerns were explicitly expressed as the participants refused to give background information and some particularly asked me not to include their country origin. It was perhaps because of these concerns about anonymity that they didn't want to sign the written consent form or carry it with them after the interview.

3.5 Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews, using an interview guide which was used only as an aid to assist the flow of the interview. Open-ended questions had been used to aid this flow. I intended to focus mostly on the interviewees’ stories, and it did prove to be most beneficial to allow them to speak freely, instead of following the interview guide all the time. I often caught myself asking probing questions in connection with the stories they were telling, general questions such as "could you tell me more about that" or "why did feel that way?", "what made you do that?". I realized during the first few interviews that I wouldn't be using the interview guide as much as I expected, and this was due to the unpredictability of the interview situation. Even though I prepared questions on sexuality, some participants refused to talk about sex at all, and preferred to talk about their views on marriage or religion, or both. One participant was a virgin. Other participants wanted to steer the interview situation by choosing the experiences they wanted to share. And that seemed to me as a dynamic and creative way of interviewing because I was able to learn about their world on their terms.

I noticed that by reeling on my participants through probing questions, I encouraged them to tell more while enriching their stories with more details. Instead of challenging their stories, I used a non-judgmental approach that would allow for them to reflect, together with me, over their experiences. Debating or questioning their actions might have served as mere interruptions while letting them exchange their story with another might have allowed for some kind of change.

While conducting interviews, I used a tape recorder, not only because of confidentiality issues (a tape recorder is a device I can keep in a secure place, whereas a phone could be stolen or lost, containing important interview data), but also because it
was an excellent aid during transcriptions. Some of the participants did feel uncomfortable and expressed their preference not to be recorded. Five of nineteen participants chose not to be recorded. In those cases, I offered to take notes instead of recording the interview, to which the participants agreed to as they wanted to share their story. Although I was not able to get all the details, I did get an overall impression of the participants and was able to write a summary of their stories. It is during these interviews that I got used to taking notes and making observations about the participants and the interview situation.

3.5.1 Interview Observations

I kept a notebook where I wrote down what I had observed during the interview. I also took notes during interviews where I would write down my own reactions as well as the reactions of my interviewee. Even though observations can be boring, I made it a habit to take notes during or after the interview. At times it was details about the participants mood or resistance to a topic. Other times I wrote down how I felt in relation to what the participant said. Thurnell-Read (2011) claims that through sensory, emotive engagement, the researcher can gain a closer relationship to the participants (p. 47). Although this paper is based on ethnographic fieldwork, it is a useful pointer for all qualitative researcher. As Martin Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (2007, p. 151) point out, "feelings of personal conflict, anxiety, surprise, shock, or revulsion" can be used in the process of analysis (Cited in Thurnell-Read, 2011, p. 41). Taking notes of my observations was for me the initial stage of the analysis as it provided a mental map of all the points covered during the interview. Moreover, I was able to air my thoughts. This allowed me to aim for a more objective analysis while keeping an analytical distance to my subject.

3.5.2 Transcribing, Translating, and Tapping into the Experience

I translated and transcribed data into English. To save time, and due to my experience as a translator, I translated and transcribed simultaneously. I was aware of the limitations of translating data. As Fangen (2010) keenly noted, "translation will always be something other than the original" (p. 209). I avoided using online transcription software because I wanted to use the opportunity to know the data and analyze it while I transcribed and translated. Also, online transcription software might have been problematic with audio files in Norwegian and Spanish.
The tediousness of transcriptions became fun as soon as I started to focus on tuning into the experience of the story and getting a sense of the participant's life world (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). I decided to do partial transcriptions, and the reason for this being that I wanted to focus on discourse, as linguistic nuances did play a big role in analysis. I spent a lot of time listening to the recordings in order to capture irony, sarcasm, double meaning, humor, intonation patterns, the meaning of pauses and other nuances that were not apparent in the transcriptions and that got lost in translation. The main reason for focusing on transcriptions of recorded interviews had to do with my interest in focusing on discourse and narrative: "Undoubtedly, the process of analyzing and writing up the research later would have been very different had it not been for having the interviews transcribed. This goes for all kinds of analysis but is especially the case for detailed studies of language use" (e.g., Vander Staay, 2003, cited in Sandberg and Copes, 2012, p. 187).

I discovered that transcribing is not a separate part of the analysis but rather a vital, creative part of it; it became not only less tedious but integrated into the whole process. I had a journal in front of me at all times, and as I transcribed and translated, I wrote parts of the analysis in my journal, which I later typed up in the Word document. In this way, I began to get close to the material, understanding it, thinking about it, taking the time to analyze it using several perspectives. It seeped into my psyche slowly, as transcriptions do take time.

3.5.3 Language

I conducted most of the interviews in the participants’ native language, their mother tongue. This opportunity allowed them to express themselves fully, use ample vocabulary and go into details in their stories. It was especially important when presenting the whole picture, their life-story, because it is, after all, language that defines our identity and is inseparable from our social and cultural upbringing. Even though there are people with multi-identities who are fluent in several languages, the participants in my study preferred to speak in their first language. I interviewed, transcribed and translated data in the following languages: Spanish, French, Norwegian and English. One participant, Roman, was only fluent in his native language, which I do not speak. Therefore, the interview was conducted in English.
3.5.4 Validity and Reliability

One of the challenges encountered, particularly as a female researching male sexuality, was whether the participants were telling the truth or whether their accounts were full of exaggerations or boasting in order to impress the researcher. My focus, however, was not "distinguishing factual accuracy from distortion, bias, or deception" but rather "performative qualities" and "repertoires of accounts" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 14). When, during the interviews, it appeared as if a participant was exaggerating or lying, I did not challenge that lie and get the truth out of him. On the contrary, I was very interested in the way he exaggerates, why, and how that added meaning to his account (Sveinung, 2010).

Some of the participants had an interesting way of contradicting themselves, in what seemed to be embellishments of their stories, and an exaggeration of their sexual experience. Even though they would start by claiming that they liked everything in bed, there was definitely a restrained and shy part of them, probably that which is most lived on a daily basis but which did not dominate their stories. Some of the stories were filled with bragging. Maybe they had never had a threesome but wished they did, and these accounts are fragments of a man's imagination and fantasy.

Even though I had initially planned to use the method of triangulation, where I would send a rough draft to the participant so that he would make changes, some of the participants did not want to be contacted after the interview, which then made it impossible to use this method. Four of the participants did not want contact following the interview.

3.5.5 Coding

According to Fangen (2010), analysis occurs at an early stage of the research process, even during the interviews when the researcher is thinking about the data. Coding allows for the researcher to organize data into categories, whether by using the participants' own words or quotes, or by creating new ones. This is not separate, however, from analysis; it goes hand in hand: the researcher must "know the data well enough to be able to step back and see how various parts and themes fit together" (Copes, Tewksbury & Sandberg, 2015, p. 12). In order to create these themes, or codes, the researcher must have thought about the data by not only reading and reflecting on it, but also by making comparisons, connecting points of reference and reading relevant
literature. I intend to use this "back and forth" method as explained by Fangen (2010), which will be useful in arriving at a more in-depth narrative analysis.

3.5.6 Analysis and Personal Bias

As I began to analyze the quotes, I realized that I might easily fall into prejudice, or cling on to one perspective while minimizing another. It is easy to diverge into a biased paragraph when one is not aware of it. A good example of this is the participants who objectified women, such as Boris and Norman. Had I fallen into judgement during the interview, and challenged their perspectives, and even, during certain difficult moments, tried to stop them, then I would not have heard the whole story from their point of view. In that way, it was easier to maintain neutrality during the interview than during analysis. This is why it was important to re-read the analysis to obtain distance and become aware of glimpses of one's own personal bias. As Fangen (2010) mentioned, in her study on Nazi sympathizers, even though she did not have the same views as her participants, she steered clear of an accusatory tone of voice in her analysis. Fangen (2010) summarized her thoughts precisely in the following:

You should reflect over why you choose that degree of closeness or distance, whether the identification makes you 'blind', whether it distorts your results in definite ways, or whether it only works positively, through your understanding the participant's perspective and are therefore better equipped to analyze it. (p. 165).

This is perhaps why it is so important to go through stages of analysis, beginning with transcriptions and taking the time to know one's data and all the possible ways of looking at it. The way I tackled the problem of personal bias is through taking the time to analyze data. I conducted interviews, made transcriptions and wrote the analysis in the summer of 2017. This allowed me to focus on obtaining distance from the subject, reading up on theory, editing the analysis and checking for glitches in the analysis all the way up to May, 2018.

Part of my own journey while writing the analysis was to learn to distinguish between personal assumptions and analysis. Fangen (2010) points out that "you must understand in order to write a good analysis, but you must also be able to maintain a critical distance" (p. 165). During the first stages of analysis, it was difficult to hold
back and not generalize about the cultures I already had been familiar with before I started this project. Having a cultural and linguistic pre-understanding was as much of an advantage as it was a disadvantage, because it could potentially result in generating a whole new set of cultural stereotypes. As Kvale & Brinkman (2014) observed, "common perceptions and prejudices are reproduced" when the researcher is inexperienced (p. 34). As a solution to this problem, I had to make it a habit to come back to the data, using the participants own perspectives while writing and editing the analysis.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Due to the sensitive subject nature, it was important for me to make sure that the participants felt comfortable during the interview situation. I tried to allow for an atmosphere of trust where the participants were able to freely share their attitudes, habits, desires, and fantasies: "Where there can be no trust between informant and researcher, there are few guarantees as to the validity and worth of information in an atmosphere where confidence is not respected." (Fitzgerald & Hamilton, 1997, p. 1102, cited in Israel, 2004, p. 717).

One way of improving uncomfortable or awkward reactions from the participants and easing their and researcher's safety was by choosing the "right" setting. During the pilot study, I discovered the importance of letting participants choose the location of the interview. Some people feel comfortable talking about themselves in public places, somewhere outside; others need to have a beer in order to have a personal conversation. One participant in this study felt comfortable having the interview in my car. Although there was no noise factor, we were interrupted several times because we had to move the car to another parking lot.

I felt that letting them choose the location allowed for a safer situation that fostered a creative interview and prevented uncomfortable behavior. One such example is a participant who talked about the experience of having been a hustler. He specifically asked me to go for a walk while we talked. Thus, the recording contained noise from passing cars because he chose a sidewalk that was next to a road. Ironically enough, after a 30-minute interview/walk, we arrived at an intersection where it was impossible to continue talking. It was almost as if he planned it, that was what he could give, and it was over at that point. Aside from the noise, I felt that this is where and how he felt comfortable to tell a story that was probably intense in all its memories. In
his own, noisy environment, he was allowed to be himself, helping me be a cocreator of his story.

3.7 Female Researching on Gender

Fangen (2010) claims that "being a female sociologist is an advantage in certain male-dominated environments because you get regarded as non-threatening in relation to the power hierarchy among men" (p. 147). However, the topic of male sexuality has rarely been researched on by women, and even less so through qualitative research methods. In Gailey and Prohaska's (2011) study, both female researchers express the challenges of interviewing men about sexually degrading behavior. In their study, the women observe a presence of sexist and derogatory comments from their male participants. Although I did not experience sexist and derogatory remarks made towards me directly as a researcher, I did experience advances such as flirting and insinuating intimacy. Although I didn't feel the need to dress and express myself conservatively, as did the researchers in the aforementioned study, I did feel that I had to be neutral and be affirmative at times during the interview. On the other hand, being a female researcher perhaps allowed me to obtain respect and trust from the participants. Even though some of them I had only met on the spot, I felt that they immediately trusted me with their most intimate inner self, and I showed my respect to them by being a good listener.

Another observation I made was how my own objectivity or neutrality towards flirting, for example, played a role in putting those comments on hold. Perhaps it also gained the men's respect. I did not feel as if the participant was offended by me putting him back on the track by asking him to continue and stay focused on his story. That way, I insisted on being neutral and directed him affirmatively back into the interview, without taking offense at the comment. This is because, although some female researchers might find the participants' flirting with the researcher as offensive, I personally ignored it without taking offense. Unlike in Gailey and Prohaska's (2011) study, most of the participants in my study did not talk about sexually degrading behaviors.

One of the participants asked me a question about why a man would want to share sex stories with me, and I really couldn't answer. Finally, he said - "It is because he would
want to be in the company of an attractive woman, even if for an hour of only talking”. Another participant, before the interview, told me “I do this because you are my friend”. The question of whether the stories are co-authored by a gendered interview situation must not be ignored because of the possibility that some form of coercion, favoritism or bias, whether erotic or not, might exist. In Gailey & Prohaska’s (2006) study on hogging, one of the participants mentioned that the researchers were ‘lucky’ that they were both in ‘good physical shape' because otherwise men probably would not discuss hogging with them (p. 47). Being attractive researchers, versus overweight ones was a decisive factor for some respondents' willingness to share stories, and probably to choose certain stories over others (Gailey & Prohaska, 2006, p. 47).

