# DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

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„Loving, living, acting, thinking and feeling poly. Polyamory in self-perception and media representation in the German-speaking region 2007-2017“

verfasst von / submitted by

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## Foreword

*Wenn du mit dir am Ende bist*
*und du einfach nicht weiter willst,*
*weil du dich nur noch fragst*
*warum und wozu und was dein Leben noch bringen soll*
*Halt durch, auch wenn du allein bist!*
*Halt durch, schmeiß jetzt nicht alles hin!*
*Halt durch, und irgendwann wirst du verstehen,*
*dass es jedem einmal so geht.*

*Und wenn ein Sturm dich in die Knie zwingt,*
*halt dein Gesicht einfach gegen den Wind.*
*Egal, wie dunkel die Wolken über dir sind,*
*sie werden irgendwann vorüberziehn.*

*Steh auf, wenn du am Boden bist!*
*Steh auf, auch wenn du unten liegst!*
*Steh auf, es wird schon irgendwie weitergehn!*

*Es ist schwer, seinen Weg nicht zu verliern,*
*und bei den Regeln und Gesetzen hier*
*ohne Verrat ein Leben zu führn,*
*das man selber noch respektiert*

*Auch wenn die Zeichen gerade alle gegen dich stehn*
*und niemand auf dich wetten will,*
*du brauchst hier keinem irgendeinen Beweis zu bringen,*
*es sei denn es ist für dich selbst!*

*Steh auf, wenn du am Boden bist!*
*Steh auf, auch wenn du unten liegst!*
*Steh auf, es wird schon irgendwie weitergehn!*

*Nur keine Panik, so schlimm wird es nicht!*
*Mehr als deinen Kopf reißt man dir nicht weg!*
*Komm und sieh nach vorn!*

I heard this song written and performed by the German punkband *Die Toten Hosen* (Tote Hosen, 2002)[1] on a warm day in October 2015 sitting in the sun in the Prater, a large park in Vienna, Austria. It is about giving up, about challenges, about failing; and it is also about not losing track and about getting up again. At that time, I was on unemployment benefit since my temporary contracts at the University of Vienna had ended, and until then all my attempts to get my PhD on polyamory funded had failed. Four applications for regular PhD positions in Austria, two bids with research foundations in Germany, and three project proposals in Vienna had been turned down. I had one last application in the pipeline, and was very close to completely giving up the idea of doing a doctorate in social sciences with a focus on polyamory.

A few weeks later I found myself at a crossroads of life: Taking on an internship at the *Interior Ministry of the Republic of Austria* (Department for Foreigners and Asylum Proceedings), moving to Gulu (Northern Uganda) for a project management position for a development aid association, or writing the PhD with funding from the *Austrian Science Funds FWF,* which had finally accepted the project proposal. My decision at the time is obvious; that I got to believe in this final chance is due to the tremendous support of a number of incredible people.

Once the project started, the pieces started to fall into place. The following first subchapter explicitly names the institutions that made the thesis possible with their financial support. The second subchapter addresses my thesis supervisors; the academic support by fellow colleagues from Austria, Europe and beyond; and my dear editor. It continues with the institutions that engage in science-to-public projects, making the results accessible and understandable for people beyond the scientific ivory tower that we scientists find ourselves in at times; and the media that – once the project started – contributed to the societal dissemination of the research project and its findings. The last subchapter goes out to the people that supported me during this seven-year-long journey. The thanks from the bottom of my heart go out to you – the fact that now everyone can read the present thesis is due to all of you, and only you!

[1] Credits: Titel: STEH AUF WENN DU AM BODEN BIST. HOLST VON/FREGE. © 2002 EDITION HKM. For details on the copyright, please see the appendix with my mail correspondence with the *Toten Hosen*.

## Funding that made the thesis possible

The major part of this thesis was funded within the “Stand-alone Project” research track of the Austrian Science Fund FWF under the title “Polyamory in media, social and identity perspective”, project number P28680. Due to this financial support (including workspace, salary, technical equipment, conference participation, transcript support, editing and publishing costs) over more than 3.5 years, I was able to start my research. So, a very big thank you goes out to the institution itself, and to the administrative project officer Georg Rücklinger, who provided competent and quick advice and assistance whenever it was needed.

FWF

Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

The research results were finalized after FWF funding had run out before the completion of the PhD thesis. Thanks to the competitive PhD completion scholarship of the Austrian literature copyright collecting society “Literar Mechana,” for which I am very grateful, I was able to focus exclusively on writing the thesis for a further six months.

literar mechana

Then came Corona, and suddenly the whole world got a different spin. My silver lining on the horizon for a dignified final to the thesis – which had suddenly shifted far away – was the competitive PhD completion grant for junior scientists awarded by the University of Vienna. Thanks to this financial support for yet another six month I was finally able to (nearly) put the lid on the thesis.

universität wien

Additionally, I would like to thank the AGPRO (Austrian Gay Professionals), a network of gay and bisexual entrepreneurs, professionals and managers in Austria for awarding me their endowed research award in 2018 for illustrating the stigmatization of polyamorous people by friends, within the family, and at the workplace.

And finally, I would like to thank the Faculty of Historical and Cultural Studies at the University of Vienna, in particular its dean at the time, Prof.in Dr.in Claudia Theune, for providing funds for the technical equipment (hard- and software, recording device) needed to implement the research project.

## Thesis supervisors and institutional support

I would like to thank the following persons, institutions and the people behind these institutions for their support:

- **Primary thesis supervisor Franz X. Eder**

If it were down to a single person that you can read this thesis, then this person would be (and is) Prof. Dr. Franz Xaver Eder from the Department of Social and Economic History, University of Vienna. On the 19th of December 2013 I stood at his door with the idea – and a concept – to write a PhD on polyamory; what I still needed at the time was an advisor. Although I was from a different faculty, and although he didn't know me apart from anonymous introductory lectures, Franz Eder took me on. The concept grew and proceeded in his seminars, the only thing that didn't happen was a successful funding application. After a total of 9 failed applications for funding within 1.5 years he still supported me; he believed in me and the idea; he encouraged me to risk one last shot with the Austrian Science Fund, in which he took responsibility for all the administrative stuff …

… and so I did. The outcome of this support is the thesis at hand. 8 years of work, during which time his door was open for questions and support at any time. And it was no token supervision: from Luhmann to Giddens, from the communes to honest polyamory, from interviews to additional methods, from quoting to the last comma: we talked it over, I reworked it. And over and over again … ☺

Now it is done. A total of 300 pages of content, another 100 pages of appendices. There is nothing further to say apart from: without you, this thesis would have never happened, I would have never become a PhD, my life would have taken a different direction. I really enjoy the life I have. THANK YOU Franz!

- **Secondary thesis supervisor Fritz Hausjell**

It takes trust, courage and a big share of idealism to take on an end-30s PhD candidate who plans to write his thesis on polyamory – to be precise on (amongst other aspects) its media representation. Ao. Prof. Dr. Fritz Hausjell from the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna has all of these attributes, for which I am very grateful; not to forget the valuable input on media theories, media logic and the confirmation that the internet will not kill newspapers. Without you, Fritz, this thesis would have never seen the light; now it shines on the doctoral shelf of social sciences. Thank you!

- **Department of Economic and Social History**

For more the five years the *Department of Economic and Social History* hosted me, provided me with a decent office, infrastructure and an uncountable number of cups of coffee – and all this with me being the social scientist outsider in a historical world. Thanks to my colleagues, the whole research project was injected with the additional value of a historical spin, for which I am very grateful. On a personal level, I would really like to thank ALL members of the Department, from the heads down all the way to the administration staff. Their professional criticism improved the quality of the thesis; the secretariat provided me with all needs from markers and copy paper down to a specially purchased shredder; the evolving friendships and get-togethers nourished the social being in me; as for the department parties: in vino et cervisia veritas.

- **Academic support**

A good project grows and develops as it goes along. This happens thanks to fellow colleagues at the home institution, and even more so at conferences where scientists from the same field comment on presentations and publications, give advice on related topics as well as off topic, or are simply there when one needs them. Therefore a big thanks goes out to participants, panel colleagues, moderators, and mentors at the: Non-monogamy and Contemporary Intimacies conference Lisbon; Proud in Europe conference Amsterdam; Non-monogamy and Contemporary Intimacies conference Vienna; Department of Social and Economic History Vienna; Exchange in Historical and Ethnographical Research conference Berlin; Sexuality in Austria in the 19$^{th}$, 20$^{th}$ and 21$^{st}$ Centuries conference Vienna; methods workshop (Marie Marhoefer); masterclass (Linda Williams), Momentum Congress "Diversity" Hallstatt; teaching exchange Department of Sociology, Hebrew University (Eva Illouz); Sigmund Freud

University Vienna; Social Explorations of Sexuality in Europe conference Krakow; European Social Science History conference ESSHC Belfast; Department of Gender Studies, teaching exchange Lund University; Center of Sexology and Sexuality Research Malmö; Theological Faculty Salzburg; European Sociology Conference Manchester; Sexualität(en) im Wandel conference Salzburg; Sexolution conference Vienna; Citizen Science conference Vienna; Consensual and Ethical Non-monogamy conference Vienna; Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Potsdam; European Sociology Conference Barcelona; as well as a huge thank you for the continuous and ongoing support by (the members of) the Academic Workers Council at the University of Vienna (BRWUP); (the members of) the Board of data processing and protection at the University of Vienna (AID); the Interessensvertretung LektorInnen und freie WissensarbeiterInnen (IG LektorInnen), University of Vienna; the International Non-Monogamy and Contemporary Intimacies Board (NMCI); and the Board of the European Sociologist Association Research Network 23 Sexuality (ESA RN23).

The funds of the Austrian Science Fund FWF also permitted the organization of two conferences to discuss the preliminary findings halfway through the project, as well as the final results at the end in front of an interested audience. I would like to thank the panel and moderation at the midterm presentation in February 2017, namely Renate Baumgartner, Franz X. Eder, Fritz Hausjell and Christian Klesse; as well as Franz X. Eder, Christian Klesse, Elisabeth Sheff and Ann Tweedy at the project closing symposium in June 2019 for their comprehensive, detailed and productive comments and suggestions.

- **Transcription**

Also funded by the FWF was the transcription of the interviews. It was done in great detail and precision by Antonia V. and Pamina R., who I would like to thank for transferring 1,218 minutes of spoken words into 13,048 lines of text.

- **Editing**

And last but not least on institutional support, the reason why you fellow readers can hopefully concentrate on the content and not on spelling or grammar mistakes is that a highly qualified copy editor went over the chapters, and in addition gave valuable hints on layout and formal aspects while I was putting the thesis together. I would like to thank Brita Pohl (https://bricolangue.at/) for the many hours she invested, the numerous phone calls to clarify when she was unsure of what I wanted to say, as well as personal meetings to discuss complex content.

## Knowledge transfer and the media

The Austrian Science Fund is financed by the Republic of Austria, which generates its revenue from taxpayers. I therefore participated in as many science-to-public events as possible in order to present my research beyond academia, and replied to media requests to make the results publicly visible. The following institutions and media companies/projects (and the people behind the organizations) supported my attempts to disseminate the research project to a wider audience (current as of October 2021):

### • Science to public

Science Slam 650th anniversary University of Vienna (Conference and Event Management); Flanieren durch die Wissenschaft 650th anniversary University of Vienna (Conference and Event Management); Science Slam Metropol Wien (Bernhard Weingartner); Draw Science Competition (University of Vienna); Lange Nacht der Forschung (University of Vienna); Meine Forschung in einem Bild (University of Vienna); European Reseachers Night (Schule der Technik Vienna); Arbeitskreis für Gleichbehandlungsfragen (University of Vienna); Klub Irrko (Stefan Glettler); Queer History Day (Andreas Brunner); WUK Werkstätten- und Kulturhaus (Franz Schneckenleithner); MAXQDA picture competition; Volkshochschule Linz (Harald Wildfellner); Science Slam Orpheum Graz (Bernhard Weingartner); Lange Nacht der Forschung (University of Vienna); Evangelische Hochschulgemeinde Wien (Katharina Payk); Streitkultur: Wissenschaftliches Terzett (Marianne Klemun); Break the Rules (Florian Scheuer-Bieche); Theater Tuchlaube Aarau (Manon Wolgemuth); Sexolution (Jana Studnicka/Beatrix Roidinger); Fotowettbewerb Home Office Edition (PhD corner, University of Vienna); Schwelle Wien (Reinhard Gaida); Polyamorie EV Deutschland; Citizen Science Konferenz (University of Natural Resources and Live Sciences Vienna); Erlesenes Erforschen (Library University of Vienna).

### • Media coverage

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Wieselberg); Radio Positiv (Sabine Schenk); Psychologie Heute (Franz Himpsl); Tageszeitung Kurier (Gabriele Kuhn); ORF Kreuz und Quer (Stefan Ludwig); Penissimo – Nikolaus Geyrhalter Film (Gabi Schweiger); Biorama (Anika Suck); Kölner Stadtanzeiger (Elisa Sobkowiak); FM4 (Melissa Erhardt); Kurier (Julia Pfligl); Puls4 (Julia Ritter); Süddeutsche Zeitung (Thomas Bärnthaler); AMA (Nora Brandt); ZDF Neo (Ella Böhm).

## Private expression of thanks

I am the child of farmers, craftspeople and refugees. Although he spoke three languages, my grandfather never learend to read or write. And even though the value of a high school certificate was not immediately clear to my relatives, they all did support me to become the first family member ever that graduated. So I dedicate the first thank you to my wider family!

For the close family, I would like to thank my parents. My father who unfortunately passed away in 2002 and did not see me taking the academic path; and my mum. Basically for everything, and in particular for mostly stoically accepting me for who I am, and for – and this makes her unique in the list to come – not asking when this thesis will finally be finished. And I would like to thank my brother Roland: uncountable times, your finished PhD was my motivation to get mine done as well; when our time on earth is over, we both will have the Dr. engraved in front of our names at the family tombstone in Waldzell ☺

The second thank you goes out to my teachers at the *Hauptschule Waldzell* and *Bundesoberstufenrealgymnasium Ried im Innkreis*, who motivated me to go on after compulsory schooling, and afterwards pushed me to go through with the four years although it was foreseeable that I neither would become the greatest mathematician on earth nor a French native speaker. Although it might seem strange to you, without you, Mr. Pirker, Mr. Raabe, Mrs. Dobelhammer, Mr. Kaltenböck and Mr. Katzelberger, this thesis on polyamory would not exist. Also in my Upper Austrian home, I would like to thank my friends there for keeping in touch with the city slicker I became, and for putting my urban and academic thoughts into perspective at times.

My dear friends in Vienna and the rest of the world! You are too many to be named individually, you all have a share in this thesis. I mean all of you: the old ones and the ones I have met recently; the party people and the quiet ones; the sporty ones and those who avoid daylight; the straights, the monogamist, the queer, the kinky, the open, the poly ones. And yes, the thesis might have been

finished faster if I didn't have my local pub, but life would have been less fun then. Thanks for that, Debakel!

For polyamory research, even the best printed sources fall short at times in illustrating what loving, living, acting, thinking and feeling poly can mean and be. A special thanks goes out to Andrea, Magdi, Eva, Nina, Mona, Anna, Christoph, Alex, Magdalena, Irmi, Astrid, Elpida, Claudia, Vanessa, Dominik, and Silvia for their very much appreciated, valued and honest insights.

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# 1. Introduction

This chapter provides the introduction for the thesis at hand. It starts off with my personal interest in the topic of polyamory for a doctoral thesis, and continues which the scientific relevance and the academic objectives the thesis aims at. It goes on with a short overview of the individual chapters, and closes with details on the ethical guidelines – to be precise "*The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*" published by the European Science Foundation – according to which I have implemented the research.

## 1.1 Epistemic interest

I first came across the topic of polyamory in 2006. I was fascinated by the theoretical concept of being with more than one person at a time. It turned everything upside down that I had been told since I was a child and what I was taught as moral values. Yet my academic exposure to the wider topic of love, sex, and emotions was limited to one lecture on sexuality in the 20th century by my now thesis advisor Franz X. Eder in 2010. My master theses focused on a completely different matter: new media and its potential to overcome the content divide, empirically implemented by analysis of local news reports produced in sub-Saharan Africa.

In 2012 I started to manage international research projects as well as teach at the University. Both fine and interesting, but I missed the prospect of something big to come. The big issue turned out to be polyamory, which, since its first appearance some 15 years ago, never let me go since.

Now the thesis that resulted from this interest is finished. If I will continue with this big thing, or finally divorce myself from the topic after defending my thesis, I cannot tell yet. I hope you have the same joy in reading it as I (predominately) experienced while exploring the concept and writing the thesis.

## 1.2 Academic interest (Objectives)

Polyamory is an up-and-coming topic, with its earliest mentions and discussions in the academic world in the 1990s.[2] The first publication of relevant peer-reviewed journal articles dates back to the year 1999 on a special issue of the Journal of Lesbian Studies with the title "*The lesbian polyamory reader: Open relationships, non-monogamy and casual sex*" with an introduction by Munson and Stelboum (1999), and ever since, the issue never disappeared. The following graph illustrates the number of peer-reviewed publications and reviews that contain the word polyamory since then according to the search engine of the University of Vienna.[3]

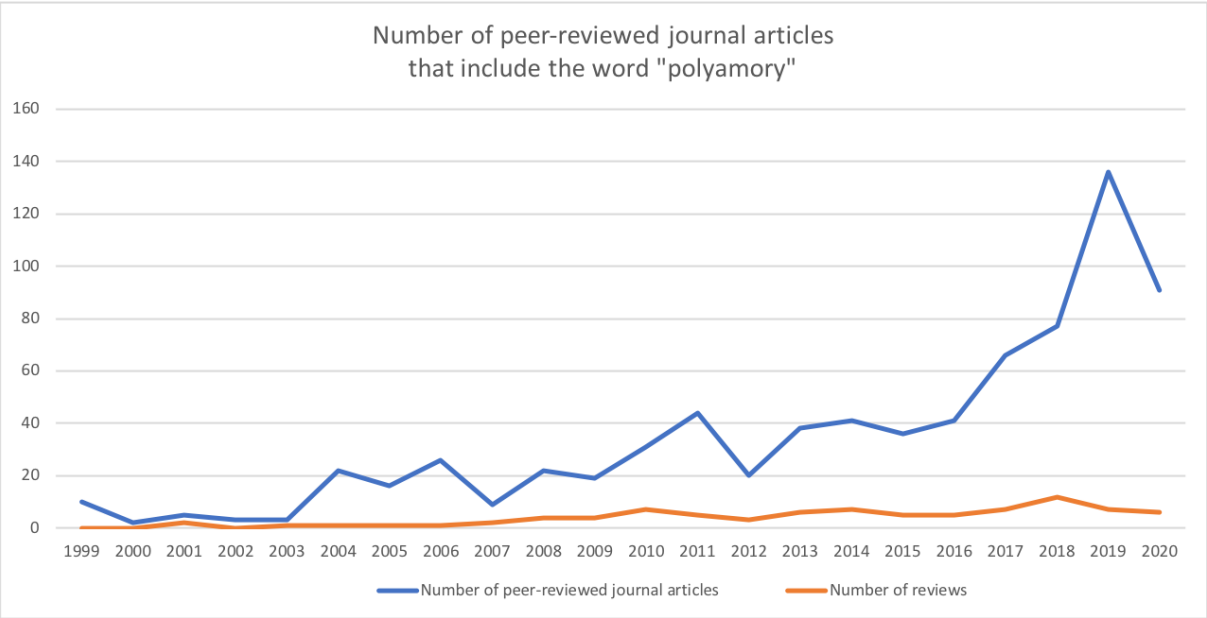


Fig. 1.1: Number of peer-reviewed publications in which the term "polyamory" appeared in the years 1999 to 2020 (figure by the author).

What is striking is an increase in the year 2004, and another peak in 2006, of which the latter can be explained by the first special issue on polyamory, published in *sexualities*.[4] Furthermore, a rather steep rise in the years 2010 and 2011, a doubling from 40 to 80 articles from 2016 to 2018; and an absolute peak in 2019 with 136 articles. That there was a comparative decline in 2020 compared to the previous year comes as a surprise and does not match the trend since 2015 – one possible explanation is the Covid-19 pandemic, and the related difficulties researchers faced in the year 2020.

[2] For details on the history of the term, see chapter 2.5 "Poly origins and historic development".

[3] The library of the University of Vienna contains according to its self-specification 7,547,113 books, 520,460 e-books, and 75,420 journals articles (Universitätsbibliothek, 2018). The numbers date back to the year 2018 and are likely higher by the time this chapter was written (all data accessed 2020/12). The search does not relate to titles or keywords, but to the appearance of the word *polyamory* in the full text.

[4] See for example Haritaworn, Lin, and Klesse (2006).

Taking the topic from the academic ivory tower to the world outside academia, the Google Books Ngram viewer is arguably the best option to illustrate the occurrence of a specific term like polyamory. According to its website, this is what the tool does: "*When you enter phrases into the Google Books Ngram Viewer, it displays a graph showing how those phrases have occurred in a corpus of books (e.g. 'British English', 'English Fiction', 'French') over the selected years.*" (Google, 2020)

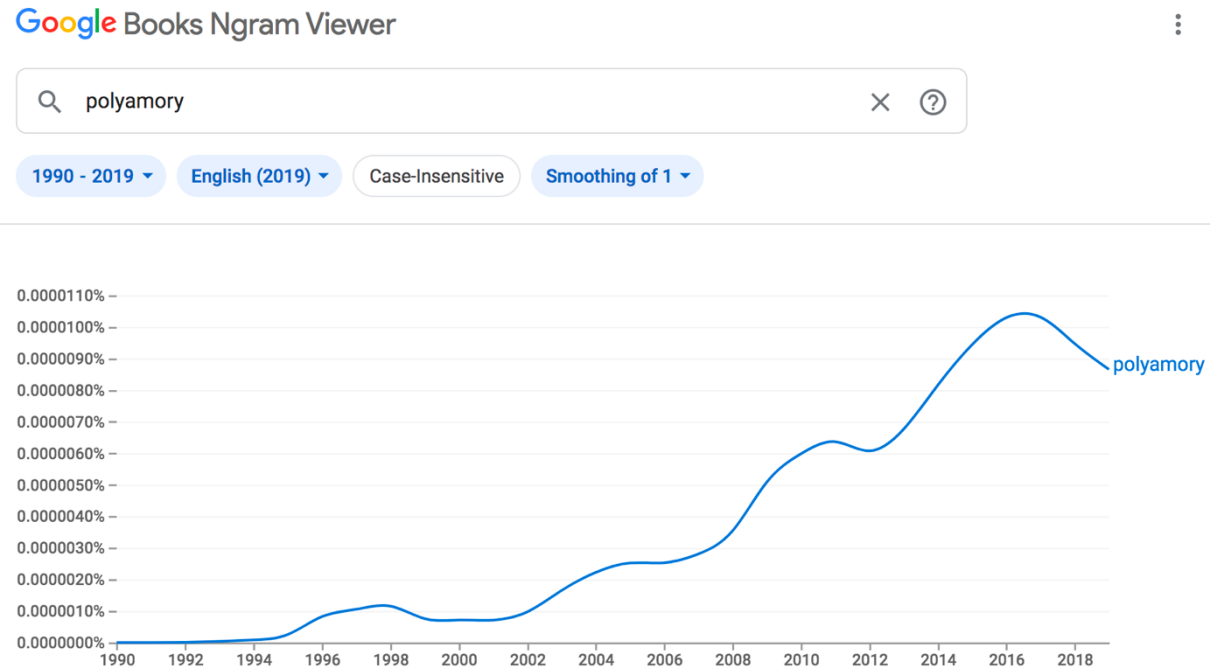


Fig. 1.2: Number of printed sources containing the term "polyamory" that appeared from 1990 to 2019 (figure by Google).

Except for the year 2020 that is not included in the Ngram viewer, the graph for general publications pretty much matches the graph regarding academic journal articles. To sum it up, we can see a steep increase of distributed academic knowledge that took off around 2015, and a more or less similar rise (with only the year 2019 delivering significantly different numbers) with printed sources in general.

And yet we still know little, and various research gaps remain. This thesis aims to close one of these gaps – to be precise the question of the media representation of polyamory, and its differences and similarities with the self-perception of people living polyamorous lives. The importance of these questions is outlined in the framing theory, which – put in very simplified terms – implies that the media influence how a topic is presented, which then shapes the manner in which the public discusses this specific topic. To break it down in one sentence: **With my thesis I will try to show whether what the media report about polyamory matches or contradicts the ways in which polyamorous people perceive their lives.**

## 1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 provides an overview on my personal interest and the academic research gap, outlines the structure of the thesis, and presents the ethical considerations guiding the empirical work.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the terminology and definitions of polyamory. It illustrates the many existing media attributions, moves on to the academic debate on categorization and interpretation, relates it to the larger issue of consensual non-monogamy, covers facts and figures, and provides the definition of how polyamory is understood for the thesis at hand.

Chapter 3 contains the overall question of the thesis, the seven research questions in detail, and provides a short preview of the theoretical framework and the applied methods for the empirical chapters.

Chapter 4 is all about theory. It explains what a theory should provide in general and why, defines how "media" is understood for the thesis, and establishes the link to the mid-range theory of *faming* that was applied.

The chapters 5 to 10 cover the topics of the individual research questions. This starts off with the love and life histories of affected people (chapter 5); moves on to the problem of classifying polyamory in a theoretical context and the reason why this is important (chapter 6); covers the social acceptance of poly individuals by family, among friends, and in the workplace and the wider society (chapter 7); continues with the current legal – or rather lacking legal – status of polyamorous relationships in Western societies (chapter 8); describes whether and how polyamory and religious faith get along (with a focus on various Christian confessions) (chapter 9), and then describes where and how concerned individuals find information on the matter (chapter 10).

Chapter 11 paves the trail for the media analysis. It presents which media were analyzed according to which dimensions and for which reasons, explains in detail how the qualitative content analysis was applied in the following chapters, and refers to the rule-bound implementation and its technical realization.

Chapter 12 does the same for the interviews. It starts out with the general challenges of measuring sexuality and emotions, and then focusses on how the technique of narrative biographical interviews was applied, and how comparability with the media analysis can be assured.

Chapter 13 provides a detailed presentation of the findings of the media analysis with references to already existing studies. The first part is dedicated to general distinctive outcomes of the empiric material, and goes on to cover the research questions one by one. It also provides a glimpse of what has been overlooked so far, and how the articles valuate the topic in general.

Chapter 14 claims the same for the interviews. The most comprehensive chapter of the whole thesis analyses the interviews in great detail and provides samples for the conclusions. It is introduced by a broad description of the demographic data of the participants.

Chapter 15 draws the final conclusion for the detailed research questions as well as for the overall question of the thesis. The subsequent chapter 16 then shows what might be in store in the coming years and decades regarding the issue of polyamory.

Chapter 16 contains the literature in alphabetic order; chapter 17 the appendix. This is where the abstracts, a list of tables and figures, the codebook, a detailed list of the analyzed articles, more information on the interviews, e.g. the declaration of consent and the demographic questionnaire, and my curriculum vitae are to be found.

## 1.4 Ethical considerations

A research project that operates with sensitive personal data needs rules along which the empiric generation of data is carried out. The Austrian Science Fund FWF which funded the project this thesis is based on refers to two documents as guidelines: Either the "*Ethics for researchers*" as published by the European Commission for FP7-projects (European_Commission, 2013), or the document "*The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*" published by the European Science Foundation (European Science Foundation, 2011). I decided to go with the *Ethics for researchers* catalogue as it is more specific.[5] It identifies six categories, which I have implemented as follows:

[5] Although it has been 8 years since the document was written, it is still the one the European Commission currently refers to.

• **Data protection and privacy**

In the guidelines, data protection refers to the guarantee that the right to privacy is ensured. The relevant paragraph reads as follows: "*Data protection refers to the technical framework and security measures designed to guarantee that all personal data are save from unforeseen, unintended or malevolent use. Data protection therefore includes both measures with regard to access to data and the conservation to data*." (European Commission, 2013, p. 12) In its implementation, I have:

- Locked the reporting device with the original sound files in a secure space in Vienna during the project duration and stored it locked away privately when all interviews had been analysed.
- Protected the computer on which the thesis was written with passwords, the same applies for backup hard drives. Furthermore, the computer is not publicly accessible as it is located in a university office without public access.
- Used the university-internal cloud backup service rather than any US-based cloud service for an online backup.
- Locked away printed versions of the transcribed interviews.
- Did not use real names for the interview but asked for pseudonyms. Since members of the polyamorous community in Vienna may associate these pseudonyms with the individuals, I generated pseudonyms for those pseudonyms in a second step. These pseudonyms of the pseudonyms are the names used in the empirical chapters.

This leaves the question of how it can be ensured that what I claim in my thesis can be proved as genuine data rather than fiction, as also described as a challenge in the European Commission document: "*The main challenge for research is to use and share the data, and at the time protect all identifiable information to guarantee personal privacy*." (European Commission, 2013, p. 12) I solved this dilemma as follows:

- Representatives of academic institutions with a clear and explicit interest are granted access to the printed versions of the interview transcripts. All real names and passages that would allow to identify individuals will be blackened. Access is only possible on-site (University of Vienna, Austria), no printed or digital copies can be handed out. This access is to be arranged with the supervisor of the thesis, Prof. Dr. Franz X. Eder[6].
- A list of the interview dates, the duration of the individual interviews, and the names (the pseudonyms of the pseudonyms) is provided in the appendix.

[6] Contact details as of February 2021: Department of Economic and Social History, University of Vienna. Mail: franz.eder@univie.ac.at; Phone: +43-1-4277-41321.

• Passages of the transcripts that could allow identification have not been used for the thesis. The same applies for names that have been used by interviewees when speaking about others.

### • Informed consent

The guideline of the European Commission describes informed consent as one of the most pivotal principles in research ethics in many guidelines and international conventions. It refers to it as follows: "Informed consent is meant to guarantee the voluntary participation in research and is probably the most important procedure to address privacy issues in research. Informed consent consists of three components: adequate information, voluntariness, and competence." (European Commission, 2013, p. 14) This has been implemented as follows:

• As described in the guidelines of the European commission, participants were clearly informed of the research goals and refusal of participation as well as withdrawal from the research, at any time, without consequences.

• A declaration of consent that all participants needed to sign either directly before or after the interview. One copy stayed with the interviewees, one copy is kept by me. Since this declaration of consent contains the real names of the participants, the documents are stored in a different room from the computer and the transcripts. The text of the declaration[7] reads as follows[8]: *I agree on the acquisition, processing and use of the interview data for the research project "polyamory in media, social and identity perspective", headed by Prof. Dr. Franz X. Eder and supported by project staff MMag. Stefan F. Ossmann, financed by the FWF Austrian Science Fund. In academic as well as in media publications, interviews will only be quoted in parts to ensure that a possible identification of individuals due to the overall context will not be possible.*

[7] The original original document can be found in the appendix.

[8] Since most of the participants are native German speakers, the declaration was only signed in German language, in which the *Einverständniserklärung* reads as *follows: „Ich bin mit der Erhebung, Verarbeitung und Verwertung der Interviewdaten für das vom österreichischen Wissenschaftsfonds finanzierten Forschungsprojekt „Polyamorie in medialer, sozialer und Identitätsperspektive" unter der Projektleitung von Prof. Dr. Franz X. Eder, und dem Projektmitarbeiter MMag. Stefan F. Ossmann einverstanden. In wissenschaftlichen sowie medialen Veröffentlichungen werden Interviews nur in Ausschnitten zitiert, um gegenüber Dritten sicherzustellen, dass der entstehende Gesamtzusammenhang von Ereignissen nicht zu einer Identifizierung der Person führen kann. Die personenbezogenen Kontaktdaten (vorliegende Einverständniserklärung) werden von den Interviewdaten getrennt abgelegt und sind Dritten nicht zugänglich. Alle Daten werden verschlossen aufbewahrt; Zugang haben ausschließlich ProjektmitarbeiterInnen. Die digitalen Abschriften (Transkriptionen) werden auf passwortgeschützten Projektrechnern angefertigt und gespeichert, die dazugehörigen Backup-Systeme sind ebenfalls passwortgeschützt. Für die Ausarbeitung und Analyse werden die TeilnehmerInnen anonymisiert (z. B. mit fortlaufender Nummer oder Pseudonymen). Ich habe eine Kopie der Einwilligungserklärung erhalten. Hiermit erkläre ich meine freiwillige Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt."*

*The personal contact data (the declaration of consent at hand) will be kept separately from the interview data and cannot be accessed by a third party. All data will be kept locked, with access only granted to project staff. The digital transcripts will be generated and stored on password-protected computers, the attached backup-systems are also password-protected. For elaboration and analyses, all participants will be anonymised (for example with consecutive numbers or pseudonyms). I have received a copy of the declaration of consent. I hereby declare my voluntary participation in this research project*.

In addition to these first two aspects I have just explained, the other four aspects named in the document do not apply:

- **Research on human embryos and foetuses**

Not relevant since no research on human embryos and foetuses has been conducted.

- **Dual use**

The term dual use is often used in politics and diplomacy and refers to technology that can be used for peaceful as well as military aims. This is also not applicable since no technology that could possibly be used for military aims has been developed. In fact, one – if not the – key topic of the research project is *love*, which diametrically opposes the idea of military action and war.

- **Animal research**

This is equally obvious as the point on research on human embryos. No animals have been used in experiments; in fact, no *experimental* method was applied.

- **Research in developing countries**

The last aspect is of greater relevance for 7th framework projects, which are intended as cooperations between several countries, including non-EU countries. When developing countries or emerging economies are involved in research projects, special attention is needed. This does not apply since the research has been conducted within the EU.

## 2. Polyamory: Terms, definitions, and object of research

The following chapter aims to give a detailed overview on how the term is used in its media representation; it outlines the parameters on how gender, sex, sexual orientation(s) and identities are understood (with a quick excursus to paraphilic disorders); looks at the wider field of consensual non-monogamy; gives an account of the origins of the term; covers hierarchies within polyamorous relationships (including illustrations); provides the definition of the term *polyamory* for the thesis at hand (as a preview of chapter 5); briefly sketches further aspects we know and don't know; and closes with an attempt to explain why we don't have any valid numbers of how many people are polyamorous.

### 2.1 Approaching the term (linguistics and understanding)

What is polyamory? Taking the question on a meta level, the question could read as follows: Why is it of importance what polyamory represents? And who has the right to define a term? The latter illustrates the problem: While some "things" are clearly defined (for an example, scientific technical parameters such as kilograms our pounds, centimetre or inches, degrees Celsius or Fahrenheit), other notions are subject to discussion. In the wider context of non-heteronormative, non-binary, non-monogamous realities, definitions are somewhat more difficult; and they are a subject of dispute. The ideas, orientations, identities, ways of living, feelings, identifications etc. lie outside of Western norms, therefore discussions regarding them are controversial, and the subject of political, religious and social discourses. Individuals that fall under the LGBT(I)[9] acronym can refer to institutions like for example

[9] A detailed explanation why the acronym LGBT(I) is used will be presented in the chapter of legal acceptance – in short, it refers to legal protection of people who identify with at least one letter of that acronym. As this thesis focuses on Europe in its empiric approach, it is the European Union that grants those rights in article 21 of the Charter of fundamental rights: "*Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited*." (European Union, 2000)
If we shine a spotlight on the last aspect, the article tells us that lesbian, bisexual and gay persons have, regarding their *sexual orientation*, equal rights to heterosexual persons. In this fundamental EU legislation, no explicit references to gender identity, gender expression or sexual characteristics are included – which is the case in EU secondary law on non-discrimination, which explicitly refers to the term *trans* identity (Van den Brink & Dunne, 2018, p. 8).
A resolution on the rights of intersex people was adopted by the European Parliament in February 2019 – and this is where the anti-discrimination by legal bodies ends. While a current acronym, as was used by the organizers for the Toronto Pride Week in 2019 for example, LGBTTIQQ2SA - the abbreviation for *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Questioning, 2-Spirited* (indigenous

the World Health Organisation, the United Nation, or the European Union. For the term polyamory, no recognised international institution has put forward a definition (yet).

So, for a start, the chapter sets the rules using two aspects:

First, the interpretation of the two words that coin the term: *Polyamory* represents a neologism from the Greek word *polys* (many) and the Latin word *amor* (love) (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, p. 7), so the literal translation would be *many loves* (Benson, 2017, p. 25).

Second, polyamory is understood as a *Western* thing. "*It relates to the logic of relationships from a global nothernness perspective within its social, legal, and religious parameters, rules and restrictions*." (Stefan F. Ossmann, 2020, p. 365)[10] – this is the fundamental base for the chapters to come.[11]

## 2.2 Fifty shades of polyamory (or 317)

Collected originally as a bycatch for the media analysis below, the following pages continue the opening question of the previous subchapter "what is polyamory?". It is a random listing of words, terms and descriptions used by German-speaking media to describe *polyamory*. In total, 317 different attributions/descriptions were published in Austrian, German and Swiss newspapers and magazines between 2007 and 2017. The list is the English translation by the author, provided with a number in running order so the according original terms in German language can be found more easily.

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North Americans, who fulfil a traditional third-gender ceremonial role)*, and Allies* - claims to be much more inclusive, it still does not include everyone that does not consider themselves part of the heteronormative mainstream, as it lacks for example asexuality.

[10] It might be confusing to have two terms that by its name describe something geographical ("western" and "*northernness*") that differ from each other are supposed to mean the same thing. The term *northernness* (also found as *Global North*) is the antonym of the term *Global South* (in older literature also found as *developing countries* or *third world countries*); it stands for rich, highly industrialised and politically stable countries. For further reading, please refer for example to (L. Schmidt & Schröder, 2016).

[11] In addition to the previous paragraph, even within countries that can be considered rich, highly industrialized and politically stable, differences appear. For a comparison with the decriminalization of homosexuality, nearly all Western countries took that step in the 1970ies or 1980ies, while countries in Latin America followed in the 1980ies only, and some countries of Eastern Europe not until the 1990ies (Goessl, 2010, p. 222). That this legal change also (slowly) changes the attitude of wider society is for example illustrated by Takács and Szalma (2020). They indicate that "*(…) there are still significant differences between different parts of Europe regarding social attitudes towards gays and lesbians*.", but recommend a more refined vision than the current East-West dichotomy (Takács & Szalma, 2020, p. 459).

Multilateral emotional relations (1); more love (2); denomination to be unfaithful (3); secret love affairs (4); love network (5); being in an institutional emotional relationship with multiple persons at one time (6); three-dimensional love (7); three adults love and live together (8); multiple love with respect (9); open love triangle (10); promiscuity with emotion (11); inner bond with the third person (12); poly and love (13); man plus woman plus man (14); an alternative to free and romantic love (15); physical gain of pleasure (16); emotional need (17); dogma of engagement (18); high complex relationship network (19); modern idea (20); fun in external beds (21); varied, free, casual and sexual fulfilling live (22); squaring the circle (23); relationship model (24); more intimacy, joy and emotion (25); sex (26); bunga-bunga (27); construct (28); pure sexual experience (29); distribution of sexual affection (30); refreshment of sexual life (31); lived dream of erotic land of plenty (32); philosophy (33); cuckolds (34); way of life (35); luxury that costs time (36); political statement (37); alternative to the system (38); not swinging and not cheating (39); movement (40); form of relationship (41); cohabitation with more partners simultaneously (42); balancing act that demands a lot of energy and courage (43); sexual minority (44); bias (45); contemporary form of living together (46); overcoming possessive mentality (47); responsibility (48); outgrowth of a supposedly circulating lack of commitment (49); pederasty (50), buggery and adultery (51); Sodom and Gomorrah (52); concept operated by thinking (53); scene with a high proportion of S/M's (54); individually negotiated arrangement (55); splits between faithfulness and debauchery (56); ethical coexistence of multiple, usually equal love relationships (57); feminist strategy against the superficial order of monogamy (58); esoteric drift (59); universal relationship ethics (60); future-orientated form of love (61); relief of main relationship (62); not hiding an affair (63); TV-published propagandized relationship ideal (64); experiment (65); (new sexual) revolution (66); credo (67); something outside the norm (68); expedition (69); conventional cheating with a philosophical superstructure (70); freedom (71); open partnership (72); polygamy by a new name (73); sexual subculture (74); declaration of love to life (75); postmodern love (76); polylove (77); erotic cosmos of the coming years (78); familiarity with the option for sex (79); mesh (80); multiple flirtation (81); uncertain new terrain (82); unifying fundamental values (83); liberal way of life (84); autonomy (85); being faithful without restriction (86); libidinous variety of orientations (87); life off mainstream (88); life plan (89); no sexual free ride (90); same attention for all involved (91); sharing of loved people (92); connection that requires emotional discipline (93); caring interaction with several people (94); the love ideal of a new era (95); refusal of the bourgeois relationship (96); the right to live relationships who one complies with (97); delimitation of unrestrained change of partners as during hippie times (98); something time- and emotion consuming (99); harmonious together (100); the right partner for every aspect of life (101); triangular model (102); grown relationship (103); close to bureaucratic life with two partners (104); delimitation from earlier forms

of non-monogamous relationships (105); people with partners who have further relationships (106); communication-intense relationships (107); equal opportunities (108); complex love trade by individuals (109); open marriage of any number of partners of any genders (110); thinking not in boundaries but by options (111); a second or even third or fourth serious relationship (112); world view (113); love, trust and commitment (114); the willingness to accept the truth rather than to become estranged (115); three is not one too many (116); a fixed partnership with one or more people outside (117); divergence from what is socially accepted (118); another way of living in a collective (119); abolition of the human as cultural being (120); structure with a random number of partners (121); new developed form or human relationship (122); symbol of a hip and urban love world of tomorrow (123); idea for brave people who enjoy experimenting and with intellectual flexibility (124); ensemble where one is less lonely (125); new form of family life (126); no romantic claim of exclusivity and eternity (127); phenomenon of a threesome, often with two women and one man (128); relationship trend (129); ability for multiple love (130); standard of a triangle or quartet structure (131); potential, fictitious ideal which, as a norm on a par with marriage, completely ignores the human factor (132); community of responsibility (133); some kind of shared living (134); living and having children in different constellations (135); instead of a duo, a trio from now onwards (136); bloodless foursome (137); return to tribal structures (138); flexibility, meeting interesting people and a lot of fun besides (139); Ménages-à-plusieurs (140); an ancient and, especially for women, a good idea (141); concubinage (142); hopeless chaos (143); living together long enough and sharing the bills (144); completely new level of trust (145); being with two people at the same time (146); somehow having two mothers (147); two official women alongside (148); terror of intimacy (149); pressure of constant communication (150); constant work on emotions (151); sleeping plans, sophisticated rotation principle and clearly set rights to veto (152); couples pairing up with other couples (153); co-mothering (154); hard work (155); being faithful to five people at the same time (156); every delicacy from the buffet of life (157); erotic therapy (158); no sexual variety (159); stable polygamy (160); friendship-plus-whatever (161); remains of the ’68 (162); trend for the future (163); new residential community (164); useful solution (165); polygamy without compulsory marriage (166); a real family (167); social fidelity (168); no harem (169); fight against sexual envy (170); roller coaster ride (171); injury of one’s own feelings and the partner’s (172); absolute disclosure (173); liberation (174); two people have no secrets from a third person (175); sexual transparency without obligation of secrecy (176); raped conscience (177); no drama of jealousy (178); no family drama (179); imbalance (180); compersion (181); free love community (182); jealousy management (183); wanting-but-not-being-able-to (184); obligations only within the group (185); regularly changing sexual partners (186); not free from jealousies (187); abolition of jealousy (188); striving for sexual variety (189); more than free love (190); delimitation of the swinging community (191); acting without secrecy (192); no promiscuity (193);

partnership and unlimited options (194); love without pain and scars (195); a never-ending orgy (196); having sex with the same person twice and still staying away from the establishment (197); sexual friendships (198); not having gang bang sex (199); neither a new nor a rare occurrence (200); trend to supposedly greater sexual freedom (201); no living up to instincts (202); not only erotic experiences (203); no naked people, no gang bang, no sex (204); new term (205); so much more than a little sex provides (206); being there for one another (207); taking care of each other (208); sex as natural consequence but not cause of an emotional affection (209); something non-exotic (210); no Bacchanal (211); permanence (212); tolerance of several intimate partners (213); more than one partner but with promise of loyalty (214); bridge between familiarity, excitement, liability and freedom (215); mastering daily routines together (216); being together (217); a lot of love and appreciation (218); replacement of the only economic supply household (219); free life, in which intimacy is decoupled from economic, social and emotional security (220); no clear origins (221); individualistic expression of limitless consumer society and entitlement (222); dilemma of desire (223); additional benefit with regard to financial and emotional security (224); preservation of the romantic love live by multiple loves (225), more resources than a traditional family of two (226); sex- and psycho-cult (227); no sexual exclusivity (228); alternative marginal group (229); erotic impulse in the name of transparency (230); no searching for excuses for stolen love hours (231); recognition of one's own as well as others' needs and free spaces (232); honest variety of serial monogamy (233); another word for unfaithfulness (234); faith of the new horny (235); intimate relationship with a befriended couple (236); change of mind with regard to love (237); going on holidays with four people (238); sex with three people or one after the other (239); inner need to experience new relationships over and over again (240); tender contact with friends (241); heterosexual imitation of gay relationships (242); continuation of the sexual revolution (243); honorable incest (244); awkward hustle (245); platonic love, sex without touching (246); watching the wife having sex or participating; (247) erotic escapade (248); forced indifference that is overlaid by sexual stimuli and charged with anthroposophical theory manifested by libertinage (249); a relationship chaos comprised of more than a dozen sexual partners (250); richness and mutual connectedness (251); the struggle of making announced tolerance livable (252); being at peace with oneself (253); a quasi-religious coping strategy we had thought overcome (254); collective pietistic soul striptease (255); being happier than our parents and grandparents (256); crying in the bathroom (257); peaceful search for rules for contact with the outside erotic world (258); being happy with someone else (259); more social and cultural plurality (260); need for more than one sexual partner (261); balancing act between freedom of each other and permanent responsibility for each other (262); intimacy according to schedule (263); love practices moving from the edge of society to the mainstream (264); new arrangement for sex and partnership (265); intense but cleansing (266); merciless openness (267); planned, erotic, unromantic rendezvous (268); niche for every special sexual

liking (269); bitter-romantic dream (270); lived individual and joint desire (271); one of more varieties of sexuality (272); honesty (273); not leaving the partner in the dark after cheating (274); religion (275); not being able to let a bargain go (276); development of one's own personality (277); being only one lover amongst many (278); dramatic consequence for our sexual morality (279); nearly complete sexual freedom and autonomy for men and women alike (280); truthfulness of emotions (281); intimate cohabitation of multiple adults (282); different erotic and sexual experiences with different people at the same time of one's life (283); not being faithful to each other and not claiming ownership of each other (284); not automatically more happiness (285); stable arrangement between three (286); living out a new kind of desire for women (287); no ascetism (288); banging everything that cannot run away fast enough( 289); wannabe-free spirit (290); consensual not monogamous (291); necessary space for nice quick encounters of any number of people (292); umbrella term for a more open way of life (293); strange world (294); fulltime job (295); new definition of the term faithfulness (296); liveable ideal (297); modus vivendi (298); polygyny and polygamy (299); trend like vegetarianism or veganism (300); change (301); up-to-date relationship activity (302); adventure phantasy, dream project (303); thinkable and somehow liveable combination of people (304); no development (305); way of relationship (306); community of like-minded people (307); collective process of finding oneself (308); future of our culture (309); no panacea for happiness (310); new monogamy (311); giving up the demand for exclusivity (312); sophisticated love management (313); no standard narrative of behavioral biology (314); completion of the family (315); paleo-diet amongst relationship forms (316); no counter-concept, but a supplement to monogamy (317). The German original terms can be found in the footnote.[12]

