

5. Who are men who have sex with men?

5.1 *Introduction*

When we asked interview respondents, 'How do you picture men who have sex with other men', some thought first of stereotypes: the teenager lying alone in his bedroom, wondering about his feelings; the man, alone at public toilets late at night as the wind whistles through the trees and raises clouds of dusts, pierced by the headlights of men in cars out for a similar purpose; the city councillor, afraid of being discovered; the truckie, looking for quick release to break the monotony of life on an endless road; two mates off together on a fishing expedition.

Others summarised this diversity with the simple observation that MSM couldn't be pictured or labelled or categorised: that no types came to mind; that they were of all ages, all occupations and all walks of life; that there are no indicators; that there is no way to describe a stereotypical man who has sex with men.

While we believe that to be a true description of reality, it seemed that we would sell ourselves a little short, and not give report readers some images and practical examples that they could carry with them into the body of the report, if we did not attempt some categorisation of men who have sex with men. So this is what we have tried to do.

5.2 *Situational sex with men*

In very general terms, the picture of MSMs that we will paint in this report is one of men who have a lifelong, underlying interest in male/male sex and who do (or don't do) something about it given particular factors (which we will look at) .

There does however appear to be another group with no (or very little) interest in male/male sex, but who will have it if they find themselves without the company of women for extended periods. Because they are something of an exception to the report's general rule, we will deal with them first.

We did not speak to such men, and research protocols prevented us asking the occupation of survey respondents; but interview respondents believed these men to exist.

5.2.1 **Prisoners**

Several respondents referred to some male / male sex occurring within prisons and youth detention centres. As one said,

'male-to-male sex happens almost always only when they are incarcerated, especially for the young ones'.

5.2.2 **Miners**

Some respondents believed male / male sex to be occurring on isolated mine sites, but felt, with the increasing 'fly-in-fly-out' working arrangements, that there is probably less of this happening than in the past. It was also noted that the idea of the single man alone in the mining town is pretty much a myth, with most men living in mining towns doing so with their families.

Late night, end-of-shift showers were thought to offer opportunities for sex. As one respondent said,

'Underground mining is one of the hardest and most dangerous industries there is. It's got a very macho image, it's a man's industry, it's certainly not hairdressing or hospitality. I get the feeling that there's a bit going on, but it's unspoken. It's a hush-hush world, and you wouldn't be able to identify who are the men who have sex with men among them.'

5.2.3 Ringers / cowboys

Several respondents spoke of sex among the ringers who work on stations mustering cattle and who only see town a couple of times a year.

5.2.4 Men from Papua New Guinea

Up around the Gulf and the Cape, mention was made of the steady stream of men from Papua New Guinea who come through. While their situation (not the least their immigration situation) was not clear, it did appear that some of these men have sex with men. As one respondent said,

'Quite a few PNG guys come down here looking for partners. They seem to be comfortable with whatever label – het, bi or gay – and maybe their cultural background is not quite so restrictive as ours. They're looking for sponsorship for Australian citizenship, and for a gay relationship with a European (sic).'

5.3 *Young and sexually active*

The first main group of MSMs are young men who are having sex, often with both men and women. We did not interview men under 18, but several respondents were in their late teens or early 20s; and other respondents knew of the teenage situation as friends, informal counsellors and relatives. As one said,

'Boys of 12-13 are starting to discover their sexuality, and are having feelings for other males. They're thinking about doing it. They mightn't know the meaning of these feelings, and may not want to identify them if they do. Through the teens they may become more aware of these feelings, but they usually don't want to – and can't – admit the feelings.'

There is a great deal of anecdotal evidence to suggest that teenage boys are having sex with their peers and with other men, and it would be naive to think otherwise.

