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A Case Study about a gay man who wants to follow his Sri Lankan culture and dedicate his life to one person – a man

ABSTRACT

The study from an Interpersonal Phenomenological Approach (IPA) of gay sexuality in cultural terms offers an opportunity to identify the driving force behind why some men will marry a woman to fit into the society they grew up in. This study presents a case of a 40 year old man living in London, who negotiates his identity to fit in with Sri Lanka and in London. The case study highlights the struggle of juggling between the culture of his birth and the culture he now lives in with the drive to become accepted.

INTRODUCTION

As history shows that gay sexuality was evident in pre-colonial times and that it was considered normal part of the continuum of sexuality and gender (Tiwari 2013). And as a result of post-colonial structures have demonised LGBTi sexuality and gender, and still to this day are more likely to keep sexuality private for fear of social exclusion (Amory 1997). It is argued that this continues to have a profound effect on many Black and minority ethnic LGBTi people in the UK, who often have to struggle with cultural tensions about sexuality/gender as well as the racism that can occur within LGBTi communities in the UK today (Varney 2012). For example, in Sri Lanka, where people often have arranged marriages, the expectation is that a person will marry for the honour of the family, which may cause difficulties when sexuality or gender does not match. Therefore, some married men or women are not enjoying a full marriage because they have been forced to marry, for 'family honour', a gay, lesbian or transgender person (Equal Ground *et al.* 2014). Whilst the law in many countries now accept LGBTi communities, in some countries like Sri Lanka it is still viewed in negative terms and a 'Western condition' (Bhugra et al 2015). De Munck (1998) offers an insight into the Sri Lankan marriages, describing how it is the first cousins who are matched and so from an early age they are trained to be honourable and respectful to aunts and uncles, as they may become an in-law in the future. According to

Bhugra et al (2015a) that Bollywood has influenced the changes in attitudes towards gay sexuality namely to be caricatures but in recent times of a positive portrayal of transgender man who was a box office hit. India had decriminalised and now has re-criminalised homosexuality within the last decade and with it the pervading Victorian attitudes still remain to vilify gay sexuality. Whatever happens in India has an impact on Sri Lanka and with it the process for legal gay marriages has been placed on hold. Within this project I will be discussing the discourse of sexuality and perception of masculinity followed by the discourse of marriage and culture whilst highlighting the social psychological theory of attribution. Attribution theories by Heider (1958), Kelley (1973) and Jones and Davies (1965) have their own definitions of what attribution is, but the simplest way to explain is that 'thinking' is the personal attribution and 'talking' is the situational. All are about the how and what of people's actions and intentions in the social environment. (Adams 2009)

The discourse of sexuality and perception of masculinity

Gay sexuality is one that history has dealt with badly, often with tragic consequences (Bhugra et al 2015). How does one meander through life negotiating the needs of self with the needs of others. Others like family can change one's course of action dramatically leading to marriage. Coming to terms with sexuality especially when the culture may not allow it leaves the person with many questions. Does masculinity play a part? According to the Positioning Theory the man actively plays a part in how he juggles between the dominance and passive forces in order to survive (Davis and Harre (1998). Others like Frosh et al (2002) would say that there are indeed several types of masculinities available but the type based upon muscle bodies and being the bred winner wins as a serious competitor. According to Ubesekeera and Jiaojiang (2008) that the Sri Lankan culture is based on the necessity of arranged marriage for socio economic stability, within this is the subtext of masculinity being the bred winner. In the UK some gay men felt that they were invisible citizens prior to recent legislative changes and that the only way to meet others was in public areas like parks and toilets (Seidman 2002). According to Seidman (2002) they became visible when married to a woman to live the dual reality and be in the closet.

And so this may lead to greater incidences of mental health problems in later life as described by Bhugra et al (2015) who states that this is a higher rate compared to heterosexual populations. Could this be down to hiding sexuality or being out and proud? Klocker (2012) when exploring older LGBTi people's experiences found that on the whole they were self sufficient, creating helping structures within the communities. Studies by Grossman (2006) and Masini and Barrett (2008) would support this alongside Queer theory offering the empowering concept of 'embracing the shame' that enable to turn the discrimination on its head, finding ways to re - evaluate roles to prove beneficial to the couple concerned (Warner 1999).

The discourse of marriage and culture

Humphrey (1976) describes life as a like a game of chess meaning that all the pieces are manipulated and they manipulate each other as each player tries to 'mind read' his opponents next move (Andrews 2001). In the process of evolution the skill of 'mind reading' is developed as a way to predict each other's motives and to determine certainty of behaviour. Social psychologists have studied the motives of others and perception for decades calling the theory 'attribution' (Schneider et al 1979). Attributions are private mental events within a mental state and in order to understand the attribution we need to understand the state of mind. The Two domains to mention here as it features in the interview is situational and personal attribution from Kelley's Co - Variation model (Kelley 1973). According to Kelley the conclusion of whether it is personal or situational is based upon factors of consistency, distinctiveness and consensus in higher or lower degrees. And in the Sri Lankan context the perception of not marrying by the family in the situational domain is one of 'not doing the duty' because all three factors are high or the personal domain 'there is something wrong' due to low distinctiveness, as Dillion is the only son within the area and family not married. Interestingly a study by Miller (1984) into attributions made by Americans in the west and Indians in Asia it showed that Americans were more personal in their attributions and Indians were more situational.

De Munck (1998) explores the myths and conceptions of arranged marriages exploring the idea of strangers getting to know one another and develop a love for each other. In Sri Lanka they will know each other from birth and so the family unit is bonded from birth (De Munck 1998). Bhugra et al (2015) refers to Bollywood and the contribution to this idea of normality, often poking fun at the gay caricatures as a way to cope with difference or abnormality. The family structure in Sri Lanka appears solid but when mixed with honour then it becomes a different mix with potential fatal consequences (Equal Ground 2014).

METHOD

Design: - A snowball sample was taken via a friend who spoke about Dillion who is gay and marrying a woman. From this I asked permission via the friend if he would agree to an interview. I obtained his telephone number and made contact. I answered his questions and he agreed to meet me at my work place as it felt safer for him. Dillion is 40 years old and works as IT consultant in London provided consent to be interview and be tape recorded see (appendix 3). He visits 3 – 4 times yearly to his country of birth, Sri Lanka. He speaks both English and Sinhalese; the interview was conducted in English. The IPA perspective is idiographic and therefore will collect specific information to investigate closely with the participant the view of life in regards to the phenomenon. IPA was chosen as the most appropriate form to do this as the data would be rich and the assumption of IPA is that the researcher is interested in learning something new by way of understanding meaning (Smith 2008). In so doing the epistemological stance is one of being collaborative with the participant and through the idealist ontology, truth to be found relative to the moment, understanding the specific rather than making generalisations.