[12] In the original German: Multiple Liebesbeziehungen (1); mehr Liebe (2); Bekenntnis zum Fremdgehen (3); heimliche Liebesbeziehungen (4); Liebesnetzwerk (5); mit mehreren Menschen gleichzeitig in einer institutionalisierten Liebesbeziehung sein (6); dreidimensionale Liebe (7); drei Erwachsene lieben sich und leben zusammen (8); Mehrfachliebe mit Respekt (9); offene Dreiecksbeziehung (10); Promiskuität mit Gefühl (11); innere Verbundenheit mit dem Dritten (12); Viele und Liebe (13); Mann plus Frau plus Mann (14); Alternative zur freien und romantischen Liebe (15); körperlicher Lustgewinn (16); emotionales Bedürfnis (17); Dogma der Verbindlichkeit (18); hochkomplexes Beziehungsnetz (19); Idee modischer Art (20); Spaß in fremden Betten (21); abwechslungsreiches, freies, zwangsloses und sexuell befriedigendes Leben (22); Quadratur des Kreises (23); Beziehungsmodell (24); mehr Intimität, Freude und Gefühl (25), Sex (26); Bunga-Bunga (27); Konstrukt (28); pures sexuelles Erlebnis (29); Verteilung sexueller Zuneigung (30); Auffrischung des Sexuallebens (31); praktizierter Traum des erotischen Schlaraffenlandes (32); Philosophie (33); Hahnrei (34); Lebensform (35); Luxus der Zeit kostet (36); politisches Statement (37); Alternative zum System (38); keine Swinger und keine Fremdgeher (39); Bewegung (40); Beziehungsform (41); Zusammenleben mit mehreren Partnern gleichzeitig (42); Balanceakt, der viel Energie kostet und viel Mut bedeutet (43); sexuelle Minderheit (44); Neigung (45); zeitgemäße Form des Zusammenlebens (46); Überwindung des Besitzdenkens (47); Verantwortung (48); Auswuchs einer angeblich kursierenden Unverbindlichkeits-Epidemie (49); Päderastie (50), Unzucht und Ehebruch (51); Sodom und Gomorrha (52); vom Denken gesteuertes Konzept (53); Szene mit überdurchschnittlich vielen Sadomasochisten (54); individuell ausgehandeltes Arrangement (55); Spagat zwischen Treue und Ausschweifung (56); ethisches Nebeneinander verschiedener, meist gleichwertiger Liebesbeziehungen (57); feministische Strategie gegen das vordergründige Monogamiegebot (58); esoterische Strömung (59); universelle Beziehungsethik (60);

zukunftsorientierte Form der Liebe (61); Entlastung der Hauptbeziehung (62); nicht-verstecken einer Affäre (63); fernsehöffentlich propagiertes Beziehungsideal (64); Experiment (65); neue sexuelle Revolution (66); Überzeugung (67); Etwas außerhalb der Norm (68), Forschungsreise (69); stinknormales Fremdgehen mit philosophischem Überbau (70); Freiheit (71); offene Partnerschaft (72); Polygamie unter neuem Namen (73); sexuelle Subkultur (74); Liebeserklärung an das Leben (75); postmoderne Liebe (76); Polylove (77); Erotischer Kosmos der nächsten Jahrzehnte (78); Vertrautheit mit der Option auf Sex (79); Geflecht (80); Mehrfach-Liebelei (81); unsicheres neues Terrain (82); verbindende Grundwerte (83); libertäre Lebensweise (84); Selbstbestimmung (85); treu sein ohne Einschränkung (86); libidinöser Orientierungsbuntheit (87), Leben abseits des Mainstreams (88); Lebensentwurf (89); kein sexueller Freifahrtschein (90); gleiche Aufmerksamkeit für alle Beteiligten (91); teilen von geliebten Menschen (92); Verbundenheit, die emotionale Disziplin erfordert (93); liebevoller Umgang mit mehreren Menschen (94); das Liebesideal einer neuen Epoche (95); Ablehnung der bürgerlichen Beziehung (96); das Recht Beziehungen so zu leben, wie es einem entspricht (97); Abgrenzung vom hemmungslosten Partnerwechsel zu Hippie-Zeiten (98); etwas Zeit- und Emotionsaufwendiges (99); harmonisches Miteinander (100); ein richtiger Partner für jeden Lebensaspekt (101); Dreiecksmodell (102); gewachsene Beziehung (103); fast bürokratisches Leben mit zwei Partnern (104); Abgrenzung gegen frühere Formen nicht-monogamer Beziehungen (105); Menschen mit Partnerinnen oder Partnern, die weitere Beziehungen haben (106); kommunikationsintensive Beziehungen (107); Chancengleichheit (108); komplexer personengetragener Liebeshandel (109); offene Ehe für beliebig viele Partner egal welchen Geschlechts (110); nicht in Grenzen sondern in Möglichkeiten zu denken (111); eine zweite oder gar auch dritte oder vierte ernsthafte Beziehung (112); Weltsicht (113); Liebe, Vertrauen und Verbindlichkeit (114); die Bereitschaft, lieber die Wahrheit zu ertragen als sich voneinander zu entfremden (115); drei ist keiner zu viel (116); fixe Partnerschaft, aber mit einer oder mehreren Personen im Außen (117); Abweichung vom gesellschaftlich Akzeptierten (118); andere Art von Leben in einer Gemeinschaft (119); Abschaffung des Menschen als Kulturwesen (120); Gefüge mit beliebig vielen Partnern (121); neu erfundene Form der menschlichen Beziehung (122); Sinnbild einer hippen, urbanen, appleweißen Liebeswelt von morgen (123); Idee für mutige Menschen mit Experimentierfreude und geistiger Flexibilität (124); Ensemble, in dem man weniger einsam ist (125); neue Form von Familienleben (126); kein romantischer Exklusivitäts- und Ewigkeitsanspruch (127); Phänomen des Dreiergespanns, häufig bestehend aus zwei Frauen und einem Mann (128); Beziehungstrend (129); Fähigkeit, mehrere zu lieben (130); Standard einer Triangel- oder Quartettstruktur (131); potentielles, fiktives Ideal, das als gleichwertige Norm zur Ehe grob am Menschen vorbeigeht (132); Verantwortungsgemeinschaft (133); eine Art Wohngemeinschaft (134); Leben und Kinderkriegen in verschiedensten Konstellationen (135); blutleere Viererkonstellation (136); Rückkehr zu Stammesverhältnissen (137); statt einem Duo von nun an ein Trio (138); Flexibilität, Kennenlernen interessanter Leute und nebenbei ein Heidenspaß (139); Ménages-à-plusieurs (140); uralte und gerade für Frauen gute Idee (141); Konkubinat (142); aussichtsloses Chaos (143); lange genug zusammenwohnen und sich die Rechnungen teilen (144); völlig neue Vertrauensebene (145); mit zwei Personen gleichzeitig liiert sein (146); irgendwie zwei Mamas haben (147); zwei offizielle Frauen an der Seite (148); Terror der Intimität (149); Zwang zur Dauerkommunikation (150); andauernde Bearbeitung der Gefühle (151); Schlafpläne, ausgeklügeltes Rotationsprinzip und fest vereinbarte Vetorechte (152); Paare tun sich mit anderen Paaren zusammen (153); Co-Mutterschaft (154); harte Arbeit (155); fünf Menschen gleichzeitig treu sein (156); sämtliche Köstlichkeiten des Buffets des Lebens (157); liebeserotische Therapie (158); nicht sexuelle Abwechslung (159); stabile Gruppenehe (160); Freundschaft-plus-was-auch-immer; Überbleibsel der 68iger; Trend für die Zukunft; neues WG-Modell; sinnvolle Lösung; Polygamie ohne verpflichtende Heirat; eine richtige Familie; soziale Treue; kein Harem; Kampf gegen Sexualneid (170); Achterbahnfahrt (171); Verletzungen der eigenen Gefühle und Empfindungen der Partner (172); absolute Offenlegung (173); Befreiung (174); zwei Leute haben keine Geheimnisse vor dem Dritten (175); sexuelle Transparenz ohne Geheimhaltungspolitik (176); vergewaltigtes Gewissen (177); kein Eifersuchtsdrama (178); kein Familiendrama (179); Ungleichgewicht (180); Resonanzfreude (181); freie Liebesgemeinschaft (182); Eifersuchtsmanagement (183); wollen-aber-nicht-können (184); Verbindlichkeit nur innerhalb der Gruppe (185); regelmäßig wechselnde Sexualpartner (186); nicht frei von Eifersüchteleien (187); Abschaffung der Eifersucht (188); Streben nach sexueller Abwechslung (189); mehr als freie Liebe (190); Abgrenzung von der Swingerszene (191); Tun ohne Heimlichtuerei (192); keine Promiskuität (192); Partnerschaft und unbegrenzte Möglichkeiten (194); Liebe ohne Schmerz und Narben (195); keine nicht enden wollende Orgie (196); zweimal mit demselben pennen und trotzdem dem Establishment fernbleiben (197);

sexuelle Freundschaften (198); nicht im Rudel vögeln (199); keine neue und auch keine seltene Erscheinung (200); angeblicher Trend zu größerer sexueller Freiheit (201); kein Ausleben von Trieben (202); nicht nur erotische Erlebnisse (203); keine nackten Menschen, keine Orgien, kein Sex (204); neuer Begriff (205); so viel mehr als dieses bisschen, was Sex bringt (206); füreinander da sein (207); füreinander kümmern (208); Sex als natürliche Folge aber nicht Ursache einer emotionalen Zuneigung (209); etwas Unexotisches (210); kein Bacchus-Gelage (211); Dauerhaftigkeit (212); Duldung mehrerer Intimpartner (213); mehr als ein Partner aber mit Treueversprechen (214); Brücke zwischen Vertrautheit, Aufregung, Verbindlichkeit und Freiheit (215); Alltag zusammen bestreiten (216); zusammen sein (217); sehr viel Liebe und Wertschätzung (218); Ablöse des rein ökonomischen Versorgungshaushalts (219); freies Leben, in der Intimität von ökonomischer, sozialer und emotionaler Sicherheit entkoppelt ist (220); keine klaren Abstammungsverhältnisse (221); individualistische Ausdrucksform der total entgrenzten Konsum- und Anspruchsgesellschaft (222); Begehrungsschlamassel (223); Mehrleistung in Puncto finanzieller und emotionaler Absicherung (224); Erhaltung des romantischen Liebeserlebens über Vielliebereі (225); mehr Ressourcen als im klassischen Zweipersonenhaushalt (226); Sex- und Psychosekte (227); keine sexuelle Ausschließlichkeit (228); alternative Randgruppe (229); erotische Anwandlung im Namen der Transparenz (230); keine Suche nach Ausreden für gestohlene Liebesstunden (213); Anerkennung der eigenen als auch der Bedürfnisse und Freiräume anderer (232); ehrliche Variante zur seriellen Monogamie (233); anderes Wort für Untreue (234); Glaube der Neugeilen (235); intime Beziehung mit befreundetem Paar (236); Sinneswandel in der Causa Liebe (237); zu viert in den Urlaub fahren (238); zu dritt oder nacheinander Sex haben (239); innerer Drang immer wieder neue Beziehungen zu erleben (240); zärtliche Kontakte zu Freunden (241); heterosexuelle Imitation schwuler Partnerschaften (242); Fortführung der sexuellen Revolution (243); ehrbarer Inzest (244); ungeschicktes Treiben (245); platonische Liebe, Sex ohne Anfassen (246); der Frau beim Sex zusehen oder sich dazulegen (247); erotische Eskapaden (248); von sexuellen Reizungen überlagerte, anthroposophisch aufgeladene Zwangsgleichgültigkeit, die in einer Libertinage zum Ausdruck kommt (249); mehr als ein Dutzend Sexualpartner umfassendes Beziehungswirrwarr (250); Fülle und gegenseitiges Verbündet-sein (251); Mühsal, propagierte Toleranz lebbar zu machen (252); mit sich selbst im Reinen sein (253); überwunden geglaubtes quasireligiöses Bewältigungsmuster (254); kollektive pietistische Seelenschau (255); Glücklicher sein als unsere Eltern und Großeltern (256); im Badezimmer weinen (257); friedliche Suche nach Spielregeln für den Kontakt mit der erotischen Außenwelt (258); glücklich sein mit einem Anderen (259); mehr soziale und kulturelle Vielfalt (260); Bedürfnis nach mehr als einer Sexualpartnerin (261); Spagat zwischen Freiheit voneinander und dauerhafte Verpflichtung füreinander (262); Intimität nach Terminkalender (263); Liebespraktiken, die von den Rändern der Gesellschaft in den Mainstream rücken (264); neues Arrangement für Sex und Partnerschaft (265); heftig aber reinigend (266); gnadenlose Offenheit (267); geplantes, erotisches, unromantisches Stelldichein (268); Nische für jeden speziellen, sexuellen Geschmack (269); herb-romantisches Traumgebilde (270); jeweils aber auch miteinander Begehren leben (271); eine von mehr Spielarten des Sex (272); Ehrlichkeit (273); Liebespartner nach Seitensprüngen nicht im Unklaren lassen (274); Religion (275); nicht fertigbringen, ein Schnäppchen sausen zu lassen (276); eigene Persönlichkeitsentwicklung (277); nur ein Geliebter unter vielen sein (278); dramatische Konsequenz für unsere Sexualmoral (279); nahezu vollkommene sexuelle Freiheit und Autonomie von Männern und Frauen (280); Wahrhaftigkeit des Gefühls (281); intimes Zusammenleben mehrerer erwachsener Personen (282); unterschiedliche erotische und sexuelle Erlebnisse mit verschiedenen Menschen zur selben Lebenszeit (283); einander nicht die Treue halten und keine Besitzansprüche aneinander stellen (284); nicht automatisch mehr Glück (285); festeres Arrangement zu dritt (286); Ausleben einer neuen Art von Lust für Frauen (287); keine Askese (288); mit allem ficken, was nicht schnell genug weglaufen kann (289); Möchtegern-Freigeist (290); einvernehmlich nicht monogam (291); nötiger Freiraum für schöne Schäferstündchen für zu wie vielt auch immer (292); Überbegriff für eine offenere Lebensweise (293); fremde Lebenswelt (294); Full-time-Job (295); Neudefinition des Begriffes Treue (296); lebbares Ideal (297); Modus Vivendi (298); Vielweiberei und Vielkerlerei (299); Trend wie Vegetarismus oder Veganismus (300); Abwechslung (301); Zeitgemäße Beziehungsbetätigung (302); Abenteuerphantasie, Traumprojekt (303); denkbare und irgendwie lebbare Kombination von Menschen (304); keine Weiterentwicklung (305); Beziehungsart (306); Gemeinschaft von Gleichgesinnten (307); kollektiver Selbstfindungsprozess (308); Zukunft unserer Kultur (309); kein Patentrezept zum Glück (310); new monogamy (311); Aufgabe des Exklusivanspruchs (312); ausgeklügeltes Liebesmanagement (313); kein Standardnarrativ der

These terms cover the whole range from very positive to positive to neutral, and from there to rather negative to very negative. The words are euphoric, affirmative, sarcastic, offensive, insulting, and much more. And their diversity has one more effect: it illustrates the variety of how polyamory is interpreted from the outside, by the media describing polyamory.

This subchapter closes with an inside view: The following illustration gives an example of multiple relationships, often called "*polycule*", as – when graphically illustrated – it can have marked similarities with a molecule. The term *polycule* is not (yet) frequently used in academic papers, but regularly found in advice literature and weblogs. For a definition, Sheff (2015b) defines polycules as *"(…) the network created by the interconnections of polyamorous relationships, describing their diverse forms as 'large, small, tightly bound, loosely connected, static, ever changing'"*. The origin of this illustration again is not an academic source, but a graphic novel by the female American illustrator Tikva Wolf[13] who lives in a polyamorous relationship herself, and has based her characters on her real-life experience:

Verhaltensbiologie (314); Vervollständigung der Familie (315); Paläodiät unter den Beziehungsformen (316); kein Gegenkonzept, sondern eine Ergänzung zur Monogamie (317).

[13] The story of the main character *Kimchi Cuddles* can be followed at a weblog (http://kimchicuddles.com/), and a graphic novel was published in September 2016: *Ask me about polyamory! The best of Kimchi Cuddles* (Wolf, 2016a).

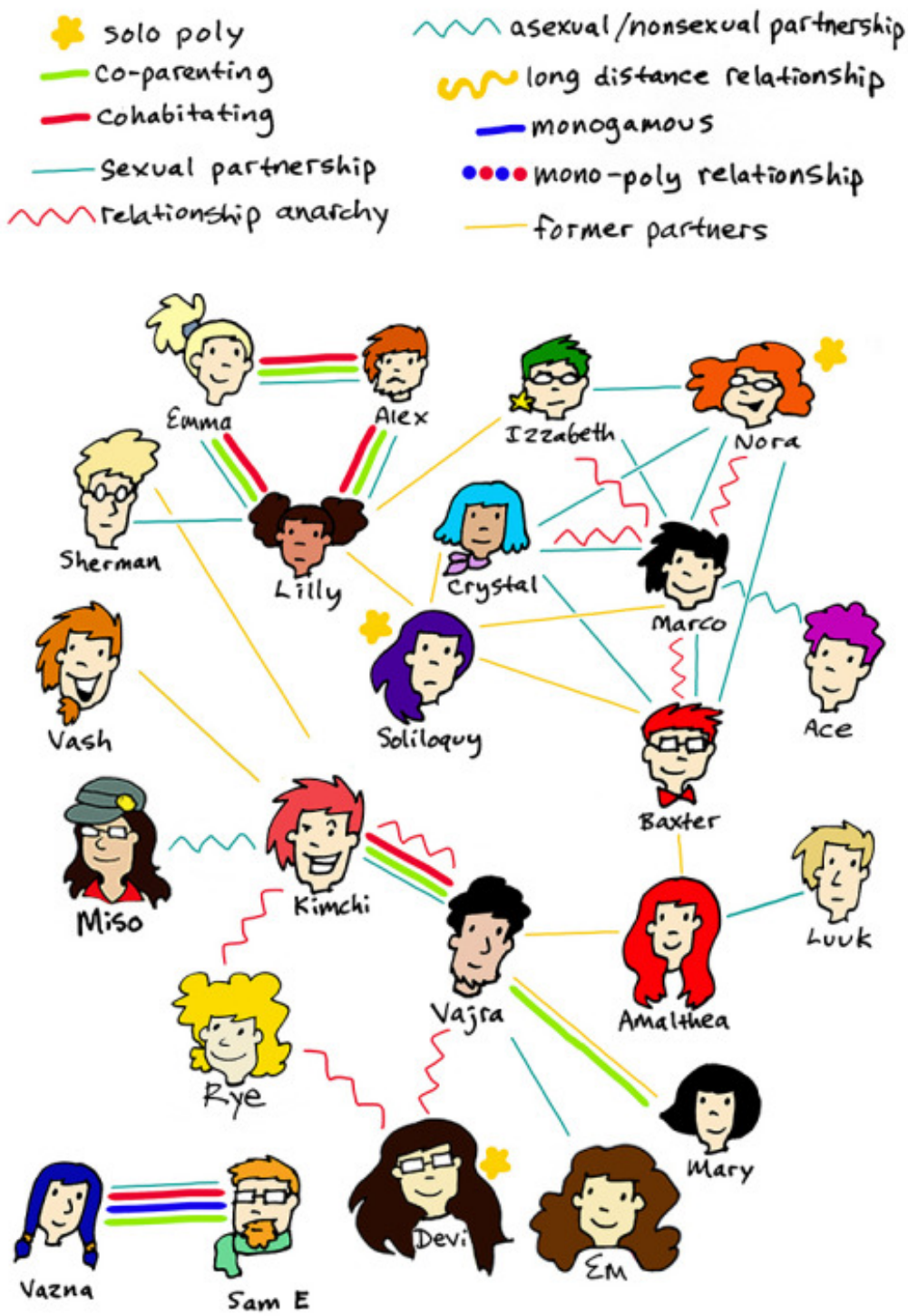


Fig. 2.1: Characters within a polycule by Wolf (2016b).

The different connections between the individuals already indicate that the image does not illustrate a "true blue" polycule, but people practicing the whole range of consensual relationships. These different relationships will be described later on – but before doing so, the following subchapter gives an overview of how gender, sex, sexual orientation and identity are understood in this thesis.

## 2.3 The wider world of gender and sex, orientation(s), identities, and perverts

Writing about gender and sex is a challenging topic. It is contested and controversial, it is disputed, it is political. It is big, and with regard to relationships outside the heteronormative world, it is even bigger. Below, there are two illustrations of one of the most-quoted scientists in the field, the psychologist Sari van Anders, who holds a research chair in social neuroendocrinology, sexuality, and gender/sex at Queens University in Ontario, Canada. The first illustration gives an example of how different disciplines and understandings are/can be set within the field:

**Table 1** Sexual identities, orientations, and statuses: definitions, broad disciplinary purviews, and examples

| | Defining features | Disciplines of major focus | Sexual parameter examples | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Gender/sex | Partner number | Other components |
| Identity | Labels, communities, politics, positioning | Sociology, political sciences, social psychology | Lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, heterosexual, butch, femme, pansexual, person-not-gender | Polyamorous, asexual, demisexual, player, slut, virgin, single-by-choice | Dom, sub, kink-identified, etc. |
| Orientation | Interests, approaches, attractions, fantasies (also used by some as an umbrella for itself plus identity and status) | Psychology, psychiatry | Male-oriented, female-oriented, same-sex sexual, homosexual, bisexual, heterosexual, monosexual | Multisexual, nonsexual, unisexual, multierotic, unierotic, multinurturant, uninurturant | Kink-oriented |
| Status | Behaviors, activities | Public health, anthropology, history | MSM, WSW, heterosexually active | Multipartnered, unipartnered, abstaining, not sexually active | In the lifestyle |

Fig. 2.2: Sexual identities, orientations, and statuses according to Anders (2015, p. 1178) – table 1.

For the thesis at hand, the terms with regard to identity and orientation will be used in its intended version of the original source. As a preview for what is to come, chapter 6 will be dedicated to the categorisation of polyamory.[14]

The second illustration shows Van Ander's understanding of gender, sex and gender/sex as operational definitions of her paper:

[14] A pertinent question in a key paper (Klesse, 2014b) is whether it is a form of *identity, sexual orientation, intimate practice*, or something else.

**Table 2** Operational definitions and examples of gender, sex, and gender/sex

| | Label examples | Definitions |
|---|---|---|
| Gender | Feminine, masculine, genderqueer, transgender, trans, tomboy, butch, femme, etc. | Aspects of masculinity, femininity, and gender-diversity that are situated as socialized, learned, and cultural (e.g., appearance, behavior, presentation, comportment). May refer to one's internal sense of one's self, culture, roles, other's beliefs about one's self, structures and systems, etc. |
| Sex | Male, female sexqueer, trans, transsexual, intersex | Aspects of femaleness, maleness, and sex-related bodily features that are situated as biological, bodily, evolved, physical, and/or innate (e.g., vulvas, penises, breasts, body shape). May also refer to one's internal sense of one's self |
| Gender/sex | Woman, man, trans woman, trans man, ciswoman, cisman, genderqueer, intersex | Whole people/identities and/or aspects of women, men, and people that relate to identity and/or cannot really be sourced specifically to sex or gender |

Fig. 2.3: Sexual identities, orientations, and statuses according to Anders (2015, p. 1181) – table 2.

If not stated otherwise in the original source, the above definitions are used for gender and sex, since these definitions are highly elaborated and one of the best descriptions to be found in the academic orbit of sexuality and relationship research. For the empirical part below (interviews), the interviewees themselves were asked to answer this question.

One terminology the thesis does not enlarge upon but which also needs to be clarified for its understanding is so-called "*perverts*" and the word *perversion* itself. The probably most famous sexual researcher in the German-speaking world, Sigusch (2005, p. 37), refers to sexual or gender modes of sensibilities that used to be ascribed to heterosexuality, homosexuality or perversions, and which are no longer condemned today but define themselves as lifestyles. This diversification started some 30 years ago[15] by self-determination and important civil rights movements; what used to be considered as identity disease is now what the author calls *neosexualities* or *neogender*; the neosexual revolution is the resulting deep cultural change of sexuality and sexual morals. Especially relevant is the sentence "*Old pathological entities such as sadomasochism or transsexuality have disintegrated and reappeared as neoxsexualities*" (Sigusch, 2001, p. 48), as the words *pathological entities* bring us to the state of the art term for what used to be called *perversions*.

The most related and trusted source[16] (in the Western world) on that matter is the World Health Organization (WHO), a specialised agency of the United Nations (UN) that (amongst other tasks) sets norms and standards on global health matters. Currently in use (since the year 1994) is ICD-10, which stands for the *International Classification of Diseases*, or by its full name, the *International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Health related Problems* in its *10th revision*. Chapter V contains the *Mental and behavioural disorders*, the subchapters F60-F69 the *Disorders of adult personality and*

[15] The book was written in 2005, so this is currently some 45 years ago.

[16] This applies to the whole world in some respects, in others (depending on the content of the information) mainly to the political systems of the Western world.

*behaviour*, and within that category the sub-sub-chapter F64 *Gender identity disorders* recognises five different categorisations: *Transsexualism, Dual-role transvestism, Gender identity disorder of childhood*, *Other gender identity disorders*, and *Unspecified Gender identify disorders*. The following sub-sub-chapter F65 covers the *Disorders of Sexual Preference* including *paraphilias*, listing: *F65.0 Fetishism, F65.1 Fetishistic transvestism, F65.2 Exhibitionism, F65.3 Voyeurism, F65.4 Paedophilia, F65.5 Sadomasochism, F65.6 Multiple disorders of sexual preference,*[17] *F65.8 Other disorders of sexual preference* (including *Frotteurism* and *Necrophilia*), and *F65.9 Unspecified disorders of sexual preference*, subtitled by *Sexual deviations NOS* (WHO, 2019a).

Currently the WHO is working on the 11th edition, which should come into effect by the 1st of January 2022 (WHO, 2019c). What has been called sexual disorders in the currently valid catalogue will then be called *paraphilic disorders*, defined/characterised as: *"(…) persistent and intense patterns of atypical sexual arousal, manifested by sexual thoughts, fantasies, urges, or behaviours, the focus of which involves others whose age or status renders them unwilling or unable to consent and on which the person has acted or by which he or she is markedly distressed. Paraphilic disorders may include arousal patterns involving solitary behaviours or consenting individuals only when these are associated with marked distress that is not simply a result of rejection or feared rejection of the arousal pattern by others or with significant risk of injury or death*." Furthermore, the content has changed compared to the previous version, it now includes *6D30 Exhibitionistic disorder, 6D31 Voyeuristic Disorder, 6D32 Paedophilic disorder, 6D33 Coercive sexual sadism disorder, 6D34 Frotteuristic disorder, 6D35 Other paraphilic disorders involving non-consenting individuals* (with the stated examples *arousing patterns involving corpses or animals*), *6D36 Paraphilic disorder involving solitary behaviour or consenting individuals* (with the stated example *asphyxophilia*), and 6D3Z Paraphilic disorders, unspecified (with no examples published to date) (WHO, 2019b).

In the thesis, similar to the term's *identity* and *orientation*, relevant terms such as for example *transsexuality* or *sadism/masochism* will be used in the intended version of the original authors rather than according to the WHO categorisation.

## 2.4 The wider world of consensual non-monogamy (CNM)

If there is something like a meta-level of polyamory, it is most likely the term *consensual non-monogamy*, or in its abbreviation, CNM. For a definition, Conley, Moors, Matsick, and Ziegler (2013, p.

[17] There was no disorder listed as F65.7 when the catalogue was accessed on 04/04/2020.

2) use the term consensually nonmonogamous relationships (CNM) in their study to refer to any relationship agreement in which the partners agree to have extradyadic sexual or romantic relationships – so they basically simply contrast the term with the opposite term *monogamy*. Grunt-Mejer and Campbell (2016, p. 45) describe the term as *"(…) intimate romantic relationships that are sexually and/or emotionally nonexclusive*." They furthermore refer to a debate on the definition of the term (as to be found in M. Barker (2005) or Haritaworn et al. (2006)), and deduce three types of consensual nonmonogamy that are consistently discussed in literature: swinging, open relationships, and polyamory (with *monogamy* as well as *cheating* being described as two further types of possible relationships). Rubel and Bogaert (2015, p. 961) for example refer to the same definition. Similar but different in terms of actual actions is the following definition: "*Generally, CNM can be defined as a committed relationship in which all partners agree that extradyadic romantic and/or sexual relations may occur*." (Sizemore & Olmstead, 2017, p. 4) – so their definition is about the (theoretical) option to be non-monogamous rather than literally living this kind of relationship. In a kind of follow-up paper by the latter author, Olmstead (2020, p. 785) provides a different list, with *polyamory, swinging* and *open marriage* as CNM relationships, so beside polyamory and swinging also the legally confirmed bond between two people. Others approach CNM from the monogamous perspective, and list (imagined) alternatives to monogamy, such as free love, anti-monogamy, polyamory or other movements. Willey (2006, p. 540) is doing so, rooting them farther back in time than the 1960s counter-culture or the feminist movements of the 1970s – she also considers them to be products of the hegemonic understandings of sexuality in the 19th century.

The challenge is to find a list that might have any claim to being complete. In a field that is still developing and rapidly changing, even scientists refer to activists as they are close to where things develop and happen. One example is Visschendijk, who, in her review of the first Non-Monogamies and Contemporary Intimacies Conference in Lisbon in September 2015, referred to a chart of self-styled poly-activist and co-author of a guide to ethical polyamory, Franklin Veaux, dating back to 2010 (Visschedijk, 2015, p. 63). Veaux himself notes in his blog that this is a revision, stating that *"(…) here it is yet again, in what is hopefully the final revision (ha!)*" (Veaux, 2010), thus already indicating that it is a still work in progress. His map from looks as follows:

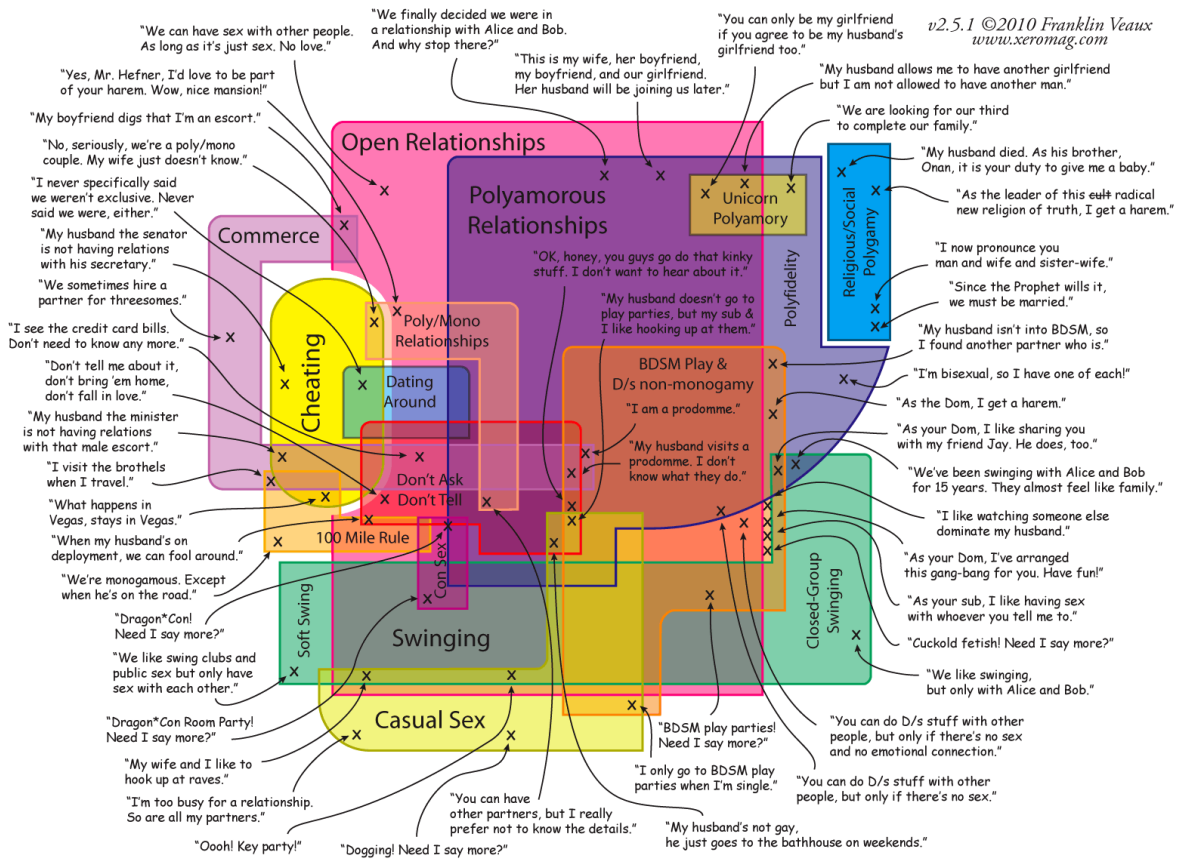


Fig. 2.4: The map of non-monogamy, Veaux (2010), in Visschedijk (2015, p. 63).

Seven years later, Veaux (2017) updated his Venn diagram. Beside the new graphic realisation, it contains two major content-related features that refer to the changing reality in practice: *Relationship anarchy* and *solo polyamory*.[18] Following the most up-do-date version (in landscape format in order to make the text readable)[19]:

[18] While for the latter term, its increased use is mostly due to its coverage in guide books rather than academic sources, the term relationship anarchy has also entered academic discussion, as the following description will show.

[19] One could argue that the most up-do-date version would do – the reason for showing both versions is to illustrate how the term has developed.

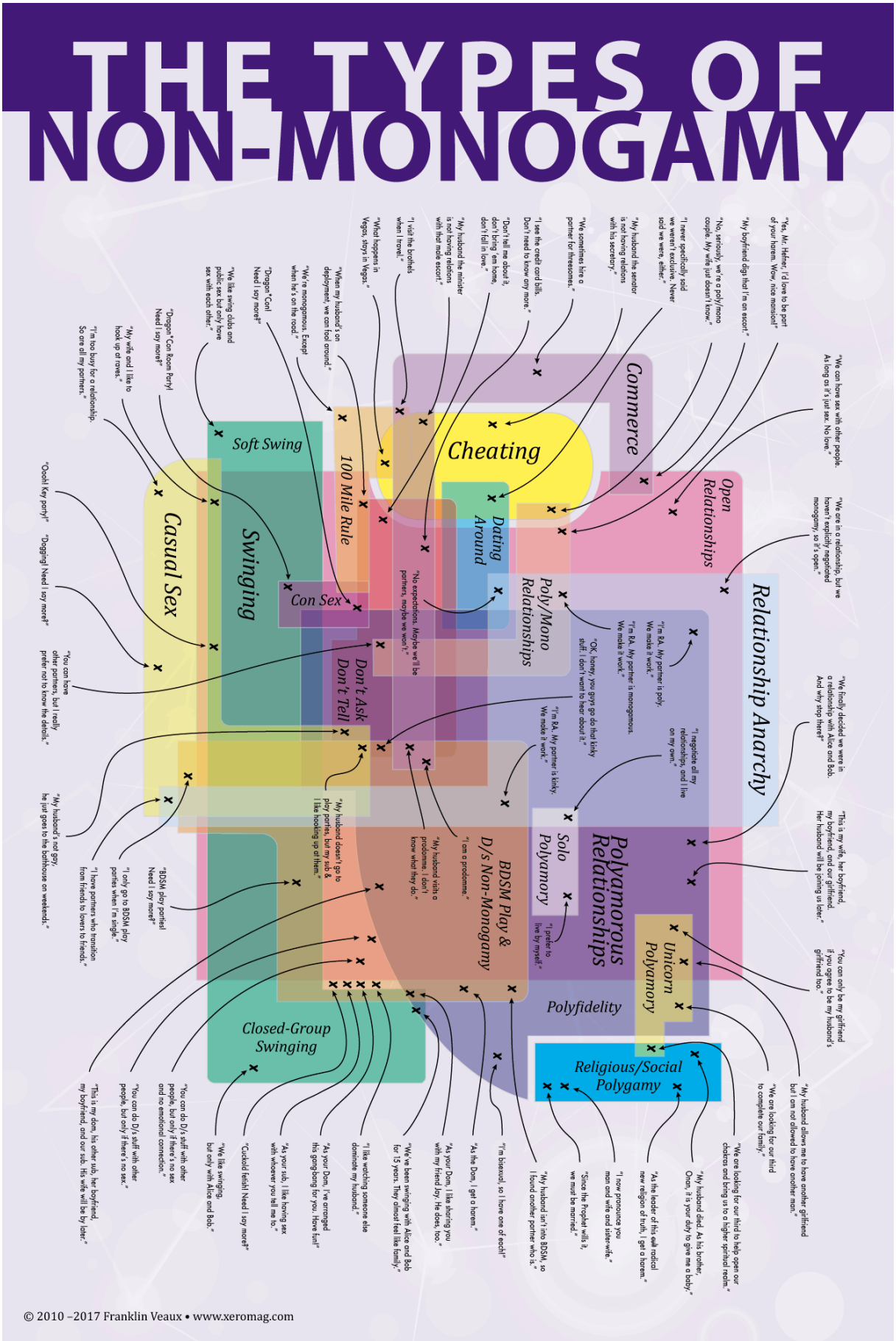


Fig. 2.5: The map of non-monogamy (Veaux, 2017).

Although written by an activist rather than an academic within the field, this *map of non-monogamy* seems to be the most complete illustration so far and will therefore be used. In detail, all terms will be listed in alphabetical order, followed by at least one of Veaux's short statements, completed by definitions of the individual terms by academics. Overlapping one-sentence statements are not listed as some of them would apply to more than one field, except the ones that only come overlapping - in that case statements have been chosen that only have two fields overlapping. The whole graph brilliantly illustrates the difficulties with definitions: It all gets a little blurry at the edges.

What is important to notice is that the maps include the whole range of terminology on non-monogamy, including the non-consensual ones. This matter will be noted explicitly with each term when applicable.

### • BDSM play and D/s non-monogamy

*"My husband is not into BDSM, so I found a partner who is."*

*"You can do D/s stuff with other people, but only if there is no sex and no emotional connection."*

*"This is my dom, his other sub, her boyfriend, my boyfriend, and our sub. His wife will be by later."*

In the shortest definition to be found, the acronym BDSM stands for Bondage, Dominance, Submission and Masochism (C. Butler, 2010, p. 466); a more comprehensive definition is used for example by Klesse (2006a, p. 650), who describes it as Bondage and Discipline, Dominance and Submission, Sadism and Masochism. Often the acronym is found next to the wording "kinksters"[20] for people who "*practice, or are involved in 'kinky' or 'perverted' sexual acts and relationships frequently involving bondage/discipline, dominance/submission, and/or sadism/masochism (also referred to as sadomasochism)*" (Sheff & Hammers, 2011, p. 198). Some definitions also involve the word fetish, as for example the one by Sprott and Hadcock (2018, p. 215): "*Kink or BDSM sexualities involve an erotic attitude towards activities that involve intense sensations (pain), sensual experiences that increase arousal because of their connections to erotic targets (fetish), or involve power differences and expression of power/powerlessness (dominance)*." The significance in connecting consensual non-monogamy with BDSM lies in the consent. For people who practice BDSM, consent is a core concept, it is considered as crucial for any such activity (Bauer, 2014b, p. 75). This consent reaches beyond sexual activities, it also relates to how partners deal with those needs, especially when one partner in

[20] Some authors make a difference between BDSM and kink, others don't. To stay with one of the already quoted scientists, Sprott and Hankock go with the above stated definition of BDSM, and in addition relate in a footnote in regards to kink to its historical origins: "*Kink is a term created by members of the alternative sexuality communities in the United States and has been in use by them continuously since the early twentieth century*." (Sprott & Benoit Hadcock, 2018, p. 227)

a relationship has such a desire and the other does not, or when BDSM activities are practiced without "traditional" sexual intercourse – this is what Veaux's introductory statements refer to.[21]

### • Casual Sex

*"I am too busy for a relationship. So are all my partners."*

*"Dogging. Need I say more?"*

The term casual sex refers to sexual activities occurring between non-romantic and non-committed partners (Vandenbosch & Oosten, 2018, p. 1466). The first quote by Veaux is a bit misleading, as it suggests that there are partners – the definition mentions them, but indicates a not very strong (if even existing) bond between these partners; they could also be one-night stands. Whether the practice is *consensual* or *non-consensual* depends on whether there is any bond between the partners, that is, that they talk about the agreement at least.

### • Cheating

*"My husband the senator is not having relations with the secretary."*

*Cheating* is clearly part of non-monogamy, and it is just as clearly not consensual. Cheating can mean one-night stands, short affairs, or secret relationships over longer periods of time. For physical interaction, it can consist in kissing, oral, vaginal or other kinds of sex (Anderson, 2010, p. 860). What all those different intimate acts have in common is the fact that they have not been agreed with the partner and are therefore non-consensual, and that they may well lead to the end of the relationship or marriage (Grunt-Mejer & Campbell, 2016, p. 48).

### • Closed-group swinging

*"We like swinging, but only with Alice and Bob."*

See *swinging*, with the difference that – hence the name – the group is closed, so not open to others except to the members of the group.

### • Commerce

*"We sometimes hire a partner for threesomes."*

Sexuality as a commodity is as old as humanity[22]; it's history has been written and rewritten a lot of times (Rydström, 2019b, p. 21), and framing commerce in the relationship form of non-monogamy, it

[21] Recent empirical studies approached BDSM within a framework of sexual diversity characterised as something consensual – on the contrary to previous categorisations as pathologic, violent and criminal, see for example Bauer (2018, p. 139).

[22] Eder (2018) provides in his book "*Eros, Wolllust, Sünde*" ("*Eros, lust, sin*") an elaborate and comprehensive

is just as ancient. With regard to a definition of sexual commerce, Davies (2015) refers to her publication on the criminalization of sexual commerce in Canada on *sex pay; prostitution; the purchase and sale of sex; paying for sexual services*. These attributions may well be taken at face value for the rest of the world: it is paying for intimate acts. In the quote from Veaux, it can be considered as *consensual*, since the purchase process origins in the will of a couple. If the setting is a monogamous couple with one partner purchasing sexual services, it can be considered as *non-consensual*.

- **Con sex**

*"Dragon? Con! Need I say more?"*

As with some other terms below, there is no academic source defining the term *con sex*. And even a simple Google search only yields a small range of options to choose from – to be precise, among the first 20 hits, 16 refer to porn sites, two to dating portals, and the very first hit to an urban dictionary. Since Veaux's quote includes a dragon, the latter seems the appropriate, which reads as follows: "*Having kinky sex with strangers, freinds* (sic) *or groups in a hotel room during a* (sic) *Anime, Fhantasy* (sic) *or Sci-Fi convention. Anime fans don't like to talk about Con Sex, but it happens all the time especially at the larger conventions. Some Anime fans come to cons just for the sex, the kinkier or weirder the better*." (BTXY, 2007) The quote does not mention anything about partners, therefore the question whether it is *consensual* or *non-consensual* cannot be answered.

- **Dating around**

*"I never specially said we weren't exclusive. Never said we were either."*

Finding an academic source on *dating around* is rather difficult as it is a term so deeply rooted in Anglo-American societies that it does not need to be explained, and not even the Wikipedia entry has a source for the term. The Oxford Dictionary has five different meanings for the word *date*, of which *write date* (1), *find age* (2), *of cloth/words* (3), *person* (4) don't seem to match Veaux's intentions. The last definition is *have relationship* (5), with the further definition saying "*date (somebody). To have a romantic relationship with someone*". (Oxford_Leaner's_Dictionaries, 2020) The quote indicates this can be interpreted as consensual as well as non-consensual.

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overview of sexuality from ancient to modern times. Amongst other topics he also refers to prostitution, i.e. sex as commodity that can be consumed for money. For further literature by the same author on sexuality and the culture of desire in modernity, chapters 6 to 8 from his previous book provide an overview of sexual desires in the working class, the politicisation of sexuality in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the and after WW2 (Eder, 2009, pp. 171-242).

- **Don't ask, don't tell**

*"You can have other partners, but I really prefer not to know the details."*

This statement does not need academic sources, as it speaks for itself. It can be categorised as consensual non-monogamous, since it is an agreement between partners.

- **Open relationship**

*"We can have sex with other people. As long as it is just sex. No love."*

The quote is an exact definition of the academic definition of an *open relationship* – it is usually used for couples who retain "*emotional intimacy within a primary relationship and pursue additional casual and/or sexual partnerships*" (Levine, Herbenick, Martinez, Fu, & Dodge, 2018, p. 1440); some definitions allow but do not focus on the romantic aspect: "*Primarily sex in nature, but can also be romantic*" (Haupert, Gesselman, Moors, Fisher, & Garcia, 2017, p. 426). Other definitions do not explicitly refer to intimacy but reduce it to sex, as the following quotes shows: "*Open relationships are relationships in which partners agree that they can have extradyadic sex*." (Rubel & Bogaert, 2015, p. 961) How often and regularly those other encounters take place, and whether details about them will be related within the primary relationship is a matter of the individual relationships. The main point is that emotions for anyone beside the primary partner are not intended.

- **Polyamorous relationships**

*"This is my wife, her boyfriend, my boyfriend, and our girlfriend. Her husband will be joining as later."*

Since polyamory is our main subject, the term will not be discussed any further here.[23]

- **Polyfidelity**

*"I am bisexual, so I have one of each."*

The term polyfidelity already was the caption of a journal article in the early 1980s, a study of jealousy in a place called *Kerista Village* in San Francisco, which is described by its members at the time as equalitarian, utopian community that has eliminated sexual jealousy (Pines & Aronson, 1981, p. 373). Some 15 years later, C. West published an article that also had polyamory in its title: In the article *Lesbian polyfidelity*, she conducted a survey of more than 500 women, defining polyfidelity as *"(…) the ongoing relationships of a lesbian or bisexual woman who is romantically and/or sensually involved with more than one partner concurrently, while being honest about it with all her partners*." (Wandrei, 2019, p. 493) Also Veaux's quote would indicate that polyfidelity is something related to gay, lesbian and/or bisexual relationships, but a more current definition ignores the sexual orientation and has a

[23] Details of the historical development of the term will be given in this chapter; for the academic definition, see chapter 6.

stronger focus on the monogamous/non-monogamous/consensual non-monogamous aspect, as the following quote illustrates: *"Thus, CNM is also distinct from infidelity – which is consensual non-monogamy – a situation in which partners have an agreement to be monogamous, but one or both partners are breaking the monogamy agreement."* (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013, p. 2)

- **Poly/Mono relationships**

*"I am relationship anarchist. My partner is monogamous. We make it work."*

Both terms are described in this sub-chapter, so another scientific definition seems unnecessary. Poly/Mono relationships, in a strict interpretation of the both terms, are relationships in which one partner is monogamous, and the other polyamorous.

- **Relationship anarchy**

*"I have partners who transition from partners to friends to partners."*

*"We are in a relationship, but we haven't explicitly negotiated monogamy, so it is open."*

*Relationship anarchy* can be understood in many ways. De Las Heraz approaches it along three different paths: a philosophy of love, a way of structuring affective bonds, and as a political philosophy (De Las Heras Gómez, 2019, p. 645). Similar to polyamory and its categorization (as chapter 6 will show), each of them has its right to exist. For this chapter, what is of interest is its relation to polyamory, which is quite close to it regarding *consensuality* and non-monogamy. The remaining major difference are hierarchies: In short, relationship anarchy rejects hierarchies of relationships based on the type of connection, according a higher status to romantic relationships than to relationships that are not considered romantic. To put it into more elaborate words, relationship anarchy goes for *"(…) a redistribution of physical, sexual and emotional intimacy depending on the particular desires and needs from those involved in establishing their own affective bonds*", and it furthermore "*(…) breaks with the idea that the compromises on which we build our lives (for instance, cohabitation, joint responsibility or caregiving agreements, a shared economy, the integration within the biological family, or parenting)"* have two preconditions: an exclusive reserve for couple relationships, and romantic feelings as their base (De Las Heras Gómez, 2019, p. 647).

- **Religious/social polygamy**

*"My husband died. As his brother, Onan, it is your duty go give me a baby."*

*"I now pronounce you wife and sister-wife."*

*"Since the prophet's will it is, we must be married."*

All three sentences can be interpreted as allegories on religious confessions. The historical character *Onan* is a son of *Judah* in the book of genesis, and thus a Jewish reference[24]; sister-wife could likely be an allegory for weddings within the Mormon community[25]; and *the prophet's will* probably means that it is the will of Mohammed, and therefore related to Islam.

For a definition that avoids addressing religion or society, *polygamy* stands for the practice of marrying multiple spouses, but in its understanding, especially in the United States, it is strongly associated with the model of *polygyny* (Klesse, 2016, p. 1352). Polygyny means that one man is in a (usually legally approved) relationship with more than one woman, and according to selected sources, this is not an exception: In a publication on monogamous marriage, the authors state that, according to anthropological records, approximately 85% "*of human societies have permitted men to have more than one wife (polygynous marriage).*" (Henrich, Boyd, & Richerson, 2012, p. 657). Relating that percentage to current numbers of countries that legally allow polygamy[26], it is legal in 48 countries, legal in parts of two countries, and in further 13 states it is accepted by customary law (Bauer, 2014a, p. 147).

Furthermore, the topic is strongly related to the question of when monogamy prevailed. As previously stated, this will not be discussed in this thesis; as a personal statement, the quote by Chris and Richard (2016, p. 1) illustrates what I believe might make sense: *"(…) moreover, most societies were – and are – polygynous; yet many larger societies transitioned from polygyny to socially imposed monogamy beginning with the advent of agriculture and larger residential groups*." The relation of polygyny to polyamory thus is asymmetrical, as the following quote shows (and although it refers to Mormons, it could be applied to similar religious/confessional institutions): "*The sex-based hierarchy of traditional Mormon polygyny seems incompatible with the typical poly dedication to principals of equality and individual growth (…).*" (Emens, 2004, p. 307)

It is much more difficult to find an academic definition of *polyandry* that is more recent than just after or even before WW2 than to a definition of *polygamy*. One of the few sources is a mathematical journal article on a *one-to-one* and a *one-to-many* matching problem, where the relevant sentence reads as follows: *"(…) polyandrous polygamy or polygamous polyandry. Every man may have several wives, every woman several husbands, and each person has a strict preference order over those of the*

[24] And it is as well the name-giver for onanism, more common found by the term masturbation.

[25] *Sister wife* was also the name of a rather successful reality television series about a polygamist family produced over 14 seasons (a total of 162 episodes) aired in the United States.

[26] The source refers to polygamy instead of polygyny, the interpretation of the text suggests that it is about polygyny rather than about polygamy.

*opposite sex deemed an acceptable partner*." (Baïou & Balinski, 2000, p. 1), so in short, polygamy stands for one woman with more than one man. The question of whether these two forms of relationships (*polygyny* and/or *polyandry*) are consensual or non-consensual cannot be answered explicitly, as this depends on the prevailing social, legal, and religious system.

- **Soft swinging**

*"We like swing clubs and public sex but only have sex with each other."*

One the one hand, this type does not really fit the chart of non-monogamy. It does involve swinging (see below), the "*soft"* and the quote given by Veaux indicate that the intercourse stays within the (monogamous) couple. On the other hand, to some extent it does apply, even more so in the narrower field of *consensual non-monogamy*, as it might not be physical *monogamy*, but then again it is *consensual,* as it involves actions other couples in a "regular" monogamous relationship would not indulge in.

- **Swinging**

*"My wife and I like to hook up at raves."*

Similarly to some of the previous definitions, the term *swinging* is not linked to a single accepted definition. The interpretations range from "*emotionless, recreational sex*" and "*sex without long-term bonds without significant emotional emotions*" or "*'casual' sex, even if that sex is occurring regularly*" to swingers who "*bond closely, and that those bonds, which are often labelled 'friendships', are highly valued by swinging communities*" (Kean, 2018, pp. 462, 460, 467, 469). What these definitions share is the fact that practiced sexuality outside the main relationship works without emotional love. In this respect, and also regarding the relationship status, the definitions vary: (Rubel & Bogaert, 2015, p. 961) speak of couples having sex with other couples ("*Swinging refers to when a couple practices extradyadic sex with members of another couple*."), others speak of couples having sex with random other individuals irrespective of the relationship or numbers of those people.

- **Solo polyamory**

*"I negotiate all my relationships, and I live on my own."*

*"I prefer to live by myself"*

While the two quotes from Veaux focus on the aspect of living by oneself, the range of relationships that fall into this category may be much wider. Elisabeth Sheff speaks of a fluid category covering a whole range of relationships, from loose, "no-strings-attached" connections such as youthful free agents or recently divorced people, all the way to people who have deeply committed, intimate and lasting relationships – be it with one or more individuals. She furthermore refers to hierarchies, stating:

"*Some solo polys have relationships that they consider emotionally primary*[27]*, but not primary in a logistical, rank, or rule-based sense, and others don't want the kinds of expectations and limitations that come with a primary romantic/sexual relationship*." (Sheff, 2013) Since the word *polyamory* is included in the terminology, it is considered a *consensual* non-monogamous concept.

- **Unicorn polyamory**

*"You can only be my girlfriend, if you agree to be my husband's girlfriend too."*
*"My husband allows me to have another girlfriend, but I am not allowed to have another man."*
*"We are looking for our third to complete our family."*

Finding an academic definition is somewhat ironic, as this ultimately is about defining something that does not exist. In their article on bisexual women and their vulnerability, Johnson and Grove (2017, p. 440) locate the origin of the term in the polyamory movement, describing a unicorn as *"(…) someone who is willing to be sexually active with two members of a heterosexual couple without regard for their own sexual desire, but rather at the regulation and desire of the two members of the couple*." According to this definition, there is asymmetry in such a relationship, but the *consent* remains. To come back to the irony referred to above, there is a reason for the specific naming: "*So named because people willing to agree to such arrangements are vanishingly rare, whereas couples looking for a woman who will agree to these terms are incredibly common*." (Veaux, 2020)

- **100 mile rule**

"*We are monogamous. Except when he's on the road*."

For the "100 mile rule," too, it is difficult to find academic sources, since it is not an academic term. It basically comes from a film with the same title released in 2002 and directed by Brent Huff, with a key quote from the movie being "*If you're more than 100 miles from home, you're free to indulge your lust guilt-free.*" (Scheib, 2002, p. 32) What would also fall under this heading is the *ZIP code rule* (having sex with people besides your partner if it happens in a different ZIP code) or the *country/passport* rule (having sex with someone other than your partner if it happens in a different country/if you need a passport to get there). Both terminologies come from practice; no academic source could be found. What is relevant for the general subchapter is the question whether this falls under *non-monogamy* or *consensual non-monogamy*; the answer is: It depends. When there is an agreement between the two partners it is, when one partner applies the rule for him/herself without telling the other, it is not.

[27] The term *primary* will be explained in detail in the chapter on hierarchies below.

Here we leave the versions of Veaux's diagram. There is a much more extensive *glossary of poly terms* on a weblog by the same author (Veaux, 2020); and even this glossary is probably not complete. Therefore, let us close this subchapter by explicitly stating that this is not the bottom line of the realities of relationships.

## 2.5 Poly origins and historic development

The following sub-chapter does not discuss the history of monogamy, and it also does not refer to any famous historical relationships that might be considered as polyamorous by today's standards[28]. It gives an overview of when the term appeared in academic sources, when it made its way into popular publications and mainstream media, and follows different traces and origins without claiming to pronounce the definite path of where it came from.

The linguistic origin as a neologism from the Greek word *polys* (many) and the Latin word *amor* (love) (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, p. 7) has already been illustrated and is not subject to discussion – contrary to its origins with regard to its first appearance.

The sources are far from unanimous when it comes to the historical origin of the term; when following all sources to the beginning, two threads are left: M. Barker (2005, p. 75) for example claims that the term originated in the 1960s and was promoted in Robert Heinlein's novel *Stranger in a Strange Land,* referring to a type of responsible non-monogamy that encouraged. En and En (2020, p. 49) refer to a text by *Morning Glory Ravenheart Zell* (also known as *Morning Glory Zell-Ravenheart, Morning Glory Ferns, Morning Glory Zell, Morning G'Zell*, and her birth name *Diana Moore*), a US-born author, lecturer and community leader/co-founder of a religious group called *The church of all Worlds*. She wrote a text in the 1980s in which she did not actually use the word *polyamory*, but the adjective *polyamorous*. Many guide books, poly community websites and further non-academic sources advance this as the origin – possibly because the Wikipedia entries in English (Wikipedia, 2020b) as well as in German (Wikipedia, 2020a) go with this story; as a side note, the French Wikipedia entry goes with Heinlein, just as Barker does (Wikipedia, 2020c). The original text – according to the website of the *Church of all Worlds* – appeared in their magazine "*Green egg #89, Beltane 1990*". It is titled *A bouquet of lovers* and its subtitle is *Strategies for responsible open relationships*, presenting what the author calls three major principles (Zell, 1990). It was impossible to uncover academic proof that she was asked to

[28] On this issue, see the chapter on testimonials that posthumously declare relationships to have been polyamorous – such as to Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, to give an example.

provide the definition for the Oxford English dictionary in 1999, as many non-academic sources claim.

With regard to its academic appearances along the timeline, scientists have more or less agreed on one specific decade: Noël (2006, p. 617) differentiates between the concept of when polyamory was practiced, and its appearance in academic discussion: "*Although the concepts around polyamory appear to have emerged in discourse in the 1970s, the specific terminology appears more frequently in literature beginning in the 1990s (…)*." A similar opinion is voiced by Aguilar (2012, p. 109), who states that the discourse on polyamory emerged around the same time as third-wave feminism; Antalffy (2011, p. 2) refers to polyamory becoming a major research topic since the early 1990s, when academic literature is slowly gaining pace. Klesse (2018, p. 1110) on the other hand situates polyamory still in the same decade, but at the end rather than the beginning. He states: "*In the period from the late 1990s until the mid-2000s, critical in-depth research into the intimacies associated with polyamory gained momentum*." Yet another milestone that was published even later was the fifth issue of the ninth volume of the journal *Sexualities* published by SAGE, in which the editors (Haritaworn et al., 2006) presented a special issue on polyamory.

The question when polyamory entered into a wider societal discussion is difficult. In the light of the sexual liberalisation or revolution[29] of the late 1960s and early 1970s, attitudes and sex-related norms became more liberal (Eder, 2015b, p. 535), the ideas of equality between sexes, gay and lesbian rights, was well as sexual freedom started to grow (Rydström, 2019a, p. 1637). Some scientists see the emergence of polyamory even earlier: "*Free love, anti-monogamy, polyamory and other moves to imagine alternatives to monogamy have a deeper history than 1960s counterculture, feminist movements of the 1970s, or lesbian and gay movements of more recent decades. While these contexts were and are productive of discourses that challenge the logic and status of monogamy, they are also themselves, in various ways, linked to and products of hegemonic understandings of sexuality and race in the 19th century*." (Willey, 2006, p. 540) M. Barker (2005, p. 75) speaks of the last decade in their[30] assessment of when the term polyamory came into popular use, basing her statement on the proliferation of poly websites and e-mail groups – considering that they wrote their article in 2005, this increase is established around the mid-1990s. If an entry in an important dictionary were to be an

[29] While the term is valid and used as such by American academics, some European researchers paint a more differentiated picture on the matter. Eder (2015b, p. 535) for example states: "*Sexual lives in (Western) Europe had, in fact, 'revolutionized' decades prior to the so-called sexual revolution of the late 1960s and the 1970s; public moral standards and attitudes merely trailed behind established practice*." He concludes that "*What we refer to as the 'sexual revolution' is therefore not so much a swift and radical change of sexual conduct as a culmination of a lengthy process*."