3.8 The Writing Process

Just as working inductively helped me greatly while conducting research, so was the case with writing out the thesis. Instead of working on the introduction, research question and theory first, I wrote out the analysis as I transcribed and translated the interviews. This was because ideas for the analysis came up as I worked on the interviews. Fangen (2010) calls this first level of analysis, when the researcher is actually digesting and regurgitating the interviews. For me, this was the most important step of creative processing, where I actually was able to brainstorm a large portion of the analysis. Parallel to the analysis, I wrote the methods section, basically describing the process of conducting research in detail and as I myself experienced it. Even though I had read a considerable amount of theory both on methods and on the subject area while writing out the project description, I abstained from reading theory while writing out the analysis and methods. The reason for this is that I wanted the interview data to guide the theory, not the other way around, and I would only be able to choose the appropriate literature after realizing the direction of the data.
CHAPTER 4: SEXUAL MODESTY IN MEN

Jackson (2002) points out that "For every story that sees the light of day, untold others remain in the shadows, censored or suppressed" (11). Shadow stories are stories that are excluded from mainstream sex stories, such as stories about men who are uninterested in sex, men who don't initiate intimacy, men who have sold or paid for sex. As porn became the norm in this hyper sexed society, other stories have been pushed into the shadow.

The following chapter will present stories about participants who expressed being sexually reserved, shy, uninterested, not actively seeking women for sexual pleasure but rather interested in a monogamous, long-term relationship, marriage, or even friendship. These findings, as unexpected as they are, present how men resist the classical sex stories of how a man should be. As an example, even though most men in this chapter are relatively young (late 20's), their stories did not revolve around "getting laid", or sexual experimentation.

The following chapter explores how the participants challenge the homosocial world they are a part of, presenting their own views on sexuality, which may or may not fit into homosocial values created by their peers. Thus, in this chapter, men voice their desire for intimacy as much through a committed relationship as through the act of cheating. There is no formula for expressing male desire, and in this chapter even the shyest virgin finds way to his expression through interview, thus creating their own "formula stories" (Loseke, 2001). Using narrative analysis, I will explore which stories they chose to present, addressing thereby what these stories accomplished in context of interview interaction.

Furthermore, this chapter intends on answering the second research question, as to what these stories accomplish. First of all, it will examine how participants present a defence of alternative masculinity which is non-aggressive. Secondly, it will prove how through their stories they are able to claim sexual agency, reinventing their own sexual identities. Finally, participants were able to vent their frustrations, make sense of their experience and alleviate the burden of their non-conformist sexuality. A self-determined sexual being is he who chooses to be a virgin even as he is afraid to admit it to his peers.
4.1 Being Shy

Several participants in this study described themselves as being shy when it came to women. Jay is a man in his 30's from Dominican Republic. While I recorded the interview, I also took notes. He acted shy throughout the whole interview. His body language seemed to reflect his stories, that were full of reservations, where he avoided intimate talk as he, for example, avoided eye contact. It seemed as if there were details he didn't want to share.

Jay's sex stories, or the lack of thereof, are directly tied to his life stories, his upbringing and his faith. When talking about them, he attributed his shyness to a conservative and religious upbringing.

I: Can you tell me about your first time, losing your virginity?
Jay: You know what (smiles), when I … I wasn't much from the street, I was raised...my mother is Jehovah's witness. My mother and I were Jehovah's witness.
I: And you still are?
Jay: No, hm, no, in my heart yes, but you know, I'm out of that because I misbehaved (Laughter). But when I was with my mom, I was Jehovah's witness and I wasn't of the street. All the time, I was – church, school, home, church, school, home, from young age. I didn't know what it was to have a girlfriend.
I: Because your mom didn't let you?
Jay: No, it's because of the religion, in order to be with someone, have sex with someone, you have to be of the same religion, and you have to first marry in order to be able to do something with her. Before getting married, they can only see each other and talk to each other, maybe even kiss, but nothing else.

The street, or becoming street smart, is a term that was often used by Jay. For Jay, the street was about getting life experience - going out, having drinks at the club, meeting people, knowing people, perhaps also being in the night, going from place to place, from the club which was in the city, to the village (home place to his friend) and staying there. As for many young people, hanging out meant for him the ultimate freedom, as did time with his friends. Jay seemed like a private, shy person. He said his first girlfriend broke up with him because he didn't speak, he was too shy. Being shy is also related to the fact that, unlike many of his peers, he did not spend time in the
streets. Perhaps his upbringing influenced not only his way of being but his sexuality as well. Being shy might have been directly connected to not having experience, neither sexual nor about women and relationships.

Jay's reserved manner when talking about sex and relationships becomes also apparent in his speech patterns, as for instance, through smiling when the subject is brought up. A smile or laughter can point to a hidden embarrassment, or perhaps him trying to excuse his lack of experience.

Jay claimed that his sexual experiences revolved around being free from parental control and hanging out with his friends. In a more vividly descriptive account, he describes a sexual encounter:

> From the club we used to go to my friend's village, ...making food....we went the whole group... at 4 in the morning... make food, because the village is nice, there's a river, at 4 in the morning we picked up all the women we could and we went to the village to drink...went there drinking...until Sunday. We did it in the river, in the water at 4 in the morning. We all worked, and we at 4 in the morning, that cold river we liked it, there...the sand the open space... by the river....in the dark...no one saw anything...during the day we sat there playing dominoes, making food and...that's how we spent the weekend. That life. It was a good life. I don't remember much but I remember it was a nice time.

Throughout this account, Jay staggers and pauses, perhaps in a search for or even lack of proper wording. Another interpretation is that Jay, like several other participants, has difficulty expressing a sexual experience that was maybe inadequate, or even didn't happen in its entirety. Like a staccato, he struggles for words and for meaning, making sense of a playful experimentation that took place, that he found erotic but that he cannot place within the spectrum of a traditional male sex story, such as a porn script.

Jay reminisces about his times in his country. It seems as if the sexual experience, or the sexual act, was not as important to Jay and maybe even not so to his friends, as being together and having a great time. Having a great time, in other words, did not revolve around having sex with women but rather about doing things one enjoyed – as going out to a club, later travelling to the village together as a group, making food together in the countryside. Erotic sexual experiences, even though they
did happen (such as threesomes and sex out in the open air, by the river) were a supplement rather than a requirement for a great time. (unlike memorable moments Danish youth and Norwegian, and the narrative potential of stories for memorable moments).

Unlike many stories of youthful transgressions, (Fjær, Pedersen, & Sandberg, 2016; Pedersen, Tutenges, & Sandberg, 2017), alcohol, drug use, fighting and sex were not major elements of Jay's account. The core element in Jay's account was being with his friends and being free, not committed to family obligations or relationship obligations. From 18-26 years of age, which he considered to be his best years, it was all about getting experience, learning from the street, as he called it. that meant for him a great time, that he called his best moments.

What is interesting about Jay's account is even though his friends went out together and brought women back with them for an afterparty, there was no talk of group sex, group sexist humor, oversexed group stories, or any even slight insinuation of sexual supremacy or group domination in Jay's account. This could be explained by the fact that I am a female researcher who would be easily offended by such talk. However, my interpretation is that his bonding with his friends might not have been achieved through women. This reflects back to Jay's conservative upbringing, and the lack of sex-talk sharing with other men. Stories of sexual predation, where men get together, go out, chase women and talk about what happened were next to absent from Jay’s account.

### 4.2 Being a Virgin

Angel is a Hispanic male in his late 30's, working and studying in Norway. When I asked him for an interview, he told me that he didn't think that his stories would be very interesting, because he didn't have much experience. To my surprise, I received a similar comment from several participants, as they admitted, like Angel did, that there wasn't much to tell. Like most participants in this chapter, Angel admitted to being shy, hesitant, not taking initiative - women approached him during their initial contact, as well as sexual contact.

In the beginning of the interview, Angel was hesitant about sharing his sexual experiences and repeatedly stated that his experiences "didn't culminate in penetration". Ten minutes into the interview, Angel admitted to being a virgin:
I: Can you tell me a story, an erotic story, a strange story, etc.
Angel: Yes, but the thing is it didn't culminate in penetration
I: It doesn't matter. I'm not looking for penetration, it's the erotic...it's the same
Angel: Ok, so,
I: How old were you?
Angel: So I had 2 relationships, the first one when I was 25-26 years old
I: That's when you lost your virginity?
Angel: It's just that there hasn't been any...

In the beginning of the interview, there were a lot of times when Angel paused and hesitated while answering questions about his first time. This can point to his embarrassment about being a virgin and his reluctance to admit his virginity. There were also several instances when it seemed like he was also making excuses as to why he was a still a virgin. First, he claimed that he was not being able to be intimate with the woman due to a time constraint (he was a busy student and wanted to dedicate himself to his studies first, finish his studies, do a master's degree, look for a job). He blamed his inability to perform sexually because of a personality trait (shyness, vulnerability, lack of practice, "I'm not as courageous in that sense"), as well as on the girl being too insistent which didn't make him comfortable. He used his age (he was 26 at the time) as an excuse.

As the interview went on, Angel admitted to being a virgin as well as having been diagnosed with Obsessive Compulsive Disorder. It seemed as if the OCD was part of who he is, and he explained it to be the main reason that he was still a virgin. He explained his virginity in terms of his disorder, in that he was never able to have intercourse because he was worried about getting AIDS. It was specifically this disease that worried him the most, and he asked his second girlfriend to get a check-up before doing anything sexual with her. However, it didn't seem to alleviate his worries, and he wasn't able to continue in that relationship either. The second time around, however, he did confess to her about his problem, and she did offer to help him.

The sexual act, for Angel, not only embodies his worst fear but is also at the center of his obsession, for, as much as he desires to have a healthy, intimate relationship and be a whole man. In their study, Sandberg et al., (2004) emphasized that participants revealed a passive attitude and were "hesitant in taking the sexual initiative" (p. 299). However, sexually inexperienced was not considered to be the same
as sexually passive. Interestingly enough, the young men distance themselves from the 'representation of the aggressive man in feminist discourse" (p. 299).

4.3 Being Monogamous

Another participant claimed agency even though he considered himself to be part of a homosocial culture both in school and while growing up. Sam is a middle-class male in his 40's, who has been in a committed relationship, married, for many years. He starts his account by talking about his first sexual experience. He claimed that even though homosocial behavior was prevalent in his culture, he didn't feel that it suited him, and he challenged it:

Sam: Yeah, when think back about my first sexual experience, there was an implicit expectation that men are supposed to take initiative, take charge, and I didn't really feel comfortable about that, being this kind of man that takes charge, a kind of Don Juan, the great lover, that, yeah, I don't know. I think that something more open, explorative, is more interesting.
I: Do you mean you didn't want to take charge?
Sam: No, I just didn't know how to take charge, these experiences I had with girls and women before I had sex with anyone, right, that I was supposed to be the one to take initiative. It made me very insecure, scared. But when I was 18 years old I went to school in X (place) and there was a girl I was in love with, she was really nice, and.. Yeah... that's when I felt it was the other way around, she was the one that took initiative right, and that was great. My first girlfriend, I didn't even have sex with her, I was discouraged, in a way, but I thought she was very nice and pretty, but... yeah... probably didn't know what I was supposed to do with her.

Both Sam and another participant, Leif, described their first sexual experience as "feverish", where they felt clumsy, and didn't know what to do. Even though both Sam and Leif describe their experiences of losing their virginity and first sexual experience as quick and unsure, they both seem grounded in a masculine culture that provides certain privileges. Sam admitted feeling that he was part of a homosocial culture as he identified with friend's world: "I can picture myself in his stories in the
sense of growing up as a part of masculine culture or boy culture”, where "to hook up with the most possible number of women, that's a plus, it gives prestige to sleep with the most number of women". When asked whether it was still like that, he said yes, without much variation from North to South.

These attitudes seemed to be prevalent in Norwegian culture: "It was normalized, a goal in itself (having sex with a lot of women)”. Sam's statement runs parallel to Grazian's (2010) idea that hegemonic masculinity is not only expressed by competitiveness but camaraderie as well. In a study on "girl hunt", Grazian (2007) claims that it is also "the nightlife setting" in itself that "invites a more collective orientation to masculine performance and sexual pursuit that other contexts (p. 238). In this setting, the author describes "a set of cultural beliefs that prescribe what men ought to be like: physically strong, powerful, independent, self-confident, efficacious, dominant, active, persistent, responsible, dependable, aggressive, courageous, and sexually potent” (Donaldson, 1993; Messner, 2002; Mishkind et al, 1986, cited in Grazian, 2007, p. 222).