In the teenage years, the male hormones run even greater riot than they do at other times in life and, combined with youthful naivety, experimentation and freedom from society's expectations and the burden of responsibility, a much broader range of behaviour appears to be tolerated by peers than in later life. Young respondents in several inland towns and cities painted a fairly liberal picture of 'young queer boys mixing closely with their straight peers'; of tolerance toward young lesbians, and,

'a lot more young ones having sex with guys ... it's a bit more the norm these days, they feel more relaxed having sex with guys, so long as they cover it up. From talking to them, I feel these kids will probably marry and have kids, but they'll keep on having sex with men.'

Equally,

'There are lots of young, sexually active men who haven't come to terms with their sexuality, or explored it much. They are living as straight, and having sex with women, with the occasional sexual dalliances with men.'

'(Sex with men) can start mid- to late-teens. They might have a regular girlfriend, but have regular sex with a sista-girl. Some move on to having a wife and kids; others might keep having casual encounters on the side.'

These pictures of an increasingly liberal environment must, however, be set against the very considerable pressures to identify as 'straight', which we will return to in the next chapter.

5.4 *Come out and leave town (or vice versa)*

Many MSMs realise their sexuality early and leave regional, remote and isolated Queensland for the bright lights of Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and further afield. As one respondent said,

'Young gay people usually won't stay in town. As soon as they've finished school and can get a job, they clear off. Younger kids these days have a better sense of themselves, they know who they are, they come out much earlier.'

The research excluded respondents from Brisbane, and was therefore unable to speak to these men. However, most respondents knew and referred to these men when discussing life for MSMs in the country. This story by one respondent was similar to several we heard:

One guy I know in his middle 20s lived remotely. He knew he was gay but was terrified of his parents finding out. It virtually pushed him to suicide. He couldn't tell his parents. Eventually, he moved to Brisbane.'

5.4.1 The question of numbers

The 'Come out and leave town (or vice versa)' group were also important in examining another question of interest to the research: how many MSMs are there in regional and remote Queensland, and how can we explain the apparent discrepancy between what surveys show, and what respondents feel to be the numbers.

The Australian Study of Health and Relationships¹ (the 'Australian Sex Survey') noted that 1.9% of men in the survey had a same sex experience in the past year, and that 5.6% of men has ever had a same sex experience (5.6%).

With an estimated 646,963 people living in Queensland outside the Brisbane and Moreton statistical divisions², then the total number of men who have had sex with men may be anywhere between 6,100 and 18,100.

If these figures were projected to one typical central Queensland coastal city of some 60,000 people, then 570 male residents had sex with a man in the last year, and 1680 residents have ever had sex with another man.

In this city, however, these figures are universally scoffed at. After looking at gaydar.com and gay.com registrations, doubling them to allow for those not on the Internet, making an estimate of the local scene, beat usage, mailing lists, the likelihood that men travel away from (as well as into) the city, and respondent's intuition, a sense emerges that the number is perhaps half that.

5.5 *Get married and have kids*

When we asked respondents how they pictured men who have sex with other men, far and away the most common and emphatic response was that they are married or in another type

¹ Smith, A., Rissel, C., Richters, J., Grulich, A., de Visser, R. Australian Study of Health and Relationships in Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health, Volume 27, Number 2, April 2003

² Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001 Census, Internet

of relationship with a woman, with or without children. These opinions based on observation and talking with MSMs on the Internet, at outdoor cruising areas (which we will see later are the two most common ways of meeting) and after sex .

The comments of one interviewee paint a neat picture of beat users, which was generally repeated:

'The most common profile of a beat user here is a man who is married or in a heterosexual relationship and very straight-acting: the hairy chested, ute-owning, dog in the back type. This type works in a male-dominated industry and is typically 20 to 45.

'The second common profile is the paraprofessional or sales rep in the hired or company car, with a suit and tie, nice shoes, parked at the beat pretending to work or talking on the mobile. He might be anywhere between 30 and 50.

'Then there's a group of local men between the two groups. Born and bred Queensland men from here or the nearby country, working in blue collar, service, hospitality industries or self-employed.

'None of these types of guys are "out". They're carefully trying to live the straight lifestyle. They all tend to be "heterosexual" and married, based on what I've seen at the beat, and the conversations I've had with them.'