[30] The article was published by the name *Meg Barker*. In a personal e-mail correspondence in August 2016 she kindly asked to hyphenate her name to *Meg-John Barker* (as in a "male" and a "female" name), which in consequence changes the pronoun from "she" to "them".

indicator for popular use, then the year 2006 would be a turning-point, as M. Barker and Langdridge (2010, p. 749) state: "*The cultural exposure of polyamory in particular has been such that the word entered the Oxford English dictionary in 2006 and elicits over a million Google hits*".

The voices on the cultural, academic and/or societal roots of the term polyamory are just as discordant as those speaking to the historical origins. Haritaworn et al., Noel, (2006), c. f. Aguilar (2012, p. 108) state that "*(…) discourse on polyamory in the 1990s emerged at the intersection of several progressive social movements, including several "waves" of feminism challenging institutionalized heterosexual monogamy as the dominant relationship model"*; a similar argument comes from Willey (2006, p. 533) who refers to some feminist theorists who are in favour of polyamory as a counterconcept to compulsory monogamy since woman are naturally desirous of, and (should) have the right to, multiple partners. Again Haritaworn et al. (2006, p. 517) looked at publications on polyamory from a social movement perspective, with fellow academic authors publishing (in ascending order and ending within the last century) in the years 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1999. Undoubtedly a milestone for self-help and guidebooks on the matter is the first edition of "*The ethical slut*" by (Easton & Listz, 1997) – at the time, Janet W. Hardy still published under her pseudonym Catherine A. Listz in order to remain anonymous. The book is frequently referred to as "the bible of polyamory" (Haritaworn et al., 2006, p. 519) and currently is running its 3rd edition.[31]

Finally, it should be noted that there were relationships before the 1990s that can be described as polyamorous by today's standards and definitions – in the Outlook chapter 16 I present an overview on *polyamorizing* love and live biographies. In addition, the free-love movement deviating from the 1968-generation must not be misinterpreted as polyamory.

## 2.6 Hierarches (primary, secondary and further partners)

There are hierarchies in polyamorous relationships. They cannot be abolished, they cannot be argued away.[32] They are visible as well as invisible, they appear on the surface or smoulder underground, they are sometimes desired and sometimes not, they come and go – but whatever way we look at it, they are there (Stefan F. Ossmann, 2020). Numbers on how many people in polyamorous relationships stand by configurations that distinguish partners by hierarchies are rare, the existing ones are based

[31] More detail on this and further guidebooks are to be found in the chapter on gaining poly knowledge.

[32] This is the result compressed by one sentence of a detailed analyses of empiric data on six individuals within one specific *polycule*, that has been collected for the empirical part to come of this thesis. For the according theory, methods, analyses and interpretation, please see Ossmann (2020, pp. 65-84).

on convenient samples. R. Balzarini et al. (2019, p. 1749) speak of 38% of people that have identified themselves with expressed and practiced hierarchical structures in 2014, and a higher number of 55% in 2017.

In the "early days" of academic publications on polyamory, the hierarchies were quite straightforward: Monogamy means sexual involvement with one partner only, usually for a lifetime. A *primary* is a primary relationship, a *secondary* is an affair (Munson & Stelboum, 1999, p. 2). After the turn of the millennium, the description gets more elaborate: Klesse (2006b, p. 571) speaks of *primary*, *secondary* and *tertiary* partners. What follows is a short overview of these hierarchically structured attributions.

Balzarini et al. (2017, p. 2) summarise a primary partnership as a "*relationship between two partners who typically share a household (live together), and finances, who are married (if marriage is desired), and/or who have or are raising children together (if children are desired)*." A primary partner is the one considered when important life decisions are made, and there is usually a high commitment between partners (Bettinger, 2005, pp. 98-99). Primary partners are likely to be attuned to each other's needs (Muise, Laughton, Moors, & Impett, 2018, p. 17); what further characterises a primary are *"(…) greater acceptance from friends and family, more investments, and greater relationship satisfaction (…)*" (R. Balzarini et al., 2019, p. 1750).

In a secondary partnership, according to R. N. Balzarini et al. (2017, p. 2), partners do not life together and do not share finances. In addition, there are fewer ongoing commitments, such as joint plans for the future for example. Secondary partners can be actively searched for to fulfil specific purposes – for instance a specific sexual act that the primary partner does not provide (Muise et al., 2018, p. 16), but they can also meet desires or demands outside of intimate actions. Overall, a secondary relationship is less interdependent than a primary one (R. Balzarini et al., 2019, p. 1750).

The term tertiary partnership is occasionally found in blog entries rather than in academic papers[33], and describes an even looser emotional involvement.

The power dynamics between primary, secondary (and sometimes tertiary) partners have also been described: The primary partner has considerable authority and power regarding secondary partners. According to (Bettinger, 2005, p. 99), primary partners are even able to claim a veto power against a (potential) secondary partner (Wolkomir, 2015, p. 432). Furthermore, *secondaries* get less time, energy and priority compared to *primaries* (R. N. Balzarini et al., 2017, p. 2).

[33] Even Klesse (2006b) who introduces the term does not refer to it any further in the relevant publication.

There is no limit to how many primary, secondary or tertiary partners can exist within a polycule; one limit that is occasionally stated is the amount of primaries within a relationship, which is set at one to two partners (M. Barker, 2005, p. 76). What we know as well is that ultimately there is no need of additional secondary partners for a primary relationship (R. N. Balzarini et al., 2017, p. 2); and in addition we know that some poly people refuse or reject the hierarchical distinction that is implied by primary-secondary relationships.[34] Based on polyamory between gay men, Bettinger (2005) used a family systems approach to develop a model with four different options of what polyamorous relationships can look like. In the following, these four types are very consciously presented graphically as they are very relevant later for the empiric survey on self-perception.

### • Primary/Secondary model

The author understands this model as "*a dyadic relationship that is primary and the other relationships are considered secondary to that primary relationship. There may be more than one secondary relationship for either or both; or one may have one or more secondary relationships while the other only has a primary relationship*." The following illustration shows two interpretations: The first one with one primary relationship, and three *secondaries*, split up between the two *primaries*:

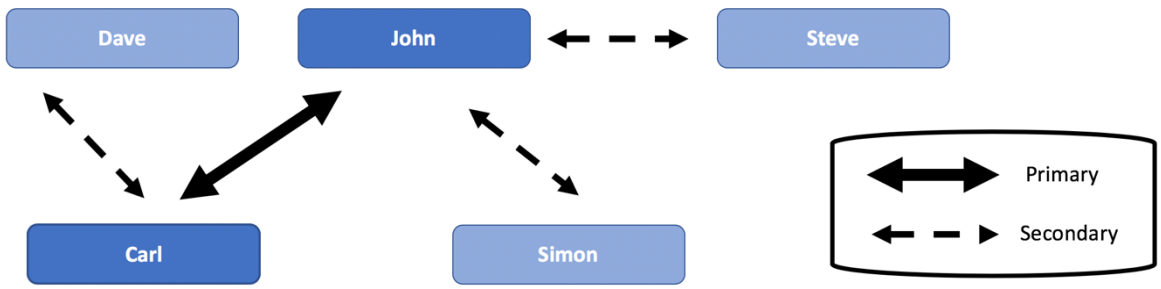


Fig. 2.6: The *Primary/Secondary Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 98) (interpreted with one *primary* relationship and three *secondaries*, figure by the author).

The second one is what Bettinger describes as V pattern, where one person has a primary and a secondary partner. The latter can also be found by the term *hinge, colloquial, pivot,* or *vee relationship* in advice literature on polyamory.[35]

[34] Balzarini et al. (2017) refer to Sheff (2015a) for this statement. A wording for rejecting such hierarchical structures is *relationship anarchy* as illustrated in one of the previous subchapters.

[35] Veaux (2020) for example describes this form as a polyamorous relationship involving three people, where one person is romantically or sexually involved with two partners; these two partners are not romantically or sexually involved with each other. As a preview to the empirical part of this thesis, there are such hinge relationships where there is no question of an "or", the one person in the center is romantically AND sexually involved with two partners.

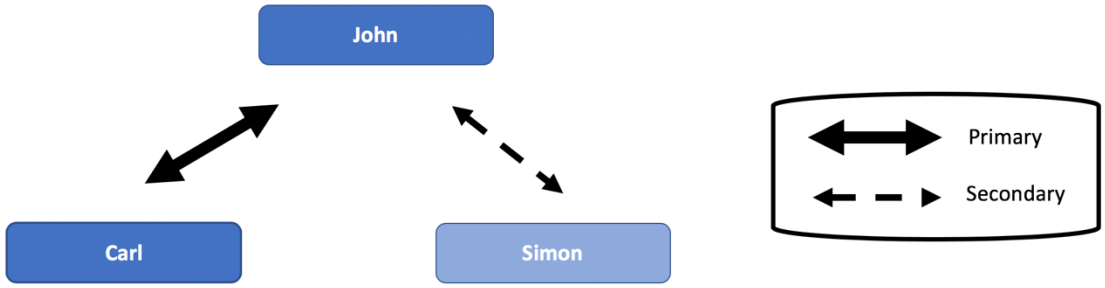


Fig. 2.7: The *Primary/Secondary Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 98) (interpreted as a *hinge*, figure by the author).

## • Multi-Primary Individual Model

Less common according to Bettinger is the Multi-Primary Individual model, which he describes as "*(…) one individual has a primary relationship of equal commitment with two (or in rare occasions, three) individuals. The two (or more) individuals however do not have a primary relationship with each other, though they may have a secondary relationship. Each of these primary relationships is considered to be of equal weight*." This model also defines that each individual is obligated to consult (in the graph below both) partners about major changes in his/her life.

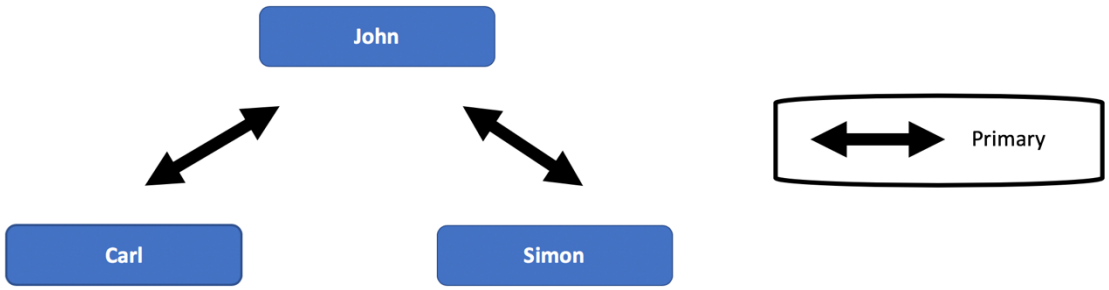


Fig. 2.8: The *Multi-Primary Individual Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted with one person having two *primary* partners, figure by the author).

## • Multi-Primary Family Model

In a key sentence, it is described as "*(…) three or more individuals have a primary relationship, each with all the other people in the family.*" What is lacking – which makes the name of the model somewhat misleading – are children, at least in the three examples given by Bettinger: First, a triad, of which all three individuals consider themselves as being "married" to each other; and the option to add a fourth person, which is less frequent. The second example consists of four people, who, having started out as two couples, turned into a multi-primary family. The third form within this model is described in the sentence "*Others built their families one person at the time*." Because of the vastly different options this sentence allows, it will not be illustrated here. What is more, Bettinger claims

that there are two variations of this model, reading as follows: *"One is an open model where individuals within the family are allowed to have other relationships, generally along a primary/secondary model. In other multi-primary families, there is monogamy within the family and individuals agree to not have outside sexual or romantic relationships*." So, for the illustration, the first figure is an interpretation of an *open triad*, with three primaries and one secondary.

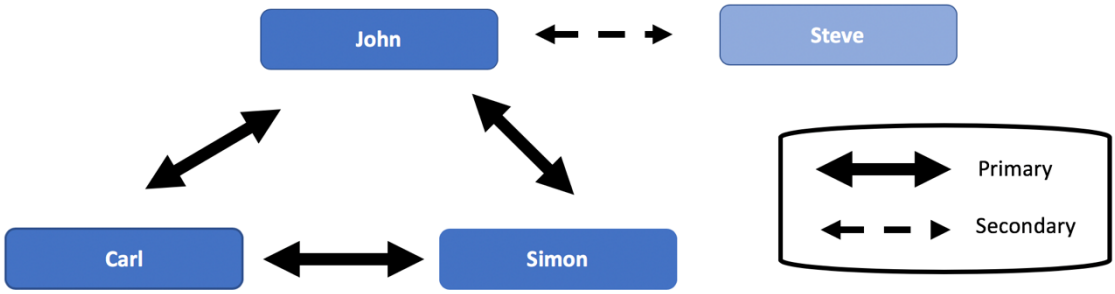


Fig. 2.9: The *Multi-Primary Family Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted as an open triad with one *secondary* involved, figure by the author).

The second figure is an interpretation of a *closed multi-primary family model with two couples involved*, where one member of a couple met another member of a couple, and this evolved into a primary monogamous family model.

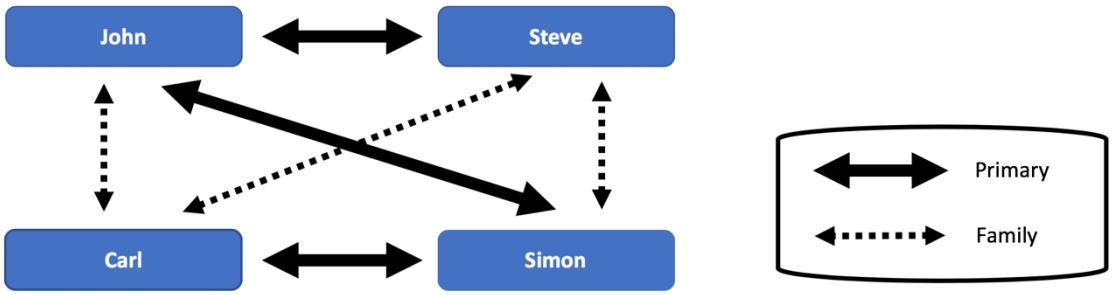


Fig. 2.10: The *Multi-Primary Family Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted as a couple and another couple of which one each fell in love, and the others are now in the family constellation, figure by the author).

### • Multi-Secondary Relationship Model

In the last model, one individual might have more than one relationship (with no limit for the number of partners given), but none of those relationships can be called a primary relationship since the according level of commitment is lacking (recognisable by the circumstance that the individual person often does not live with any of these secondary partners). This does not imply that there is no commitment at all, it is just different from a primary partner: "*The secondary partners are usually not*

*required to be consulted regarding changes in the life of the individual, yet each relationship is stable and ongoing, with a level of commitment that is either explicit or implicit*." The final statement that some gay men practicing this model are seen as "singles" by the outside world can also be applied to relationships with individuals of any other sexual orientation.

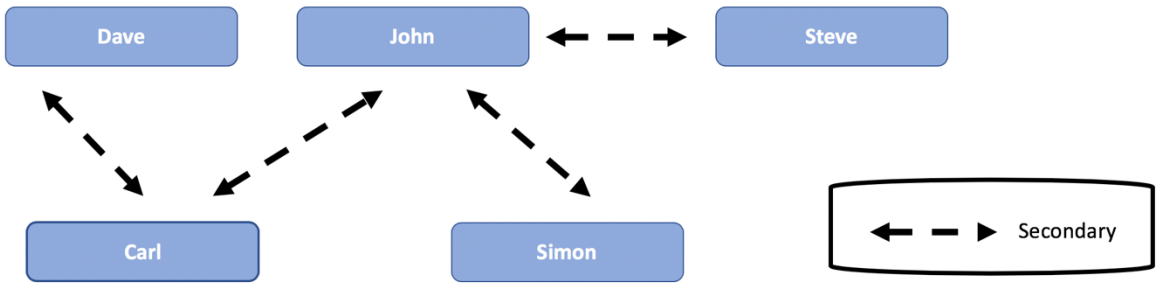


Fig. 2.11: The *Multi-Secondary Relationship Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted as five individuals of which one has two *secondaries*, figure by the author).

Bettinger closes his introduction by stating that it is not uncommon to mix these models, that there is often less that a pure model, that these models can or do change over time, and that there are always exceptions to these rules. A different interpretation of this last part would be that these four different types are incomplete – which is true, but it seems that since 2006 no further models have been published in academic sources.

A final word on the model above: What it does is to illustrate what polyamorous relationships can look like. It does not tell us anything, for instance, about the sexual need fulfilment and satisfaction. Muise et al. (2018) approached this topic (in CNM-relationships, not strictly polyamorous relationships only) in two studies they conducted. One result of both studies was that individuals who were more sexually fulfilled in their *primary* reported greater relationship satisfaction with their secondary[36]; the key finding of the second study reveals – on the basis of 405 individuals that filled in the survey, of whom 234 described themselves as male, 127 as female, 25 as other, and 19 refused to answer the question – that "*(…) men who were more sexually fulfilled in their secondary relationship reported greater relationship satisfaction with their primary partner, but women who were more sexually fulfilled with their secondary partner reported lower sexual satisfaction in their primary relationship*." (Muise et al., 2018, p. 1)

[36] For that study, *secondary partner* relates to only one person.

## 2.7 The definition used in this book

So far I have presented the media-represented terms for polyamory, its etymological and historic origins, and its place in the wider field of non-monogamy as well as in the wider field of gender and sex. Two major aspects remain: The definition of the term polyamory for the thesis at hand, and the understanding of what polyamory means. The former will be presented in greater detail in chapter 6 ("*How to classify polyamory*"), the latter will be described in greater detail in chapter 13 ("*Results media analysis*"):

1. Polyamory is understood as: **A consensual relationship between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over a longer period of time.**

2. Polyamorous individuals (hence **poly people**) are understood as persons who **love, live, act, think and feel poly;** in its summary bringing those five aspects together by one, simple-sounding sentence, which nevertheless involves and covers but most aspects: **Polyamorous people are people who ARE poly**, when one or more of those five attributions applies.

## 2.8 Polyamory by sheer numbers

A question that is regularly asked in academia as well as by journalists writing about polyamory is how many polyamorous people are out there. Unfortunately, there is no representative number, neither for the United States, nor for other English-speaking countries, not even for any other country of the Western world. Emens (2004, p. 303) condensed that fact into one sentence: "*No studies or surveys estimate the number of people currently being involved in polyamory (…).*" More recently, there are numbers, but these numbers are estimates mainly based on samples from the wider field of consensual non-monogamy, and to be even more precise, estimates for the US. Whatever numbers exist for countries outside the United States can be considered as estimates based on other estimates; furthermore, this subchapter shows how a sample of 47 individuals somewhere in the US collected by one team of US psychologists in 2011 is responsible for the worldwide scientific estimate of 4 to 5 % of the worldwide western population being in a consensual non-monogamous relationship at the time.

It seems the most reliable percentages we currently have were published in 2018, and were drawn from the 2012 US National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior with 2,270 participants. Among them,

8% reported non-consensual non-monogamy (i.e. some form of cheating), and 4% reported open relationships (Levine et al., 2018, p. 1439), with polyamory not explicitly stated. Completely different numbers are given in the 2013 and 2014 "*annual singles in America study*". According to their numbers – also not explicitly related to the term polyamory, but to consensual non-monogamy, in their case defined as either *swinging*, *open relationships* or *polyamory*), 21 % of the respondents had some experience with consensual non-monogamous relationships (Haupert et al., 2017, p. 424).

Constant numbers of 4 to 5% have repeatedly been published by a group of American psychologists – when looking at their publications in detail, this seems to be a string of self-reference without any verified sources at its end – or, to be precise, at the beginning: The most current paper titles "*Sexual satisfaction amongst individuals in monogamous and consensually non-monogamous relationships*", in which they specify the number of people who identify their relationship as CNM as 4 to 5% - quoting earlier papers dating from 2013 and 2014 written by the same author(s) (Conley, Piemonte, Gusakova, & Rubin, 2018, p. 510). Three years earlier, Moors, Conley, Edelstein, and Chopik (2015, p. 223) in their paper *"Attached to monogamy?"* refer to 4 to 5% who identify themselves as being in CNM relationships, including romantic or sexual extradyadic relationships, the latter including polyamory, consensual non-monogamy and swinging. The sources given for their numbers this time are earlier publications of their own from 2013 and 2012. Two of the authors contributed to a paper on diversity amongst consensual non-monogamous relationships ("*On the margins*"): Rubin, Moors, Matsick, Ziegler, and Conley (2014, p. 2) state that 4 to 5% of people in the US are involved in such a relationship – and for this number again refer to three previous studies of their own from 2011 and 2012, one of them the above article that was in press at the time.

Now, for a detailed look at the 2013 article that is referred to ("*The fewer the merrier? Assessing stigma surrounding consensually non-monogamous relationships"*), we find a generally well-researched article. Furthermore, we find that in a footnote, the authors refer to a total of 47 individuals that identified as currently engaging in a consensual nonmonogamous relationship, which, on the basis of their total sample, is interpreted as 4.7% – the source is quoted as "*Conley, Moors, Matsick & Ziegler, unpublished data*." (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013, p. 3) In the same footnote, the authors refer to other research of theirs (on romantic relationship options), in which they identified 4.5% of participants as engaging in CNM relationships. In this second percentage, the source is quoted as "*Moors, Conley, Edelstein, & Chopic, manuscript in preparation*". By the four authors first mentioned, there is a publication dating from the same year, titled "*A critical examination of popular assumptions about the benefits and outcomes of monogamous relationships*"; this publication, however, does not provide any countable sources when referring to 4 to 5% of the population being involved in CNM relationships,

but once again it quotes two earlier publications dating from 2012 and one from 2011 by the same authors (Conley, Ziegler, Moors, Matsick, & Valentine, 2013, p. 126). The paper that was quoted as "*manuscript in preparation*" at the time is the one I first mentioned, dating from 2015. Now, one of the 2012 papers is given in the references as "*Avoiding monogamy. Attachment, sex, love and consensual non-monogamy. Paper presented at the Biennial conference of the International Association for Relationship research*" (Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2013, p. 140) in Chicago, and no such publication was found in any academic journal. The other 2012 paper in the references, listed as 2012a, is actually the 2013 paper, the already-quoted "*The fewer the merrier*" (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013).

Thus, the last option for tangible empiric numbers for these 4 to 5% that are quoted again and again (in addition to the 47 individuals mentioned in a footnote) is the 2011paper. This paper is listed in the references as "*Conley, T. D., Moors, A. C., Matsick, J. L., & Ziegler, A. (2011). [Prevalence of consensual non-monogamy in general samples]. Unpublished raw data*." (Conley, Ziegler, et al., 2013, p. 138), and this is where the story ends…

…for the presumed source at least. The given numbers of 4 to 5% have been adopted by a number of fellow researchers who refer to the above group of researchers[37]. To exemplary illustrate that statement: Finkel, Hui, Carswell, and Larson (2014, p. 31) quote three of the above articles; and also Balzarini et al. (2017, p. 1) refer to the 2014 article.

Moving from scientific peer-reviewed papers to publicly accessible online publications, in a blog entry on *Psychology Today* from May 2014, Elisabeth Sheff estimates that in the US, 1.4 to 2.4 million have had experiences with sexual non-monogamy (Sheff, 2014), which would be less than 1% (CNM, so once again, the numbers for polyamory are even lower). Even this estimate of Sheff's is interpreted differently by fellow scientists: S. M. Johnson, Giuliano, Herselman, and Hutzler (2015, p. 335) base their numbers on Elisabeth Sheff's source and refer to 1.2 to 9.9 million Americans; Rubinsky (2018b, p. 1) refers to the same blog but reads these numbers as 9.8 million people in the US who practice some form of consensual non-monogamy, of which 1.4 millions (seem to) identify as polyamorous. And yet some fellow researchers adopt numbers without providing relevant sources: Ben‐Ze'ev and Brunning (2018, p. 113) for example state that of 5% of the United States population live in polyamorous couples with two partners. The only existing statistic for the German speaking area is – with the according limitations[38] – published by *Parship*, according to their imprint on their homepage

[37] Of whom three were undergraduate students at the time, see (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013, p. 30).

[38] The study was conducted by a profit-orientated organization rather than a university; it does not represent the whole population as only members of Parship have been asked; the whole set of data is not available. Still, it is the only survey existing on the matter and provides at least an indication.

an online dating agency for long-term relationships, that based in Hamburg, Germany. 3,269 Parship members aged between 18 and 69 participated in an online questionnaire with pre-given answers to choose from on only three aspects of polyamory. The relevant question was: "Let's be honest, can you imagine a relationship with more than one person?". 3% of the participating male as well as 3% of the participating female persons ticked the box "*Yes, and I have already been in a polyamorous relationship*." (Bogatz, 2017)

To sum up the question of „*how many people are poly?*", we (as scientists) all have a problem in answering this question. We are generally confronted with a small number of surveys as a whole, and most of these collect data asking about *consensual-nonmonogamy* rather than *polyamory*. Furthermore, all of these estimates are based on the United States; there are no verified numbers available for any European country. Therefore, the correct answer must be: "*We don't know, we can only guess*."

## 2.9 Further things about polyamory we know and don't know

The final subchapter is dedicated to further aspects of polyamory that might be of importance for an introductory chapter on polyamory, separated into things we know, and things we don't know.

### • What we know

If there was a word in such a new issue as polyamory that might be called an evergreen, then it is most probably jealousy. According to guidebooks, this is the emotion those involved in such partnerships should rid themselves of, or, even better, replace with *comperson*. The term comperson stems from the community itself and describes "*deriving pleasure from a partner's alternative partners*" (de Visser & McDonald, 2007, p. 462). The extent to which poly people are affected by jealousy is not clear. Conley, Matsick, Moors, and Ziegler (2017, p. 211) for example state that it exists, but at a lower level compared to monogamous couples. Deri (2015, p. 135) considers jealousy to be one of several challenges of living a poly life, with the others being social criticism, internalised polyphobia, and personal challenges.[39] While most guidebooks are advocating replacement, and some activists see it as a challenge, occasional academic voices also see the advantages of jealousy in the bigger picture. Rubinsky (2018b, p. 11) identifies jealousy as identity-laden and communicative; and a paper by the same author from the same year, argues that the fear of a possible intruder in a relationship is rather

[39] Her book "*Love's refraction. Jealousy and comperson in queer women's polyamorous relationships"* cannot be considered a purely academic source, it is situated somewhere in the middle between advice and research.

a feeling of insecurity than an actual extradyadic threat, and it also sums up the positive aspects jealousy can have, as it *"(…) may play a role in prosocial relationship maintenance for this relationship type*." (Rubinsky, 2018a, p. 1453)

What we also know is that being poly is not an open-ended accumulation of more and more relationships, separations also occur – with the same emotional and practical consequences separations of monogamous relationships carry. The (monogamous) majority often neglects this issue, its reality and truth are denied. As J. Butler (2004, pp. 26-27) puts it in her bestseller *Undoing Gender*: "*Nevertheless, those who live outside the conjugal frame or maintain modes of social organization for sexuality that are neither monogamous nor quasi-marital are more and more considered unreal, and their loves and losses less than 'true' loves and 'true' losses*."

### • What we don't know

One thing we don't really know is how long polyamorous relationships last, and how many people are involved in polycules. Two already-quoted surveys deliver different results: Muise et al. (2018, p. 7) show for the United States that at the time, the average number of partners was 3, with an approximate duration of 9 years for the primary relationship, and an approximate duration of 3 years for the secondary relationship; a Canadian study describes less than 4 years' duration for primary relationships (Séguin, 2019, p. 92).

"Polyamory is a white, middle and upper class, educated phenomenon." That is a conclusion one might draw when confronted with the demographic data of people participating in surveys on monogamy, consensual monogamy, and/or polyamory. R. Balzarini et al. (2019, p. 1753) collected data from a total of 1,308 individuals (in the United States) in a primary-secondary relationship, of whom 81.8% identified as *white*; 4,6% as *native*; 2% as *Asian*; and 1,6% as *African*. Other publications indicate even higher numbers of white people as polyamorous: Muise et al. (2018, pp. 8, 12) refer to two studies – the first one with a percentage of 84.2% of participants being white (N =405), and the second one with a percentage of 83.5% whites[40] (with a bigger N of 649). Rubinsky (2018b, p. 5) presents a number of 90.6% (with a smaller number of participants, 144 to be precise); the final study with N = 3,463 not only has the highest number of participants, but also the highest number of white individuals[41], a percentage of 92.5 (Séguin et al., 2017, p. 93).

[40] For some reason not explained in this study, the first table gives *White* as "*European-American white*", the second on as "*White/Caucasian*".

[41] In this survey, *White* is understood as "*French/English/European Ethnicity*".

Moving from ethnicity to education, the opening quote seems to be confirmed: In the already-quoted survey, Muise et al. (2018, p. 12) also collected data on education, with the result that more than 92% of participants had an education above high school (college or college degree, associate degree, graduate school or graduate school degree, university or university degree), with 32.2% even holding a university degree. Séguin et al. (2017, p. 92) have similar data with regard to education above high school (94% of participants); as to their participant numbers with a university degree (undergraduate or graduate), 59% of their participants held a university degree.

With regard to class, classifying individuals is less straightforward – both in self-categorisation and in scientific analysis. Assuming that in addition to education, *income* could be a relevant parameter, then the existing studies do not offer meaningful data since they failed to collect financial aspects – therefore this is more likely to be a conclusion drawn from other parameters, namely *ethnicity* and *education*.

Can the above numbers be representative? Is the introduction quote correct? Writing before Balzarini's study, Sheff and Hammers (2011, p. 199) identified three reasons why numbers on race, education and class need to be questioned: First, there is the predominance of white, middle-class sexuality researchers who are basically doing research on their own kind; second, race, education and class indicate their significance for their analysis since they stand out as constants in the field; and third, demographic characteristics, with the characteristic of race in particular, are important factors impacting on sexuality, and specifically salient for research on BDSM and polyamory. A similar critique is Noël (2006, p. 602) résumé of an analysis of 12 texts on polyamory published between 1992 and 2004: "*In particular, these texts, written by and geared toward an assumed audience of white, middle-class, able-bodied, educated, American people fail to address how nationality, race, class, age and (dis)ability intersect with gender and sexuality in the theory and practice of polyamory*." Although the texts were written nearly two decades ago, the core issue remains the same. Even more explicit is an article by Klesse, who points out the significance of class and race privileges within many poly communities, expanding his argument into questions of political economy. He refers to tensions regarding racial/ethnic and class differences that do occur within poly communities and relationships; refers to black individuals and other racialised groups, as well as working class people, who may well be exposed to serious stigmatisation if they assume non-monogamy; and refers (apart from the already-mentioned aspects of race, class and education) to age and disability as factors commonly overlooked by research on polyamory (Klesse, 2014a, pp. 208, 207).

To sum up the last paragraph, the last subchapter, as well as the whole chapter on **what we know about polyamory**: **It is not much**. Our knowledge is biased by us researchers and our individual backgrounds, it is biased by the samples of people participating in any kind of survey, it is biased by the access to knowledge. It is very much based on data from the United States (and Canada to some extent). It falls short of illustrating the situation of non-Anglo-Saxon Western countries, it falls short even more of reflecting voices from Africa, Asia and Central/Southern America. It is a *Western Thing*[42], and even the knowledge we have does not equally represent what we understand as being *the West*.

[42] Please refer to the first footnote in this chapter for the understanding of the term *Western* for the publication at hand.

## 3. Research questions and hypothesis

This chapter contains the key question of the thesis, and the research questions in detail. The research design does not follow hypothesis testing, but is a hypothesis generating design, so the hypothesis will be part of the results.[43]

### 3.1 Key question

The key question of the thesis at hand is:

**In which aspects with regard to love and life history, categorisation and self-conception, social acceptance, legal and religious recognition, and the generation of knowledge does the media representation of polyamory correspond or differ with the self-perception of polyamorous people?**

### 3.2 Research questions in detail

The key question of the investigation is split up into the following six questions, which will be answered by different empirical approaches described in the chapters 12 to 15. The questions in detail:

- **Experiences made resulting in living a polyamorous life**

The first question covers the individual development that has led to people opting for a polyamorous life. What has happened on an emotional and/or sexual (or other) base? Have things changed for poly people since the 1990s? If so, for which assumptions or reasons? Is it due to one or more of the aspects covered by the following research questions? To which extent did the rising media attention and coverage influence their personal situation? How do polyamorous individuals perceive and describe their current state of affairs? Do they see a way back to a monogamous life? Have individuals always lived a poly life, whether being aware or unaware of it? Research question one summarises those aspects:

**1) Due to which experiences do individuals identify themselves as polyamorous?**

[43] A more detailed and theoretically founded description of this approach is given in later chapters.

- **Being poly and the LGBT community**

The second question concerns the self-perception of polyamorous individuals with regard to the *LGBT*[44] community: How do they categorise themselves, if at all? Do affected individuals consider themselves as a minority group? Or is it "enough" to be part of the "queer" or "anti-heteronormative" attribution? Does the academic definition meet the self-attribution, or could polyamory be "just" another relationship model without any minority stigmatization? Is an expansion towards "LGBTP" for "poly" desirable for individuals living polyamorous lives? These aspects are subsumed in research question two:

> **2) Do poly people understand themselves as part of an expanded LGBT acronym?**

- **Social acceptance**

The third issue revolves around social acceptance. Western society has come to accept same-sex relations to a relatively large degree; bisexuality is not a huge issue any more. The transgender term is not unknown, although not completely understood by the wider population. What about polyamorous individuals? Is recognition as a group with this specific way of living important? What are the preconceptions? Does it need to be distinguished from LGBTs? Is it at all relevant that the wider society recognises, and as a second step, accepts individuals that have emotional and sexual relations with more than one partner? Research question three incorporates these questions:

> **3) By which aspects and to which degree do polyamorous people have the need to be accepted for their way of living by society?**

- **Legal recognition**

Based on the changes in law followed by social movements for gay and lesbian rights, the fourth aspect covers possible legal rights within polyamorous relationships. Should there be the option to legalise relationships with more than one partner? If so, which aspects are important? This leads to the forth research question:

> **4) How distinctive is the demand for legal recognition within polyamorous relationships?**

[44] The chapter on legal recognition will explain in detail why it is the LGBT acronym that is used, and not broader acronyms as for example LGBTTIIQQ. In short – this has to do with legal protection within the European Union, which only applies to individuals who identify as living or being lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and/or transgender.

- **Recognition by religious institutions**

Being with more than one person at the same time does not necessarily mean people do not adhere to religious confessional rules. Faith itself does not cause problems for individuals – the problem starts when this faith is oriented towards institutional organisations like the Catholic or the Protestant churches. How, if so, do active or believing members overcome the dissonance between the doxa and their way of living? Thus, the fifth research question reads as follows:

> **5) To which extend is recognition by religious institutions important to polyamorous persons?**

- **The generation of knowledge**

When they realise that monogamy is not the only way of living relationships, affected individuals seek for advice. Advice can be gathered in various ways, from face-to-face talks to people all the way to non-responding media products such as books, radio series and TV productions to the different options the Internet provides. This leads to research question six:

> **6) How do polyamorous people gain their knowledge on the topic?**

- **Media representation of polyamorous matters**

The last research question concerns the outside view – the media representation of the mentioned matters: How are individuals portrayed? How (if at all) does the media situate polyamorous people by origin and affiliation? In which context are they represented with regard to society? What are the positions the media take on legal issues? Are religious institutions put into context with polyamorous people? If so, according to which characteristics? Does the media give advice on further reading or refer to relevant institutions? These aspects are summarised in research question seven:

> **7) How does the media represent polyamorous individuals with regard to love and life history, categorisation and self-conception, social acceptance, legal and religious recognition, and the generation of knowledge?**

## 3.3 Theoretical framework and methodology (preview)

**Theoretical framework** of the thesis is the framing theory that has its origins in social sciences; to be more precise, in communication science. It basically says that certain aspects of reality are purposefully chosen by the media in order to create a certain, intended interpretation of the described issue.

With regard to **methods**, a setting of two different methodological approaches will be applied: a media content analysis and narrative biographical interviews. While the first method will be used to survey and analyse the media representation, the second method will be applied in examining and analysing the individual perspectives and experiences of involved individuals. By this approach, I aim not only to point out current similarities and differences of self-awareness and media-based representation of polyamorous issues, but also to illustrate (if applicable) how the discourse regarding the topic has changed in recent years.

## 4. Theoretical framework: media framing as theory of choice

The previous chapters have outlined the focus and boundaries of the thesis, illustrated the history of polyamory, and presented the research questions. The chapter at hand will deliver the theoretical framework: It starts with a raison d'être for a theory in an academic context, introducing what will be mapped, why I attempt to map these facts, and how I plan to do so. Then it continues with four different categories of theories with increasing levels of abstraction, and determines why a middle-range theory has been picked as theory of choice. This is followed by an excursus on possible categorizations of media can be categorized, how the term is understood for the thesis, and the media's duties and responsibilities. A key aspect is an introduction of media framing, which serves as theoretical base for the research project as a whole. The next sub-chapter describes why newspaper and magazine articles have been selected as primary source to generate the (sub)categories for my analysis. Concluding the chapter, I present a description of the limitations and critique of the applied middle-range theory and my personal assessment of this risk to the theoretical foundation.

### 4.1 Introduction: What theory is good for

"*Theory is one of the most important words in the lexicon of contemporary sociology. Yet, their ubiquity notwithstanding, it is quite unclear what sociologists mean by the words 'theory,' ,theoretical,', and 'theorize'*." (Abend, 2008, p. 173) This quote was published in a journal that is edited by the American Sociological Association (ASA), which can be considered one of the most important organizations in the profession and discipline of sociology. The author himself answers the question what the term *theory* can stand for presenting seven aspects: First, a general proposition or logically connected system of general propositions that establishes a relationship between two or more variables. This aspect applies to the thesis at hand as I would like to look into media representation and self-perception. Second, an explanation of a particular social phenomenon. This can be applied to polyamory, as this – amongst other attributions – is exactly what we are dealing with: a social phenomenon. The third aspect relates to yet another goal of theory, which is to say something about empirical phenomena in the social world. The thesis will collect data both from interviews and media, so this is of relevance as well. In the fourth aspect, Abend describes the uses of the terms by different authors, including Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, Parsons, Habermas, and Bourdieu and their students. Although it would be a great honour, this thesis does not aspire to such heights – and furthermore, my focus is not society as a whole, but on one specific phenomenon. The fifth aspect

uses the German term *Weltanschauung*, a general perspective from which the world is seen an interpreted. As the following chapter six will show, this is an issue that is addressed in the academic discussion, for instance when we aim to identify a counter position of "*mononormative Western cultures*"[45], but polyamory clearly does not have the impact yet to establish a new way of looking at society, or a sufficiently large group of supporters. In the sixth aspect, the author refers to the ethnological roots of the term theory corresponding to a fundamental normative component; in his interpretation, this can also be used in a political narrative. From this perspective, this aspect would also apply to the thesis, as polyamory in the understanding as an ethical concept quickly reaches the limitations of state legislation. The seventh and final aspect is related to the social construction of reality. Contrary to in the previous points (except the fourth on founders of theories), it points to the philosophical dimension of theory. As such a dimension is more or less inherent to any publication that addresses reality, this thesis, too, applies a theory in this sense (Abend, 2008, pp. 177-181).

So, now that we know what theory is about in a contemporary sociological context, how can these seven theoretical aspects be used to frame the practice of polyamory? The answer is provided by the three fundamental questions of empirical social research, as for example described by Atteslander (2008, p. 4): what, why and how we should map something. The following figure illustrates these three questions and their interrelations.

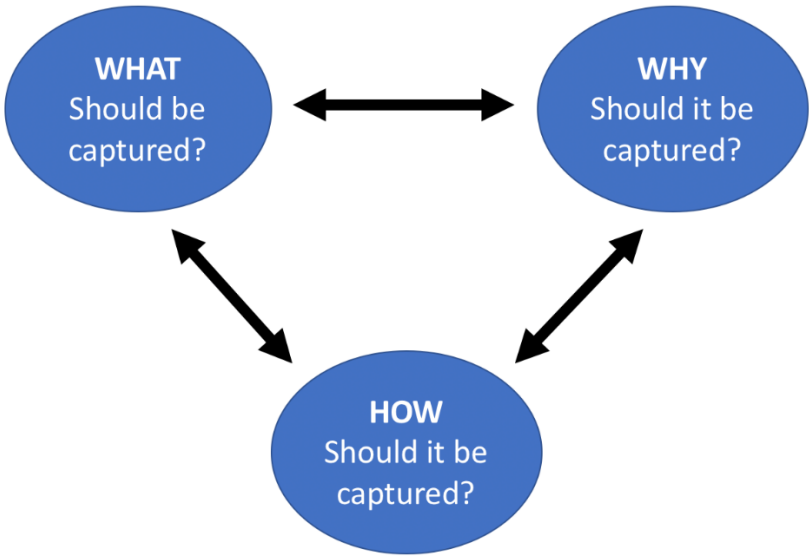


Fig. 3.1: The fundamental questions of empirical social research ("*Grundfragen der empirischen Sozialforschung*") by Atteslander (2010, p. 4). English figure by the author.

[45] Schippers, who coined the term, also provides a definition: "*A poly orientation to the world means living a queer life that refuses to simply follow the mononormative path we are all compelled to follow.*" (Schippers, 2019, p. 72)

The first fundamental question relates to the specification of the object of investigation, which was described in great detail in the previous chapter. To summarize the key question in order to align it to the above model: *In which aspects with regard to love and life history, categorization and self-conception, social acceptance, legal and religious recognition, and the generation of knowledge does the media representation of polyamory correspond to or differ with the self-perception of people living polyamorous lives?*

The second fundamental question relates to the *context of development and use*[46] (Atteslander, 2008, p. 4), or in simplified words: Why is the research question of relevance? To whom? How does society profit when we know what we do not know yet? What can we do with these answers?

On the question of the means of mapping, my research design follows question and theory; it is the empirical tool to generate findings. This is expressed in the third fundamental question, the *how-to*. It will be answered in great detail in chapter 11 on media analysis, and in chapter 12 on self-perception.

## 4.2 Explaining polyamory with a middle-range theory

At this point, therefore, we need to address the second fundamental question, the "*why is it important*". This is where theory comes into play. To be precise, a theory that explains polyamory as a societal phenomenon, as this is what the research questions centre on. There have been many ideas to categorize different approaches on societal phenomena; I am using the sociologist René R. König (1973), for the reason that is acknowledged and often quoted, and although it was developed nearly half a century ago, it has neither been fundamentally updated nor replaced by a more current model. In addition, it has more recently been taken up by yet another sociologist, Peter Atteslander (2010), who introduces his already-classic "*Methods of empirical social research*" with this model.[47] Its key is an increasing level of abstraction, as the following illustration shows:

[46] In the original German: "*Entstehungs- und Verwertungszusammenhang*".

[47] The term *classic* refers to the circumstance that the book (original German title: *Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*) has reached its 13th edition; the first edition dates back to 1969 and already included this categorization.

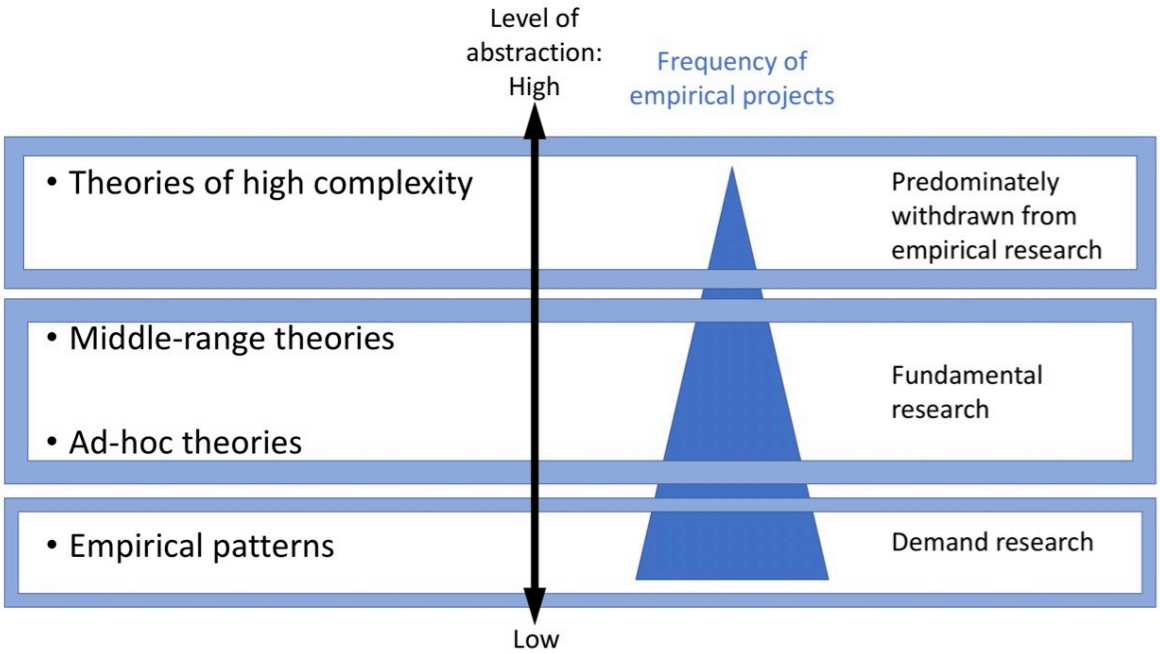


Fig. 3.2: Level of abstraction of theories and their frequency of verification ("*Abstraktionsgrad von Theorien und Häufigkeit ihrer Überprüfung*") by Atteslander (2010, p. 35). English figure by the author.

Starting from top to bottom, a *Theory of high complexity* (in German-language literature also mentioned as *Grand Theory*[48] and/or *Meta Theory*) is attractive at first sight. Looking at it in detail, the author qualifies it as rarely used, hard to disprove, and almost never tested empirically; also, its function does not match what I intend: metatheories allow the observation of a scientific observation. They are described as second-level observations that accompany the scientific process, as they safeguard the scientific approach as distinguished from the rationality of other social systems (Löffelholz, 2004, p. 24). Atteslander names two authors who are considered "classics" in this league: Max Weber and Niklas Luhmann (Atteslander, 2010, p. 34), both of whose lifetime achievements and goals clearly do not apply to an exploration of polyamory. These aspects argue against the application of a *Theory of high complexity* for the thesis.

For the next theory down the abstraction level, the author refers to a colleague of his, Robert K. Merton. His definition reads as follows: "*Throughout we focus on what I have called theories of the middle range: Theories that lie between the minor but necessary working hypotheses that evolve in abundance during day-to-day research and the all-inclusive systematic efforts to develop a unified theory that will explain all the observed uniformities of social behaviour, social organisation and social change*." (Merton, 1968, p. 39) Such an approach would meet the criteria of the research project at hand.

[48] In the original German: "*Großtheorie".*

Yet another step down, *ad-hoc theories* allow limited statements, for example on the behaviour of individual members of a specific group at a specific time in a specific place. These restrictions make it impossible to develop general knowledge on the matter (Atteslander, 2010, p. 34) – which clearly excludes them as a suitable theoretical tool.

The observation of *empirical patterns* is described as descriptive determination of occurrences that sometimes falls short of even partially delivering a theoretical explanation (Atteslander, 2010, p. 34). As this fails to meet my requirements for the theoretical frame of a PhD thesis, it is also not considered.

This leaves a *middle-range theory* to answer the one remaining aspect of the three fundamental questions of empirical research: Why should it be mapped? To answer this question, a quick review of the key question is helpful: In which aspects does media representation match or differ from the self-perception of polyamory? This inevitably leads to the follow-up question summarized in the heading of the following sub-chapter:

## 4.3 Excursus: What is "the media" and what does it do?

What or who is "the media"? Different academic faculties and departments have their own definitions, and also profit-orientated organizations such as advertisement, marketing and public relations companies use their own attributions to the word *media*. As this thesis is a sociological one, submitted at the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna, and both empirical data (self-perception as well as media representation) are collected in the German-speaking world, it seems logical to use an academic in this field as a main source for this subchapter. The key author I have chosen for these reasons is communication scientist Roland Burkart (2019) with his standard reference book *Communication science. Basics and problems of an interdisciplinary social science*.[49]

Burkart defines communication as a process specific to human beings. Communication is social behavior, it is social action, it is social interaction, and it is a communicated process. Communication relies on a medium to exist. In consequence, there are two definitions of *medium* (in the singular): a medium is personal agency and the technical distribution and receiving tools that developed over

[49] In the original German: *Kommunikationswissenschaft. Grundlagen und Problemfelder einer interdisziplinären Sozialwissenschaft*. The book was published in its 5th edition in 2019, which has been completely revised compared to the 4th edition published in 2002 – especially with regard to the influence of the Internet on the media.

human history (Burkart, 2019, pp. 22-35).[50] In this case, the key question does not focus on individual communication, so a more exhaustive look at the technical distribution and the receiving tools is needed. For this, it is helpful to use the approach of differentiating the plurality of media by focusing on the media as *communication technique*.

### • The technical aspect of media

For this I rely on a "classic" of communication studies, communication scientist Harry Pross (1972) differentiation into *primary*, *secondary* and *tertiary* medium. He divides media in three different categories, based on their physical appearance. A *primary medium* is everything of human elementary contact, i. e. language, but also non-verbal communication such as facial expression and/or gestures. All these ways of expression convey content, they define media as way of representing physical meaning. What this medium has in common is the fact that neither sender nor recipient need a technical device. A *secondary medium* does use a device at the sender's end, but not at the receiver's. Thus, ancient communication methods as for example smoke signals or flag signals are media, as well as documents such as engraved stones, clay tablets or handwritten letters. More recent techniques in this category are all developments following from the invention of the letterpress: any type of poster and flyer, books, magazines, and newspapers. Whether a medium is only released once or published on a regular basis (subsumed by the term *periodicals*) makes no difference for this categorization. A *tertiary medium,* on the other hand, requires a technical device at the sender's as well as at the receiver's end. This therefore includes technical devices such as the telegraph, the telephone, various radio installations[51], film (as in cinema), vinyl's, cassette tapes, and, in our current understanding, also compact discs and DVDs. It also includes what Pross describes as *electronic mass media*, at the time he wrote radio and television (Pross, 1972). In our current technological situation, computers and all kind of data storage devices also match this category.

This model is now nearly four decades old, but it still serves to categorize current and future technical devices – where it falls short is everything that uses the Internet. This is where two additional terms, *quaternary media* and *social media* come in. *Quaternary media* – also to be found as *Digital Media* or *Online Media* – are basically Internet-based tertiary media. They are based on the technique of

[50] To avoid misinterpretations due to the translation, here the original quote in German: "*Im allgemeinen Sinn steht Medium daher – speziell was die menschliche Kommunikation betrifft – sowohl für die personale (der Person gleichsam ‚anhaftende') Vermittlungsinstanzen als auch für jene technischen Verbreitungs- und Empfangsmittel, die im Laufe der Menschheitsgeschichte entstanden sind*." (Burkart, 2019, p. 35)

[51] In this matter the German language allows for more differentiation than the English: While the German word "Funkanlage" implies use for military purposes or the communication of truck drivers, the English language uses the same word "radio" for such devices as well as radio in terms of public or private radio broadcasting.

digitalization and require the existence or the use of a computer with internet access. A major difference in the function of such media is that they soften the traditional, rather rigid roles of sender and receiver. One example of quaternary media are websites, e-mails, chats, and blogs; but also the online presence of offline media such as websites of newspapers and printed magazines as well as broadcasting stations (Burkart, 2019, p. 37).

*Social media* – also found as s*ocial network sites*, *social networks* or *social software* – is a special form of quaternary media. On a technical level, it is about digital platforms on the Internet. Their goal is to publish and edit of content of all sorts; examples of companies that provide such platforms are for example Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and Snapchat. Blogs, too, whether they are hosted by companies, non-profit-organizations, or private persons, fall into this category. The degree of participation for the receivers varies: the online trader *Amazon* only allows ratings according to their own standard (up to five stars and an open-text field), while the online encyclopedia *Wikipedia* for example is completely based on user-generated content (Burkart, 2019, pp. 37-38).

### • Duties and responsibilities of mass media for society

Much has been written on the duties and responsibilities of mass media for society. Here I will shortly summarize the discussion over the past 40 years – as just shown, the technical aspects are subject to constant change and development; yet the key duties have remained unchanged. In book chapter considered as essential in German communication studies, Ronneberger (1979, p. 141) concludes that the following three key aspects define the tasks of mass media: to promote democratic behaviour within a society when different understandings of democracy exist; to stimulate the citizen's impulse to contribute to the needs of their own society as well as those of other societies; and to promote the development of political opinion and policies. Pürer (2003, p. 424) summarizes these aspects in three words, speaking of *functions* rather than *duties* or *responsibilities*, and adding a fourth aspect: *social* functions, *political* functions, *economical* functions, and *information* functions. To be precise, he refers to Burkart, who added the information functions as something the media not only provide to society as a whole, but also to the individual. Burkart (2002, p. 402) does write about the benefits of mass media with regard to the social, the political, and the economical societal system; I was unable to locate a passage in which he distinguishes between benefits to the individual and to society.

Haas (2008) distinguishes between tasks[52] aimed at the individual, and those for society. In detail he separates between the functions of mass media for the individuals of a society, and the functions of

[52] The relevant wording is subject to translatory interpretation. While "Verantwortung" can be translated rather

mass media for society at large and parts of society. As the focus of this thesis is elsewhere, I will ignore the functions aimed at the individual and concentrate on the functions for the society as a whole. He describes the function of information as the media's key function, and divides it into three sub-functions, which we have just seen with Ronneberger, Pürer and Burkart as well – with the difference that he provides a more elaborated description: The social functions, which are represented more exhaustively by *social and cultural functions*, include relaxation and entertainment, orientation and counselling, socialization, and integration. The *political functions* are defined by articulation, political socialization and education, as well as the function of criticism and control. Finally, the *economical function* is described as circulation, relating to the (usually) profit-orientated logic of markets (Haas, 2008, pp. 43-47).

In the revised fifth edition of the already-quoted book on communication studies, Burkart (2019), [53] following a compressed summary, describes all the aspects that led to my decision to use printed newspaper and magazine articles as research objects of choice. The categories are similar to those described above, and are only described in more detail and illustrated with examples. The overall categories are social functions, political functions, economical functions, and – in contrast to Haas, but agreeing with Pürer, the information function.

