

# Risk Management in Circuits of Gay and Bisexual Men: **RESULTS FROM THE TORONTO PRIDE SURVEY**

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As HIV transmission rates among gay and bisexual men have turned upward in the early 21st century, the question of how HIV prevention might be made more effective has acquired renewed urgency. Providing the facts about HIV transmission in order to give people the tools to reduce their risk of infection played a major role in the dramatic fall in HIV infection among gay, bisexual, and other men who have sex with men (MSM) through the 1990s. This “AIDS 101” message still has value as there are always new men entering into relations with other men, whether they arrive from the upcoming generation, immigration, or self-discovery, but knowing the facts is clearly not enough to bring about the consistent reduction of HIV transmission. The research literature shows a wide range of vulnerabilities and reasoning processes that point to the need for multiple interventions aimed at a variety of audiences. Gay and bisexual men are not simply a single category who can be reached with a few telegraphic messages, but a complex and diverse population that responds in different ways to prevention appeals. Among the objectives for this research project on rejuvenating HIV prevention for gay and bisexual men is to map some of these differences, identify “hot spots” in HIV transmission, and gain insight into the processes through which unprotected sex unfolds, so that the diversity of these communities might be better addressed.

This research project was organized into three phases intended to:

- 1 design and implement new HIV prevention programming for gay and bisexual men based on research completed in 2003 (<http://www.actoronto.org/website/research.nsf/pages/renewinghivprevention>) (Adam 2005a; Adam et al. 2005a) that examined safer sex decision-making among high-risk gay and bisexual men in Toronto,
- 2 examine uptake of safe sex messages, as well as new trends facilitating or inhibiting safe sex, by conducting a large survey at Toronto Pride 2005, and
- 3 follow up with in-depth interviews among men having unprotected sex most or all of the time.

Much of the study of HIV risk revolves around the question, Why do individuals vary in their propensities to engage in risky sex? (Gagnon 2000). Along with gathering data that might cast light on this question, we sought to move beyond the individualist presumption that undergirds the vast majority of health research (Adam 2006b; Adam 2006) and beyond this question in particular which already assumes that risk is no more than a propensity that lies within individuals. It is perhaps ironic that HIV transmission might be presumed to be simply a question of individual characteristics when HIV is an infection that takes advantage of the human propensity for connection, bonding, and network formation through sex. An objective of this work is to distinguish among networks of men with shared understandings, concerns, and vulnerabilities. In other words, it is precisely the shared views, conduct, and reasoning of men connecting socially and sexually with each other that can facilitate or inhibit HIV transmission, and this study sets out to shed light on these connections.

The implication for prevention programming is that circuits and micro cultures matter because messages that can capture the interest of, and address the concerns of, one set of men may lack resonance with others. The challenge, then, is to delineate the cultural coordinates of various sets of men in order to be able to develop well-targeted programming that can be effective. It is clear that one of the problems and challenges of current HIV prevention is that many messages are already well-known, and that different micro cultures have taken up these messages in various ways, some assimilating them profoundly and others carving out exemptions for themselves from prevailing prevention scripts. In the language of social theory, it is a question of sketching out the habitus of gay and bisexual men, examining the relevance structures found in their experiences, and identifying the discourses circulating among them that are amenable or resistant to HIV prevention ideas. As Paul Flowers, Claire Marriott, and Graham Hart (2000a:70-71) remark, this requires “conceptualiz[ing] the social and cultural phenomena which influence sexual activity and thus HIV risk-related behaviour. The combination of such phenomena can be designated as ‘sexual cultures’ (...). These cultures influence individual agency and supply a broad spectrum of sexual meanings which structure individuals’ cognitions regarding sexual behaviour.”

There is also a socio-historical dimension to HIV prevention that is typically missed in research grounded in biomedical individualism. Messages that catch on and are taken up in one time period, can become stale, old-fashioned, or discredited in another. Rationales for unprotected sex can change, rendering the findings from research about “what works” dated as well. It is methodologically important to be able to track historically moving conditions that render once-effective messages obsolete, and to document unanticipated cultural and generational processes that change or conflict with prevention programs. As Richard Parker (2001:167) argues, it is essential to attend to “the socially constructed (and historically changing) identities and communities that structure sexual practice within the flow of collective life....New knowledge and information about perceived sexual risk will always be interpreted within the context of pre-existing systems of meaning that necessarily mediate the ways in which such information must always be incorporated into action.”

This study seeks to make headway in mapping out these “pre-existing systems of meaning,” to see how they were embedded in definable circuits of the gay male community, and to discern how connection patterns among men who have sex with men are socially organized. Circuit rather than network is the term used more often here in order to refer to these patterns. It is a word recognized in gay scenes to refer to the circulation of familiar faces through a specific set of venues. Circuits are somewhat looser assemblages of individuals than social networks; networks imply that people know and communicate with each other over time and develop ties of exchange and dependency. Circuits refer more to the “rubbing of elbows” among urban tribes (Maffesoli 1995) who find themselves in the same places, and who, over time, may generate couples, networks, and cultures but do not presume them. Circuits also contain pools of sexual partners that are close at hand and with whom sexual cultures emerge. Because these sexual cultures are variants on a theme, we refer to them as micro-cultures that collected together comprise a larger sexual culture. As well as preferring circuit terminology, this study relies on the term, gay and bisexual men, more often than men

who have sex with men to signal the salience of culture and practice over behaviour in risk taking and risk management. Men who have sex with men refers to behaviour, but when transported into HIV research and programming, it can function to create the illusion that these behaviours are all of a type and can be treated as equivalents. Gay and bisexual men refers more to the ways that sexual contact among men is socially organized, and how evolving and shared understandings influence decisions that underlie behaviours. Of course, it is also possible to presume that gay and bisexual men constitute a singular culture and set of understandings, and this study, as well as many others, shows that there are certainly men reporting sex with other men who identify as heterosexual or with other non-gay labels. The challenge taken up in this study is to see how men, regardless of identity, are taken into, and participate in, circuits that shape their sexual and risk horizons, a cultural phenomenon that makes behaviour possible. The opportunities and constraints presented by gay scenes and circuits are an essential part of understanding connection, risk, and the consequent inhibition or facilitation of viral circulation.

### THE ASSUMPTIONS CAMPAIGN AND THE HANDY DANDY HOW-TO HANDBOOKS

This project began by participating in the national Assumptions campaign that was intended to address an emergent problem in sexual interaction. The Assumptions (or How Do You Know What You Know?) campaign called on men to question assumptions they may be making about a partner's sero-status and to reinforce the need to use condoms with men of unknown sero-status rather than assuming that they may share one's own sero-status. This large-scale, social marketing initiative was launched during Pride Week, the last week of June 2004. The AIDS Committee of Toronto (ACT) participated in the development of this campaign with six other AIDS organizations across Canada. Funding for the campaign was provided to AIDS Vancouver by Health Canada through an initiative that was part of a strategy to reinvigorate gay men's prevention nationally. Toronto was one of six cities participating along with Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Montreal and Halifax. ACT was able to secure additional funds from Health Canada and the Ontario Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care (AIDS Bureau) to extend the campaign's visibility both within Toronto and in fourteen other communities across the province. The campaign visuals can be viewed at <http://www.think-again.ca/>.

The Assumptions campaign was followed by three Handy Dandy How-To Handbooks that appeared over the year between Pride 2004 and Pride 2005. The handbooks intended to respond in a more in-depth way to major issues in safer sex decision-making that emerged from our previous research. A local advisory committee was formed after sending invitations to a variety of HIV/AIDS, gay, and health organizations serving diverse groups of gay and bisexual men in Toronto, as well as interested community members. The advisory committee that formed came to include representatives from the Alliance for South Asian AIDS Prevention, Bisexual Men of Toronto, Supporting our Youth, Salaam (a Queer Muslim organization), Sherbourne Health Centre, two local bath houses and a representative from an on-line gay newsmagazine. Committee members (who were provided with hard copies of the draft text, slogan and mock-up of the design in advance) were given the opportunity to comment on the proposed text and design of the

campaign. They were also able to provide input into the kinds of photographs to be used. Volunteer models were recruited from a mass e-mail out sent to existing volunteers of the AIDS Committee of Toronto. Models were selected to ensure diversity of age, body type, and ethno-cultural background.

The first handbook, *Condoms Unwrapped*, encourages men to try different condoms with tips on improving the condom-wearing experience. The second, *Getting Together, The Ins and Outs of Dating & Relationships for Gay and Bisexual Men*, offers suggestions about successfully negotiating safety in a romantic relationship. The third, *Cruising, The Ins and Outs of Hooking Up for Men*, is intended for newcomers to the gay scene. With the tag line "pick it up before you pick him up," the campaigns consist of informational booklets, posters (two versions for each campaign), print ads, and condom/lube packaging, available at [www.handydandy.ca](http://www.handydandy.ca).

A "teaser" for the campaign was launched at Woody's, a popular downtown gay bar prior to AIDS Awareness Week in November 2004. Giant copies of posters were mounted on foam core and displayed at the bar. ACT's Gay Men's Outreach staff and volunteers, and the Project Coordinator, conducted outreach to patrons, promoting upcoming AIDS Awareness Week events for gay men being organized by ACT under the theme "Sexploration Week." These events were listed in a small booklet developed for the week's events.

### TORONTO PRIDE 2005 SURVEY

With two tents located in the heart of Toronto Pride 2005, the research team and a small army of paid volunteers set out to recruit as broad and diverse a set of male participants as possible over a single weekend. With a minimum goal of 500 respondents, the momentum and enthusiasm generated among Pride attendees resulted in 947 men filling out valid questionnaires in the tents, where they were provided a seat at a voting-booth-style table to help reduce distractions. A great many men put considerable time and deliberation into thinking through their responses to questions and appreciated the opportunity to take a break in the shade in the midst of Pride festivities. After completion, they received a dog tag for their efforts (which served to advertise the survey further as they then walked through the streets wearing the tags), and after the tags ran out, they received arm bands left over from the AIDS Committee of Toronto's famous Fashion Cares annual fundraiser. They also had the opportunity to leave an email address to receive study results later.

Surveys done at Pride events have been common in Canada, United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, as they are one of the few occasions when a broadbased cross-section of gay and bisexual men can be accessed. They are particularly useful for gaining representation from men who do not spend a lot of time in the commercial scene which tends to be the typical recruitment site for research at other times of the year. Pride surveys, however, do have limitations. It is hard to know if there is systematic under-representation of particular sectors of men who have sex with men at Pride, but it may be that non-gay-identified MSM, men who are not out, and perhaps some ethnic and immigrant groups are

among the under-represented, though it is worth noting that significant numbers of bisexual and heterosexual self-identified men did fill out the 2005 Toronto survey.

It is also important to keep in mind that in a great many ways the measures used in this survey show no significant differences among gay and bisexual men regardless of sexual identity, age, income, education, or ethno-cultural background. In other words, whether they are in their twenties or fifties, East Asian or East European, earn more than \$60,000 a year or less than \$20,000, about 85% agree that they “like mutual give and take in sex and a sense of both of us being equals,” about 68% agree that “I have got a lot out of the gay community and I like to support it and give back to it,” and 73.5% do not agree that “gay men don’t have anything in common with each other except what they do in bed.” There are, then, many commonalities among respondents that go unremarked in this report which, for the most part, notes where statistically significant differences are to be found.

The questionnaire and overall results from the survey can be found in the Appendix.