In an extensive, detailed empirical study on young people's sexuality, which resulted in a book called The Male in the Head, by Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe and Thomson (1998), young men and women shared their sexual experiences during in-depth, qualitative interviews. For a vast majority, the experiences in the beginning of their sexual career were described as awkward and short. Holland et al. (1998) claim that young men "are caught in a contradiction in which they suffer pressure to conform to a narrow and constraining conception of masculine sexuality but, through acquiring this version of masculinity, can take advantage of social arrangements which systematically privilege the male over the female” (p. 13).

Much of this resonates in Sam's account of his being exposed to a hegemonic, homosocial culture where men had to exhibit these characteristics, especially, as Sam admitted, in group settings. One example of this is when Sam connects cheating on his wife to the fact that he was exposed to misogynistic discourse by his teacher while growing up, a male role model who told stories of sexual conquests to him and other classmates, normalizing hypermasculine and hypersexual behavior.

Although he admitted that sex talk was a part of the conversation, as his friend and him would get together, drink and talk about sex, this was not something that he particularly enjoyed, admitting that it was "too much”. In this sense, he challenges the view that men get together and end up drinking, chasing women, having sex and
talking about it later. On the contrary, Sam claims his own agency by saying that it was his own desire for women that had more experience to teach him about sex. That way, he presents himself as the student of a superior sex, who chooses to be learn instead of exert male power, while his friends are in a typical position of sex-craved males.

Another participant, Fred, also separates himself from the rest of the crowd, first by not wanting to share sex stories at all, and secondly, through his faith and belief in monogamy. Fred didn't want to share any stories that had to do with sex and reiterated his wish and reluctance throughout the whole interview. I attributed this to Fred being a very private person. Fred expressed his long-term desire to commit to a marriage or a relationship as a deep-seated need in his psyche. Not having experience before marriage in spite of being a part of a homosocial environment where young men engaged in sexual predation made more sense for Fred. In the following, Fred presents his views on relationships, where religion plays a big role for him and his partner. Fred is a student in his 20's.

Fred and I met at a bar, where Fred had a beer and I had a Coke. I let him choose the location, the time (it was early evening), and the duration of the interview (around an hour). I explained the topic to him beforehand and sent the interview questions to his email. While he did agree to the interview after reading the interview guide, he did not want to answer any of the questions about his sexuality. While I was somewhat surprised, I did not desist, and asked him questions about his lifestyle, his views on relationships, and the relationship with his partner. Overall, I did feel that Fred's reserved manner and way of storytelling communicated much more than I expected. Although he apologized for not being able to answer any of my questions on sexuality, he did share with me his views on monogamy and marriage:

Fred: Well, I consider myself somewhat different from the rest in this sense, I mean, these types of fleeting relationships with someone one doesn't know, I mean, a kiss or two, but never anything more than that. I don't know, maybe something held me back from this type of things.
I: Why do you think that is?
Fred: The truth is I don't know. I don't know. Maybe being a bit passive, a kind of passive person when it comes to those kinds of activities.
I: You told me that you wanted to have a girlfriend and to be married. Could you tell me about that?
Fred: Well, no I wouldn't want to talk about that, it's a bit personal. Those kinds of things I'd like to keep to myself.
I: But you could tell me about you getting married and being in a relationship?
Fred: Oh, being in a relationship, right. Well, it's interesting, what I wanted to share was that a lot of people, a lot of my friends that are the same age as myself, 25, 26, all of them asked me don't you think it's a bit early, shouldn't you wait a bit, don't you need some time to think about it, live your life a little. So I think that the definition of "living one's life" is a bit vague, you know, I guess because my friends identify living one's life with traveling, being together with one girl and then being with another girl, and have fun with a lot of people, travel, start a career, get tired of that career, start another one right away, live one's life and experiment different things. Well, me personally, I always thought of myself as different from the rest of my friends. I don't need to be with someone for a short period of time, and I don't have the urge to have another career or to start one career and finish it right away to start another one.

Although being married doesn't necessarily mean an end to sexual experimentation, nor does it mean that one's sex life would be limited in any way, it does have its limitations as far as partner variety and the spontaneity of meeting new people. This is what Fred's friends refer to by claiming that one should experiment with different partners and different erotic situations while one is young. Fred insists to be with the same person, claiming that he prefers to obtain fulfillment through monogamy. In this way, Fred seems to be in a kind of opposition to his friends and their beliefs, an opposition to the homosocial culture he was part of, both at work and at school.

Fred is now in a committed relationship, and having renounced Tinder, a place where he came for love, didn't find it and left. His friends comment on him getting married early, and even though his life decisions are not affected by his friends' comments, Fred goes along with opening an account in Tinder, playing a joke together with a friend. Tinder might be a bonding element between men at work or at school. Even though he seems strong in his love and his faith, he excuses himself that it was due to peer pressure, even though it might have been due to his own desire for excitement.

I: You're in love?
Fred: Yes, yes, absolutely. And, yes, my friends have told me, love...love is unpredictable, and one shouldn't trust it so much because there's Tinder and if you see a very beautiful woman on Tinder, you can fall out of love with your woman, but well, me, I erased my Tinder account...

I: What did you do?
Fred: I erased my Tinder account, because before I did have one, but I don't have one anymore
I: Why did you have one?
Fred: Well, I was very curious... I was on Tinder because I was very curious, and all of my classmates and my colleagues at work had Tinder. Well, in the beginning that way of meeting people did seem absurd, because you just skim through pictures while trying to meet the love of your life. So yes, I was very curious because a lot of people were doing it. But when I met my wife, I erased my account. But yes, on Tinder, I had conversations, pretty interesting ones, with girls, we'd put 'like' and we'd have interesting conversations. My friends tell me that Tinder, in a way, has made love and relationships weaker, but I don't see it that way, and I don't see why it wouldn't be possible to create a strong love relationship through Tinder. (paraphrased this previous sentence) So for me the right thing to do was to delete my account because if you're with someone, and if you're going to be serious about that person, then there's no reason for you to have a Tinder account.

Fred's curiosity seems to be fueled by his friends' comments, who incite him to try meeting a variety of women, in spite of Fred's adamant nature when it comes to monogamy in relationships. His repeated comments about his curiosity, however, does throw a doubt or two over him assuring us that this is the way he is. It seems like his friends are testing him, through Tinder, to fulfill this curious drive through other ways than marriage. Furthermore, they warn him that if he has a woman at home, it can easily happen that one falls for another one through Tinder. Fred takes this warning seriously, even though this could have been just as much of a warning as a simple joke played by his friends as a reaction to Fred's restrained manner.

Flood (2008) argues that "male-male peer relations have a profound influence on some men's heterosexual involvements" (p. 339). This is often done or talked about in front of a male audience. Humor, such as in Fred's story, is an important element that
fuels these interactions, creating an excuse or a possibility for transgressive behavior. In Fred's case, a man who really wanted a committed relationship ended up doing something unlike him, because of a joke between male friends. The fact that all of his male friends were doing it normalized his actions. Homosocial relations place importance on sexual activity and male-male bonding in order to achieve masculine status.

Another way of interpreting Fred's interaction with his male buddies, the way he talks about them teasing him about dating and marriage, is by looking at the explanation of humor among young men, presented by Holland et al., (1998): "Using humor signals the anxiety that young men may experience in relation to the performative demands of sexual activity and brings some ambiguity to their orientation towards love and commitment" (79). Fred's friends, who joked about him wanting to get married and have a life-long commitment, might themselves feel an anxiety about love and commitment, anxiety that expressed itself in joking sarcasm and humoristic innuendos. Challenging this homosocial environment, Fred claims agency at the same time that he resists hypermasculine discourse.

CHAPTER 5: EROTIC STORIES

The transformative nature of narrative allows the interview situation to shift from what the act was, to what the story makes it out to be. Bataille (1986) claims that the erotic act is "a solitary activity...defined by secrecy", emphasizing that "the erotic experience will commit us to silence" (p. 252). Even though times have changed and we live in a world where private stories of one's sex life gained popularity in the media, this chapter points to the slightly secretive, erotic aspect of stories in this chapter. Many of the stories in the stories here contain an aspect of secrecy, reflecting the fact that some of the participants expressed having never shared with anyone the stories they had shared with me. On the other hand, sharing these erotic secrets did contain elements of boasting, whether it was pride in having pleased a woman, or having been bold to experiment sexually. Furthermore, the disclosure of private information provided for an opportunity to vent as well as create a new dialogue. This chapter will thus present one story of vampirism, another about coprophilia, four stories on threesomes; one story of oral sex as taboo, and several stories involving some form of
sadomasochism. As one might observe, the stories from some chapters intertwine, such as the one about sex with older women.

5.1 Threesomes

Scoats, Joseph & Anderson (2017) examine the meanings of threesomes. They claim that "analytics examining the porn streaming site Pornhub shows that 'threesomes' are the second most commonly searched category of pornography by women" (Pornhub, 2014, p.5). Although it is FFM (female-female-male threesome that is more eroticized, the MMF "has become a risqué, but socially-accepted and perhaps even expected, part of the evolved personas sexual repertoire of experiences" (5). Many claim that threesomes are on top of the list as the ultimate male fantasy, according to the popular myth that men would like to have two women in bed, even if just once. This study challenges this notion, by presenting the stories of men who were hesitant, careful, shy, or even resistant to threesomes. Out of all the participants, only four told stories of threesomes, Vlad, Jay, Charlie and Liam. In all of these stories, men seemed to be led by women, all of the threesomes are initiated by the women, and men seem to act on their requests throughout the threesome, pleasing them and succumbing to their needs. Even though they did not refuse the advances, went along with it, the men did express a slight reluctance, as if they had been overcome by someone chasing them, instead of the other way around.

Throughout his stories, Vlad seemed to take on the role of the pleaser, retelling stories on how he pleased his partner while his own pleasure remained in the background. In the following story, his partner decided on the sexual fantasies as his own fantasies seemed to remain silent:

Vlad: Well, we were at her house, well at that time I was a young man, single, muscular and... popular. I went to her house and when I went to her house, she offered me a beer. It's not like I like to drink, but yes sometimes I do. And so after a while I felt light-headed and she told me you can lie down if you like, I lied down, and fell asleep. When I woke up, I knew I was with two women in bed, they had been licking me, it's not like I felt that I had been raped but yes, well I'm not so black that one can't see the bruises, but...
I: How did you feel?
Vlad: Well I felt... honestly... because it was also my first experience with that woman and after a while as time passed...eh...I found out that she was a lesbian...and that she had a relationship with the other woman... that I was the third party in that little group. It was a secret we had, and everything went well, they both wanted to, and I pleased both of them, and I was the strong negro for her, her sex toy.

I: How long did that relationship last?
Vlad: It lasted around four years, because the truth is... I liked it, having two women, and...not that I am promiscuous but... they didn't take advantage of my innocence. I did what she wanted, they offered this... because they found out that I was virile, strong, and... So... this is the man, the chosen one, and... I liked it and everything they did to me was something new for me and I was 24 years old...

Through Vlad's account, one might interpret that he felt restrained. It was on her turf – her house, her rules, her wishes. He might have also felt restrained by the male sexual script, and the social norm that a man cannot refuse a woman wanting sex, and a Latino man must please and fulfill the woman's desires. Submitting to a female fantasy involving two women is unusual if one considers that it is men that initiate, desire and actively pursue threesomes. In this case Vlad contradicts this stereotype of the hypersexual male with an insatiable appetite.

Another participant, Charlie, a Latin-American male in his 40's, talks about his only threesome, a one-time experience. Charlie's story is similar to Vlad's in that it is the two women initiate and steer the whole threesome experience:

Charlie: I was with two female friends and we were partying. Then as the party was finishing one of the women says "why not go home together and we continue to party. I said yes, I asked if they had alcohol and she said yes, and I said let's go. I had never been with any of them. We started to drink to dance and after a while one of them asked if we could play a game, drinking shots, the one that loses has to drink. I said yes of course. We started to ask each other questions: Do you know who is the president of the Philippines? No! Ok, take off a piece of clothing. So then there came a moment when we were all in underwear. So this with all the alcohol I started to warm up, watching those
breasts. I said girls, I'm going to the bathroom, and when I came back both girls were kissing each other. And I was like oh and they said we're playing. They came to where I was on the sofa, and started to caress my body, and then it started...For me it was an experience...

I: What happened, continue...

Charlie: There started...I don't know... sex. We started to play, I started to touch her, she was touching me, they started to eat each other out, me watching, I got very turned on. Well, I fucked both of them...It was ...For me it was...the first time being with two women... and they were very hot, because both of them were...they were... and....We had sex everywhere. There were no problems there, having sex in the ass, and the other one too and me eating her out, licking her ass, everything everything everything. And she too. And the second time we had sex, the first time it was like 'aaa'. The second time lasted a little bit more. The minute I was about to come...because one of them had told me 'let me know before you come, you take it out... we want to eat your sperm'. Aaaa so hot, for me, it would be, so... well, I take it out. All of that ended up on her face, spreading all that sperm all over her face.