In detail, Burkhart understands the *social functions (a)* as merit of mass media that they fulfil – or are supposed to fulfil – with regard to the societal environment as a social system. The four sub-categories are the *socialization function (a.1)* (the transfer of societal knowledge, norms, and values are transferred from one to the next generation); *social orientation and counselling (a.2)* (similar to the previous one, with a focus on the growing complexity of society and the media providing orientation in the plethora of information, and including counselling journalism); *integration function (a.3)* (the more complex a society becomes, the bigger the danger of a divide between the various interests of its differentiated members)[54]; and finally *recreation (a.4)* (mass media for relaxation, entertainment, recreation, distraction of daily problems, amusement) (Burkart, 2019, pp. 328-334).

P*olitical functions (b) are necessary to create a public sphere (b.1)*. This is considered as a key function of mass media and means the creation of a space in which media as a printed, auditive, audiovisual

directly into "responsibility", "Funktion" as "function", and "Aufgabe" as "task"; words like "Leistung" (where I decided to use "tasks" as well, although it could also be translated as "benefits" or "achievements") are more difficult to translate as they have a wider range of meaning.

[53] The author describes his updated thoughts of the function of media on 30 pages – for the previous version, please refer to Burkart (2002).

[54] The author does provide according samples, but does not clarify if mass media can slow down, or prevent that process, see (Burkart, 2019, pp. 330-333).

and digital product emerges.[55] Democracy needs the public, and the public needs the media. A*rticulation (b.2)* relates to media as a mouthpiece for all democratically legitimate parties, organizations, and interest groups, and especially for less powerful groups that lack of professionally organized communication channels. *Political socialization (b.3)* is similar to the previous function, with the difference that the focus lies on all forms of political players: this can be the voter, a political associate, a party member, an opponent or even a protester – the media is supposed to render the political system clearer and more transparent. In a similar vein, *political education (b.4),* where responsibility moves from the media as providers to the responsibility of the individual member of society to absorb and understand democratically relevant information. In an ideal situation, the individual can then form his/her own opinion. Then there is the function *of criticism and control (b.5)*, a key role in democratic societies, which – in one sentence – means the basic possibility to criticize political decision makers. This strongly relates to the final function as *fourth power (b.6)*, or "*Publicative*" in German (Burkart, 2019, pp. 334-337). This expression clearly refers to the three pillars of a state with the legislative power, the executive power, and the judiciary. In English, the term *public watchdog* is more commonly used. For a definition, D. E. Johnson (2014, p. 369) defines the watchdog role as follows: "*The media represents a special case in democracy, because they play two distinctive roles. One is as the main source of information about interest group activity and about efforts to influence public policy more generally. This is the celebrated 'watchdog' role of the media*."

The *economical functions (c)* include three aspects: *Circulation (c.1)*, understood as the activation of item-money-relation and the shortening of turnaround time with the help of the media; *personalization (c.2)*, precisely the personalization of societal facts, which means that problems of individuals and their mental state are described; and *reproduction (c.3)*, introduced as regenerative function: the need of working people for information and entertainment in order to return to work relaxed, physically recovered, and psychologically motivated (Burkart, 2019, pp. 338-341).

The final function *information (d)* is a special case, not explicitly assignable as a function, as it is rather a service of mass media to the social, political, and economical social system. It comprises the following five functions: *information (d.1)*, homonymous with the category, is described as the most original and primary function of media, which allows participation in experiences that happen outside of our personal, directly accessible environment. *Comprehensiveness (d.2)* stands for plurality – in terms of the subjects themselves as well as the plurality of the societal groups that participate in the discourse on any subject. Next is *understandability (d.3)*. This is simple and straightforward: Media has to present

[55] These four versions of the product "media" reflect the technical aspects that determines media, as described on the previous pages.

its content in such a way that the vast majority of consumers can receive and process them. The final function of *objectivity (d.4)* is more significant than one would assume at first glance. It is not the absence of any kind of subjectivity, but can be defined by the following four aspects that are rooted in the practice of journalistic reporting: correctness of facts, transparency and plural perspectives of the information, and unbiased and neutral representation of said information (Burkart, 2019, pp. 342-354).

All these functions represent the ideal tasks that mass media have in a democratic society. The very last aspect of unbiased and neutral presentation is an ideal that can hardly be achieved. The following subchapter will show the reason why.

## 4.4 Media framing as a path to new knowledge

As shown above, a middle-range theory justifies the use of empiric studies. It is important to find out if reality keeps up with what theory predicts (Potthoff, 2012). The following chapter provides the theoretical base for the empirical study in the later chapters – the *framing theory*. In literature, framing is not yet defined as mid-range theory (as for instance *agenda setting* is), but according to Potthoff (2012) it has fragmented components of a mid-range theory. Other sources describe the convergence of agenda setting and framing – for example MacCombs and Ghanem (2003, p. 71) define frames and framing processes as "*second level of agenda setting*". This includes both affective and cognitive aspects of frame content and effects (R. M. Entman, 2006, p. 121). In this context, we also find the term *priming* in mass communication literature – which did not seem adequate as it is either used in the context of political issues, or in psychology with regard to memory formation (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

References to framing in print media can for example be found with Tankard (2003) or McCombs & Ghanem (2003) who state that *"Although television news uses a wide variety of framing techniques to enhance news presentations, the concept of framing also is used in the production of print media*" (MacCombs & Ghanem, 2003, p. 71).

### • Media framing: definition and example

One of the best known and most quoted definitions of the term *frame* reads as follows: "*To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation,*

*and/or treatment recommendation for the item described*" (R. Entman, 1993, p. 52). Related terminology can be understood as follows: "*We use the term framing approach. Framing refers to the active process of selective emphasizing of information and positions. We understand frames as the result of that process*"[56] (Matthes, 2014, p. 11). The following visual example shows how framing influences what one perceives.

Fig. 3.3: Collage "How the media can manipulate our viewpoint" by Christensen (2021)[57]

This photo has for example been used for the cover of the book "*Tortured Reality: How Media Framing of Waterboarding Affects Judicial Independence*" (Henderson, 2012) and illustrates that different details of a photo lead to different interpretations (starting from left where we might assume that the person on the right might get shot, moving to the right where one would assume the same person is being saved, and the complete photo putting the scene into perspective). What is shown in this example with images applies to words and images alike, as the following chapters will show.

[56] In the German language, the sentence reads as follows: "*Daher verwenden wir den Begriff Framing-Ansatz. Framing bezieht sich auf den aktiven Prozess des selektiven Hervorhebens von Informationen und Positionen. Frames verstehen wir dabei als Ergebnis dieses Prozesses*." (Matthes, 2014, p. 11)

[57] There are different versions (collages) of this picture to be found on the web, the one used is the same that is used in the quoted book - without any media company logo, additional colors, or further cropped images.

## • A short history of the term

One of the oldest[58] and most quoted definitions (Matthes, 2014) (Potthoff, 2012) of framing was written by sociologist Todd Giltin, who focuses his research on media sociology, social movements and the power of frames: "*Frames are principals of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters. (…). Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers organize discourse, whether verbal or visual*." (Giltin, 1980, p. 6)

Robert M. Entman focusses on verbal and visual patterns; his publication is a milestone in framing research (R. Entman, 1991). He shows that in describing a nearly identical event, the way wording and images are presented (→ "framing") means the result is not a neutral image or reproduction of an event, but a certain construction of reality.[59] The sequel paper (R. Entman, 1993) is considered as the most-quoted and a must-read when doing research on frames (Matthes, 2014). With the term "scattered conceptualization", Entman also stresses that there cannot be a general statement on how frames are embedded[60]. He goes on to define four elements of framing (audience autonomy / journalistic objectivity / content analysis / public opinion and the normative democratic theory). In his survey on political news, to be precise on key events regarding refugees and foreigners in Germany, Brosius (1993) researched journalistic frames using content-analytical methods, and concluded that the selection criteria of journalists are not stable but can change after single significant incidents.[61]

Iyengar (1994) claimed that *"The importance of using multiple methods in communications research has been long acknowledged but seldom practiced*" and set up a multi-method strategy to close this empirical gap, addressing content analysis (to identify the degree of thematic or episodic framing in

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[58] Other sources state that the concept of framing is already present in the works of Canadian-born sociologist Erving Govmann (1974), but in his book the media only play a minor role; therefore, I will not further discuss it.

[59] His research focussed on two similar events (the downing of two passenger airplanes; one by a Russian fighter plane in 1983, and the other an Iranian plane shot down by the US navy in 1988) and their reporting in four different newspapers and periodicals (*Time, Newsweek, New York Times*, and *Washington Post*) and one TV station (*CBS*)

[60] Similar opinions can be also found in later publications. Nearly two decades later, Potthoff (2012) states in his definition chapter on frames that there is research in different disciplines and traditions that all use the term "framing" – but they lack a common focus. He further quotes S. D. Reese to make this point: "*Framing value (…) does not hinge on its potential as a unified research domain but (…) as a provocative model that bridges parts of the field that need to be in touch with each other: quantitative and qualitative, empirical and interpretive, psychological and sociological, and academic, and professional.*" (Reese, cf. Potthoff, 2012, p. 29)

[61] As Brosius focuses on significant single events (arson attacks on refugee camps in former Eastern Germany in the early 1990s), something that does not exist in the case of polyamory, not even as a series of related events, it is unclear whether his conclusions are relevant to our study.

television news coverage on public issues), field experiments (to determine the impact of particular news frames on attributions of responsibility) and correlation analysis (to analyze the effect of attributions of responsibility on political opinions and attitudes) (Iyengar, 1994, p. 17).

D. Scheufele (1999) developed a process model of framing based on two dimensions of classification, which he identified in previous research published on the topic: the type of frame examined (Scheufele distinguishes between *media frames* versus *audience frames*) and the way frames are operationalized (in dependent or independent variables). He refers to frames as dependent variables normally found when researchers look into the role of various factors in influencing the creation and modification of frames, and frames as independent variables when researchers are more interested in the effects of framing.

In response to Entman's text published in 1993, D'Angelo (2002) presents a what he calls a "*new metatheory of framing*". He argues that there is no single paradigm of framing, nor should there be one: "*Rather, knowledge about framing has accumulated because the research program encourages researchers to employ and refine many theories about the framing process under the guidance of distinct paradigmatic perspectives on relationships between frames and framing effects.*" (D'Angelo, 2002, p. 871)

In 2003, Dietram Scheufele's brother Bertram B. Scheufele (2003) published "*The most comprehensive conceptualisation of journalistic frames until today (…)*" (Matthes, 2014, p. 16); Geiß and Schemer (2016), too, name this book as a "*pioneer study*", especially with regard to its combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, and deplore that his thesis did not make the impact it deserved in the English-speaking discourse on the subject. The empirical setup of this study is only of limited relevance to my research, as B. Scheufele focusses on concrete xenophobic attacks in Germany in 1993 and the media reaction to them – which contrasts with the research setting at hand, which looks into a phenomenon that has no specific end explicit point of emergence but raised and received increasing media attention over the period of a decade. The conclusion of Chong and Druckman (2007) is of specific interest for this thesis, since in the case of polyamory, the media cover a subject about which the audience does not seem to have formed its opinions: "*People who are better informed about the issues are more likely to have established a frame of reference for their opinions and are less likely to be swayed how other people frame the issues for them*." (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 121)

- **Different types of frames and their relevance for the thesis**

Matthes (2014)[62] divides the academic literature on the topic into two major aspects: the analysis of frames used by those who communicate, i. e. journalists, and content itself; and research designs created to measure the impact with the audience. The latter, i. e. media impact research (known in German by the term *Medienwirkungsforschung*,)[63] is not what my project aims at: I am not interested in how the audience perceive content, but how the media represents content.

The focus therefore is set on those who communicate (the "*actors*", the stakeholders, the ones who are affected) (1); the *documents on those actors* (2); and an *analysis of the media represented content on those actors* (3). The actors are straightforward, and so are the methods to generate frames: The methodological tool of choice are interviews, which are analyzed according to their rhetorical and argumentative structure (Matthes, 2014, pp. 36-37). Interestingly enough, the qualitative studies the author quotes not only refer to the affected individuals, but also to the institutions that deal with them – such as Cress and Snow (2000) on homelessness in the United States. This is in contrast to the sample of a more quantitatively-based study on the American peace movement, where only its supporters were questioned; in that specific case using a panel survey (Marullo, Pagnucco, & Smith, 1996). To conclude, interviewing the affected individuals is a valid approach, but the overall question is how media representation corresponds with self-perception, and not the other way around. Therefore, what will be used to generate the sub-categories to the research questions will not be the interviews, but the media reports – the bridge to the documents on the actors and the analysis of the content represented in the media.

The difference between the remaining two types of frames is minor: The *analysis of the media represented content on the actors* does exactly that: it analyzes news reports on specific content the researcher is interested in. What Matthes (2014, pp. 37-38) describes as *journalistic frames* (a term introduced by him) is basically what I have described above as the duties and responsibilities of (mass) media in society: a cognitive construct of individuals (in this case journalists), that determines two things: which occurrence is classified by the journalist as an incident worth reporting and which therefore finds its way into the media, and how this incident is represented and the report structured.

[62] The book is an updated and yet downsized version of the authors PhD thesis that covered the influence of media reports on political attitudes of the audience, in this specific case people who were unemployed at the time questioned, see Matthes (2007).

[63] For a detailed overview on the matter, Potthoff (2016) edited a book on key works of *media impact research*, starting as early as the 1940s with an analysis of the radio play "The War of the Worlds" by Orson Welles from1938.

Finally, the *documents on the actors* cover more or less what the media representation also covers, but using a wider range of sources: not only media reports, but also press releases, flyers or historical data including speeches, heckling and protests fall into this category. The field of application of such an approach is wide, the author names three examples: to find the patterns of attitude and cognition to diagnose them; to measure the public mobilization of public support by its media respondence; or the analysis of press releases and advertisement messages in order to highlight the strategic frames of the involved players (Matthes, 2014, p. 36). The latter methodological approach is a good match to the approach of this thesis: personal standardized interviews with a total of 47 protagonists – in this case campaign managers – were combined with content analysis of media coverage (in this case TV and newspaper articles) on the same issue (Wirth et al., 2010).

## 4.5 Newspaper and magazine articles as media of choice

After describing the different types and roles of media, and the approach of framing, I would now like to proceed to the question of why newspaper and magazine articles were chosen over other types of media, which also constitutes a kind of preview to the empirical chapters that follow.

*Tertiary media* (specifically TV and radio) is produced either by state or public institutions (public broadcasting) or by for-profit enterprises. Their reasons for broadcasting specific content are different. For-profits produce their content in order to generate high numbers of viewers or listeners. Their audience numbers correlate with the advertisement revenue they can generate, which results in them selecting content that attracts viewers or listeners. Audience numbers are measured, for example in Austria with regard to television by the Arbeitsgemeinschaft TELETEST (2019), and for radio by the globally operating market research company GfK (society for consumer research)[64]. Public television or radio broadcasting stations have a mission, an educational mandate. In the Austrian case, the law defines 19 specific aspects the public broadcasting company ORF has to fulfil (Bundeskanzleramt, 1999)[65], none of which is linked to audience shares – which constitutes a difference in how issues are presented in the light of framing and generating revenue. Even taking this into consideration by adding a research question on the – assumed – effects of the different representation of issues, a further problem remains: There is no complete archive of television or radio shows produced by private

[64] These data currently are not available on their webpage, as in April 2016 it became public that the data had been manipulated for years. There is no academic publication on the matter yet, only press coverage. The Austrian broadsheet newspaper "*Die Presse*" for example covered the scandal (Wallner, 2016). Strategies on how radio coverage will be measured and published for the year 2017 could not be found at the time this chapter was written.

[65] The relevant law dates from more than two decades ago, but is still in place.

enterprises (neither in Austria, Germany, or Switzerland), which makes the realization of a representative study impossible.

*Quaternary media* can contain a feedback channel. This means that the audience can actively comment and therefore participate in the discourse of a topic. Opinion-building by the individual reader is then generated by the actual media and the other readers commenting on the topic. This would also be a worthwhile research topic, but actually would precisely be media impact research ("*Medienwirkungsforschung*") as described above – which is not the goal of this thesis.

My object of investigation is therefore what was classified as *secondary media*, to be precise newspaper and magazine articles. The search engine for the articles is the *WISO online Datenbank* (https://www.wiso-net.de/dosearch), a German database owned by the German Newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the German publishing group *Handelsblatt*, by their own description merged into *GBI-Genios Deutsche Wirtschaftsdatenbank* GmbH (WISO, 2016), for which the University of Vienna provides unlimited access to full-text articles. At the time of data collection[66], it contained 167,021,212 articles published by 217 different newspapers and magazines.[67] For a quick empirical preview, all articles that contain the words *Polyamorie, Polyamory, Polyamourie, Polyamoury, polyamorös, polyamourös, Polyamorist*, and *Polyamourist* were collected, and all relevant ones were categorized and analyzed.

Finally, we need to link the theoretical part of framing with the methodological part of applying a content analysis and the actual issue of polyamory. Empirical examples of content analyses conducted on newspaper and magazine articles analyzed in the light of framing exist: Iyengar (1994) followed a multi-method approach, in which the content analysis part was used to identify the degree of thematic or episodic framing in television news coverage of public issues. What looks like a video/film analysis at first sight was actually conducted on textual material: printed abstracts of the daily network newscasts. The research sample consisted of abstracts of every news story of three different TV stations over six years (Iyengar, 1994, p. 18).

As illustrated in Chapter Two, the discussion whether polyamory has to be considered as intimate practice, identity, sexual orientation (Klesse, 2014b) or something in-between or yet something different, has not been answered yet. What I have shown in Chapter Two is that the emotion of *love*

[66] Completed on January 21st, 2017.

[67] This includes tabloids as well as broadsheet papers, as studies show that representation varies according to editorial policy in broadsheet papers and yellow press, which matches the framing theory – see for example Hausjell (2016).

often falls short in applied definitions. If polyamory is considered as such, the thoughts of Benford (1997) should have an important say in the theoretical framing: not only does he stress the importance of how topics are framed with regard to social movements, the author also refers to the role of emotions that failed not receive enough academic attention: "*The role of emotions in social movements and in collective action framing processes remains a relatively unexplored but potentially fertile topic*". (Benford, 1997, pp. 419-420) With emotions being one of the key elements within the issue of polyamory, this aspect will be foregrounded in the empirical analysis for this thesis.

And finally, there are sample studies that, while not investigating the influence of framing on polyamory-related issues, at least looked at the influence of framing on LGBT issues. One example is Wiggins (2003), who carried out research on media coverage of a lesbian commitment ceremony following a long court case on legal restrictions for same-sex marriages – with the significance of framing for an issue in the media condensed in one sentence: "*If the religion and secular are interwoven in the Bible Belt, what does this mean for newspapers that have traditionally have kept God on the religion page*?" (Wiggins, 2003, p. 213) The present thesis will thus be the first time that public discourse on polyamory is analyzed for its media framing – and on a solid academic foundation according to Matthes (2014, p. 38): by intersubjective traceability to avoid arbitrariness.

## 4.6 Limitations and critique

At the end of the chapter, one critical question has to be posed: Is the theory of *media framing*, in its origins more than two decades old, running out of date? It was defined at a time when the Internet and its possibilities were in their infancy, and not many people had any idea of the society-changing potential the world wide web has.

One of those who emphasize the theory's limitations today was one of the major players in developing, enhancing and disseminating the framing theory: Dietram Scheufele. With his two co-authors, his critique comes down to two major problems: first, that the model is dysfunctional by now as it overlaps with other media effects models. Second, that the paradigms shift from mass communication towards echo chambers, and thus to tailored information and micro targeting in the new media environment (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016). They illustrate their criticism with the following figure, which demonstrates the rather weak effect of framing on the construction of reality:

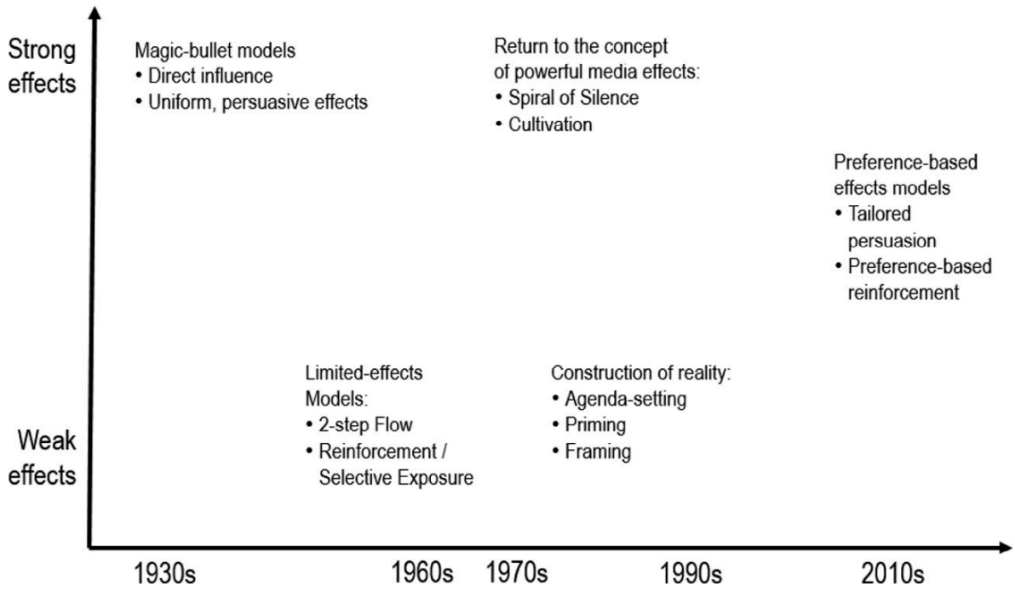


Fig. 3.4 A chronology of media effect paradigms from the 1930s to the 2010s according to Cacciatore et al. (2016, p. 17).

Their first argument is the fact that different authors use different interpretations of the term *framing*, scholars from different disciplines within the social sciences understand the term differently, and a lack of disambiguation with other, related theories in communication studies, e. g. agenda setting or priming. For the project at hand, the boundaries are clearly delimited: It is about media framing from a communication studies perspective. In addition, there are studies that refer to the duration of impact of media frames, saying that this impact may decline over time (Burkart, 2019, pp. 205-206). This happens for two reasons, of which both are not applicable: First, the appearance of competing frames with different topics – which is not the case as I don't look into how a new topic replaces the original topic. And second, framing seems to have less impact when individuals consume media on a topic they have an own strong opinion about – which is not the case as my focus lies on the impact of media on society as a whole, not the individual members of society.

The second argument by Scheufele is not applicable since the object of investigation are not *quaternary media* or *social media* (such as *Facebook, Twitter*, or *Instagram* posts; or comments on weblogs) where the audience can generate content as well, but secondary media: printed periodicals (newspaper and magazine articles) without the option for the audience to generate their own content.

To sum up this chapter: Individuals apply interpretive schemas or 'primary frames' in order to classify information and interpret it meaningfully, since they cannot fully understand the world and therefore constantly struggle to interpret their experiences made in life and to make sense of the world around them (Goffmann, 1974, cf. D. Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). As for the choice of framing theory to

explain the link between media, audience and public opinion with regard to polyamory, a single quote may suffice: "*Framing (…) is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterised in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences*." (D. Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11)

To say the same in my own words, and related to my research: The way media write about polyamory is how society perceives and talks about polyamory. What issues regarding polyamory thus enter the public discourse, and whether public opinion on them turns out to be positive, neutral or negative – this is what the empirical analysis will show.

## 5. Aspect one: Love- and life history

*"My first contact with the word 'polyamory' was about three years ago. My husband, actually my ex-husband told me then that he had fallen in love. So we talked about how it would be to open our relationship. We did. Well. In short, it did not turn out. We got divorced."*[68] This is the experience the interviewee *Edeltraud* has made on her way to her current polyamorous relationship setting – which it is only slightly different from how *Sybille* experienced her path to polyamory: "*And then the logical solution was: if we open it up, then it should be ok for both of us. As it was such a change of perspective for our relationship. So I thought ok, I don't stop loving one person just because I love another. He should make this experience as well. And this is how the whole thing started*."[69] What is different in the two stories of becoming acquainted with polyamory is the outcome: Sybille still is in a relationship with this person, she also is also in another relationship with a same-sex partner; Edeltraud's first approach to polyamory failed. These moments people had in their love and life history serve to introduce the first of the total of six theoretical chapters to come: The experiences people made to end up in polyamorous relationships.

I will start with the rather difficult task to define love, continue with the change of relationships since romanticism with a focus on the German speaking region, then I will turn towards the wider field of emotions and sexuality biography research, and close with the little knowledge we have regarding the love and life history of polyamorous people.

[68] "*Mein erster Kontakt mit dem Wort Polyamorie überhaupt, vielleicht muss ich da ein bisschen ausholen, (.) war (..) vor (.) drei Jahren mittlerweile. (I mhm) Wo (..) sich mein (.) damaliger / also mein Ex-Mann (..) mir offenbart hat, er hat sich verliebt. (..) und (.) es war so, dass (.) im Raum gestanden ist also die Beziehung zu öffnen. (.) Und (I ok) ja. (..) Kurzversion, es hat nicht funktioniert. Und es (.) ist zur Scheidung gekommen und ja*." (Int. 027, par. 18).

[69] "*Und dann war für mich der logische Schluss naja wenn wir es öffnen dann soll er auch / also sozusagen von weg von meinen Wünschen und Bedürfnissen, wollt ich halt gleichzeitig auch dass das für ihn auch gilt, weil das dann für mich gleich so ein / überhaupt ein Perspektivenwechsel auf Beziehungen war. Dass ich mir gedacht hab ok, (.) man hört ja nicht auf eine Person zu lieben nur wenn man auch noch jemand anderen liebt und (.) er soll auch mal seine Erfahrungen machen. (……..) ja. Und das / aus dem ganzen ist es dann sozusagen ins Rollen gekommen*." (Int. 011, par. 20).

## 5.1 Prelude: What is love?

What is love? In chapter 2 I bypassed this difficult definition by only referring to the neologism polyamory which consists of the Greek word *polys* and the Latin word *amor* for love (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, p. 7). So once again, what is love?

According to ancient Greek understanding it is a threesome of *Eros* (the physical love, the desire, the erotic), *Philia* (friendship), and Agape (higher love, divine love) in the thought of Plato and Aristoteles (Düsing, 2009); Socrates considers love as the desire to possess the good forever (Kreft, 2013, p. 119). In the new testament, it is (amongst others) Saint John who speaks of love between human beings by the permission of god: He states in his First Letter that the beloved should love each other, as love is of god, and everyone who loves originates with god and knows god (Johannes, 2008 4,7). More than a millennium later, and while from then onwards at least for Christians divine love remained as something more powerful than life itself (Clark, 2012, p. 45), the most famous minnesinger of all times *Walter von der Vogelweide*, who probably lived between 1190 and 1220, offered the following interpretation of love: "*(…) we observe how much the author emphasizes the value of a good marriage where husband and wife closely collaborate and express deep love for each other*." (Classen, 2014, p. 298) This courtly love is described as *valsche minne*, while the *waren minne* relates to the Christian love to god and brotherly love.[70] What makes this love (*minne*) not the real thing is that it is only physical desire (Bleck, 2014, pp. 141-142). Moving across to Britain a few centuries later, Shakespeare contrasted love and desire, with the former leaning towards moderation and truth, and the latter towards insatiability and lies – and also pointed towards the dark side of sexuality (Eder, 2018, p. 10). For Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, love is *the crown of life*. In his poem "restless love", written in 1776 at the height of the Storm and Stress movement, he compresses the unrest that goes along with love into three verses. Restlessness, cheerfulness and uniqueness determine his description of love from which he cannot escape (Schoeck & Goethe, 1994). Luhmann (1996, p. 163) also relates the insights of the 18th century and refers to love not as something passionate, but rather the demand of solidarity between marriage partners. Similarly lacking romance is the quote by Sieder (2010, p. 55), who argues love was an *invention* that happened around 1800 as the cultural core of Western modernity and its early capitalistic economic system.

[70] The verbatim translation of "*valsche minne*" would be "wrong love", whereas "*waren minne*" would literally translate as "real love", see Bleck (2014, p. 141).

What this invention is made of can be found with H. I. Schmidt (2013, p. 100), who states the definition of romantic love is something that includes uniqueness, individuality, choice, intimacy, mutual vulnerability, commonality, trust, and physicality – a paradigm that dominated research on love also in the 19th and 20th century. From the late 18th century onwards, the moral values of Christianity connected with the emergence of ideals of love (especially in Europe), the devotion to god in order to get to know him was also to be found in the mystical unity between woman and man. As a consequence, "*Romantic love introduced the idea of a narrative into an individual's life – a formula which radically extended the reflexivity of sublime love*." (Giddens, 1992, p. 39). This romantic love attachment developed to what Giddens (1992, p. 40) again narrows down as follows: "*Love breaks with sexuality while embracing it; 'virtue' begins to take on a new sense for both sexes, no longer meaning only innocence but qualities of character which pick out the other person as 'special'*."

For a current definition, the Oxford dictionary, which I have already quoted on occasion, defines love as "*An intense feeling of deep affection*", specified as "*a feeling of deep romantic or sexual attachment to someone*." (Lexico, 2021)[71] The historian and anthropologist Martin Gössl (2014, pp. 169-170) also provides a current assessment, stating that love has never been that differentiated and had to fulfil as many demands as today; on the other hand, love has never been so uniform, simplified, formed by similar parameters, and characterized by similar standards with regard to expectations. Nussbaum (1999) comes from a social justice perspective, and her approach to love is that it is an emotion such as grief, anger, and fear, which she describes as "*(…) they do not involve any form of cognitive interpretation of the world; they are just unthinking energies that push a person around*." (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 257) From a medical perspective, Earp and Savulescu (2018, p. 14) define love as *"(…) neurobiological underpinnings of human lust, attraction, and attachment, and how these systems relate to 'love' is going to depend on the specific theory of love one prefers*." To finish this kaleidoscope of definitions, Michael Bolton (1991) provides a rather simple and straightforward, but also often quoted definition: He declares love as a "wonderful thing". So which definition do we use now?

Bethmann (2013) takes an empirical path in order to measure love. Coming from social sciences, she uses the method of group discussion to gain knowledge, focusing on love in a social context. The theoretical framework of her book is based on – amongst other authors – publications of Eva Illouz. Illouz also approached the term from a sociological perspective in her bestselling and also academically comprehensively reviewed book *Why love hurts* (hence the subtitle: *A sociological explanation*), which starts with Plato's Symposium and his six types of love. She discusses love in various aspects, lengthily

[71] Further definitions of the word are about things, a form of addressing people, or the score of zero in some sports – since they don't relate to the emotion, they are not further quoted.

without providing the reader with a definition of the term. Only in the epilogue, she concludes on the second-last page how she understands love: "*Love is more than a cultural ideal, it is a social foundation for the self*." (Illouz, 2012b, p. 247) Since the thesis at hand comes from a sociological perspective, her definition serves as base for the understanding of the word *love* for this chapter as well as the related empirical chapters including the emotion of love, shifting the definition issue from me as author of the thesis to the affected: Love is what love means to the individual.

## 5.2 The wider world of changing relationships

This subchapter starts yet with another challenge: where to start the topic on a historical timeline. With the definition of love, I started in ancient Greece, but where to begin to describe the history of love and sexual relationships in all their dimensions? The subchapter does not deliver a full history of sexuality[72] or monogamy[73], it will start with the current Western understanding of a "traditional" relationship. "Traditional relationship" is understood as in that two people who love each other are intimate monogamously with each other, and can confirm their bond in front of the state by getting married; those who are members of a religion recognized in their country even have the option of a religious wedding.

The idea of such a relationship is a rather new one in relation to the history of humankind. As Giddens (1992, p. 38) puts it: "*In pre-modern Europe, most marriages were contracted, not on the basis of*

[72] For a comprehensive German language illustration of sexuality in Europe from the ancient times up to the early modern area, see for example Eder (2018) who traces sexuality from Greek and Roman antiquity via Judaism and the Middle ages all the way to the Protestant reformation far into the 17th century. For an English source that also focuses on Europe Clark (2012) also starts in ancient Greece and takes the reader all the way to the present. An exemplarily more biological than historical source on the history of human sexuality is written by Barash and Lipton (2002). More popular scientific (and a bestseller) is *Sex at dawn* by Ryan and Jetha (2011), that relates current sexual (nonmonogamous) behavior all the way back to prehistorical origins of humans. Due to its huge success it was also published in German language (Ryan & Jethá, 2016).

[73] For an approximate number of polygynous marriages in human societies before the idea of monogamous marriage spread over Europe, Henrich et al. (2012, p. 657) estimate 85% according to anthropological records. More precise numbers are available in two major studies (which would fit sexual behavior as well as monogamy alike), the Kinsey reports. For them, more than 5,300 male respondents (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948), and in the follow-up study roughly 6,000 female respondents were interviewed (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953). For sexual behavior contradicting monogamy from an evolutionary psychology perspective, Penke and Asendorpf (2008) looked into current mating tactics also with regard to love in a comprehensive empirical study. To close off the footnote on monogamy and to represent the status quo, Aguilar (2012, p. 107) provides an argument why the idea of monogamy still remains the dominant ideology for relationships in Western societies: "*Several factors sustain the ideology of monogamy, but two factors are particularly strong: its institutionalization in the form of marriage, and the construction of monogamy as natural component of human biology and evolution*."

*mutual sexual attraction, but economic circumstance.*" Before the 18th century, love semantics hardly came into the concept of marriage, if at all (Hettling, 2000, p. 32). Love may have been the consequence of a marriage, but not a precondition beforehand. It only became a central postulate of the bourgeois society by the end of the 18th century, so not even for all classes at the time;[74] large parts of the population were excluded from legal forms of marriage and thus from having a family life (Sieder, 2010, p. 58); as for the aristocracy, love was not a principle that could be used for family representation, and was therefore rejected (Luhmann, 1996, p. 163). The affective base for the change in this situation was the bourgeois ideal of a romantic understanding of love, which combined sexual and emotional exclusivity with a lifelong bond. Thus the couple norm became the exclusive space for intimacy that had to be shielded and defended from attacks from the outside. Marriage and the nuclear family became the norm, the heteronormative separation of the division of labour its base (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, p. 4). Highly intensive emotional bonds not only saw an upturn, they became standard (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1990, p. 132). The couple is the base of a relationship as it was before, but it is not (only) about reason and mental compliance, it is also the physical and erotic merging of partners. Romantic love is based on duration and exclusivity, one can only love one other person, and this love is mutual and exclusive (R. Peukert, 2012, p. 14).

The following simple diagram illustrates the understanding of relationship that developed as a consequence of the idealized norm, which is in its core still the norm today: A Western relationship contains three main aspects: the emotion of love towards one partner; intimacy (sex) as intimate practice with only one person; and marriage as the (possible) legal dimension. This principle has for example been described by Matthiesen (2007, p. 103), and can also be found earlier in the most famous German representative of *Systems Theory*: Luhmann (1996, p. 150) writes about the search for the new formula to combine love, sexuality and marriage for self-realization. Below is my interpretation of how to understand the three terms in brackets.

[74] For further reading on the sexual behaviors and desires of other classes at the time, please refer to Eder (2009), who dedicates one chapter on the desires of peasant culture, as well as one chapter to sexual desires of the working class.

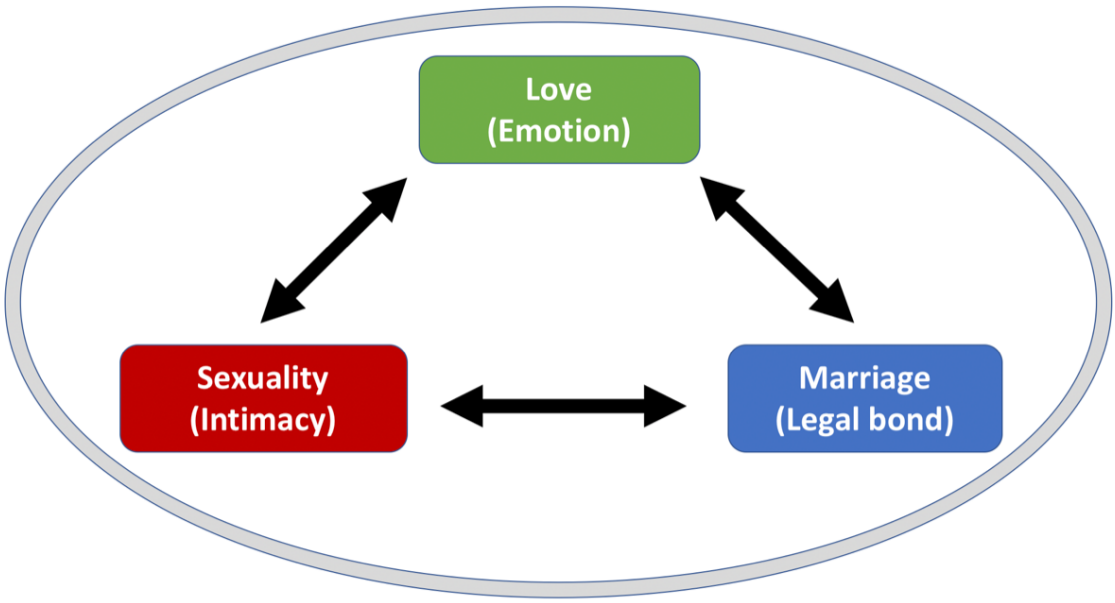


Fig. 5.1: The triangle of the understanding of relationship in Western countries since romanticism, figure by the author.

What unites all these authors is that they all refer to German-speaking countries when they write on Romanticism and Western countries. The US-based authors Mitchell, Bartholomew, and Cobb (2014) locate the beginning of the triangle of love, sex and marriage at the beginning of the 20th century. Their argument based on other authors is that the association of romantic love with marriage only happened in the 1920s. As a result, more emphasis on intimacy, sexual passion and companionship was placed on the legally attached partner, hence husband or wife; and as a consequence, neglecting affairs, flings, amours and there like. The developing cultural norm restricted the fulfilment that before may have been found outside the romantic relationships – in particular sexual needs. As a consequence, for about a century now, one person (i. e. romantic partner) has to fulfil "*(…) a variety of interpersonal needs that were previously met by a number of individuals*." (Mitchell et al., 2014, p. 330). Reinhard Sieder also refers to the 1920s, but changes the argument by moving the origin of the understanding of relationship from the bourgeoise to a working class perspective: He states that the myth of the Western Christian family came under pressure in the 1920s as the responsibilities of women did not only extend to private reproduction but also included the production of goods and services (Sieder, 2010, p. 48). Macdonald (1995, p. 18) does not include this argument but concludes in his article that monogamy as something socially imposed eventually reached all classes of society.

Along with these changes, the idea of family started to change. Gestrich (2013) uses the term *familyzation of society*[75] to express the quantitative rise of importance to the developing family

[75] In the German original: „*Familisierung der Gesellschaft*" (Gestrich, 2013, p. 3).

structures in the 19th and 20th century. He refers to the economic and social betterment of wage labour and the rise of the modern welfare state. For the first time in history, this allowed all grown-up individuals the de facto and legal possibility of marriage and family foundation (Gestrich, 2013, p. 3). As additional consequence, attempts to relatively strictly limit the size of families started to emerge, along with a separation of lust and reproduction within relationships (Giddens, 1993, p. 38).

Romantic love within relationships which are mostly lived privately has a key destiny from a cultural and civilizing perspective, and functions as a second world beside the semi-public and public life in the years after World War II. The intimate private marriage and family life then nurtures, regenerates, gives strength, creates human life, cancels out loneliness and alienation, and heals the physical and mental wounds WW2 has caused (Sieder, 2010, pp. 57-58). Never before in history – at least for Germany – had this form of family been as dominant as from the middle of the 1950s to the middle of the 1960s (R. Peukert, 2012, p. 11). Also rarely seen in history, a clearly defined gender distinction developed – normatively based and institutionalized. The nuclear family became the dominant life form, and thus the nuclear family became the normal family (Lück, 2009, p. 47). For Germany, this period between 1955 and 1965 that is considered the heyday of marriage and family with the defining family factors marriage, children living with their biological parents, and the major importance of love, emotionality and affective solidarity even has its own term: *the golden age of marriage* (R. Peukert, 2007, p. 36).[76] The "golden" part at the time did not shine equally bright for women and men: for the women in these families, the focus on the ideal of marriage and family also resulted in restricting them to children, kitchen and church (Gestrich, 2013, p. 3); and along with this clearly defined gender differentiation, marital sexual moral was also supposed to bring calm and stability after the turbulent war and post-war years (Eder, 2015a, pp. 26-27).

This calm ended rather abruptly in the mid-1960s. The first major revolution with regard to the understanding of the triangle of love, sexuality and marriage was not (yet) the *sexual revolution*, but the revolution of contraceptives, to be more precise the contraceptive pill.[77] It allowed to uncouple sexuality from reproduction, which meant that marriage lost its monopoly of legitimate sexuality (Gestrich, 2013, p. 3). Within the scope of the student's protests of the year 1968 that started in the United States and also reached European countries (to various extents), the liberalization of laws and social mores about sexuality – often paired with the demand for woman's equality – were also voiced

[76] Although the term originates from German language, and although the majority of publications on it is written in German and not English language, the English version is used over the German translation, which is "*Das goldene Zeitalter der Ehe*".

[77] For an overview on contraceptives during WW2 and the time thereafter until the contraceptive pill, see for example Eder (2015b, pp. 534-535).

and were subsumed in the phrase *sexual revolution* (Shield, 2017, p. 15).[78] Starting in the Scandinavian countries, family, offspring, and marriage laws were reformed, it became possible to dissolve a marriage. This allowed experiments with free love and communes (Sieder, 2010, p. 59); and relationship practices such as open marriages emerged (Baumgartner, 2019, p. 196). The appearance of sexual life in public, detached from reproduction, was what was new – while such practices had existed before, but had not been made public due to public moral standards and attitudes (Eder, 2015b, p. 535).

In addition to the new practices – whether it was an experiment against the lust-opposing regime of bourgeoise patriarchy and clerical institutions as Sieder (2010, p. 59) describes it; an erosion of normative obligations within traditional family structures in R. Peukert (2012, p. 12) interpretation; sexuality as something banal rather than an issue of prominence according to Sigusch (2001, p. 27); a general pluralization of forms of relationship and life as Sigusch (2005, p. 35) states in a later book; or for example representing feminist positions as a consequence of which women are fully recognized, included, and participant in political, social, and cultural life across Europe (Roseneil, Crowhurst, Hellesund, Santos, & Stoilova, 2020, p. 18) – there is also an important theoretical aspect: the criticism of the concept of monogamy (Baumgartner, 2019, p. 196).

At this point of challenging monogamy, the subchapter might diverge in a number of different directions: remnants and developments of the so-called sexual revolution;[79] the history and development of gay and lesbian rights following the Stonewall riots;[80] the cultural change in love and perversion (the *neosexual revolution*);[81] the change of family structures that even resulted in a new

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[78] While the term *sexual revolution* is how the events of the late 1960s are described and remembered in the collective memory of Western societies, from a sexual-historical perspective it was rather the culmination of a lengthy process than a swift and radical change of sexual conduct, as Eder (2015b) shows. He states: "*From the mid-1960s onwards, this process was widely discussed within Western societies, and within a few years has led to a liberalization of attitudes and sex-related norms. In a strictly historical context, one should perhaps refer to a sexual 'liberalization' rather than 'revolution'*." (Eder, 2015b, p. 535) Also Shield (2017, p. 15) does not refer to it as one sexual revolution; he points to a collection of small revolutions across North America and Western Europe.

[79] Benzinger, Beljan, Eder, and Eitler (2015) provide a comprehensive anthology covering a whole range of topics including sexuality education, pornography, homosexuality, feminist movement, HIV and AIDS, masturbation, and communication on orgasms.

[80] It is difficult to name only selected titles to illustrate this huge topic. A detailed and comprehensive example of the fight of recognition of same-sex relationships all the way to legal acceptance is provided by Rydström (2011), who describes the history of gay marriage in Scandinavia, presenting the individual developments in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

[81] The German sexologist and sociologist Volker Sigusch coined the term, he understands the *neosexual revolution* as a rather unspectacular but profound change of sexual moral and sexual conditions after the sexual revolution that started due to the protests of the year 1968. For a detailed description, see Sigusch (2005); or for a text in English, Sigusch (2001) where he argues that the outcome of this neosexual revolution may be described as '*self-sex*' and '*lean sexuality*'.

research field named *new kinship studies*;[82] the rise, developments and for the most part failing of communes;[83] coming out (of any form within the extended LGBTQ-acronym);[84] and/or finally the history of theoretical discourse on (consensual) non-monogamy since the so-called sexual revolution.

The first-mentioned aspects would be chapters themselves and are therefore only covered in further reading hints in the footnotes; the issue regarding consensual non-monogamy with polyamory being a special form of it has already been addressed in chapter 2 from the historical development onwards. The next subchapter moves from the rather big challenges of defining love and relationships to a smaller and more empirical topic: measuring experiences – or, to be more precise – presenting findings on the development and changes of love and life histories over a lifespan.

## 5.3 Emotions and sexuality biography research

What is biography research? The term *biography* comes from the two Greek words *bios* (meaning *life*) and *graphein* (meaning *writing* or *describing*). So the verbatim translation would be description of life; in an academic understanding it is used for the cultural practice of life experiences of individuals in their specific historical-social contexts. In detail this includes institutional rules, cultural patterns, the understanding of everyday-life, social and discursive practices, subjective reflections and cognitive constructions. All these different aspects construct and represent an individual life (Dausien, 2010, p. 362). For the subchapter at hand, it is not people's whole biography that is of interest; the focus lies on what we know of the experience of individuals according to their emotional love history as well as their sexual experiences that made them what they are.

[82] The edited book *Kinship trouble* by Nieradzik (2017b) provides an overview on how kinship relationships and kinship terminologies have changed over the last centuries, and how the understanding of kinship broadened from the nuclear family and extended family to a chosen family. It includes an article by me in which I link current societal notions of family and kinship to the media representation of polyamorous relationships (Ossmann, 2017).

[83] There is not a lot of academic literature on communes and sexuality with a focus on the target countries Austria, Germany and Switzerland. Arguably the best article that covers the sexual revolution, body politics, sexuality and communes in Germany is by Eitler (2007); the most famous Austrian commune was the 'Aktionsanalytische Organisation', also known as 'Friedrichshof commune' founded by the performance artist Otto Mühl – who received a 7-year jail sentence for child abuse and drug offences. A rare impression from the inside is presented by Michael Raab and Cornelia Schadler (2020) who interviewed a person who experienced the commune himself when he was a child growing up in it. Fleck (2003) provides a good overview of the history of this commune and also covers the many facets of sexuality and ideas of free love that finally resulted in totalitarian structures and sexual abuse.

[84] Coming out is a key element for identity building/identity construction in queer biographies. Woltersdorff (2005) provides an interesting collection of motives and strategies represented in literature, but also in photography, movies, television and the Internet – based on the stories of homosexual men and all the facets a coming-out can present.

The introduction of chapter 12 on the self-perception of polyamorous individuals refers to the methodological approaches and concepts of measuring sexuality and emotions; therefore, here I focus on what has been omitted there: the individual experiences of the interviewed and the according results. For a sneak preview, biography research usually allows the interviewee to become the protagonist, it is his/her story that determines the outcome. For this purpose, social scientists work with what has been said rather than what has not been said. We are no psychologists and therefore – unless we follow methodological approaches such as the *objective hermeneutic* which I will not do in the empirical chapters – we work with what is there. In consequence, the occurrences that determine a biography can only be analyzed if they have been narrated in an interview situation. A good example to illustrate this is the Kofler (2012) on the construction of identity by telling individual love stories. She points out that the participants of her study started at completely different points in life: From their birth via their first love in childhood or teenage years all the way to specific issues that determined their lives at some later stage.[85] These biographies then not only stand for themselves, they are not only individual or subjective, they have another meaning: they are also a social construct. This means that they also relate to collective rules, discourses, and the societal frameworks (Rosenthal, 2014, p. 511).

Moving from the wider aspect of biography research to what is relevant with regard to the topic of the chapter, it needs to be said that the key element *sexuality* is not something stable/continuous in its understanding. As Sigusch (2005, p. 27) claims, sexuality is not standardized or unchangeable. It is something composite and associated, and it is subject to constant cultural reevaluation, societal transcription and social transformation, which is why I will only refer to sources that were published in more or less the timeframe when the empirical part on the media analysis was implemented.

One of the most quoted study for the German speaking area was published by G. Schmidt, Matthiesen, Dekker, and Starke (2006). They collected data on the sexual and relationship biographies in Germany in three different age groups: 30, 45, and 60-year-old men and women. One of their key findings illustrates the (assumed change) of importance of sex in different stages of life: The outcome was that for all generations as well as for both sexes alike, sexuality is an act to create and/or express closeness, safety, affection and trust; sexual desires or impulses were of minor significance. A divide between the

[85] On a side note: people cannot remember their birth, and also early childhood memories are likely remembered differently than they happened in reality. For a compact overview on this matter, see for example Welzer (2011) who describes the development of the autobiographical memory from birth onwards. As for the difference between childhood and adult biographies and how we remember them, see for example Betts, Griffiths, Schütze, and Straus (2008, p. 18) who speak of a *primary identity* that is acquired in childhood and includes for example ethnicity or gender which are durable, and a *secondary identity* in adult life that includes aspects as for example becoming a parent.

needs of men compared with their female counterparts then was found with regard to the importance of sexuality and the actual sexual actions within the duration of a relationship: With the continuation of a relationship, men take initiative and accept responsibility for their sexual desires, while women tend to wish more closeness and tenderness (Schmidt et al., 2006).

In a spin-off of this dataset, Dekker and Matthiesen (2004) published findings on the emergence of unconventional partnership patterns. Their key result is that in the relationship biographies of the 30-year-olds, there is a massive shift from (predominately) early marriages towards *living-apart-together relationships* (LAT) and non-martial partnerships: seriality and fluctuation of relationships are on the rise, along with their consequence, the number of experienced separations. The most significant patterns from the two older age groups of the 45- and 60-year-olds show lower numbers of marriage in the middle age group; and throughout all three age groups, shorter relationships before marriage but then longer relationships after divorces (Dekker & Matthiesen, 2004, p. 52). Similar results on the matter of marriage in combination with offspring are presented by Peukert (2012), but not only for the three specific age groups just stated, but from the 1950s to the 2010s. The amount of non-married couples with children is constantly on the rise since the 1960s in what used to be the German Democratic Republic as well as in the Federal Republic of Germany. The absolute numbers differ; between 1970 and 2010, the number has risen from 13% to 61% in the former, and in the latter from 5% to 27%. And yet one more aspect is presented by the author, for which he even created a term: *the rush hour of life*. It stands for the changes of marriage and family as a profound reorganization of ones curriculum vitae: economic independence and autonomy, living away from the parents is to be expected later and later (Peukert, 2012, pp. 18-19, 321).

Another aspect in which biographical differences become visible is how and at what age individuals have met their partners. Empirical data on this was collected on behalf of the German coffee brand *Jacobs* (Jacobs, 2012) – conducted by the reputable *Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research* in representative numbers, so a bias of the contractor is unlikely. The findings show that on average, people in stable relationships have met their partner at the age of 28; relationships with partners from the neighborhood happened earlier at an average age of 26, while a meeting on the basis of shared interests happened at an average age of 30. On the question of the potential chance to meet a partner, differences between the age groups became visible. The scale was set in four 15-year-blocks from the age of 16 to 60+; a constant decline by rising age is pointed out in two aspects: potentially meeting a partner via friends or better-known people (from 75 to 72 to 68 to 58 percent in the according age classes), and social networks such as Facebook on the Internet (from 43 to 33 to 28 to 19 percent)

(Jacobs, 2012, pp. 8, 13). The latter is rather obviously due to the technical aspect; for the decline in numbers with regard to friends the study does not provide any reasons.

Moving from all age classes to the younger generation, the following data set tells us how the age of first sexual experiences has changed over three decades, with interesting characteristics regarding the gender of the interviewees: In 1980, 56% of the questioned females but only 38% of the questioned males at the age of 17 had already had sex;[86] in the year 2009 it was 66% of the women and 65% of the men of the same age, which means that while the age of first sexual activity only rose slightly for women, a third more of young men had sexual experience in 2009 than in 1980 (Peukert, 2012, p. 566). Going back even further in time, Matthiesen and Böhm (2013) start off with data from 1935, also collected in Germany. With the limitation that the questioned group was students and the age group was not 17 but 18, only between the years 1935 to 1947 the men had earlier experience than the women. Another interesting aspect is the rise in overall numbers for the same years: while in 1935, only 8% of women and 22% of men had already had sex, in the year 1950 it was 60% of women and 48% of men (Matthiesen & Böhm, 2013, p. 5).

The last study that needs to be mentioned is the still ongoing *pairfam* research project ("*Panel analysis of intimate relationships and family dynamics*"), which was started in 2008 by the *German Research Foundation* (DGF, 2021), a research project of five well-known universities. It is a multidisciplinary, longitudinal study carried out in Germany that researches partnership and family dynamics of three age groups on 12,400 people that were selected randomly. The results are made available, which results in output for a whole range of topic by scientists who base their research on their data: dozens of papers are published every year, most of them relating to all kinds of family issues. To exemplarily name one current study that covers aspects of relationship and sexual history, Kislev (2020) looks at sexual satisfaction of singles according to different aspects such as gender and legal status as in divorced or never been married. His results claim a higher sexual satisfaction for men and women alike when they are married and cohabiting; divorced single men being less satisfied with their sex life but more satisfied with their income with rising age; divorced single women are less sexually satisfied depending on the number of children they have – the more children the women gave birth to the lower the sexual satisfaction they reported. Furthermore, the more years of education the interviewees had, the lower the sexual satisfaction among never-married men and divorced women; and age seems to be less an issue with sexual satisfaction when the interviewees felt subjectively healthy – which applied to all individuals regardless of their gender or legal status (Kislev, 2020).