## CAMPAIGN EVALUATION

The 2005 Pride survey asked several questions about the Assumptions campaign and the follow-up handbooks. The timing of the Pride survey meant that men were asked to recall campaigns that occurred as long ago as a year, in the case of the Assumptions campaign, or as recently as a week or two, as in the case of the Cruising handbook. Overall, we found that the longest-established campaigns were best recalled. Overall 46.9% of the Toronto 2005 Pride survey reported seeing the Assumptions (How Do You Know What You Know?) campaign from the previous summer. Awareness was highest among those frequenting Church Street venues and living in the same area (postal codes of M4X-M5B). Awareness was lowest among men who reported heterosexual identity or a US zip code. In particular, awareness of the Assumptions campaign was (statistically) significantly higher among those attending these venues, events, or scenes in the month preceding Pride:

- Grapefruit couples scene
- Steamworks Woodys
- Crews & Tango Pride parties
- Tallulah's/Buddies Black Eagle
- O'Grady's 5ive
- Barns/Stable Zipperz
- circuit parties private dinner parties
- Byzantium Timothy's
- George's Play Starbucks
- SpaXS

Of those who saw the Assumptions campaign, 87.4% found it effective and 70% agreed that it made them “think about or question assumptions you were making about a partner being either HIV-positive or HIV-negative.”

Awareness of the handbooks was generally low. Eleven percent had read Condoms Unwrapped, 7.2% Getting Together, and only 6% had read Cruising. The budget for promoting the handbooks was about a quarter the size of the budget of the Assumptions campaign and did not include billboards or subway advertising as did the Assumptions campaign. The handbooks were much more likely to have been seen by those who had also seen the Assumptions campaign (OR=5.16-6.12, p<.001).

Men who had casual partners were more likely to have seen the campaigns compared to respondents who did not have casual partners.

HIV-positive men were also more likely to be aware of the campaigns but they are also more likely to report downtown postal codes.

### MEN REPORTING CASUAL PARTNERS

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
Read Cruising	2.55	0.002
Read Condoms Unwrapped	1.98	0.002
Read Getting Together	1.97	0.020
Saw Assumptions campaign	1.79	0.000

Overall, these results suggest that there is considerable openness and support among gay and bisexual men for HIV prevention campaigns tailored to them. While most of the Pride sample did not have unprotected sex in any case, there are some indicators that those more at risk were also more likely to report having attended to and absorbed the message of the Assumptions campaign. A year after the Assumptions campaign, men reporting unprotected receptive anal intercourse, though without ejaculation, appeared to be particularly aware of the campaign, suggesting either that the prevention message was received but did not address the fundamental underlying reasons for their risk taking or that they were attempting to exert some control over whether a partner inseminated them as a harm reduction technique. It is noteworthy that men using a condom for anal sex were also more likely to be aware of the campaign than survey respondents as a whole.

### A note on statistics used in this report

Throughout this report, odds ratios and p values are reported. In the above table, for example, men who had casual partners were 2.55 times more likely to report having seen the handbook, Cruising, than those without casual partners. The p value shows that this relationship is highly statistically significant as there is only a 2 in 1000 probability that this finding could have occurred by chance.

## AWARENESS OF ASSUMPTIONS CAMPAIGN

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance
Casual male partner fucked me without condom & did not come	1.71	*
Casual male partner fucked me with a condom	1.64	**
HIV+	1.60	*

Key: \*=p<.05, \*\*=p<.01, \*\*\*=p<.001

Those who agreed with the following statements were also more likely to agree the campaign was effective:

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance
For me, sex with penetration is an act of love and a way of giving oneself completely	2.83	***
For me, going to gay places is more about socializing and being around other men than cruising and sex	2.67	***
A lot of pleasure I get comes from pleasing my partner	2.49	*
Going out for me is about dancing, lounging, and chilling, not sex	2.27	*

Key: \*=p<.05, \*\*=p<.01, \*\*\*=p<.001

Those in the bareback scene or “strategic positioning” were less likely to agree it was effective.

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance
Bareback scene	0.42	*
Fucked casual male partner without condom but did not come	0.35	**
Casual male partner fucked me without condom but did not come	0.33	**

Key: \*=p<.05, \*\*=p<.01, \*\*\*=p<.001

Agreement with the following statements was associated with less agreement that the campaign was effective.

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance
A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms	0.50	*
I think gay men don't have anything in common with each other except what they do in bed	0.45	*
The gay scene is too superficial and sex-oriented	0.39	*

Key: \*=p<.05, \*\*=p<.01, \*\*\*=p<.001

Nevertheless, even 76.6% of those in the bareback scene considered it effective.

Men reporting both heterosexual identity and no sex with men within the past six months (N=25; 2.6%) were removed from further consideration in the results reported below.

## MEN AND THEIR REGULAR PARTNERS

The Pride survey asked men to indicate if “In the last 6 months, I had sex with a regular male partner (boyfriend, buddy, partner, spouse)”: 54.7% report that they do and 48.6% of those reporting a regular partner indicate being monogamous with him. Length of relationship was the following:

- 31.0% report a relationship of more than 5 years,
- 35.5%, 1-5 years, and
- 33.3%, less than a year.

Not surprisingly, length of relationship is strongly correlated with age: men born in the 1980s are 2.84-2.95 times as likely to have a relationship of less than a year in length, while men born in the 1950s are 1.98 times (p=0.003), and in the 1940s, 3.40 times (p<0.000), more likely to be in relationships of more than 5 years.

Protected sex between regular partners declines with length of relationship. Men in a relationship of under six months are 2.19-2.36 times (p<0.000), and in relationships of 6-11 months 2.54-2.77 times (p=0.002 - 0.004), more likely to use a condom than men in longer relationships, while men in relationships of more than 3 years are significantly less likely. Monogamy appears to be highest in early phases of a relationship, with men in a relationship of 6-11 months significantly more likely to report it (OR=2.33, p=0.016), and men in relationships of more than five years less likely (OR=0.54, p=0.001). This finding is consistent with other research on gay men (Adam 2006a). Similarly, men in relationships of 6-11 months (OR=4.09, p=0.005) and in relationships of under 6 months (OR=1.98, p=0.006) are more likely to agree that “When I am in a relationship, I do not want either of us to have sex with anyone else,” compared to men in relationships of more than 5 years (OR=0.40, p<0.000). Perhaps also of interest is that men in the “honeymoon phase,” that is, 6-11 months are much likely to agree (OR=3.64, p=0.025) that “For me, sex with penetration is an act of love and a way of giving oneself completely” while men in relationships of more than 5 years agree more (OR=1.74, p=0.005) with the statement, “Ideally I look for a high level of intimacy and emotional exchange in sex with a man.” Men reporting a monogamous relationship with a regular partner are strongly under-represented, not surprisingly, in the baths (OR=0.12, p<0.000), parks (OR=0.45, p=0.002), washrooms (OR=0.32, p=0.001), and web (OR=0.53, p<0.000), and men in relationships of more than five years are strongly under-represented in the downtown bar scene (OR=0.08-0.54). These kinds of men are often missed in studies reliant on these venues for their recruitment.

## CASUAL PARTNERS

Sixty-two percent (572 of 922) of the surveyed men report having had a casual male partner in the last six months; 80 of these 572 (14.0%) report having had unprotected sex with a casual male partner. Unprotected sex is defined here rather strictly as having checked the following category on the survey:

In the last 6 months, I have done the following at least once with a casual male partner:

- I fucked him without a condom and came in him.
- He fucked me without a condom and came in me.

Because of a discussion in the research literature concerning the practice of unprotected anal sex without coming as a possible harm reduction technique, the results for insertion without ejaculation are presented separately.

The following chart shows the odds ratios for men reporting four different sexual practices:

- (1) consistently safe men (CS) who report always having anal intercourse with a condom;
- (2) men reporting at least one instance of unprotected anal intercourse (UAI) with ejaculation, but excluding participants in the bareback scene,
- (3) men reporting at least one instance of unprotected anal intercourse without ejaculation, sometimes interpreted as “strategic positioning” (SP), and
- (4) men who report participation in the bareback (BB) scene or websites.

BB =participates in bareback scene and/or cruises bareback website  
 SP =“strategic positioning”=unprotected anal intercourse without coming  
 UAI =unprotected anal intercourse and coming : excluding BB  
 CS =consistently safe, has anal intercourse exclusively with a condom

Variable	BB OR	N=83 P	SP OR	N=72 P	UAI OR	N=39 P	CS OR	N=252 P
Casual M partner fucked me without condom & came	14.29	0.000	3.83	0.006	*	*	*	*
Fucked casual M partner without condom & came	6.74	0.000	2.79	0.008	*	*	*	*
Casual M partner fucked me without condom but did not come	6.42	0.000	*	*	4.03	0.000	*	*
Regular M partner fucked me without condom & came	5.05	0.000			2.84	0.017	*	*
Fucked casual M partner without condom but did not come	4.99	0.000	*	*	2.33	0.036	*	*
Fucked regular M partner without condom & came	2.93	0.001			5.76	0.000		
Fucked regular M partner without condom but did not come	2.32	0.015	3.95	0.000			0.00	0.000
Regular M partner fucked me without condom but did not come	2.32	0.015	3.33	0.003			0.00	0.000
Fucked regular M partner with condom	0.44	0.008	0.49	0.046	0.33	0.009	4.85	0.000
Fucked casual M partner with condom	0.42	0.000	0.44	0.002	0.36	0.002	2.45	0.000
Monogamous with regular partner	0.23	0.001			2.75	0.010		

This chart is discussed extensively in the following sections.

## MEN WHO REPORT BEING CONSISTENTLY SAFE WITH CASUAL PARTNERS

This set of men indicate that “In the last 6 months, I have done the following at least once with a casual male partner”: “I fucked him with a condom” or “He fucked me with a condom” and also indicate that they had not had unprotected sex (with or without ejaculation) during the same period. These men, then, can be distinguished from men with a number of alternative practices: they are actively using condoms while having anal sex with casual partners, and are distinct from men who have safe sex with occasional slips, and from men who have little risk because they do not have anal sex, have a single partner with whom they are monogamous, have no casual partners, or no partners at all. This set of men makes up 51.9% of all the men who had a casual male partner in the previous six months.

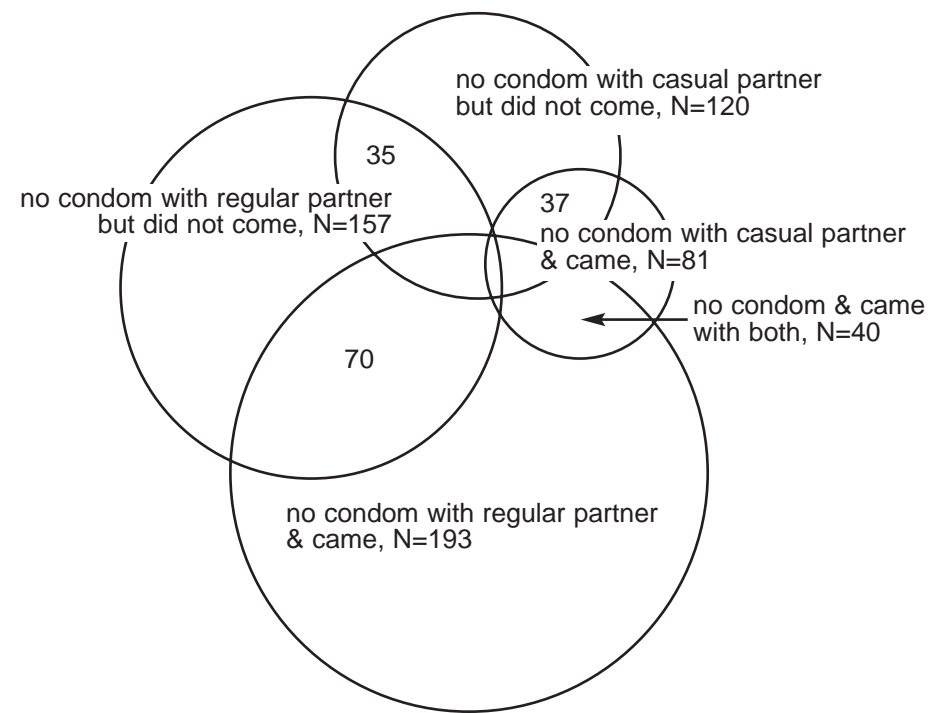
Compared to the Pride sample as a whole, consistently safe men tend to be significantly better represented in a set of bars, dance clubs, sports groups, and baths generally preferred by younger men. Comparing consistently safe men to men with casual male partners as a whole, there is no significant association between age and safe-sex practice. This implies that it is not age per se that is important here, but rather network or circuit that has the more salient influence. Consistently safe men are also considerably more likely to disagree with the statement, “A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms,” (OR=0.37, p<0.000) than do other men with casual partners, suggesting that they may indeed be more often encountering other partners who want to practise safe sex, may be more self-motivated to initiate condom use, or both. As evident from the previous chart, men who are consistently safe with casual partners are much more likely to use condoms with a regular partner too (OR=4.85, p<0.000).