After marriage, respondents most commonly noticed the children in the MSM's background:

'I was at the beat one day and I saw this guy go into a toilet and have sex with a guy, then he walked out and across the park and back to his wife and kids.'

'The younger married guys will come in here and get sucked and fucked, then they'll go home to play with the kids in the backyard.'

'I think of the guy who turned up at the beat with a kid in the baby seat, who stayed locked in the car while the guy went into the beat and got a blow job.'

Otherwise, these MSM appear to be of all ages (from the early 20s on), all occupations, all socioeconomic levels and have nothing to identify them as MSMs: 'everyday working guys', as one respondent said.

5.6 Stay single

Another group frequently nominated was those men who never marry, but who identify as straight. They may live by themselves, or with parents. They were generally nominated as being mid-20s (being the age when 'single' has some meaning, their peers having moved off into relationships) and their 50s (which, as we shall see next, is when many straight MSMs have their life change).

One respondent nominated that these men are 'usually born and bred in the area' and 'are often connected with an evangelical faith community'.

5.7 Empty nesters

Many respondents noted the number of older men – men in their middle 40s to 60s – who were now openly identifying as gay but who had been previously married, and who had had children. While these stories were predominantly of men who had moved to Brisbane, a number of interview respondents fitted this profile, and still lived in their home towns.

The situation of these men is perhaps best understood by looking what respondents said when describing young MSMs:

'(There's a lot of) younger men who are not married, but who will probably get married and have offspring, at great cost to themselves and often to their families.'

'There are so many men doing the beats with kids and wearing a wedding ring ... They don't identify their sexual desires to society. They've decided that the best thing to do is to hide away and to marry and have kids.'

'A great number of 'gay guys' have had previous heterosexual lives, and have been married with kids. They were brought up in an era when their duty was to get married and have a family. It's when the family grow up and move out that they finally decide to do their own thing.'

This was an oft-repeated theme: that the man, who has always either been interested in sex with other men, or has been having it, decides once the children have left home, to pursue the lifestyle. As one respondent said, drawing also on his own experiences and those of a network of men of whom he is organiser:

'Men in that age group had to get married. Now the family is grown up, and the kids are gone, and they're empty nesters. He's thought about it a lot, and had some experiences, and he decides to do something about it. Sometimes it ends in divorce, other times in an accommodation.'

Another respondent also noted,

'It amazes me how many gay men were married, and are dads and granddads. One day they say, "I can't stand it any more" and get divorced.'

5.8 *Live as openly gay*

Then there are the MSMs who live as openly gay, either singly or in a relationship.

In many locations (particularly more remote locations), these tended to be 'born and bred' who had both decided to stay in their home town, and to come out. Their degree of 'outness' ranged from wholly out and acknowledged as gay by the town; to 'thought to be out and not particularly hiding, but not publicising it, either', to 'out to a small groups of friends and confidants.

There are also the gay men (and gay couples) who choose to move to country towns and cities from the capitals or from other country towns and cities. They may do so for work reasons, because accommodation and living is cheaper, to support aging family, or for a better lifestyle.

While these men may be out, in most cases they also take steps to preserve their privacy. Gay men in long-term relationships (with some exceptions) appeared to keep low public profiles, and were not known as beat users. It also appeared that many gay couples choose to live on the fringes of towns or on farms a short distance from town, even small distances providing a degree of anonymity. As one respondent said:

'You can be fairly isolated among the gum trees. You don't have to have anything to do with the neighbours.'

One respondent reported that:

'There's a whole scene north of Cooktown right up to the Cape, out in the bush: Vietnam vets, ferals, backpackers. I know of at least 20 or 30 gay couples living openly as gay, in a variety of occupations, operating businesses, right up to the top.'

Lastly, there are two other groups of 'gay-identifying' MSMs.