[86] The understanding of *first sexual activity* in this study is a male-female penis-vagina-penetration.

Together with other studies, these sources give an exemplary impression of biographies with regard to emotional and sexual development, continuities and disruptions of individuals during the last decades (with a focus on results collected in the German speaking region).[87] What the sources don't do is refer to the core question of this thesis: polyamorous experiences, or, to be more precise, individual and general preconditions and experiences that led to a poly life. The following and last subchapter will now present the few findings that already exist on this specific issue.

## 5.4 Polyamorous love and life history

For a sneak preview on the empirical chapters on the self-perception of people identifying as polyamorous, the sentence "*What happened in your life that we are now sitting here talking about the topic of polyamory?*" was how I started the interviews. The goal was to gain knowledge on the love and life history of German-speaking individuals based in and around Vienna, Austria, since there are few studies on this geographical region.[88] From an international perspective, this is the little we know:

Roseneil et al. (2020, p. 12) attribute a greater degree of reflection and awareness on normativity to poly people (as well as gays and lesbians) compared to heterosexual people, as their life courses challenge the traditional ideas of love and family – unfortunately this is a bit of a hen-and-egg situation, as we don't know whether a high degree of reflection has possibly led to a polyamorous life, or whether

[87] At this point the question appears if the love and sexual biographies of non-heteronormative individuals, to be more precise people who attach themselves to one of the letters of the LGBT acronym should separately be covered, as their biographies differ from heterosexual relationships due to their sexual orientation or identity (see also the following chapter 6 on the categorization issue as well as chapter 8 on legal acceptance), and polyamory is usually brought in context with the rainbow community. My reason not to do so is that polyamory is not as socially accepted as being lesbian, gay, bisexual or having a transsexual identity (see chapter 7), and that there is currently no legal option to legally ensure multiple relationships (again see chapter 8), so this topic is omitted. For further readings on queer biographies focusing on sexuality and emotions (in Germany), one can refer for example to Woltersdorff (2005) on male homosexuality, narrating the coming-out process; as for female homosexuality and the related biographies, the handbook *Women and Gender Studies* (original title in German language: *Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*) by Becker and Kortendiek (2010) delivers a handful of chapters from different perspectives on the matter. For many different aspects of bisexuality – including bisexual biographies – the edited book *Bisexuality in Europe. Sexual citizenship, romantic relationships, and Bi+ identities* by Maliepaard and Baumgartner (2020) does exactly what it tells on the cover: providing a comprehensive overview on bisexuality in Europe.

[88] There are a few master theses that focus on polyamory in Austria and include biographical data of interviewees (with smaller samples between 6 and 13 participants) (in alphabetical order): N. D. Berger (2018) on the construction of a polyamorous identity in the light of integrative therapy; Boehm (2012) on different practices of polyamory – which was actually published as book as well; Maikisch (2017) as well as Maly (2015) on the importance of fidelity in polyamorous relationships; Prasch (2017) on the acceptance of polyamory in society and its impact on the development of children; and Riedel (2014) on polyamory as alternative life plan. Two of those I will quote at a later stage as those findings do relate to some of my own findings in the empirical chapters.

due to the fact that individuals found themselves in a poly relationship, they started to reflect more. The findings of Sheff and Hammers (2011) present the same hen-and-egg situation: In their research project, their sample was predominately white, well-educated, and middle-class with a high number of professionals – which would allow the conclusion that a good education and a high socio-economic status is a kind of precondition for a poly relationship: So first high school and university, then a good job and a good social standing, and then a multiple relationship. Yet, this could be invalid as the authors themselves state in their limitations that the sample size of people of colour who participated is rather small (Sheff & Hammers, 2011, pp. 204-205). Similar sample ascriptions have been made by Aguilar (2012, p. 113), whose sample group also consists of mostly white middle-class participants.

The previous subchapter pointed out that age is a major, if not the major factor how interviewees relate to their sexual and love identities. The same applies for individuals with a polyamorous biography, although it might not be called such. Binnie and Klesse (2013) analyzed the debates on intersectionality within sexuality studies from a temporal and intergenerational perspective. Based on interviews of 35 queer activists in 5 different European countries, they conclude that it is not only the age that matters with regard to individual life courses, but it also influences the metaphorical language used (Binnie & Klesse, 2013, p. 593) – which means for the thesis at hand that what we might interpret as polyamorous relationship in the individual histories of older people will not be called polyamory in biographical records as the wording was not known at the time the data was collected.

It is called polyamory in the studies of Aguilar (2012), who for her research project lived with two communal groups the members of which were encouraged (but not forced) to participate in polyamorous practices. Not all individuals she interviewed had joined the community for polyamory, but after a certain time of staying there, people did find themselves in multiple relationships. In detail: a large majority of those who stayed there for less than six months, especially women, expressed their disinterest in open relationships or similar relationship forms. The attitude of those who stayed 12 month or longer was completely different: most of them supported polyamory then, arguing that the idea of monogamy was so deeply entrenched in society that it takes some time to give up its idealization (Aguilar, 2012, p. 114). The conclusion we can draw is that polyamory develops over time; yet the rather small sample size of 16 participants along with the communal living setting does not really allow for representative conclusions.

Also based on empirical data but on larger numbers (577 completed questionnaires) is the publication by Rust (2003). In her conclusion, she states that "*(…) polyamorous relationships tend to be based on less all-encompassing forms of relating, in which individuals only partially fulfill their partner's needs*."

She described these needs citing different types of partners who fulfil what is not fulfilled, such as *nonsexual lovers, sexual friendships, cuddle bunnies* or *circle of friends* (Rust, 2003, pp. 484, 484-485); however, she does not refer to the biographies. This still allows us to conclude that the way to polyamory started at a point where one partner could not or would not fulfil all the needs of the counterpart in a relationship, which then led to a poly way of living.

Less influence on a polyamorous biography than its consequence is the issue of children for the ones who find (or get) themselves in such a situation. Aviram (2008, p. 280) refers to legal workarounds that the affected apply, quoting that such an approach was also used by lesbian and gay parents: "*(…) in the era before civil unions, same-sex couples, just like today's polyamorous families, use similar private-law arrangements to mimic marital situations*." Also focusing on polyamory and children is Sheff (2015a) book. She scratches the issue of how polyamorous relationship happen and develop, but then focusses more on daily routines that come into place, grow and change once children are involved, so no representative data is to be gained from this example.

Whiterspoon (2018) also does not directly cover the experiences leading to a polyamorous life, he looks into polyamorous resilience and strength factors – which basically represents his major findings: that societal stigma can lead to psychological stress, leading all the way to negative effects on the mental health of those affected, it can also lead to what the author calls *polyamorous resilience*, boosting happiness that leads to positive effects for the mental health of the interviewees (Whiterspoon, 2018, pp. 67-71). For this chapter at hand, it would be rewarding to execute a longitudinal study with the participants to see how the patterns of stress and resilience change over time, and how this influence polyamorous biographies in the long run. A similar situation applies to Vaughan, Jones, Taylor, and Roush (2019). They study healthcare experiences of people practicing CNM, amongst them a reasonable number of polyamorous individuals. Their conclusion is that those affected suffer from the sexual stigma and the mononormative structures brought against them in health care institutions such as hospitals (Vaughan et al., 2019, p. 48). Also here, a longitudinal study on possible institutional changes and the assumed effects on biographies would be rewarding.

And even the polyamorous community in Austria was subject of research: Boehm (2012) looked for processes of constructing a polyamorous identity and the according positioning and differentiation. One of her bycatches with regard to the polyamorous biographies of her participants is that the majority of them ended up in polyamorous relationships by opening existing (monogamous) relationships sexually – leading also to emotional bonds at later stages of those initially only sexual adventures (Boehm, 2012, p. 80). Berger (2018) also conducted her research on an Austrian sample;

the limitation is that it is a master thesis that was not published as a book or in a relevant journal. What she concludes is that most of her participants grew up with the values of romantic love, which is what they also seek in polyamorous relationships. Starting a poly relationship does not happen due to a shortage of desire or emotion, but the urge to share desire and/or with more than one person (Berger, 2018, p. 68).

The last publication to be mentioned is based on the empirical data of the thesis at hand, analyzed for polyamorous love and life histories (Ossmann, 2020). I looked at the individual biographies of the largest polycule I interviewed, which consisted of 6 people who had agreed to an interview. The goal of the chapter – which was published in the edited volume *Polyfantastic? Non-monogamy as empirical practice* (Michel Raab & Cornelia Schadler, 2020) – was to highlight two aspects: Finding (assumed) similarities in the way how the affected turned towards polyamory; and to see whether the affected individually perceive their relationships from their own perspective similarly to how the other people involved experience them.

I was able to identify two similarities: the age difference was 8 years between the youngest and the oldest person, which means they are all in roughly the same age group, ranging from 34 to 41;[89] and all of them came from long-term (multi-annual) monogamous relationships. No similarities were to be found with regards to their path into polyamory (except one couple who are married), their causes range from more sexuality, the need for more freedom; dissatisfaction with monogamy; giving in to the demand of the partner; practiced fetish; to falling in love with someone else. As for the individual perception, the bonds within the polycule were described in a similar way: the married couple both saw their marriage as core of the surrounding polycule; the ones who seem to connect best on a sexual level described exactly this; friendships that occasionally led to intimacies were perceived as friendships above all else. Due to these different structures, the dynamics and hierarchies varied, too – which seemed to be ok for all members of the polycule, the rather clear and transparent setting of who fulfils which role seemed to prevent jealousy but created a something larger that apparently made everyone happy (Ossmann 2020, pp. 73, 82). A limitation of the findings is that it only exemplarily illustrates one specific polycule, and a different polycule is likely to deliver completely different results. However, it is a starting point for an empirical setting with a larger sample, and it also provides a glimpse of the results of the thesis to come: there is no such thing as *the one polyamorous relationship* – they are all individual, unique and special.

[89] Further demographic facts on this polycule that did not make it in the book are that five out of the six people have an academic degree; and that their income varied from close to breadline all the way to financial high flyers.

What is to take as summary from this chapter? Love is hard to grasp. It is fluid, it is hard to define and measure. Those who do attempt to do so (from a scientific perspective) come from their academic discipline, with the according logic and methods. For the individual who is concerned with love – and this is hard to avoid – it is something that each individual perceives differently. Relationships on the other hand are more tangible, as they can be determined by aspects such as duration, legal status and/or offspring. And relationships are subject to constant transitions, reflected in legal changes, societal perception and individual experience. Since the so-called sexual revolution, facets of different relationships that have always existed (if often in secret) came back to the surface and led to a massive diversification. Individual love and sexual experience not only shape sexual and emotional biographies, they influence life as a whole. Turning from these more general aspects to the focus group of poly individuals, they do not come with the same patterns. Every person is different, and so is every polyamorous relationship.

## 6. Aspect two: How to classify polyamory?

"*I never asked myself that question how a society defines polyamory. I have heard from many that there is a difference between an open relationship and a polyamorous relationship, and many mix that up. For me, an open relationship means I have a sexual relationship with someone else, where only the physical intimacy counts, without emotions. Polyamory is different, there is an emotional bond*."[90] This statement of the Interview partner *Sorona* is a brilliant introduction to the following chapter on the challenge of classifying polyamory. It lays the theoretical bases of an aspect that will be covered in the empirical part of the thesis: The suspected belonging or affiliation of poly people to an (extended) LGBT-acronym and the according communities. It starts out with an explanation why such a classification matters at all, and continues with an overview of how a human rights organization (fails to) deal(s) with the term. The following three sub-chapters then are dedicated to the academic approaches of definitions and categorizations along the timeline. The chapter ends with my personal definition of polyamory, which also represents the understanding of the word for the thesis at hand.

### 6.1 Why does it matter?

Why is it of importance what polyamory is and how this category is defined? Could it not be left to the individual person how he, she or they identify? Do we need such an attribution at all, no matter whether it is proposed by affected people, the communities around them, or the outside world?

It does matter when it comes to legal terms. According to the *Human Rights Council* of the United Nations General Assembly individuals have the right to protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.[91] This resolution does not go into the details of what sexual orientation or gender identity means. The Yogyakarta Principles (full name: Principles on the application of international human rights law in relation to sexual orientation and gender identity)[92] published in 2007 lays the bases for this resolution. The preamble of the document provides a

[90] "*Ich hab mir die Frage nie wirklich gestellt, wie die Gesellschaft Poly sein definiert, also ich hab auch schon von mehreren gehört, es gibt einen Unterschied, ob a offene Beziehung oder a Polybeziehung und viele verwechseln des aber, oder vermischen es. Also für mich heißt, / a offene Beziehung heißt einfach ich hab mit jemand anderen a sexuelle Beziehung, ja? Wo es aber wirklich rein nur um das Körperliche geht, da sind die Emotionen eigentlich außen vor. Und beim Poly ist es etwas, das aber a emotionale Bindung ist.*" (Int. 020, par. 30).

[91] This is granted for example by the resolution of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations General Assembly that was adopted on June 30, 2016, see United Nations (2016).

[92] The document was named after the Indonesian city of Yogyakarta where it was signed in 2007.

definition of how the terms sexual orientation and identity are understood. Sexual orientation refers to "*(…) each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender."* Gender identity refers to " (…) *each person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body (which may involve, if freely chosen, modification of bodily appearance or function by medical, surgical or other means) and other expressions of gender, including dress, speech and mannerisms.*" (International Commission of Jurists, 2007, p. 6) In June 2017 a mandate was established by the *Human Rights Council*, along with additional principles and state obligations; the definition, however, was left unchanged. These definitions were then adopted by other national and international institutions. The European Union, in this case represented by the *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)*, for example, in its major report on a survey on LGBTI equality in the European Union, Serbia and North Macedonia with a total of 140,000 participants conducted in 2019, refers to the same definition (FRA, 2020, p. 9).

This is where the problems begin. As long as there is no definition and classification of polyamory by national or international organizations, poly people – unless they identify as polyamorous and as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transsexual – do not count as discriminated.[93] To complete the bigger picture, this also applies to people who identify as queer[94]; intersex people[95] were only briefly mentioned in the 2007 Yogyakarta principles. In European organizations, the situation is somewhat different, as the previously quoted *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights* for example did include a section on intersex people in their 2015 report (FRA, 2015).

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[93] A brilliant piece of work from a legal perspective on this issue was written by Tweedy (2011). She examines the theoretical options of polyamory regarding the current statutory definitions of sexual orientation. The core idea of her publication is that polyamorists face discrimination, in particular employment discrimination. Because of the differences in global legal systems, her article only focuses the United States; however, demonstrating the issue of discrimination against poly people is one important, if not the most important approach for legal recognition, and this applies to the relevant legal systems worldwide.

[94] Other than with for example gay or lesbian, there are various definitions of the term *queer*. To provide one example of how *queer* can be understood, ILGA-Europe (which describes itself as an independent, international non-governmental umbrella organization that brings together more than 600 organizations from 54 countries in Europe and Central Asia that advocate for everyone regardless of their actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression and sexual characteristics) defines queer as follows: "*Previously used as a derogatory term to refer to LGBTI individuals in the English language, queer has been reclaimed by people who identify beyond traditional gender categories and heteronormative social norms. However, depending on the context, some people may still find it offensive. Also refers to queer theory, an academic field that challenges heteronormative social norms concerning gender and sexuality."* (ILGA_Europe, 2020)

[95] Intersex is described as "*non-binary gender identity*", which "*does not fit the typical definitions of male or female*" (United Nations, 2019).

## 6.2 A bit on the side: An issue for human rights organizations?

When supranational political institutions such as the United Nations that issue declarations on human rights do not provide any definitions; and when the World Health Organization – which is arguably the most recognized institution when it comes to medical categorizations – does not provide a definition either,[96] how about "watchdog" organizations that claim to defend human rights? The biggest and arguably most important NGO that claims to stand up for human rights is Amnesty International, the following sub-chapter shows how Amnesty does, or, to anticipate, does not define polyamory.

I will start out with the three local branches of the target countries Austria, Germany and Switzerland. The branch of the focus country Austria does have a queer sub-domain, in their introductory statement the organization claims to stand up for human rights for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual and intersex people – polyamory is not explicitly named (Queeramnesty, 2020c). The imprint of the German queer Amnesty branch refers to the cooperation with the *Amnesty international Swiss section LGBT group queer Amnesty*, and *Amnesty International Austria Queeramnesty*. Its subpage on queer human rights and sexual identity presents the history of the interest group within the mother organization: It was founded in 1995 under the name *Action Group Homosexuality* and renamed itself MERSI in 2000 – the German acronym stands for *Human Rights and Sexual Identity*. The next renaming happened in 2011, when the term *Queeramnesty* was adopted for the groups that exclusively work on – according to their own use of the acronym – LGBTI issues. Going into detail, the protection of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons, as well as the support of people who are prosecuted due to their sexual identity, is explicitly stated. Neither the word *inter*, nor the term *polyamory* appear on the website. (Queeramnesty, 2020b) Similar to the Austrian group, the Swiss group does use the term *inter*: Their website demands worldwide human rights *for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual* and *intersexual* people (Queeramnesty, 2020a); yet once again, polyamory fails to be mentioned.

Moving from here to the mother organization Amnesty International, a more distinctive definition is provided. LGBTI rights – or, to be more precise, discrimination against people who are *lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual* or *intersexual* – refers to incidents due to "*sexual orientation (who you are attracted to); gender identity (how you define yourself, irrespective of your biological sex); gender expression (how you express your gender through your clothing, hair or make-up); or sex characteristics (for example, your genitals, chromosomes, reproductive organs, or hormone levels*)" (Amnesty, 2020). And again, the term polyamory does not appear. As a consequence, many smaller NGOs that provide

[96] For more details on international organizations please see chapter 2.

legal advice on discrimination, which in their statements usually refer to those of the big players in the field, have no definition to adopt and work with (or modify to their liking).

This missing representation of the term polyamory by an exemplary NGO leads to the following rather simple, but for the matter major consequence: In the year 2020, the classification of polyamory is still left to academia. So, let me show in the following sub-chapters how research approaches the matter.

## 6.3 Addressing the matter in 2014: Intimate practice, identity or sexual orientation?

As illustrated in chapter 2 on the origins, it was not until the 1990s that the word appeared on a somewhat wider scale in academia, activism, and societal discourses. Since then a number of definitions have circulated, focusing on different aspects. Especially for the community, the importance of sexuality versus the emotional involvement and commitment was (and still is) a subject of intense discussion.[97]

While this direction seems to be of major importance to the self-perception of active poly people,[98] the academic discourse on the definition and categorization has implications for legal recognition, as shown in the previous subchapter. This aspect has been taken up by a few publications. These papers follow the argument that polyamory should be categorized as they suggest.[99]

The first paper that is dedicated to different approaches is titled accordingly: *"Polyamory: Intimate practice, identity or sexual orientation?*"; it was published by the sociologist Christian Klesse in 2014 in *Sexualities*, arguably one of the most important, if not the most important journal on sexuality research. The title promises a classification of polyamory either as *intimate practice*, *identity,* or *sexual orientation*; it also introduces additional aspects of *relationship practice*, *philosophy*, *theory*, and *lovestyle/relationship* orientation. (Klesse, 2014b, pp. 81-82) The argument is based on a post-

[97] See for example chapter 14 where selected quotes of the interviewees refer to the topic – what surfaces there is the continuation of the discussion in German-speaking as well as international blog threads, Facebook discussions and so on.

[98] For further reading on this matter see the paper by Kean (2018), in which she illustrates the incoherent definitions of polyamory in activist's blogs, along with overlaps and misinterpretations with regard to the term swinging. She aims to reveal the political stakes of the definition debates, and the fact that both swinging and polyamory base their conception of relationships on mononormative assumptions of sex, love and friendship.

[99] A relevant example can be found in "*Transitions in polyamorous identity and intercultural communication: An application of identity management theory*" by Table, Sandoval, and Weger (2017). Although the paper has the term *identity* in its title, it basically proposes the argument that polyamory should be considered as relationship orientation.

structural view of the issue, arguing that essentialist identity narratives on polyamory as sexual orientation fall short. Klesse focusses on the attribution of polyamory as a sexual orientation. Not much is to be found on the matter of polyamory as intimate practice: in its only mention, it is understood as a highly specific subset of the broader world of lived non-monogamy.[100]

Klesse furthermore discusses the identity narrative, for the reason that it strongly resembles – but still differs from – sexual orientation discourses. *Identity* is described as reference for identification; examples are drawn from gay and lesbian formations from the late 1970s. In the publication, the elements *identity confusion*, *identity comparison, identity tolerance, identity acceptance, identity pride, identity,* and *identity synthesis* are expressed as key to a gay and lesbian identity. (Cass, 1979; in Klesse, 2014, p. 90) And yet another aspect is brought up: the polyamorous identities model has an affinity with sexual orientation models. The author describes it as strategic pairing of the two aspects, illustrated by the fictitious example of the self-attribution of bisexual and poly (Klesse, 2014b, p. 90). In the empiric chapters of this thesis this correlation is also represented, as 16 of 33 interview partners claim to be hetero, the other 17 identified as either bisexual, queer, pan-sexual, bi-open, hetero-flexible, BDSM, or other.[101]

Back to the sexual orientation model, this is where Klesse relates the advantages and pitfalls of such a classification, with the latter dominating the conclusion. According to him, sexual orientation models could be applied to polyamory as well, since *(…) sexual orientation can be evoked to police people's desires and sexual behaviors and to reinforce rigid boundaries around identities and communities,"* but he finally stresses the danger of undermining alliances across different non-monogamous identities and other forms of oppression, which could lead to reinforce reductionist and exclusive identity-political currents. (Klesse, 2014b, p. 95)

Although Klesse's article was intensely discussed,[102] no other researcher continued or expanded his approach: In their content analysis of peer-reviewed journal articles that covered consensual non-monogamy, Brewster et al. (2017) covered 116 articles of which 74 contained non-empirical, and 42 empirical studies. Their structure also allows an explicit focus on polyamory, as the term is one of the topics they addressed explicitly. *Polyamory* was split up into seven subdomains (*nomenclature of poly relationships, habitation style, communal living, relationship politics, within group politics, group*

[100] Interestingly the author forgoes the attribution "*consensual*", see: Klesse (2014b, p. 93)

[101] Two additional notes for clarification: It is not a mistake that lesbian or gay is not mentioned here, none of the participants identified as such – this is due to the specific sample and does not represent the overall population of poly people. Second, queer, bi-open, hetero-flexible and BDSM are no legally recognized sexual orientations. For details see chapter 14.0 on the demographic data of the participants.

[102] More than a dozen other articles and PhD thesis referred to his article.

*culture*, and *other*), with the first-mentioned being an important issue by numbers: five empirical (11,9%) and 21 non-empirical (28,4%) papers contained the nomenclature of polyamorous relationships (Brewster et al., 2017, p. 40). Even though there were different definitions of the term polyamory, none of the subsequent studies attempted to propose a new one. It was Klesse himself who expanded his own categorization in 2017, as the following subchapter will show.

## 6.4 State of the art in 2017: Seven interpretations of how polyamory was understood then

I will now present seven different ideas of how to identify polyamory after that trailblazing paper of 2014. The core of the definition can be found in the keynote speech of Klesse at the 2nd *Non-Monogamies and Temporary Intimacies* conference held in Vienna in autumn 2017. He distinguished seven different perspectives. I have added up-to-date authors and quotes to this classification; in addition, I have also detached some definitions that Klesse assigned to one of the seven ascriptions for a stand-alone representation in the next sub-chapter. Two limitations apply: First, the categorization of the societal phenomenon we are looking at are blurry, there is no absolute right or wrong. And second, similar to the chart of non-monogamy by Franklin Veaux in chapter 2, this list does not claim to be the final finding. It is a status quo that may already be superseded when the thesis is published.[103]

### • Polyamory as a practice

The first academic peer-reviewed paper that contains a definition of polyamory dates back to the last century and emphasizes the intimate practice. Munson and Stelboum (1999, p. 1) state that "*While loving several people simultaneously is the reality of most people's life, the term polyamory usually implies sexual involvement with more than one person*." This quote is from a lesbian polyamory reader. Other authors that would also fit this attribution are for example Deri (2015, p. 134) (*"(…) a marginal sexual practice subject to formal and informal regulations."*); Wolkomir (2019, p. 85) ("*Put simply, polyamory is the practice of engaging in open, honest, sexual, and loving intimate relationships with more than one person*."); a form of sexual expression (Mollen, Burnes, Lee, & Abbott, 2020); or Pain (2019, p. 107): "*Polyamory is a relationship practice that is open to involving simultaneous relationships with multiple partners*." Already with this first category, minor differences in defining the phenomenon become apparent: Munson et al and Deri focus on the sexual aspect, Wolkomir and Pain more on doing relationship(s) as physical intimate practice. A further distinction is that the last-named author relates to the option of multiple partners ("*that is open to*"), Munson et al use the term "*usually*" to indicate

[103] This subchapter is the extended version of a section of an already published article on polyamory in the *Handbook of Global Sexualities,* published in May 2020, the relevant chapter is *Polyamory: Introducing the new kid on the block*. (Ossmann, 2020)

that more partner can but need not exist, and for Wolkomir it is what it is by virtue of being what it is at the moment.

An academic source accessible without having access to university databases also refers to this definition. The Oxford English Dictionary, in its free web version currently a collaboration of *Dictionary.com* and the *Oxford University Press*, describes the meaning of polyamory as follows: *"The practice of engaging in multiple sexual relationships with the consent of all people involved"* (Dictionary, 2020). This definition continues the original definition – the word only entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 2006 (M. Barker & Langdridge, 2010, p. 749), and according to Klesse's presentation, a similar definition was used at the time ("*The custom of practice of engaging in multiple sexual relations with the knowledge and consent of all partners concerned*").

### • Polyamory as a relationship model

The second attribution focusses on the relationship, to be more precise, to polyamory as a *relationship model.* Sheff and Hammers (2011, p. 199) apply it to people who "*(…) engage in openly conducted, multiple partner, romantic and/or sexual relationships.*" In her latest publication, Sheff (2020, p. 882) maintains this attribution, but moves from engagement to negotiation: "*Polyamory is a form of consensual non-monogamy (CNM), a category of relationships in which the participants negotiate multiple sexual and/or romantic partners*." A similar definition is provided by one of the few German sources: Schroedter and Vetter (2010, p. 26) describe polyamory as a relationship model that allows sexual and/or emotional relationships with more than one partner at the same time.[104] An interesting detail in the latter quote is that it contains an *and/or* option, which means that according to the authors, it doesn't necessarily include a sexual and emotional involvement. Conley et al. (2017, p. 206) simply refer to the *or*; they define polyamory as a CNM relational arrangement "*in which people are free to maintain multiple loving or committed relationships*."

Grunt-Mejer and Campbell (2016) see the issue in a wider context: they examined social norms that are violated by different forms of consensual as well as one form of non-consensual nonmonogamy and the resulting negative judgements based on samples in the United Kingdom and Poland. They created a questionnaire with five vignettes presenting fictional couples that represented five different forms of *relationship styles*: *Monogamy, polyamory, open relationship, swinging*, and *cheating*. The polyamory relationship style is defined as follows: "*From the very beginning they declared an interest in other, parallel relationships. Both he and she have their secondary partners, with whom they have*

[104] In the original German, the definition reads as follows: „*Polyamorie ist ein Beziehungskonzept, das es ermöglicht, sexuelle und/oder Liebesbeziehungen mit mehreren Partner_Innen gleichzeitig einzugehen.*"

*romantic and sexual relationships. They meet together in a group quite often*." (Grunt-Mejer & Campbell, 2016, p. 48) Two aspects differ from the previous definitions: Here the sexual as well as romantic aspect is involved; and the definition focuses on a heterosexual couple – a precondition lacking in the other definitions.

### • Polyamory as a lovestyle/relationship orientation

The third attribution also contains the word *relationship*, but concentrates on the emotional part. Anapol (2010, p. 1) for example follows this idea by stating that polyamorous relationships "*arise from an understanding that love cannot be forced to flow or be prevented from flowing in any particular direction*", it can grow in a number of people if allowed to expand. Finkel et al. (2014, p. 31) see a relationship in which "*spouses consent to the possibility that one or both of them will have a loving, bonded relationship which such an individual*". Ben‐Ze'ev and Brunning (2018, p. 108) write simply and concisely of "*(…) active sites of emotional profundity (…)*", going hand in hand with emotional complexity that emerges due to the corresponding personal and social structures within polyamorous relationships. Lehmiller (2020, p. 2) fits this category by distinguishing it from other forms of consensual non-monogamy: He refers to several simultaneous love-based relationships.

Barker references the call for papers for a special issue on polyamory in *Sexualities*, where the term polyamory – or the simple short form poly – is *"(…) used to describe a 'relationship orientation that assumes that it is possible (and acceptable) to love many people and to maintain multiple intimate and sexual relationships'*." Now this definition would also fit an attribution to the intimate/sexual category, but she goes into more detail: because polyamory is such a new matter, the definitions in literature vary. Barker then decides to go with popular books and websites, concluding that *"(…) most definitions of the term include the notion that it is possible to maintain multiple love relationships and desirable to be open and honest with these*" (M. Barker, 2005, pp. 75, 76). In one of the most up-to-date monographies on polyamory, Schippers (2020, pp. 127-128) also refers to the term *love style*, in combination with the *family*. Her conclusion is that polyamory as a lovestyle solidifies the definition of the family: the roles and expectations of the members – similar to heteronormative families – are defined, the main difference is that poly does not address two, but more adults.[105]

References to polyamory as a lovestyle/relationship orientation can frequently be found in the introductions to popular books and advice literature, but less in empirical studies in scientific journals: They often fall short in the exploration of the importance of the emotion of love within polyamorous

[105] However, this is only one of her two conclusions; the other will be presented in the following subchapter.

relationships – an issue that I was already able to exemplify in a sample of the media representation (Stefan F. Ossmann, 2019), as well as in a sample of my empiric data from interviews within affected people (Stefan F. Ossmann, 2020). For more detail regarding the meaning of emotions within multiple relationships, please refer to the empirical part of this thesis.

### • Polyamory as a relationship philosophy

While the previous categorizations and definitions fall under the umbrella term *love*, the attribution of a relationship philosophy seems easier – at first sight. When we follow a determinist approach we can find it for example in Jordan, Grogan, Muruthi, and Bermúdez (2017, p. 3): *"(…) polyamory is used to describe a relationship philosophy founded on the belief that it is possible, meaningful and legitimate to have multiple, concurrent, significant relationships*."

In his 2017 keynote lecture, Klesse refers to a definition of polyamory as a relationship philosophy: "*The assumption that it is possible, valid and worthwhile to maintain (usually long-term) intimate, sexual, and/or loving relationships with more than one person*." (Haritaworn et al., 2006, p. 515).[106] The focus here lies in the first part of the definition, it stresses the option rather than an existing situation. Following this approach, Rubinsky (2018a, p. 1441) would also fit this category with his definition of *"the ability or desire to engage in multiple intimate relationships at the same time*". Also Manley, Diamond, and Van Anders (2015, p. 168) fall into it with their understanding of polyamory: "*The desire for or state of having multiple loving relationships*." Here the desire takes the upper hand over the love aspect, and a detail differentiates this definition from the others: One does not have to be in a multiple relationship, the simple desire for it is enough to be polyamorous.

### • Polyamory as a (contested) discourse

In definitions of polyamory the attribution as a *discourse* is often found with regard to the political and societal dimensions, and increases in wider discussions on consensual non-monogamy (and the position of polyamory in this context). Moultrie for example relates her understanding of polyamory to a case study of sexual politics in black churches from a churchwoman's view. According to her, the link between sexual pleasure and monogamy can be deconstructed; and polyamory can be understood as a black "*womanist articulation of erotic rationality that rejects coerced monogamy*" (Moultrie, 2018, p. 231). Domínguez, Pujol, Motzkau, and Popper (2017) also follow the idea of polyamory as a discourse: They built their paper around the norm, to be more precise the normative cultural frameworks in romantic and intimate relationships.

[106] Here, Klesse is also co-author of the publication, pursuing his publication of 2014.

Klesse (2006b, p. 566) himself describes polyamory as a discourse that "*blurs the boundaries between the sexual and the non-sexual and partnership and friendship.*"; in his presentation at the NMCI he also refers to his book *The spectre of promiscuity* (Klesse, 2007) for the same understanding. This can be seen as example how the receiver and not the sender determines the meaning of a message: Prestage (2012, p. 720) wrote a review of this publication, and analyzed that *"(…) polyamory can be described as intimate or loving relationships in which there are more than two (usually three) partners*." – a definition that would fit other attributions better than the discursive one.

- **Polyamory as a (socio-sexual) identity**

This is arguably the broadest and also the most common attribution, with a wide range of interpretations and meanings – and again, not all definitions include the word *identity* as such.[107] A typical example can be found in Robinson. She titles her article *Polyamory and monogamy as strategic identities*, arguing that polyamory (as well as monogamy) should not be viewed as an immutable orientation. Her suggestion is to see polyamory as well as monogamy as "*strategies of sexual expression*". (Robinson, 2013, p. 21) She wants women to negotiate and manage their visibility as bisexual individuals, not in relation to heterosexual or male people. This strategic aspect is also evident in the definition of Table et al. (2017, p. 277), who understands polyamorous identity as a management tactic *"(…) to navigate a society in which monogamy and monosexuality are the norm.*"

Some definitions assume love and sexuality, for others only one of the two aspects is required – a view also taken by Rubinsky (2018b, p. 2). Yet her understanding of polyamory focusses on the shaping of identity: "*Polyamory refers to a consensually nonmonogamous identity characterized by allowance for or exploration of multiple romantic and/or sexual partners.*" Benson (2017, p. 25) argues in the same vein, and describes two functions of a polyamorous identity label: "*(…) a claimed identity by individuals and communities and a description of certain kinds of intimate relationships.*" She also refers to the instability of group identity and membership for poly individuals, as well as the opportunities and challenges of language; the latter applying to heteronormative monogamy language and polyamorous language alike.

[107] The discourse on *identity* could fill a whole chapter if not a thesis for itself – for in-depth reading on identity and consensual non-monogamy see Stephens and Emmers-Sommer (2020). They refer to identity as a set of meanings that defines an individual by its roles, social categories and groups, and unique individual characteristics.

Finally, the publication of Cascais and Cardoso (2012) on *polyamorous love, gender and identity* illustrates the challenge of definitions. They refer to the quote of Haritaworn et al. (2006) that I (on the basis of Klesse's lecture, who co-authored the paper) categorized it as a relationship philosophy. They use this definition as a foundation for the construction of polyamorous identity: "*The main point in this definition is that polyamory can be defined fundamentally as an assumption – in other words, as an ideological background or moral bottom-line from which an identity can be formulated.*" (Cascais & Cardoso, 2012, p. 22).

To sum up the range of interpretations in this sub-sub-chapter: The attribution of polyamory as an identity is yet another approach to categorization; for polyamorous individuals, it is more than that. The transfer through books and online and social communities is used to build community norms (for example illustrated by the publication by Benson (2017)), which results in a sense of identity for those concerned. The self-identification of "I am poly" provides this polyamorous identity for affected individuals.

- **Polyamory as a sexual orientation**

I already provided legal definitions of the term sexual orientation in the introduction, which, strictly speaking, does not formulate a restriction of the number of partners.[108] When moving from international jurisdiction to research, the same applies. For example the definition by Anders (2015, p. 1177) describes sexual orientation as follows: "*Sexual orientation typically describes people's sexual attractions or desires based on their sex relative to that of a target.*" Her definition does not come without criticism, since this "(…) *fails to account for non-biological gender-related factors, partnered sexualities unrelated to gender or sex, or potential divergences between love and lust.*" – still she deems it useful, which is why she is using it. Still, this rather broad approach does not define the number of people who can be in a stable relationship.

An often-quoted publication by Tweedy (2011) has the title *Polyamory as sexual orientation*, published in an law journal. She starts off with a rather narrow definition: *"Today, sexual orientation is almost understood to signify whether a person is attracted to members of the same sex, the opposite sex, or both sexes."*(Tweedy, 2011, p. 1432). For her, polyamory belongs to current definitions of sexual orientation. She examines its social and legal concept (with a focus on the United States), and moves on to the issue of discrimination. She looks at the degree of discrimination of polyamorists and

[108] On a meta level, the term *sexual orientation* itself is not free of friction. To state one example, Klesse (2014b, p. 88) relates to *"(…) the polarisation of biology and culture, life sciences and social sciences or of essentialism and constructivism (…)"* that comes with the framing of sexual orientation – which has therefore been rejected by fellow scholars.

questions of polyamorous identity. She concludes with the pros and cons of such an approach, and states that polyamorist's desire needs legal protection. Moser and Kleinplatz (2020, p. 393) raise the question whether paraphilias constitute sexual orientations and also refer to Tweedy as in other kinds of sexual orientation.

On the basis of the understanding that non-hetero-normative individuals are subject of discrimination, further definitions fit that category. Scherrer (2010, p. 60) refers to *"(…) one sexual minority group that has been already identified as elided from contemporary marriage structures (…)"* which is only one example for a number of authors following this approach. A supporting voice to this statement by Ann Tweedy is once again Klesse (2016), who does see the benefits of promoting marriage equality arguments, but also refers to possible pitfalls.

## 6.5 Expanding the polyverse: Further notions of polyamory in 2020

This subchapter has two aspects: Definitions of polyamory that Klesse has already included in one of his seven attributions that I believe could stand alone, and further definitions by other authors. It closes with a summary of the challenge of defining polyamory, and prepares the ground for the definition that is used for the thesis at hand.

### • Polyamory as a lifestyle

The challenge of defining, assigning and ascribing terms to more complex meanings is manifest in Emens' definition of polyamory as *"(…) a lifestyle embraced by a minority of individuals who exhibit a wide variety of relationship models (…)*". Klesse, however, lists Emens' statement as *relationship philosophy*, which is reasonable when we look at how the quote continues: "*(…) and who articulate an ethical vision that I understand to encompass five main principles: self-knowledge, radical honesty, consent, self-precession, and privileging love and sex over other emotions and activities such as jealousy*." (Emens, 2004, p. 283) Easier to categorize is for example Brunning (2018, p. 513), who states in his abstract: „*I define polyamory, and explain why people pursue this lifestyle*." In his conclusion he leaves this path and sums up that polyamory appears to be an ethical form of life – thus moving from a rather light and trendy wording to something more serious.

### • Polyamory as a response to neoliberalism

This definition circles around the economical (and to some extend also political and legal) aspects of monogamy; or to be more precise, polyamory as a counterpart of that system. An example is Elisabeth Brake in her book *Minimizing Marriage*, where she lays the ground by discussing the philosophical

aspects of marriage, attesting that the privilege of marriage and marriage-like relationships is socially and legally related to two people (Brake, 2012). With regard to her key findings on elderly care, she describes polyamory then as "*a rational response to neoliberalism*" when people for example pool up in groups to share care responsibilities (Brake, 2017, p. 148). A similar statement is Baumgartner (2019, p. 204), who suggests polyamory has the potential to organize care as well as self-care in a different manner. The risk she sees is that this different approach of opposing neoliberal values contradicts the economical flexibility that is a key aspect of neoliberalism.

- **Polyamory as a relationship dynamic**

Duplassie and Fairbrother (2018) developed their idea of polyamory on the base of in-depth interviews with 55 individuals who were either in polyamorous relationships or mixed-orientation marriages. In their conclusion, they stress the hierarchical structures, gender roles and dynamics they came across in their research. Polyamory has *"(…) the potential to challenge prescribed sexual and/or gender ideals*." While other consensual non-monogamous relationship models *"(…) are not often overt and do not fully challenge or overturn hegemonic heterogender ideals and practices*", polyamory is an example of *"(…) concerted forms of resistance to the traditional gender and sexual power dynamics of the romantic love model (…)"*. (Duplassie & Fairbrother, 2018, pp. 436-437)

- **Polyamory as a paradigm**

The term *paradigm* comes close to the term philosophy, but there is still a difference. According to J. Ferrer (2018, p. 818), polyamory is a "(…) *relational paradigm based on consensual, multiple affective and sexual relationships.*" In the relevant footnote he refers to the etymological meaning as well as an understanding of polyamory as *philosophy*, *relationship orientation*, and *belief*. He justifies this attribution by three major aspects in which the concept of monogamy drastically opposes the concept of polyamory: The need for sexual (and at times emotional) diversity and novelty; the emotional well-being of involved individuals; and genetic and biological variables, developmental junctures, sociopolitical situations, and religious and cultural dispositions. In addition, he describes two possible factors: gender variances and identity, and sexual orientation (J. Ferrer, 2018, p. 818).

- **Polyamory as a queer orientation to the world**

In her latest book, Schippers (2020, p. 2) argues that contemporary definitions rely too heavily on romance and sex and exclude asexual and non-romantic polyamorous relationships. She wants to oppose the norm, or to be more precise, to find a counterpart of *mononormative* Western cultures. She outlines that *queer* is a rejection of all norms and relates this to relationships: "*A poly orientation*

*to the world means living a queer life that refuses to simply follow the mononormative path we are all compelled to follow*." (Schippers, 2019, p. 72)

This statement by Schippers completes the dozen, but there are further definitions. Daniels (2010, p. 47) for example understands polyamory as "*(…) a part of a covenantal relationship (…)*"; Wolkomir (2015, p. 435) describes polyamory as arrangements that "*(…) disrupt traditional gender power dynamics*"[109] Domínguez et al. (2017, p. 194) read polyamory not as an evolutionary development from monogamy, but as a potential ordering that is actualized in particular semiotic-material occasions. Boisvert (2020, p. 191) sees it as a challenge to the norm of monogamy; Bettinger (2005, p. 98) understands polyamory simply as *responsible non-monogamy*. Gahan (2012, p. 1229) interprets a fellow author in a book review as someone who reveals *"(…) polyamory as a key element of god's nature*." What can be considered a milestone in at least the academic world of polyamory, there are now some publications that do without defining polyamory, thus assuming that the reader knows what polyamory is. San Filippo (2020, p. 238) quotes a statement from a movie, referring to it as a line right out of a polyamorous playbook – without any further definition what polyamory is. To finalize this already multi-facetted approach to definitions, the introductory statement regarding the blurry edges needs to be repeated: Some authors straightforwardly fit into one of the 12+ categories above, others would fit two categories, yet others could be assigned to more than that. A good example to illustrate this is Rubel and Bogaert (2015, p. 961), who speak of polyamory as "(…) *the practice of, believe in, or willingness to engage in consensual non-monogamy, typically in long-term and/or loving relationships."* This definition could work as practice, philosophy, and/or relationship model. So which definition of polyamory does this thesis use?

## 6.6 Definition of polyamory for this thesis

While the majority of the quoted authors start off with their definition of polyamory and develop arguments on various topics from there, one of the goals of this thesis is to develop a definition of polyamory that is based on the self-perception of affected individuals as well as on the media representation of the issue. For a preview on those empirical results, I found five key aspects that constitute polyamory, not all of which must necessarily apply: loving more than one person (**loving polyamorous**); living polyamorous in an understanding of everyday life routines (**living polyamorous**); acting polyamorous in terms of intimate practices with more than one person (**acting polyamorous**),

[109] In this example it is interesting that authors also change their point of view on the matter. In a later publication, Wolkomir (2019) clearly fits the attribution *practice* as stated earlier in this chapter.

thinking polyamorous as in a form of a theoretical concept (**thinking polyamorous**); and feeling polyamorous as a form of self-perception/identity (**feeling polyamorous***)*. Bringing these aspects together in one short sentence, **polyamorous people are understood as persons who love, live, act, think, and feel poly***.* Yet, this compressed sentence only relates to the logic of institutions such as the United Nations that categorize what lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgender stands for in one specific term[110]; and in the end it illustrates that poly people cannot be ascribed to only one attribution.

Therefore, a broader definition of polyamory relating to characteristics of polyamorous relationships is needed. Yet again as a preview on the empirical findings, two key aspects resemble the lived reality in self-perception as well as in its media representation. Furthermore, the ideological aspect of this specific form of a consensual non-monogamous relationship plays an important role; and last but not least, duration and sustainability are also important factors. This leads to the following definition: **Polyamory is a consensual relationship between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over a longer period of time.** The sentence is the lowest common denominator affected individuals and poly people can identify with and represents one of the key findings of the thesis.

[110] See above: Lesbian, gay and bisexuality stands for sexual orientation, Transgender stands for identity.

## 7. Aspect three: Social acceptance of polyamorous relationships

*"I believe it is perceived a bit as a bug in the system. A kind of deviance that hopefully adapts itself over time. This at least is the perception of my parents I would say. A phase, but everything will be alright in the end. When you eventually meet the right person, everything will be fine again. So, I am talking about society except the polys, the so-called normal ones, the normal members of society, they see it as a disruptive element."* [111] This is Agnes's answer to my question how her social environment perceives her polyamorous life. It serves to introduce the chapter on the social acceptance of polyamorous relationships.

Moving from the self-perception of an affected person to the societal assessment of the matter, Tweedy (2011, p. 1498) gets to the heart of the matter in one sentence: *"(…) polyamorists risk custody loss, workplace discrimination, loss of friends, alienation from their families, and ostracism from spiritual and other communities as a result of revealing their polyamory*". The cause for this statement is that monogamy is considered the only legitimate form of intimate relationship in Western societies – in contrast to social reality, where practiced monogamy is less successful than its ideology (Bauer, 2014a, p. 145). All relationships that oppose this model are considered as divergence. Individuals who do dare to live such different relationships are condemned morally or pathologized; those involved are allegedly ruthless, egoistic, immature, unable to commit, or even mentally ill. And we should not forget the gendered dimension here, with men considered to be only interested in a high number of sexual contacts, while women who have many contacts are labelled as sluts (Baumgartner, 2019, p. 198). Rust (2003, p. 479) illustrates the matter as follows. *"(…) sexual and romantic monogamy – institutionalised in the legally recognised marriage – becomes the hallmark of the successful modern romantic partnership.*" Yet it is not the legal aspect only, as more than two people can be in a relationship without legal sanction as long as they don't ask for governmental blessing. It is also the societal perception. Brunning (2018, p. 519) states that "*(…) most societies are hostile to polyamory.*"; or, to quote the rather threatening words of Orion (2018, p. 17) in her therapist guide to consensual non-monogamy: "*Stigma exists. Being openly polyamorous or consensual non-monogamous in any form*

[111] *„Es wird als (nachdenken) / ich glaube es wird ein bisschen als Fehler im System wahrgenommen. Also (okay) also eine Devianz, die sich hoffentlich aber mit der Zeit dann wieder (Lachen) (.) anpasst? Also das ist wahrscheinlich die Wahrnehmung meiner Eltern würd ich mal sagen. Also, es ist eine Phase, es wird sich wieder einrenken sozusagen (Lachen) (.) (nachdenken) wenn man halt den Richtigen dann trifft, dann wird alles wieder gut. So. (Lachen) (4) jetzt red ich mal über die Gesellschaft mit den Polys ausgenommen, weil die sehn, das ja alles anders, also jetzt einfach die Normalen, die normalen Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, die sehen das als (4) (nachdenken) ja, ich könnte/ würde sagen Störfaktor*." (Int. 003, par. 27).

*can be literally dangerous*."[112] J. Ferrer (2018) dedicates a whole publication, *Homonormativity, poly pride and the mono-poly-wars,* to the biased opinion of the affected, using the term *polyphobia* – derived from the term homophobia – to describe the fear of society of polyamorous individuals.

Less threatening but still negative is the conclusion of Conley, Moors, et al. (2013). They compare data from four studies against the theoretical background of the "*halo effect*", a concept that was developed in the 1920s. It is understood as a heuristic, where an individual evaluates an object or a person positively based on a single, obvious attribute, such as intelligence or attractiveness – or in their analysis setting, monogamy and polyamory. In their conclusion, they relate to the theoretical perspectives of stigma and the *halo effect*, and state that "*(…) the halo effect surrounds monogamy and extends to the perception of people in monogamous relationships and stigma surrounds CNM relationships*." (Conley, Moors, et al., 2013, p. 23) And even those who are supposed to support poly people, there is discrimination, as the following example illustrates: A. Johnson (2013, p. 1) attacks relationship counsellors and mental health organizations: "*Polyamorous people face stigmatization, stereotypes, negative bias, and marginalization in both the mainstream society and in the offices of counselling professionals*." Yet with this listing of prejudice, rejection and discrimination, there are positive voices as well, which refer to a growing awareness of polyamory as specific way to form families and friendship, as the following statement by an activist illustrates: "*I look forward to a society where any loving family, irrespective of how many people it includes or what sex they are, feels save to be open about who they are. In that respect, poly(amory) is the new gay*." (Park, 2017, p. 297) So how accepted are polyamorous relationships really in our society?

This chapter, which attempts to answer this question, starts out with how polyamorous individuals are perceived by those who are supposed to be close to them: their families as well as friends, which I will subsume in the term *new kinship*. The next subchapter then covers the perception of polyamory at the workplace. A third aspect I will then consider is the perception of polyamory by the wider public, i. e. a setting in which there is no kind of direct contact with poly people. The last subchapter covers polyamorous idols and testimonials, before summarizing the current situation and providing a glimpse into what the future may hold.

[112] With the additional caveat that those who come out as polyamorous have usually a higher academic education and better level of employment than the general public, and are therefore less a target of discrimination than for example immigrants or refugees, see for example Bromwich (2019, pp. 37-39).

## 7.1 Intimate and family affairs

The internal challenges of polyamorous family structures with regard to hierarchy have already been described in chapter 2. This subchapter is about the external perception of polyamory within kinship structures: Members of the family who are related by blood (and thus cannot be chosen); and friends, hence those who poly people at some stage have chosen to be close to.

The reason why I combine friends with kinship in this subchapter is the research field of new kinship studies, which developed from ethnology and now extends to other fields of social sciences. A definition is provided by Nieradzik (2017b), who edited the book *Kinship trouble: Dimensions of making family in past and present*[113], and defines *new kinship studies* as follows: Family and relatives became individual strategies and practices that are negotiated for what is relevant to the individuals. Kinship becomes a sociocultural regulator of relationships and a means of societal positioning. It emerges as an emotional, social, economic and political resource; the discussion of hierarchies moves to the centre of awareness. Last but not least, he thinks this understanding of kinship is an indication of superordinate societal changes (Nieradzik, 2017a, pp. 17-18) – and this is where polyamory comes in. Polyamorous relationships can be part of the understanding of new kinship structures, just as well as an extension of the *chosen family* that has been discussed in *queer kinship studies* since the 1990s. The main discussion that developed from there is a critique of the naturalistic conventions and concepts of kinship, relations, friendship, and love (Schadler & Villa, 2016, p. 13).

Taking it from abstract norms to tangible empirical data, quantitative numbers on the general discrimination of polyamorous people are rare. Fleckstein, Bergstrand, and Cox (2012) published an online study they conducted among more than 4,000 people in the United States. The findings indicate that 20.6% of the participating males and 28.9% of the participating females had experienced some kind of discrimination for being polyamorous over the last 10 years – the catch is that the survey was conducted with the endorsement of the *National coalition for sexual freedom* (which has a political agenda); the selection of the sample remains unclear; and the results never made it into a recognized academic journal. The gender gap in discrimination experience is also pointed out by Aguilar (2012, p. 107), who states with regard to polyamory that "(…) *women experience particularly serve repercussions for rejecting monogamy*." The very current explorative study by Witherspoon and Theodore (2021) looks at stigma, discrimination, harassment and violence against consensual non-monogamous individuals. Among 724 participants (predominately from the United States again) 61.1% reported the

[113] In the German original: "*Kinship trouble: Dimensionen des Verwandtschaftmachens in Geschichte und Gegenwart*."

experience of at least one type of CNM-related discrimination in their life, and 44.5% (with the smaller sample of 653 participants) reported at least two CNM-related discrimination incidents (Witherspoon & Theodore, 2021, pp. 1377-1378). The authors themselves state as a limitation that multiple incidents of discrimination were not measured; in contrast to the present thesis, they also fail to not distinguish whether the one or two and more incidents occurred in the context of family, friends, workplace, or wider society.

Coming back to poly acceptance among family members, there is even fewer data available. Schippers (2016, p. 14) gives a general statement: she claims that family members (as well as friends) often reject polyamorous relationships, arguing that such relationships could never work. This is in contrast to monogamous relationships, where family members or friends do support pairing up with new beloved people. S. M. Johnson et al. (2015, p. 326) claim the same, they state that "*(…) people who identify as polyamorous face stigma from family and friends, therapists and even employers for their unconventional relationship choices*." With regard to family, they explicitly refer to coming out towards family members, as polyamory strongly challenges the societal idea of mononormativity.

Goldfarb (2020) introduces a specific example that is interesting because of its societal reach: in what became viral as the *April Divilbiss Case*, the grandmother of an underage person succeeded before a US court to have her grandchild removed from its mother (the claimant's daughter) because she lived with two men in a polyamorous relationship – which is supposed to be bad for child's welfare. The case got major media attention since the specific family situation was aired by MTV on a programme on polyamory. A fundraising campaign was started to collect money for the defendant, yet without success. The grandmother won, the judicial decision of giving the child into her grandmother's authority was justified by Divilbiss's "*(…) 'alternative lifestyle' and its effects on the child's 'moral upbringing'*." (Goldfarb, 2020, pp. 160-161) A possible reason why parenting and child care issues are still a rather controversial and taboo issue (the Divilbiss Case was only published in 2020) is pointed out by Klesse (2019, p. 626). According to him, it is the fear of hostility, and even more repercussions such as heightened scrutiny and interference of child protection services. This aspect is also pointed out by Sheff (2010, p. 176), extending the disadvantage of coming out as polyamorous with children across parents *and* children: She claims that "*(…) the entire family might be forced to deal with the stigma of having relationally non-conformist parents*."