Participants: - Dillion is 40 years old gay man with dual nationality in UK with Sri Lanka. He is an IT consultant who lives and works in the UK. He has lived in the UK for 15 years and visits Sri Lanka 3 – 4 times per year. His parents expect him to marry and so Dillion has resisted the request for a few years but now has agreed to marry. The sample was a snowball effect via a friend who mentioned to the researcher about 2 men he had met who

wished to marry a woman. Dillion is the 2nd man who accepted and arrived at the interview. The researcher is a 43-year-old English man who is married to a Sri Lankan man. He does not speak Sinhalese and so the interview was conducted in English. Dillion probably knew I would be gay-friendly as it was via my friend that the contact was made but this was not discussed or made explicit in any way by me and so is pure conjecture.

Apparatus/Materials:- I asked my friend to contact Dillion asking him if he would take part in my research. My friend then sent SMS text message with his full name and contact telephone number. I then called him a few days later and explained my research and what I wanted to do using the information sheet in appendices (appendix 3). He agreed over the phone to attend and participate. I sent him a letter (appendix 2) and then called him on the morning of the interview to check in and to ensure he had my address and contact telephone number. I greeted him in the reception area of my place of work. The interview was conducted at my workspace, which is within a business centre. My office is situated at the back and has 4 chairs with a round table in the middle. Dillion sat opposite me with the recorder placed on the table in the middle. I sat closest to the exit, which was clear and non-alcoholic beverages were provided. For safety I explained to my secretary and receptionist that I would be conducting this interview and so they were aware to carry mobile phones in case I needed security. For his safety it was explained that he could stop and leave at any point (appendix 3)

Procedure:- The case study reported is a qualitative study of sexuality and identity for Dillion a 40-year-old man. The forum used for collecting data was a semi-structured interview, which was conducted by the researcher in a private office in a work environment. According to Smith and Osborn (2008) semi – structured interviews helps the researcher to use questions as a guide rather than forcing themselves to stick to it. In this way rapport can be built and it gives freedom to the researcher to investigate themes that the participant raises, potentially more in-depth analysis could take place (Smith 2008).

The interview was recorded and transcribed with names replaced by pseudonyms. This mode of data collection was chosen because it allowed the participant to discuss in detail using their own words how they view sexuality and culture (Willig 2008). With the use of ‘funnelling questions’ (smith 2008), the interview started with general questions about current events in the UK about gay marriage and adoption right through to discussing how did he make sense of his own sexuality. And finally how he views sexuality through the lens of culture and on his own hopes and dreams for himself and his children’s lives.

ANALYTIC PROCESS

Phenomenology and symbolic interactionism are the parents of IPA and tries to understand how people make sense of their experiences. It is assumed that identities are expressed through verbal and written forms of expression, which can be tapped into by the interview process. IPA has a double hermeneutic process according to Smith (1996) which is the researcher trying to making sense of, whilst the participant is making sense of the experience as heard in the interview (Smith & Osborn 2008).

The transcript was written out with several revisions to get as close to the verbatim as possible. From this codes would be found and placed within the next column would have the conceptual themes clustered into the super ordinate themes as proposed by Smith and Osborn (2008). So for example, having babies, having to marry was place under masculinity and so the IPA process looks at the language as well as how it was said in the interview in order to gain richer data (Smith and Osborn 2008)

Table A: To show the codes and themes extracted from the transcript	
Super ordinate themes	Themes
Freedom of sexuality 8,15,	social pressure, religious interference, conflict, hesitation, frustration, freedom to love, go anywhere, meet anywhere in UK, No pressure to exchanges family histories etc, 100% gay man, discretion assured, normality?
Covering up 19,31,33	I cannot be myself, conflict, difference in Sri Lanka compared to UK, discretion assured, compensatory behaviour to sleep with men, matching horoscopes, anger, falling out with parents over the phone

Cultural conflict 19,22,31,33,36	Settling down with one man, Sri Lanka cannot follow cultural expectation to be with one man. Forced to have casual sex, frustration, its time to get married to a woman, families expectation, european woman vs Sri Lankan women, Sri Lankan women are naive, burden, parents also clashed with cultural norm when they got married for love, hopeful for future of Sri Lanka, Hopeless about future of Sri Lanka, shame, hide, deepest ocean, inbred, gay adoption not possible
Desiring acceptance 21,	Have to marry a woman, can't admit to gay friends in UK, scared, alienation, struggles as comparing UK to Sri Lanka, desiring to be low class so that he can do own thing, reminiscences of childhood in Sri Lanka, hoping for change
Masculinity 22,25,27,29	Can I perform? What if I can't do it, I want babies, I love babies, I am provider, dowry, love that will grow, from birth families are close knit, honour formation, bonding, dream, boys grow up holding hands, sleeping in same bed etc as friends up till age 25. After 25 its unacceptable, children will be bullied, protect children, providing for her,

Attribution:- To look at this from the originator of attribution theory Hedier (1958) who believed that all people act as 'naive scientists' in that we are active interpreters within the social world to try and determine the most likely outcome. And Kelley (1973) would have us believe that people will base their conclusions upon 3 factors as mentioned earlier but in a study by McArthur (1972) to test out Kelley's theory he found that it was supported except for the fact that participants under-used the consensus factor (Coon and Mitterer 2011). However according to Jones and Davies (1965) the correspondent theory would suggest that an action is indicative of an individual's personality like when Dillion states that he will have to marry because of the family and society tells him to:

<p>19 Covering up I am totally a different person in Sri Lanka inquisition by society “Where is your girlfriend?”</p> <p>I cannot be myself in Sri Lanka - <u>Personal attribution</u></p> <p>Freedom to love a man in UK not in Sri Lanka</p> <p>Cultural clash I am a cultural person-I want to be with the same man and not have casual sex - <u>Sri Lankan identity</u></p> <p>His friends in Sri Lanka cannot be with same man it is very difficult</p>	<p>Participant: Definitely when ever I come to Sri Lanka I am a totally different person. I have a face....I am a totally different person as where ever I go in Sri Lanka people are always questioning erm.. where is your girlfriend...when are you getting married? this and that.....I cannot be myself in Sri Lanka and I have a discrete life....in Sri Lanka...with friends ..I have very limited friends in Sri Lanka and in Sri Lanka these friends are not coming out and are scared for there...in there...um...social network....in work ... everywhere they are colouring themselves....it is shame...I have some freedom in the UK..i can be ok, I can fall in love with a man or any activitiesor so....in Sri Lanka I am scared to meet a guy in their...maybe this guyoooo related to someone.....or spread the work about me....so they are all trying to leave Sri Lanka because they cannot be in a gay relationship. I am a cultural person, I like to be with the same man and not have casual sex, same of my friends here but they cannot be with the same man because it is very difficult, they want to leave for Canada or UK because they accept gay rights</p>
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And this comes up a lot within the interview especially when describing his relationship with parents and the lack of discussion about marriage as it is an expected norm to be done. Maybe this is why he feels he can compensate by allowing himself to sleep with other men but herein lays a contradiction as he would like to be with the same man, which he admits and does fit within the cultural norm. And the next section follows on from my question: Do they know you are gay?