The first of these is sistagirls, Indigenous men who have sex with men. While it was not part of this research to survey this group in depth, some information was gained. 'Sistagirls' is a broad definition, covering Indigenous men who have sex with men and who choose to identify as sistagirls. While some feel that 'sistagirls' implies effeminate characteristics, others do not agree, seeing the identity as including masculine characteristics. Sistagirls, it was said, usually don't have sex with each other, but with men who identify as straight.

While there were some suggestions that the sistagirl identity may have its antecedents in an older Indigenous culture when effeminate men played motherly, caring, supportive roles (helping with the children and housework, and trusted by the women), opinions differed on how supportive communities now are of sistagirls. Some communities were reported as generally fairly tolerant and understanding, others not so, in part (according to one respondent) to the degree of past church / mission involvement and control.

In practical terms, they can't be too supportive: as one respondent noted:

'Because sistagirls can't have relationships in their own communities, they tend to move away.'

Secondly, there are backpackers. A backpackers 'scene', based on public open spaces and beats, was reported in a number of towns along the coast. We did not speak to backpackers, or people involved in these scenes, so were not able to verify these claims or to determine whether these were travelling gay backpackers or straight-identifying backpackers using their freedom and anonymity in a foreign country to explore their desires. The opinion was gained, however, that the claims were true and both types of backpackers were likely involved.

5.9 What the survey said

Table 8 shows survey respondents' marriage situation and sexuality³.

The 'never married, homosexual / gay' group were the largest group of survey respondents. This is consistent with our belief that 'out' gay men were the most enthusiastic to be heard through the survey.

The two second-biggest groups were 'Never married, bi', and 'married, bi'. This is consistent with the belief that married MSMs and single men who don't identify as gay are major segments of all MSMs; and the married component is also supported by the 'Married, heterosexual / straight) and 'In a defacto relationship, bi' groups.

The significant 'Divorced or separated and bi, gay and straight' groups lend weight to the 'empty-nester' scenario.

TABLE 8: RESPONDENTS' MARRIAGE SITUATION & SEXUALITY

| Marriage situation, sexuality | No. | % |
|---|-----|-----|
| Never married, homosexual/gay | 99 | 36% |
| Never married, bi | 34 | 12% |
| Married, bi | 34 | 12% |
| Divorced or separated, bi | 16 | 6% |
| Married, heterosexual / straight | 13 | 5% |
| In a defacto relationship, bi | 12 | 4% |
| Never married, don't think about my sexuality | 11 | 4% |

³ Comments about the survey (i.e. non-interview responses) findings should be read in light of the general comments about survey limitations in the methodology early in this report).

| | | |
|---|------------|----|
| Divorced or separated, homosexual/gay | 11 | 4% |
| In a defacto relationship, homosexual / gay | 11 | 4% |
| Never married, no sexuality nominated | 7 | 3% |
| Divorced or separated, don't think about my sexuality | 4 | 1% |
| Never married, heterosexual | 3 | 1% |
| Divorced or separated, heterosexual/straight | 3 | 1% |
| Divorced or separated, no sexuality nominated | 3 | 1% |
| In a defacto relationship, don't think about my sexuality | 3 | 1% |
| Married, homosexual / gay | 3 | 1% |
| In a defacto relationship, heterosexual / straight | 2 | 1% |
| Married, don't think about my sexuality | 2 | 1% |
| Married, no sexuality nominated | 2 | 1% |
| In a defacto relationship, no sexuality nominated | 1 | 0% |
| No answer | 10 | |
| Total | 284 | |

Table 9 shows the marriage situation of survey respondents. While just over half have never married (which combines straight, bisexual and gay men), a third are (or were) married, and 10% more in defacto relationships.

TABLE 9: RESPONDENTS' MARRIAGE SITUATION

| Marriage situation | No | % |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Never married | 154 | 56% |
| Married | 54 | 20% |
| Divorced / separated | 37 | 14% |
| Defacto relationship | 28 | 10% |
| No answer | 11 | |
| Total | 284 | |

5.10 How and where men have sex with other men

5.10.1 Where men meet for sex

An objective of the research was to better understand how MSMs meet and where they have sex, because better knowledge about these physical locations might prove useful for distributing health messages.