While Vlad's threesome story occurred in a context of an intimate relationship that adds a threesome component, Charlie's story goes through the steps of "hooking up" - meeting in a party context, going home for an after-party, having sex. However, both stories are similar in female initiation. Charlie's women suggest going home to an after-party; they suggest playing a game at the after party, and they are the ones that initiate intimacy. Charlie only admits to being turned on in the middle of the story, already at the point of nudity. This points to a observation that Charlie maybe not expecting to have sex at all. Maybe he was taken by surprise, and his actual desire was to go with the flow, and have a good time, while not focusing on having intercourse. In the middle of his story, Charlie pauses. This pause is significant, because it seems like he doesn't want to go into the sexual details. He talks about the women initiating sex with him, touching him, etc., but then he stops, and the interviewer then chooses to encourage him to continue and tell the details about the threesome.

The last paragraph included the sexual details. Contrary to many hyper-sexual accounts where men chase women, the excitement in Charlie's story doesn't start until the very end, and only after being encouraged to tell by the interviewer. This makes it
seem contradictory to Charlie's story, who starts his story as a reserved, shy male at a club, being dragged (and then "drugged" - given alcohol) by two Circes-like women and seduced into a threesome. The last paragraph is the embodiment of a typical male fantasy, where not only does he get to have multiple sex sessions with two women, both vaginal and anal sex, but he gets to come on their faces. This echoes a typical porn script, which is the storytelling of the scenario so often viewed in porn. It seems as if he was recounting something out of a porn film, or rather, a literary erotica novel. Perhaps he is reconstructing a porn novel because he wants to impress the female interviewer, showing off his sexual prowess in front of a female, maybe even inventing, or reinventing a fantasy. There are elements of exaggeration in his account, such as that of the women and his sperm on their faces, a typical male category in a porn movie.

Another participant, Jay, was reserved about the details in his threesome, keeping a kind of distance from the experience in his story:

Jay: We always took with us a woman each but then later on we switched them, and we rented a cottage and there we spent day after day, drinking, doing all kinds of devilish things one could do.

I: And what happened with the three women?

Jay: No, you know, one does one's threesome, one puts it in my mouth, another here (points to groin), another sucking on my breast, you know one felt like a king right there and then. I licked one and the other two having sex with each other. They switched.

I: They had sex with each other

Jay: Yes, that was normal for them. They had sex with each other, they fingered each other. I gave it to one, and the other two fingering each other. It's something unforgettable, one of those moments that one doesn't want to be over. And so, this happened, and it was a lot of fun.

Instead of using the personal pronoun "I" when referring to having sex with two women, he distances himself from the situation, perhaps in shame, perhaps of his feeling a lack of pleasure, being in an uncomfortable, for him, situation. Even though he does switch to the personal pronoun, he doesn't use a lot of details to describe the story, no exaggerations, and he ends it abruptly by concluding that it was
"unforgettable". If it was so unforgettable why does he not use more time to describe it in more detail?"

He repeats several times that they had sex with each other. Like in Vlad's and Charlie's threesome, the man is not the main attraction, but the supplement to the female erotic enjoyment. As much as this fulfills a lot of male fantasies, it might also be a kind of excuse for a lot of men who are not able to satisfy one woman, let alone two. This points to another topic of research that is underexplored – the lack of male desire in sexual situations and the performance anxiety that follows, accompanied by instances of erectile dysfunction. Homohormonism, or the women having sex with each other, being lesbians or bisexual, alleviate much of performance anxiety.

Another difference between Jay's and Charlie and Vlad's threesomes is that Jay refrains from talking about his penis. While Charlie and Vlad do describe penetration and male prowess, Jay doesn't use this element in his story. One explanation is him wanting to keep it private.

Liam is a Norwegian student in his 20's. The interview was conducted in the evening, at the university. There weren't many people present on campus, and we chose a quiet, private place to sit and talk. Liam shared several stories, all of which had to do with him acquiescing to women's advances to have sex. Liam describes this in the following excerpt:

Liam: Yes, there's another funny story. This was a while back. I had a friend who was studying at the university, and he had a lot of friends, which were later study groups, which I got to know very well, used to go out together, and so one of them was a friend and girlfriend of one of his friends, and she thought that we were going to have sex that night, so she made a few hints about it throughout the night, and when the place closed, we stayed for a while, while all the others left to the afterparty. I'm not sure how it ended up that way, but I joined her that night, we'd have sex. Everyone else was taking a taxi to the afterparty, and I sat with her for a while, felt kind of guilty, but then I took a taxi with the others to go to the afterparty. And then after a while, drinking and talking and doing all kinds of things, and then it became clear to me that she still had the same intentions. So then I go and lie down in her roommate's bed, because I wasn't particularly interested in having sex with her that night, .. And the one that usually sleeps there, on a sleeping sofa. So I lie on the inside of the sofa, and the
one that lives there comes and lies next to me. We lie there and talk a bit, and nothing happens, so then we fall asleep. So then comes the third one, the one that was so psyched about having sex with me, she comes in and lies down on the couch too, so it's three of us stretched out there. And after a while, it's a total threesome.

I: Oh yeah?
Liam: It was probably one of the strangest experiences, sexually speaking.

Liam doesn't elaborate on details from the sexual experience, claiming that it a "A4 kind of experience", or "vanilla" sex, pointing to a conventional, standard sexual practice not involving anything out of the ordinary. Thus, while many would claim that threesomes are kinky and are a fetish of many, Liam classifies his threesome as a normal experience. His claim to a "vanilla sex" experience, however, might have served as an excuse to not go into the details, as he did insist that it was a normal experience several times when I asked him to elaborate:

I: So how did you feel about that experience sexually? Was it kinky?
Liam: No, that was more or less vanilla, A4 kind of sex. But I've had pretty kinky experiences with the one woman, she was really into being dominated, I would even say abused, but she was very clear about the fact that she wanted to be ruled over both verbally and physically. Degrading to a degree, serious abuse, she wanted me to hit her, not really hard but she wanted physical punishment, and also verbal.
I: Verbal how?
Liam: How much of a whore she was, how dirty, that type of degrading talk, that she was cheap, serious verbal domination, she wanted to be used.

Stories of sadomasochism were also present in this study. Liam is one of several participants who mentions being involved in a sadomasochistic sexual experience, where he was asked to be a sadist. While studies have looked into degrading language and acts towards women (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010), this story actually confirms the idea that a woman wants to be dominated by a male partner, but only when she asks for it. Liam is thus fulfilling her fantasy while not voicing his own. In the following, stories of sadomasochism are presented and discussed.
5.2 Sex with Older Women

Sam mentions that he cheated on his wife with these older women in the beginning of their relationship. One could say that he presents himself as the submissive student yearning for experience in order to excuse himself for cheating on his wife. Not only did he express regret and demonstrated feelings of guilt and shame over cheating, but he renounced it, apologized to his wife and didn't do it again.

On the other hand, it is through cheating that Sam discovers his interest for older women and explores his sexuality. His sexual explorations are illustrated in the following excerpt:

Sam: Yes, sure, that was exciting. Also being with experienced women, women that were older than me.
I: How much older?
Sam: Probably had sex with women that were twice my age. I was in my 20's and they were in their late 40's. That was really fun, really exciting.
I: Was it something they did? What did you like about them?
Sam: What I liked was that they were a lot more confident of their own sexuality, they were confident about themselves.
I: Could you tell me more about these women you had sex with?
Sam: I had sex with a woman that was, fuck, probably 45-50 years old, that was... luscious, big tits. It was a strange experience, I was at a party in her house, it was normal, ending up in bed together, sleeping together, waking up together. So I experienced that as titillating because she was so different. It was a different kind of experience, she was a great lady, not in the sense that she was big, but that she was an adult woman, not like extremely attractive but I thought she was wonderful. I still think she's great. We're still friends, but we don't have sex now. So yeah, that was a real lived experience that I remember, even though one was surely drunk.

Sam told me that he'd never shared this with anyone. This confession seemed genuine in that, even though he was ashamed to tell anyone about it, he had a great time with that woman, and even though others would label this experience as a "fetish", or abnormal sexuality, he used words of excitement and eroticism, such as "luscious" and
"titillating". This was probably the time that he discovered what he enjoyed in bed aside from what his friends thought was acceptable. Had it not been for cheating, he might have never discovered what he liked in bed.

5.3 S&M Stories – The Dominant

Mitchell's (1982) describes sexuality as "polymorphous because it arises from various sources, seeks satisfaction in many different ways and makes use of many diverse objects for its aim of achieving pleasure" (Cited in Sanday, 1990, p.10). Sergei is a student in his 30's. The interview was conducted at the university, in the evening, around 7 p.m., while there weren't many people on campus. We chose a quiet place to sit and talk. Even though I only met him once, for the duration of the interview, Sergei presented himself as a real intellectual, someone for whom personal development was inseparable from his intellectual ambitions.

He explained that his need for intellectual arousal or stimulation runs parallel to his erotic desires. Erotica, for Sergei, was directly connected to the intellectual connection in a relationship. Bataille (1986) described eroticism as "a breaking down of established patterns" (p. 18). Sergei describes the experience of coprophilia (a fetish that involves excrement) in the following:

Sergei: It was in Belgium, and there I got a slave, because I like S&M with men. I: You as the dominant?
Sergei: Yes. He was somewhat shy, but after a while he told me that he could consider pooping.
I: He would do it?
Sergei: No.
I: You doing it to him?
Sergei: Yes, he thought of it as exciting. And I have never thought of it before, and that was like the limit, it was probably one of the most exciting ...so he liked it in a way, and he relaxed me, because it was in the higher level of domination in a way. I remember I felt very good, and in a way it didn't feel so weird. The weird thing was that the thought that this is natural, in a way, that's strange. That it must be some place in one's consciousness
I: You mean S&M?
Sergei: I mean pooping. S&M too in a way. For example, I'm against bodily harm or seriously destroying another person. For me, S&M has to do with the excitement, like a dominating form, control, so bondage, light spanking is ok, asphyxiation to a degree yes.

I: Humiliations.

Sergei: Yes, absolutely. It's incredibly, and in a way I would've liked to have a relationship, a functioning relationship where I could have either an equal partner with whom I could have an intellectual connection, at the same time I could have that kind of sex.

Coprophilia is a fetish involving one's excrements. Sergei describes this experience as natural and exciting. His intense S&M experience of wanting to dominate and humiliate the other, his slave, is constrained by his need for equality, independence, and intellectual connection. Although that doesn't need to be a contradiction but rather a complementing feature which he himself claims to be a necessity for a good relationship, an interdependent relationship, although he believes that both erotic and intellectual would not be possible.

5.4 S&M - The Submissive

Vlad describes his story about vampirism:

I had sex with a woman, and it was hard for me to come with her...she liked to scratch me, I was around 22 years old... I was young… but of all those things she liked to scratch me, strange stories with her....she liked rough sex, where … I don't know if she was a vampire, it's true, I don't know, she cut me. First of all, she liked to be abused, not beaten, but a cow whip, so she liked to be whipped with that. I liked... it wasn't like a fight because it was sex, but due to the exhaustion, well, I would come like a pig, and that's what she wanted, she wanted cock. Yes it was my first sexual experience. Also, this woman was awesome, she was temperamental, she liked me to leave marks everywhere, to be licked. I fulfilled her wishes and she was the one that taught me to have sex...we used to start with coconut oil, massage, erotic games, I never asked her to penetrate me, but yes, she wanted me to do things to her that she wanted, not that she was my pet, but she did have her things, like a cow whip as I've told
you, she had a lot of things there. For me, it was the first door to the life...my
awakening, because for me it all about... home, school, school, home. From then
on I always contacted her. We had a commitment but then we didn't, that's the
truth, and for me it was like medicine but then she'd grab me and cut me, would
start to suck my blood, and started saying that she was a vampire, pretending
that she was a vampire, she went to the doctor to get her teeth to protrude, she
liked those things, and a lot of porn videos and things, there in her home.

Vlad proceeds with caution while describing the unpredictable, spontaneous
nature a BDSM experience. Even though Vlad hadn't yet experienced his own likes and
dislikes in bed and his sexual explorations had just begun, this excerpt shows that he
was led by his female lover to do things that he maybe didn't really want to do, or didn't
know whether he liked or not. This might be because, as it often happens in sexual act,
because one might easily be led by not only the other person, but by one's unknown,
unexplored and subconscious sexual instincts, the spontaneous, strange, wild and
forbidden breaks through, and the sexual partner consents to it, such as Vlad does, not
because he feels raped and likes it, but rather because he wants to please her deepest
fantasy and he thinks that he might like it too.