Crossing the ocean, a study by Herbert, Radeva, and Zika (2013, p. 41) considers social environments and secrecy of polyamorous relationships in Austria. They find that participants reported that poly people carry a considerable burden as they have to keep their relationship status secret from friends

as well as work colleagues – but failed to provide further details as to the reasons why. Similarly the findings in a study among a similar number of participants (n=20) in Sweden: in the investigation of polyamorous orientations, bodies and queer temporalities[114] by Carlström and Andersson (2019a, p. 1328), their conclusion reads as follows: "*The majority of the informants feel forced to conceal their relationship constellations in several situations and contexts*." A similar experience is described by Pallotta-Chiarolli (2010) from a different angle: it is not a poly person who reports their perception within society, but the teenage child whose her parents are in a polyamorous relationship. Her analysis mentions an aspect that is often omitted: There is a rising number of publications on all kinds of family diversity (such as lesbian and gay families, or single-parent families), but poly families have not surfaced in public attention. This is because "*(…) they fall between the polarities of normative heterosexual marriages and the increasing attention to same-sex marriages*." (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010, p. 182)

Balzarini et al. (2017) point out an interesting aspect with regard to hierarchical structures within polyamorous relationships and the likelihood of a coming out. They conclude – on the basis of a rather large sample of 1,711 participants – that "*(…) individuals within polyamorous relationships could choose to maintain their secondary relationships in secrecy, either due to a lack of acceptance from friends or family, or alternatively, secrecy could be a preventive measure to protect against the potential lack of acceptance*." (Balzarini et al., 2017, p. 14). Thus, social acceptance by friends and family is also connected to the intensity of the bond between the affected and the related partners.

Finally, and in addition to intimate and family affairs, there is another related group: the *allies*. For a broad definition, an ally can be a friend, or another significant other; an ally can be heterosexual and cisgender, just as s/he can be anyone who identifies with one or more of the letters of the LGBTIQ acronym. An ally is a person who supports those who identify as members of the wider LGBTIQ community (ALGBTIC LGBQQIA Competencies Taskforce et al., 2013, pp. 38-39) – or in short: allies are friends of poly people. But are all queer people friendly towards poly people? Rambukkana (2008, p. 144) introduces coming out as polyamorous as follows: "*The phenomenon of publicly coming out as polyamorous is particularly interesting as there can be many different responses and social consequences*." The interesting thing is that in this statement, he does not refer to the general public but to subcultures also found under the rainbow flag. In particular he names queer and kink sexual subcultures, as well as bisexuals, who consider open polyamorous people who come together in

[114] The paper is based on the assumption that polyamory can be something temporary – similar approaches can for example be found with Wandrei (2019), and also this thesis presents similar findings in the empirical chapters.

groups as nothing more than a pickup scene; and to make matters worse, a straight pickup scene (Rambukkana, 2008, p. 146). This raises the question whether such a reaction may be related to the self-conception of those practicing polyamory. Klesse (2006b, pp. 566, 571) points out that the representation of polyamory from within is based on the distinction between good polyamorists, promiscuous queer and bad swingers, which would make polyamory – in contrast to other open sexual practices – the only ethical style of non-monogamy. Kean (2018, p. 460) approaches the matter also from the swinging side: he implies that in an environment that is generally suspicious of sex in the absence of love, poly people cab at least point to their love bonds that allow them multiple sexual relationships – which constitutes an approximation to the values of the wider society at least.

## 7.2 Polyamory at work

*"(…) polyamorists risk custody loss, workplace discrimination, loss of friends, alienation from their families, and ostracism from spiritual and other communities as a result of revealing their polyamory."* Tweedy (2011, p. 1498); or as Klesse (2014b, p. 93) put it: "*(…) workplace discrimination laws, and zoning laws, discriminate against non-monogamous people, including polyamorous people*." These quotes would be suitable for all subchapters on the (lack of) social acceptance of polyamory. What makes the work aspect so special is that the author points out that there is no legal protection, in contrast to other sexual orientations or identities (which will be covered in detail in the following chapter 8). This is a stark contradiction to current policies in most Western countries to create friendlier workplace environments for LGBTQ+ employees (Compton, 2020, p. 1021), which once again raises the question of how much queer is to be found in polyamory.

Studies that focus on how polyamorous individuals are treated at the workplace are rare. Paccagnella (2020) conducted 22 semi-structured interviews with participants who defined themselves as polyamorous and also regularly visited the two most important Italian polyamorous Facebook sites. Therefore these participants, even if they used fake names, had come out in a way and connected with other members of the community. His key finding with regard to the workplace is that online communication spaces are used for debates and discussions on polyamorous issues of affected people, since they cannot simply be addressed at work. Those who have come out try to avoid delicate issues with their colleagues, those who haven't do so because they are afraid of being judged for their way of living (Paccagnella, 2020, pp. 5,7). Green, Payne, and Green (2011) had a much larger sample of 822 participants for their survey conducted in the United States, the focus of which was not on polyamorous individuals but on bisexual people and their workplace experiences. It turned out that 39 % of the participants indicated some degree of polyamory, and 21 % were in a polyamorous

relationship when filling out the demographical questions, which makes these results somewhat relevant for this chapter as well. The most important finding with relation to polyamory is that when there are policies against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity and expression at the workplace, more people are willing to come out. As a consequence, one would expect greater satisfaction of those affected at work, which should then lead to improved workplace engagement and productivity – and thus a win-win situation for the employer and the employee alike (Green et al., 2011, pp. 314-315). Sheff and Hammers (2011, p. 199) provide less concrete data, but generally refer to a number of discriminations polyamorous people are confronted with, including limited job prospects. This means that there is not only the discrimination poly people might experience when they come out, but jobs may be denied to them if the potential employer knows about their private lives.

In a less academic publication and more a guidebook, "*It's called polyamory. Coming out about your non-monogamous relationship*" by Pincus and Hiles (2017), the authors refer to six different groups with a separate chapter on each of them on how to come out: partners, family, children, friends, work, and school. The reason for placing the publication in this subchapter on work is that the main author's reason for writing the book was that she got told to keep her sexual explorations and preferences private after she posted a picture of a threesome roleplay with both her partners on her activist blog that she assumed to be anonymous. In the relevant chapter, in addition to the already-stated consequences a coming-out can have, she provides a kind of checklist of five things to consider before making one's poly life public. These things are the (possible) benefits of coming out, the expected reaction of co-workers, the consequences of losing one's job, the emotional bond with work colleagues, and the company's policies and regulations (Pincus & Hiles, 2017, pp. 131-132).

The final publication to be considered here is a spin-off from the empirical material for the thesis at hand. For the AGPRO research price 2019[115], I compared assumed discrimination issues of polyamorous people at their workplace with the reports of the interviewees on the matter. The key findings of the media analysis from the sample of 100 articles at the time (of the overall 368 articles that were analysed by the end of the thesis) were that: a coming out at work is avoided due to possible employment disadvantages; polyamory at work is generally less covered by newspapers than polyamory and its representation in wider society; and that over the course of time, colleagues as well

[115] The former AGPRO, now Pride Biz Austria price is awarded with the support of the *Federation of Austrian Industries* and the *Federal Ministry of Social Affairs, Health, Care and Consumer Protection* every two years by the former Austrian Gay Professionals, now LGBTI business platform for research projects on LGBTI topics related to economy, workplace and society. For details see: https://pridebiz.at/forschungspreis/

as supervisors were presented as more and more tolerant. In self-perception, the key findings are that there is a correlation between income/position and coming out (the higher the income, the higher the position, the more unlikely is coming out); that a coming out is more likely with a liberal employer such as a University compared to more conservative employers such as the pharmaceutical industry; and that a coming out is more likely among people who identify themselves (and are already out) as lesbian, gay or bisexual. Limitations apply due to the relatively small sample of 100 articles and 33 interviewees, not all of whom talked about polyamory as related to their workplace. The indications, though, show to a general lack of interest in printed media in covering polyamory at work; and that employers who are generally LGBT-friendly have fewer problems when their employees come out as poly as well.

Summarizing the little information there is on polyamory with regard to social acceptance, a key factor remains: Being polyamorous carries a stigma, which affected people have a tendency to avoid; and even more, in contrast to the situation of members of the LGBT acronym, there is no legal protection. This leads to the circumstance that poly people are not likely to come out at work. Furthermore, there is reason to suspect that if such a legal recognition would exist, more people would come out, with a possible benefit to both employer and employee.

## 7.3 Public space meets polyamory

A poly person cannot choose their blood relations, in contrast to friends that people do choose. The workplace is usually selected and not assigned – yet what combines these three different groups is that there is, in one form or another, a direct relation to those affected. This does not apply to public space, were an individual usually has no relation with the others who cross their way. This is reason enough to dedicate a separate subchapter to wider society, or, to be precise, the public ideas of polyamory within a society.

One of the first papers that addressed this issue ever published is by M. Barker (2005), "*This is my partner, and this is my… partner's partner*", referring to a small talk situation polyamorous people can find themselves in when being introduced to others. Her conclusion at the time, 15 years ago, was that polyamory is still relatively invisible in society, which she explains by the also relatively small polyamorous community in the United Kingdom at the time, where she conducted her study with 30 participants (M. Barker, 2005, pp. 85, 78). Representative numbers for a whole country do not exist – a matter that for example also Mitchell et al. (2014, p. 329) point out; however, they refer to a specific paper of the year 2000 where a convenience sample reported personally experienced prejudice

against polyamory with 43 % of the respondents. Quite current and reliable due to the sample size of 519 participants in Portugal are the results of Cardoso, Pascoal, and Rosa (2020). They constructed different statements on polyamory, ranging (amongst others) from harmfulness to children via cheating on partners without consequence all the way to sexually transmitted diseases. The results, derived from the inspection of the mean values of the data, show that the participants generally had a positive attitude towards polyamory. In their well-written section on the limits of the study, the authors refer to a non-representative ( in their case, rather young, educated, urban) sample – a limitation that unfortunately is rather standard in quantitative polyamory research – and another fact that can be applied to the majority of studies on polyamory around the globe: referring to the fact that the majority religious confession in Portugal is Roman Catholic, they state that "*(…) one of our items may be culturally sensitive, a result worth exploring in future adaptions of the measure in different cultural contexts*." (Cardoso et al., 2020, p. 127)

Carlström and Andersson (2019a) point out a possible positive aspect of the representation of polyamory in the context of social perception: People who live in heterosexual monogamous relationships and face turning points in their lives may have a chance to learn from those with a polyamorous orientation and can transfer it into their lives, be it a divorce or allowing oneself to fall in love with another person and walk the poly path themselves. Once again, those who walk the polyamorous path face ignorance or prejudice – in the next sample this applies to Sweden, where every participant of the sample of 22 people reports "*(…) difficulties to life as poly in a society where monogamy is the norm*", since "*(…) coupled relations are praised while other relationship constellations imply different sanctions*." (Carlström & Andersson, 2019a, pp. 1324-1325) Moving from Scandinavia to the target countries, the only existing study that covers Austria in this respect is a diploma thesis with the exact same sample size. Prasch (2017) explicitly asked about social acceptance in society, for which he held 22 in-depth interviews with a sample that covered participants in heterosexual, monogamous relationships between 19 and 57 years of age – an interesting change of perspective as it comes from a different viewpoint than that of the affected. The vast majority of the interviewees neither had poly people among their acquaintance, nor could they imagine a polyamorous relationship for themselves. Of specific interest are the answers as to why polyamory is a taboo issue in society: the main reason stated by 15 people is the missing normative and legal tradition; followed by 5 people addressing lacking acceptance by society (Prasch, 2017, pp. 55-57).

One event where polyamory is usually represented are pride parades, also known by the names *Gay Pride*, *LGBT pride*, or simply *pride*. Prides are usually held in capitals or other big cities, last a certain period of time, and culminate in pride marches or pride parades, where LGBTIQ people and their allies flock the streets. In liberal countries such as Canada, prides can attract up to a million and more visitors (Toronto, 2019). Since the appearance of polyamory activist groups, the issue of polyamory is represented at those events as well. While in "early days" of polyamory there were occasional frictions between gay and lesbian communities and bisexual, transgender or polyamorous groups in the planning or implementation of such events (Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2011, p. 568), in recent years poly organizations and groups are consistent participants that represent themselves – even if they don't explicitly appear in the acronym of the organizer, as for example illustrated by the LGBTTIQQS2A abbreviation[116] used by the organizers of the Toronto pride (Zskarski, 2016). Those prides and the participation of polyamorous activist groups are an issue in poly-related social media channels, blogs and homepages; interestingly enough there are no scientific publications on the matter. Taking the matter from the street to the digital space, the importance of digital activism with regard to polyamory does leave traces in academic research: Campos, Simões, and Pereira (2018, pp. 500-501) refer to the opportunities, challenges and resistances to what they call *Activism 2.0*, and stress its importance for small groups who defend minority causes and have no big capacity for expression in the public space, naming in particular polyamory.

One of the few articles addressing the media coverage of polyamory mentions the social awareness such representation can generate, but also its possible pitfalls: Richie (2010) presents the polyamorous characters portrayed in Swedish media who predominately deliver the narrative of a 'good' polyamorous person who places the desire of loving more over the need of multiple sexuality. This can however, he says, lead to "*(…) reinforcing mono-normative relational ideologies and limiting the more sex radical politics of polyamory some writers have championed*." (Richie, 2010, p. 50) Pieper and Bauer (2014a), too, looked at the implicit messages of narratives in their study, for which they interviewed 70 individuals in consensual non-monogamous relationships in Germany. In their conclusion they refer to the politics of visualization and representation of minorities that led to the demand for relevant minority rights – but identify two pitfalls: first, identity politics always include forms of excluding 'others'; and second, an ascribed identity always leads to the attempt of governing and using the according minority (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, pp. 28-29). Cardoso (2020) also presents an analysis of media reports, focusing on consensual non-monogamous (CNM) constellations rather than exclusively

[116] In addition to the legally protected groups who identify as lesbian (L), gay (G), bisexual (B) and trans-identity (T), it also includes transsexuality (T), intersexuality (I), queer (Q), questioning (Q), allies (A), and – and this makes this acronym the first of its kind – 2-spirited (2S) people, representing North American indigenous people who represent a third gender role within ceremonies (Toronto, 2019).

on polyamorous ones. Of the 237 news items published in Portugal, 75 % represented poly people. The public perception – in the media representation – is presented in the findings regarding the subjects the press covers. Informal or interpersonal discrimination is mentioned in only 11 % of the news items, with relationship dynamics clearly dominant with 69 %. His interpretation is straightforward, describing that relationship work has the largest share of media attention, which as a consequence is "*(…) transforming news into an exploration of relational strategies or problems, rather than focusing on all the social ramifications that result from it*." (Cardoso, 2020, p. 4)

The last aspect to be mentioned is an example of how polyamory can influence contemporary art in public space. The German artist May Lean Kronemann unlocks love locks, i. e. she unlocks padlocks that are fixed to bridges or similar structures by couples to symbolize their everlasting love, and arranges these locks in a new order. In 2012, she not only did this herself, but also provided workshops on what she called *lovepicking*, which generated media response. The idea behind it is the following: "*By picking the locks of love, we question the idea of love or relationships being bolted and barred, closed like a prison or cage, which can only be opened by breaking it*." (Kronemann, 2012). The association with the polyamorous concept is obvious, and that is what the artist refers to – not without addressing one of the challenges poly people are confronted with. In an interview she explains that her remix of love locks, to which the protagonists have not agreed, is like the involuntary connection to a partner's partner that is established when more than two people love each other (Horchert, 2012).

For a quick summary of this subchapter, other than the societal perception of friends, family and at work (which is in general negative and paved with prejudice against and negative experiences of poly people) the public perception presents a slightly broader picture. Especially when polyamory is associated with artists and/or artistic projects, and when poly people appear within the bigger context of LGBTIQ issues, there are positive perceptions as well.

## 7.4 Poly idols and (lacking) testimonials

The term *testimonial* origins from the Latin word *testimonium*, and stands for proof, reference, and/or testimony. In scientific literature it is usually found in connection with marketing and advertisements publications; a broad understanding of the term includes different groups of celebrities, experts, typical consumers and CEOs or presidents. Testimonials are usually used to increase the image and/or the trustworthiness of a product, in a wider context they can also stand for an idea, an attitude or a position (Lauper, 2011, pp. 56, 60). *Idols* are found (amongst other disciplines) in communication science, especially in uses and gratifications approaches. Yan and Yang (2021, p. 2598) associate idols

with fan culture, summarizing that "*(…) idols could serve as role models for fans and encourage them to learn from their idols' success, fictions or real*." This last (intended) subchapter to close the aspect of polyamory and social acceptance is about polyamorous idols and testimonials – and it is rather short, as at the time of writing there was only one publication on the matter; and even this refers to the media representation of testimonials rather than doing in-depth research on these characters. As already mentioned, Cardoso (2020) analysed the types of social actors presented in the context of CNM/polyamory. In slightly more than half (51 %) of all reports, the topic CNM/polyamory is presented without protagonists; followed by a third (32 %) of celebrity representation. Explicitly named with regard to their profession are philosophers and cinema and theatre professionals (Cardoso, 2020, p. 3).

In addition, there is a small a number of publications, most of which are popular scientific or even media reports, that *polyamorize*[117] historical figures. For a preview on the empirical chapter on media reports where I cover this in detail, international names in that context are Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre, Virginia Woolf, John Maynard Keynes, and Bertrand Russel; as for the German-speaking world, the names Stefan Zweig, Friedrich Engels, Gustav Klimt, or Rainer Maria Rilke appear. What unites these characters – beside their private way of living that could retrospectively be interpreted as polyamorous – is the circumstance that they are all dead, and that the ascription *polyamorous* is not found in contemporary academic or biographical sources. As for famous figures who are still alive and said to be living polyamorous lives, names like Warren Buffet, Tilda Swinton, or Charlie Sheen are to be found. Again, the common thread with these individuals is that their names do not even appear in popular scientific publications or guide books, but only in the yellow press.[118] So in conclusion of this last subchapter, there are media reports on contemporary celebrities that are brought in connection with polyamory; and there are deceased famous individuals who used to live what we would ascribe as polyamorous lives today, but there are no scientific analyses of the meaning of polyamorous idols for the perception of the public.

To condense the whole chapter, polyamory is not something that society regards with great enthusiasm. To be precise, from the little data we have on the matter, the self-perception of polyamorous people with regard to the way family, friends, workplace, and wider society see their way of living predominately ranges from a lack of understanding to prejudices and all the way to discrimination and even threats. Two related limitations apply to this conclusion: First, the sources

[117] The term stands for the use of a polyamorous lens on any kind of documented sources (i. e. books, films, etc.) to interpret situations as a kind of polyamorous setting although either it was not the intention of the author, or the term polyamory as such did not exist at the time - see chapter 16 *Outlook* for details.

[118] See chapter 13 for details.

that refer to individual experiences of discrimination are found in publications that specifically focus on such experiences; if the setting of research projects were on positive experiences of the judgement of the outside world regarding polyamorous lifestyles, the quoted statements would likely have a different spin. This also applies in similar terms to the second limitation: The results that are based on questionnaires also predominately stated that discrimination experiences were a fixed component of the research setting.

As for an outlook on what the future may hold – and this echoes what I already came across in chapter 6 on the social acceptance and legal rights of gay people – it presents something of a hen-and-egg situation: With a greater public awareness of this specific form of relationship, the prejudices against polyamory are likely to decrease. The lesser the prejudice (and the fewer the discrimination experiences of those affected) the likelier it is that people come out. But this remains an assumption as the existing studies are too few to provide any indication of such change over time.

## 8. Aspect four: The current legal situation

"*On the one hand, I would like it to happen immediately, on the other hand I am completely aware of the fact that society is not ready for it, not for a long time. Either there will be an incident that makes it happen, which leads to legalization, or it is not going to happen for a very long time. With a very long time I mean 50 to 100 years. I am very sure that there will be a lot of opposition to this.*"[119] This statement by interview partner Agnes introduces the chapter on the legal situation of polyamorous relationships. It starts out by presenting marriage and divorce numbers in the target countries in order to illustrate the overall demand for a legal bond between two individuals, and continues with the current academic discourse on the legal recognition of polyamorous relationships. The following subchapters present the legal situation and possible consequences of breaking these laws in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland; and gives some insights into non-profit organizations that offer help to affected people in these countries. To provide the bigger picture, I will close the chapter with a look beyond the focus region based on exemplary media reports that have not made it into academic literature (yet).

### 8.1 Prelude: Marriage as an obsolete concept?

"*The psychology of adultery has been falsified by conventional morals, which assume, in monogamous countries, the attraction to one person cannot coexist with a serious affection for another. Everybody knows that this is untrue*." (Russell, 1929, p. 231) What reads like well-meant advice in an online forum on polyamory is actually a quote from the philosopher Bertrand Russel's book *Marriage and Morals*. In it, Russel basically separated sexuality, monogamy and marriage – which caused quite a scandal in 1929 when it was first published. This raises the question whether the idea of legal marriage, still understood and ideally practiced as a monogamous concept, might not be outdated today, nearly a century after this book was released?

[119] „*Einerseits hätte ich natürlich gerne, dass es sofort passiert, andererseits weiß ich genau, dass die Gesellschaft noch nicht bereit dazu ist, also noch lange nicht. Noch sehr lange nicht. (Seufzen) (..) (nachdenken) entweder es gibt ein, ein Zwischenfall, wo so etwas vorkommt und dann wird es eben legalisiert dadurch, oder es wird noch sehr lange nicht passieren, also mit sehr lange mein ich so sicher 50 Jahre oder 50 bis 100 Jahre. Ich bin mir sehr sicher, dass es dagegen (..) (nachdenken) sehr viel Widerstand geben wird.*" (Int. 003_P2, par. 39).

In 2015, 43.1% of marriages were divorced in the European Union.[120] While this number has constantly risen over the last century,[121] the number of couples that marry has dropped: While in the year 1970, 7.9 individuals in 1,000 got married, in 2015 it was only 4.3 individuals in 1,000 who took that path. Looking at the focus region,[122] divorce rates are below EU average, but only slightly: In Austria, it was 35.5%,[123] in Germany 39.6%, and in Switzerland 40.9% of weddings that were divorced in 2015 (Bundeszentrale Politische Bildung, 2018). Do these numbers mean marriage is an obsolete concept? And why would we assume that marriage is an issue for individuals who do not live and love monogamously and/or heteronormatively? The reasons why the principle of marriage was, in general, a success,[124] and why people still get married today, are already covered in chapter 5 and will not be discussed further. What I would like to shine a light on is the connection between the extended LGBT-community and their demand for legal acceptance, as the majority of academic publications as well as media reports covering this topic are rooted in the needs and demands of people who identify with an extended LGBT acronym.

The legal right to marriage has always been an aim and goal for the LGBT communities (Shannon & Wilis, 2010, p. 435) (Sheff, 2011, p. 489). Some Western countries granted these rights on varying levels. The Scandinavian countries are often mentioned as pioneers due to their liberal civic codes and the resulting impact on society[125] – although this is a relatively new phenomenon: in Sweden for example, same-sex intercourse was part of the sodomy paradigm that also included bestiality, i.e. sexual acts with animals (Rydström, 2005) from 1880 to 1930. These days, also in Austria and Germany, same-sex-relationships can be legally registered. For polyamorous people who seek legal acceptance, however, neither the Scandinavian countries nor the German speaking countries provide legal options

[120] The data originally comes from EUROSTAT, the statistical office of the European Union. They collect all kinds of data from the individual countries. More accurate numbers on marriages and divorces are available, but not in a software format I was able to access. The EU average does not relate to heterosexual weddings only, as France for example also provides data of registered partnerships, regardless whether they originate from heterosexual or homosexual contracts. (Bundeszentrale Politische Bildung, 2018)

[121] This does not include all EU member countries that are now members of the European Union: Divorce only became legal in Italy in 1970, in Spain in 1981, in Ireland in 1995, and in Malta in 2011 (EUROSTAT, 2013).

[122] Although Switzerland is not a member state of the European Union, it provides data to Eurostat as well.

[123] Against popular beliefs and of relevance to the overall topic of the chapter, adultery and/or the refusal of reproduction is not an absolute reason for divorce in Austria (oesterreich.gv.at, 2020).

[124] For an introduction as to why monogamous marriage prevailed although approximately 85 % of human societies allowed polygynous marriage, I recommend Henrich et al. (2012). They refer to group-beneficial effects, namely: reduced crime rates due to fewer unmarried men; less competition for younger brides leading to a decrease in spousal age gap, fertility and gender inequality; increased savings, child investment and economic productivity due to paternal investment; and a high relatedness to a specific household that reduces intra-household conflicts – which then again led to lower rates of child neglect, abuse, accidental death and homicide (Henrich et al., 2012, p. 657).

[125] Rydström (2008, p. 193) for example quotes a presentation of a research project funded by the *Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research* which states that "*[the] law permitting gay partnerships has revolutionized the family!*"

for more than two persons within one relationship. And on the other side of the Atlantic, too, where most research on polyamory comes from, legal recognition of multiple relationships is prohibited. In the following subchapter I will present the main aspects of the academic discussion on legal recognition of polyamorous relationships.

## 8.2 The academic discourse on legal recognition of polyamorous relationships

As shown in chapter 2, as long as there is no clear attribution as to whether polyamory is a form of identity or a sexual orientation, there seems to be little chance for demands for legal acceptance to succeed. The discussion on the chances and pitfalls of legal recognition isn't a new one: More than 15 years ago Aviram (2008) already drew his conclusions on in-depth interviews of activists in the San Francisco bay area regarding the pros and cons of polyamorous marriage: His findings are that the polyamorous community does not seek plural marriage as an objective for a whole range of reasons: "*The availability of private law instruments which provide adequate tools, the uncertainty about how to frame requests for polyamorous legal rights, the pluralism of poly organizations and their disagreement on political moves, the lack of enthusiasm about identity politics, the lack of stigma, the concern that mainstream public may not be 'ready' yet to acknowledge multiple, simultaneous relationships, the concern over the stifling confining outcomes of the institution of marriage.*" (Aviram, 2008, p. 279)

For a scientific viewpoint, Tweedy (2011, pp. 1514-1515) clearly is in favour of defining polyamory as a sexual orientation on the grounds that, it being socially disfavoured and subject to discrimination, this is what could provide legal protection. While this recognition would be one logic step for whatever comes after, it has its drawbacks as well. Klesse (2014b, p. 95) refers to the danger of undermining alliances across non-monogamous identities and other forms of oppression – which, in his opinion, arrests the multi-directional flow of desire and may damage the diversity of erotic experience. Both approaches have their yeas and nays. Publications that cover aspects of legal recognition are less about individual cases of discrimination, and more about the structural limits of according multiple relationships a legal status.

The greatest number by far of publications on polyamory and legal acceptance is published by US authors – therefore the majority of publications concern the United States. The current legal situation is straightforward: plural unions, whether they are based on systemic polygyny or polyamory, are denied recognition by American family law (Goldfarb, 2020, p. 157); similar restrictions apply in other Western countries.

The most pressing aspect of "whatever comes after" is the polyamorous family. In one of her early publications, Elisabeth Sheff described polyamorous families – apart from the fact that they cannot have legalized multi-partnered marriage – as something relatively obscure. One of her key conclusions she drew from this fact is that *"(…) advocates of human and family equality can both work to legalize same-sex and polyamorous marriage with simultaneously acting to disengage privileges and benefits from marital or familial status*." (Sheff, 2011, pp. 508, 509) The issue also dominated other publications, though more in advice literature and guidebooks than in academic publications. The anthology *Stories from the polycule: Real life in polyamorous families* (Sheff, 2015b) already counts as a classic on the issues promised in its title.

Polyamorous family structures are also a topic in one of the few publications that refer to the German speaking region. A. Peukert, Teschlade, Wimbauer, Motakef, and Holzleitner (2020) published a special issue of *GENDER: Journal for Gender, Culture and Society* on *parenthood and family beyond heteronormativity and gender binary.* In one of the articles, Raab (2020) points out that in care arrangements of consensual non-monogamous relationship networks, the lack of legal entitlement may lead to serious consequences: the mothers, understood in this case as the women who gave birth to a child in a polyamorous relationship, are the ones that hold the most responsibility and carry the main burden when it comes to raising the child or the children (Raab, 2020, p. 156). A recent Canadian study also covers children from polyamorous relationships, and also includes pregnancy and birth. The participating poly family members reported positive and negative experiences; all of them experienced marginalization with health care providers due to their polyamorous status. In their suggestions, they recommend non-judgemental, open attitudes of health care providers, as well as modifications to hospital policies to meet the specific needs and support these families (Arseneau, Landry, & Darling, 2019).

From the urgent problem of how for example (not) to write the two fathers of a child on a birth certificate form to the meta level of social perception: Brake (2012, p. 8) discusses the social pressure marginalized people such as polyamorous relationships are exposed to when it comes to marriage, which may cause serious harm to those affected. The same author broaches a yet uncovered aspect: polyamory and care of the elderly: As stated, poly people are excluded from the privileges of family law. This starts with birth and more or less does not end before death: based on the example of US hospitals, which allow only two visitors when limited visitor access applies, for instance with the elderly, Brake (2017, p. 133) illustrates that not all members of a polycule[126] would be allowed in

[126] In the original text, the author uses the term "*polyamorous quad*".

hospital. Taking it from the elders to the younger generation, she furthermore refers to people who need to relocate for work, or imprisoned partners for whom visitor regulations apply, too.

Goldfarb (2020, pp. 166-167) closes her accurate status quo description of legal recognition with the following statement: "*Offering nonmarital relationship status for plural unions would promote family and relationship pluralism. It would also invite polyamorists and polygynists to decide whether nonmarital relationship recognition is beneficial to them*." Therefore, she proposes a concept that would allow legal recognition for those who want it without threatening the monogamous marriage system.

## 8.3 Status quo in the German speaking region

The following subchapter will present the legal framework of marriage and (if applicable) registered relationships in the three examined countries, Austria, Germany and Switzerland, with regard to the number of people who can make use of it – and the legal consequences if this law is being broken. The superordinate legal institution, the *European Court of Human Rights*, has a clear position on this matter: Article 12 of the *European Convention of Human rights* determines the rules of the right to marry, and the according guide[127] refers to monogamy in its substantive rules: "*The wording of article 12 implies that 'the right to marry' refers to a marriage between one single man and one single woman in accordance with the principle of monogamy adhered to in the member states.*" (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 6) The related case titles *Johnston and Others v. Ireland* and dates from the year 1986. The sexual orientation issue was subject to further court decisions – the same document states in the section "*Special groups",* in reference to another court case, *Schalk and Kopf v. Austria* from 2010, that the instruction of marriage had undergone major social changes. A European consensus on the matter could not be reached, but with respect to various domestic legislations, civil unions provided the opportunity for a legal status that is similar or even equal to marriage in many respects (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 10). While the discussion on same-sex marriage proceeded, the polyamorous revolution failed to happen: marriage is still a legal contract between two people and two people only.

[127] The imprint of the document states that the guide does not bind the court, but, as is was prepared by the directorate of jurisconsult (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 2), it can be considered a trustworthy source.

## • The legal situation in Austria

In Austria, the *Allgemeine Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch (ABGB)*, the general civic code, defines marriage. Its full title reads "*Allgemeines bürgerliches Gesetzbuch für die gesammten (sic) deutschen Erbländer der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*" (*General civic code for all German provinces of the Austrian Empire*), and the title is telling: while the Austro-Hungarian monarchy ended in 1918, the text is actually more than a century older – it was passed in 1811 and is still in force in its fundamentals today. Having said that, there have been adaptions on specific topics. The family law was amended due to changed societal needs in the 1970s and the 1980s: the changes concerned for example gender equality and the liberalization of the right to divorce (Bartha, 2004, pp. 30, 35) – article 44, however, still defines marriage as a contract between two people and reads as follows: "*The family relations are based on a marriage contract. In this contract two people of different sex declare according to the law their will to live in inseparable unity, beget children, raise them, and provide support*." (Bundeskanzleramt, 2021).[128] While the precondition of different sex has been adapted in 2019, the number of two people is still in place.

If an individual in Austria breaks this law and gets married to someone while already or still being married, it is not the General Civic Code that applies, but the Criminal Code, named "*Strafgesetzbuch*" in its original language. The relevant article, § 192, came into force on 1st of January 2010 and replaced the 1974 version.[129] The paragraph states that if a person marries or newly establishes or registers a partnership although s/he is married or in a registered partnership; or if a person marries or registers a partnership with a person who is already married or in a registered relationship, the intended punishment for this crime is imprisonment for up to three years (Bundeskanzleramt, 2010).[130] At the time of writing, no case is known that affected poly people, nor do we know of polyamorous activists demanding changes to this law.

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[128] In the original German version of 1811: *„Die Familien-Verhältnisse werden durch den Ehevertrag gegründet. In dem Ehevertrage erklären zwey Personen verschiedenen Geschlechtes gesetzmäßig ihren Willen, in unzertrennlicher Gemeinschaft zu leben, Kinder zu zeugen, sie zu erziehen, und sich gegenseitigen Beystand zu leisten.*"

[129] An amendment of the paragraph was necessary since registered partnerships between same-sex couples were legalized in 2010.

[130] *„Wer eine neue Ehe schließt oder eine eingetragene Partnerschaft begründet, obwohl er verheiratet ist oder eine eingetragene Partnerschaft führt, oder wer mit einer verheirateten Person oder einer Person, die eine eingetragene Partnerschaft führt, eine Ehe schließt oder eine eingetragene Partnerschaft begründet, ist mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu drei Jahren zu bestrafen."*

## • The legal situation in Germany

Similar legislative rules apply for Germany. It is also the Civic Code from 1900 that regulates marriage. §1306 ("*Existing marriage or civic partnership*") states that a legal marriage cannot be declared if one of the two persons who seek to marry is in a marriage or civic partnership with a third person (Schulze et al., 2019, p. 1746).[131] And it is also the Criminal Code ("*Strafgesetzbuch*") that determines the punishment if this rule is broken. Similar to Austria, a prison sentence of up to three years or a fine is intended anyone who is married or in a civic partnership and gets married to a third person (Bundesministerium Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2015).[132] In contrast to Austria, the mere intention to do so is also illegal and subject to the same punishment: three years imprisonment or fine for someone who is married or in a civic partnership and declares their will to register a civic partnership with a third person with the responsible institution (Bundesministerium Justiz und Verbraucherschutz, 2015).[133]

Another difference to Austria with regard to legal acceptance is the circumstance that there have been demands for legal recognition of polyamorous relationships – not by activist groups, but by representatives of political parties. The 2014 Bavarian Green party's youth congress discussed the legal equality of polyamorous relationships with traditional marriage.[134] In the official report of this meeting, the demand was then withdrawn. The executive committee of the local Green youth party declared that the topic was discussed, but no resolution was taken (Borgmann, 2014).

This was not the only political initiative in Germany. In 2010, the German Pirate Party included the demand for legal recognition for relationships of more than two people in their party programme.[135] In 2015, the Pirate Party even submitted an application to the Landtag of Northrhine-Westfalia, where representatives demanded the full equality of homosexual, heterosexual, queer and polyamorous relationships, as well as all other life partnerships that are based on lasting responsibility

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[131] In the original German: "*Eine Ehe darf nicht geschlossen werden, wenn zwischen einer der Personen, die die Ehe miteinander eingehen wollen, und einer dritten Person eine Ehe oder eine Lebenspartnerschaft besteht*."

[132] In the original German: "*Mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu drei Jahren oder Geldstrafe wird bestraft, wer verheiratet ist oder eine Lebenspartnerschaft führt und mit einer dritten Person eine Ehe schließt*."

[133] In the original German: "*Mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu drei Jahren oder Geldstrafe wird bestraft, wer verheiratet ist oder eine Lebenspartnerschaft führt und gemäß § 1 Absatz 1 des Lebenspartnerschaftsgesetzes gegenüber der für die Begründung der Lebenspartnerschaft zuständigen Stelle erklärt, mit einer dritten Person eine Lebenspartnerschaft führen zu wollen.*"

[134] The website of the corrensponding campaign with the title "Stacheln zeigen, Freiheit leben" is still online (GJ-Bayern, 2014), the related reader with the actual content has been removed. For reproducibility, see for example the article in the local Bavarian Newspaper *Landshuter Zeitung* (Viertlböck, 2014).

[135] Since the programme is available online only, there are no sources from the Pirate Party which would verify the demand. A possible source is the German newspaper TAZ, which dedicated an article to the party's idea of family, see Schmollack (2013).

(Piratenfraktion, 2015). The motion was not passed, and since then the topic became less visible. In their current party programme, the relevant paragraph on legal recognition of polyamorous people has vanished, polyamory no longer seems to be among the party's demands (Piratenpartei, 2020).

### • The legal situation in Switzerland

In Switzerland, too, the legislative rules are similar to those in Austria and Germany – at least when it comes to breaking the law: in §215 of the Criminal Code ("*Strafgesetzbuch*") a fine or up to three year imprisonment is foreseen for any individual who declares a marriage or a registered partnership in spite of already being married or in a registered partnership; or for an individual who marries or registers a partnership with someone who is already married or in a registered partnership.[136] In the case of Switzerland, the law is based on a version of 1937. The last relevant update for the according paragraph in the partnership law was passed in 2007 (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2020). Other than in Austria or Germany, the number of partners permitted in a marriage is not directly stated in the Swiss Civic Code ("*Schweizerisches Zivilgesetzbuch*") of 1907, with relevant changes for the topic in 2006, 2008, and 2013.[137] Indirectly it is §105 that indicates the permitted number of partners. The according footnote 1 states that a marriage is invalidated when, at the time of the marriage, one of the partners is already married and the previous marriage has not been dissolved by divorce or death of the partner (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2021).[138]

On a closing note on this subchapter, there are some publications on multiple legal relationships that discuss legal polygamous marriage in Islamic countries and the consequences for the legal system in Austria, Germany or Switzerland when affected people become local citizens. Majer (2019, p. 244) for example concludes that polygynous relationships cannot be legally registered in Germany – not even by foreigners who would have the statute to do so according to their home country's law – but multiple marriages registered in foreign countries have to be recognized under specific circumstances. Berchtold (2014) comes to a similar conclusion, confirming that polygamy according to Islamic law is illegal in Austria, but awarding alimony claims for all wives in Austria is acceptable. For Switzerland,

[136] In the original German: "*Wer eine Ehe abschließt, oder eine Partnerschaft eintragen lässt, obwohl er verheiratet ist oder in eingetragenen Partnerschaft lebt; wer mit einer Person, die verheiratet ist oder in eigetragener Partnerschaft lebt, die Ehe schließt oder die Partnerschaft eintragen lässt; wird mit Freiheitsstrafe bis zu drei Jahren oder Geldstrafe bestraft.*"

[137] In 2006 §105 was adopted with regard to marriage and kinship (paragraph 2), in 2008 with regard to non-Swiss citizens (paragraph 3), and in 2013 to forced marriage and nonage (paragraph 4 and 5). The first paragraph, which is the relevant one, has not been modified since 1907 (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2021).

[138] In the original German: " *Ein Ungültigkeitsgrund liegt vor, wenn: 1. zur Zeit der Eheschließung einer der Ehegatten bereits verheiratet ist, und die frühere Ehe nicht durch Scheidung oder Tod des Partners aufgelöst worden ist.*"

the Swiss federal council ("Bundesrat") answered an inquiry by Oscar Freysinger, a member of the national council of the Swiss People's Party. He raised the question whether a second marriage according to Islamic rules was allowed when someone was already married according to Swiss law; and whether it was allowed for a Swiss citizen to marry two or more wives according to Islamic law. The answer by the Bundesrat covers both aspects: an Islamic marriage is only valid if there was a civil wedding beforehand – and this is only possible with a single person. Another interesting fact is provided by the answer on the follow-up question of the MP regarding the number of people who were convicted for a multiple marriage in Switzerland: four in 2007, one in 2008, six in 2009, four in 2010, and two cases in 2011 – which cannot be ascribed to any one religions confession as the statistics fail to provide this information (Bundesversammlung, 2012).

## 8.4 Legal advice in the relevant countries

Institutional legal advice is a good indication for how far the demand for legal acceptance progresses within a society. For that matter, neither of the three target countries has any institution that seem to bring up the topic with any urgency. And, as already shown in chapter 2, even the most recognized human rights organization, Amnesty International, which does have queer sections in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, does not explicitly refer to polyamory and therefore provides no reference either.

In Austria, there are a number of organizations that offer advice and information, and some of them even provide space for lesbian, gay, bisexual and/or transgender parents and their children, as well as parents to be – but this is where the story ends. There is no institution, organization, interest group or the like that explicitly covers legal advice for polyamorous needs. Focusing on advice in general, the website www.polyamory.at is a first contact point for many. It contains facts on meetings in six different cities, and has an FAQ section with more than a dozen comprehensive articles, but none of them offers legal help, which is also explained in the "about" section in which the website describes its self-conception as that of a signpost to relevant information regarding polyamory. In addition, it is run by a private individual and is not organized as an association (Hennrich, 2021).

In Germany, probably due to its size and ten times the population of Austria (and the higher number of affected people), there is a better organizational structure. It is the "*PAN – Polyamoröses Netzwerk e.V.*" that claims to support people who live in consensual and responsible romantic relationships with

more than one person, or strive to do so.[139] It was founded as an association with an elected board in 2008, has more than 170 members (not only German but Austrian and Swiss as well) and organizes transnational meetings up to four times a year (PAN, 2020). The website provides links to poly meetings in Switzerland and Germany, and also refers to Austrian and Swiss polyamory websites. And there is even a listed contact who is responsible for media inquiries. One thing it, too, does not offer is any trace of or information on legal advice on polyamorous matters. In the wider field of rainbow families, affected people are addressed by the state: the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth has a special website that explains rainbow families. It refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersexual persons who plan to start a family; polyamorous needs are not covered on this website (Familienportal, 2021).

In Switzerland, in their *about* section, the *Swiss Rainbow Families Switzerland* claim to represent the needs and interests of rainbow families and consider themselves as first contact for the authorities, politics, and society. In their definition, a rainbow family is defined by at least one partner being lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans* (Dachverband Regebogenfamilien, 2021) – as I have previously shown, this may be the case, but is not necessarily so in polyamorous relationships. What is more, the word *Polyamorie/polyamory* is nowhere to be found on their website. There is an interest group association, the so-called "*Verein Interessensgruppe Polyamorie Schweiz*", a non-profit organization. They claim to provide some orientation for people seeking help who are looking for a different model of relationships (focusing on polyamory and alternative forms of relationships), but do not provide any legal advice on their website (Verein IG Polyamorie, 2020).

## 8.5 Looking beyond the focus region

A number of attempts were made to legalize polygamy in Western countries – the following subchapter only exemplarily presents incidents that strictly related to the term polyamory rather than polygamy. Since most of them failed to make it into academic publications, the sources are predominately newspaper reports.

The Dutch activist Ageeth Veenemans had a big media impact with her public campaign and a number of artists supported her ideas. The goal of the campaign was to collect 40,000 signatures – the number needed to hand in a legislative initiative in the Netherlands (APA/dpa, 2009). While the campaign's

[139] In the original German: "*Das Polyamoröse Netzwerk (PAN) unterstützt Menschen, die in einvernehmlichen und verantwortungsvollen Liebesbeziehungen zu mehreren Menschen leben oder dies anstreben*."

appeal was to be found in a few German-language newspapers, its actual legislative aftermath was not covered by German-language media. One outcome, however, was the promotion of a book by Veenemans on the issue; two years later it also appeared in a German edition under the title "*I love two men. Polyamory, love without borders*." (Veenemans, 2011)

In Brazil, a registered partnership between a man and two women drew so much attention in 2012 that European news agencies also reported on it. The acting notary based her decision on the fact that they had been living together for long enough and also split their bills (APA/AFP, 2012). There is a similar story from the same continent, this time from Colombia. A local actor married his two male partners – originally, they had planned a marriage between four men, but one of them died of cancer. The three men now have rights such as shared inheritance. The article reports further that marriages between three people are not uncommon in Colombia; what was uncommon in this case was that it was legally ratified (dpa/vo, 2017). Also from the southern hemisphere is a statement by a member of the Australian Liberal Party, Eric Abetz. He worried that legalizing same-sex marriage would lead to legalizing other unions as well, explicitly mentioning polyamory in his statement. He emphasized his fears by not only referring to the promotion of polyamory to the Australian Senate committees, but also to its initial steps and progress in Holland (sic!), in Scandinavia, and in the United States (Hurst, 2015).

A New Zealand Newspaper reports on an issue I consider as equally important as tying the legal knot for a relationship between more than two individuals: the dissolution of the legal bond if the relationship does not last until death doth them part: The article reports on a heterosexual couple who got married in 1993, and were joined by another woman in 2002, with whom they then lived together at a property they bought together for 15 years. In 2017, the first and legally married couple (consisting of two people) split up; one year later the remaining couple (also consisting of two people) split up as well.[140] These separations were followed by a court case about how to divide the shared property, in which the basis of the judge's decision was *the New Zealand Property Relationship Act*. She ruled that neither of the three possible options this law provides for (marriage, civil union and de facto relationship) applied to polyamorous relationships as the law defines a relationship as something between two people. (Davison, 2020)

[140] Since there is no further statement on the relationship between the two women, one can assume that their relationship structure was a "hinge" (see Chapter 2) and the two women did not have an intimate relationship – so with both females breaking up with the male, I assume no female-female relationship between the two remained.

The closing quote comes from an online article in the Huffington Post (the first online newspaper ever awarded the Pulitzer price): It is about three gay men in a long-term polyamorous relationship living in California who managed to get all three of their names (as fathers) on the birth certificate of their child who was conceived through an egg donor and a surrogate. The media sensation was a little late in coming as their first child was already born in 2017 and their second one in 2019, but this is probably due to the fact that their book on their family situation, *Three dads and a baby,* will be published later this year. However, they already announced that theirs was the first baby with three dads in California, and that it took a lot of money and lawyers to get there (Feldman, 2020). As yet, it is impossible to predict whether this case, as well as the other examples I presented, has the potential to change the legal situation.

To summarize this chapter, what is clear is that currently a legal status of polyamorous relationships, whether we call it marriage, registered partnership, or something else, is not likely to be achieved in Austria, Germany and Switzerland any time soon. What is less clear is whether the polyamorous community even wants such a status, as it seems to have pros and cons; to be precise, there are some who are in favor, and others who oppose a legal status. The fact is: no poly person in the target countries currently has any choice in this as the legal framework does not provide any option for a multiple legal bond.

## 9. Aspect five: God - Trinity but not poly

"*I assume that we have been influenced by religion throughout the centuries, and possibly throughout millennia, and that monogamy or this sort of relation was set as rule. But I doubt this ever worked. First of all, thank god, we are on the path of secularisation, more and more. Although there is a new trend, due to Islam, to emphasize religion. But I, as someone born here and living in Austria, I all this, it is… religion has caused a lot of damage, not only this one religion, but basically all religions, and I have distanced myself from all that*."[141] This statement of the interview partner *Heinzi* is a perfect introduction to the following chapter on religion, or to be more precise, religious denomination and polyamory. The first sub-chapter explains why this thesis is focussed on Christianity. The second subchapter will give an insight into the historic connection of Christianity and monogamy. The last two subchapters are dedicated to two specific denominations: Catholics and Protestants, since these are the two largest denominations in Austria, Germany and Switzerland.[142] The title of the chapter is chosen in reference to the confession I was once baptised in, where God himself is seen as trinity (Father, Son and Holy Spirit), or, as R. E. Goss (2004) put it, God is promiscuities, which is reflected in Christian's polyamory, but God's children have to follow a binary and monogamous path in love.

Another issue for Christian denominations – and this aspect only indirectly detracts from the topic of this chapter – is that, when three or more people seek the matrimonial bond, there is a good chance that at least two of them engage in same-sex love. This has been a problem for Christian representatives since the Middle Ages (Rydström, 2019b). The official Catholic church still refuses any kind of acceptance of homosexual acts or legal recognition (Vatican, 2003), which makes a wedding as well as a blessing impossible. The Protestant churches tend to be more liberal, selectively allowing blessings for same-sex relationships. The first Evangelical regional church to release a pertinent document (EKIBA, 2016) was the *Evangelische Landeskirche in Bad*en in 2016. One example for the rather progressive demand of a religious wedding comes from Sweden, where lesbian and gay lobbies

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[141] *„Ich gehe auch davon aus, dass das (.) wir sehr von der (.) kirchlichen Seite durch Jahrhunderte geprägt worden, und wahrscheinlich durch Jahrtausende, wo es halt diese Einehe oder diese eine Beziehung vorgeschrieben war. Aber ob das wirklich funktioniert, (..) würd ich sehr in Frage stellen. Also erstens einmal sind wir ja dabei uns Gott sei Dank jetzt zu säkularisieren, immer mehr. Wo es dann auch einen anderen Trend gibt, mit dem Islam da, wieder mehr Religionen in den Vordergrund zu stellen. Aber ich als (..) in Österreich geborener, lebender Mensch, ich nimm ja das/ das ist (..) diese Religion hat (.) sehr viel Schaden angerichtet, also nicht diese eine sondern alle Religionen praktisch (.) und (..) davon hab ich mich schon lange entfernt.*" (Int. 032, par. 18).

[142] Due to the geographical focus on Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, other Christian denominations, as for example the Church of England, will not be described. Also Mormonism, which is often mentioned in the context of polyamory by the public because of the impact of US-produced tv series, is not covered.

already demanded the right of church weddings (Rydström, 2004, p. 274) in the mid-2000s, more than a decade before the legalization of confessional blessing – for Catholics, however, in contrast to Protestants, there is no blessing.[143]

## 9.1 Introduction: Numbers in the target countries

The thesis at hands focusses on the German-speaking region where newspaper articles on polyamory have been published, i. e. Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. In these three countries, the statistics of denominations looks as follows:

- **Austria**

Since the national census of 2001, data on the religious denominations of the population are no longer surveyed (Austrian Government Agency, 2020). Therefore, the last collated data is nearly two decades old, all other (more current) numbers are estimates. The numbers[144] published by *Statistik Austria* (Austria's Federal Statistical Office) then looked at follows: The largest group are Roman-Catholics (excluding the other Catholic denominations Greek Catholic, Armenian Catholic, Bulgarian Catholic, Romanian Catholic, Russian Catholic, Syrian Catholic, and Ukrainian Catholic) that account for 5,917,000 people, out of a population of 8,033,000 among Austrian residents (i. e. not Austrian citizens holding an Austrian passport but people living in Austria at that date, excluding Austrian citizens living abroad), representing 73.7 % of the overall population. The second largest group, which is not a denominational group but the group without religion or not providing data, included 1,124,000 persons, or 14 % of the population. So actually, the second largest confessional group were Protestants, including the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg confession, the Evangelical Church of the Helvetic Confession, and Protestants without any further denomination given, with 376,000 persons, representing 4.7 % of people living in Austria. To complete the picture, 339,000 persons are Muslim (Statistik Austria, 2007).

[143] The optimistic end for this sentence would be a "yet". To anticipate one of the findings from the interviews, the three comments on this issue went from "*probably having female priests*" via "*not in 200 years*" to "*a couple of hundred years*".

[144] Rounded by the author to 1,000 for easier and quicker understanding.

- **Germany**

In Germany, it is the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung* (Federal Agency for Civic Education) that publishes data on religious affiliation and membership. The data cannot be allocated to a specific year, the range of years of which the numbers have been collected goes from 2006 to 2015, therefore no number of overall populations for this decade is stated – as of 2018, the total population of Germany was 82.79 million people. Going into detail on religion, 30.2 % of the overall population in Germany are Catholic (as with Austria, this refers to people residing in Germany at the time, regardless of their nationality), and 29.2 % Protestant. Muslims account for 4.9 %. There is a gap between Eastern and Western Germany: In Western Germany, 14 % are non-denominational, in Eastern Germany this is 68.1%, nearly five times as many, who are no members of any religious denomination (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2019).

- **Switzerland**

For Switzerland, the *Bundesamt für Statistik* (Federal Statistics Office, Department of Demography and Migration) publishes statistics on religion. Their most accurate data comes from the years 2016-2018 and includes everyone permanently living in Switzerland above 15 years of age. The largest confessional group is the Roman-Catholic Church with 35 %, followed by – similar to Austria – people without denominational affiliation, representing 28 % of the whole population in this age group. The second largest confessional group again are Protestants, in the case of Switzerland under the name of *Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches*, with 23 % of the included population being members. Other religions account for 14 % together, and for 1,4 % their denomination is unknown. More than in other Christian countries, the Catholic and Protestant confessions in Switzerland are constantly losing members since the 1970s, and for the past 8 years not to other churches, but to those without religious affiliation (Bundesamt für Statistik, 2020).

As the Catholic church is in the lead in all three countries, followed by the Protestant churches with regard to the number of persons affiliated to a denomination, these two will be covered in detail. Other major denominations, namely the other major religions Islam[145], Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Sikhism, Traditional Chinese Religion/Confucianism, and Taoism (Burke, 2004), will not be described.

[145] Yet, and as a preview on the media analysis in which a small number of articles did mention Islam in connection with polyamory as a chance or the threat of allowing polygyny in Germany, one paragraph on polygamous marriage within Islam: Polygyny, i. e. one man marrying more than one woman, is not an Islamic invention. It long existed for example in Jewish tradition and was a privilege of all those who could afford it. The number of polygynous relationships decreased with the Greco-Roman influence in late Hellenistic and early Roman times; still, some Jewish sub-confessions allowed it until the 20th century (Eder, 2018, pp. 133-134). Today, the Muslim practice of having more than one wife at a time varies widely across the world. In sub-saharan communities for example, it amounts to between 20 to

## 9.2 The discourse on polyamory and Christianity

Social and cultural studies widely neglect the aspect of religion, to be more precise (Western) confessions, especially Christianity, with regard to polyamory. One of the few articles that does mention this aspect on a theoretical basis is by Robinson (2012), c. f. Gahan (2012, p. 1229): "*By reframing the Christian Trinity to reveal polyamory as a key element of God's nature would 'not only revolutionize sexual ethics, but also influence other areas of theology that have traditionally taken up the monogamous model'*". He further quotes the theologian Daniels (2012), c. f. Gahan (2012), who is demanding for polyamory to be accepted as part of a convenantal (sic!) relationship. Both statements reflect the personal view of individual authors rather than a representative sample stemming from the community. For a similar, even more personal reason, the initially promising article *Proleptic sexual love: God's promiscuity reflected in Christian Polyamory* was not considered: The author Robert Goss introduces his article with the sentence "*While I recognize pair-bond couples as gift for the Christian community (…)*" (R. Goss, 2004, p. 54) – since he seems to fail to distance himself from his belief in his publication, his text will not be discussed any further.