## UNPROTECTED SEX

Clearly patterns of risky sexual practice are not randomly distributed through communities of gay and bisexual men, but measuring and specifying that risk can be tricky business depending on definitions employed, questions asked, and methods of counting. On the one hand, it might be fair to say that 70% of the men answering the Pride survey showed little or no risk of HIV transmission. This number cumulates together all the consistently safe men (as defined in the previous section) plus all the men who do not have a casual partner, men in monogamous relationships, men who have oral sex or masturbate to the exclusion of anal sex, and men with no partners at all. The 70% figure presumes that those with “regular partners” are making accurate assessments of risk, that is knowing their own and their partner’s sero-status and having unprotected sex only with sero-concordant partners.

Some of the complexity of risk measurement is evident in the accompanying Venn diagram (that is, overlapping circles) that show numbers of men who report having unprotected anal intercourse (UAI) with and without ejaculation, with regular and casual partners. Cumulating all four of these categories together produces a higher rate of risk-taking, that is, 40.6% of the sample as a whole report at least one incident of UAI with or without ejaculation. Clearly unprotected sex (with or without coming) is much more common with regular partners than casual, but there is significant overlap between the two. Half (40 of 81) of

those having UAI and coming with a casual partner also report UAI and coming with a regular partner, but reading the numbers another way, only 20.7% of those having UAI with a regular partner are also having UAI with casual partners. An even larger number report having UAI without coming with a casual partner than report UAI and coming. A little less than half (37 of 81) of those having UAI and coming with casual partners are the same men having UAI and not coming with them.



A wide variety of circumstances and motivations have been associated with UAI in Ontario-based studies and the international research literature (Adam et al. 2005a; Adam 2006), including resolution to erectile difficulties experienced with condoms, momentary lapses and trade-offs, personal turmoil and depression, drug and alcohol use, or as a byproduct of strategies of disclosure, intuiting safety, and relationship formation. The next section turns to men at the opposite end of the risk spectrum from the consistently safe, namely participants in the bareback scene, before turning to men who report UAI outside of the bareback scene.

## PARTICIPANTS IN THE BAREBACK SCENE

This section examines those who responded affirmatively to the statement, "I like taking part in the bareback scene" (N=90), "In the last month, I've cruised a bareback website" (N=20), or both (N=13). These 123 men make up 13.3% of the (nonheterosexual) Pride sample: 34% of them report having UAI with casual partners versus 4.9% of the nonbareback respondents, and 40.8% of them have UAI with casual partners but do not come versus 9% of the rest. Another way of looking at this set of men is to note that half of the study participants who report having UAI with a casual male partner during the last six months also report being part of the bareback scene and/or cruising bareback websites. An implication of this finding is that about half of those reporting at least one incident of unprotected sex may be doing so with

little intent, while half have adopted a personal policy of not initiating condom use. In other words, this set of men (referred to here as barebackers), constitute a very significant proportion of the unprotected sex reported.

Barebackers show a distinct profile compared to men who practise safe sex and men whose unprotected sex is unrelated to barebacking. They are more likely to be:

- found in a particular set of bars, baths, parks, and websites,
- "sexually adventurous," that is, involved with poz, fisting, bear, SM, leather, and "party and play" scenes,
- have a distinctive set of beliefs that justifies these practices grounded in a notion of the rational, responsible, masculine actor (Adam 2005a) (more on this below), and
- more likely to have had five or more partners in the last six months (OR=1.83, p=0.012) when compared to men who have casual partners outside the bareback scene.

While many of these men may be successfully sero-sorting (that is, seeking out men who share the same HIV status) and thus not transmitting HIV, they nevertheless represent a very significant reservoir of unprotected sex occurring among gay and bisexual men. Some are well-informed about partners they know well; others make assumptions simply because a prospective partner neglects to use a condom. Trevor Hart (2006) and colleagues, in a separate survey conducted at Toronto Pride 2005, found that "Nearly half (47.5%) of HIV-positive participants and 14.1% of HIV-negative participants had either unprotected insertive or receptive anal intercourse with a partner of opposite or unknown HIV status." Taking the set of men having UAI with men who do not share their sero-status, this means that about a third are HIV-positive, given the proportion of HIV-positive and negative men in the Pride sample. With this risk pattern, the remaining men, who report being HIV-negative, are likely to be over-represented among those who are unknowingly positive.

Barebackers do appear to form a circuit insofar as they are significantly overrepresented in a set of bars, baths, parks, and websites, a set that does not overlap with the circuit of consistently safe men. Still it should be kept in mind, that despite this over-representation, the majority of men in all of the venues in the bareback circuit continue to practise safe sex. Because of this, the research team and advisory committee decided not to publically name these venues so as not to create a self-fulfilling prophecy by giving them a reputation for barebacking. The identity of venues can be accessed by prevention workers to facilitate their work.

Men in the bareback scene also show a distinctive set of beliefs that strongly differentiates them from survey participants as a whole and from men with casual partners in particular.

## MEN WITH CASUAL MALE PARTNERS ONLY

BB =participates in bareback scene and/or cruises bareback website  
 SP =“strategic positioning”=unprotected anal intercourse without coming  
 UAI =unprotected anal intercourse and coming : excluding BB  
 CS =consistently safe, has anal intercourse exclusively with a condom

Variable	BB OR	N=83 P	SP OR	N=72 P	UAI OR	N=39 P	CS OR	N=252 P
I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he is positive or negative	6.62	0.000	2.48	0.011			0.29	0.000
If I lose my erection with a condom, I prefer to have sex without it	5.87	0.000	3.81	0.000	5.51	0.000	0.22	0.000
A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use a condom	5.12	0.000			2.88	0.003	0.37	0.000
It's not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex...	2.89	0.000						
Sometimes I feel depressed about not being in a relationship and give in...	2.59	0.000					0.58	0.022
I find drugs are good for making sex hotter...	1.89	0.025						
Presume he is HIV+ if doesn't want to use condom	1.74	0.035						

A number of the belief statements used in the Pride survey arose from qualitative interviews done with high risk men in previous research (Adam 2005a; Adam et al. 2005a). In the Pride survey we wanted to see if these beliefs were indeed indicative of a general difference between men who have UAI most or all of the time and men who are safe most or all of the time. The most spectacular difference in belief is agreement with the statement, “I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he’s positive or negative. If he wants to use a condom, that’s fine, and if he doesn’t, that’s fine too.” Barebackers are more than six times more likely to agree with this statement, and consistently safe men strongly reject it. I have argued elsewhere (Adam 2005a) that men who agree with this statement and the statement, “It is not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex. They are adults who can make their own decisions around risk,” participate in the neoliberal discourse widely propagated by government and business today that constructs everyone as a self-interested individual who must take responsibility for himself in a marketplace of risks. While ostensibly democratic, respectful, nonjudgmental, and non-coercive, it shifts “responsibility” onto prospective sex partners to introduce a condom into the sexual interaction.

Agreement with statements regarding erectile problems, depression, and drugs point toward other factors, found here and in the research literature, that predict UAI, and that likely contribute to the development of long-term habits related to the abandonment of condom use. Endorsement of the statement, “A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms,” may indicate the role of peer influence. It may reflect respondents’ perception of the attitude and behaviour of other men in the same microculture. It may be a belief projected toward prospective sex partners, or it may reflect an interaction between the two. It is noteworthy that this statement, too, is strongly rejected by the consistently safe.

The bareback circuit appears to be largely a development within poz culture. It is important to note that the bareback worldview is but one of several among HIV-positive men, and a great many positive men do practise protected sex, have monogamous partners, or carefully manage risk to protect themselves and their partners (Adam et al. 2005b). Still, the link to sero-status is evident in the following tables:

## SEXUAL PRACTICES AND BELIEFS BY SERO-STATUS

Statement	HIV- agree	HIV+ agree	OR	Sig
Fucked casual male partner without condom but did not come	8.0%	25.7%	3.96	***
Casual male partner fucked me without condom and came	4.3%	14.7%	3.83	***
Casual M partner fucked me without condom but did not come	7.0%	20.2%	3.35	***
Regular partner and I have sex with others	25.6%	41.3%	2.14	*
Fucked casual male partner without condom and came	5.7%	11.9%	1.88	*
I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he is positive or negative	10.0%	40.7%	6.18	***
It's not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex...	28.7%	56.3%	3.20	***
A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use a condom	23.7%	46.3%	2.78	***
If somebody is willing to have sex without a condom I just assume that he is HIV positive	33.8%	52.7%	2.19	***
If I lose my erection with a condom on, I prefer to have sex without it	20.6%	35.8%	2.11	***
It's a tremendous physical sensation feeling a penis inside myself, inside my ass, inside my body	74.6%	85.6%	2.02	*

Looking at the distribution of agreement with the statements indicative of barebacking among those with casual partners, men with four-year university degrees and graduate or professional degrees are much less likely to agree. Well-educated men agree less with the statements, “If I lose my erection with a condom, I prefer to have sex without it” (OR=0.63, p=0.035), “Sometimes I feel depressed about not having a relationship...” (OR=0.47, p=0.002), and “I respect whatever the guy wants...” (OR=0.38, p=0.000). They are also less likely to agree, “I am always questioning why anybody would want to be with me at all” (OR=0.52, p=0.002). Men with a high school education or less more often endorse the view, “I respect whatever the guy wants...” (OR=1.89, p=0.028) and “Sometimes I feel depressed about not having a relationship...” (OR=1.87, p=0.022).

## UAI WITHOUT COMING

Because of speculation in the research literature about the meaning of UAI without coming, respondents to the Pride survey were asked specifically to indicate if:

In the last 6 months, I have done the following at least once with a casual male partner:

- I fucked him without a condom but did not come in him
- He fucked me without a condom but did not come in me.

Seventy-two participants or 7.8% of the sample responded that they did. Not coming, episodic condom use during a single sexual interaction, and taking the “top” position in sex have been thought to be possible risk reduction techniques, and have been dubbed “strategic positioning,” “dipping,” and “delayed application of condoms” by some researchers, though these terms have no resonance among gay and bisexual men themselves. Whether intended as a risk reduction technique or not, there is evidence that such practices are strongly associated with sero-conversion (Calzavara et al. 2003).