Although on some levels, this form of BDSM seems ambivalent, especially
because Vlad is evasive when it comes to his own sexual satisfaction during the BDSM
sessions., such as that of vampirism. He doesn't express any opinion about that, as if he
was there to please her, and everything she wanted was fine by him. This seemingly
passive attitude might have repressed undertones, showing how, in some Latin
American cultures, the Latin lover's role is to please the woman, even at the cost of the
man's own pleasure. Passive sexual attitude might not depend on culture, however, as
in Sandberg et al., (2004) study, results showed a passive attitude among young
Norwegian men when it came to their own sexuality. Men in this study claimed they
had to satisfy the woman sexually before their own satisfaction, before achieving their
own orgasm. This study challenged the stereotype about the oversexed male, who put
his own pleasure before his partner's. Vlad's story about vampirism takes this idea even
further in exploring how far a man a man would go to please his lover.
5.5 Cunninglingus

What is considered to be sexual taboo in one culture, is very much accepted as normal, even required, in another. While cunninglingus might be regarded as normal sexual practice in an intimate relationship in Scandinavian cultures, in other cultures it is a taboo. Roman is a 29-year-old Eastern European man with a profound belief in pleasing the woman through oral sex as something natural and a must. Even though he claims that it's common practice, that every man has done at least once, he would never share with his friends that he enjoys it let alone does it. He expressed his perspective in the following interview excerpt:

I: You say you enjoyed it from the first time you tried it?
Roman: Yeah.
I: When you were 17?
Roman: Yes. I thought about it before that but in my country the idea that if you do that, then, how would you say it, it's not good...
I: Like sin? Religious...
Roman: Yes. Or a woman to do it to you...
I: Like it's not good before God?
Roman: Yeah, something like that. 'Oh, I will not drink after you because you licked pussy' (laughs)... something like that among friends.
I: So when you started doing it you didn't tell anyone?
Roman: No no no. And even now I don't tell anyone, I told you (laughs).
I: And when you started doing it, did you do it every time? More and more to different women?
Roman: I do that...how would you say... Maybe we like each other but we can't have a relationship but we have a night together and we must profit. (laughs) Just fuck and smile. Because you gotta smile after, what you want to cry.
I: After what?
Roman: After sex.
I: So you started licking pussy and did you notice that the women were saying, what were they saying back to you? What was their response?
Roman: How can I explain... if we stay together during the night and the night is over... we don't speak about this...We speak only in that moment. If she likes it... if I do it good down there, or not good. But after that I think this subject
must be closed, in my mind, to not speak, only in the night, that is, how to say, maybe the woman doesn't want to speak about that. Me the man, having been with her one week, two weeks, one month, and I don't think we can openly discuss this subject. But in that moment, we feel free...

I: So tell me, because it's something that you like and enjoy doing, - how much time do you usually spend down there?

Roman: Some women, like 10 minutes, 20, half an hour, depends on the woman. Must be, how can I say this, you shouldn't rush, must be calm. Woman...I think that any woman in this world likes oral sex very much, when a man uses his tongue down there and if she has... one orgasm maybe two, after that, they can have sex. That's what I think. This is the way I do it, it's my style.

I: But you don't talk about it with other men?

Roman: No no no. If you tell another man such things, maybe he would laugh at you, maybe, who knows, get the wrong opinion about you. Why talk to other men about it? I think many men don't talk about what they do with a woman in bed. It's a secret.

Roman's sexuality is centered around the enjoyment of giving pleasure to women, for the pleasure's own sake, which revolves around the satisfaction of the other. His account is almost pedagogical, where he instructs others not to begin intercourse until the woman has had an orgasm. In his claim that a woman needs to have an orgasm through oral sex, he is asserting himself as the pleaser, and this is his way of reclaiming masculinity, where he is a lover that has the power to please a woman and give her orgasms. On the other hand, the possibility of his exaggeration, or bragging, might be induced by the fact that I am a woman, and Roman could easily take this as an opportunity to embellish his account in order to brag about his sexual prowess to a female. On the other hand, Roman does claim that he shared a secret, and only with me, which points to the idea that he must have felt somewhat embarrassed about admitting a fetish. When he says that I was the only one he had told this to in his whole life, he laughs. Laughter might mask his embarrassment, his doubt about his sexual tendency, which is not in accordance with what is acceptable in his culture.

Although in Roman's account, there were no traces of performance anxiety, but rather a passion for pleasing the woman before obtaining pleasure himself, he did express a homosocial anxiety, that of sharing his passion with his male friends. In a
study on young men's perspectives on sexuality and sexual performance, Sandberg et al., (2004), claimed that for the men, getting women to achieve orgasm was the man's responsibility. Although this was perhaps a result of male performance anxiety, it was still considered to be valuable, something that had to be achieved through "care, time and skill" (p. 17). Roman's account, in a similar way that Sandberg et al., (2004) study, challenges Connell's (1995) claim about hegemonic masculinity in that it rejects the idea that men take charge, exhibit sexual prowess and are hypersexed and hypermasculine. Men who explore and talk about the female orgasm reflect a sexual paradigm shift, although, as Roman claimed in his account, "this... existed from the beginning of time".

5.6 Sex App - Grinder

In a world of online dating and porn, one participant explains his connection to a sex app named Grinder, an app targeting homosexual men that locates available men for casual sex in one's vicinity. Sergei got the impulse to try online dating and sex as something new, different, convenient and exciting versus meeting people through night clubs, which he claims to be "old-fashioned". Sergei admits to meeting men from Grinder while he is splitting up from his long-time partner, at the same time having a parallel relationship with someone else. Unlike many participants in this study, he doesn't mention his friends and their influence over his sex life at all, and his decision is not based on his interaction with his buddies, coworkers or classmates. He is sexually active and doesn't hide his sexual experiences with men other than his partner. When asked about what influenced his sexual attitudes, he did admit to an external factor. In his 20's, Sergei lived in Copenhagen, where he says it was very easy to have casual sex with men, especially at those times. This means location played a role in developing his sexual preferences as well as his attitude to sexual experimentation. During the interview, I asked Sergei to explain to me how the app works, which he did by taking out his phone:

Sergei: (starts to show me the app)... For example, this one here, he studies math, and how many encounters they've had, in a way it's hierarchical.
I: So you just send a message...?
Sergei: Yeah, 'I want to have sex now"… it's anytime... so it's like...
I: It's like Tinder...
Sergei: Yeah, but on Tinder there are also girls so it's complicated...because girls... they like having sex through Tinder...but there... the girls...they will have sex?
I: Yes, I think so.
Sergei: Because I'm also on Tinder, but because of the men... one can search for men only.
I: You don't like Tinder?
Sergei: Yes, I do, everyone on Tinder looks so nice, good looking... that one is looking for... on this one here (shows Grinder app), it's just for sex. In this day and age, if you want to have sex, it's easier with Grinder. Because it is so easy. Well for example if you press here (shows me the app), you can see that there are men 30 meters away, and you can arrange to have sex with them right now, right away. Things like that probably don't happen on Tinder, but it's possible.
I: It's better than going out and meeting someone?
Sergei: Yes, it facilitates asking others about more personal things. Because when one meets others like that (in bars), one has a lot of filters, one is shy to show the scary side of oneself. On the other hand (on Grinder) one can talk about perversions, it facilitates all those things.

Of all the participants, Sergei did seem to be the most sexually liberal and experimental, admitting to have not only casual sex, but also a serious and a semi-serious relationship with his partners. Sergei has touched on a spectrum of sexual activities, ranging from stories about his committed relationships stimulated by intellectualism and S&M, to stories about sex apps, priests and promiscuity. His openness, however, seemed tinged by a poignant desire for an erotic and intellectual balance, which he admitted to be lacking from his relationships. He seemed to seek after both sexual satisfaction, which he obtained through S&M and an intellectual one, which he thought possible with that special someone. Thus, in a whirlwind of a love life, Sergei defended his open-relationship status through laughter. Like many other participants, he must have felt the need to cover up his unbridled talk and past acts as he laughed about it. Laughter could have served as a tool that masked his feelings of regret.
CHAPTER 6: THE ART OF SEXUAL HUSTLING

Phillips (2008) explores the sexual and romantic relationship between white female tourists and "beach boys" in Barbados, claiming that hustling serves multiple purposes, as it might be "an avenue for self-actualization and role liberation" for the men who, while perpetuating a relationship of dependency, are also claiming and experimenting in masculinity (p. 210).

The results from this section will add to the research on male prostitution, supplementing the dearth of existing research on the topic. All of the men in this study who were born and raised in the Caribbean – Paul, Jay, Michael, Boris, Sunny and Vlad. While all of the participants have talked about their involvement with white female tourists, only one participant in talked openly about having sold sex. Others talked about money, passport or position playing a role in their relationships. I use the term "hustling" as a cultural bridge that is loaded with meaning. It captures the essence of the nuanced relationship between Cuban/Dominican men and tourist women. Not only have I heard this word before, but also during interviews, the participants Vlad, Michael and Paul use it. Even though most participants would not use it to describe their own behavior, this is a term that is commonly used and does not always have a negative connotation.

The stories in this chapter accomplished several objectives, zooming in on the multivoicedness of all stories, stories serving as sources of information as well as identity-makers. Above all, this chapter delves into the pendulum of men reinventing male status as independent actors of their own fate versus that of being a victim. Stories in this chapter served to create an alternative masculinity, that which reclaims agency and defends masculine status. On the other hand, stories are influenced by the readymade scripts, thus influencing the way men act.

6.1 Being a "Boy Toy"

Michael grew up in a tourist area in Dominican Republic. He left his parents' house when he was 14, and went to live with his brother. The reason he left home so early was that his parents were very strict. He says that one time, he came home from a party, late, and his father said to him "in this house, there can be only one man, not two". He said that living with his brother was fun because he worked, met women, partied. He would meet female tourists all the time because the area where he lived was full of tourists, and he worked with tourists. He talked about two relationships with
foreign women, one who was Norwegian and who brought him to Norway, and the other was Hawaiian. Michael came to Norway through their Norwegian girlfriend.

Michael is a man in his late 20's from the Dominican Republic who ended up meeting and having a relationship with a Norwegian female tourist while working at a local business at a beach resort. This relationship culminated in his coming to and staying in Norway. It seems that even though Michael was not working as a hustler but rather as an instructor, he was in an environment where he met female tourists on a daily basis, a reality that exposed him to opportunities to hustle. As Pruitt and Lafont (1995) maintain in their study on "romance tourism": "these liaisons are constructed through a discourse of romance and long-term relationships, an emotional involvement not usually present in traditional sex tourism" (Cited in Phillips, 2008, p. 202). Even though Michael talks about young boys in his country are not thinking about work or school, only how to find a female tourist they can hustle, who can give them everything so that they don't have to work. He sees himself as different, older, and resisting the label of someone who wants something for nothing.

Michael's account shifts focus as he tells another story about another female tourist. This story was characterized by possible exaggerations while he himself described this relationship, sexual in nature, as that of dependency and social inequality. The woman was very rich, Michael said, worked for a billionaire, and had apartments in the USA, flying in to Dominican Republic every week and staying on the weekends. Her apartment was close to Michael's and they spent more and more time together. He claimed that after a while, she wanted him to be her instructor exclusively and not have other clients, so they were together from morning to night, something that Michael found to be suffocating. He felt that the problem in that relationship was that she had a lot of money (he always had 500 to 1000 dollars in his wallet, he said, which was her money and as they did things, he was paying for them with her money) and she acted like she owned his time - "it was as if I was a toy", he said, that she could play with anytime she wanted. Even though he felt that he was used sexually, Michael admitted that she was great in bed, one of the best women in bed, because she "did whatever, anything, she was very open sexually, and she had this long black hair and big breasts". Physically and sexually he was attracted to a woman that he found suffocated him.

Even though recent studies focus on women deriving pleasure from sex work (Smith, 2017), male sex workers' experiences into sexuality are largely unexplored.
Michael's account provides us with an opportunity to fill this gap. Analyzing his account, it is possible that, in order to break the stereotype of young men having sex with unattractive, older tourists, Michael presented himself as someone who had sex with attractive women. His comment that in present day and age in the Dominican Republic, it is more and more common that young men openly search for a woman to support them might have been used in order to present himself in good light, as someone whose women are young and attractive. In this way, he challenges the hustler script that focuses primarily on what the other, wealthier party has to offer in exchange for romance, sex or company. Another participant, Paul, challenges Michael's view and presents his own version of hustling in the following section.

6.2 Being a Hustler

In the following, one participant, Paul, explains his story as a former hustler in the Caribbean (He asked me not to reveal which country he comes from, but allowed me to make a recording of the interview). Like most women he met and was able to hustle, she was on vacation, fell in love with Paul and wanted him to come back with her to her country. He had several offers at the time, he said, but none of them were as secure and quick as this one. He had an offer from a German woman, and another one from an Italian, but they required that he wait, and like many of his countrymen, waiting was risky, as goes the saying – "a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush".

