DISCOURSES OF BISEXUALITY IN THE FINNISH PRESS

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Introduction

I interviewed 40 Finnish bisexuals about their experiences of being bisexual in Finland for my master's thesis (Kangasvuo 2001). They told me much about their thoughts of bisexuality and one of the things they talked about was the prejudices of bisexuality - maybe not surprisingly. They wanted to discuss and contemplate the public discourse of bisexuality - especially the prejudices, and how they had emerged.

So how the prejudices emerge? One - if not only - space where prejudices are created and discourses strengthened is media. Bisexuality has not been much of an issue in Finnish media. During the last ten years there has been very few articles on it in newspapers or magazines. Bisexuality seems to be such a veiled phenomena that most of the articles concentrate on telling what it actually means. Who are bisexuals? What do they do? With whom they sleep with? Usually the articles also try to fight prejudices - but sometimes they manage to strengthen them too.

So what were and are the discourses of bisexuality in Finnish written media around the turn of the millennium? I analyse five articles that have been published in Finnish newspapers and magazines - they have been published in lesbian and gay magazine, in health and sport magazine, in the monthly magazine of the biggest Finnish newspaper, in student newspaper and in national tabloid newspaper. I try to find the discourses of bisexuality which are used when writing about bisexuality to general public.

There has been relatively few articles published in the Finnish press on bisexuality. I must point out that I have not done systematic and extensive study on Finnish newspapers and magazines to find all articles on bisexuality. I have analysed the articles that I have found and stored during the last ten years.

My doctoral studies are still in very early phase and I in this paper I hope to be able to gamble with some ideas I have and hopefully to develop them further in coming years.

Discourse analysis

I use discourse analysis as an analytical tool. I'm mostly dependent on Finnish literature on discourse analysis, namely Arja Jokinen's, Kirsti Juhila's and Eero Suoninen's (1999, 2000) handbooks of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is widely used in interview, narrative and discussion research - in researches that concentrate on language and social relations. In Finland discourse analysis has been
used for example by Sari Charpentier, who studied the newspaper debate about gay marriages in Finland (Charpentier, 2001).

We create the world by speaking and writing: we construct and define the things we talk and write about. When things get a meaning, they get a special shape in our minds. The reality does not consist of meanings only - but we cannot observe and examine things without giving them meaning at the same time. 'Reality' is multifaceted and ambiguous field of parallel, different and competing systems of meanings. The systems of meanings are constructed - and getting constructed - as parts of social practices. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 18-24.)

Using language is not bound only in the situation in which it is used: using language has vast ideological consequences that are associated with power. Although social reality can be formed in myriad of ways, some ways of formation can hinder diversity and legitimate and maintain certain power relations. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 11, 43.)

Discourse is a system of meanings and relations of meanings, which is constructed in social practices and relations. Discourse constructs social reality. The systems of meanings can be both verbal and non-verbal constructions. The concept of discourse is especially useful when power relations and institutionalised social practices are examined. Discourse is not static and solid system but flexible and changing. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 27, 89; Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 1999, 67; Wood and Kroger 2000, 19-20.)

Discourse analysis concentrates on analysing language and other actions that consist of sharing meanings. It is especially focused on analysing how social reality is produced in different social practices. Discourse analysis is quite flexible theoretical construction which allows different foci and methods. The most important theoretical background ideas are the idea of the nature of language as constructing social reality and the idea of existence of several parallel and competing systems of meanings. Using the systems of meanings has a certain context but also wider consequences that are bound to social power relations. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 9-10, 17-18; Wood and Kroger 2000, 3-7.)

Discourse analysis does not examine discourses but the way they actualise in different social practices and how they are used. Discourse analysis is interested in what speaker or writer does and produces with accounts. In the systems of meanings some discourses get more reliability than other discourses and are formed as truths. When a truth is strong enough other truths are silenced. Discourse analysis ponders how some discourses gain the power of truth and what power relations are produced by them. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 28-29, 75, 89; Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 1999, 23-25.)

It is also important to ponder the ideological consequences of certain discourses. Discourse analysis can criticise the practices and discourses that legitimate oppressive power relations and defend the alternative discourses and practices. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 97.)

Discourse analysis is not a straightforward process that would result automatically valid and reliable answers. Moreover, discourse analysis is highly dependable on the interpretations the researcher makes. It is also necessary to remember that interpretations will always be simplifications which may cement the potential meanings. (Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 2000, 106, 231; Jokinen, Juhila and Suoninen, 1999, 41.)
I'm especially interested in a way how bisexuality is produced in the Finnish press. How it is described and what it is claimed to be? The interviewees in my earlier study had strong opinions on bisexuality, especially on prejudices, which they claimed to be strengthened by the media. But what does 'the media' say about bisexuality? What discourses are dominant?

Pauliina Haasjoki (2003) has studied the possibility of bisexual narrative in Finnish literature and pointed out that bisexual narrative is excluded both in heteronormative and lesbian literary history. Bisexuality does not exist in speech and literature with its own name. It cannot be trusted that bisexuality would be understood. (Haasjoki, 2003, 31, 42.)

If the western (and more specifically: Finnish) sexual system seems to be strongly dichotomous and emphasize sexual and gender differences (Weeks 1995; Firestein 1996, 269-272), how is it possible to talk about bisexuality? Does talking about bisexuality always mean confronting hegemonic discourse of dichotomous sexuality?

The articles

The magazines are from the year 1992, 1993, 1997, 1999 and 2000. Due to the few number of analysed articles, one can't draw conclusions on the change of discourses of bisexuality. However the articles published in early nineties tended to concentrate more on explaining what bisexuality is than the articles published later, while the articles from the late 90's and 2000 concentrated on bisexuality as a trend.

First I will introduce the articles I have analysed with some quotations (all translations by JK, the original texts are provided in Appendix 1). I have tried to find out the general tone used in the article and brought it forward using the quotations.

Unreliable bisexuals? Seeking definition

The first article that I'm going to analyse was published in Seta-lehti, Finnish lesbian and gay magazine, in 1992 with a title "Epšluotettavat biseksualit" (Unreliable bisexuals) (LŠhteenmŠki and Vasama, 1992). The title is an ironic challenge for lesbian and gay community, which - according to the article - viewed bisexuality through such prejudices as the title presents. The article is apparently written by two (young?) bisexual women and it is roughly one page long. The article was one of the first articles on bisexuality in Seta-lehti, and is possibly been inspired by prejudices that the writers have confronted in lesbian and gay community.

The tone of the article is defending, even angry: the writers want to point the prejudices out and destroy them by ironising them. Ironising is especially visible in following quotation:

"Relationship with a bisexual is difficult, maybe even impossible, because s/he is always possessed with his/her raging instincts and unable to be faithful at any rate. S/He is always in danger to get attracted, when there is a moving creature with a temperature of 37 Celsius degrees around." (Quote 1.)
The main objective of the article is to define bisexuality and introduce the definition to lesbian and gay community. The article starts with a conservative definition of bisexuality, in which bisexuality is defined by sexual desire:

"Usually a bisexual is defined to be a person, who has erotic and sexual feelings towards both men and women. The definition does not include the meaning of emotions." (Quote 2.)