Moving from the theoretical discourse on polyamory to suspected correlations between polyamorous people and their religious affiliation, scientific evidence is hard to find. Brewster et al. (2017) did a content analysis on a total of 110 peer-reviewed journal articles including non-empirical as well as empirical studies. Looking at them in detail, he states that 88.1 % of the studies did not record any information on the religious affiliations of the participants. With a total of 37 studies, this makes all of four studies that did include information on religious affiliation. The corresponding findings on religion did not show it had any significance. We might expect a collection of data on religious affiliation in Paccagnella (2020): He refers to Italy being a country with a strong Catholic tradition, which he considers as one of the limitations of his research; however, he fails collect the relevant data from his participants. From the viewpoint of countries with strong Catholic roots, the INTIMATE research project needs to be named: This European Research Council-funded project examined non-standard intimacies in Italy, Portugal and Spain (INTIMATE, 2019) over five years. The research output covered a whole range of aspects queer and non-monogamous people are confronted with – but yet again, the participant's religious affiliation was not an issue.

50 %, while amongst Arab Muslims, the number of polygynous marriages does not exceed 12 % of the total (Islam, 2021, p. 2).

## 9.3 The Roman-Catholic church and polyamory

As shown in other chapters, the term polyamory appeared some two decades ago, therefore we are limited in looking further back than the 1990s. Nevertheless, relationship structures that, to some extent, represent what we call polyamory today have existed since the beginning of mankind. To understand the attitude of the Catholic Church towards consensual relationships between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over a longer period of time, we need to operate with an (ancient) term that has a more or less similar meaning: *concubinage*. For a neutral definition, the Cambridge Dictionary understands a concubine as "*a woman who, in some societies, lives and has sex with a man she is not married to, and has a lower social rank than his wife or wives*."[146] (Cambridge_Dictionary, 2021c) The Catholic Church uses a less neutral definition, its position reads as follows: "*How shameful and how unworthy it is of the name of clerics who have dedicated themselves to the service of God to live in the filth of impurity and unclean prohibition.*" (Laqua, 2006, p. 72 cf. Schröder, 1978) The original source of this statement dates back more than half a millennium – the Council of Trent, Italy, 1545 to 1563. It resulted in the prohibition of concubinage, monogamy as in sexual exclusivity became the rule, marriage from thereon was declared as a monogamous and lifelong principle, defined by the sacrament of marriage (Pieper & Bauer, 2014b, p. 4), making Christian marriages – as well as monogamous – also exogamous and indissoluble. (Loughead, 2008, p. 1) The reason for this was more secular than moral, as Bell (2015, p. 1) illustrates: "Monogamy is ethnographically *peculiar as an ethical ideal and emerged in the Early Middle Ages as a form of sexual repression imposed by the Church and employed by secular authorities to decompose powerful elite* linages." For one of the written rules on monogamy, one even has to go back 300 to 400 years beyond the Council of Trent: The canonical law, set down between 1150 and 1250, established the rule for a Christian marriage: monogamous, with the consensus of both partners of marriageable age, received as a sacrament (Eder, 2018, p. 196).

A change in the Catholic Church's discourse on sexuality began in the 1870s, at least in the German speaking regions. Sexuality lost its significance as a matter of individual morality and spiritual salvation and moved towards questions of social welfare and the continuing existince of the Catholic community – even more so since the outbreak of the Great War (Horntrich, 2020, pp. 2154, 2137). Arguably, the condensation of this shift is what followed on the *Enzyklika Arkanum divinae sapientiae* by Pope Leo XIII of 1880: The *Castii Canubi* by Pope Pius XI. In 130 paragraphs, it defines the Catholic idea of marriage, or as the translated subtitle gives away, on *Christian marriage with regard to the current living conditions and needs of family and society and the existing errors and abuses*. The quote that is

[146] With the reservation that this definition relates to hierarchical structures in a multiple relationship, which for polyamory can but need not be the case, see chapter 2 for details.

most relevant for the topic of polyamory occurs in paragraph 21: "*Nor did Christ Our Lord wish only to condemn any form of polygamy or polyandry, as they are called, whether successive or simultaneous, and every other external dishonorable act, but, in order that the sacred bonds of marriage may be guarded absolutely inviolate.*" (Pius XI, 1930)

Since then, this position towards multiple relationships has remained unchanged. There are up-to-date official statements on polygamy,[147] but neither on the official Austrian (www.katholisch.at) nor in the official German (www.katholisch.de) Catholic web portal, the search for polyamory[148] delivered a single hit. The exception is the Swiss homepage (www.kath.ch), a service provider of the Catholic media centre on behalf of the Catholic Church in Switzerland. A search for *Polyamorie* does deliver one hit, which however only leads to a headline and sub-headline and a link – to a Swiss newspaper article of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* without any further comment. Yet, there are Catholic representatives who see a possible threat in polyamory, even if they don't use this term. Conley, Moors, et al. (2013, p. 2) state that: *"Two weeks after the New York State Senate voted to legalize same-sex marriage, Timothy Dolan, the state's Roman Catholic archbishop, warned that the ongoing redefinition of marriage will eventually lead to the acceptance of concurrent marriages (which he considers to be synonymous with infidelity), and fears that nonmonogamy may eventually become a societal norm*."

## 9.4 Protestant Churches and polyamory

Protestant thoughts on what – as explained in the previous sub-chapter – comes closest to polyamory also emerge more than 500 years ago, by one of the founders of Protestantism himself: Martin Luther, who laid the groundwork for what was to become the Lutheran church (Kunter, 2016, p. 28), initially did recognize that plural marriage and his concepts were not directly contradictory. He allowed his supporter landgrave Philipp von Hessen to have a second wife (with the caveat to keep it secret), who the latter married in 1540, but this attitude did not last long. Not only did this act got the then young religious reformation movement into trouble, it also contradicted the legal norms that penalized polygamy with death (Loughead, 2008, pp. 34-35).

Just like in the Catholic Church, polygamy is still condemned in the Protestant churches. Nevertheless, polyamory did become an issue in recent years, and some institutions within the denominations at least allow a discussion on the matter. One example is the 160-pages strong "*Orientation Guide of the*

[147] See for example Brüggemann (2015) who wrote an article for katholisch.de on demand of the African bishops for the family synod in 2015.

[148] Neither in the English spelling *polyamory* nor in the German spelling *Polyamorie*.

*Protestant Church in Germany*",[149] published in 2013. It does plead for recognition and support of all kinds of families today, including patchwork families and homosexual couples, but does not explicitly mention the word *polyamory* (EKD, 2013). Interestingly enough, conservative critics of this guide did address the concept of polyamory directly. An already-retired priest from a small town in Baden-Württemberg started a campaign in the shape of an open letter containing ten questions, which quickly turned into a countrywide petition signed by important representatives of academia, church, politics, and society. In question five, he postulates that the term family is clearly defined, characterized and protected – and therefore has to be separated from homosexual and polyamorous relationships (Krabbe, 2013). In addition to those critical voices, also supporters of the liberal approach also voiced their opinions: The female theologian Eske Wollrad (2013), director of the umbrella organisation of female Protestant women in Germany, held that male and female individuals can have multiple relationships and still act ethically responsibly and live on the bases of Christian values – a strong statement at the nationwide church congress 2013 in Hamburg, as she represented more than 3 million members within her organization.

And the official Protestant web portals, too, deliver more results compared to the Catholic ones. The *Gemeinschaftswerk der Evangelischen Publizistik*, representing the multimedia competence center of the Protestant church in Germany (www.evangelisch.de), lists an article by a female Protestant theologist explicitly on the topic of polyamory. In the introductory statement, she clearly distinguishes it from free love, and follows this by the appeal that polyamory needs to be discussed in a differentiated manner in the public, the media, and the confessions (Payk, 2017). It remains the only article on the matter in Germany; in Austria, the relevant counterpart (www.efang.at) does not mention the topic. The Swiss outlet (www.ref.ch), according to their imprint the communications company of the German-Swiss Reformed Churches, also contains one article with a reference to polyamory – without content on relationships though, but as an issue that was discussed in an international podcast on faith, religion, and spirituality.

For one glimpse beyond the focus region, even more open Christian institutions – which are closer to the Protestant than the Catholic church – outside of Europe don't have polyamory in their sights yet, as the following example illustrates, referring to one of the oldest denominations in the United States: "*Take, for instance, a progressive denomination like the US Episcopal Church that has canon laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, or expression, as well as a liturgy for same-sex marriages and yet doesn't advocate for the rights of those who practice ethical non-monogamy*." (Garrison, 2019, p. 30)

[149] In the German original: *Orientierungshilfe des Rates der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland.*

To sum up this chapter: We do not know much about polyamory and Christianity. What we know is that they are not going too well together for the moment, and it does not look as though they will in the near future. Polyamorous weddings in the Protestant church currently seem unlikely, but still much more likely than a Catholic polyamorous marriage, as the Catholic church does not even consider poly blessings. Yet, the more progressive Protestant Church – compared to the Catholic one – at least seems to be aware of the issue. With regard to the thousands of years of Christian history, as opposed to the decades-old history of polyamory, any change of official positions on the matter is not likely to happen soon. Amen.

## 10. Aspect six: Distributing and gaining poly knowledge

*"Well, honestly I have to say it was really difficult to find anything on polyamory. So, in the media, the topic is not very developed, and the few articles that exist, in some kind of online source, or ancient Woman (explanatory note: an Austrian bi-weekly women's magazine), that did nothing to me. Plus, I usually don't read such magazines, I simply came across it when searching for it."* [150] This quote by Sorona was her answer to my question whether there was anything she would like to add before closing the interview, something that she missed, that she would consider as important to mention when speaking about polyamory – and it is a good introduction to the final theoretical chapter of this thesis: How is poly knowledge distributed? And how and where do affected people access knowledge? In detail: The chapter starts off with the attempt to clarify if the media is responsible for a broader discussion of polyamory in society (or vice versa); it provides an overview on polyamorous literature all the way from fiction to advice literature; it introduces related films and TV series, and moves on to the world wide web with regard to the topic. The last sub-chapter then exemplarily introduces two "polyamory-fails", i. e. media coverage on polyamory that was not intended as such.

### 10.1 Prelude: The chicken-and-egg situation

In the introduction chapter 1 I already illustrated the number of academic publications on polyamory, and the rather steep rise around 2018 compared with previous years. In this last theoretical chapter, I am superimposing the same graph of the peer-reviewed journal articles including the word *polyamory* found in the search engine of the University of Vienna with a second set of data: the number of articles found in the *WISO database* that include the word *polyamory* in all its spelling variants.[151]

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[150] "*Also ich muss ehrlich gesagt sagen, es war für mich wahnsinnig schwierig überhaupt etwas über Poly zu finden, // mhm (bejahend) // also (.) Medientechnisch ist es ned sehr (.) ausgebaut, und die paar Artikel, die man irgendwo lesen kann, in irgendeiner Online, uralt Woman, oder irgendwie / des ist / (nachdenken) (...) das hat mir überhaupt nichts gebracht, ja? Wobei ich solche Magazine prinzipiell ja überhaupt ned lies, ich bin nur (..) drauf gestoßen, weil ich einfach gesucht hab danach*." (Int. 020, par. 44)

[151] The following chapter 11 provides a detailed description of the WISO database, and justifies why it was selected as source for the newspaper articles. In contrast to the data to come, this illustration does not exclude duplicate articles, non-relevant articles or the like.

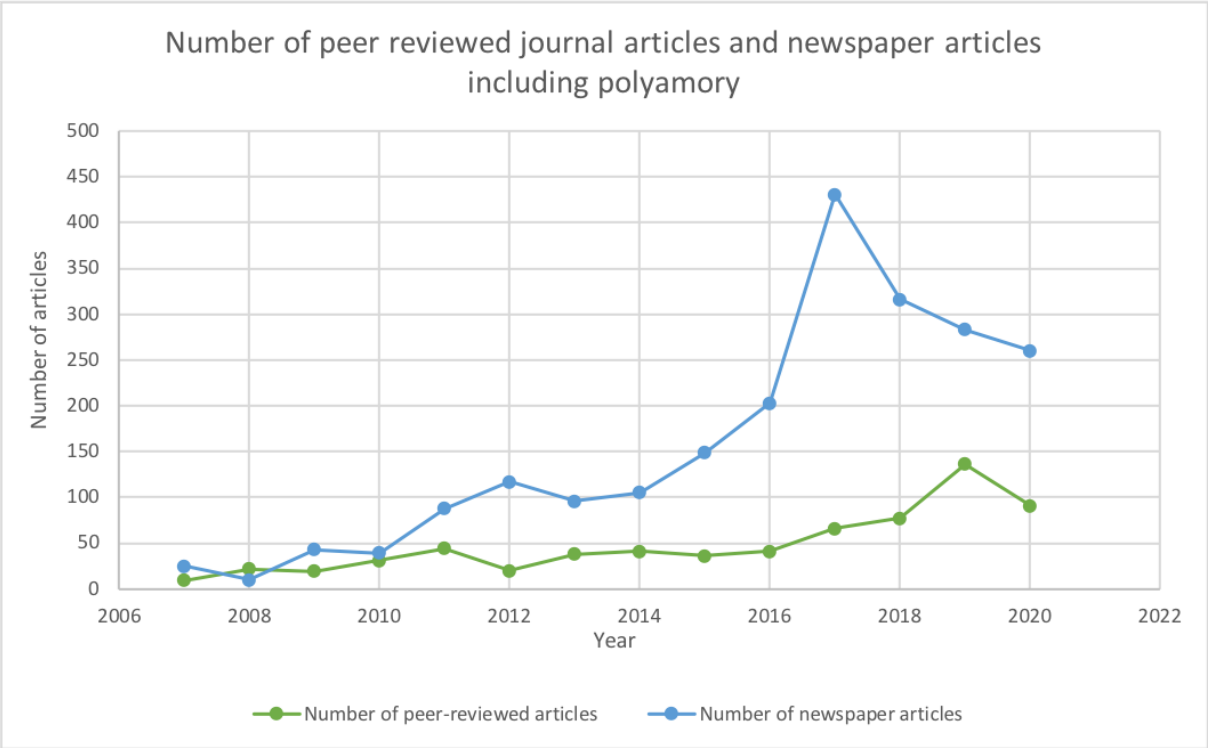


Fig. 10.1: Number of peer-reviewed journal articles and newspaper articles that include the word polyamory in various versions of spelling (figure by the author).

Why is this relevant to the question on the distribution of knowledge on polyamory? As shown in chapter seven on the social acceptance of polyamorous relationships, there are a few studies that elaborated how poly people are being perceived by the public – from the point of view of the affected. What does not exist is any empirically based studies on how the public perceives polyamorous individuals. In order to gain an insight into this question, either a media effects research (to find out how the audience perceives media on polyamorous matters) or some survey of the public (to find out how the public perceives polyamorous people in their real, day-to-day world) would need to be implemented. We have no knowledge of either as no such studies have been conducted so far. What we do know is that, especially over the past two centuries, concepts of love, as well as the nature of intimate relationships, have undergone changes. The dividing lines between the private and the public have become blurrier; intimacy, identity, and relationships more public. Wyss (2014, p. 10) puts it in a nutshell: "*On the one hand, intimacy is seen as spatially or metaphorically spatial organized quality, which is attributed to the inner realm of the private sphere (…). On the other hand, intimacy is seen more as a constructed state between a person and a (love) object that is interactively and dialogically constructed*." So, the private becomes public – but it remains unclear whether it is then the public that influences the private, or the other way round.

The figure 10.1 illustrates my attempt to at least trace connections between the intensity of media coverage on polyamory, and polyamory as an academic research topic, since there is some quantitative data available. As shown in chapter 2, polyamory had emerged as a research topic as well as a societal, cultural and media-represented phenomenon by the mid 1990s. Focussing the empirical research approach of this thesis on the years from 2007 to 2017, and adding the years that have passed until it was completed, we do see (with the exception of the years 2012 and 2017) that there seems to be an analogy between the media representation and the academic interest in polyamory. Yet, what the graph – as well as existing literature – fails to tell us is what came first, or what caused the other variable to rise likewise: Did the increasing media coverage result in an increased research activity on the topic, or does the increased academic output on the matter cause the media to cover the topic more frequently? This is where we hit the chicken-and-egg dilemma that stands for "*a situation in which it is impossible to say which one of the two things existed first and which caused the other one*." (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021b) Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1891, p. 878) left the answer to those who can explain God ("*Was the chicken first? Or did the egg come before the chicken? Whoever solves this conundrum will have settled the dispute over God*");[152] for the thesis at hand, no answer on this matter can be provided. What the following three subchapters can answer, however, is what types of sources can be consulted to gain knowledge on the matter of polyamory.

## 10.2 Polyamory in print: from fiction via guidebooks to periodicals

What we don't know on a basis of quantitative data yet is how affected people gain their knowledge on polyamory once they are confronted with the matter. What we do know is that the several formats in which information on polyamory is presented often refer to other sources; so the Wikipedia article for example refers to printed advice literature in the form of a guidebook. This chapter will cover the three aspects along the lines of the technical categorization introduced in the theoretical chapter 4: Print (*secondary media*, only the producer needs a technical device to produce the content); television (*tertiary media*, a technical device at the sender's as well as at the receiver's end is required); and webpages, blogs and there like (*quaternary media*, so internet-based tertiary media). It starts with secondary media and its variants, getting started with imaginary vicious stories rather than real-life problems: fiction.

[152] In the German original: "*War die Henne zuerst? Oder war das Ei vor der Henne? Wer dies Rätsel erlöst, schlichtet den Streit um den Got*t." (Goethe, 1891, p. 878)

- **Polyamory in fiction**

Books that cover the topic of love, sex and relationships are as old as letterpress printing itself. In the light of the geographical focus of the thesis I would like to exemplarily introduce a book that was discussed by the media during the research period 2007–2017, that brought the topic of polyamory to a wide German speaking audience, and also made it into academic discussions: In her book "*Wir kommen*" ("We are coming"), the only 25-years old German author Ronja von Rönne (2016) describes the issues of four people who live in a polyamorous relationship, as they spend time together at the seaside. The issues in the story are less about polyamory than a sum of all issues young people have. The possible impact of the book - it was written in a diary format, but in media reports the author denies that the content is autobiographical (Zimmermann, 2019, pp. 174-176) was not overlooked. Schmitz (2020, p. 15) concludes that the novel *"(…) reflects a specific generational problem with regard the formation of intimate relationships (…)"*; the female protagonist Nora is insecure and loses her narrative goal, which can be interpreted as a general issue of the current generation between 20 and 30 with an academic background. His following remark gets to the heart of the situation: "*The double bind that this generates for women, of entering a relationship that prioritizes casual physicality over emotional security, is reflected in Nora's inability to extricate herself from the polyamorous quartet*."

- **The must-reads of advice and counselling literature**

Advice and counselling books fulfil an important role for people who are in search of information on something they have not been confronted with before. As an example, Melita Noël does research on polyamory, but has also come out as living polyamorous herself. Her statement in the first ever SAGE special issue on polyamory illustrates the high hopes people (including herself) have of texts that provide practical advice on the implementation of polyamory for those who want to take this path: *"(…) I have hoped for a comprehensive polyamorous vision, as well as practical approaches, to help individuals create relationships, families and communities that effectively address current systemic problems, including poverty, homelessness, inadequate healthcare, childcare and education, high divorce and domestic violence rates, as well as disconnection within and between communities*." (Noël, 2006, p. 604) Nevertheless, whether the advice proves to be helpful for the individuals or not,[153] the amount of relevant literature is still manageable. The first of its kind, if we consider academic personal guidebooks as advice literature, would arguably be *Love without limits – The quest for sustainable relationships* by Anapol (1992). As Bloedel and Manning (2018, p. 161) argue, "*Academic literature about polyamory or other similar practices was practically non-existent until Deborah Anapol wrote an*

[153] It didn't work for the author, and she wrote a statement that some the interviewees for the empirical self-perception part for the thesis reiterated in a very similar manner: "*I have felt frustration in realizing that while the polyamorous texts sometimes offer such a vision, they do not practically provide methods for realizing these abundance models for all people, but rather just for a selected few*." (Noël, 2006, p. 604)

*academically-informed and highly personal guide in 1992."* In the following I will present books covered by the German-speaking press during the empiric research period, starting with the international (English language) books, before introducing German literature as well.

Already introduced in the definitions chapter, there is one book that has been described as the *bible of polyamory* (Haritaworn et al., 2006, p. 519): *The Ethical Slut* by Easton and Listz (1997) in its first edition. Quite symbolically, even one of the authors didn't risk writing in her real name and called herself Catherine A. Listz. Not so in the second edition, however, which was published in the two real names of the authors: Easton and Hardy (2009). Interestingly enough, it wasn't only one of the names that was changed, the title also was given a different spin – while the first edition had the subtitle "*Guide to infinite sexual possibilities*", the second edition's was "*A practical guide to polyamory, open relationships and other adventures*"; and even in the most current version (Easton & Hardy, 2017) the subtitle was subtly changed once more: "*A practical guide to polyamory, open relationships and other freedoms in sex and love"*, and thus moved from sex via adventures to freedom – which is quite symbolic in itself. Two of the key messages that have (amongst others) led to the success of the book is that for one, it provides constructive ways of dealing with jealousy. The second main statement is not focused on the inner workings of a relationship, like jealousy, but targets the external social environment: the feeling of guilt and shame when individuals pursue non-mainstream or 'pervert' desires, or claim marginalized or queer sexual identities, both of which can apply to polyamory (Klesse, 2006a, pp. 648-649). Another element in its success were reviews of the book outside the academic press, that still appear regularly and have stable numbers of readers. In the women's news journal *Off your back*, the book was described as a funny, fascinating and titillating exploration for anyone who is interested in the politics and practical reality of multi-partnered relationships (Young, 2004, p. 38); the editor of the *Electronic journal on human sexuality* stated "*This is the best book on relationships I have ever read. (…) Buy this book, give it to your lover(s), and refer to it often*." (Hall, 2002)

Second in line is probably *More than two* by Veaux and Rickert (2014); although it is discussed less in printed literature than in blogs and webpages – one possible reason is that the author's mapping of the different types of non-monogamy,[154] which is available on his webpage, can hardly be ignored by anyone interested in polyamory. The third publication that has to be mentioned is not a single book, but a whole range of advice literature written by Elisabeth Sheff. In addition to her academic publications, she has published three books within two years that give insights, provide questions and answers, and simply illustrate the colourful range of polyamorous relationships. The first book, *Stories from the polycule. Real life in polyamorous families* (Sheff, 2015b), does what the subtitle promises: It

[154] See chapter 2.

is a collection of contributions by different authors covering the whole range from coming out via establishing guidelines on how to practically live such a relationship all the way to polyamory and children – including one section that is specifically written by affected kids (Publishers weekly, 2015). Her second book, *The polyamorist next door. Inside multiple-partner relationships and families* (Sheff, 2015a), focusses on day-to-day life in poly families and got a good handful of reviews on the potential helpfulness for those who seek advice on the matter. Schippers (2015, p. 152)[155] for example describes it as "*(…) essential reading for anyone interested in learning about multi-partner relationship forms and families; social and clinical psychologists who study or council families; sociologist of family, gender, childhood, and sexuality; and for those interested in the research process and politics of academia*." In her last book, *When someone you love is polyamorous*, the title already clearly indicates its contents: It doesn't aim to give advice to poly people, but to provide help for those who are around poly people: family, friends, and all else who want to understand how polyamorous people tick (Sheff, 2016).

Finally, a newcomer that just made it into the chapter is Jessica Fern (2021) with her book *Polysecure. Attachment, trauma and consensual nonmonogamy*. Due to its late release date, it isn't mentioned in any reviewed articles yet, but it is already intensely discussed in Internet forums as it addresses an up-and-coming topic: professionals like psychologists and therapists dealing with jealousy and conflict in polyamorous relationships.

Books on counselling and advice literature, as well as more natural science-based books on the (un)naturality of monogamy are not discussed further as they exceed the rather narrow polyamorous horizon.[156] Also not further discussed is the book *The polyamory on purpose guide on: Polyamory and pregnancy* by Burde (2013). Despite its promising title it is only printed on demand, and does not have a huge impact in the community either.

The rumor goes that Dutch is situated somewhere halfway between the English and the German language - and one book needs to be mentioned in this context, as it has already been quoted in the legal chapter: *Ik hou van twee mannen* (*I love two men*) by the Dutch activist and writer Ageeth

[155] The author herself published a widely discussed book on polyamory herself: *Beyond Monogamy: Polyamory and the Future of Polyqueer Sexualities* (Schippers, 2016) – which did not find its way into this chapter, as it is not a guidebook but an academic glimpse into a possible polyamorous future.

[156] For further reading: One person that regularly appears in public discussions on love and the challenges of monogamy is the sociologist Eva Illouz. Her book *Why love hurts* (Illouz, 2012a) was much discussed. She has been described to *"(…) penetrate to the heart of the subject to reveal the extent of the subject to which love is today the experience of an unprecedented social shaping*." (Carnevali & Coccia, 2016, p. 84) Barash and Lipton (2002) take a biological approach, they point to the rather rare concept of monogamy in nature and transfer this to humans as well; Ryan and Jetha (2011) provide a similar explanation – due to the huge success of its German translation five years later: Ryan and Jethá (2016).

Veenemans (2010), who aimed for a legal recognition of her multiple relationship. A year later, the book was also published in German and – along with media coverage on Veenemans' campaign – drew attention in German-speaking countries as well (Veenemans, 2011). It basically describes the author's personal experience with her husband and her boyfriend, supplemented by polyamorous stories of some of her friends. It did get media coverage in the German press, also here the chicken-and-egg situation applies.[157]

German-language advice literature is even harder to find, especially when one looks for books that make a clear distinction between open relationships of any kinds and true-blue polyamory.[158] Currently there are two books that fall into this category. The first one, which was already released 15 years ago, is *Frühstück zu dritt* (*Breakfast between three*) by Schlender and Söhner (2006). It is a collection of 26 people with their stories – of all ages and both genders. In contrast to its English-speaking counterparts, there are no reviews of the book or its impact to be found in academic literature – with the exception of one paper in a legal journal as an example of the delayed arrival of polyamory in the German-speaking world, combined with the statement that the discussion had not arrived in the legal context at the time (König, 2008, p. 274). The second one is *111 Gründe offen zu lieben* (*111 reasons to love openly*) by Jönsson and Maresch (2010). Strictly speaking it does not only cover polyamorous relationships, but at least it clearly distinguishes between open and poly, and it differs from the Schlender and Söhner book in that some of the 111 stories it tells really happened while others are fictitious. Yet another book that provides advice literature for the German-speaking reader is *Schlampen mit Moral*. The English translation gives away its origin: It is *The ethical slut* (Easton & Hardy, 2018) in German translation, the first translation of this book to another language. The latest published popular scientific book is *Polyphantastisch*, edited by Michel Raab and Cornelia Schadler (2020). A review remarks that the political-emancipatory claim of the editors is matched by a rich rewarding offer of analysis, critique and suggestions on how to live an equitable polyamorous life; its target group

[157] What came first? Did her public campaign in which she tried to collect 40,000 signatures to hand in a legal initiative create the interest in her book, or was the book the reason for the media attention that she then used to mobilize support for her initiative? In any case she generates income from polyamory, as she founded the website PolyAmoryMatch for polyamorous dating (https://polyamoriematch.de/), currently operating in Germany, Belgium and The Netherlands. A membership comes at 150 Euros per year.

[158] For further reading on German counselling literature on the broader topic of consensual non-monogamy and the challenges of monogamy, see for example Lendt and Fischbach (2011) on strategies of dealing with the gap between the need for faithfulness and the urge to be unfaithful. Ihlefeldt (2008) falls into the category advice literature with his book *Loving more than one*. Similar to *The ethical slut*, the subtitle changed from edition to edition, too. While the first book was subtitled (in translation) *30 women and men talk about their way of living partnerships more freely*, the second book (Ihlefeldt, 2012) carried the subtitle *Polyamory and other forms of how to create freer relationships*.

are academics and non-academics alike, provided the readers have engaged with the issue of consensual non-monogamy and polyamory before (Bante & Matzner, 2021, pp. 154, 156).

This selection is rounded off by an example of advice brought to the audience in book form as well as via a weblog, the book "*Ask me about polyamory. The best of Kimchi Cuddles*" (Wolf, 2016a). I already used one of her cartoons to illustrate the different individual characters that define the *polyverse* in chapter 2 – the image can be found on the author's weblog as well as in her graphic novel. The latter is a collected "best-of" of her illustrations published online and started with the following illustration that went online on May 1st, 2013:

Fig. 10.2: Poly problems, the first comic by Tikva Wolf (2013), of which a further selection was printed in the book "*Ask me about polyamory. The best of Kimchi Cuddles*."

Its success stems from the fact it was written for a wide range of audiences: It is suitable for newcomers as well as experienced consensual non-monogamists alike, and comes with a lot of sense and sensibility, and with an even bigger share of humour.

If there is one significant fact that unites the section of polyamory in print, then it is the circumstance that, at least for advice literature, the field grows in depth as well as in the extent of topics: While the first publications tried to cover the whole range of challenges in poly relationships, later advice and guide books seem to cover certain aspects in more detail, and leave out other aspects. In addition, the differentiation of issues that are covered has increased.[159]

- **Newspapers and magazines featuring polyamory**

Since the whole of chapter 11 and 13 are dedicated to the analysis of polyamory in periodicals (newspapers and magazines), I would like to refer the reader to these sections at this point.

## 10.3 Poly in the movies

Polyamory has arrived in film.[160] By film, I mean "classic" motion picture films that are screened in cinemas, but also soap operas, series and other aired moving pictures that reach the audience via television and/or streaming services. Listing all films that feature polyamorous characters or have a plot that turns around polyamory would not have much scientific added value, as such a list already exists: Kaczmarek and Schmitt (2018) describe exactly what their title promises on 56 pages: Polyamory in the movie discourse. And although the article was published in a German journal, the content goes far beyond the German-speaking world. In their filmography, they start as early as 1933 with the movie *Design for living* by Ernst Lubitsch, continue after WW2 with selected samples from the USA, the UK, France, Brazil, Germany and Italy, Mexico, Canada and Switzerland, the Ivory Coast, Ireland, Spain and Portugal, Australia, Denmark, Sweden and Italy, Russia, Belgium, Argentina, Malaysia and China and Taiwan and Austria, Southern Korea, and India.

The listed tv series only start in 1994, with a one-appearance-only in the series *Friends*. The first series with a regular poly character was *Big Love*; it was produced by HBO in the USA and started in 2006 (Kaczmarek & Schmitt, 2018, pp. 6-35). In their third chapter, *Literature on theory and practice of polyamory,* these authors list – amongst academic literature – also aired documentaries, printed magazine articles, webpages and the like. In contrast than the first part that is structured

[159] In chapter 16 I give an overview of the supposed topics to come, from an academic as well as from the affected perspective. Publications on these up-and-coming issues seem to be only a matter of time.

[160] This sub-chapter describes polyamory in film rather than the academic discourse on polyamory in film. This is no coincidence as there are no considerable publications on the matter. One author who does reflect on polyamory in film and how it could be adopted by poly-queer readings in order to allow a "poly gaze" is Mimi Schippers (2020, p. 7) in her book *Polyamory, monogamy, and American dreams*.

chronologically, it is listed in alphabetical order by author and has no additional common theme. What separates – other than the logic of the format itself – the films from the series is that only after the turn of the millennium the term *polyamory* as such appeared; which reflects what I showed in chapter 2, that the explicit naming and understanding of the word for a wider audience only occurred a maximum of two decades ago.

With relevance to the focus countries, I would like two mention two additional aspects: The first polyamorous film festival, and two must-see series in the German-speaking world. The "*Love beyond the two people relationship – facets of polyamorous love/life*" festival from July 5th to 8th, 2007 drew limited media and no academic interest, although it screened German and international films and also hosted readings, workshops and presentations (KF, 2007).[161] And second, two popular series aimed at a broad audience – whatever issue makes it into *Lindenstrasse* or *Tatort* is what people discuss the next day at work. *Lindenstrasse* is a 30-minute series aired every Sunday evening since 1985. In a newspaper interview, the producers refer to the success of their production over four decades: "*Beside* Tatort, *we have the most viewers in the age group 18 to 35 in the public broadcasting station ARD – by far. We manage to reach this generation, I think, because we are close to their issues, as for example the topic of polyamory*."[162] (Ehrenberg, 2015, p. 26) This quote provides the bridge to the second series: *Tatort*, an Austrian, Swiss and German-produced crime television series that started as early as the year 1970. The best source for quotes on it is the unofficial fan page of the crime series, that publishes individual articles on all 1,168 episodes that have been aired to date.[163] The first time a polyamorous character appeared was in 2017, in the series with the running number 1,022 and the title: "*Love, a strange game*."[164], which was broadcast on May 21st, 2017. The issue was introduced with a female suspect who presents herself with the sentence "*I am poly. Polyamory – never heard about?*"[165] (tatort-fans.de, 2017) More recent is the second example with the running number 1,166 and the original title "*Rhythm and love*", screened on May 2nd, 2021. Again, one of the suspects claims to be polyamorous, in this series more concretely: The female protagonist has four relationships at the same time, one of which with another woman (tatort-fans.de, 2021). The underlaying topic in both series is jealousy; I will not reveal whether the poly characters are also the murderers in order not to spoil the movie experience.

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[161] It was not picked up by any academic publication, and also the German media only covered the festival in articles in three different newspapers.

[162] In the original German: „*Wir haben in der ARD neben dem ‚Tatort' die meisten Zuschauer bei den 18- bis 35-Jährigen – mit weitem Abstand. Mit Social Media und Mediatheken kommt da noch einiges dazu. Wir erreichen diese Generation, glaube ich, weil wir ihre Themen bespielen, wie zum Beispiel das Thema Polyamorie.*" (Ehrenberg, 2015, p. 26)

[163] As of 11/05/2021.

[164] In the original German: "Die Liebe, ein seltsames Spiel."

[165] In the original German: "*Ich bin poly. Polyamorie – noch nie davon gehört*?" (tatort-fans.de, 2017)

Compared to the mostly US-produced English-language series, the German-speaking region seems to lag behind about a decade when it comes to call polyamory by its name; on the positive/innovation side in the exemplarily stated *Lindenstrasse* as well as in *Tatort*, a clear distinction between polygamy and polyamory was made. Other than that, I was unable to identify any significant developments on polyamory in film since 1933.

## 10.4 The world-wide poly web

The importance of the world wide web with regard to its importance for the polyamorous community (and those who might want to become part of it) to inform, exchange and present can only be guessed at – there are no representative empirical studies on the use of the Internet on polyamorous matters. Klesse (2018) presents a good overview on current research topics, basically covering the most important issues that polyamorous researchers keep themselves busy with, and even refers to one book that falls into advice-book literature,[166] but the web as source of knowledge is not mentioned. The same is true for the publication by O'Connor (2019, p. 219): The introduction "*Interest in the polyamory as well as other CNMs has grown in recent years and there are numerous podcasts, websites and self-help books on the subject*" exemplarily continues with online polls of how many people are involved in non-monogamous relationships, but this is where the numbers end.

One of the rare Portuguese-language publications does discuss polyamory represented on the internet, with a specific focus of the feminist debates thereof. The empirical part, though, is based on three other texts, so the sample is exemplary rather than representative for those people who look for advice on the Internet (Pilão, 2019). Séguin (2019) conducted a study that is related to the use of the Internet in polyamorous circles: What she did was to analyze comments on articles that were posted on three different websites – a really interesting setting for an insight into the content, but it does not tell us anything about the user's motives in visiting those pages.

To at least close this subchapter with one thing we do know with regard to the world-wide poly web is the first user group to discuss polyamory on the then nascent Internet: It was in 1992 when Jennifer L. Wesp created a Usenet group named *alt.polyamory*. (Bloedel & Manning, 2018, p. 160) Currently no source risks a guess as to how many newsgroups, websites, forums and the like are out there.

[166] It is described as advice-book literature rather than academic/social theory with *"(…) a much tighter focus on the poly/BDSM nexus (…)"* (Klesse, 2018, p. 1111), which is why I have not quoted it in the subchapter above.

## 10.5 Closing credits: Polyamorous outtakes

A Hollywood movie ends with the screening of outtakes during the closing credits, and thus this sub-chapter concludes the theoretical part before moving on to the empirical research for the thesis. With regard to media, an outtake is defined as "*a short part of a film or television programme or music recording that was removed and not included, usually because it contains mistakes*." (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021a) The following two examples were published by the media in the target countries Austria and Germany:

The first incident happened to the German confectionary manufacturer *Haribo* with the wrapping of their soft candy MAOAM in 2004 – starting off as a high school prank, it made it all its way to the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* (Hillenbrand, 2004). Three secondary school students claimed to be members of the "*Katholischer Kinder- und Jugendrat am Jesuitenkolleg zu St. Blasien*"[167] and wrote a letter of complaint to the company about the product wrapping pictured below:

Fig. 10.3: MAOAM subject "polyamorous practice". Picture credit Spiegel_online (2004).

[167] The college of the Jesuit order of St. Blasien really exists and is the actual school the three teenagers went to. Incidentally, "*blasen*" is the German slang word for a blowjob, which is why the college could also be interpreted as "College of the holy blowjob".

The relevant paragraph of their letter reads as follows: "*We are shocked about the shameless illustration of sexual practices on the wrapping of this soft candy. Apparently – and although hidden behind a harmless cartoon style – coitus, as well as fellatio and cunnilingus, and, to make matters worse, even polyamorous practices are indicated*."[168] (Vorarlberger Nachrichten, 2004) The company did not recognize the joke as such, the customer care department answered within less than two weeks and assured the complainants that market researchers had tested the packing, adding that they had not encountered any of the interpretations the three alleged members of the Catholic youth advisory board had mentioned, and were not willing to change the mascot of the brand. However, they did send a package of gummy bears as a small recognition of the constructive criticism. Then the prank was explained, the story went viral, and the college was inundated with media requests on the matter for a while. (Hillenbrand, 2004)

The intention of the second polyamorous outtake was meant to be funny, but actually ended up resulting in an official condemnation of the subject as sexist by the Austrian advertisement watch group in 2015 – which surely was not the plan of the makers as it was published by an actual political party that is clearly opposed to sexism: the Austrian Green Party. Its background was the first wave of billboard advertisements for the Viennese federal state elections in autumn 2015. The poster with the slogan "*Öffi für alles*" presented the Green member of parliament Julian Schmidt as follows:

[168] In the German original: „*Wir sind schockiert über die schamlose Darstellung von sexuellen Praktiken auf der Verpackung dieser Süßware. Offensichtlich werden hier – obwohl durch harmlosen Comic-Stil verschleiert – unter anderem der Coitus, außerdem Fellatio und Cunnilingus, und zu allem Überfluss auch polyamoröse Praktiken angedeutet*." (Vorarlberger_Nachrichten, 2004)

Fig. 10.4 Poster of the then Austrian member parliament Fabian Schmid promoting to be "Öffi für alles". Picture credit Herbert Pfarrhofer (2015).

The slogan is a pun on being open for everything, and public transport – the Green Party had pushed a cheap annual ticket for the local transport system. The outcome was a complaint with the Viennese advertisement watch group, the ruling on which reads as follows: "*Parallel with the devaluation and the resulting objectification, what is implied in a tongue-in-cheek manner is to enhance the man with gender stereotypes – he is represented as potent and polyamorous, the ad uses heteronormative clichés, but the tagline "open (Öffi) for everything" allows for only one conclusion: The use of attributes connoted as female such as kissing lips create associations of women's lipstick marks. This results in the exclusion of non-heterosexual relations, or rather the construction of heterosexuality as the social norm which is ever-present construction in advertisements*."[169] (Werbewatchgroup, 2015) As a result, the poster vanished for the second wave of billboard ads for the election, and the Viennese Green Party has not touched upon the topic of polyamory since.

[169] In the German original: „*Parallel zur Abwertung und der damit verbundenen Objektisierung wird augenzwinkernd versucht, den Mann nach geschlechtsstereotypen Mustern aufzuwerten – der Mann wird als potent und polyamourös inszeniert, die Werbung spielt dabei mit heteronormativen Klischees, lässt aber das „offen (Öffi) für alles" nur in eine Richtung zu: Die Verwendung von weiblich besetzten Attributen wie Kussmündern wecken Assoziationen von weiblichen Lippenstiftabdrücken. Somit erfolgt ein Ausschluss von nicht-heterosexuellen Beziehungen bzw. eine in der Werbung ständig präsente Konstruktion von Heterosexualität als gesellschaftlicher Norm.*"

## 11. The outside view: Media analysis

The following chapter presents the methodological approach of the media analysis. It starts with a summary of the extended description in the previous chapter of how the term media is understood, explains the selection criteria for the empirical data, illustrates the applied method in detail, and shows how the selected method has been applied. The results can be found below in chapter 13.

### 11.1 Media genres and the choice of print

A definition of how media is understood for the thesis at hand was presented in chapter 4. The following will provide a short systematic differentiation of media types according to the author Roland Burkart (2019, pp. 36-38), which is a rather classical approach based on the German communication scientist Harry Pross (1972). It has been around for nearly 4 decades, and it was expanded due to the challenges of technological developments, but from a technical perspective, it is still accurate – which is why it is still valid for the choice of the media genre for the research project, as the following description will show. The basic idea is a differentiation of *primary*, *secondary*, and *tertiary media*; later *quaternary media* and *social media* were added.[170]

A primary medium is understood as everything arising within human elementary contact, i.e. language, but also non-verbal communication such as facial expressions and/or gestures. What defines this medium is the fact that neither sender nor recipient needs a technical device. The secondary medium does use a device at the sender's end, but not at the receiver's end. This makes pre-modern communication methods, for example smoke signals or flag signals, a medium; posters, flyers, books, newspapers and magazines are more current examples of this category. A tertiary medium requires a technical device at the sender's as well as at the receiver's end, and therefore this group encompasses the telephone, records (vinyls, CDs and DVDs), the radio, movies, television, and also computer and data carriers. A quaternary medium (also referred to as "digital medium" or "online medium"), like a tertiary medium, requires a device at both ends – usually a computer with online access. What distinguishes it from the latter is the decomposition of the traditional sender-receiver-model. From a publishing perspective, samples can be the online presence of offline media like print or broadcasting, as well as websites (homepages) of companies and organisations. In addition, e-mails, chats, weblogs

[170] In the original German: *Primäre, sekundäre, tertiere, quartäre* and *soziale Medien*, see: (Burkart, 2019, p. 36)

(blogs), as well as various internet-based platforms that have developed since the beginning of the 21st century – the latter commonly known under the label of social media. From a technical perspective, social media are simply digital platforms on the Internet, with examples such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat, and thus So basically online-based networking with the purpose of publishing and editing content, and this is what makes the quaternary medium so different: The user participates in the publication and influences what other users see. The scope of participation varies, it can be minor, for instance ratings or comments on Amazon; but it can go all the way to the user being the main, or even sole creator of content, for which Wikipedia is a good example.

This option of the audience participating or even generating content is the first of the two reasons why secondary medium periodicals, i.e. print products, such as newspaper and magazines that are published on a regular base, have been chosen as a source for the research project. I have already given some reasons for this decision to analyse only producer-generated and not consumer-generated content in chapter 4. A further reason is the data base of collected media items on polyamory, or to be more precise the lack thereof: obviously there is no database that systematically collects primary media content. Let us ignore secondary media for the moment and jump directly to tertiary media to look at whether there is a systematic record of the content they hold or transport for each media type:

• Telephone: Phone calls are not recorded and stored.[171]

• Records (vinyl, CD and DVD): These media types are usually not used for distributing information but for entertainment.

• Radio: For Austria as one of the sample countries, there is no overall archive of radio broadcasts. The public broadcasting company ORF has an archive, but this is not publicly accessible. There is an archive of selected articles due to their cultural and temporal relevance (ORF, 2016), but a search of the key words *polyamor** and *polyamour** did not deliver one single broadcast on that topic. The private commercial radios broadcasting nationwide that were licenced in 1998 do not have a joint archive; the *Cultural Broadcasting Archive* CBA focusses on independent Austrian radio stations. A search of the term *polyamor* (the search mask did not work with *polyamor** or *polyamour**) only delivered 21 broadcasts (CBA, 2020).

[171] Limitations apply to this statement. It is only true for democratic countries where secret services and national security organisations do not record and store the communication of their population.

• Movies: The function of films is different from that of information media/news media, and they have therefore not been considered.

• Television: The TV archive of the public broadcasting company ORF is not publicly accessible, the TVTHEK in which users can look up already screened broadcasts only provides an archive of the last 7 days (ORF, 2020). The same is true for private commercial radios, commercial TV stations (which were licenced in 2003 to broadcast across the country) do not have a joint archive. The *Österreichische Mediathek Archiv* is a joint venture of the *Technisches Museum* and the *Austrian mediathek* that claims to preserve the audio-visual cultural history of the country. It provides more than 2 million audio and video files on Austria's cultural history (Österreichische Mediathek, 2020) – and again, a search of the keywords *polyamor*, *polyamor** and *polyamour** yielded not a single hit.

Back to secondary media. Smoke signals, flag signals, and the like are not archivable, and have very obviously not been linked to any kind of contemporary non-monogamy or polyamory in any publication, be it academic or popular. Posters and flyers are usually not published periodically (i.e. on a regular basis). Books have, like movies, a different function from information media/news media, and have therefore not been considered.

This leaves two specific secondary media types as research objects: Newspaper and magazines. They are archived, accessible, and exist in numbers that allow valid statements about the whole population/set of the topic polyamory. The following sub-chapter will present the details:

## 11.2 Timeframe and selection criteria (overview)

The following analysis contains data from predominately[172] one decade. The first German-language article that contained polyamory ("*Polyamorie*") was published on January 23, 2007 by the Swiss daily newspaper *Tagesanzeiger*. The article was titled *"I love you and her, and you love me and him"*[173] (Engelhardt, 2007), had a word count of 1,312, provided a neutral introduction on polyamory along with a real-life story without being judgmental, and closed with recommending a book (Schlender & Söhner, 2006) and the web address of the most accessed Swiss polyamory webpage at that time, *www.polyamory.ch*. From this date onwards, I collected all newspaper and magazine articles that

[172] Overall six articles have been published before the 23rd of January, but not by the German version of the term. Those six articles have been included in the analyses as well.

[173] In the original German: *„Ich liebe dich und sie, und du liebst mich und ihn."*

contained the word *Polyamorie* over the next ten years for a pre-selection. The latest article I analysed was published on January 19, 2017 in the German daily newspaper *Mittelbayrische Zeitung; it is titled* "*They want to love more than one person*." [174] As no further articles relating to polyamory were published between this date and January 22, the period in consideration is therefore a full decade.

In addition, publications with the English spelling of the term (→ "polyamory") have been considered since they also refer to polyamory. As there are articles that contain the verb but not the noun, the search was carried out with the search term "polyamor*", which resulted in analysing articles that contained the German words "polyamorös", "polyamoröse", and "polyamor". As there are also two versions of spelling in the German-speaking media – the one above, which is related to the Latin word "*amor*", and the French spelling ("*Polyamourie*", "*Polyamoury*", "*polyamourös*", "*Polyamourist*"), this needed to be included, adding another 150+ to the number of hits. So in the end, the search was conducted with the search terms "*polyamor**" and "*polyamour**".

The search engine for the articles is the *WISO online Datenbank* (https://www.wiso-net.de/dosearch), a German database owned by the German Newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the German publishing group *Handelsblatt*, by their own description subsidiaries of the *GBI-Genios Deutsche Wirtschaftsdatenbank* GmbH (WISO, 2016), for which the University of Vienna provides unlimited access to full-text articles. At the time of writing[175], it contained 167,021,212 articles published by 217 different newspapers and magazines. For the research, ALL articles that contain the words *Polyamorie, Polyamory, Polyamourie, Polyamoury, polyamorös, polyamourös, Polyamorist*, and *Polyamourist* were collected, amounting to a total of 804 articles, from which 367 were classified as relevant[176] and have been analysed further.

## 11.3 Introduction: The empirical method "Quantitative Content Analysis"

"*The term content analysis tells us, broadly, what the methodology does: It analyses the content of something*." (A. A. Berger, 2000, p. 173) – this rather straightforward definition covers the method. Although there are many definitions of the term *qualitative content analyses*, they all pretty much relate to the same thing. In the 13th edition of his book on methods of empirical social research, the Swiss sociologist Peter Atteslander provides the following definition: *By content analysis, content of*

[174] In the original German: "*Sie wollen mehr als nur einen lieben.*"
[175] February 17, 2017.
[176] The details of how an article has been defined as relevant are presented in chapter 12.4.1

*communication like texts, pictures and films can be analysed. It focuses on the analysis of texts* (Atteslander, 2010, p. 195)[177]. In some classifications, content analysis is mentioned only as one further category of text analysis approaches: Merkl-Davies, Brennan, and Vourvachis (2012, p. 3) for example list three broad categories, namely *content analysis*, *interpretive text analysis* and *critical text analysis*); other authors include discourse and conversation analysis in qualitative content analytical methodology (Krippendorff, 2013, pp. 22-25). Here is a detailed and precise definition with regard to the analysis to come, which also highlights the reasons for qualitative content analyses as my method of choice: "*Content analysis is a research technique for the systematic classification and description of communication content according to certain usually predetermined categories. It may involve quantitative or qualitative analysis, or both. Technical objectivity requires that the categories of classification and analysis be clearly and operationally defined so that other researchers can follow them reliably. (…)*" (Wright, 1986, p. 125) Although this definition is more than four decades old, it is still valid as the method itself has been used much longer than that: Since the beginning of the 20th century, content of mass media has been interpreted predominantly by content analysis; and due to the increase in the distribution and importance of media, it is used even more frequently today (Knapp, 2005, p. 20). The authors mentioned not only provide definitions of the term, they also present guidelines on how to apply qualitative content analysis. Again, these guidelines differ from author to author, so there is the additional question of whose model to follow in the analysis of the data.

The researcher I chose to follow for the thesis at hand is the psychologist, sociologist and educationist Philipp Mayring, who has been working as a full professor of psychological methodology at the University of Klagenfurt/Austria since 2002 and retired in 2017.[178] Not only is his interpretation broad and frequently used in the German-speaking world, as (Schreier, 2014, p. 2) informs us, it also seems to be the most detailed one. In addition, the technique of qualitative content analysis according to Mayring is not only frequently used for text, it is also recommended for the systematic and theory-bound interpretation of large interview samples (Denner, 2005, p. 243) and can therefore be applied also for the following chapter on the self-perception of polyamorous individuals.

[177] In German, the original reads as follows: "*Mittels Inhaltsanalyse lassen sich Kommunikationsinhalte wie Texte, Bilder oder Filme untersuchen, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Analyse von Texten liegt*." (Atteslander, 2010, p. 195).

[178] For a detailed vita of Philipp Mayring as well as a description of his research, please see the following website hosted by the University of Klagenfurt, Austria: http://philipp.mayring.at/ (Mayring, 2020).

## 11.4 Realisation of eleven qualitative content analyses steps as suggested by Mayring

Mayring's book "*Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*"[179] (Mayring, 1983) was first published in 1983, there have been 11 revised new editions in German since.[180] The most recent version is the 12th edition published in 2015[181]; in 2014 Mayring also published an English version as a guideline for a computer program for automated coding named QCAmap (Mayring & Frenzl, 2014). The actual coding was not done by QCAmap but by MAXQDA (see the chapter "technical realisation" for details), the actual source used is the English edition (Mayring, 2014) rather than the German one (Mayring, 2015). It might be a little bit less up to date since it was published a year earlier, but uses the English terms that therefore are used in the following chapter. The following chart illustrates the 11 steps Mayring suggests, followed by a detailed description of the research method.

[179] In English: "*Qualitative content analyses: basics and techniques*".
[180] Further editions were published in 1985, 1988, 1993, 1995, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2007, 2008, and 2010.
[181] Further editions in edited books and anthologies were published after that; for an individual book, the 12th edition published in 2015 remains the most current one.