<p>97 Anger But they don't care..they do not care...they don't want to know or maybe sometimes I heard that.</p> <p>In Sri Lanka there is no privacy as there has to be, there is no secret</p> <p>God help this society if they get the help from.</p>	<p>Participant: I don't know...maybe they do...but they don't care..they do not care...they don't want to know or maybe sometimes I heard that...this is a very funny thing in Sri Lanka. One of my friends in Sri Lanka he got caught...he came with his Maldivian friend. A friend meaning in Maldives and he came down and his mom caught him having sex making love in the room. In Sri Lanka there is no privacy as there has to be, there is no secret ..Oh most of it is into that word. So the activity happen and his mother went to speak with a psychiatrics and he said to her "oh these things is common in European men but it's a limited period...that gonna stop somehow, so don't worry about it". I am thinking this is a doctor, he is a psychiatric doctor and I am thinking if they have this kind of a vision from...god help this society if they get the help from. This is a phase and this will stop.</p>
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He describes further how his family is higher in the social strata and therefore important to fit in and improve the family prospects. The girlfriend is wanting to improve her family status by marrying Dillion and so they are in negotiations over dowries. But according to Badahdah and Alkhder (2006) on the study of responsibility that we tend to feel sorry and show empathy for someone if it was not their fault but show the darker side of empathy if they created their own predicament (Decety and Cowell 2015). In the case of Dillion this could have serious repercussions if he is caught sleeping with men or maybe the family will accept him because he is carrying out his duty thereby allowing him to use his compensatory behaviours.

Individualism vs. collectivism:- The debate on whether individualism exists is still debated and a definition offered can be to act one's own desires above others. But can UK truly offer this as Dillion states? (64,67,69 appendix 1). He believes a freedom is offered unlike Sri Lanka but then he mentions the possible adverse reactions of his UK gay friends to the news of his marriage to a woman. His response is to cut off from Facebook account

he opened for UK and sever all ties to UK if he is to succeed at being married in Sri Lanka. But could some attributions be different like the principle of noncommon effects by Jones and Davies (1965) who would say that maybe his mental state is the same across the sexuality spectrum and he likes Iresha because she is a sexual being and yet if go a stage further according to Kelley's (1972) Discounting Principle could offer the idea that its not only she is a sexual being but that Iresha has qualities, personality states and traits that he likes as he would any man. He mentions his like for her educational attainment and that he likes being chased by her. This is a common thread though the interview of comparing many situations like UK versus Sri Lanka, Self versus family, Self versus society and in this a frustration develops whilst he questions himself. He questions if he can perform the duty, whether he can sleep with men after marriage and on how he will be a better father to his own children. Many contradictions are evident like the ability to love a woman from a European perspective would not be possible but from a Sri Lankan perspective it is as he considers the advice from his Sri Lankan friends and family. The obvious aspect here is that he would fulfil the customs and beliefs of his childhood if allowed to marry a man. He states this clearly and with it a sadness is evident to me as he explains that many Sri Lankan men who are gay will sleep with many different men as apposed to one guy because being with one partner is not possible in Sri Lanka.

DISCUSSION

Dillion talks candidly on how he will take the path of being heterosexual in order to please his family and get children, this is what he really wants from the marriage. But as the interview progresses he believes that a love can develop for Iresha and that he may be happy. He hopes to be able to "delete out, put in a bottle and throw to the deepest ocean", this describing his gay sexuality. In discussing this case its important to relate to attribtutional processes and theories to make sense of his mental state. A lot is based on inferential learning, which leaves both sides with judgements that may not be necessarily correct or helpful (Follett & Hess 2002). It could be argued that the personal attribution that Dillion's parents make of his stalling to marry up until this point has been one that he

is defective in some way at best and at worst, he is not fulfilling his duty to marry and combine 2 families into a stronger and prosperous family (De Munck 1998). Yet again his parents could be placing a situational attribution of the younger generation are delaying marriage and so is relatively normal. But Dillion explains that not much talking takes place with his parents around the topic and so he is left with the personal attribution he makes that his parents that they don't care just marry! But what if I rely on the discounting principle in Kelley's theory that Dillion could fall in love because of personality and if sexuality is on a continuum then this could help Dillion feel normal as it would register high for all 3 factors thus making it a situational attribution.

According to the LGBTi statistics by Spiegelhalter (2015) more than 8-10% saw sexuality with more fluidity. Kinsey et al (1948) reported 4% of their participants were exclusively gay but that 37% of men from the general population reported a homosexual experience (Spiegelhalter 2015). Sexuality may be fluid throughout the life span. A study in the UK by Spiegelhalter (2015) noted that Gay men too in older age will engage in sexual relationships with women. Further evidence to back up the idea is the sub-culture of men who identify themselves as straight (heterosexual) but who have sex with Men (MSM) is growing. The data does not show their ethnic background and whether they are passing through or permanently living in the UK. According to Varney et al (2012) it is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of ethnic minority groups due to many factors including, cultural expectations and maybe the expectations of fitting into the culture of the country born into versus the culture of origin. Another problem is that the statistics worldwide suggest 3-16% are classified as MSM and in some studies transgender women have been included which contaminates the numbers therefore not giving an accurate picture. In Sri Lanka no studies have been conducted in gay sexuality, behaviours of MSM. And additional to Dillion's predicament is the ageing question as Bretschneider & McCoy (1988), Kinsey et al (1948) and Masters and Johnson (1966) have shown that the people who are sexually active when young will also be sexually active when older from ages 60 – 94 years. So could Dillion be stepping back in time? This experience with Dillion shows that sexuality

could be on a continuum that might show a different perspective than that of the status quo of the west. Indeed Kinsey et al (1948) showed that even in the west sexuality is not contained in a box and so Dillion is not alone. This finding suggests that he compensates for his behaviour in order to secure his masculinity and status within society (Davis and Harre (1998).