After the sexuality-centered definition the article points out some of the most common prejudices of bisexuality. It describes the notion of medical literature of bisexuality as a phase towards healthy, mature and adult sexual identity and reminds that the notion is common also in gay community. Another thought the article describes to be prevalent in gay community is that bisexuality would be easy, because bisexuals can disguise as straights in straight community and other way around in gay community. The anger caused by the prejudices is clearly phrased.

The ironised prejudice of insatiable sexual hunger was presented in quotation I gave above. Especially this prejudice seems to be important: the prejudice is ridiculed in two paragraphs - in the very first paragraph of the article and later in the middle of the article. Even the title reflects this prejudice - although 'unreliability' may refer also to the ambiguity of bisexual identity between homo- and heterosexuality, 'unreliability' as a word refers most clearly to relationships and especially romantic and sexual relationships. The Finnish word 'epäluotettava' can be translated also with a word 'untrustworthy', which has a whole different meaning in this context.

The centering mostly to this prejudice starts in the very first paragraph of the article:

"The definition enables also a thought, that any woman or man anywhere and anytime would interest a bisexual. Surprisingly, a bisexual does not get attracted more easily than other people. The fact, that the gender of the object of attraction doesn't necessarily count, doesn't increase the amount of erotically interesting people in the world." (Quote 3.)

Finally the prejudice is proved to be wrong in the second last paragraph:

"Having two parallel relationships doesn't seem to be a natural and inseparable requirement for bisexuality." (Quote 4.)

The ironising tone has changed to factualising - the writers have ridiculed the prejudices enough and tell now how things 'really are'. They use their own experience as a reflection and opposite to the prejudices.

The article ends with a new, improved definition of bisexuality:

"We hope that the discussion about bisexuality would became more reasonable [...] The discussion should be based on a newer, maybe better definition of bisexuality. We suggest that bisexual is a person, who can feel erotic, sexual, emotional and/or social attraction towards both genders." (Italics in the original.) (Quote 5.)

The main point of the article is to criticize the sexually centered old definition of bisexuality and to provide a new one, which includes a wider range of feelings and attractions that can be named bisexual.
The article has characteristics of a pamphlet - although it aims to present some facts of bisexuals and bisexuality, it does not do it neutrally but takes clearly the side of bisexuals - prejudiced straights and gays being on the opposite side. The article is also highly dependent on the writers' own experiences and views - when experts of sexuality (medical literature and SETA) are referred, their incompetence considering bisexuality is pointed out.

Don't worry: everybody has same-sex fantasies!

Kunto Plus is quite popular health and sport magazine that has also articles concentrating on psychology, sex and relationships. The magazine is published by Bonniers Publishing. Currently the magazine is published in Finland, Sweden, Norway and Denmark and it is quite possible that the same article on bisexuality was published in all Scandinavian countries at the same time.

In the summer issue of the year 1993 Kunto Plus published an article on bisexuality. The name of the article is "Kaikilla on omaan sukupuoleen liittyviä fantasioita: Seksiä puolin toisin. Biseksualiset fantasiat ja todellisuus" (Everybody has same-sex fantasies: Sex both ways. Bisexual fantasies and reality) and it mainly tries to answer the question "what is bisexuality" (Kunto Plus, 1993). However, the pictures of the article create an erotic and intimate atmosphere. The article is four pages long and it has two large pictures - first a picture of two naked women fondling each other and then a picture of a naked woman and a man.

The ingress of the article creates a conflict with a statement:

"Bisexuality is a concept that divides the views of experts. Some say that we all are bisexual. Others claim that bisexuality does not exist. One thing is sure: the fantasies about both genders are very common." (Quote 6.)

The article creates bisexuality as an ambiguous phenomenon that is not yet fully understood by researchers or even by bisexuals themselves. Bisexuality is presented as a taboo, which is a little bit frightening but exciting too.

"Have you sometimes waken after erotic dream and been surprised, because your partner was of other gender than the people you usually get attracted to? It is very common, and it is not necessarily a sign of bisexuality. [...] Bisexuality has been a great taboo until now. Heterosexuals have thought that bisexuals are uncontrolled, deviant people and homosexuals that bisexuals are traitorous gays, who don't dare to live according to their nature." (Quote 7.)

The article presents two opposite views on bisexuality. Sigmund Freud and Alfred Kinsey are the first authorities referred. Freud's idea of polymorphic perversity and Kinsey's scale of sexual orientation are presented as proofs of idea that "all of us are bisexuals". Danish sexologist Preben Hertoft is presented as an expert who has a different view:

"Bisexuality has become a vogue word. I don't think I've ever met someone who is truly bisexual. My experience proves that with enough information it is possible to define, if a person is homo- or heterosexual. Hence bisexuality is an unnecessary term, says Preben Hertoft." (Quote 8.)

After presenting the two opposite views, the article starts a new chapter:
"You don't become bisexual after one experience" (subtitle) (Quote 9.)

The article points out, that bisexual activities don't necessary mean actual bisexuality. Single sexual contact with a person of the same sex does not mean bisexuality, but repetitive contacts can do. The examples given are two drunk and lonely soldiers far away from home and loving girl friends; and a married man who seeks hustlers on a railway station - the soldiers are not bisexuals but the married man is. It is interesting that the very example of a bisexual person is a married man seeking hustlers.

The next chapter concentrates on sexual fantasies and their meaning. While Preben Hertoft continues to question the need of the term 'bisexuality', a new authority, American psychologist Anne Evans, is introduced as a defendant of bisexuals. Fantasies are presented as a part of human sexuality, and the safety of them is underlined.

"There is no reason to live according one's fantasies, if one doesn't want or have a compulsive need to do so. People can have fantasies and still live in a satisfying, monogamous relationship, if willed so." (Quote 10.)

The second last chapter has a subtitle "Aktiiviset biseksualit peittelevät kaksoiselämää" (Active bisexuals hide their double life), and it concentrates on AIDS and the role of bisexuals in spreading of the disease. Bisexuals are said to be in greater danger to get AIDS because they live double life and don't want to join in campaigns that are meant for homosexuals.

The article ends with a chapter subtitled "Pitkäkestoisempaa seksiä saman sukupuolen kanssa" (Prolonged sex with the same gender). The chapter starts by giving a nameless voice for homo- and bisexuals:

"Many homo- and bisexuals say that they don't feel different than other people." (Quote 11.)

The chapter refers once again to an authority, Masters & Johnson, whose study has proved that homosexually active men and women get more satisfaction of sex. The article ends with a positive account of homosexuals' sexual skills:

"According to a research homosexual men are better to prolong pleasure and more skillful to excite each other. Researches among lesbians prove that they get orgasm in 90-100 percent of their relationships, but only 40 percent of married women get as much satisfaction after five years of marriage." (Quote 12.)

Although the article seems to be giving very objective and neutral view of bisexuals by referring different academic authorities and different perspectives of bisexuality, it still creates quite solid picture of bisexuals as living double life, hiding behind the marriage. The picture is strengthened with the relative lacking of subjective bisexual experiences compared to references of different experts. There are totally five different authorities on sexuality (Hertoft, Freud, Kinsey, Evans, Masters & Johnson) being referred in the article. Sexual feelings and acts are presented to be as essential definers of bisexuality - bisexuality is not presented as an identity but as a set of sexual acts with different genders.
It is also clear that 'the bisexuals' talked in the article are male - although the pictures that have a soft core porn feeling, present two women togheter. The examples given about bisexuals are all examples of male experiences, and also when AIDS is discussed. The maleness of bisexuality is especially visible in a paragraph taken from the last chapter (which is also the only place where bisexuals' experiences and thoughts on bisexuality are referred):

"Bisexual men often bring up the point that with women they act according to the typical male role emphasising performance even though it might not be the woman's wish. But when they have a sexual contact with another man, they can relax and get rid of the pressure." (Quote 13.)