The reasons for UAI without coming are likely various and there may be little value in treating it as a single coherent category. In this survey, fully 40% of those checking off this category indicate they participate in bareback scenes and websites. The remaining 60% who do not participate in barebacking are nevertheless much more likely to have UAI and come with a casual partner (OR=3.83, p=.006) than other men in the Pride survey. Comparing all the men reporting UAI without coming, to those who do not, reveals the following table that shows an overall affinity with the bareback set:

### BELIEFS OF MEN REPORTING SEX WITHOUT COMING

Variable	Odds ratio	Significance
A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use a condom	5.74	***
I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he is positive or negative. If he wants to use a condom, that's fine, and, if he doesn't that's fine too	3.76	***
I like the emotional rush of pushing my limits	2.72	***
Sometimes I feel depressed about not having a relationship and give in when it comes to sex even if it's without a condom	2.43	***
It's not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex. They are adults who can make their own decisions around risk	2.36	***
I find drugs are good for making sex hotter and raunchier	2.13	**

Key: \* = p < .05, \*\* = p < .01, \*\*\* = p < .001

Separating out the 60% nonbareback group and measuring them against men with casual partners reveals a somewhat different profile (partly influenced by decreased numbers that limit the likelihood of finding statistical differences in general):

### BELIEFS OF MEN REPORTING SEX WITHOUT COMING, EXCLUDING BAREBACKERS

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
If I lose my erection with a condom on, I prefer to have sex without it	5.08	0.000
A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms	3.11	0.001
I find alcohol or drugs help me to connect with guys and make sex happen	2.21	0.018

Here some evidence for strategic positioning emerges as men who have UAI without coming report a role distinction which is otherwise rare throughout the sample: 33 of them report taking a top role and only 18, a bottom role, suggesting some intent to limit risk. Most striking of all is the centrality of erectile problems in this set of men, a finding borne out in interview (Adam et al. 2005a). For these men, condom use may be episodic as they enter a partner without a condom to improve stimulation, then attempt to apply a condom later in the sexual interaction, but before ejaculation. The complication of alcohol and drug use with erectile problems is noteworthy.

The strong overlap of this category of men with the bareback scene, their over-representation in several of the venues in the bareback circuit, and their perception that “A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms” raise the question of a socializing trajectory. Are these men, who are already experiencing difficulties with condom use, moving along a continuum from practicing safe sex to inconsistent condom use to barebacking, and picking up assumptions and attitudes from the circuit in which they move that help consolidate bareback views? If so, UAI without coming may be less often a discrete harm reduction strategy than an indicator of movement toward, or affinity, with the bareback scene.

## CIRCUITS AND MICROCULTURES

Risk has a social and interactive dimension associated with distinct social niches, circuits, or micro-cultures. While men may share some psychological or demographic characteristics that can be picked up in survey research, these characteristics may be less important than the fact that they move in similar circles, connect and communicate with each other, and over time develop common understandings and orientations toward sex and risk among other things. These circuits and currents are often not detected well by research that groups men who have sex with men into a single category and then looks for general trends or average behaviours. Yet they are important, as men in different micro-cultures carry different sets of assumptions into social and sexual interaction and act according to different sets of rules that make sense of sex and risk. Practising protected or unprotected sex depends a good deal on its acceptability among peers (Thornton & Catalan 1993; Barrett et al. 1998:386; Chesney et al. 2003:935; Morin et al. 2003:357; Hart et al. 2004 b:1122) and peer groups over time may coalesce into microcultures and circuits.

Factor analysis done of the various venues shows that there is one major circuit, composed of 17 bars, dance clubs, special parties, and a bathhouse, which tends to have a strong turn-out of men under 35. Around this circuit are about a half dozen smaller circuits or social niches (in order of declining salience): (2) a quick-sex circuit made up of 5 washrooms, a bath, a website, and a park, (3) another of 4 bars and a bath appealing to men over 35 with a leather and denim look, (4) 4 dance parties and clubs with a mostly under-25 demographic, (5) 2 websites, (6) 4 parks and a special event, and (7) 2 bathhouses. None of these circuits are strongly bounded; there is considerable overlap, exchange, and circulation of individuals through multiple sites.

Compared to the Pride survey as a whole, the three high risk categories of men (UAI and coming, UAI without coming, and barebacking) are all much more likely to agree that:

- A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms, and
- I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he's positive or negative. If he wants to use a condom, that's fine, and if he doesn't, that's fine too.

The consistently safe set of men are much more likely to disagree with these statements, and believe:

- Most guys fuck with condoms when they don't know the other guy.

43.8% of the overall Pride survey agree with this statement; 26.8% do not.

Men in the bareback and UAI categories are more likely to agree:

- It is not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex. They are adults who can make their own decisions around risk.
- Sometimes I feel depressed about not having a relationship and give in when it comes to sex even if it is without a condom.
- I find drugs are good for making sex hotter and raunchier

This study did not investigate drug use in depth because two Toronto-based studies had recently done so (Myers et al. 2004b; Husbands et al. 2004) but we did ask about participation in the "party and play" (PNP) scene. PNP adherents are over-represented on the web (OR=2.39, p=0.006), at Pride events which typically draw the circuit party crowd (OR=2.13, p=0.009), and at the baths (OR=1.99, p=0.019). The Pride party circuit also shows an over-representation of participants in the crystal meth scene (OR=3.07, p=0.024).

There is evidence, then, that different networks and circuits of gay and bisexual men may hold divergent beliefs regarding the appropriate norms and expectations of sexual conduct and risk management. In some instances, these beliefs can come into conflict. It is noteworthy, for example, that men under 25 are more likely to believe, "If somebody is willing to have sex without a condom, I just assume that he is HIV negative," (OR=1.76, p=.034) while men 35-45 believe the opposite (OR=2.12, p<.000). Just how these beliefs work out in practice is the subject of the third phase of this study.

## INTERVIEWS WITH MEN WHO HAVE UNPROTECTED SEX MOST OR ALL OF THE TIME

Based on preliminary findings from the Pride survey, we set out to recruit a set of men who agreed with either or both of the statements:

- I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he is positive or negative. If he wants to use a condom, that's fine, and if he doesn't, that's fine too.
- If I lose my erection with a condom on, I prefer to have sex without it,

as these statements emerged as distinctive markers of men having little or no protected sex. 34 men volunteered for interview, only 1 of whom turned out to be maintaining a consistently safe practice (though with some difficulty). The rest proved, indeed, to be having unprotected sex most or all of the time. They came from a variety of backgrounds as defined by age, education, income, and ethno-cultural origins. Most were HIV positive. The more sizeable income category of \$10,000 to \$20,000 per year consisted of: 7 unemployed, 5 on disability or other pension, 4 students, and 3 retired.

Ten responded to recruitment messages sent to men with Toronto-based profiles on popular gay websites, 6 volunteered as a result of referrals by those who had already been interviewed, 5 each responded to posters placed in the community and handbills in bars and baths, 3 referred to an advertisement they had seen in the gay press, and the rest did not recall or mention the recruitment route.

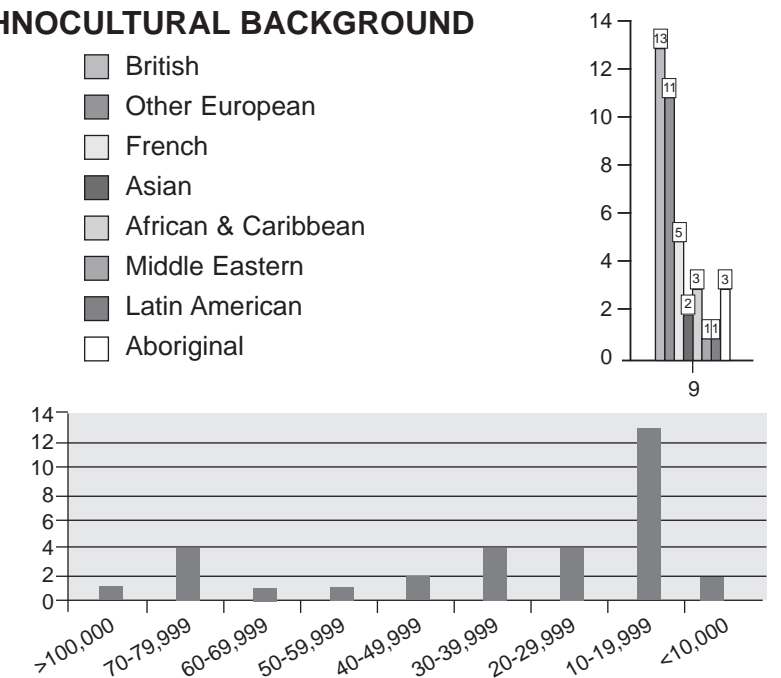
Study participants were asked to talk about recent sexual interactions and about how their encounters and views had changed over the last decade. Interviews were transcribed, then examined for interactive processes and circumstances involved with instances of unprotected sex. Common discourses were gathered together into themes using NVivo7. There was some divergence of themes between HIV-negative and HIV-positive respondents.

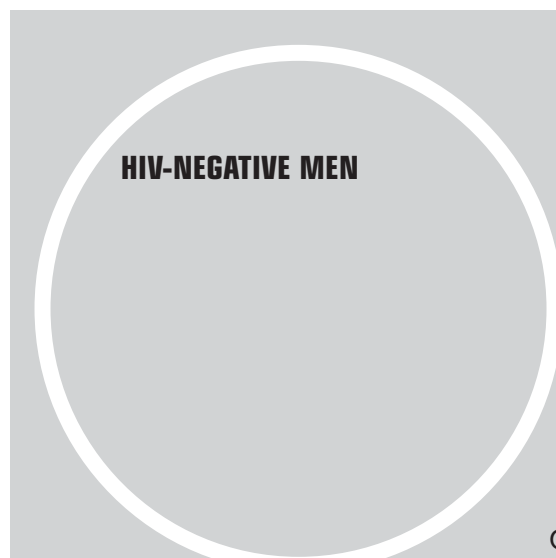
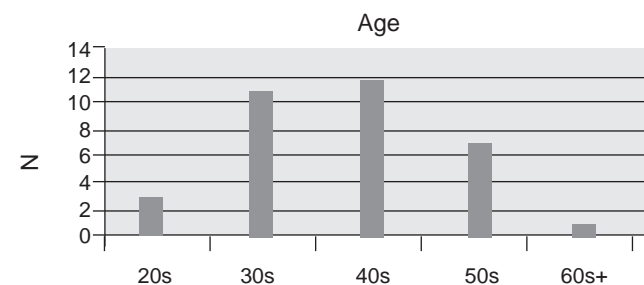
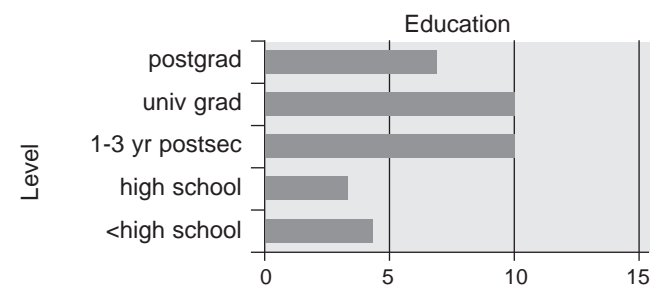
### Sero-status

HIV+	24
HIV-	10

### ETHNOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

- British
- Other European
- French
- Asian
- African & Caribbean
- Middle Eastern
- Latin American
- Aboriginal





**HIV-NEGATIVE MEN**

This study did not have an independent means of checking sero-status and some study participants, while reporting their sero-status as negative, expressed some uncertainty or fear that they may no longer be HIV-negative in other parts of the interview. Given epidemiological estimates that about a quarter of Ontario MSM who are HIV-positive do not know that they are (Myers et al. 2004b), and given the risk patterns of this set of men, it is likely that a significant number reporting their sero-status as negative, would turn out to be positive if tested. Nevertheless, belief in their negative sero-status enters into their thinking about sexual conduct.

Overall, the HIV-negative men show awareness and concern about HIV transmission despite conduct that frequently places them at risk. A few rely on taking the top role in sex to minimize risk and others attempt to sero-sort as best they can. One of the selection criteria for this study was agreement with the statement, "If I lose my erection with a condom on, I prefer to have sex without it"; several mentioned erectile difficulties as part of recent sexual interactions. Complicating all of this is the role of sometimes extensive, poly-drug use on the part of several men. The following interviewee reports using crystal meth and crack as well as episodic erection problems. He hopes that taking the top role limits risk.