However it could also show a more damaging process to his mental health. By covering up who he really is and is not permitted to love men in general and a man specifically can cause ill health according to Broadway-Horner (2017). Many older gay men in UK, have experienced life in the closet according to Knocker (2012) in her interviews with older LGBTI persons, who have expressed that they suffer in silence with issues like suffering from depression, alcoholism and loneliness. Loneliness is a big possibility for Dillion as he surrounds himself with acceptable friends and family who don't know or may not be willing to know the real Dillion. Also there is the issue of his wife's mental health and according to Auerback and Moser (1987) women married to gay men can experience a range of emotions not too dissimilar to grief. In the grieving process they experience emotions like anger and hurt, feeling a sense of betrayal and loss. Grever (2012) talks about how she felt after hearing the news that her husband is gay. She explains that she felt that she did not know her husband at all, feeling alienated, embarrassed and ashamed that she shared her uttermost secrets with a man that could not return her affection. Some wives according to Auerback and Moser (1987) expressed concerns about how to manage married life, with some opting to continue the marriage by incorporating the husband's sexuality into marital mix. Ultimately the woman needs honesty and the full information before entering a marriage. Hopes and dreams are built and this has to be based upon sexual compatibility (Grever 2012). Gay men need to be allowed to be visible citizens and be able to be with the man they desire to be with and fulfil the Sri Lankan cultural need of being in a committed relationship with one person (Broadway-Horner 2017).

Using IPA and the privilege of meeting Dillion to allow me to enter his mental world, his mental state and the attributinal aspects provides information that I would not have got

from a standard questionnaire. The perception on the discourses of sexuality, masculinity, marriage and culture within his social strata are in-depth and enlightening into the world of an Sri Lankan way of life. It maybe possible that other men and women are in the same situation and so can be replicated in further studies to find out the complexity of sexuality and how to juggle this with expectations from culture. And indeed to find out if LGBTi people do live a culturally Sri Lankan experience in the truest sense but with a LGBTi person.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 = transcript

Appendix 2 = Letter

Appendix 3 = How to do it sheet

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
2	Interviewer: So hi thank you for doing this, I really do appreciate it. What I'm going to do is go through a series of questions, and ...um..it's just a way of providing some structure to the interview questions so there might be four questions, it just all depends on how works for us and I'm how comfortable you feel in telling your answers. So but I have questions ready if your stuck in telling me things so so I have questions here for you. And the reason why interesting interviewing you is because I heard dads you're a gay man is that right?
3	Participant: yep
4	interview: you identify as a gay man..
5	Participant: yep
6	interviewer: Can I ask you ..erm more of a general question to start of with. What do you think erm about gay issues in society, in the UK, what do you think about that? You think there is a level of acceptance in society?
7	Participant: In the Uk?
8	Interview: Yes

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>8 Freedom of sexuality vs religion, custom and social pressure - <u>conflict</u></p>	<p>Participant: in the Uk yes off course, erm of course if i remember correctly in Uk in 2012 at the same sex marriage was approved and compared to Sri Lanka is compared to a heterosexual there is a sense of freedom there. erm there in uk, London erm being gay in Sri lanka i am not sure whether this will happen in my life time or in my kids life time...erm there is pressure, religious pressure, customs and beliefs involved in Sri lanka to change same sex rights. Clearly in the UK , it ermms...its erm, its fantastic and there is a freedom definitely there , its equal, homosexual is equal</p>
<p>10</p>	<p>Interview: Ok, you're a Sri Lankan citizen as well as a UK citizen right?</p>
<p>11 Some hesitation, I felt I had asked the wrong question</p>	<p>Participant: um.....yeah</p>
<p>12</p>	<p>Interview: you mentioned about Sri lanka and that it is different and that you mention in the UK about marriage, Do you ever see that happening in Sri Lanka?</p>
<p>13</p>	<p>Participant: Gay marriage?</p>
<p>14</p>	<p>Interviewer: um</p>
<p>15 a wish for freedom sexuality not allowed - <u>conflict</u></p>	<p>Participant: As I told you i don't think so, there are so many things involved...probably in my dream</p>
<p>16</p>	<p>Interviewer: how do you fit in, in the UK scene because you have been in the UK how long now?</p>
<p>17</p>	<p>Participant: oh.....um...umm 15 years</p>
<p>18</p>	<p>Interviewer: You were saying that...how do you...there is so much out there for gay rights...is it helpful to you when you come to Sri lanka?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>19 Covering up I am totally a different person in Sri Lanka inquisition by society “Where is your girlfriend?”</p> <p>I cannot be myself in Sri Lanka - <u>Personal attribution</u></p> <p>Freedom to love a man in UK not in Sri Lanka</p> <p>Cultural clash I am a cultural person-I want to be with the same man and not have casual sex - <u>Sri Lankan identity</u></p> <p>His friends in Sri Lanka cannot be with same man it is very difficult</p>	<p>Participant: Definitely when ever I come to Sri lanka I am a totally different person. I have a face....I am a totally different person as where ever i go in Sri lanka people are always questioning erm.. where is your girlfriend...when are you getting married? this and that.....i cannot be myself in Sri lanka and i have a discrete life....in Sri lanka...with friends ..i have very limited friends in Sri lanka and in Sri lanka these friends are not coming out and are scared for there...in there...um...social network...in work ... everywhere they are colouring themselves....it is shame...i have some freedom in the UK..i can be ok, i can fall in love with a man or any activitiesor so....in Sri lanka I am scared to meet a guy in their...maybe this guyoooo related to someone.....or spread the work about me....so they are all trying to leave Sri lanka because they cannot be in a gay relationship. I am a cultural person, I like to be with the same man and not have casual sex, same of my friends here but they cannot be with the same man because it is very difficult, they want to leave for Canada or UK because they accept gay rights</p>
<p>20</p>	<p>interviewer: so is it.. which society do you feel more accepted about?...with your sexuality are you more accepted I the UK or.</p>
<p>21 <u>Desiring acceptance</u> struggles, comparing UK with Sri Lanka</p>	<p>Participant: Oh definitely, without any doubt it's the UK, in here you cant..as I told you it's a small circle of friends, they talk and nothing...in Uk its like I told you..sometimes I come to Sri lanka ad after a time enjoy but after that i become frustrated and after a time I am so looking back to UK and be who I am, as sexually as a person</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
22	Interviewer: Ok well that brings me to the point of the reason why I wanted to meet and discuss as I hear you are getting married to a woman right? So how do you make sense of your sexuality and marrying a woman? Because from what you said there I would have naturally assumed that you would have gone for a man, marrying a man, so whats going on there?
<p>23 <u>Situational attribution</u> Its sort of a duty that is inbred in the society that you marry a woman</p> <p>“its time to get married”</p> <p>How can I perform on the bed as sexual partners - <u>Frustration</u></p>	Participant: yea..its because it's a ,, family pressure....social pressure....its sort of a duty that is inbred in the society that you marry a woman, have sex with the opposite sex, have babies...everywhere i go people saying to me..."its time to get married"...you cant be single in Sri lanka... i am actually thinking that I have to entertain the idea of a woman...how can i perform on the bed as sexual partners...i am not sue how i can work with this big challenge..naturally i am comfortable with a man....making love but i am sure how i can face it...i am scared... i have to do it...family pressure..it's the son who marries and pass on the family name...have kids.... this is a very big problem
24	Interviewer: If you remember I spoke with Dilanthi and he said that you were in love with the girl and that was the reason....So is that not the case?
<p>25 <u>Love</u> Not sure its love - <u>Conflict</u></p> <p><u>Bond</u> There is a bond with her She can't wait to marry me I like babies a lot</p>	Participant: well to be honest....well i am not sure its love...um ...i like her she has a great personality.....i don't now how to tell.... probably ummthis is gonna be a a new experience for me..... this is different for me.... i like her.....having a chat with her there is a bond with her....i created with her,.... she created with me.....she cant wait to marry me and produce some babies.....i like babies a lot.....i do like to have kids....
26	Interviewer: Is this the reason why to have kids?