Both and - bisexuals speak out

Helsingin Sanomat is the biggest Finnish newspaper and the only one that has a status of a national newspaper. Along with the daily paper it also publishes a weekly and a monthly magazine, monthly magazine being named "Helsingin Sanomien Kuukausiliite", "Monthly magazine of Helsingin Sanomat". In January 1997 it published a six-page article on bisexual people with a title "SekŠ ettŠ" (Both and) (Hiltunen and LShteenmŠki, 1997).

The article is the only one in my sample, in which bisexuals are introduced with their pictures and real names. The article has three full page color pictures of the people interviewed in the article.

The article starts with a human interest story of Mia and Timo who fell in love with each other despite Mia's lesbian relationship.

"The most difficult part of the situation was that Mia was lesbian. She had lived years with her girlfriend and had fought long to accept her feelings towards women. Now Mia felt like a traitor, lousy lesbian. And if she was not clearly lesbian or straight, what was she? Years ago she had met a bisexual woman. Mia had thought that she would not want her fate. "I thought that a bisexual floats, and cannot decide what s/he wants. S/he is not in control."" (Quote 14.)

After the story article continues pondering bisexuality and the definition for it with a very neutral tone. It states that bisexuality may seem floating, if one gets attracted to only to men or women, but reminds that bisexual feelings are very usual. The article makes difference between bisexual feelings and bisexual identity:

"If a person feels that the possibility to desire both men and women is a stable part of his/her life and nature, s/he has a bisexual identity." (Quote 15.)

Bisexuality is told to be very unknown area to even researchers and refers to a Finnish sexuality study, psychological studies and biological studies, which all seem to leave bisexuality out of theories. The article states:

"But bisexuality is not just a combination of straight and gay feelings, but also its own, unique aspect." (Quote 16.)

The article continues introducing Mia's and Timos life for a couple of paragraphs. Timo's feelings of ambiguity of bisexuality are described empathetically:
"Timo wanted to be either gay or straight, but neither felt right. His feelings were fluctuating and so indefinite that he often felt like crying." (Quote 17.)

Then the text turns to tell more about the history and research of bisexuality. The text reminds about the Greek legends of mythical androgynous creatures and the Greek pederastian society, in which men had both wives and boy lovers. Bisexual lifestyle is mentioned to have been common in London and Paris in the first decades of 20th century. Sigmund Freud and C.G. Jung are said to use the term 'bisexuality' to describe certain people. Alfred Kinsey's famous report and the scale is mentioned.

"Sex researches gave birth to a current set of phrase: "Everybody is bisexual". It annoys many people, who are attracted only to men or women." (Quote 18.)

After explaining the views of earlier researchers, the text tells about more contemporary researchers of bisexuality, namely Finnish Suvi Ronkainen and American Fritz Klein. In their views bisexuality is an identity in its own right. Both put bisexuality outside the formal heterosexual-homosexual-scale.

"Gayness and straightness are constructed of similar ways to categorise the object of attraction. Although they are opposite from a certain perspective, both link sexuality to gender. Also bi-people consider the gender of a partner important, but it is not essential in self-defining", says Suvi Ronkainen, social psychologist and a sexuality researcher from the University of Tampere. (Quote 19.)

In a quote of Fritz Klein bisexuals are described to be more tolerant than homo- and heterosexuals:

"Bi-people often develop a better sense of ambiguity, says Fritz Klein. "Bi-people give space to difference, to all kinds of people, easier than gays and straights. In bi-society one can be both and changing."" (Quote 20.)

Next chapter tells about 45-year-old Kirsti who has lived in time, when sexual acts with the same sex were criminal in Finland. Despite the criminalization, Kirsti was attracted to feminine women from an early age. The attraction did not lead to relationships with women - Kirsti married in early 70's and had children. Later the marriage broke, partly because Kirsti's friendship with another woman. Currently Kirsti is told to live with a man, Veikko, who has accepted that she has relationships with another women.

After Kirsti's story the article ponders the associations and prejudices of bisexuality. The prejudices about several parallel relationships, double lives, 'attraction to anything that moves' are mentioned in a way that emphasises that these are prejudices, not facts.

"Outsider may feel that the mere existence of bisexuality hints that sexuality is not stable in nature, but changing, maybe increasing." (Quote 21.)

The last interviewee is introduced in the second last chapter. Janne is 25-year-old engineer who says that the Internet has been an important channel in finding one's identity. Janne is said to live in time, when bisexuality - and other sexualities - are not as unusual as earlier.
"Janne has found his identity in time, when lesbian kisses can be seen in movies. First meetings with gay people are not as dramatical clashes as earlier. When Janne went to Seta's meeting after moving to Helsinki, he wondered where all the gays were. Everybody seemed so normal." (Quote 22.)

Janne also emphasises the nature of identity as naming:

"Bisexuality meant just realizing it, and writing it, clicking: b, i, bi. Bi bi bi. Thinking about what does it mean and then naming oneself with the term." (Quote 23.)

The article ends with a characterisation of 1990's as an age when everyday life is eroticized and same sex friendships get sexual tones. In this atmosphere bisexuality becomes a trend.

"Pop-videos, advertisements and fashion magazines flood with naked bodies of men and women. They invite to look at everything and everybody erotically. Crossing the gender border may increase the onlookers feeling of forbidden fruit and emphasise the erotic nature of a picture. A new trend of bisexuality is talked about in USA, Britain and Germany. Organisations that concentrate on bisexual rights are born. It is cool to be bi in American college campuses and techno parties." (Quote 24.)

The article aims to explain bisexuality to general audience in very neutral and educational tone. Bisexuality is drawn as unknown, but parallel identity with homo- and heterosexuality, and the article claims that bisexuality must and should exist with its own right, without comparison with hetero- or homosexuality. The article refers to five experts (Freud, Jung, Kinsey, Klein and Ronkainen) in describing bisexuality. The role of experts is not as strong as in the article from Kunto Plus, but the essential historical authorities (namely Freud and Kinsey) are mentioned.

Finnish bisexuality is described to be invisible and unknown, compared to USA and Central Europe.

"The American 1960's had a slight bisexual tone. There were couples who seeked new sexual experiences with other couples. Some women attached to feminist movement found an erotic connection to women. In Finnish bedrooms a word bisexual was hardly known. Homosexual relationships were against the law until 1971." (Quote 25.)

But while the article draws a clear picture of bisexuality as an identity and bisexual people as a sexual minority, it also categorises it. However, the article also introduces ideas of identity as fluctuating and sexuality as ambiguous - ideas, that would have been incomprehensible in earlier decades - and maybe even in earlier years of 90's.

Queer trendsetting

The next article was published in the student newspaper of the University of Turku in spring 1999. The newspaper has a regular column that concentrates on ongoing trends. The name of the column is "Trendisti$ toiseen", (From trend to another or Changing trends), (Lager, 1999) and it is roughly one page long. In the article bisexuality - and interest in other sexual minorities - were presented as an ongoing, current trend. The article has excerpts of interviews, but the names of the interviewees have been changed.