■ "I have it [UAI] whenever I can and when I feel it's relatively safe.... I know that if I don't wear a condom-because I'm negative-and if I'm driving, I'm not putting anybody at risk or well hopefully. I mean...you know, I should go get tested again, OK?" [013]

Topping is a strategy employed by this respondent who also mentions erectile difficulties elsewhere in the interview.

□ "The guy that I was seeing before, he was actually positive, HIV-positive, and I knew that, and I didn't have a problem with that and we had anal sex although he was always the receiver, because that's what he liked, and then again I knew there was a risk as being, you know, the giver, of getting HIV.... We also knew that if he

wanted to top me - I told him that - that he would have to wear a condom." [017]

The research literature on HIV transmission finds that loneliness and social isolation are factors associated with UAI for some men (Hospers et al. 1994; Gold 1995; Martin & Knox 1997; Dilley et al. 1998; Myers et al. 2003; Wolitski et al. 2004:S104; Fernández et al. 2005) and these themes arise especially in the narratives of some men caught up in heavy drug use. This study participant reports ongoing crystal meth use, a drug particularly salient among factors associated with UAI (Mansergh et al. 2002:656; Semple et al. 2003:142; Gorman et al. 2004:9 Kalichman et al. 2004:10; Morin et al. 2005:230; Schilder et al. 2005:342; Spindler et al. 2006; Trussler et al. 2006).

● "I had a couple of years of heavy drug use and crazy partying that it just seems like I must be positive already and in that sense I think I sort of talked myself into being OK with it [UAI]....I'm shocked that people are like me and getting to, you know, states where they just don't care. At one point they, you know, have moments of weakness where they just want to be included in the group, or something like that, and end up not using condoms." [029]

As this excerpt reveals, it is not only the effect of drug use itself that may assuage a sense of isolation, but drug use may provide the promise of camaraderie as it acts to facilitate connecting with other men and to gain a sense of inclusion in intimate circles of men (Husbands et al. 2004). Observers of today's circuit parties and the "party and play" scene refer to the "tribalism," "esprit de corps," and sense of communion that attract a segment of the gay and bisexual population (Green 2001; Slavin 2004; Ghaziani & Cook 2005; Westhaver 2005).

In a few instances, an interviewee mentions a direct link between drug use and sexual interaction.

○ "It also happened again with someone that I met at a party and we were dancing all night together, went home and we had unprotected sex, but not ejaculating in each other, but we did have unprotected sex without any discussion because we were so high." [019]

A few HIV-negative men attempt to sero-sort before having UAI. As the previous study participant remarks,

■ "The only times that I've had it, is with people that I've discussed their status with and that I know somewhat." [019]

Another agrees that

□ "Before anything with sex comes into the picture, I always make sure that I ask the person if they're negative or positive or what they have. That discussion always happens before anything sexual with the person happens." [024]

Apart from the question of whether both partners reliably know their sero-status in these situations, and their willingness to give a forthright answer, sero-sorting men do note that some prospective partners take offense to being asked. One respondent developed somewhat indirect means of asking sero-status after perceiving that HIV-positive men in particular reacted with hostility to the direct question, likely out of apprehension of being rejected. Another found that some sero-positive men rejected him as a sexual partner, once he had raised the topic, though he was willing to have protected sex with them.

## HIV-POSITIVE MEN

Certainly the intention of the sero-positive men interviewed for this study is to avoid HIV transmission. As one remarked,

- “There’s a line that I don’t cross and again, the idea of altering someone’s life irrevocably, I don’t want to be responsible for that you know... I don’t want to put anyone through what I went through when I found out I was positive.” [003]

Another concurs.

- “I really feel guilty about fucking somebody who I don’t know and in a lot of cases, you know, if I don’t know they’re positive, I can’t fuck them, right? I’m just like, oh I can’t do it. I can’t do it, right?” [009]

And again,

“With a negative guy, I certainly would not want at all to infect a guy. I mean even if he absolutely begged me and I was half sloshed, I would still feel wrong about it.” [033]

Nevertheless actual sexual encounters can involve a series of trip-wires and miscues that lead to UAI. Despite a widespread assumption among many HIV-negative men that HIV-positive men will disclose, and the institutionalization of this assumption in the Canadian legal system, disclosure of HIV-positive status is not often easy in daily life. Some men have successfully adopted a personal policy to disclose:

- “I just prefer to tell everyone just for the fact, for the way I got it because I just find it was really cold and mean for what he [ex-partner] did to me and I wouldn’t want to give this disease to anybody else that way. Like even my worst enemy, I wouldn’t wish that on.” [021]

But many others feel recurring anxiety about introducing a topic that can potentially derail a pleasurable experience or risk outright hostility.

- “I would say 90% of the time, it’s that travel time between going from the bar to home, that’s where the conversation comes up because that’s when my brain starts going “Oh God, oh God, you’ve got to tell them, you’ve got to tell them.” [022]

While HIV-negative men have little to say about disclosure as they have the luxury of experiencing it as no problem, HIV-positive men often talk at length about disclosure dilemmas and strategies. For many, disclosure is a process of testing the waters or dropping hints. Some conveyed their serostatus to their partners by mentioning or exhibiting various embodiments of their serostatus: that they received disability payments, worked in HIV/AIDS services, lived in an HIV/AIDS residence, or had visible HIV/AIDS symptoms (Stirratt 2005:114). Similar strategies are employed by men living with HIV in Toronto (Adam 2005a:340) and Ohio (Serovich et al. 2005).

Men who meet over the internet detail a complex signalling process around sero-status. Some check the “HIV-positive” box on their internet profile and believe that they have disclosed once and for all, thereby avoiding any further necessity of raising the topic. A few mention having partners turn up at their door and finding that the partners had apparently contacted them after looking at their picture but without

reading the profile listing their sero-status. Others are reluctant to advertise their sero-status and indicate that leaving the sero-status box blank on an internet profile effectively means that they have disclosed being sero-positive. Still others, check a box for “safe sex only” as a proxy for disclosing positive status, then believing they have disclosed sufficiently, intend not to have sex with a condom when a partner arrives. In a previous set of interviews with men with varying degrees of unsafe practice, some HIV-negative men remarked with puzzlement and dismay about going to the apartment of a prospective sex partner who indicated that he has “safe sex only” then finding that the partner was in fact resistant to using a condom, an encounter described by the negative men in terms of deception and betrayal.

In a number of instances, disclosure seems to be too high a hurdle to traverse and several men express the view that it is, in any case, unnecessary because of the situational norms governing certain environments.

“That makes the bathhouse, to be honest, a lot easier. Because of the lack of communication in general, you don’t have to disclose all the time your status.... There’s a certain level of assumption that exists in the community that if you’re going to be in a place like a bathhouse, you should assume that most of the people, if not all, are HIV-positive, right?” [006]

Though none of the HIV-negative men mention this presumption, several of the HIV-positive men who have unprotected sex most or all of the time reiterate the view that

“When you’re there [bathhouse], it’s like you’re in another world. It’s dark. There’s no windows. You kind of forget reality...If they start to fuck you without [a condom], you probably figure, well, unless he’s an idiot, he’s probably positive himself.” [033]

Ultimately the sense that everyone is poz, or at least that only idiots do not know the risks they may be running, extends into a sense that

“I would feel it less necessary to use a condom at a bathhouse because...I expect more people who are at a bathhouse kind of know about all the risks....It’s a sleazier environment.” [005]

Research done in the United States suggests that HIV-positive men are overrepresented in quick-sex settings precisely because disclosure can be avoided (Parsons & Halkitis 2002:823; Larkins et al. 2005:526; Vicioso et al. 2005:17) and that in settings governed by non-verbal expectations, disclosure of sero-status is, not surprisingly, unusual (Reback et al. 2004; Sheon & Crosby 2004:2111; Hart et al. 2005; Stirratt 2005). The sense of a worry-free zone occurs again in this narrative.

“I found it [sex party] quite fairly liberating that I didn’t necessarily have to- that I could put my responsibility on hold, put my brain on hold and not have to worry about, you know, things like disclosure and worrying about, you know, bug chasers and what not....It was kind of like taking responsibility off myself to protect myself and other people, particularly other people, and enjoying an atmosphere where basically it’s every man for himself.” [003]

Once this set of presumptions is in place, silence can be read as assent.

“I’m assuming that and maybe it’s wrong....you know - like within 30 seconds, if there’s no condoms being pulled out, if

there's no one mentioning it that, you know, it's more than likely, all right then you can do it this way... They've got my dick in their hand and where they want to put it and if they want to put a condom on or not...There's almost like this unspoken rule that you don't really really need to use condoms as much, right?" [005]

Several positive men describe a nonverbal interaction where lack of resistance or failure to introduce a condom is equated with informed consent.

"Sometimes during the sex act, I'll like rub my cock up against a butt and, you know, to see what their reaction is kind of thing, and kind of feel around for that and same with me. Like sometimes I'll just kind of flip over and, you know, let them go to town." [006]

An uninterrupted unfolding of sexual contact without a condom comes to be constructed as an instance of sero-sorting.

"If they like to do it without a condom, it's their risk, not yours. That's the theory you're using in your head at that time...Well you start doing it. If they don't stop, then you keep going." [014]

Both in these interviews, and past interviews with high risk men (Adam 2005a), there are moments when silence is ruptured and assumptions come to light that prove to have been misconstrued.

"My dick's at his hole, he knows I'm not wearing a condom, he's telling me to fuck him. So he obviously-this is a person who knows the score, and after it was over, he's like, "So you're clean, right?" I'm like, "You're asking me this now after I've just come up your ass?" He's like, "Yeah, you're clean though right?" I'm like, "No, I'm not. Like at what point-why would you ask me that after I come up your ass? That's kind of retarded." And then the funny thing is he was kind of upset for a little bit and then he's like okay. He calmed down and he left." [022]

Again the "idiot"/"retarded" label comes up to reassert the premise, "it's their risk, not yours," and to reaffirm "what everybody knows" at least in the circles in which the respondent is used to moving.

The Pride survey provides other evidence relating to this construction of the situation: 28.3% of Pride survey had been to the baths in last month. Of them, 74.2% state they are HIV-negative, 19.0% HIV-positive, and 6.7% don't know or are untested. In other words, HIV-positive men report attending the baths at a higher rate (OR=1.94, p=0.001), but nevertheless still account for fewer than 1 in 5 of patrons. Men identifying themselves with barebacking have some shared beliefs and assumptions that distinguish them from other gay and bisexual men around them. Employing a rhetoric of individualism, personal responsibility, consenting adults, and contractual interaction, they presume that men who do not take the initiative in safe sex "must be" rational calculators of risk who are very likely HIV-positive (Adam 2005a; Van Kesteren et al. 2005:156; Wolitski & Bailey 2005:152). Cathy Reback (2004:94) and associates typify the views of the men they interviewed as follows:

"Participants tacitly signed onto the social contract that states the primary responsibility to disclose HIV status is placed on the sexual partner. Many claimed to operate from the

assumption that people are responsible for their own bodies, and that feelings of responsibility toward another are not obligatory. The participants referred to an "unspoken rule" that men in public sex environments who did not initiate a discussion on disclosure were either HIV-infected or did not care about their health."

Indeed many HIV-positive men read the willingness of their partners to engage in unprotected sex as itself evidence that partners are already HIV-positive (Semple et al. 2000a:352; Rhodes & Cusick 2002:222; Richters et al. 2003:47; Gorbach et al. 2004:516; Smith et al. 2004 b:25; Adam 2005a:340; Larkins et al. 2005:526; O'Leary 2005:125; Stirratt 2005:114). HIV-negative men, on the other hand, do not make this assumption, or may assume the opposite-that partners willing to engage in unprotected sex "must be" negative (Körner et al. 2003:49; Van de Ven et al. 2005:18). These presumptions appear to be age-related, as well, with men under 25 significantly more likely to believe that willingness to have unprotected sex indicates negative serostatus and men over 35 believing it indicates sero-positivity (as noted above).