Paul's story is not a unique one, in that he is a heterosexual male that was able to leave his country in search of a better future by marrying a woman. Several participants in this study talked about coming to Norway with their Norwegian girlfriend or spouse. All of the participants from the Caribbean (6 out of 19) had come to Norway via relationship with a Norwegian tourist, and all of them except one were divorced or separated at the time of the interview. Paul is the one that openly shared with me his experience of being a hustler, a term that had positive connotations in his life world. He used it widely and with pride throughout his account.

I: How would you describe hustling?
Paul: Hustling is a way of looking for and surviving in the world when the world is in a crisis the way that (country) is, a country that is in a crisis. And you have to survive....and so when you get the opportunity to freely talk to the tourist, and have communication with the tourist, it is a form that in (country)
was created the name "hustling" that normally the name is prostitution. But to
give it a more hidden name and less visible for the world, they gave it a name
"male and female hustlers", what normally is called "male and female
prostitutes", that's the name that it has. But our president himself put that name
(hustlers), it wasn't us that put that name, it's our president that named us
"hustlers". Because we have professional hustlers, we have university hustlers
I: And you are...?
Paul: University hustler, hustler of the street
I: You say that hustling is a matter of necessity but when you came to Norway
you continued to hustle...?
Paul: Because it is...it's what I know. I don't know another world. I know the
world of easy money, fast money, it is what one knows, the world of easy
money, of making money, how to say...like washing money, not washing money
but making it fast, you know, because it is what one is used to, you force
yourself working, your mind is all about how to make things happen, survive
the day, today is today, and tomorrow is another day. This is a hustler. Lives
today, tomorrow is another day. Have to start anew, struggle, get up at a certain
time, spending 24 hours in a club, inside, outside,
I: But how did you feel having sex with the fat woman?
Paul: Ay, I'd smoke a joint of marijuana and I'd fuck her very well, to my taste,
the truth is yes.
I: The fat one?
Paul: The fat one, everything that was dollars was the best there was. If there
were no dollars on the table, I wouldn't fuck, not the German fat woman, not the
old one, no one without money. Even the invalid one I would fuck.

Groes-Green (2009) explored sexual and violent practices among disadvantaged
young men in Southern Africa. In this study, the author looked at how men developed
sexual capital in the absence of economic capital, where "training their sexual stamina
and using aphrodisiacs were means of developing what I termed sexual capital, which
would earn them the respect vis-a-vis girlfriends that they could not gain in financial
terms" (p. 299). According to Groes-Green's (2009) study, "sexual performance is not
merely a strategy to secure one's status among other men but rather a gateway to
staying in power in a relationship and keeping a desired female partner" (p. 298). This
echoes Bourdieu's (2001) observation that "sexual intercourse in many cultures is represented as an act of domination and as a symbol of male possession of a woman" (Cited in Groes-Green, 2009, p. 298).

For Paul, hustling is a skill, a skill that is learned through need and because there was no other way to survive. Hammersvik (2009) employs Bourdieu's (1985) concept of habitus and capital to show how certain skills can be learned (and later transferred) during a life of lawbreaking or deviance: "Belonging to the game over a long period of time, its rules become a part of one's habits and natural ways of being" (p. 217). In a study on making meanings of Cuban hustling and prostitution, Daigle (2013) claims that "there has been much debate, both in Cuba and abroad, as to whether or not using sex and romance with tourists (short or long term, serious or casual) to alleviate hardship constitutes prostitution (p. 64). Even though hustling and prostitution are not a legitimate way of earning money, Paul still views it as a valuable and positive skill in his world. This is in line with the results in Groes-Green's (2013) study on the relationship between young women, curtidoras, and older white men. The results from this study claim that the erotic powers of a curtidora are a central part of sexual-economic exchanges, where 'learning how to 'put me in a bottle' refers to women's powers to make men fall in love with them" (p. 107).

Research on male prostitution is scarce, and even more so when it comes to prostitution and hustling in the Caribbean. There is much more focus on presenting the images of victimized prostitutes, both in media and in research, rather than showing the whole picture. As Groes-Green (2013) explains, "transactional sex may be interpreted as succumbing to men's monetary capabilities". Prostitution, according to the feminist perspective, is rape, and prostitutes are usually people who have suffered abuse and they support a drug habit. It is often associated with trafficking and pimping. According to Daigle (2013):

The discourse of prostitution, in which certain women are classed as 'good' or 'normal' and others as degenerate, dangerous, pathological, or immoral, forms part of a binary that seeks to control, regulating the behavior not of the ever-increasing sector of the population that it has itself rendered suspect. (p. 74).

In his study on ethnic minority drug dealers, Sandberg (2009b) keenly observes how the young men employed gangster and oppression discourse interdiscursively
during different times in the interview. One could say that Paul's story also contains elements of street discourse alongside oppression discourse, where the victim and the hustler emerge during the interview in order to justify his behavior. Interestingly enough, Paul chose to disclose his story to a female researcher, and gave his consent to be recorded. However, Paul did not want to present this image of himself with me, perhaps because he wasn't going to receive anything from me (the interview was free). Another reason might be that he didn't want to be seen as a victim.

6.3 Prostitution and Agency

From another perspective, one might be able to consider the position of the prostitute as an agent, someone who develops the skills necessary to be autonomous, an independent freelancer. This is the image that several participants tried to present. Paul took tourists (women) out to restaurants that charged her more while Paul made a deal with the owners to give him half of the earnings. By Paul, sex is viewed as a commodity in demand. Aside from money and sex, Paul talked about other forms of services, such as providing company, which also led to other types of compensation, such as food. Phillip (2008) mentioned that "Remuneration includes club admissions, free drinks, food, taxi fares, duty free shopping sprees, gifts in cash or kind, and often overseas travels" (p. 203). Even though Paul tried to directly charge the women, it was not always possible. Paul believed charging money as the fairest compensation for a service that was in high demand.

From the economic perspective, if there is demand, and people come to buy a commodity, and there are no legal regulations, then it is up to the suppliers to set the prices. When the consumers decide that they don't want to pay that much because they can get it cheaper somewhere else, this creates a somewhat illegal hustling market where the hustlers often make more through charging more for taxis, restaurants, hotels or apartments, than for sex. This is an actual business, and in the capitalist world regulated by laws, this same act would be called commission, while in the Caribbean one must lie to the client, charge him double behind his back. If one applies the economic perspective to prostitution, it is also possible to argue that Paul viewed his body as a commodity and didn't have any feelings of victimhood or claim to rape. In his world, he had control of the situation, of his sexuality, of his body, and even of the woman who was in love with him, so much in love that she would give him her wallet and take him out of the country. One can interpret this discourse as one of agency,
where, even though it might not be all as independent as it seems, it is full of positive reinforcement. Not feeling sorry for himself is an important aspect of Paul's character. What is interesting in Paul's story is his claim to independence, his pride in his abilities, not only sexual but also intuitive and social.

6.4 Bisexual Men and Prostitution in the Caribbean

Both Paul and another participant, Sunny, talked about prostitution involving gay men. This is interesting and might point to an unexplored theme in sexuality research, precisely bisexual male prostitutes and/or hustlers in the Caribbean. Paul describes the situation in the following excerpt:

Paul: Because now practically in my country, the good-looking ones (men) dress well during the day and at night they are gay, having sex with gay men on the street. They even dress like transvestites. The good-looking ones, the ones that have big balls, that are bad-asses.
I: That are not transvestites?
Paul: No, but they go to the street and become gay to have sex with the gay men for money.

Sunny was born and raised in the Dominican Republic. Even though during the interview, he admits that he is bisexual, he came to Norway after meeting a Norwegian woman in Dominican Republic. Sunny confirms Paul's story by telling one of his own. He was working as security guard at a lot of the nightclubs. At the time of the interview, Sunny told me that he was going to a gay party later and was waiting for his gay friend. He did not want the interview to be recorded. He said he himself liked women, but later during the interview, he said that he won't let someone do it to him (have sex with him), but if the man would want to eat him well that's ok, or if he was the one having sex with a man that's ok too. Sunny worked as a doorman at a lot of events, where upper class people had parties, in Santo Domingo, and claims that 70% of the men were bisexual (especially these upper-class men). He had a friend, a lawyer, who showed him a suitcase full of money one time, and when asked who gave it to him, he said he was offered 10,000 dollars by a gay couple to have sex with them. And he said yes, even though he was not openly gay.
Throughout the interview, Sunny admitted that if he were offered money, or in certain situations, he would also have sex with a man, but that he would be the one having sex, not the other way around. He says there are a lot of men from his country that are bisexual, but because the *machismo* is so strong, they would never admit it. He told the story of his friend climbing under the table and wanting to "suck my cock" while he was at work. He didn’t let him because his boss was there, also admitting that had he not been there he would have done it (same if he was offered money). He had a 4-year relationship with his friend's wife. His friend was bisexual and Sunny introduced him to his friend, the two had a relationship. One night, his bisexual friend asked Sunny if he liked his wife's legs, and later asked Sunny to take his wife to the movies. They started a relationship, which was an open relationship with the knowledge of the husband, who also openly had his relationship with his male lover.

6.5 Sexual Capital

Vlad is a Cuban man who met his Norwegian wife while she was on vacation in Cuba. In an interview at a local café, lasting around an hour, Vlad shared his knowledge and life experience on how one should treat a woman. His descriptions seemed to embody the stereotypical Latin script. A Latin lover has to be attentive, sensitive, hot, erotically surprising, someone who knows just what the woman wants. As Vlad puts it, he is someone with the ability to put her off balance. As a *Latino*, Vlad aims to please because by pleasing the woman first, he claims, he gets her to give back. Making the woman feel relaxed is a process that involves detailed attention on several levels, it seems, not just one. The first level, as Vlad puts it, is verbal. Having a conversation is the beginning of what will later unfold into something else. Also, it seems like emotional and physical care is needed to bring her to a state of relaxation. As Vlad sees it, the woman has to be relaxed first, mentally and emotionally, and even though this process might take him hours, the sexual part can only begin as a consequence of that. It almost sounds like work, but as Vlad says "marriage is a flower", one has to give it water:

If it's possible and you're at home and you can give her a massage, to your wife, or your husband, and morbid games, provoke him get him out of there, get him to have an erection, and when he least expects you to eat him, that's how you get him to think "wow, that's incredible, look how my woman does it to me". Now,
when the man receives all those qualities from the woman, she stole five minutes from him, giving him a massage, using honey, and at the same time there's a music in the background that is maybe instrumental, like Kenny G, for example, Barry White, Aretha Franklin, that are a lot...in the weight of their words say,... and at the time help you work on this man to soften up the degree of stress that are concentrated in the part here (points to the shoulders) and in these points here (points to the front of the head). So when you work on him here, molding him, that man relaxes little by little, feeling a bit tense, you giving him his massage with oil, and honey, you keep sweetening him up, with a little bit of oil, caressing him, you understand, I am then able to eat it, in the case of the woman she will eat him, as she wants, and she's taking him to the level where she will meet him, him giving in, when he is saying no no please I don't want it that's when you say that it's a no, but relax papi, relax a few minutes with mama, look what I have for you, so there, that's when he says, what's going on with that woman? The woman does this to me when she didn't do that before. So that's when the man doesn't go looking for anything in the street. That's when the man has what he needs in the house, and also, when we look the other way around, when the woman says, I got what I need, in the house, I don't need to go out and look for it, because my husband...my wife... I have what I really need, for me, I have my work, my wife, my kids.

Vlad uses a pedagogical tone, educating his audience, transferring knowledge by using vivid imagery in order to bring his point across. By way of transmitting information, he shows how narrative can be an educational tool. Somehow his account seems to lack details from his own relationship or sex life, and seems to reflect, on a more general note, a view on relationships where one part has to revive the marriage from drying up, by using all these techniques he mentions. His idea, then, is that one side has to assume an active role in the sexual game, while the other, what seems to be the career partner, takes on the passive. In this sense, he makes it seem like it's a job one must do in order for the marriage to work. In his book New Sexualities, Willy Pedersen (2005) employs the term sexual capital in light of Bourdieu's (1985) term *habitus* to describe someone who had been an agent of one's own experience, having learned to use "signs, looks, mimics and gestures"... "being able to read the social sphere" and being an agent of one's own life (p. 303).
Vlad mentioned the reality of hustling and prostitution in his home country as something he took close to heart, a sad fact of life for his comrades, not a choice but a matter of necessity. He talked about his friends being hustlers, seeming sympathetic to what he saw as their struggle to survive or to have a better life. However, he himself resisted the label of hustler, and said that he didn't have to do anything like that because he didn't have to, as he earned very good money as a dance instructor. Nevertheless, Vlad's account led me to reflect on the characteristics that form part of the art of sexual hustling, one is the transfer of sexual capital, and the other is providing romantic services.