The article starts with a set of questions:
"Have you had sex with a member of the same gender? Have you at least fantasised about it? Do you know any gay people? If you answered 'no' to each question, you are behind the times." (Quote 26.)

The article describes students as people who admire sexual minorities and extend their sexual limits. Sexual experiences with the same sex are presented to be trendy, something that has to be told to friends to prove one's eccentricity.

"Everyone of us has surely seen girls fondling and kissing each other in bars or student parties. Boys don't bisex as publicly, but end up trying how does it feel to give head to the best friend as a joke in a drunken afterparty. Experimenting is not new, but essentially new thing is to tell about the experimentations to other people and be conscious about one's trendiness - and not to hide the experiences feeling shameful and guilty." (Quote 27.)

The article continues with interview excerpts. Young man tells about his drunken fellatio experience in sauna party and admits that he has boasted about the episode. Young woman continues:

"Me and my best friend like to kiss and fondle each other in bars, and often people ask if we are dating. But I don't know what the petting is all about. It might be testing one's own limits and other people's too. Maybe it is also a way to shock people in a bar. And it always happens publicly, we don't start petting each other when we are alone, Ulla confesses." (Quote 28.)

Next chapter has a subtitle "Ei bileitŠ ilman homoa" (There's no party without a gay). Gay man tells about his experience of being the token gay among some of his friends. He claims that having a gay friend is a proof of one's tolerance and exoticisation of gayness. Glorifying bisexuality has the same reasons.

The last paragraph starts with paraprashing bisexuality as trendy.

"But why bisexuality is trendy again? Partly the reason might be the 70's being in vogue, but it is not the whole explanation. One reason might be the intolerance and conservativity of the mainstream culture, from which people want to differ. With bisexuality one can also emphasise one's openmindedness and sexual tolerance. Janne thinks that the main reason is the desire to experiment." (Quote 29.)

Students are claimed to be open minded and tolerant and opposing the conservativity of the mainstream culture. Everything off the mainstream is claimed to be trendy among students.

The flexibility of different sexual identities and roles are pointed out. Although no researchers are named, it seems that Judith Butler's thoughts about performativity are behind the account:

"Some researchers say that in today's society sexual orientation and sexuality are only roles, definers of identity which can be played with and changed according to situation. But wanna be -bisexuality is often not about playing with sexual orientation. Sexuality has been made a style like clothing, music preference or diet." (Quote 30.)
The article ends with questioning the sensibility of the trend of bisexuality and asks what happens when the trend passes:

"On a first sight the trendiness of bisexuality might lead to a more tolerant society that would allow different sexualities. But if bisexuality is only a style, does it really change attitudes? Or will tolerance be forgotten to the closet like broad, unfashioned tie?" (Quote 31.)

The readers of the article are assumed to be heterosexual - but mostly tolerant and maybe even wanna be bi -heterosexuals. Bisexuality is presented mostly as a trend among students - especially girls. However, the article draws a line between 'real' bisexuality and wanna be -bisexuality that is used just to boast about one's trendiness. The article both ridicules the trendy wanna be -bisexuals and is concerned of 'real' bisexuals, who might suffer when the trend is over. But the text does not explain, how to recognise 'the real ones' from 'wanna bes'.

Trendy girls playing bisexual

The last article was published in 21st January 2000 in Ilta-Sanomat, which is the biggest tabloid newspaper in Finland. The title of the article is "Nuoret tytšt kokeilevat rajojaan ja esittŠvŠt vaikkapa biseksuaalia. Sama maa, sama valuutta? Tutkija: biseksuaalisuus on trendi" (Young girls test their limits and pose as bisexuals. Same country, same currency. Scientist: Bisexuality is a trend) (Kolsi, 2000). The article has a drawn picture of girls kissing in a bar and boys looking at them smirking. The lenght is about one page.

The article has two parts - in first parts a sexual therapist is interviewed and in another young girls speak out, but with fake names.

The article starts with the interview of sexual therapist of Sexpo sŠŠtiš, which is a Finnish institution that concentrates on sexuality and relationships. The therapist tells about the results of an American study of college students: 80% of students had masturbated and fondled the members of the same sex.

"Anu Suomela has observed that also Finnish girls have started to regard bisexuality as a trend. Why? - Young people may think that bisexuality is an exciting extra part to their personality. It is typical that girls in their puberty have one best friend. These friendships may have also sexual characteristics. - Often it is mostly about the trend. But does it harm anyone, anyway, Suomela says." (Quote 32.)

The therapist points out that it is good that young people see that different kinds of sexualities are possible, but 'young people' of the article are apparently heterosexual. The bisexuality is presented as a trend and as an adventure experience for young girls - clubbing in gay bars and kissing girl friends are presented as parts of the same phenomenon: queerness as a trend.

The interviews of girls emphasise the trendiness. The interview part of the article starts with a set of quotations, in which trendiness is mentioned three times in the same paragraph:

"Jenni, 21, says it aloud: -Bisexuality is a trend, for most people it is not real. -Girls hug and kiss each other in parties to make other people think that there is something behind it, Anni, 17, tells. Many girls think that bisexuality is trendy, although it would not be appealing really. -Some people try lesbian sex
really, but mostly people only talk about it. Why on earth? -It's just trendy, like partying in gay bars, Anni answers." (Quote 33.)

The interviews continue with the girls' experiences of posing as bisexuals. Interviewees tell that "lesbian acts" were most common when girls were in their sixteens and seventeens - during their high school years. Girls are said to imitate advertisements and movies in which bisexuality and lesbianism presented. Bisexuality and lesbianism are also explained to be a part of pubescent rebellion:

"Mother of two sons and a daughter, Erja, 47, has seen that teenage boys tell gay jokes. But the 17 years old daughter talks very seriously about gay and lesbian relationships. - When she has gotten mad, she has said to be a lesbian a couple of times, but at least now she seems to be happy with his boyfriend. Maybe she thinks that she can shock her parents with the possibility, Erja ponders." (Quote 34.)

Interestingly, the article does not try to explain what bisexuality is or define the term. Defining the term is not found necessary in the article. The difference between bisexuality and lesbianism is not made clear. Bisexuality is mentioned in the title of the article and is the main theme of it, but lesbianism and bisexuality are used as synonyms in some parts of the article:

"One of my friends is really lesbian, others have only posed. Saara, 19, has seen, that a topic "Am I lesbian?" is very trendy among girls. -Girls imitate movies and advertisements. Many fashion advertisements have a clear lesbian feeling. -Maybe the bi-things are a way to shock people." (Quote 35.)

Bisexuality is presented as a phenomenon that is most common among young girls, who want to make themselves more interesting and seek adventure. Bisexuality is also presented as a phase that is most common among teenage girls, who have close friendships with other girls. The words "trend" and "trendy" are the most common adjectives associated with bisexuality. The sentence "Bisexuality is a trend" is first presented in the title of the article and the thought of trendiness of bisexuality appears five times in the text. Sixth reference of trendiness is about pondering one's lesbianism, which can be read from last quotation.

The discourses of bisexuality?