## PERCEPTIONS OF CUERRIER

In 1998, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled in the *Cuerrier* case that HIV-positive people have an obligation to disclose their sero-status to sexual partners. Since that time, increasing numbers of people living with HIV, nearly all of them heterosexual, have been prosecuted using *Cuerrier* as a legal precedent. In follow-up interviews, we asked men having unprotected sex most or all of the time, the question, "Have you heard of the *Cuerrier* decision?" then followed up with the question, "In the *Cuerrier* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that HIV-positive people must disclose their sero-status in a sexual encounter. What is your view of this?"

Eight of the 34 knew about *Cuerrier*. Twelve more were aware of a general legal requirement to disclose before sex. Another 6 were aware of cases of criminalization of HIV transmission through press reports and 8 did not indicate awareness of legal interventions in the area. There was no clear relationship between awareness and actual conduct among these study participants.

There was a wide spectrum of responses to the court ruling. Eight respondents (3 of 10 HIV-negative; 5 of 24 HIV-positive) expressed support:

"I do think that a person who is HIV-positive and fucks people and comes in them without telling them, that is committing a serious breach of ethics.... It's fair of me to give you the information. I think it's fair and if the Supreme Court has ruled that it's also compulsory, then so be it, it's compulsory." [002]

And again,

"Hell, if you're going to fuck somebody, if you accepted responsibility of fucking them, you know you better, you know, give them, you know, enough information." [016]

One participant enunciated an even higher ethical standard of disclosing viral load to poz partners to manage the risk of reinfection with resistant virus:

“Well imagine me having 300,000 viral load and 2 counts on the CD4 and I want to make love with you and you’re doing over 700 on your count and you’re undetectable on your viral load and I want to have unsafe sex with you and I’m not going to tell you? That wouldn’t be very fair to you—right?—or vice versa.” [007]

Several remarked that disclosure ought to be unnecessary when safe sex is practised:

“I disclose it on all my internet sites that I’m on in my profile and make sure I say it when I take a boy home from the bar and if I don’t, I use a condom.” [022]

But worried whether that would suffice in the case of condom failure.

“If I was to go out and have sex with someone, use a condom and the condom broke and infected them that way, I’m not sure if the courts could find me guilty of putting my partner at significant high risk because I actually took precautions by wearing a condom.” [009]

At the other end of the spectrum were 7 participants (6 of 24 HIV-positive; 1 of 10 HIV-negative) who rejected Cuerrier and any obligation to disclose. Consistent with bareback ideology, they interpreted the norm of shared responsibility in sex, a view promoted by AIDS service organizations for a couple of decades, as requiring their partners to take self-protective measures, thereby implicitly relieving respondents of an obligation to disclose or even to practice safe sex (Adam 2005a). Interestingly in a couple of instances, interviewees reached for drunk-driving metaphors to explain their view:

“The recipient has to take responsibility for their own behaviour. It’s like asking if you get in my car, do I have to disclose to you that I’ve had a few drinks?” [002]

“At a party, okay well the people, you know, by attending sort of have to take responsibility for that. I would say that would also apply, you know to anyone that’s going to the baths or, you know, out cruising in a public park or something.” [028]

One man mulled over the question of responsibility from two viewpoints: in terms of his own sero-conversion and potential transmission to new partners:

“I suppose it would have been nice if whoever that person or those people were, you know, that I was infected by, it would have been nice if I’d known. I don’t know. It’s like a can of worms. It’s hard.... I accept my responsibility for being HIV-positive. I don’t necessarily blame it on somebody else.... I try not even to point a finger at myself and say it’s my fault. It was one of those things that happened and it’s not really a fault.” [003]

More common among the believers in no disclosure is the precept of caveat emptor or buyer beware.

“It takes two to tango.... People are not going to go around saying, “Oh I’m HIV-positive,” you know, to every sex partner they have and...I don’t think they should have to. Right?” [005]

“We’re all adults and everybody should automatically assume a person’s positive, no matter what, and I don’t think it should be up to the courts to decide or punish a

person who doesn’t tell their status because even a negative person could be positive and infect someone else and not know it.” [021]

Cuerrier and related criminal prosecutions raise concerns about the risks of legal process in general. Regardless of the court’s demand for disclosure, the pitfalls and practicalities of demonstrating “responsibility” create vulnerabilities:

“I do worry that, you know, I might disclose to someone even before sex and then it becomes his word against mine later, right, and if I go to court ....I’d probably lose my job.... I know that a lot of people would lose respect for me.” [006]

“What if one that’s negative makes a decision to...have sex without a condom, and then he gets infected and then it all comes back to me and then I’m charged, I’m in jail? ...so I’m really careful around that.” [010]

Among the men having unprotected sex most or all of the time in this sample, a sizeable minority agree with the obligation in Cuerrier to disclose to prospective partners. Disclosure, in practice, however, may be indirect, situational, or qualified. Many assert that it is the responsibility of those vulnerable to HIV infection to protect their own health. Some deduce from this tenet a belief that disclosure is an unreasonable expectation and that safe sex is the obligation of those who have need of it and not of themselves. The threat of legal complications raises a number of concerns among HIV-positive men concerning how disclosure might be verified if challenged in court, whether safe sex is enough, and whether disclosure may even heighten vulnerability to legal problems.

## PROFILES OF THE DIVERSITY OF GAY MALE CULTURES

This section reports findings for categories of men who do show a statistically significant difference from survey participants as a whole. Where no comment is made, their responses to questions on the Pride survey remain close to the numbers of the sample overall. While statistical analysis provides some assurance that differences are meaningful, it is worth bearing in mind that it is not always possible to ascertain how representative the men who filled out the survey are of all men in the same category, especially when numbers are low.

## AGE

One of the strongest distinctions that arises from the survey data is a shift in circuits, practices, and beliefs evident among men over 35 years old compared to men under 35. Men under 35 tend to populate the core circuit of bars, dance clubs, special parties, sports clubs, and a bathhouse. They are also more likely to agree that “Going out for me is about dancing, lounging, and chilling, not sex” (OR=2.62, p<0.000 for under 25 and OR=2.92, p<0.000 for 25-35) and that “I prefer men who are more masculine, a little older, taller, and more muscular than I am” (OR=1.62-1.59, p=0.016-0.010). Despite their greater agreement that going out is not so much about sex, compared to older men, men under 25 show higher rates of sexual activity on all measures, including both protected (OR=1.54, p=0.016) and unprotected sex (OR=2.12, p=0.019). Under 25s are also more likely to agree with the following statements:

### BELIEFS THAT MEN UNDER 25 ARE MORE LIKELY TO AGREE WITH

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
My friends and I like to party hard	6.12	0.000
Life is boring if you don't take chances	4.21	0.000
I like the emotional rush of pushing my limits	2.75	0.000
Going out for me is about dancing, lounging, and chilling, not sex	2.62	0.000
When I am in a relationship, I do not want either of us to have sex with anyone else	2.40	0.000
I like my partner to be stern, strict, and hard with me	2.13	0.000
I'm always questioning why anybody would want to be with me at all	2.00	0.000

Men over 35 tend to have better representation in a smaller set of bars and bathhouses and to disagree more and more, with increasing age, with the above statements.

Age, income, and education tend to be strongly correlated. In other words, older men tend to have more education and income. It is not surprising then, that men who earn less than \$30,000 per year show the same belief profile as young men, but there is one exception. Men with lower income are more likely to agree with the statement, "I have got a lot out of the gay community and I like to support it and give back to it" (OR=2.74, p=0.015), regardless of age.

## BISEXUALITY

This section takes an inclusive definition of bisexuality by including not only everyone who indicated their sexual orientation as bisexual but also all respondents who reported both male and female partners. As a result, the bisexual category used here includes: 75 bisexual, 11 gay, 5 heterosexual, 2 trans, and 1 queer-identified man or 10.2% of the Pride sample as a whole.

Taking men with casual partners as a point of comparison, this set of men turns out to be more likely under 25 years of age (OR=1.86, p=0.043) and thus to have a high school education or less (OR=2.77, p=0.001) and earn less than \$30,000 per year (OR=2.61, p=0.001). Bisexual men are much more likely to have had a relationship of less than six months with a man (OR=3.32, p<0.000) and much less likely to have a relationship of more than five years with a man (OR=0.33, p<0.017). They are less likely to have had five or more male partners in the last six months (OR=2.22, p=0.011) and more likely to report being safe with male partners:

### SEXUAL PRACTICES REPORTED MORE OFTEN BY BISEXUAL MEN

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
Regular male partner fucked me with condom	2.94	0.000
Fucked regular male partner with condom	2.73	0.001
Fucked casual male partner with condom	1.98	0.004

### BELIEFS THAT BISEXUAL MEN ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
My friends and I like to party hard	3.36	0.000
I find alcohol and drugs help me connect with guys and make sex happen	3.03	0.000
I like to have sex mostly within my circle of friends	2.83	0.000
Life is boring if you don't take chances	2.14	0.003
I prefer sucking or being sucked to fucking	2.12	0.004
I like having sex with new people without having to get involved in emotional entanglements	2.07	0.006
I think gay men don't have anything in common with each other except what they do in bed	2.02	0.014

Bisexual men are significantly over-represented in dance clubs (OR=1.79, p=0.012), Pride events (OR=1.76, p=0.015), gyms (OR=1.96, p=0.004), parks (OR=1.80, p=0.038), and washrooms (OR=3.27, p=0.000), and under-represented on websites (OR=0.62, p=0.040). 22.5% of bisexual respondents had frequented washrooms in the last 6 months, compared to 8.2% of non-bisexual men, while 41.3% of bisexual men went to websites compared to 53.3% of non-bisexual men.

## EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN MEN

Men indicating an East or Southeast Asian ethnicity were less likely to be over 45 than the overall sample (OR=0.21, p=0.021) and more likely to be students (OR=2.32, p=0.011) or have a university degree (OR=2.58, p=0.029). This somewhat more youthful profile likely accounts for some of the pattern of belief statements.

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
I would not let partying interfere with work requirements	7.17	0.024
When I am in a relationship, I do not want either of us to have sex with anyone else	3.84	0.003
I prefer men who are more masculine, a little taller, and more muscular than I am	2.56	0.006
I like my partner to be stern, strict, and hard with me	2.43	0.003
I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he's positive or negative...	2.27	0.009

These Asian men more often note that they are monogamous with their current partner (OR=2.46, p=0.010). Though 74% disagree with the statement, "I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he's positive or negative; if he wants to use a condom, that's fine, and if he doesn't, that's fine too," the rate of agreement is higher than the Pride survey as a whole and a possible source of vulnerability to HIV risk.

## SOUTH ASIAN MEN

South Asian men in this sample are, as well, more likely to have a university degree (OR=3.36, p=0.025) and be somewhat younger than the sample as a whole. Many of their responses are consistent with other young men in the survey.

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
I prefer men who are more masculine, a little older, taller and more muscular than I am	6.23	***
A man's intelligence is his most sexy aspect	4.10	*
Life is boring if you don't take chances	2.74	*
My friends and I like to party hard	2.06	*

## AFRICAN, CARIBBEAN AND OTHER BLACK MEN

Caribbean men in this sample more often fall into the middle income category \$30,000-\$60,000 a year, (OR=4.05, p=0.001). These men are 2.88 times more likely to identify as bisexual (p=0.002), more likely to have fewer than 5 partners (OR=3.68, p=0.006), and 2.08 times more likely to report having used a condom in anal sex with a regular partner (p=0.048); 1.86 times, with casual (p=0.036). This pattern of safe sex is consistent with other bisexual men who have fewer long-term relationships with men. Like South Asian men, black men are more likely to agree, "A man's intelligence is his most sexy aspect" (OR=2.93, p<.05).