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>27 <u>Marriage / masculinity</u> I want to marry to have kids The biggest reason</p> <p>Dream To have kids, I am not sure if he is trying to convince himself</p>	<p>Participant: I think in the back of my mind this is the biggest reason...um...i want to ...i want marry her and have kids.....i like kids....i have been wanting kids since i was a teenager...it was one of my dreams....this I is helping me...this helped me liking her? making a bond?</p>
<p>28</p>	<p>Interviewer: You don't think this is possible in the UK? I hear some adopting..gay couples are adopting?</p>
<p>29 <u>Culture / Personal attribution</u> They are gonna look at me in a strange way My kids will get bullied - <u>fear this may be situational attribution as all 3 factors are high. Distinctiveness is high in my mind due to the unusual case of gay parents and children being novel</u> Easier option getting married to a woman</p>	<p>Participant: yes there is but you have to understand i have to come to Sri lanka maybe umm.. with..adopt ..i adopt with a man and i come to Sri lanka with a man and how can i adopt to society, they are gonna look at me in a strange way...my kids will get bullied i am sure 100% i am telling you that can happen, um so maybe that is a fear i have in doing that in UK with a man. I think this is easier option getting married to a woman and have babies</p>
<p>30</p>	<p>Interviewer: It sounds like it's the easier option</p>
<p>31 <u>Culture / Situational attribution</u> It's a hard one To marry a woman to have kids and go behind and have sex with men - <u>safety valve</u></p> <p>32</p>	<p>Participant: Its a very easy option but its erm, it's a hard one, to be honest i am sure there are lots of gay men that have done this, getting married to a woman to have kids and go behind and have sex with the men</p> <p>Interviewer: Is that how you make sense of your sexuality? Its kind of..one part is marriage but are you saying there is another part here that you could have sex with men outside of marriage?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>33 Culture Male has to be discreet-situational attribution Man does not want to be identified There is a <u>trust</u> <u>But this is possibly a fundamental bias error as he appears to be excusing the impact socially in favour of personal ones</u></p>	<p>No it's not..it can be happen with the individual you are meeting but the male has to be discreet. because for example if i am married to a woman but i have a sex with a man there is already er automatically naturally a trust we can build.. that man does not want to be identified as a gay man or sex with the man....There is a trust...discreet. That happens a lot</p>
<p>34</p>	<p>Interviewer: Its already assumed that your gonna keep a secret</p>
<p>35</p>	<p>Participant: Yea</p>
<p>36 Culture and Masculinity 2 Sri Lankan men to keep a secret - self serving but also correspondent as family will see him following duty and therefore allow the infidelity</p> <p>37</p>	<p>Interviewer: 2 men, 2 Sri Lankan men to keep the secret. That is when you visit Sri Lanka, how often do you visit?</p> <p>Participant: I visit quite often</p>
<p>38</p>	<p>Interviewer: Is it for business or holiday?</p>
<p>39</p>	<p>Participant: Oh for business and holidays</p>
<p>40</p>	<p>Interviewer: How many times?</p>
<p>41</p>	<p>Participant: It can be four times per year</p>
<p>42</p>	<p>Interviewer: ok how long do you spend</p>
<p>43</p>	<p>Participant: it can be 3 weeks, sometimes 3 months</p>
<p>44</p>	<p>Interviewer: so in the UK does have to be a Sri Lankan woman that you marry or is it european?</p>
<p>45 Culture / <u>Situational attribution</u> they are naive they are blind to the rest of the world</p>	<p>Participant: Yes as european woman are more liberal, more understanding this is what we don't have in Sri lanka. I know we are an island but common this is 21st century and they are naive, they are blind to the rest of the world, so they don't have this knowledge. It's a shame to have knowledge</p>
<p>46</p>	<p>Interviewer: So is this marriage arranged?</p>
<p>47</p>	<p>Participant: Yes it is yea</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
48	Interviewer: Just so I understand arranged marriage I hear in the UK so many horror stories about Pakistani marriages. Is it the same as Pakistani marriages ...is it enforced?
49 Culture / Arranged marriage Religion is part of that Family pay into that Matchmaker Girl's family talk with guy's family - <u>matter of fact terms / appears disconnected</u>	Participant: If I tell you informally there is lots of formality involved and I am not sure of Pakistan as it is a Muslim country and Sri Lanka is a Buddhist country. Of course religious will be part of that and so family pay into that and other families just them married. If the family is wealthy enough, provide future for the family, some caste system as well but there is lots of rich people born in Sri Lanka or coming but the formality is that the girl's family talk with the guy's family or maybe a match maker in-between to pass information in-between, this girl that, that that .. Thats how its happen.
50	Interviewer: Sounds like theres quite a long process?
51 Arranged marriage Quite a long process matching the horoscope Local beliefs as well - <u>pride</u>	Participant: Quite along process it can be a year as horoscope or matching the horoscope, Catholic family as well. I come from a Buddhist family erm...so horoscope need to match as well. There is so many.....urm....local customs belief as well
52	Interviewer: So this isn't a light undertaking..
53	Participant: No it's not
54	Interviewer: Its quite a heavy process, you have thought about it a lot?
55 <u>Culture / Situational attribution</u> This burden To be accepted in this society <u>Personal attribution</u> At the moment it is heavy	Participant: It took some time for me oh er think...because naturally..I don't know how you feel but naturally to accepted in this society...this burden because to be accepted in this society. I have to go through those things and sometimes I forget the pain and suffering i go through...at the moment it is hidden it is heavy, I don't think about it much