I started to analyse the articles by seeking the recurring themes of the articles. One of the most often repeated theme was explaining the meaning of bisexuality and defining the term. Another theme was considering the prejudices and stereotypes of bisexuality and claiming that they were not true. This theme occurred mostly in interview excerpts of bisexuals, but also elsewhere - often explaining the meaning of bisexuality and pondering the stereotypes was part of the same account. Another, but rarer theme was denying the meaning of bisexuality as an identity, or even denying its existence altogether. Bisexuality could be claimed to be a trend or a phase, and at the same time the meaning of bisexuality as an identity was denied.

First it seemed that these were the main themes of the articles and that the subthemes could be categorised under them. But there was one theme that occurred quite seldom, but that differed clearly the themes mentioned earlier. In some parts of articles bisexuality was clearly exoticised and eroticised. Exoticisation of bisexuality was not really denying the meaning of bisexuality but more like
emphasising the meaning of sexuality in bisexuality in a certain voyeuristic way. The exoticisation of bisexuality definitely did not try to fight against the stereotypes - it could strengthen them. And the mere exoticisation of a phenomenon is contrary to explaining it.

From these themes I have formed four discourses used in articles described above. I have named the discourses as Explaining/Defining, Defending, Belittling and Voyeuristic discourse.

*The Explaining/Defining discourse: What is bisexuality?*

The Explaining/Defining discourse is characterised with a neutral tone: bisexuality is presented as a phenomenon that needs to be explained and defined objectively - sometimes even scientifically. The discourse holds an assumption that information of this phenomenon, bisexuality, must be spread. The discourse refers both to studies of bisexuality and to the experiences of bisexuals. The interviews of self-identified bisexuals and researchers underline the producing of objectivity.

The discourse creates an objective and neutral feeling. The subjective experiences are usually presented with generalisations. The most common prejudices are treated dispassionately, not in ironising or ridiculing tone. The prejudices are pondered, but proving them wrong is not necessary in the discourse - moreover, the discourse creates diverse bisexuality, in which prejudices are not essential.

Although the discourse seems to draw a neutral and objective picture of bisexuality, it does not question the need of explaining bisexuality. In this discourse the need of explaining and defining bisexuality is considered self-evident. Bisexuality is seen as a new and unknown phenomenon that needs to be presented and explained to general public. The reader is not assumed to be familiar with the term 'bisexuality' - or is assumed to be disinfomed about the nature of bisexuality, at least.

With a larger data or with a different perspective the Explaining/Defining discourse might possibly be divided to two different discourses, to one which explains the meaning of bisexuality and living as bisexual in neutral tone and to other which clearly concentrates on defining the term. In my data explaining and defining bisexuality were entwined, but I found necessary to make both aspects visible: explaining bisexuality and the experiences of bisexuals are not the same thing as defining the term.

The discourse also tends to categorise bisexuality quite strongly. With this discourse bisexuality - and bisexual identity - is written clearly, and this clear and strong category of bisexuality does not allow feebleness of identity.

*The Defending discourse: Forget the stupid prejudices!*

The Defending discourse concentrates on defending bisexuality and bisexuals and proving the prejudices and stereotypes wrong. The discourse may have an aggressive tone. Bisexuality and bisexuals are presented as victims of prejudices and proving the prejudices wrong is found essential.

The discourse does not claim to be objective: the discourse can use ridiculing, ironising and other retorhic techniques to defend bisexuals against hostile world. The discourse can also use certain punctuation marks for emphasising the ridiculousity of prejudices. One of these is apostrophe - also italics can be used for emphasising. Bisexuals are presented to be struggling with the prejudices and non-bisexuals are often presented as automatically prejudiced discriminators.
The Defending discourse does use emotional language, and feelings of anger, frustration or amusement are clearly presented. Emotional language is one tool to affect the readers feelings and make him/her feel sympathetically towards bisexuals. The Defending discourse is most visible, when the speaker is bisexual or when the point of view in text is bisexuals' and when the prejudices are talked about.

The Defending discourse - like the Explaining/Defining discourse, tends to categorise bisexuality, draw it as a separate identity from hetero- and homosexuality. Prejudices are proved wrong and in this discourse there is no space for bisexuals who might act according to prejudices and stereotypes.

The Belittling discourse: There is no such thing as bisexuality

The Belittling discourse belittles the meaning of bisexuality and explains it to be a phase in sexual development, a trend, an experiment - or even totally nonexistent. In this discourse bisexuality is not seen as a sexual identity, but just a word that has been taken into use. The discourse supports the dichotomous model of sexuality and gender, in which the boundaries of women and men, homo- and heterosexuals are clear.

The discourse is seen both in conservative views of sexuality as polarized and in newer views that describe bisexuality as a trend. Especially in articles written in late 90's and 2000 the trendiness of bisexuality is emphasised. However, the idea of the trendiness of bisexuality does not necessarily have the same basic assumption of the nonexistence of bisexuality as the conservative dichotomous view. Using the Belittling discourse in describing the trendiness of bisexuality may admit the existence of bisexuality despite belittling the trend.

The Belittling discourse can have a ridiculing or aggressive tone. Describing bisexuality as a phase or a trend can have a light and humorous tone. Nonexistence of bisexuality can be claimed in strong words. However, the Belittling discourse tries to obtain an objective tone - objectivity proves the central idea of bisexuality as nonexistent or vague.

The Belittling discourse does not give voice to bisexuals - by denying the existence of bisexuals it also denies their voice.

The Voyeuristic Discourse: But what do they do in bed?

The Voyeuristic Discourse exoticises bisexuality and bisexuals and describes bisexuals and bisexuality as intriguing and exciting. The Voyeuristic discourse also gives bisexuality a tint of intimacy and taboo - as if merely talking about bisexuality would be bold and maybe a little bit sensational. Bisexuality is presented as thrilling and adventurous.

The Voyeuristic Discourse looks at bisexuals from a distance and does not represent the everyday life of bisexuals or ponder the difficulties or enjoyment of being bisexual. Voyeuristic discourse also emphasises sexuality in bisexuality. It is most apparent when sexual practices of bisexuals are described or pondered. The discourse is not concerned of the identity issues or the differences of sexuality.
The discourse also emphasises the meaning of visibility in bisexuality. The discourse describes bisexuality as a show, meant to be seen. In the discourse bisexuality has no meaning, if cannot be seen - or rather, if a sexual contact is not seen. Entertaining the reader - who is assumed to be heterosexual - is the most important aim of the discourse. The discourse uses bisexuality to provide enjoyment to the reader.

**Discourses in articles**

*Seta-lehti: Explaining/Defining, Defending*

In the very first analysed article, the article published in Seta-lehti in 1992 the discourses are mainly Explaining/Defining and Defending. The article concentrates on the prejudices of bisexuality and proving them wrong. Another aim of the article is criticizing the old, sexually centered definition of bisexuality and introducing a new one, which allows a wider range of feelings.

The Defending discourse is most visible in the article. The article uses Defending discourse to ridicule and question the prejudices and ends with a new definition of bisexuality. The overall tone of the article is ironising - objectivity and neutrality are not essential. The anger caused by prejudices and discriminating is clear and is one of the means of the Defending discourse.

"Now one gets frustrated. It is quite difficult to suppose to be taken seriously, if one's identity is immature and changing in other peoples' eyes." (Quote 36.)

However, the tone changes to more neutral and objective when the new definition of bisexuality is presented. Explaining/Defining discourse is taken into use in the end of the article in paragraphs describing the experiences of bisexuals and the definition. The text makes the reader to sympathise bisexuals by using the Defending discourse and then enlightens the reader about the 'true nature' of bisexuality.