## LATIN AMERICAN MEN

Latino men responding to the Pride survey are more likely to earn less than \$30,000 a year (OR=2.70, p=0.016) and are more than twice as likely (OR=2.38-2.63) to report UAI without ejaculation with both casual (OR=2.63, p=0.007) and regular (OR=2.38, p=0.031) partners. They are 2.93 times as likely to believe that "Essentially guys are either tops or bottoms, not really both" (p=0.003) consistent with the social organization of homosexual relations in Latin America (Murray 1995).

## ABORIGINAL MEN











The 35 aboriginal men who filled out the survey are more likely to have a high school education or less (OR=3.18, p=0.003) and to earn less than \$30,000 a year (OR=2.78, p=0.017). They are 2.56 times more likely (p=.012) to report UAI with a casual partner but did not come and 2.57 times more likely to be HIV-positive (p<0.017). Their responses show a somewhat greater engagement with bareback networks than other groups.

Variable	Odds ratio	p value
It's a tremendous physical sensation feeling a penis inside myself	10.30	0.005
The gay scene is too superficial and sex-oriented	4.50	0.026
My friends and I like to party hard	3.48	0.000
I prefer men who are more masculine, a little older, taller, and more muscular than I am	2.71	0.026
It's not up to me to take responsibility for the guys I meet for sex. They are adults who can make their own decisions around risk	2.31	0.024
I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he is positive or negative	2.28	0.047
I take part in bareback scene or cruise bareback websites	2.23	0.039
I find alcohol or drugs help me to connect with guys and make sex happen	2.12	0.033

It is not possible to know if, on the one hand, this pattern is indicative of aboriginal men who come to Pride or representative of aboriginal gay, bisexual, and two-spirited men more generally or, on the other hand, reflects the larger number of HIV-positive men in this set of aboriginal men, or is simply a happenstance of who turned up to fill out the survey.



## IMPLICATIONS FOR HIV PREVENTION PROGRAMMING AND DISSEMINATION

-  In light of these findings, the research team and community advisory committee suggested the following ideas for HIV prevention programming and dissemination, many of which could be integrated into existing initiatives, such as Asian Bathhouse Night, the ACT West end bar nights, ACT outreach, and so on, and others of which may require new initiatives:
-  Community forum(s) with HIV-positive men to explain the divergent assumptions that men of different sero-statuses may bring to sexual encounters.
-  Community forums on the research findings that bring together HIV positive and HIV negative men as a way to stimulate community discussion about HIV in the gay community, and the divide between HIV-positive and HIV-negative men. As an example, a forum could include a presentation of the findings, questions and answers, a facilitated discussion, and a social event to encourage men to continue this dialogue. These forums could be held in community settings (local bars, coffee shops, etc).
-  The development of programs that seek to reduce social isolation for both HIV positive and HIV negative men. Given previous research showing that recent traumatic experiences, social isolation, difficulties dealing with rejection, and difficulty asserting oneself are factors that contribute to unprotected sex, programs that seek to address these issues may help HIV negative men to stay negative and HIV positive men to prevent HIV transmission.
-  The development of specific programs that target the subset of men who are into the bareback scene. Programming will need to engage this set of men to challenge their beliefs that their sexual partners are all invulnerable, rational actors.
-  Articles in the gay press that highlight the findings and the vulnerabilities faced by many men at risk for HIV infection.
-  Discussions within community groups (e.g. leather groups, ethno-specific social groups, HIV-positive groups such as Out and Poz) where the findings can be discussed.
-  Presentations to networks/working groups (Toronto's M2Men Network, the provincial AIDS Bureau's Poz Prevention Working group for Gay Men, and the AIDS Bureau's Gay Men's HIV Prevention Strategy Working group.
-  A presentation to service providers working in AIDS service organizations (ASOs) as well as non-ASO service providers who work with gay men.
-  Targeted outreach to on-line hook-up sites with real-time chat rooms where staff/volunteers from ASOs use the research findings to initiate dialogue.

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## APPENDIX

1. I think of myself as:

Gay/Homosexual	84.0%
Bisexual	8.5%
Heterosexual	4.7%
Trans	.5%

2. In the last month, I have gone to these bars:

Woody's	45.4%
None of these Bars	26.3%
Zipperz	20.7%
O'Grady's	18.3%
Black Eagle	18.0%
Crews and Tango	17.5%
Bar 501	14.2%
George's Play	12.0%
Barn/Stables	11.5%
Remington's	10.9%
Lüb	10.6%
Byzantium	8.9%
Pegasus	6.5%
Sneaker's	5.0%

3. In the last month, I've gone to these dance clubs:

5ive	17.5%
Fly	16.1%
Government-Koolhaus	5.8%
Tallulah's/Buddies	5.5%
None of these clubs	61.4%

4. In the last month, I've gone to these events:

Pride Parties	20.2%
Grapefruit	5.1%
None of these events	64.0%

5. In the last month, I've gone to these clubs or bathhouses:

Steamworks	12.0%
Spa XS	9.7%
None	72.0%

6. In the last month I've gone to these gyms:

YMCA	17.6%
Bally's	6.0%
Goodlife Fitness	5.3%
None	50.3%

7. In the last month, I've participated in these sports groups:

Swimming	22.5%
Volleyball	7.7%
Tennis	6.3%
None	64.9%

8. In the last month, I've cruised the following websites:

gay.com	39.9%
m4msex.com	11.7%
squirt.org	11.4%
manhunt	10.2%
None	42.2%

9. In the last month, I've called the following phone lines:

None	89.8%
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10. In the last month, I've been to these coffee shops on or near Church Street:

Timothy's	37.9%
Starbucks	37.6%
Second Cup	29.1%
None	32.6%

11. In the last month, I've cruised:

Queen's Park	5.8%
Cherry Beach	5.0%
None	80.2%

12. In the last month, I've cruised the washrooms at:

Eaton Centre	5.3%
None	83.9%

13. In the last month, I've cruised at a video store:

Yes	12.0%
No	79.5%

14. I like taking part in these scenes:

Dance Clubs	29.9%
None of these scenes	27.3%
Private Dinner Parties	25.6%
College	18.0%
Couples	15.1%
Leather	13.9%
Muscle	13.9%
Bear	12.9%
Private Sex Parties	12.2%
Twink	11.1%
Bareback	10.7%
Circuit	8.0%
S & M	6.1%
Drag	5.9%
Party and Play	5.3%

15. I prefer visiting friends or family over going to bars, baths etc.

Strongly agree	25.0%
Agree	43.0%
Not sure	16.0%
Disagree	10.2%
Strongly disagree	2.9%

16. In the last 6 months, I had sex with a regular male partner:

Yes	53.2%
No	44.1%

17. My relationship with my current regular male partner is:

Monogamous	48.6%
Both have sex with others	28.6%
I have sex with others but my partner does not	8.3%
I have more than one regular partner	12.1%

18. I have been in a relationship with my current regular male partner for:

<6 months	26.2%
6-11 months	7.3%
1-2 years	19.8%
3-5 years	15.7%
>5 years	31.0%

19. In the last 6 months, I have done the following at least once with my regular partner:

I fucked him with a condom	21.4%
He fucked me with a condom	18.0%
I fucked him without a condom but did not come in him	12.0%
He fucked me without a condom but did not come in me	11.7%
I fucked him without a condom and came in him	15.2%
He fucked me without a condom and came in me	15.1%

20. In the last 6 months, how many male partners have you had sex with?

None	14.1%
1 partner	27.0%
2 - 4 partners	29.8%
5- 9 partners	12.6%
10 or more	12.8%

21. In the last 6 months, I have done the following at least once with a casual male partner:

I fucked him with a condom	35.5%
He fucked me with a condom	25.9%
I fucked him without a condom but did not come in him	9.0%
He fucked me without a condom but did not come in me	7.6%
I fucked him without a condom and came in him	6.4%
He fucked me without a condom and came in me	5.7%

22. In the last 6 months, have you had sex with a regular female partner?

Yes	7.1%
No	88.4%

22.a. If yes, in the last 6 months, did you fuck her with a condom at least once?

Yes	67.2%
No	32.8%

22.b. If yes, in the last 6 months, did you fuck her without a condom at least once?

Yes	66.7%
No	33.3%

23. In the last 6 months, have you had sex with one or more casual female partners?

Yes	5.4%
No	83.9%

23.a. If yes, in the last 6 months did you fuck her with a condom at least once?

Yes	78.7%
No	21.3%

23.b. If yes, in the last 6 months, did you fuck her without a condom at least once?

Yes	65.2%
No	34.8%

24. In the last year, did you see a poster, ad, booklet, or condom pack from the How Do You Know What You Know Campaign?

Yes	46.9%
No	49.4%

a. If yes, did you find it effective in raising awareness about safer sex?

Yes	87.4%
No	12.6%

b. If yes, did you think about or question assumptions you were making about a partner being either HIV positive or HIV negative?

Yes	70.0%
No	30.0%

25. In the last year, did you read the Handy andy How-to Handbook, Condoms Unwrapped?

Yes	11.0%
No	87.1%

a. If yes, how useful were the suggestions?

Very useful	32.4%
Useful	48.0%
Not sure	9.8%
Not very useful	7.8%
Not at all useful	2.0%

26. In the last year, did you read the Handy Dandy How-to Handbook, Getting Together, The Ins and Outs of Dating & Relationships for Gay and Bisexual Men?

Yes	7.2%
No	87.8%

a. If yes, how useful were the suggestions?

Very useful	30.3%
Useful	5.5%
Not sure	9.1%
Not very useful	3.0%
Not at all useful	3.0%

27. Have you read the Handy Dandy How-to Handbook, Cruising, The Ins and Outs of Hooking Up for Men?

Yes	6.0%
No	88.1%

28. I usually watch something at least once a week on the following TV networks or stations:

CITY	51.9%
CBC	47.3%
ABC/NBC/CBS	45.6%
Showcase	43.8%
CTV/Global	42.3%
CNN	35.9%
Discovery/TLC	32.9%
Bravo	31.4%
MuchMusic	28.1%
CBC Newsworld	27.1%
PBS	21.0%
HGTV	19.7%
TVO	19.6%
Toronto1	16.1%
OMNI	15.9%
TSN	11.8%
OutTV	10.0%
W	8.9%
None of these	8.9%
TLN	7.7%
Vision	6.8%
BET	6.6%

29. My education is:

Some high school	5.5%
High school graduate	14.1%
1-2 years of college or university	26.1%
3 to 4 year degree	26.3%
Post-graduate or professional degree	26.4%

30. My ethno-cultural background is:

Canadian	36.7%
British	28.6%
Other European	20.4%
French	11.4%
E/SE Asian	7.4%
Caribbean	4.7%
Latin American	4.4%
South Asian	4.1%
Aboriginal	3.9%
Jewish	3.2%
American	2.8%
Middle Eastern	1.8%
African	1.6%

31. I am:

Employed full-time	64.2%
Employed part-time	11.3%
Unemployed	5.2%
Student	10.3%
On a disability or other pension	7.0%

32. I earn per year:

<\$10,000	13.0%
10,000-19,999	8.1%
20,000-29,999	11.3%
30,000-39,999	15.0%
40,000-49,999	14.2%
50,000-59,999	9.6%
60,000-69,999	7.4%
70,000-99,999	9.2%
>100,000	7.0%