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
56	Interviewer: It sounds like this isn't for yourself but for the family too?
57 <u>Masculinity</u> For the kids I enjoy She is educated <u>Culture</u> Most of the people are saying that love can grow	Participant: Oh yea yea it is majorly for the family and for me it is for the kids I enjoy, I will enjoy the kids it is want I will do. For the girl it is she who proposed to me...she is a very nice girl, she is educated, there is alot of naivety their but in Sri Lanka you must understand not like like european culture, most of the people are saying that love can grow. So you meet a man and woman so the love can start love can grow, thats the society thing, I am sure that work. My parents were not proposed, they met together,
58	Interviewer: a romantic...
59 <u>Culture clash</u> But it was hard to get er the families were not suited	Participant: yea romantic but it was hard to get er the families were not suited
60	Interviewer: So an arranged marriage...
61 <u>Culture clash</u> But after than it became an arranged marriage.	Participant: but after than it became an arranged marriage. My father had to prepare a lot of financial help or show to my mom's family...so everything, my aunts, uncles are all proposed marriage
62	Interviewer: So how do you make sense of sexuality in Sri Lanka compared sexuality in UK. It sounds very differentTo me. Are proposing its very different sexuality in UK to sexuality in Sri lanka?
63	Participant: what do you mean?
64	Interviewer: You seem to be saying its very different in Sri Lanka you could be with someone the love grows...
65	Participant: yea....
66	Interviewer: You're thinking there is something very different in the UK?

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>67 <u>Sexuality</u> You go out ..or meet in the street...the supermarket...the club... talking to the person</p> <p><u>Culture</u> In Sri Lanka no you cant before you meet erm...2 parties..girl boy or man and woman the middle person do the leg work</p>	<p>Participant: Yea of course because you erm, you met the person right...you go out ..Or meet in the street...the supermarket...the club... talking to the person. In Sri Lanka no you cant before you meet erm...2 parties..girl boy or man and woman the middle person do the leg work. Ok the family background is good the family education is good..the work background is good, if they are all good then at the end the man and the woman meet at the ...er...girl's house erm...but if they don't like each other they just have to put up with it as everything else is perfect.</p>
<p>68</p>	<p>Interviewer: Ah ok</p>
<p>69 <u>Sexuality /Culture</u> You can be who you are as you don't have to talk what you got or about family dowries this and that...its more natural - <u>personal attribution</u></p> <p><u>Culture / personal attribution</u> In Sri Lanka your forced to develop the love</p>	<p>Participant: But in the UK or european countries you meet on the street, walk down the street or drunk you have a chat...its more liberal...I find its very entertaining...you can be who you are as you don't have to talk what you got or about family dowries this and that...its more natural. In Sri Lanka your forced to develop the love if you force then its gonna be chaos, so at beginning you need to force then develop it will grow</p>
<p>70</p>	<p>Interviewer: It sounds like what you're saying is that sexuality it's not just pigeon holed into a box, it sounds like you really do believe it is possible not only have gay sexuality but straight as well. You believe a love could be formed with this woman.</p>
<p>71 <u>Love</u> There are different kinds of love,</p>	<p>Participant: yep there are different kinds of love, it will provide me a different kind of outcome erm...</p>
<p>72</p>	<p>Interviewer: But you believe it is possible to have the same type of love for a man for a woman... you believe thats possible?</p>
<p>73</p>	<p>Participant: er...that i yet to find out</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
74	Interviewer: Its sounds like you really favour, it makes sense from a Sri Lankan background, you like the arrangement with the woman right?
75	Participant: urm yea
76 77 Culture / Social attribution I need to be in this relationship to satisfy my family , her family my friends if i create some through this marriage so I hope I can actually perform well..	Interviewer: you like the fun of the Uk but you're saying there could be a love that could be a love that develops with this woman? Participant: It could be Im thinking yea er.. You must understand as I have mentioned that society, the society pressure gonna take you the way naturally you may not want to go. I need to be in this relationship to satisfy my family , her family my friends if i create some through this marriage so I hope I can actually perform well.... in the near future
78 79 Sexuality I am 100% gay man...as i told you I like everything to do with men (voice lowers not a whisper but lower than usual)	Interviewer: So how do you make sense of your own sexuality then? Participant: I am 100% gay man...as i told you I like everything to do with men (voice lowers not a whisper but lower than usual)
80 81 Culture They have to be discreet	Interviewer: Sri Lankan men? or europ... Participant: Yea Sri Lankan men they have to be discreet and you know discreet gay man or men who like to have sex..
82	Interviewer: Do you think sexuality is understood differently in south Asia?
83	Participant: yes..yea
84	Interviewer: I heard one time from a friend who worked out there, he said that men are for sex and women are for love and he had affairs outside of a marriage. Do you think that is similar to Sri Lanka?