*Kunto Plus: Explaining/Defining, Belittling, Defending, Voyeuristic*

The article published in Kunto Plus 1993 is a mosaic of different discourses: all of the discourses are visible in the text.

The main discourse is Explaining/Defining; the article seeks an answer to an intriguing question "what is bisexuality?". However, the article does not give straight answer, but refers to several different authorities - mainly sexologists - and lets the reader to do his/her own decision on the answer. Therefore the Explaining/Defining discourse is not coherent. Still, the recurrent references to academic authorities underline the need of explaining and defining bisexuality.

The article has also fragments of other discourses, which are visible in the experts' interviews. Preben Hertoft's idea of bisexuality as an unnecessary term is part of Belittling discourse while Anne Evans' thoughts reflect the Defending discourse. However, the writer(s) of the article don't tend to emphasise either of the discourses.

In the following quotation the Defending discourse is most visible:
"Often the people, who feel they are bisexual, have even more difficulties in telling about their lovelives than homosexuals. Probably bisexuality disturbs people mostly because bisexuals are regarded as having several relationships - people think that a bisexual can be attracted to anyone, American psychologist Anne Evans says." (Quote 37.)

The quotation clearly opposes the thought of bisexuals as persons being interested in anyone and having sex with anyone. The prejudices are questioned also elsewhere in the article and fragments of Defending discourse are visible. But also Belittling discourse is very apparent, because Preben Hertoft, a sexologist who questions the term bisexuality, is the most referred authority in the article.

Also the Voyeuristic discourse is present. Although the article mainly tries to explain bisexuality neutrally and objectively from different points of views, it also describes bisexuality as an exciting taboo and bisexuals living adventurous double life - as married men who use hustlers and may get AIDS. Living as bisexual is presented as difficult - but bisexual fantasies are presented as exciting spices in normal heterosexual life. The article proposes that most people has same sex fantasies and tries to prove that they are usual and normal, even exciting when used sensibly. With the pictures of naked women togheter and with a man it could even provide a ready made fantasy to readers. Bisexuals, however, are not presented as the sensible users of the fantasies.

**Helsingin Sanomat: Explaining/Defining, Defending**

The article has the strongest Explaining/Defining discourse in my sample. The theme of the article is explaining and defining the unknown phenomenon of bisexuality by using the interviews of bisexuals. The article introduces four bisexual interviewees with real names and photos. Using real names and photos of interviewees emphasises the reality and truthfulness of the article. The article refers to both historical and contemporary figures of sexuality research and by different views it aims to explain bisexuality very neutrally and truthfully. The article clearly aims to provide an objective account on the lives of bisexuals and bisexuality - and because bisexuality has rarely been written about in Finnish media, the article might be the first artice that reaches a wider audience because of the national nature of Helsingin Sanomat.

The Defending discourse is visible in parts in which prejudices are pondered, but the overall tone of the article is so neutral, that the shreds of Defending discourse are mingled with Explaining/Defining discourse. The Defending discourse can be observed in certain choices of apostrophe:

"The psychologist of the time found bi- and homosexuality as natural characteristics of human sexuality, but considered them to be phases in a way towards "mature" emotional life, heterosexuality." (Quote 38.)

Also some quotes from interviews bring the Defending discourse up. The quote from Fritz Klein describes bisexuals to be more tolerant and allow diversity better than homo- and heterosexuals, which is a sign of attempt to create a positive bisexual identity.

**Turun ylioppilaslehti: Belittling, Defending, (Voyeuristic?)**

The article has interesting mixture of Belittling and Defending discourses. The article claims bisexuality to be trendy - trendiness of bisexuality is the main theme of the article. The emphasising
trendiness of bisexuality is clearly a part of Belittling discourse in which the meaning of bisexuality is diminished to mere trend and bisexuality as an identity is denied.

But the article ends with a concern of 'real bisexuality', which can suffer when the trend of bisexuality passes. The article draws a line between 'real bisexuality' and 'wanna be -bisexuality', but does not define the difference clearly - if not by sexual acts.

"Whatever is the reason of the trendiness of bisexuality, wanna be -bisexuality and "real" bisexuality doesn't have much in common. All who look and act like bisexuals are not intending to go to bed with the same gender, or moreover, to date with the same gender." (Quote 39.)

Interestingly, the Defending discourse in the article concentrates on the prejudice of trendiness. First the article represents bisexuality as a trend among students, reflecting the prejudice, and later in the article the situation of 'real bisexuals' is pondered when the trend passes.

The article has also traces of Voyeuristic discourse, but these traces are not clear. In two interview quotations bisexuality is presented as something, that needs to be seen, something that is more a show than an identity. These mentions give bisexuality an exhibitionist nature, but the Voyeuristic discourse is not apparent.

Ilta-Sanomat: Belittling, Voyeuristic, (Explaining/Defining)

The main discourse used in the article is Belittling discourse - bisexuality is presented mostly as a trend and a phase in sexual development or seeking adventure. However, bisexual experiences are presented as positive - although the meaning of bisexuality as an identity is belittled. The trendiness of bisexuality is repeated over and over again in the article. The trendiness means also passing: trends change all the time, and therefore bisexuality cannot be seen as a real identity.

Interestingly, the Explaining/Defining discourse is not visible in the article, although some traces of it can be seen. Bisexuality is not defined or explained in the article, but as I wrote above, lesbianism and bisexuality were used as synonyms in the article. However, the first part of the article which concentrates on the views of a sexual therapist, has traces of the Explaining/Defining discourse. Bisexuality is explained by puberty, trendiness and girls' close relationships with other girls.

The Belittling discourse is most apparent in the article, but also Voyeuristic discourse is strong. Bisexually acting young girls are said to be seeking adventure and thrill to their lives. Bisexuality is presented as a phenomenon that raises attention. The picture used in the article underlines this: two kissing girls give fantasies to boys watching.

The voyeuristicity of bisexuality is visible throughout the article: bisexuality is something that has to be seen. Girls kiss each other in bars and parties and go to gay clubs just to be looked at. Bisexuality is constructed to be a play acted by young trendy girls and watched by boys and other (less trendy?) girls. In the article bisexuality does not exist if it is not posed.

"-At school some girls claim to be bisexual, but they are not really. If someone notices s/he is different, I doubt that s/he talks about it." (Quote 40.)
Conclusions

Although my sample is small, it is interesting to see, how apparent some discourses of bisexuality were.

In the early nineties bisexuality was not assumed to be a familiar term to the general public - therefore it was necessary to define and explain bisexuality before starting to talk about bisexuality. Fragments of the Explaining/Defining discourse are seen in all articles.

The Explaining/Defining discourse seems to be the strongest discourse. It is interesting that bisexuality is seen to be so unfamiliar phenomenon, that explaining it and defining the term is found necessary. In some articles the mere explaining of the phenomenon is the main theme of the article - in others the explaining is necessary although the theme of the article would be other. The article published in Turun ylioppilaslehti was an exception - in it the Explaining/Defining discourse was not as apparent as in other articles.

What does this mean? Some discourses of bisexuality are more prevalent than others. It seems that bisexuality is still felt such an ambiguous phenomenon that it needs to be explained and defined. The Explaining/Defining discourse reflects the need of explanation.