Table 10 shows where MSMs met other men for sex in the past year. The Internet and outdoor cruising areas were both equally popular with friends and past sex partners

TABLE 10: WHERE RESPONDENTS MET OTHER MEN FOR SEX IN THE PAST YEAR

| Where met? | No | % |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Internet | 89 | 31% |
| Outdoor cruising area | 87 | 31% |
| Friends / past sex partners | 84 | 30% |
| Gay bar / club / pub | 69 | 24% |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|-----|
| Private party | 69 | 24% |
| Non-gay bar / club / pub | 57 | 20% |
| Sauna for men's sex | 53 | 19% |
| Adult bookshop or sex club | 42 | 15% |
| Sport or recreation activities | 42 | 15% |
| Phone chat line / other phone service | 41 | 14% |
| Shopping centre washroom | 32 | 11% |
| Through work | 32 | 11% |
| Commercial sex service | 28 | 10% |
| Personal press ad for sex | 28 | 10% |
| Sex magazine | 22 | 8% |
| At TAFE or university | 18 | 6% |
| Other | 16 | 6% |
| Through family | 13 | 5% |
| Through a neighbour | 13 | 5% |
| Through a non-personal ad or notice | 5 | 2% |

INTERNET

As one respondent said, 'the Internet is fast taking over from the beat as a way to meet guys. Gaydar or gay.com have opened up a lot of possibilities to meet men for sex. For the regional, remote and isolated MSM, it has everything: the ability to communicate privately and instantly across large distances.

BEATS

Outdoor cruising areas include public toilets (municipal, shopping centre, truck stops, highway rest areas), parks, beaches, and anywhere else that men are known to look for other men for sex. And some that aren't: men met other men for sex at the tip, on both sides of the supermarket checkout, on a cruise ship, on a courtesy bus; and has sex with their tradesmen and masseurs. One claimed his 'wife brings home teachers from the school she works at or friends'. As one respondent said,

'I can't think of one truck stop along the Bruce Highway where it's not happening. Lots of the toilets in petrol stations now have condom vending machines, so they must know what's happening.

It appears that the broadest cross section of MSMs use beats: from teenagers to:

'old guys whose peers are probably playing golf or fishing. They're hanging out in the bushes hoping to get some action.'

While gay men have traditionally used beats or not, it was felt by several that the beats were increasingly drawing - and were now mainly populated by - straight men. As three respondents said,

'It's a paradox. Gay men have largely left the beats in favour of relationships, clubs and the Internet, and the beats now seem mainly to be populated by straight men.'

'There are men that appear only on the beats. It is a complex networks of secret, likeminded men. The beats go day and night here. I rarely meet people who are gay on the beats, or who are happy and proud about having sex with men.'

'I'd say that only 10% of the gay guys in town use the beat. The rest are straight / bi / in denial.'

Beat users are quick to point out the 'culture' of beats – the right and wrong ways of behaving - and that many straight men have yet to learn this culture. As two respondents said,

'(The straight beat users) have an incapacity to engage with local gay men and don't know the norms and mannerisms of cruising beats. When they enter into a "gay space", they seem not to know the ways of it.'

'There are codes of conduct for beat use – about being discreet and not publicly visible - and lots of straight men abuse that code. (our service organisation) is always getting reports of men exposing themselves in public.'

The beats aren't just for sex: in locations with so few opportunities to meet other men, they can be social gathering points as well, particularly if they are well-out of town and shielded from passers-by. Some beats appear to be known more for social interaction than for picking up.

FRIENDS / PAST SEX PARTNERS

It stands to reason that many men would have had sex in the past year with past sex partners. However, this category (as well as 'through a neighbour') may also include those men who do not use the Internet, or beats, or other opportunities to find new men, because they only have sex with one or two people.