One side of hustling is learning how to be of service, and this is demonstrated as a skill that Vlad describes in his account. The sale of affection is not new, as it was common in courtesan prostitution (e.g. Shanghai in pre-modern China): what is new is the marketing of such experience (Weitzer, 2009, p. 227, cited in Kong, 2015, p. 9). According to Kong (2015), it is romance, emotional or personal sex that today's clients are after. This echoes Pruitt & Lafont's (1995) study on "romance tourism", a term coined by the authors, who claim that neither the tourist women nor the men they had relations with, considered it hustling or prostitution. Vlad's account transmits an idea of a service anyone could provide to please one's partner. In a study on Hong Kong clients, Kong (2015) explores how male clients are "increasingly prone to the ideals of romantic love, subject to companionate sexuality under the egalitarian model of relationship which emphasizes monogamy, fidelity and commitment", this being a "departure from traditional and historical masculine roles" (p. 12). These studies move away from conceptualizing prostitution in socioeconomic terms, adding another dimension to the demands of the buyer, especially his or her need for romantic and emotional fulfillment through sex work. This creates a whole other niche for people who understand this as an opportunity to expand their services to include the use of their romantic and sexual capital.
CHAPTER 7: STORIES OF MEN PAYING FOR SEX AND ROMANCE

Although my initial interest did not revolve around topics in prostitution, half of the participants in my study talked about having been with a prostitute at least once or their friends having being with prostitutes. Tutenges' (2012) research on nightlife tourism found evidence of young men having tried going to a prostitute (at least once) while on vacation; sharing stories with their friends about having been with a prostitute as one of the motivating factors of going to a prostitute echoes other studies on homosociality.

Men in my study touched upon the subject of purchasing sex or romance in Norway, in the Caribbean or in other Latin American countries as something that happens often, as something that is accepted by society. Many participants resisted the label of the buyer, neutralizing their behavior by saying that it was just a few times, attributing it to the economic situation in these countries, or claiming that having a girlfriend costs money anyways. One of the participants shared his experience paying for a prostitute or a hustler, while several of the participants had borderline experiences with prostitution, as they didn't do it habitually, neither did they recognize their contributions as payment for sex. Others shared friends' experiences with prostitutes.

Stories in this chapter accomplished a variety of things. First of all, participants were able to vent their frustrations, otherwise hidden, or unavailable, to a female interviewer. Secondly, they were able to claim agency and defend their status. Third, this was a situation where the participants provoked me as a female researcher, testing my reactions. Some participants in this section attempted to reinvent porn scripts through choice of words and vivid descriptions. It is through these examples that it is possible to look at how reality resembles stories and how our actions are inspired by stories.

7.1 Being with Prostitutes, Strippers and 'Gold Diggers'

Boris is a man in his 40's born and raised in the Dominican Republic. Throughout the interview, his experiences mostly included his adventures in Dominican Republic, whether reminiscing on the times when he was young, or recounting colorful stories of his travels back to his country. In his stories, there were elements of degrading language and sexist humor towards women, especially prostitutes, while he told stories of going out with his buddies.
Even though the interview guide did not contain any questions on prostitution, stripping or hustling, Boris' account was full of stories involving strippers, prostitutes and hustlers. Although he did share some stories about his relationship with his Norwegian wife, a large bulk of his stories revolved around purchasing sex. In these stories, while Boris stressed that he didn't derive any enjoyment from it, even expressing his repulsion, the voluminous storytelling involving sex workers raised curiosity about this disgust. This communicates the possibility that acts retold in stories are not just accounts of past events but are events that are reinvented through storytelling.

While telling the following story, openly expressing his strong dislike and dissatisfaction with a prostitute, one wonders whether Boris feels simultaneous disgust and attraction for the women of the night:

Boris: It would be better to get a cow than having sex with a woman like that.
I: Why?
Boris: She's there, like, opens her legs, 'finish what you came here to do, and that's it, finish cause I gotta go".
I: What do you mean?
Boris: No, she wants you to come, as they say in Spain. So that she can leave. Because I left the money for her at the door.
I: Not giving it to her?
Boris: No, because then if she doesn't do the job, she doesn't get paid. That's what happened.
I: What do you mean by saying she's like a cow?
Boris: Because she opens her legs, and that's it, like a cow, even though I had never been with a cow. Yes, that one is one of the few bad experiences I've had.
I: Why a bad experience?
Boris: Because I didn't like the product.
I: What didn't you like?
Boris: (Spreads his hands apart as a gesture)
I: Wide.
Boris: Yes, wide no, - humongous. So, but that's not it, it's more like when you go and see this hot woman, you think 'wow', but it's not like that, they're nonsense, I mean it's more the appearances than anything else.
I: So if you didn't like the product why did you buy it?
Boris: It's just that you buy with your eyes, because unless you...we say we'll pay for the private dances, they rub... in our faces... and after that we kept drinking and having fun and then we took them to our rooms. So to tell you the truth, I didn't like it at all. And those are the few experiences I've had with those women, strippers. Before that I had another one but then I met with her outside of work and... I didn't like it...

It is perhaps a fetish of his, being with women who are unavailable, who belong to other men as well. This might be the reason why he repeats, as if to himself, that they just want your money. It is with contempt and fascination that retells these stories, denying any claim to sexual satisfaction with these women. However, even though Boris denies the pleasurable aspect of being with a prostitute, in fact claiming it to be unpleasant, maybe even disgusting, he goes through with it. He excuses his contradictory action (the act of being with someone you don't want to be with) by claiming that it was because he already paid, and unlike inedible food in a restaurant, he couldn't take it back.

On the other hand, by comparing the prostitute to a cow he reduces her to something inhuman, thus excusing himself in front of others, his friends and myself. Because if he dehumanizes the person, insinuating that this was not even a woman, but rather an animal, then it is much easier to have sex with someone who is worthless and deviant (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010). It would have been much more difficult to explain his desire to have sex with a stripper if he said she was beautiful, on stage and in bed. Instead, he discredits and devalues her as pure "nonsense". Even though he repeatedly claims that he didn't like it, he insists on getting the stripper's number and having sex with her after work.

While he tells several stories about sex workers, Boris also shares stories about dating women, especially while on vacation in his home country. He admits that one always has to give the women some money, even when they don't ask for it, because of their "economic situation" in Dominican Republic.

Boris told several stories of going out with his buddy the police-man, who is also a brother-in-law. Using a humoristic tone of voice, Boris seems to indulge in this entertaining, night-on-the-town tale of sexual predation, induced with competition and homosocial scenarios. Being in a company of another male he knew very well, Boris
seems to be writing a porn script as he speaks, sharing or inventing juicy details, his male partner an important element in his storytelling. The relationship between the two men seems laced with male humor, boasting and competition, leading us in several directions. On the one hand, this causes the author to create agency, an ownership to his stories that involve homosocial, even erotic elements where another man is very much a part of a sexual situation as well as a sexual economic transaction. Flood (2008) reflects on this in his study, claiming that "there is an erotic charge or arousal for some heterosexual men in having sex with a woman, or engaging in another kind of sexualized interaction with her, in the company of other men." (p. 355). The author then presents several sexual practices that support homosocial interaction, such as pornography, going to sex workers, and group sex involving men and a woman.

Aside from the mentioned sex acts, Boris' account demonstrates several functions of storytelling, one of which is venting hidden agendas, such as that of both homoeroticism and the forbidden act of sex purchase. Finally, it is an opportunity for a disappointed client to co-author another type of story, together with a female interviewer. This brings a therapeutic possibility to the interview situation.

There are a few explanations for the way Boris talks about having sex with prostitutes. Even though purchasing sex in his country is common, which explains the thriving sex industry in the Caribbean, it does have a negative connotation, and it is not something that men who are from there would brag about doing. Since the interview was conducted in Norway, even less so. In light of this argument, it is logical that Boris was trying to excuse his behavior, which, if he didn't consider deviant, others did. By claiming that he didn't like the experience, he excuses himself. The objectification and degradation of the woman that satisfied his urges (even though he denies his satisfaction) separates him as the responsible party, because it places the woman into the category of those unworthy of respect (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010).

Language plays a central role in molding a sexual ideology. It is often group environments that normalize misogynistic, macho versions of masculine discourse. Holland et al., (1998) claim that "Rather than naming or describing the violence, sexual language may even normalize the acts, bringing them discursively into the range of everyday human behavior (p. 38). As in Prohaska and Gailey's (2010) study, this chapter points to a "culturally approved misogyny that exists", not only in American society but also in other societies, such as in the Caribbean.
Gailey and Prohaska (2006) present the term used by men in America, - "hogging", described as "a practice in which men prey on overweight or unattractive women to satisfy their competitive and/or sexual urges" (p. 32). The authors claim that men's use of degrading language reflects a hidden desire for women who are regarded as unattractive by social standards. From another perspective, men who participate in "hogging" also explore the forbidden, as women who are deemed as unattractive by society are also considered taboo. This seems to be two sides of the same coin as "Men who were turned down by women they deemed unattractive often made excuses to mask their insecurities about being rejected" (Prohaska & Gailey, 2010, p. 21). Here I would like to draw parallels between this study and that of Tutenges (2012), which claimed that young men seemed to purchase sexual services to "try it out", daring each other to sleep with a prostitute, then sharing their stories back home (p. 144). Although it seems as if the main objective of purchasing sex is entertainment and male bonding, there is a possibility that some men were also even if partially excited by the idea even the act itself. Prostitutes and unattractive women share a forbidden aspect, and they seem to be derided in a similar way, as if the men felt the need to neutralize their hidden desires.

7.2 Prostitution and Homosociality

Another participant, Sam, illustrates how being exposed to a male group subculture in Norway played an important role in his upbringing and his sexual perspectives. He first began his account by recounting some of the history of seamen cultures, where it was not only accepted to buy the services of prostitutes, but it was also something men liked to brag about. He told, for instance, about "all these Russian women that one brought on board that all the men shared for a week". Sam talked about a male culture (men he knew) that talked about female body parts in a degrading manner, that competed with each other counting the times each man could have sex with different prostitutes in one night, one friend having had sex 9 times in a night, the other 12. His friend told stories about getting sexually transmitted diseases, telling these stories with humor and joy, bravado, as if it was something he was proud of.
Sam: This must have been in Latin America I guess. They travelled around.
Also the thing with STD's that they talked about
I: Which STD's
Sam: Gonorrhea... how one is supposed to let the captain know.... crabs, what
kind of home remedies one uses to get rid of crabs... These are stories that he
tells with a lot of humor and joy (laughs). So it's something that he's apparently
proud of, but I can recognize myself growing up and being part of a kind of
masculine culture, boys culture right, like for example, being with as many
women as possible, that it gives prestige.
I: This is in B (city)?
Sam: No, this is in C (city), before I came to B (city). Getting a woman in one
night, right...it was like normalized.
I: In high school?
Sam: Yes, in high school, before I began university, playing football, stuff like
that, there was a lot of like prestige there right, in having sex with the most
number of women, right, so...I guess it's still like that... but I don't think there's
much difference South from North, but it's widespread this kind of mentality,
especially in boys' cultures, sports cultures, right, male groups, can give one that
impression. But..but it might have been also at the university, up in B (city), that
one has to like go out on the town.

Laughter in Sam's story fulfills several objectives. First of all, it helps deal with
embarrassing, even tragic details, such as his friends' STD. Secondly, it helps hide
embarrassment. It also supports the male-induced narrative and homosocial
storytelling, where men get together and talk about each other's sexual adventures.
Even though Sam was alone with a female interviewer, he transmits the way that men
use stories to connect to each other.

What is interesting about Sam is that he is one of the few participants who
openly talks about a homosocial subculture in Norway. This is similar to Flood's (2008)
study, where men would get together and talk about what they did last night: "We used
to actually, every Sunday night, meet in my room there were about ten boys... And we'd
just talk about our fuckings for the weekend" (p. 355).
7.3 The Logic of Exchange in a Romantic Relationship

In light of Marcel Mauss' (1990) idea of gift exchange, Prieur (2006) describes how giving back a greater amount had been viewed as a projection of wealth, a type of dominance over the other party, and even a sign of hostility. One participant in this chapter, Norman, claimed that to have a girlfriend is not free, alluding to the custom of having to invite a woman out, the economic burden falling on the male while the woman may or may not give something back. Norman resists the label of a customer who pays for a service; the idea of gift exchange fits much closer to his idea of a romantic relationship. The idea of gift exchange can also be applied to explain the reason for sharing these stories with me, a female researcher.

Norman is a man in his 40's who has been traveling to Latin America for a number of years and dated women from countries in Latin America. The interview was conducted outside in a park and recorded. Norman is a man who is accustomed to traveling and meeting women in foreign countries. Sometimes he rents apartments, other times he stays in hotels. He enjoys meeting different women, and he describes the process as happening 'the normal way', which is, going to a bar or a place where they serve drinks, and the women approaching him. He considers himself an attractive man, who has no problem getting sex: "I present myself as I am, and so then they come to me and give me good company." He describes himself as being "a quiet and relaxed person that is used to them approaching me...It's rare for me to be the one to initiate contact."