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>85 Masculinity / Social attribution Up until your 25 so things or pushed upto 30 you can hold hands with a man. - allowed behaviour You can walk down the street or sleep in the same bed as a friend But in Sri Lanka you hold hands as a friend but that can limit to 25 to 30 but cant go over as it is seen as unusual behaviour - strange</p>	<p>Participant: I don't think so as you cant have such a bond. For example in UK know no things..up until your 25 so things or pushed upto 30 you can hold hands with a man. You can walk down the street or sleep in the same bed as a friend. In European countries you cannot do that as you hold hands only if love. But in Sri Lanka you hold hands as a friend but that can limit to 25 to 30 but cant go over as it is seen as unusual behaviour. Or you like your own kind of sex, so men after 25 they don't do physical body expression or..</p>
<p>86</p>	<p>Interviewer: So like putting a hand over the shoulders or holding hands or leaning into a man...</p>
<p>87</p>	<p>Participant: That can happen til age upto 25</p>
<p>88</p>	<p>Interviewer: ok.....Have you told your friends about your decision?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>89 Culture But I am feeling ashamed to tell you know If I start this life that life needs to be hidden away...put in a bottle and throw deep into the ocean.</p>	<p>Participant: Straight friends yes they love to hear that but gay friends I feel embarrassed to say because I know a lot of gay friends in UK but I don't know how to say...probably they might understand the trouble I went through for the last few years with my family getting married to a woman. But I am feeling ashamed to tell you know, in European countries it is that freedom it is the right but I want to stand proud with them but I am sure they will understand in a way what kind of family pressure and social background I am coming from so. Probably they will accept but sometimes I don't want them to sometimes I am thinking...to delete, I have a Facebook account, I have 2 Facebook accounts, one for straight one for gay and I want to delete that. Sometimes I am thinking I am gonna stop staying in touch with them forever, if I start this life that life needs to be hidden away...put in a bottle and throw deep into the ocean. So it is shame but I have to take my...you know..go ahead with my future with this marriage.</p>
<p>90</p>	<p>Interviewer: There is a few things I want to pick on there um. Firstly you said that you struggled with your family for the last few years, Am I to infer from that that the family have being persuading you for the last few years to marry? Did you respond or rebel against it or</p>
<p>91</p>	<p>Participant: Yea yea</p>
<p>92</p>	<p>Interviewer: How has that been for you? How bad did it get with the family? Was it bad at all?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>93 Masculinity But for men I think men can marry any age I guess, as long as they can perform. But here you need to get married if you have a good education or a good job There is an alarm bell going off</p>	<p>Participant: Yea it was bad because it was time for me to get married, to be honest I don't believe in this there is a time to get married to any person. Maybe when it comes to female there are limitations to provide the babies....To produce that. But for men I think men can marry any age I guess, as long as they can perform. But here you need to get married if you have a good education or a good job. Its like an alarm...so they were...I don't know whether they knew that...we don't talk about it. This is the thing in Sri Lanka they don't talk with their kids...these are really bad things..they just want to say "You have to do that" its like we genetically modified item...ok when you become this age you need to get married to a woman. There is an alarm bell going off. We do not talk at all in Sri Lanka...with their kids about the concern or how the feel about with their kids. They say "there are lots of male friends" so sometimes I have to pretend um " yes I have a female friend I actually dated or had a fling" in order to have a cover</p>
<p>94</p> <p>95 Culture We fall off many times many times over the phone...</p>	<p>Interviewer: How difficult did it become with the family?</p> <p>Participant: It got difficult as sometimes I get rebellious with them because sometime I am a gay man and I want to do want I want to do and they are telling me something different....we fall off many times many times over the phone...</p>
<p>96</p>	<p>Interviewer: Do they know you are gay?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>97 Anger But they don't care..they do not care...they don't want to know or maybe sometimes I heard that.</p> <p>In Sri lanka there is no privacy as there has to be, there is no secret</p> <p>God help this society if they get the help from.</p>	<p>Participant: I don't know...maybe they do...but they don't care..they do not care...they don't want to know or maybe sometimes I heard that...this is a very funny thing in Sri lanka. One of my friends in Sri Lanka he got caught...he came with his Maldivian friend. A friend meaning in Maldives and he came down and his mom caught him having sex making love in the room. In Sri lanka there is no privacy as there has to be, there is no secret ..Oh most of it is into that word. So the activity happen and his mother went to speak with a psychiatrics and he said to her "oh these things is common in European men but it's a limited period...that gonna stop somehow, so don't worry about it". I am thinking this is a doctor, he is a psychiatric doctor and I am thinking if they have this kind of a vision from...god help this society if they get the help from. This is a phase and this will stop.</p>
<p>98</p>	<p>Interviewer: Did it stop?</p>
<p>99</p>	<p>Participant: No he's actually living in Male and doesn't want to be in Sri lanka. He stopped coming to Sri lanka</p>
<p>100</p>	<p>Interviewer: So he is not going to the typical thing and be forced into a marriage?</p>
<p>101 Frustration No um you must understand there are some families that are well connected. The higher strata seems to have more pressures.</p>	<p>Participant: No um you must understand there are some families that are well connected, well known and there are some families that are just different family background so pressure on there kids is very different</p>
<p>102</p>	<p>Interviewer: Are you in a well connected family?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
103 Frustration So theres competing a lot	Participant: well connected means is that my family is a big family, everyone is married, sometimes there is a competition you must understand. If your daughter married the Hilton hotel then they want their kids to marry the Marriott hotel...you see what I am saying...so theres competing a lot
104	Interviewer: so the family is connected and so theres more pressure on you to marry?
105	Participant: yes
106	Interviewer: because of that connection
107	Participant: yea I must say that because my friend has one with for siblings are married...in a way they are sorted so he can play around and cover his sexuality..
108	Interviewer: The other thing that strikes me as you're saying..its almost you have to put on a kind of a face or façade? In order to fit it?
109	Participant: yes
110	Interviewer: Your painting a picture in UK that gay sexuality is more fun...are you able to fall in love in the UK? Have you fallen in love with a man?
111	Participant: I have yea..i have yea
112	Interviewer: How long did that last for?
113	Participant: some couple of years...some couple of months
114	Interviewer: Did you not think that it would be possible to live with them and to bridge the gap between Sri lanka and the UK?