While this means that they are virtually invisible to research such as this, one of our telephone interviewers noted,

'One guy called who said he'd only ever given a blow job to his mate ... he was very nervous and rapid with his answers.'

One respondent said that a small number of people who turn up at their service fit this profile, and another respondent noted that:

'In terms of very isolated guys, you just don't know, but you hear stories. There's one guy I know in his late 30s, he's been having sex with a neighbour since he was 14. He doesn't have sex with anyone else.'

The 'mythology' that 'best mates do each other on fishing and camping trips' was contested. On the one hand, one respondent opined:

'Sometimes it's kept within a small number of families, where men are having sex with each other. It's always done under the cover of weekends away, camping, fishing, hobbies and such, which provide both legitimate and effective cover.'

On the other hand, another respondent argued:

'I think the stories of men having sex on fishing trips is mythology. I think that sistership in gay circles operates the same as mateship: you just don't have sex with sisters. I don't think straight guys have sex with their best mates, either. There's a strong taboo against it in mateship.'

PUBS / CLUBS / BARS

The interview respondents also confirmed that pubs, clubs and bars were good places to meet men, and that 'lots of cruising happens at pubs'. AS one said,

'A lot of (male-male sex) is related to drinking sessions. There'll be a drinking session, and then people will creep around in the night.'

Many towns only have one night club, and it's all in together: as one respondent said,

'On the nightclub scene, gay boys will mingle in with straight boys ... there's a bit of a "live and let live" attitude in the country.'

TRAVELLING RENT BOYS

One significant source of sex is the travelling rent boy. As one respondent reported,

'There's a small number of guys who come out from (a major coastal city) stopping at the small towns along the way. They advertise in the personals, and get clients by word of mouth, too. They each do regular circuits.'

WORKPLACE

Despite the low percentages of survey respondents who identify as gay at work, it nonetheless appears to be a significant source of sex partners. As one respondent reported,

'After Friday night work drinks or boys nights out. This sex is opportunistic and infrequent, and will never be mentioned again. But this sex usually requires one of the partners to initiate it, and they are likely to want to repeat it. So you might see them again at beats, or at sex on premises venues.'

FLATMATES

Both survey and interview respondents also mentioned flatmates or housemates, one citing a number of instances where young gay men have joined straight households and have been sexually assaulted. As another said,

'Where you've got households of single people – students, shift workers –sex will happen.'

Table 1 shows where respondents actually had sex in the past year. It would appear that most men who meet men for sex at an outdoor area, at a sauna for men's sex or at a shopping centre washroom, also have sex there; and that Internet sex results in sex at one or other man's house. Most sex with men met at private parties or adult bookshops takes place on the premises, but some are taken home.

TABLE 11: WHERE RESPONDENTS HAD SEX WITH MEN

| Location | No | % |
|--|-----|-----|
| At his home | 152 | 54% |
| At my home | 148 | 52% |
| At a park or toilet or beach or other outdoor area | 95 | 33% |
| At a sauna for men's sex | 55 | 19% |
| At a private party | 42 | 15% |
| At an adult bookshop or sex club | 33 | 12% |
| At a shopping centre washroom | 28 | 10% |
| At a hotel / motel / caravan park | 16 | 6% |
| At a brothel or massage parlour | 13 | 5% |
| At work | 13 | 5% |
| In a car / coach | 3 | 1% |
| At a gay bar | 2 | 1% |

5.10.2 Do they meet and have sex with men locally or away?

The research sought to get a sense of whether men have sex locally and with locals, or whether they go away.

Sexual health workers believe that MSMs have a degree of protection against STIs by dint of living in (sexually) closed communities; and, as we shall see later, MSMs justify unsafe sex with this belief. However, travel does happen, sexual health workers are worried about it, and the situation needs to be monitored closely. As two respondents said,

‘There a number of big mines in the district, some of which operate on a “fly in, fly out” basis. The three major mines have a workforce of 10,000 serviced like this. Many of these guys live in Townsville and Brisbane. There’s obviously the danger of these guys bringing infections into town.’