At first, he was very careful about doing the interview, claiming that he didn't have much to say:

Norman: I am always a person that goes by the rules, I am always well-behaved. I am not a person who buys sex or is deviant in one way or another. I present myself as I am, and so then they come to me and give me good company, and so then I go home. There's no prostitution or no...

I: I didn't ask you about prostitution.

Norman: No...

I: I asked you about stories about sex. I just want to know how you met women and how the interaction went between you and them.
In the beginning of the interview, Norman's account seems to fulfill one purpose – to present himself as a man who hasn't committed any crime. Throughout his stories, Norman seemed to want to uphold his standing as a model citizen, resisting any incriminating labels. This was a way to claim his identity as an attractive, interesting man and a law-abiding member of society. The need to draw boundaries between himself and those who purchase sexual services was reinforced the more he presented himself as desirable as well as someone who is difficult to hustle. As a man with experience with women from the Caribbean and from other Latin-American countries, he seemed to have learned to present himself as someone who enough cultural capital to construct a counter-narrative to challenge the client/consumer of sex narrative.

Kong (2015) observes the following: "Buying sex, in most societies, is still regarded as a socially unacceptable behavior, which may be derived from hegemonic model of companionate sexuality" (p. 13). According to Sanders (2008), "the sexual scripts of 'regular' male client are compared to heterosexual male sexual scripts, arguing that commercial sexual relationships can mirror the traditional romance, courtship rituals, modes and meanings of communication, sexual familiarity, mutual satisfaction, and emotional intimacies found in 'ordinary' relationships" (p. 400). Perhaps for Norman, traveling and meeting women in other places is easier than meeting women in Norway. Even when living in Norway, he admitted to having short relationships with foreign women. In the following, he makes the distinction between dating foreign women and dating Norwegian women.

Norman discusses his understanding of sexual relationships in economic terms, presenting his view on economics in his male-female relationships. Norman starts to compare his experiences with Latin American women versus those with Norwegian women in economic terms. Financial versus emotional dependence might have been a decisive factor for Norman's choice of dating Latin American women:

Norman: From my experience, having a Latin American girlfriend costs a third of what it costs to have a Norwegian one. Of course, it is not free to have a girlfriend in any case, but from my experience there are not so many 'gold diggers' that go after me.

I: You mean Norwegian?
Norman: No, I mean the Latin American ones. Not so many Norwegian 'gold
diggers' are after me either.
I: Why not?
Norman: They probably smell that I'm careful with money. They seep through
me pretty quickly. A Latin American woman is very focused on someone being
there, they are frightened to be single. Very insecure. A Norwegian girl often
wants a man that she can show off to her girlfriends, a man that is someone,
that can give her a life of luxury and things. Latin-American women are often more
security-seeking, wanting above all, stability.

Perhaps his perspective on the economics of relationships is grounded in his
reluctance to be in a committed, or long-term relationship. He explains the desire for
multiple partners and casual sex as typically male. To exemplify this, he compares
women to fish:

Norman: What I want to say is most encounters I have, are like going to the
market to buy fish. It is very delicate the first day. On the third day, it starts to
smell. And then you have to get rid of it.
I: Ok, which women do you mean?
Norman: Now, I'm talking women in general. I believe it is actually me who
wants to keep on searching.
I: But why does she bore you, or starts to bore you.
Norman: It's different things each time. This I thought a lot about, because
there's no connection. I think that most of the ones I meet will irritate me one
way or another. But this doesn't just depend on the person, this is directly
related to man's instincts – our instincts are to meet as many as possible. The
question is how much you let yourself be driven by the instincts or by
upbringing or by social norms.

Viewing women as dispensable makes it easier for Norman to not feel bad about
getting rid of them. This runs parallel to other men who view prostitutes as non-human,
dirty, something that can be used and thrown away. In this way, it is easy not to feel
sentimental and attached to them, creating an excuse to end the relationship, or to just have a sexual relationship.

Norman claims that it is boredom that drives his relationships to their end. He attributed his boredom to a natural male instinct which he claimed motivated men to keep on searching. As he gets into describing what happens before the sexual act, Norman describes the ways in which women can be irritating:

It might be that they really love talking, for example, and one is sitting and nodding one's head for two hours. Someone who loves to lay on top of you so you almost can't move. (Chuckles). Some drink too much, I think this has been more normal now. You meet girls and they get completely drunk on the first date. That's stressful. They will not go to bed, they sit and talk and talk and talk, so you're polite and you'll be up until 4 in the morning, wiped out. Then one is irritated. But overall one has a nice time. It's only exceptions one is irritated on the first night. Because then one knows what is to come. One is more motivated on the first evening because then it's something one hasn't experienced before. Then the instincts say that one has to work extra hard.

Norman works hard to please the woman even though he doesn't always find it enjoyable. He is the one that breaks up with her, almost always. For Norman, it is women – their company and the way they entertain him, that are the commodity, and having sex with them is a part of that but it doesn't seem to be the decisive factor. Their attractiveness, however, does seem to play a major role. It seems as though Norman takes on the role of a fisherman, fishing for the fish, and eating it and discarding the bones that stink afterwards. He does not like to be viewed as someone who has been played, or hustled, by a Latina. On the contrary, he wouldn't want to be called a victim, neither does he view himself as someone paying for sex or company. Having control of the situation, whether it is a short rendezvous in a hotel or a longer stay in a foreign place, is an important part of his masculine self, and he reinforces it by finishing the relationship himself, or leaving. It is not that he is afraid of commitment, but rather, he attributes it to the generalization that men always look for someone more attractive, it is their nature. From his perspective, there is a logic, as he puts it into economic terms – a Latina, even at 60 is attractive enough to have a relationship and be supported, as she is a sociable person with a, still, great ass. In Norman's terms, her ass and her social skills
are valuable assets in the relationship market, and it will always sell, even as she ages. If one takes out the human aspect and thinks of this as a practical, logical, economic way of looking at relationships, then Norman rates the quality of the product and accepts or rejects it based on his own likes or dislikes, just like a consumer.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This study addressed several objectives. The first one was to identify the stories told by men revolving around their sexuality. The second objective was to look at what these stories accomplish, in context of a gendered interview situation.

Results indicated a wide range of topics, from stories about sexual abstinence and existential sexual crisis, to erotic, experimental sexual stories and even stories around the subject of hustling and prostitution. Elements of regret, shame and excuses were present in these stories, thus proving that male sexuality is widely misrepresented in popular literature and media, focusing mainly on scripts supporting sexual prowess, sexual predation and sexual porn scripts. This is where old stereotypes of the man as the hypersexed instigator of erotic activity were challenged, while men told stories of passive or modest behavior, even during erotic activities such as threesomes.

Findings also showed that some of the participants told stories about hustling, or about their friends hustling and paying for sex, presenting their own, nuanced perspectives on the use of body and attractiveness as commodity. A few participants presented their perspective on paying for sexual services. Often these stories zoomed in on the interplay between self-determination and victim-status (Sandberg, 2009b), perhaps presented one or the other during certain moments in the story. Stories of male accounts on hustling, where men challenged the traditional script of prostitutes as victims, presented an alternative view where men claimed agency and demonstrated examples of sexual capital. There seems to be a lack of personal accounts of male prostitutes in research, and the fact that real men, in a real-life setting, chose to tell their stories a female researcher helped broaden understanding into the hidden world of male prostitution and clientele, as well as give insight into gendered sexuality research. Furthermore, this study shed light on a topic that is largely absent in research literature, that of commercial sex as well as tourist commercial sex (Tutenges, 2010).

Social interactionist and feminist approaches to prostitution were used, where the relative approach towards prostitution, together with dialogical narrative analysis
provided for the possibility of a linguistic shift in prostitution terminology, where instead of using terminology that supports stereotypes, participants' own descriptions and concepts were used, thereby creating new terminologies for old stereotypes. Future research should explore the connection between linguistic changes through interviews in relation to stereotypes in deviant behavior. Furthermore, reconstruction of stereotypes through linguistics is only possible by giving a greater importance to storytelling in research, especially when the marginalized, hustlers, prostitutes, deviants and delinquents are given a chance to give an unfiltered version of their story.

This study will have achieved awareness not just in regards to male sexuality, but the interview situation. Addressing the second objective of this thesis, results brought forth several key points, one of which is how the interview situation helps co-author stories. It is this co-authorship, or dialogical interview situation (Frank, 2012), that might give way to crime-preventive strategies. Although much of Frank's (2012) research focuses on medical sociology, his contribution on the uses of storytelling and dialogue in interview settings can be transferred into other settings, to use the interview situation as a kind of therapy. This could be a potential focus for future research, especially when the interviewees and the interviewer are of opposite sex.

Much of crime-preventive literature points to dialogical approaches – solving conflicts through dialogue. If telling stories is a powerful tool that incites others to action, then it is just as powerful in preventing future misogynistic acts and talk, objectification of women, and even sex crimes. Even therapeutic methods, such as cognitive therapy, uses dialogue to arrive at a shift in thought patterns. Just as storytelling becomes fueled by humor and entertainment, inciting others for more stories, there also lies a potential for those one-time stories, told only once, as if to a trusted friend, as an opportunity for acceptance, healing or even closure.

Hidden tales, like "shadow stories" (Jackson, 2002), are those stories of sexual experiences that are accompanied by feelings of shame or regret. Instead of being a burden for the storyteller, I suggest that stories help men see critically, and possibly even aid to improve negative behavior or even reduce harm. Research on sex crimes can benefit from such an approach, where, instead of being an understanding listener, the interviewee participates in the dialogue through active awareness: "How might people's lives change if they heard their own stories with enhanced reflective awareness and if they heard others' stories with a more generous sense of what makes these stories viable representations of the lives those storytellers live?" (Frank, 2012, p. 50). Finally,
if these stories, told to a female researcher, are to be understood as mini-relationship enactments, then, just as the situation can potentially provoke sexual objectification, so is it also a situation where respect can be claimed from both sides.

This study admits to several limitations, the first one being a broad age range, where participants in their 20's, 30's, and 40's were chosen to participate. A narrower age sample, such as men in their 20's, for example, would have provided for a more concentrated sample. On the other hand, the study's strength was the variation in cultural background, something that allowed for the interviewer to explore the possibility that just as culture affects language, so does it affect sexuality. Sexual stories have a cultural interlace, and this is something that future research could explore, male sexual stories across the globe, how men in a certain age group (for instance their 20's) tell their stories in different cultures.

Drawing conclusions about the general population from a qualitative study is difficult because of the ambiguities that usually form part of such a study, demonstrated here in the findings from narrative inquiry. A study using mixed methods, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, would have provided an opportunity to make such conclusions. On the other hand, working inductively has its advantages, and one of them is that the researcher doesn't come with a pre-existing hypothesis which is then confirmed or refuted by the study. It has also been an advantage to study the interpersonal aspects of narratives through qualitative method, which allowed me to delve deeper and stay close to these personal experiences, something that would have been difficult had this been a quantitative study. Narrative analysis is an excellent tool in detecting the nuances of storytelling, especially when trying to capture the meaning behind what the participant says. It explores the world through the participants' eyes, thus allowing to see the multidimensionality of one story or several stories told by one person. In this sense, it is an effective way of exploring the somewhat neglected subject of male sexuality.

Moreover, being a female researching on men brought with it its strengths and limitations. As someone using a different discourse than the participant, I had to consider my role in shaping that story. On the other hand, had it been a male researcher, the interview would have taken another direction, perhaps containing a whole another range of answers, as the male participants would have told different stories, or their own stories in another way, as a way of sharing "man to man". One way to determine whether stories had in fact been influenced by gender is to have both male and female researchers
conduct the interviews and compare the differences. A more balanced study would further understanding on how both genders interviewing participants influences storytelling. Future research on sexuality should bring more focus on how the interview situation is influenced by male versus female researchers.

One of the strengths of this study is its racially and socioeconomically diverse sample, capturing the multiple perspectives of men's scripts. Initially, I thought that these differences might have been the result of methodological approach. Sandberg (2013) questions the possibility of narrative being unified or fragmented, containing many different narratives. Using Breivik's manifesto, Sandberg (2013) points out the following observations about narrative construction:

We can choose to search for unity or fragmentation in a self-narrative or life-story. However, self-narratives can also be consistent and coherent empirically or as a result of the methodological approach. Researchers can ask questions in such a way that they bring forth a unified self-narrative. (p. 71).

By having an overrepresentation of a group with a similar cultural background, such as men from Latin America, I assumed that this would create a set of scripts that reinforced stereotypes within that culture. On the other hand, participants presented counter-narratives to challenge the typical Latino script, just as Norwegian men challenged the stereotypical Nordic model by presenting alternatives forms of sexual discourse.
REFERENCES


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