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>115 Culture The freedom of being who I am in Sri lanka...I don't know maybe in the future it might happen..</p> <p>I don't want my kids to be pushed to the corner and bullied by the society and I want them to see my side of the world as world where I grew up...this side of the culture where as well the UK</p>	<p>Participant: Its gonna be very difficult for me...I don't think so even I can do that in my life time, the freedom of being who I am in Sri lanka...I don't know maybe in the future it might happen..i don't think I can d that....er...yea and I am always thinking that as I told you the kids thing is very important and able to have a kids. I know in the UK you can adopt but how can I adopt with a man and bring to Sri lanka? I introduce a man to my relatives and kids say "Ok I have 2 fathers" I don't want my kids to be pushed to the corner and bullied by the society and I want them to see my side of the world as world where I grew up...this side of the culture where as well the UK</p>
<p>116</p>	<p>Interviewer: You have mentioned quite a few times children and it sounds like this is the main driving force behind the marriage</p>
<p>117</p>	<p>Participant: probably yea probably</p>
<p>118</p>	<p>Interviewer: Your hoping that a love develops but that you're really wanting this</p>
<p>119 Culture / Sexuality He actually married to a woman in Sri lanka plus he is muslim married to a Sri lanka and they got a kid. He told me "Dillion I love this woman " he has one kid, I don't think he can perform with her...</p>	<p>Participant: I must say that I am getting experience form a friend of mine who actually lived in Qatar, he has a boyfriend of one of the sheiks son, a wealthy person um..he was working for Sri Lankan airways a Sri Lankan guy. He actually married to a woman in Sri lanka plus he is muslim married to a Sri lanka and they got a kid. He told me "Dillion I love this woman " he has one kid, I don't think he can perform with her...</p>
<p>120</p>	<p>Interviewer: So he is gay?</p>
<p>121</p>	<p>Participant: yea yea he is gay...he is married but most of the time he live in the Qatar not in Sri Lanka. He doesn't live with the wife</p>
<p>122</p>	<p>Interviewer: living with the wife in Sri lanka</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>123 Culture / Sexuality His wife is Sri lanka providing everything for them. He has a male lover in Qatar.</p>	<p>Participant: no no he lives in Qatar, his wife is Sri lanka providing everything for them. He has a male lover in Qatar. If you come from a particular background then you do such a thing but I don't have that background..i only have one way to do these things. Marry, have a house and do these things and carry on</p>
<p>124</p>	
<p>125</p>	
<p>126</p>	<p>Interviewer: it sounds like a different sexuality or an understanding of a sexuality which is you that it is possible to marry and then have a lover or a male lover</p>
<p>127</p>	<p>Participant: Not in this country, you have to stay away in another country you cant be...</p>
<p>128</p>	<p>Interviewer: You don't think that this used to happen in the UK?</p>
<p>129 Culture There is clearly something that need to change in this country... Homosexuality is normal.</p>	<p>Participant: Probably used to do that of course...this is Sri lanka..i am thinking Sri lanka is 50-60 years ago in UK yea..there is clearly something that need to change in this country...this is too too late as we have to look up to other western country as they are the ones who are inventing research..we actually benefitting from the research...we don't have to do that but I am thinking so research has been done and homosexuality is normal. They are saying that homosexual sex is unnatural or same sex, there is liberal in those countries...</p>
<p>130</p>	<p>Interviewer: so you're hoping that this will change</p>
<p>131</p>	<p>Participant: I am hoping but when though</p>
<p>132</p>	<p>Interviewer: You don't think these things is possible in Sri lanka?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>133 Masculinity I have to get married to a woman asap and the wedding may be soon as I am doing the house now to provide</p>	<p>Participant: but when though I don't think in my life time, I have to get married to a woman asap and the wedding may be soon as I am doing the house now to provide</p>
<p>134</p>	<p>Interviewer: This links in quite nicely with the last part of the interview if we can look at wishes and dreams you know, kind of saying you would like it to be different in Sri lanka..</p>
<p>135</p>	<p>Participant: yes</p>
<p>136</p> <p>137 Culture Society need to accept...it shouldn't be heterosexual..there needs to be rights</p>	<p>Interviewer: How would you like it to be different in Sri lanka? Do you want gay marriage to be legal in Sri lanka?</p> <p>Participant: just give them a freedom.. there is such a thing as men can have sex with men and woman can have sex with woman...society need to accept...it shouldn't be heterosexual..there needs to be rights</p>
<p>138</p>	<p>Interviewer: What else would you like to be different in Sri lanka?</p>
<p>139</p>	<p>Participant: there needs to be good education ..they are not educated enough...the literacy is high in English and maths but the other general knowledge its zero</p>
<p>140</p>	<p>Interviewer: So you saying knowledge about different lives, lifestyles would be good. Would like adoption to be possible?</p>
<p>141</p>	<p>Gay adoption yea</p>
<p>142</p>	<p>Participant: Gay adoption? Yep in Sri lanka its illegal for a single man to adopt...it has to be woman or a straight couple...in there they scratched that one out..</p>
<p>143</p>	<p>Interviewer: is that because of gay issue or down to something else?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>144 Culture The kid does not know this is his father, until today he is 8 years. But if it is his natural son then why does he need to adopt?</p>	<p>Participant: I am not if that was down to gay issues or paedophilia er it could be that...single man cant adopt. I have a friend who said that he had sex with girlfriend many years ago..he is gay man but the girlfriend left to go to Canada and so he asked his brother to take on the kid. The kid does not know this is his father, until today he is 8 years and he does not know who is biological father</p>
<p>145</p>	<p>Interviewer: so he calls him uncle?</p>
<p>146</p>	<p>Participant: yep he is uncle</p>
<p>147</p>	<p>Interviewer: does it have an impact on him? Does he get upset by that?</p>
<p>148</p>	<p>Participant: Oh yea yea but he cant adopt as a single man. They adopt his kid because they are married. It is a sad story er .yea a sad twisted story that happens but I hope a love can develop for me</p>
<p>149</p>	<p>Interviewer: So that is one of your wishes that a love develops?</p>
<p>150</p>	<p>Participant: yea</p>
<p>151</p>	<p>47 mins</p>
<p>152</p>	
<p>153</p>	<p>Interviewer: Where do you aim to settle? I mean you spend most of your time in UK, you visit Sri Lanka 3-4 times a year. It sounds like you're hoping, you haven't said it but through the interview it sounds like you want to spend your life in Sri lanka than the UK?</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
<p>154 Culture Yes, I would like to because erm...because growing up I had a good childhood, I had my cousins to play with, I am talking long time ago.</p> <p>But I still think there is freedom growing up in sri lanka</p> <p>I don't mind my kids to have any type of sexuality. I will accept</p> <p>It's not my rights who they want to marry.</p>	<p>Participant: Yes I would like to because erm...because growing up I had a good childhood, I had my cousins to play with, I am talking long time ago. Society has changed, everything has changed. But I still think there is freedom growing up in Sri Lanka, there are no restrictive rules for growing up with children and adults here. I like I had a really good childhood and I want my kids to have that also but I am telling you today whether be today or 30 years from now, whenever I get the kids. I don't mind my kids to have any type of sexuality. I will accept, I don't what would happen with my future wife but I will stand behind them, supporting them because I actually went through it their rights. It's not my rights who they want to marry.</p>
<p>155</p> <p>156</p>	<p>Interviewer: It sounds like your gonna parent them differently?</p> <p>Participant: I will talk to them in such a way but I am sure erm, the future education will improve a lot and the kids learn quickly that they will live but if I am lucky enough to perform as an acting gay man sorry...acting straight man</p>
<p>157</p>	<p>Interviewer: But your saying with your parents there is not discussion about it, there is this expectation that you marry but it sounds like what your saying is their wont be that expectation for them to marry and that you are open to want they wanna do</p>
<p>158 Culture Sri Lankan law will be changed in 20 years time that there is another kind of love between human being such as gay and straight. Hopeful that he will be the type of father he admires</p>	<p>Participant: yea but thing is sometimes I'm hoping like I told you that Sri Lankan society, Sri Lankan law will be changed in 20 years time that there is another kind of love between human being such as gay and straight. That will happen I am hoping, if that happen it will make my life easy and make my kids life easy in finding them whatever partners they want.</p>

Table 1: Transcript of interview between researcher and Dillion

Themes / notes / impressions	Verbatim
159	Interviewer: And there is no dream to settle in the UK?
160	Participant: erm no
161	Interviewer: You don't think that's possible
162	Participant: I don't think that's possible no..the woman I will marry has no knowledge of living in another country, she so more rooted in this country er yea.
163	Interviewer: well I just want to say thank you so much for taking the time to tell me your story. I wish you all the best in your marriage and the dreams you have come to pass, thank you so much for your time
164	Participant: Can I say something?
165	Interviewer: yes
166 He appears uplifted, burden had been lifted	Participant: I just want to wish you success in your research and hope that whatever happens that your research will help society to be less blindfolded. That's why I put myself forward as I want something to change and thank you for your wishes and I will try to stick with what I should do