The Defending and Belittling discourses are the most opposite discourses and in these discourses the power relations are the most visible. If the Belittling discourse gets space, the existence of bisexuality and bisexual identity is belittled, even denied. The certain ideas of bisexuality as a trend or as a phase are emphasised.

On the other hand, Defending discourse concentrates on breaking the prejudices but not on the actual life situations of bisexual people. If having multiple partners and bisexuality as a phase are claimed to be only prejudices, while 'real bisexuals' are monogamous and have solid sexual identities, it also limits the experiences of bisexual people. Belittling and Defending discourses seem to be sides of the same coin: belittling bisexuality creates defending attitude which can strengthen the belittling tone.

My sample of articles was quite small, but it seems that there are certain hegemonic discourses on bisexuality. The most hegemonic discourse places bisexuality among the phenomena that are not self evidently existent, but need to be explained and defined. Bisexuality cannot be talked about without defining the term first. The hegemony of the Explaining/Defining discourse is visible also in other texts I have examined but did not include in my data.
References

The analysed articles


Research literature


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Appendix 1.

"Suhde biseksuaalin kanssa on raastava, ehkä perösti mahdoton, koska hän on joka hetki raivokkaiden viettiensä vallassa sekä kyytiä minkä tankaiseen uskollisuuteen. Hän on jatkuvasti vaaravyyhkeessä, kun IšHellš ojuk 37:n celsiusasteen Išmpšinen ilikkuva ento."

"Yleensä biseksuaali mššritellššn henkilšksi, jolla on eroottisia ja seksuaalisia tunteita sekä miehištä naisia kohtaan. Mššritelmšstä jštetššn siis kokonaan pois tunteiden osuus."

"Mššritelmš mahdollistaa myšš sellaisen ajatuksen, ettš kuka tahansa nainen tai mies aina ja kaikkialla kiinnostaa biseksuaalia. YšštŠvšŠš kyšš, biseksuaalin kiinnostuksen herššminen ei ole sen itsestššnselvempšš kuin kenenkššn muunkän. Se, ettei kiinnostuksen kohteen sukupuolella ole vššltššmšštšš merkitystšš ei valitettavasti lisšš eroottisesti mielenkiintoisten ihmisten mššršš

"Kaksi yhtaikaista suhdetta ei tuntuisi olevan biseksuaalisuuteen luonnostaan ja erottamattomasti liittyväšš tarve."

"Toivomme, ettš keskustelu biseksuaalisuudesta siirtyisi jo pikkuhieljaa asiallisemmille linjoille. [...] Jakossa keskustelun pohjana voisi olla uudempi, ehkä parempin mššritelmš biseksuaalisuudesta. Tarjoamme sellaisessa všštetšš, ettš biseksuaali on henkilšš, joka voi tuntea eroottista, seksuaalista, emotoonialista ja/taisotaalista vetoa kumpaa tahansa sukupuolta kohtaan."

"Biseksuaalisuus on kššsite joka jakaa asiantuntijoiden mielipiteet kahtia. Jotkut sanovat, ettš me kaikki olemme biseksuaalisia. Toiset taas vššitššvšštš, ettš biseksuaalisuutta ei ole olemassa. Yksi on varmasti: kumpaankin sukupuoleen liittyväšš fantastiat ovat hyvin yleisišš."

"Oletko joskus eroottisen unen nšhtyšši herššnnyt yššlšštššyneenšš, koska partnerisi olikin toista sukuupuolta kuin ne henkilšštä joihin tavallisesti ihastut? Se on aivan tavallista eikšš se ole vššltššmšštšš merkki biseksuaalisuudesta. [...] Biseksuaalisuus on tšššn asti ollut jyrkkšš tabu ihmisten keskuudessa. Heteroseksuaalit ovat pitššneet biseksuaaleja hillitššminšš, poikkeavina ihmisinšš ja homoseksuaalit puolestaan petturimaisina homoina, jotka eivšš uskalla tššsin elšš luontonsa mukaan."

"Biseksuaalisuudesta on tullut muotisana. En usko ettš olen koskaan tavanut todella biseksuaalista ihmistšš. Kokemuksenä osoittaa, ettš riittššvššn tiedon avulla on mahdollista mššrittšššš, onko ihminen homo- vai heteroseksuaalinen. Biseksuaalisuus on sen tššhden tarpeeton kššsite, sanoo Preben Hertoft."

"Biseksuaaliiksi ei tulla yhden kokemuksen kautta" (subtitle) (Quote 9.)

"Ei ole mitšššn syytšš elššš mielikuviena mukaan, jos siihen ei ole suoranaista halua tai sisššiäšš pakkoa. Ihmisellšš voi olla fantasioita ja hššn voi silti elššš tyydyttššvššššŠš, yksiavioisessa suhteessa partneriinsa, jos hššn niin haluua." (Quote 10.)
"Monet homo- ja biseksuaalit sanovat, että he eivät tunne varsinaisesti eroavansa muista ihmisistä."
(Quote 11.)

"Tutkimuksen mukaan homoseksuaaliset miehet ovat parempia pitkittämisessä ja taitavampia kihottamaan toisiaan. Tutkimukset lesbojen keskuudessa osoittivat, että he saivat suhteissaan 90-100-prosenttisesti orgasmin, kun naimisissa olevista naisista vain 40 prosenttia koki viiden avioliittovuoden jälkeen yhtä suurta tyydystystä." (Quote 12.)

"Biseksuaalinen mies tuo usein esiin sen, että naisten kanssa hän toimii tyyppillisesti miehen roolin mukaan suorituspainotteisesti, vaikka se ei välttämättä olisi koskaan naisen toive. Hän voi sitä vastoin lentoutua ja päästää eroon paineista ollessaan seksuaalisessa kontaktissa mieheen." (Quote 13.)


"Jos ihminen tuntee, että mahdollisuus haluta sekä mies että naista on pysyvä osa hänen elämästään ja persoonaansa, hänellä on biseksuaalinen identiteetti." (Quote 15.)

"Mutta biseksuaalisuus ei ole vain yhdistelmä hetero- ja homotunteita, vaan myös oma naisiluonkansa." (Quote 16.)

"Timo halusi olla joko homo tai hetero, mutta kumpikaan ei tuntunut oikealta. Omat tunteet olivat tyhjiä ja niin epämääräisiä, että itketti." (Quote 17.)

"Seksitutkimukset poikivat laajalle levinneen hokeman: "Kaikkia ovat biseksuaaleja". Se syyttää monia ihmisistä, joiden viisari värhottaa vain miehiin tai naisiin." (Quote 18.)

"Homous ja heterous rakentuvat samanlaisista tavoista luokitella halun kohteen. Vaikka ne ovat tavallaan vastakkaisia, molemmissa seksuaalisuus on ymmärtetty juuri sukupuolen kautta. Bi-ihmisellekin kumppanin sukupuoli on tärkeä, mutta se ei ole keskeinen asia miten hän itse tuntee ihmisen."
(Quote 19.)

"Bi-ihmiselle kehittyy usein tavallista parempi monimielsisyys, moniselitteisyys ja toisin kuin heterot ja homot. Bi-ihmiset saa olla sekä että että ja vielä muutuvalta." (Quote 20.)

"Ulkopuolistena voi tuntua, että biseksuaalisuus on olemassaolevista viihiä, että seksuaalisuus ei ole luonteenvaraisuus pysyvää, vaan muuttuvaa, ehdottomasta ja niin vei muututtavaksi." (Quote 21.)