33. I was born in the:

1980s	19.5%
1970s	23.5%
1960s	26.8%
1950s	17.3%
1940s	8.5%
1930s	1.7%
1920s	0.2%

34. I am:

HIV-negative	77.4%
HIV-positive	12.6%
Haven't tested or don't know	7.5%

35. Postal Code

Toronto Surrounding (L)	14.6%
M1B to M4J	9.0%
M4K to M4W	5.9%
M4X to M4Z	19.1%
M5A to M5B	6.8%
M5C to M9Y	14.7%
Southwest Ontario (N)	7.5%
USA	6.1%

36. I like mutual give and take in sex and a sense of both of us being equals.

Strongly agree	49.0%
Agree	35.6%
Not sure	7.3%
Disagree	4.2%
Strongly disagree	0.9%

37. If I lose my erection with a condom on, I prefer to have sex without it.

Strongly agree	5.7%
Agree	13.8%
Not sure	14.6%
Disagree	27.5%
Strongly disagree	33.9%

38. When I am in a relationship, I do not want either of us to have sex with anyone else.

Strongly agree	37.5%
Agree	21.0%
Not sure	15.4%
Disagree	16.7%
Strongly disagree	5.8%

39. I feel a responsibility to take care of the safety and feelings of guys I have sex with.

Strongly agree	50.0%
Agree	36.3%
Not sure	5.7%
Disagree	1.8%
Strongly disagree	1.1%

40. I like my partner to be stern, strict, and hard with me.

Strongly agree	6.6%
Agree	15.0%
Not sure	18.8%
Disagree	37.6%
Strongly disagree	17.9%

41. The gay scene is too superficial and sex-oriented.

Strongly agree	21.3%
Agree	37.7%
Not sure	16.9%
Disagree	16.3%
Strongly disagree	4.3%

42. I like the emotional rush of pushing my limits.

Strongly agree	10.7%
Agree	31.6%
Not sure	20.8%
Disagree	26.7%
Strongly disagree	5.7%

43. A man's intelligence is his most sexy aspect.

Strongly agree	16.5%
Agree	46.5%
Not sure	15.7%
Disagree	14.8%
Strongly disagree	2.2%

44. I think gay men don't have anything in common with each other except what they do in bed

Strongly agree	4.2%
Agree	8.5%
Not sure	9.7%
Disagree	36.9%
Strongly disagree	36.6%

45. I like having sex with new people without having to get involved in emotional entanglements.

Strongly agree	10.8%
Agree	30.2%
Not sure	16.8%
Disagree	23.2%
Strongly disagree	15.3%

46. I prefer men who are more masculine, a little older, taller and more muscular than I am.

Strongly agree	19.2%
Agree	28.9%
Not sure	14.3%
Disagree	25.4%
Strongly disagree	7.6%

47. It's a tremendous physical sensation feeling a penis inside myself, inside my ass, inside my body.

Strongly agree	26.7%
Agree	34.7%
Not sure	13.6%
Disagree	12.3%
Strongly disagree	7.7%

48. I could never fall in love with a guy who doesn't have a stable job.

Strongly agree	8.9%
Agree	23.1%
Not sure	23.8%
Disagree	34.0%
Strongly disagree	10.2%

49. I find drugs are good for making sex hotter and raunchier.

Strongly agree	3.9%
Agree	12.9%
Not sure	12.2%
Disagree	25.9%
Strongly disagree	40.6%

50. My friends and I like to party hard.

Strongly agree	7.4%
Agree	20.5%
Not sure	11.9%
Disagree	26.0%
Strongly disagree	19.9%

51. I find my life is getting better over time and I expect that to continue.

Strongly agree	32.7%
Agree	45.4%
Not sure	12.2%
Disagree	4.6%
Strongly disagree	1.4%

52. For me, sex with penetration is an act of love and a way of giving oneself completely.

Strongly agree	17.2%
Agree	38.3%
Not sure	16.3%
Disagree	17.3%
Strongly disagree	6.5%

53. Essentially guys are either tops or bottoms, not really both.

Strongly agree	3.4%
Agree	14.0%
Not sure	13.4%
Disagree	42.6%
Strongly disagree	21.7%

54. A lot of guys I go home with have no desire to use condoms.

Strongly agree	3.4%
Agree	15.5%
Not sure	21.1%
Disagree	34.2%
Strongly disagree	17.2%

55. If someone is willing to have sex without a condom, I just assume that he is HIV positive.

Strongly agree	9.9%
Agree	17.3%
Not sure	19.7%
Disagree	28.9%
Strongly disagree	19.2%

56. Ideally, I look for a high level of intimacy and emotional exchange in sex with a man.

Strongly agree	24.4%
Agree	40.4%
Not sure	12.7%
Disagree	13.8%
Strongly disagree	3.4%

57. Life is boring if you don't take chances.

Strongly agree	14.1%
Agree	33.3%
Not sure	11.4%
Disagree	25.9%
Strongly disagree	11.0%

58. Going out for me is about dancing, lounging, and chilling, not sex.

Strongly agree	17.9%
Agree	46.9%
Not sure	12.9%
Disagree	14.5%
Strongly disagree	3.0%

59. Sometimes I feel depressed about not having a relationship and give in when it comes to sex even if it is without a condom.

Strongly agree	2.4%
Agree	13.0%
Not sure	11.0%
Disagree	33.6%
Strongly disagree	32.3%

60. If a guy can't make me laugh, he's not getting in my pants.

Strongly agree	11.0%
Agree	30.2%
Not sure	18.5%
Disagree	28.9%
Strongly disagree	5.2%

61. Topping a guy in sex makes me feel masculine and powerful.

Strongly agree	6.5%
Agree	27.7%
Not sure	17.2%
Disagree	33.1%
Strongly disagree	8.8%

62. I would not let partying interfere with work requirements.

Strongly agree	37.0%
Agree	38.1%
Not sure	9.6%
Disagree	7.2%
Strongly disagree	2.3%

63. I'm always questioning why anybody would want me at all.

Strongly agree	7.1%
Agree	20.6%
Not sure	13.2%
Disagree	34.2%
Strongly disagree	19.3%

64. I prefer sucking or being sucked than fucking.

Strongly agree	15.8%
Agree	26.8%
Not sure	14.8%
Disagree	28.8%
Strongly disagree	7.8%

65. I respect whatever the guy wants regardless of whether he's positive or negative. If he wants to use a condom, that's fine, and if he doesn't, that's fine too.

Strongly agree	3.3%
Agree	8.9%
Not sure	8.1%
Disagree	23.1%
Strongly disagree	49.7%

66. A lot of the pleasure I get comes from pleasing my partner.

Strongly agree	26.9%
Agree	52.3%
Not sure	7.9%
Disagree	6.1%
Strongly disagree	1.4%

67. I have got a lot out of the gay community and I like to support it and give back to it.

Strongly agree	20.5%
Agree	47.1%
Not sure	16.9%
Disagree	6.8%
Strongly disagree	2.6%

68. If someone is willing to have sex without a condom, I just assume that he is HIV negative.

Strongly agree	3.8%
Agree	5.1%
Not sure	11.8%
Disagree	33.6%
Strongly disagree	39.8%

69. It is not up to me to take responsibility for guys I meet for sex. They are adults who can make their own decisions around risk.

Strongly agree	8.3%
Agree	17.9%
Not sure	13.1%
Disagree	29.4%
Strongly disagree	24.6%

70. I find alcohol or drugs help me connect with guys and make sex happen.

Strongly agree	3.1%
Agree	21.5%
Not sure	9.5%
Disagree	31.5%
Strongly disagree	27.9%

71. Most guys fuck with condoms when they don't know the other guy.

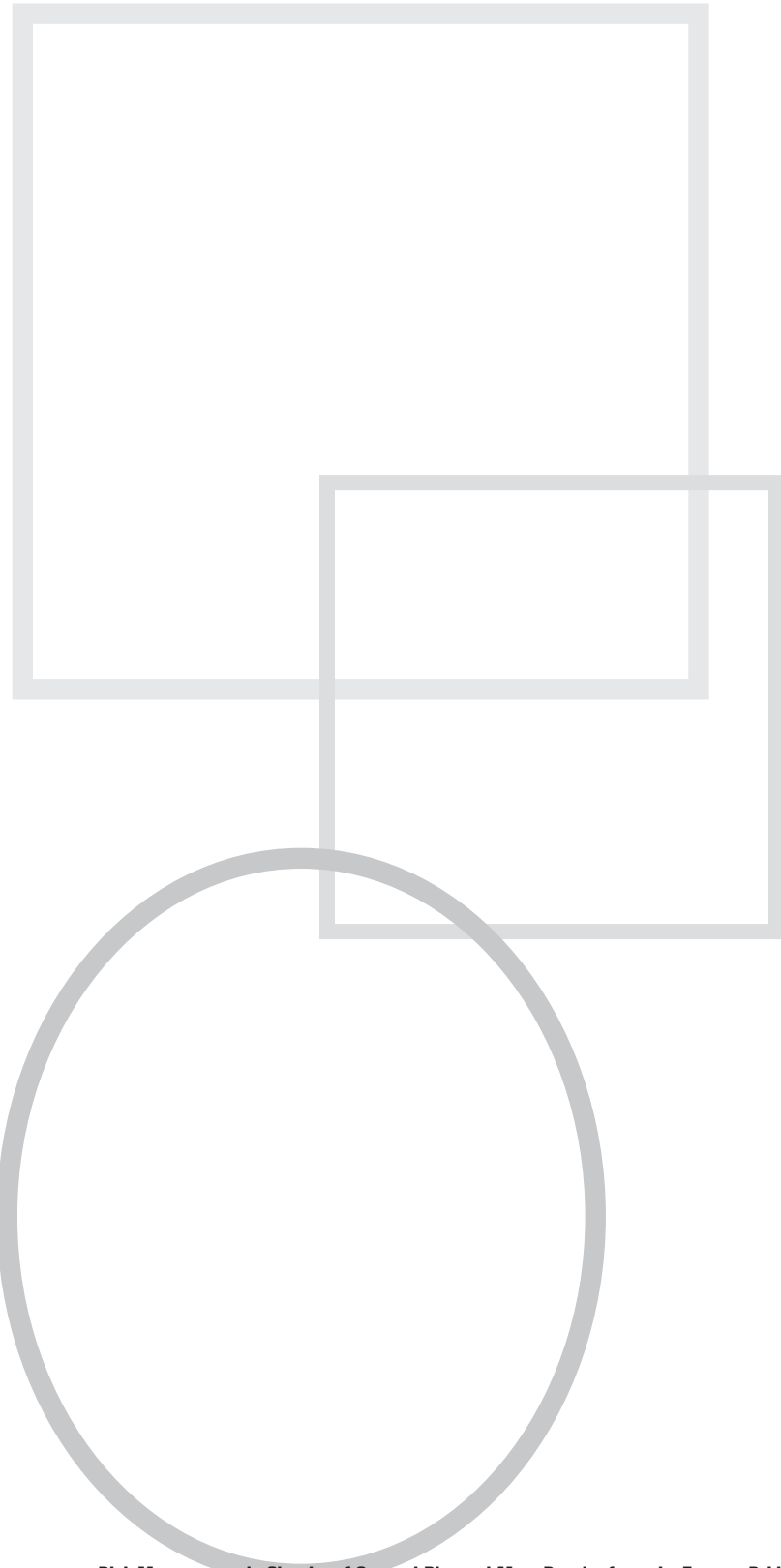
Strongly agree	9.1%
Agree	32.8%
Not sure	26.3%
Disagree	18.5%
Strongly disagree	7.1%

72. I like to have sex mostly within my circle of friends.

Strongly agree	3.0%
Agree	13.5%
Not sure	11.0%
Disagree	42.2%
Strongly disagree	23.8%

73. For me, going to gay places is more about socializing and being around other men than cruising and sex.

Strongly agree	22.1%
Agree	46.0%
Not sure	12.6%
Disagree	10.9%
Strongly disagree	1.9%





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