‘Trips to the south-east corner of the state are a real risk. They are much more likely to engage in unsafe sex than when at home. They’re going on a great adventure, and they’re likely to get lost in it.’

Table 12 shows how men travel for sex. It shows that the largest group (34%) always have sex in town or close by, but that 40% almost never, or never, do. These men travel for sex. In a third of cases, sex is always or sometimes the purpose of the travel.

TABLE 12: TRAVEL INVOLVED IN MEETING MEN FOR SEX

| How often? | No | % |
|--|-----|-----|
| I meet a man or men for sex in my town, or close by | | |
| Always | 68 | 34% |
| Sometimes | 56 | 28% |
| Almost never | 37 | 19% |
| Never | 38 | 19% |
| No answer | 85 | |
| Total | 284 | |
| To meet a man or men for sex, I travel to another town | | |
| Always | 24 | 10% |
| Sometimes | 70 | 30% |
| Almost never | 32 | 14% |
| Never | 107 | 46% |
| No answer | 51 | |
| Total | 284 | |
| If I travel to another town to meet a man or men for sex, that is my main reason for the travel | | |
| Always | 27 | 13% |
| Sometimes | 45 | 21% |
| Almost never | 30 | 14% |
| Never | 114 | 53% |
| No answer | 68 | |
| Total | 284 | |

Some respondents felt people travelled because they were scared of being found out having sex with someone in their own town. As two noted:

‘The most frightened of being outed will drive miles ... a lot of men are too scared to have sex with someone locally ... how far they will go depends on how scared they are.’

‘People from smaller towns could drive 300-400km to somewhere where they aren’t known.’

However, others noted that it’s simply too far for many people to travel, especially from the inland, and preferred the simpler explanation favoured by both interview and survey

respondents that men travelled to where other men are: mostly, Brisbane, Cairns and Townsville. While respondents were not asked where they went, only two nominated Sydney and one Melbourne.

Remote people (including men from the Indigenous communities) come to get supplies and have sex. Businessmen take opportunities to go to the cities and hang out in bars, catch up with friends, use rent boys, meet Internet contacts, do the beats, pick up men in straight venues. Travellers (including tourists and sales reps) will take the (many) opportunities their journeys presents them with.

The other way of looking at if men travel for sex is to look at who travelled to them for sex, when respondents had it locally. As Table 13 shows, eight out of ten times it was with someone local or nearby, and only a relatively small number of people were passing through.

TABLE 13: WHEN RESPONDENTS LAST HAD SEX LOCALLY, WHERE THEIR SEX PARTNERS CAME FROM

| Where he came from | No. | % |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|
| Local | 158 | 73% |
| From a nearby area | 20 | 9% |
| Travelling through | 28 | 13% |
| Working short-term here or nearby | 9 | 4% |
| Working long-term here or nearby | 1 | 0% |
| Don't know | 33 | |
| No answer | 35 | |
| Total | 284 | |

Table 14 shows how many sex partners respondents had in the past year. The largest single group had one partner, but significant number also had over 50. We had expected that there might be some correlation between travel and a higher number of sex partners, but further data analysis revealed none: many with low numbers of partners travelled for sex, and many with higher numbers reported having most or all of their sex close by or in town.

TABLE 14: HOW MANY SEX PARTNERS RESPONDENTS HAD IN THE PAST YEAR

| How many? | No | % |
|-----------|-----|-----|
| 1 | 40 | 18% |
| 2 | 19 | 9% |
| 3 | 16 | 7% |
| 4 | 13 | 6% |
| 5 | 11 | 5% |
| 6-10 | 33 | 15% |
| 11-15 | 19 | 9% |
| 16-20 | 17 | 8% |
| 21-30 | 5 | 2% |
| 31-40 | 15 | 7% |
| 41-50 | 5 | 2% |
| >50 | 29 | 13% |
| No answer | 62 | |
| Total | 284 | |