"Janne on olutty oiheitettisin aikana, jolloin elokuvissa jo nääke lesbosuulle. Ensimmäiset kohtaamiset homojen kanssa eivät myöskään enää ole yhtä dramaattisia tärkeästi vaikka aiemmin.
Kun Janne meni Helsinkin muuttettuaan kSymSSn Setan tapaamisessa, hSnn hSmSSsteli, missS homot ovat. Kaikki olivat niin tavallisen nSkkissiS." (Quote 22.)

"Biseksuaalisuus oli vain sitS, ettS tiedostaa sen, ja kirjoittaa sen, naputtelee: bee-ii, bi. Bi bi bi. Miettii, ettS mitSShSn tSSmS tarkoittaa ja sitten yhdistSSS sen itseenS." (Quote 23.)


"Oletko harrastanut seksiŠ saman sukupuolen edustajan kanssa? Oletko edes haaveillut siitš? Entš onko tuttavapiirissŠsi homoja? Jos vastasit jokaiseen kysymykseen kieltŠvŠstt, olet ajastasi jŠljessŠ." (Quote 26.)

"Jokainen meistŠ on varmasti nŠhnyt toisiaan hipelšiviŠ ja suutelevia tyttšjŠ baareissa tai opiskelijabileissŠ. Poikien kohdalla bisekstailu ei ole niin julkista, vaan vitsin varjolla ja hyvŠSS humalassa pSSdytSSn kokeilemaan, mittŠ tuntuu ottaa suihin parhaalta kaverilta jatkobleissŠ. Kokeiluissa ei sinŠSS ole mitSSSS uutta, vaan olennaista on se, ettŠ niitŠ ei tyydyttŠ pitSSSSS vain omana tietonaan hŠpeSSn ja syyllisyyden tunnetten kourissa, vaan ne kerrotaan ulkomaailmalle tietoisena omasta trendikkyydestŠ." (Quote 27.)

"- Multa ja mun parhaalta kaverilta on usein tultu kysymSSS, ettŠ seurustellaanko me, sillŠ meistŠ on mukava pussaila ja kaulaililla baareissa. En mŠ oikein tiedŠ, mistŠ siinŠ SSSppimissessŠS on kysymys. Ksei on sekŠ omien ettŠ toisten rajojen testaamista. EhkŠ se on myŠs yksi tapa shokeerata baarissa. Ja nimenomaan se tapahtuu aina julkisesti, ei me koskaan kahdestа ruveta hipelšimSSS toisiamme, Ulla tunnustaa." (Quote 28.)


"Joidenkin tutkijoiden mukaan nyky-yhteiskunnassa sukupuolinen suuntautuneisuus ja seksuaalisuuskin ovat kuitenkin vain pelkšiiS rooleja, sellaisia identiteetin mŠSrittšiS, joilla voidaan leikitellŠS ja joita voidaan vaihtaa tilanteen mukaan. Wanna be -biseksualisuudeessa ei kyse ole kuitenkaan aina edes leikitellyystŠS seksuaalisella suuntautuneisuudella. Seksuaalisuudesta on tehty tyylikkeinä siinŠ missŠ pukeutumisesta, musiikkimausta tai ruokavalioksi." (Quote 30.)
"Ekkipštajateltuna biseksuaalisuuden trendikkštä pitšminen voisi johtaa suvaitsevaisempaan, erilaisia seksuaalisuuksiensa sallivaan yhteiskuntaan. Mutta jos sitštä kšytetštä näin tai tyllykinon, muuttaako se asenteita todella? Vai unohtuko sallivuus jossain vaiheessa kaapii kyyn leven, muodista mennyt kravatit?" (Quote 31.)


"Jenni, 21, sanoo sen ššneen: -Biseksuaalisuus on trendi, mutta useimpien kohdalla se ei ole totta. -Bailuissa tytšt halaleivät ja pussailevat keskenštäinštä, jotta muut luulisivat, että siinštä on jotain sellaista, Anni, 17, kertoo. Biseksuaalisuus on monien tyttšjen mieleštä trendikštä, vaikkei se oikeasti kolahdaisi. -Jotkut kokeilevat itän oikeasti lesboilua, mutta useimmat vain puhuvat siitštä. Miksi ihmeessštä? -Se nyt vasta on trendikštštä, všštä ninkuin homoravintoloissa bailaaminen, Anni vastaa." (Quote 33.)

"Kahden pojan ja yhden tyttšren ššti Erja, 47, on huomannut, että teini-ikštäiset pojat heittštä vastes ja homovitsejštä. 17-vuotias tytšt puhuu hyvin vakavaan sšvvyyn homo- ja lesbousuhteista. -Suuttueessaan tytšt on pari kertaa ilmoittanut olevansa lesbo, mutta ainakin toistaiseksi hšn tuntuu viihtyvštä varsin hyvin poikayštštä všštä kanssa. Ehkštä hšn kuvittelee voivansa shakeerata vanhempiaan tšllaisella mahdollisuudella, Erja pohtii." (Quote 34.)

"Yksi mun kaveri on oikeasti lesbo, mutta ovat ainoastaan esittšneet sitštä. Saara, 19, on huomannut, että ššti hyvin trendikštä puheenaihe tyttšjen keskuudessa on: "Olenko mš lesbo?" -Tyttštä ottavat mallia elokuvista ja mainoksista. Monissa vaatemainoksissahan on selvštä lesbofilistštä. -Ehkštä bi-jutut ovat tapa hštkštä syytštä. " (Quote 35.)

"Tšsstä vaiheessa viimeistštä naitka harmittaa. On aika vaikea olettaa tulevansa vakavasti otetuksi, jos oma identiteetti on muiden silmissštä epštšnsš epštš Skypštš ja hšlyvštš." (Quote 36.)

"Monesti niiden ihmisten, jotka tuntevat olevansa biseksuaaleja, on vielštä vaikeampi kertoa ympštšristštältä rakkausštšinštš Suomštštä nauttavista eniten siksi, että kyseisištä henkilštštä pitštšsin irrallisten suhteiden harrastajina - ihmiset siis kuvittelevät, että biseksuaali voi kiinnostua kenestštä hyvštštä všštä, sanoo amerikkalainen psykologi Anne Evans." (Quote 37.)

"Tuon ajan psykologit pitivštštä bi- ja homoseksuaalisuutta sinštštä luonnollisina piirteinštä, mutta katsoivat niiden olevan vain vaiheita matkalla "kypštštä" tunne-elštštä nauttavista, heteroseksuaalisuuteen." (Quote 38.)

"Olkoon biseksuaalisuuden muodikkuuden syy mikštä tahansa, wanna be -biseksuaalisuudella ja "oikealla" biseksuaalisuudella ei tuntu vielštä olvan paljoakaan tekemistštä toistensa kanssa. Kaikki biseksuaalilta nšytštštävštštä tai niin toimivat eivštštä ole edes aikeissa mennštä sšnkyyyn saman sukupuolen kanssa, saati seurustella." (Quote 39.)
"-Koulussa jotkut tytöt vittvitt olevansa biseksuaaleja, mutta eivät ne oikeasti olleet. Jos joku huomaa olevansa erilainen, tuskinpä se siitä puhuu." (Quote 40.)