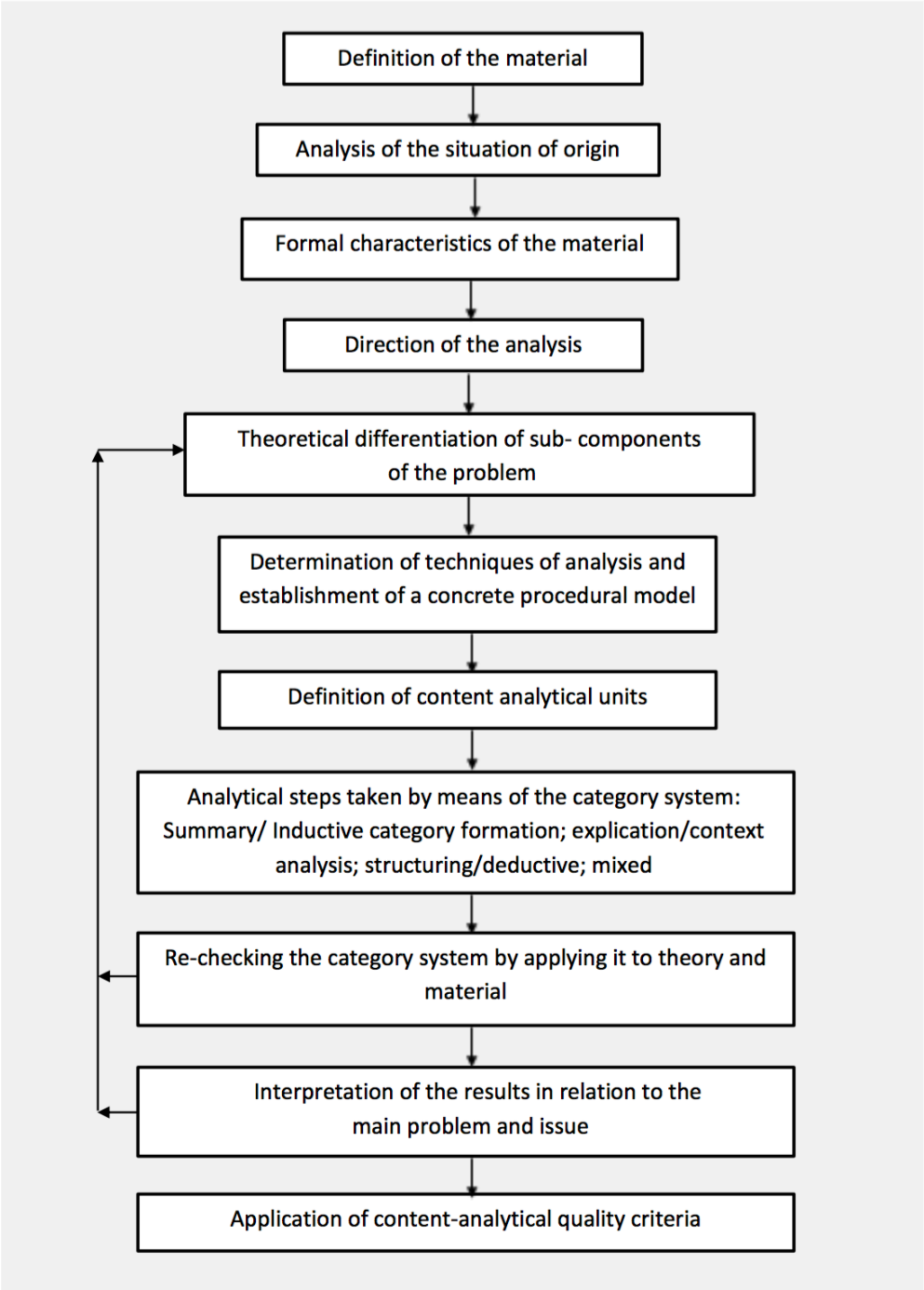


Fig. 11.1: The general procedural model according to Mayring and Frenzl (2014, p. 54).

## • Definition of the material

In a first step, all articles that contained the word "Polyamorie" within the database were collected, resulting in 804 articles that were published over 10 years' time (including six articles that were published before 2007). This number includes articles where the term *Polyamorie* appeared in the title of the article, as a keyword, or simply the use of the term in the text body.

In a second step, a categorisation into categories of *relevant / non-relevant / unclear* was made. Articles were defined as non-relevant and therefore excluded from analysis that only used the term in their index[182]; articles on polyamory events[183]; TV and radio guides that were featuring programmes on polyamory, articles that appeared in different newspapers but had the same content[184]; descriptions of individuals where a polyamorous lifestyle is mentioned without any further judgement[185]; articles that featured animals instead of humans[186]; articles in which the term is used for multiple items of clothing[187]; music album reviews[188]; articles on music festivals[189]; and finally appearances of the word without any obvious connection to the actual topic whatsoever[190].

This selection left 328 articles of *relevance* and 56 *unclear* articles; the latter were reread a second time and then classed as either *relevant* or *non-relevant*. At this stage, the following categories were considered to be relevant: articles in which the term only appeared once and the content is somehow related to polyamory in a reflective way[191]; articles in which the term only appeared once and revolve around the topic of sexuality[192]; articles in which the term appeared only once and which focused on emotions[193]; articles in which the media contemplates the representation of polyamory in the media[194]; and letters to the editor that were published by the newspapers or magazines[195]. At the end

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[182] Some magazines as well as broadsheets include tables of content; since there was no indication on the content but only the page number of the relevant article, these references were not analysed.

[183] These mentions were quite frequent and ranged from regular polyamory meetings, discussion meetings, regulars' tables, book presentations and readings, workshops, etc.

[184] This was found for example with the German daily newspaper *Die Welt*, which has its own online channel: there articles identical for the print and online publication are given a different headline online; or regional newspapers with different local issues where the same article can be found in up to six different newspapers.

[185] In this context Johannes Ponader needs to be mentioned: Ponader, who is living in openly polyamorous relationships, was the political director of the *Pirate Party Germany* from 2012 to 2013, hardly any article on him failed to mention his poly outing.

[186] Since it is not uncommon for neither birds nor dogs nor deer to have more than one partner at the same time, such articles were also excluded.

[187] The term polyamoury was used to illustrate that one can have more than one winter coat.

[188] As found in a review of the *Pet Shop Boys* album "Electric" released in 2013; or the techno album "Polyamour" by *Clara Moto*.

[189] Such as the *Polyamory Sound Festival* held in Vienna in 2011.

[190] Articles on lung cancer, the *Frankfurt Book Fair*, the civil war in Syria, the architectural design of bus stops in Cologne, and the Greek economic crisis (just to name a few).

[191] For example theatre reviews.

[192] This relates to articles which revolve around heteronormative sexuality as well as homosexuality, trans-topics and all sorts of kink.

[193] With positive as well as negative connotations, with *love* and *jealousy* being the most frequent ones.

[194] For an interview with a German singer and songwriter who composed a song on polyamory, reviews of computer games that allow users to choose a polyamorous avatar, a German soap that now features a polyamorous character, or movies with a polyamorous plot.

[195] The thought behind this was that those articles were not written by journalists but by consumers and

of the selection process, 437 were excluded from a total of 804 articles, which left 367 articles for actual analysis[196].

- **Analysis of the circumstances of origin**

The articles were written for Austrian, German, Swiss and Luxembourg newspapers and magazines and were published in these countries. The authors are individual journalists, other parties involved in the production are the editorial boards, and in articles where people were interviewed, these respondents. It was impossible to determine the emotional and cognitive background of the authors, and it does not seem to be very relevant; as for the motivational background of the authors, it can be assumed that they were following their profession. The reasons why the authors chose to write on the issue of polyamory also remained unclear. The target group of the material are the readers of the print products; the concrete circumstance of origin is the print process or the upload process on the web portal of the newspapers or magazines. Also the socio-cultural background of the authors was not clarified.

- **Formal characteristics of the material**

The material exists as written text; to be more precise as digital copies of the articles, which for the most part were released in print in newspapers and magazines. All articles were generated via the WISO database mentioned above. The following article is a sample of what the original data source looked like: the first image shows the article as it appeared in the newspaper, the second image the .txt file, which was used for coding:

therefore do not reflect the media view on polyamory – given the circumstance that they were published in the newspapers and magazines and therefore were consumed by other consumers, they do determine the public discourse as well, and therefore were considered to be relevant.

[196] The list of articles with their respective URLs can be found in the appendix.

STADT LANDSHUT

www.landshuter-zeitung.de

## An den Rand geschrieben

Der Erfindergeist macht vor nichts halt. So hat ein Designobjekte-Hersteller Magnetfelder entwickelt, die Gegenstände frei im Raum schweben lassen. Wer sich schon freut, dass er seine Mülltüte nicht mehr tragen muss, wird enttäuscht sein: Nur Dinge, die knapp über ein Pfund wiegen, können über einer z-förmigen Säule umherfliegen. Wozu das gut sein soll? Ja, weil es ganz toll aussieht, wenn Vasen oder Handys in der Luft hängen, meint der Hersteller. Dabei gäbe es weit sinnvollere Anwendungen, wenn man die Idee weiterspinnt.

### ■ Grüne Herz(ch)en

Könnte man so ein Magnetfeld nicht großflächig einsetzen, beispielsweise dort, wo Menschen zusammenkommen, die auf Partnersuche sind? Nicht gleiche Pole, sondern Gegensätze ziehen sich an heißt es. Damit würde der Ausdruck „aufeinander fliegen" eine ganz andere Bedeutung bekommen.

Die Grüne Jugend hat sich zur Lösung der Beziehungsproblematik etwas Originelles einfallen lassen, nämlich die Polyamorie. Das ist keine Zimmerpflanze, die man in einem Magnetfeld zum Schweben bringen könnte, sondern die intime Beziehung zu mehreren Menschen gleichzeitig. Eine Praxis, von der auch der greise Silberrücken Rainer Langhans glaubt, dass sie funktioniert, aber hat schon mal jemand seine Frauen gefragt?

Es klingt schon herzig, was die grünen Youngsters sich so vorstellen. Wo man sich glücklich preisen kann, wenn man auch nur einen Menschen findet, mit dem man es aushalten kann. Denn es kommt eben nicht nur auf den Magnetismus der Liebe an. *Rita Neumaier*

## Zitat des Tages

Ich mag Bücher, und Heimatgeschichte ganz besonders

Helmut Radlmeier

Der CSU-Landtagsabgeordnete bei der Vorstellung des Auloher Heimatbuches

**KNABENCHOR.** Mit voller Leidenschaft sangen diese jungen Herren bei der Nacht der blauen Wunder im CCL mit. Der Sänger der Band „Groove Garage" gab den Mikrofonhalter und überließ den Gesangsteil den Fans. (Foto: Christine Vinçon)

# Landshut kriegt was auf die Ohren

## Die Nacht der blauen Wunder begeistert einmal mehr

Von Emanuel Socher-Jukić

Die Nacht der blauen Wunder ist so etwas wie das letzte Aufbäumen gegen den Herbstblues. Denn nach dem Kneipenfestival wird es erstmal ruhiger im Landshuter Kulturkalender. Und auch in der 13. Auflage trotzten fast 5000 Leute der ungemütlich kalten Herbstnacht, um sich auf musikalische Entdeckungstour durch die Innenstadt zu machen. Mitten drin wie immer Helmut Renger, der Mann, der mit Börnie Sparakowski die Musiknacht organisiert.

Renger hatte wie jedes Jahr kurz vor Beginn der Nacht die Befürchtung, dass ausgerechnet diesmal nicht genug Leute kommen. Und das, obwohl die Nacht der blauen Wunder bisher immer eine sichere Bank war. Aber Veranstalter haben nun einmal diese ihnen eigene Grundskepsis, die sich einfach nicht vertreiben lassen will.

Doch die Musikbegeisterten, die Weggehwilligen, die Feierwütigen – sie ließen Renger und die 27 Bands auch diesmal nicht im Stich und kauften die über 1500 Bändchen, die es an der Abendkasse vor dem Rathaus noch gab, innerhalb kurzer Zeit restlos weg.

### *Erstmals im Marstall*

Spätestens dann stellte sich die große Frage: Wo zuerst hin, wo als nächstes und wo dann? Die musikalische Vielfalt war wie immer groß, die Qualität – bis auf ganz wenige Ausnahmen – ebenso. Und neben den Allzeit-Favoriten wie dem „Chocolat", dem „Börsencafé" und dem „Schwarzen Hahn", in denen es immer voll war, dürfte wohl der Marstall der meistbesuchte Ort des Abends gewesen sein. Die Säulenhalle an der Ländgasse wird nur selten für Veranstaltungen genutzt, was mehr als schade ist, denn für Konzerte ist sie wie gemacht. 400 Leute passen rein und wer in die Halle blickte, dem fiel vor allem eines auf: Die Nacht der blauen Wunder vereint Jugendliche, die ihre ersten Gehversuche im Nachtleben unternehmen, mit Damen und Herren, bei denen eben jene Gehversuche schon Jahrzehnte zurückliegen. Oder anders: Jugendliche Unbeholfenheit trifft auf ergraute Abgeklärtheit – und dazwischen die üblichen Verdächtigen des Nachtlebens zwischen Mitte 20 bis 40. Die gepflegte Mischung des Publikums dürfte dann auch ausschlaggebend dafür gewesen sein, dass die Stimmung entspannt und ausgelassen war. Eine Tatsache, die im Landshuter Nachtleben nicht immer zutrifft. Neben dem Marstall hatte Helmut Renger auch im CCL einen neuen Veranstaltungsort im Angebot. Damit wollte er den Ansturm etwas kanalisieren – proppenvoll war es aber in einigen Lokalen trotzdem. Doch Alternativen andernorts, wo noch ein Platz zu finden war, gab es genug.

Am Schluss waren alle bösen Geister verjagt: Die Musikfans hatten ihren Herbstblues los und Helmut Renger seine Sorgen, dass er mit dieser Nacht der blauen Wunder Schiffbruch erleidet.

# Geschichten von Zeit und Sternenstaub

Aus 94 Einsendungen wurden die Sieger des Literaturwettbewerbs erwählt

Fig. 11.2: Cutout from a newspaper article containing the word *Polyamorie*. The article was published in the *Landsruter Zeitung* on the 10th of November 2014; its number in the coding process is 2014_41.

Landshuter Zeitung vom 10.11.2014 Seite 25 / Stadt Landshut I Landshuter Zeitung

**An den Rand geschrieben**

Der Erfindergeist macht vor nichts halt. So hat ein Designobjekte-Hersteller Magnetfelder entwickelt, die Gegenstände frei im Raum schweben lassen. Wer sich schon freut, dass er seine Mülltüte nicht mehr tragen muss, wird enttäuscht sein: Nur Dinge, die knapp über ein Pfund wiegen, können über einer z-förmigen Säule umherfliegen. Wozu das gut sein soll? Ja, weil es ganz toll aussieht, wenn Vasen oder Handys in der Luft hängen, meint der Hersteller. Dabei gäbe es weit sinnvollere Anwendungen, wenn man die Idee weiterspinnt.

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| | |
|---|---|
| Quelle | Landshuter Zeitung vom 10.11.2014 Seite 25 |
| Ressort | Stadt Landshut |
| Ausgabe | Landshuter Zeitung |
| Dokumentnummer | asr0000009056350-LANDSHUTER ZEITUNG |

**Dauerhafte Adresse des Dokuments:** https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009056350-LANDSHUTER%20ZEITUNG

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Fig. 11.3: The same article as above, in .txt-file format, which was actually used for coding.

## • Direction of the analysis

Mayring (2014, p. 57) provides three different aspects with regard to the direction of the analysis: statements on the matter itself (usually implemented with document analysis), information on the emotional background of the communicator (usually implemented with content analysis in the field of psychotherapy), and analysis of the text itself (usually implemented in literary studies in which the socio-cultural background is considered as context). For the study at hand, the direction of analysis are statements on the matter (polyamory) itself.

- **Theoretical differentiation of sub-components of the problem**

According to Mayring, content analysis is characterised by two features: Rule-bound procedures (as described in greater detail in the following sub-chapter) and theoretical orientation of the interpretation. In detail he states that "*What this entails concretely is that the issue in the focus of the analysis must be defined precisely in advance, viewed within the context of current research on the topic, and as a rule divided in sub-issues*." (Mayring, 2014, p. 59) These sub-issues are the five to six research questions of the thesis: Love and life history (1); classification of polyamory (2); social acceptance (3); legal recognition (4); religious recognition (5); and generation of knowledge (6). From there, the researcher needs to decide whether those sub-issues, which Mayring calls "dimensions" [197], will be classified by theoretical approaches that have already been published by others, or whether to develop a classification from the material itself. If theoretical approaches exist, they usually split the dimensions in further categories that Mayring calls "values"; if theoretical approaches on the *dimensions* do not exist or do not seem to solve the question at hand, the various values that make up one dimension are generated from the material, determined by a pilot study. From the six dimensions, two dimensions were determined following theoretical approaches: classification of polyamory and religious recognition. For the classification of polyamory as an intimate practice, identity or sexual orientation, the paper of (Klesse, 2014b) of the same title has been used. For the definition of religious recognition, the pilot study has shown that the values generated from the material match with the academic ones, or in this case, the correctly verbalised generally accepted categorisation of Christian religions: the Catholic, Protestant and Anglican confessions.[198] The other four dimensions are composed from values from the material and will be described in detail in the following sub-chapters. The following chart illustrates the differentiations.

[197] Since Mayring only published one book in English, the German terms will be introduced as well. *Dimensions* is the term for *Dimensionen* in his German publications; *values* (a dimension is determined by several values) is translated from the German word *Ausprägungen*.

[198] At a later stage in the book, Mayring refers to deductive categories as the category system was established before the text. He states that the categories can be deducted from theory, other studies or previous research; further categories can be added in the process, but they would need to be validated by theory or other studies as well. Developing categories from the material (inductive approach) is not intended (Mayring, 2014, p. 97). At a later stage in the book, Mayring (2014, pp. 104-105) does refer to mixed approaches as well, so this will be applied for the analysis – see chapter 12.4.9 for details.

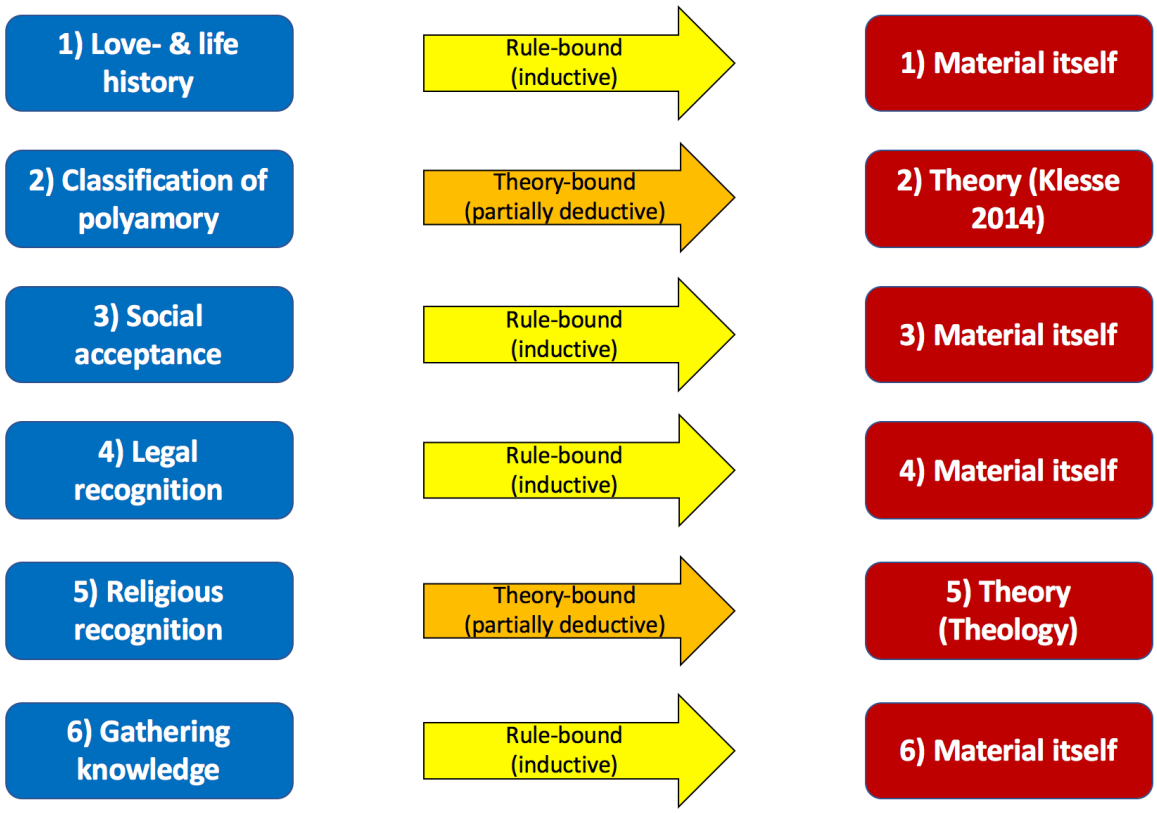


Fig. 11.4: Determination of the sub-components (figure by the author).

- **Determination of techniques of analysis and establishment of a concrete procedural model**

At this point Mayring introduces a differentiation between what he calls *fundamental forms of interpreting,* categorised in *summary*, *explication* and *structuring*[199]. The goal of the *summary* is to reduce the material to a comprehensive overview. In doing so, the essential contents must remain, the reduced base material must still provide an an adequate reflection of these. In contrast, the goal of the *explication* is to increase understanding, explaining and interpreting particular passages of text by providing additional material on individual doubtful text components. A further differentiation can be made between *narrow contextual analysis* (the doubtful text components will be elucidated by the actual textual context) and the *broad contextual analysis* (further additional material beyond the textual context is used for explication) more common in hermeneutical interpretation. When *structuring* is applied, the goal of the analysis may be one of the three following: filtering out particular aspects of the material, giving a cross-section of the material according to predetermined ordering

[199] Mayring uses these three categories while stating on the same page that *"mixed procedures with inductive and deductive steps of analysis (e.g. team analysis, typological analysis should be conceptualized as well"* (Mayring, 2014, p. 64), thus creating a fourth category which is even broadened by introducing "parallel forms" which are however not described any further.

criteria, or assessing the material according to certain criteria. Since according to the research design, the analysis at hand is a comprehensive survey of the existing material on the research topic, and since this material is analysed along concrete and previously defined research questions, *structuring* is the approach chosen for the analysis.

In a next step, the sub-group (or the combination of sub-groups) must be chosen, for which Mayring offers four different aspects:[200] *nominal deductive category assignments, ordinal deductive category assignment, content structuring/theme analysis, type analyses*, and as a fifth option, *parallel forms* (Mayring, 2014, p. 65). *Nominal* and *ordinal deductive category assignments* (in literature also found as *scales of measurement*) (Mayring, 2014, p. 98) are basically used to measure something. In *an ordinal category system*, it is usually a graduation in which the categories are in a fixed order[201]; while *nominal deductive category assignments* can be used for items of a similar kind. Since both assignments are mainly used to measure how content is evaluated, this approach will not be used. For *content structuring/theme analysis*, specific topics from the material will be extracted and summarised. The themes can be fixed in advance, *"(…) coming from theory, previous studies, from the interview agenda, or sections of the data collection procedure"* (Mayring, 2014, p. 104) – this approach is applied as shown in the previous figure of the sub-components and is reflected in the six research questions. Another relevant issue is the *type-building structure* (type analysis), as it follows the key idea of classifying and describing a heterogeneous amount of material (Mayring, 2014, p. 105). In more detail, it can be used for *extreme types*, values within the dimension of a *theoretical point of view*, and/or representative of *most frequent occurrences*. While extreme types are not a major concern since the amount of data to be analysed is large and the goal is to achieve a representative image rather than to illustrate extreme facets, the theoretical as well as the most frequent occurrences are of interest. Deciding on these two approaches, the actual applied structuring procedure is a mixed

[200] In this point, the German version of Mayring differs from the English version once more. In the German version, Mayring (2015, p. 99) distinguishes four different forms: *Formal* structure ("*formale Strukturierung*"), which aims to filter the inner structure of the material according to formal aspects; *content structure ("inhaltliche Strukturierung"),* which aims to extract and summarise material on specific topics; *type structure ("typisierende Strukturierung"),* which aims to find and describe distinctive characteristics within the material; *and scale structure ("skalierende Stukturierung")* which aims to find characteristics in the form of scales and then rank the material. Aligning the German version with the English version, the following aspects can be derived:

- Formal structure (GER) → not mentioned
- Content structure (GER) → content structuring/theme analysis (ENG)
- Type structure (GER) → type analysis (ENG)
- Scale structure (GER) → Nominal deductive category assignments (ENG) → when nominal scales apply
- Scale structure (GER) → Ordinal deductive category assignments (ENG) → when ordinal scales apply

[201] The sample given in the book are the codes *K1 for excellent, K2 for good, K3 for average,* and *K4 for bad* (Mayring, 2014, p. 98).

form with parallel procedures, so as stated *"(…) different inductive and/or deductive content-analytical procedures simultaneously."* (Mayring, 2014, p. 106)

The following chart illustrates the path chosen for the content analysis:

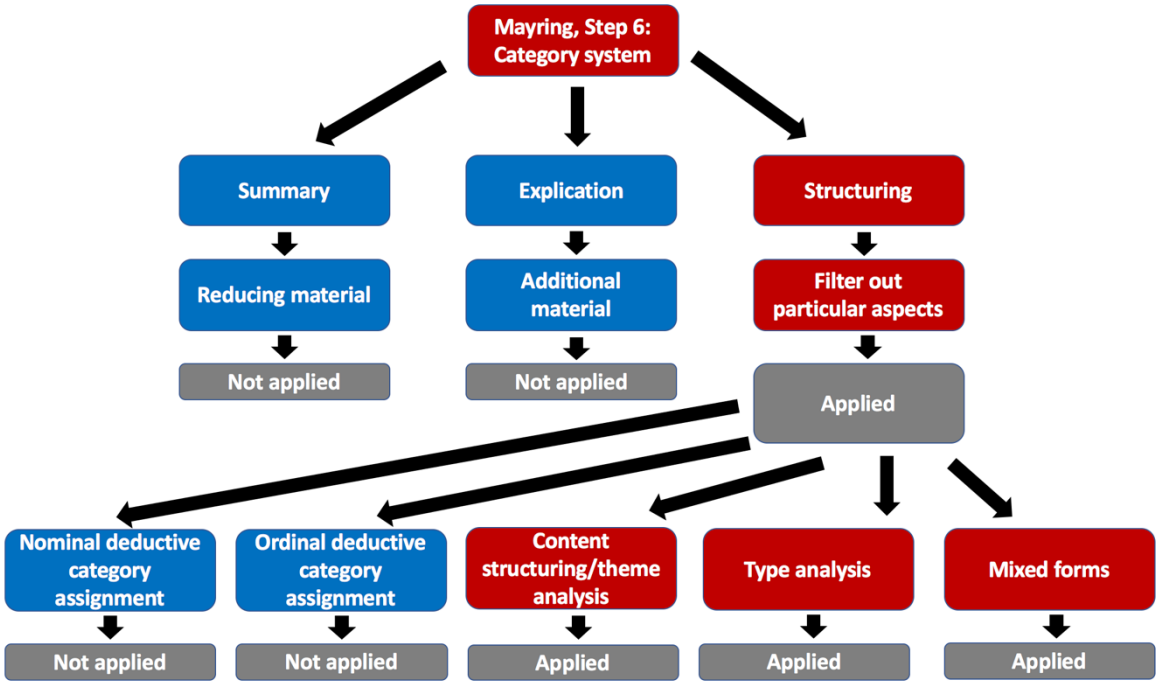


Fig. 11.5: Sub-dimensions of the first category "Love- and life history" (figure by the author).

## • Definition of content analytical units

Content analytical units are those items of the text that finally are analysed and are determined by *Coding Unit* (the smallest component of material which can be assessed, as well as the minimum of proportion of text which can fall into one category), the *Context Unit* (the largest text component which can fall into one category) and the *Recording Unit* (which text proportions are confronted with one system of categories).[202] For this thesis, *coding units* are defined *as all fragments of text that contain a minimum of information* with regard to the research questions, which can be a description, attribution, paraphrase, clause or sentence; a minimum of words to be analysed is not defined. *Context units* are *paragraphs*; a maximum of words to be analysed is not defined. *Recording units* are defined as *units of meaning*, so all items of text that contain relevant information with regard to the research questions. Items of text that do not contain relevant information will not be coded or listed as non-relevant. Headlines can be coded, as well as caption text when an article contains an image or

[202] Mayring states that the "*recording unit*" can also be found under the term "*unit of analysis*", which he describes as confusing since all three described units are units of analysis (Mayring, 2014, p. 51). For this reason, the terms are used as described.

illustration. If a *recording unit* contains information that can be assigned to more than one *dimension*, it will be coded accordingly. Within one *dimension*, each *recording unit* can only be assigned to one *value*.

- **Analytical steps taken by means of the category system:**

This is the actual coding process, executed step by step as suggested by Mayring. First, test extracts from the texts (articles) were generated. These text passages were marked[203], and numbers (codes) were given. Next to the codes, the definitions of the subcategories were defined in the codebook, then the coding rules for the individual subcategories were set. Finally *anchor samples*, defined as "*concrete passages belonging in particular categories are cited as typical examples to illustrate the character of those categories*" (Mayring, 2014, p. 95) were set. Then a trial run was executed on the first 20 articles. The sub-categories for *love and life story, social acceptance, legal recognition, media,* and *other aspects* were thus created from these articles; the subcategories for *definition* was determined by literature; the subcategory for *religious recognition* was determined according to the different confessions. This led to the following sub-categories[204]:

1) Love and life story: 1.1) Further person emotion / 1.2) Further person sexuality / 1.3) Affair / 1.4) Boredom in relationship / 1.5) Desire for more freedom.

2) Classification: 2.1) Intimate practice / 2.2) Identity / 2.3) Sexual orientation / 2.4) Other aspects.

3) Social acceptance: 3.1) Family / 3.2) Friends / 3.3) Workplace / 3.4) Wider society.

4) Legal recognition: 4.1) Marriage contract / 4.2) Equality with LGBT / 4.3) recognition of children / 4.4) property / 4.5) state responsibility.

5) Religious recognition: 5.1) Catholic / 5.2) Protestant / 5.3) Christians in general / 5.4) Mormons / 5.5) Islam.

6) Gathering knowledge: 6.1) Internet forums / 6.2) Regulars' table meetings / 6.3) advice literature / 6.4) Testimonials / 6.5) Movies, TV series / 6.6) Theatre.

[203] Mayring suggests underlining in different colours; instead of using pen and paper, this was done directly in the software.

[204] All analysed articles are in German, therefore the codebook was written in German, too, as well as all the coding. For transparency and confirmability, the codes and sub-codes are given with their respective code numbers. Detailed definition on the sub-codes is available in the codebook in the appendix.

7) Other aspects: 7.1) Demarcation free sexuality / 7.2) Demarcation polygamy / 7.3) Demarcation commune / 7.4) Jealousy / 7.5) Polygamous societies / 7.6) Number of people.

For an idea of what the codebook looks like, the following table is a translated sample of the xx-pages strong codebook, with the original German text in the footnotes.

| **1) Love and life history** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variable** | **Code** | **Definition** | **Coding rule: At least one of these aspects must apply** | **Anchor sample** |
| Further person emotion[205] | 1.1) | One person falls in love with another person, this leads to a polyamorous relationship.[206] | • Person in a monogamous relationship falls in love with another person and opens the relationship.<br><br>• Person is in a monogamous relationship, falls in love with someone else. Person does not open relationship or split up. The relationship will end eventually, and person then has a polyamorous relationship.[207] | *"After a dramatic divorce, Veronika moved to a small town. A year later she met a guy from Ticino. For a few years they were monogamous. 'But then he fell in love with someone else. I also got myself another guy, and so we tried between the four of us for a while.'"* [208] |
| Further person sexuality | 1.2) | One person has sex with a further person.[209] | • Person had sex once outside the monogamous relationship (→ cause for questioning monogamy).<br><br>• Person regularly had sex outside the monogamous relationship.<br><br>• The principle of (physical) fidelityis rejected.[210] | *"Even in her teens, Monika found the idea of monogamy strange. 'Why shouldn't one be allowed to love more than one person, also in an erotic way?' she had already asked herself then."*[211] |

[205] In German: *Weitere Person Emotion*.

[206] In German: *• Eine Person verliebt sich in eine weitere Person, dies führt zu polyamorösem Lebensstil.*

[207] In German:

*• Person in einer Zweierbeziehung verliebt sich in eine weitere Person und öffnet Beziehung.*

*• Person ist in monogamer Zweierbeziehung, verliebt sich in weitere Person, trennt sich noch nicht, aber führt die Folgende Beziehung polyamorös.*

[208] In German: *„Nach der dramatischen Scheidung zog Veronika mit den Kindern in eine Kleinstadt. Ein Jahr später lernte sie einen Tessiner kennen. Ein paar Jahre lang waren sie monogam. ‚Aber dann verliebte er sich in eine andere. Ich schnappte mir ebenfalls einen andern, und dann versuchten wir es eine Weile zu viert.'"*

[209] In German: *Eine Person hat mit einer weiteren Person Sex.*

[210] In German:

*• Person hatte einmal Sex außerhalb der monogamen Zweierbeziehung (→ Impuls zur Hinterfragung von Monogamie).*

*• Person hatte regelmäßig Sex außerhalb der monogamen Zweierbeziehung.*

*• Prinzip „(körperliche) Treue" wird abgelehnt.*

[211] In German: *„Veronika fand die Idee der Monogamie schon als Jugendliche seltsam. "Warum soll man nicht mehr als einen Menschen lieben können, und zwar auch erotisch?", fragte sie sich schon damals."*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Affair | 1.3) | One person has with another person who is not the primary partner, a secret relationship.[212] | • The secret relationship leads in the short term, mid term or long term to a polyamorous way of living.[213] | *"In the following years she had a number of affairs. 'It was rather wild,' she says. 'But simply because what I actually wanted did not work: parallel relationships. For long time I thought that was my fault.'"*[214] |

Fig. 11.6: Section of the codebook translated into English – detail of the first three subcategories of the first category "Love and life history".

## • Reviewing the category system by applying it to theory and material

After the category system was created and the preliminary codebook had been finalised, another 30 articles were coded according to the codebook, then the category system was reviewed with regard to possible modifications. This led to the final codebook that was then used for re-coding the first 50 articles as well as coding the remaining articles. Below, the final categories and dimensions by text, followed by illustrations for each category are presented. In addition, another category was added: *Representation*.

1) Love and life history: The sub-category *1.4) Desire for more freedom* was spit up into *1.4) Boredom in relationship* and 1.5) *Desire for more freedom* due to differentiated representation in the articles:

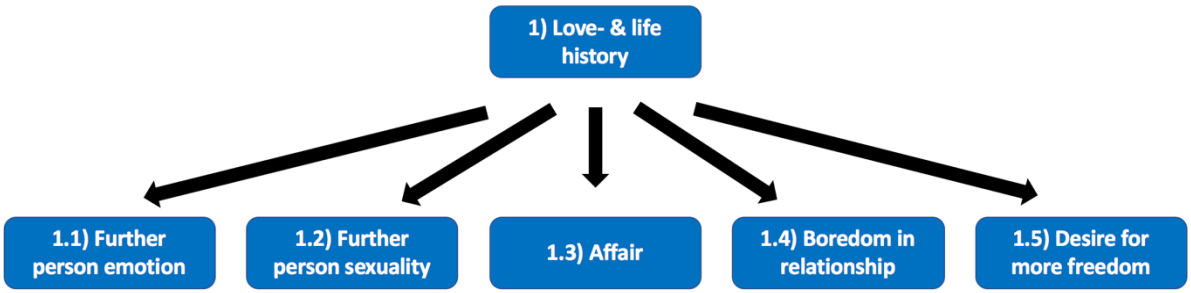


Fig. 11.7: Sub-dimensions of the first category *1) Love- and life history* (figure by the author).

2) Classification: Due to several naming's from the previous sub-category *2.4) Other aspects,* three further sub-categories were developed: *2.5) Monogamy is unnatural*, *2.6) Multiple emotional relationships* and *2.7) Monogamy as an economic system*. The category *other aspects* was retained in

[212] In German: *Eine Person hat zu einer anderen Person, die nicht Primärpartner(In) ist, eine heimliche Beziehung.*
[213] In German: • *„Eine Affäre führt kurz- mittel- oder langfristig zu polyamorösen Lebensstil."*
[214] In German: *„In den folgenden Jahren hatte sie diverse Affären. "Es war ziemlich wild", stellt sie rückblickend fest. "Aber bloss, weil nicht klappte, was ich eigentlich wollte: Parallelbeziehungen. Lange dachte ich, es liege nur an mir."*

the new code as *2.8) Further aspects*. In addition, the previous category *2.2) Identity* was split up into two different categories for more precise coding: *2.2) Identity lived reality* and *2.3) Identity ideological*:

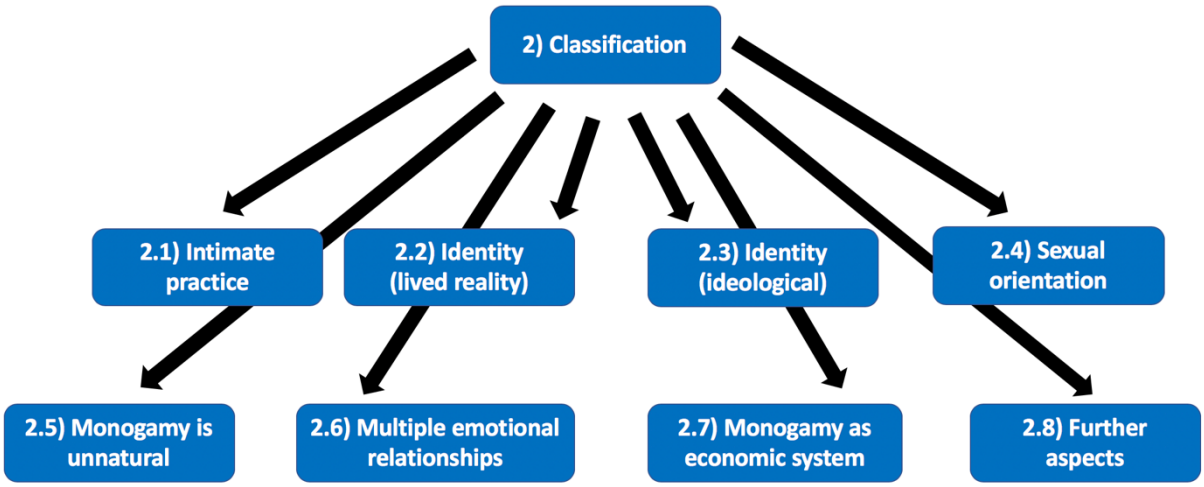


Fig. 11.8: Sub-dimensions of the second category *2) Classification* (figure by the author).

The category 3) Social acceptance was not modified:

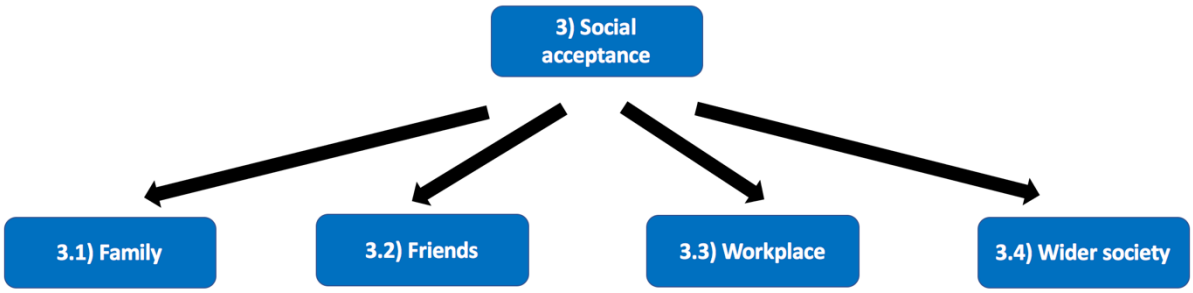


Fig. 11.9: Sub-dimensions of the third category *3) Social acceptance* (figure by the author).

The category 4) Legal recognition remained unchanged:

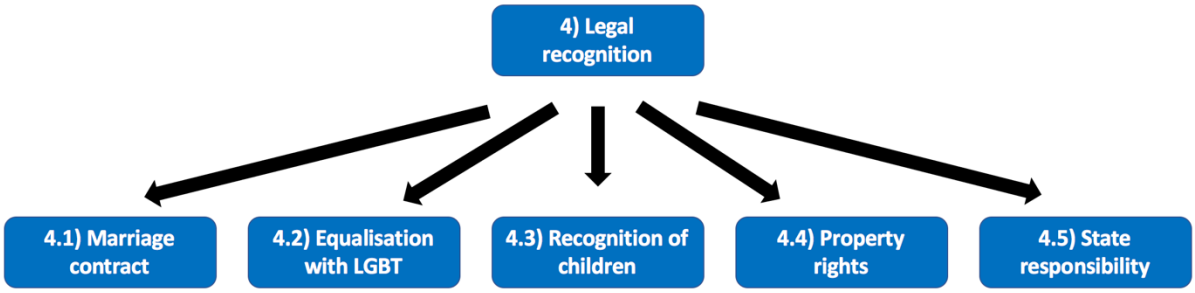


Fig. 11.10: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category *4) Legal recognition* (figure by the author).

5) Religious recognition: the first article in the sample which mentioned Anglicanism in the context of polyamory showed up in 2010. So the category 5.3) Anglican was added; since it was the first occurrence, the previous articles were not re-coded. The number was chosen as Anglicanism is a Christian religion; the following codes were shifted up by one number to the previous codes as a consequence.

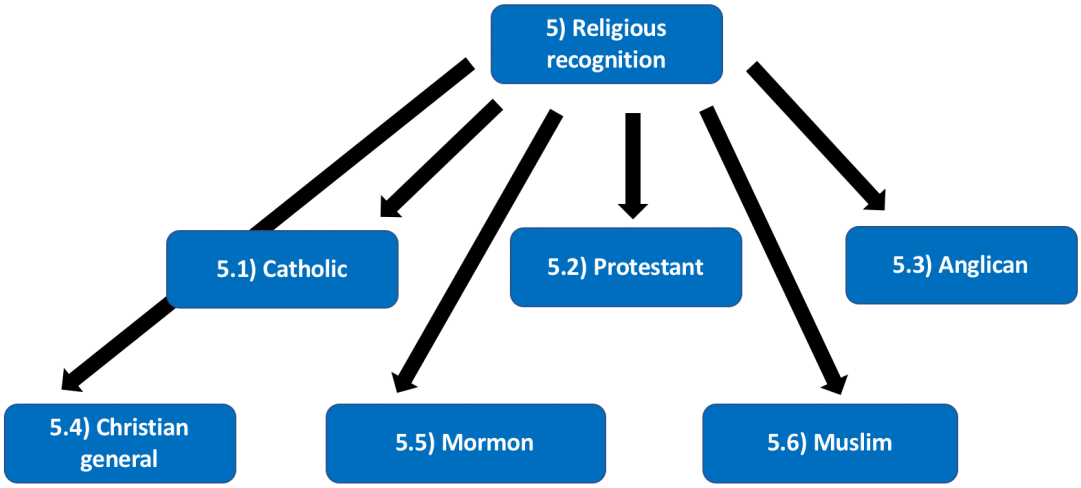


Fig. 11.11: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category *5) Religious recognition* (figure by the author).

6) Gathering knowledge: For the sub-category *6.3) Advice literature*, the titles of the books were collected when they were mentioned. For the sub-category *6.4) Testimonials*, the names of the testimonials were recorded when mentioned. The sub-category 6.6) Theatre was merged with the sub-category *6.5) Movies_TV series* since there was only one occurrence.

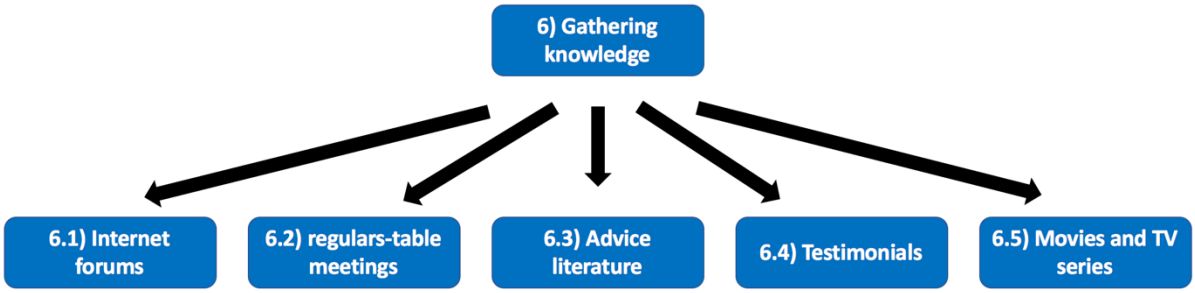


Fig. 11.12: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category *6) Gathering knowledge* (figure by the author).

In addition, two more aspects developed from the material: Issues that were mentioned quite often; and the general attitude towards polyamory in the article. Both aspects are not directly linked to the research questions but will be presented at this stage, as these findings have influenced the thesis in general. In detail:

7) Further aspects**:** In this category, aspects that were mentioned repeatedly (a two-digit number of times after the first coding run) as well as aspects that are relevant to the theoretical part of the thesis were added. This led to the additional subcategories *7.1) Differentiation free love*, *7.2) Differentiation polygamy*, 7.3) *Differentiation communes*, *7.4) Jealousy*, *7.5) Polygamous societies*, and *7.6) Number of polyamorous persons*. The following figure illustrates these sub-categories:

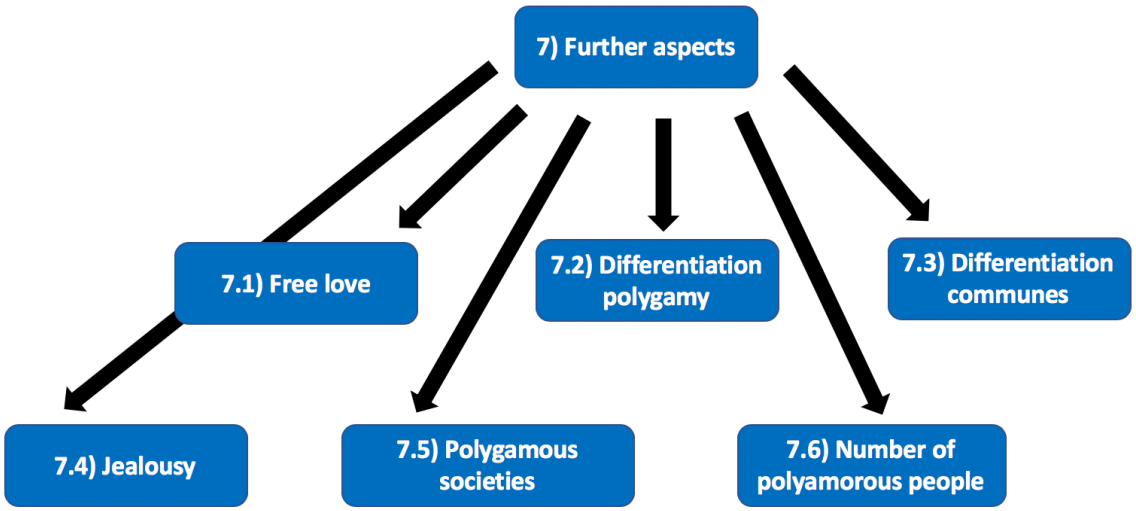


Fig. 11.13: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category *7) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

W) Representation: As stated in the introduction, this category was added after the first round of coding. The reason for this was that it turned out that the articles tended to report on the issue of polyamory either with a positive, a neutral, or a negative bias. Therefore the following five categories were developed, expanded by a sixth category after the second round of coding. The main difference to the previous codes is that each article is only assigned one code, which is the author's basic attitude towards polyamory; furthermore, the coding was done similar to the other articles along anchor samples. The following subcategories were created: *8.1) Positive, 8.2) Rather positive, 8.3) Neutral, 8.4) Rather negative, 8.5) Negative,* and *8.99) Other (satire)*.

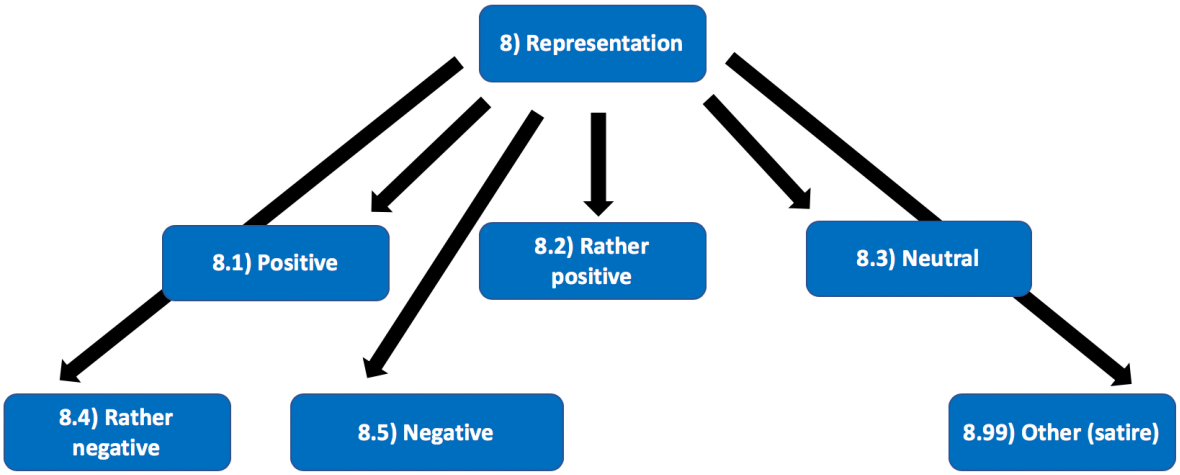


Fig. 11.14: Sub-dimensions of the eighth category *W) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

- **Interpretation of the results in relation to the main problem and issue**

This is where – according to Mayring – the results would be presented. Because of the sheer volume of results, the analysis and interpretation of the study with regard to the research questions will be presented in detail in Chapter 14.

- **Application of content-analytical quality criteria**

With regard to content analysis achieving and deserving the status of a social scientific method, Mayring states that it must allow for quality control: Each individual analysis should be assessed for objectivity, reliability and validity. Further in the text he refers to criticism of the concepts of measuring reliability and validity, and introduces special concepts of content-analytical quality criteria (Mayring, 2014, pp. 108-109) – to be more precise, he refers to a concept by (Krippendorff, 1980). The political scientist recently published the third edition of his book (Krippendorff, 2013); for reasons of consistency, the following figure is from the book's first edition in 1980:

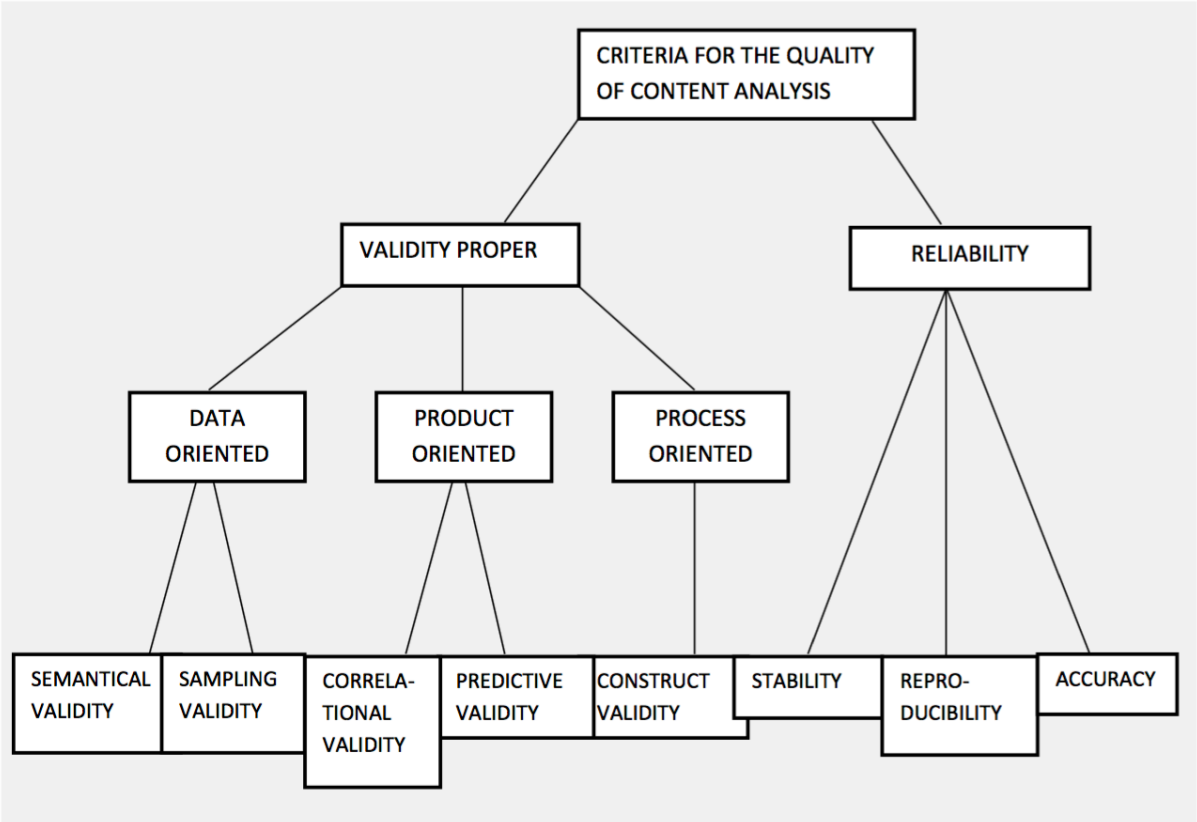


Fig. 11.15: Content-analytical quality criteria according to Krippendorff (1980), IN: Mayring (2014, p. 110)

These eight criteria were (if applicable) applied as follows:

- Semantic validity: Referring to the manner in which the meaning of the material is reconstructed. Can be done either by simple checks by the authors themselves or by experts → done by Dr. Fritz Hausjell who is secondary advisor of the thesis.
- Sampling validity: Picking an accurate (randomized) sample from the existing material → not applicable since it is a full survey.
- Correlation validity: Validation through correlation with external criteria. This test is only possible if similar research is available. Since there are no similar research designs → not applicable.
- Predictive validity: Relevant when meaningful predictions can be made on the basis of the material → cannot be answered at this stage of research.
- Construct validity: This criterion refers to one or more of the four following aspects: Success rate with similar situations and/or constructions / experiences made with the context of the material / established models and theories / representative interpretations and experts → not applicable since it is the first research with this design of its kind on this material.
- Stability: Evaluating the stability of the analysis is described as highly recommended because it can easily be accomplished: after coding, the coding person starts again with the coding from scratch – without consulting the previous codding's. Krippendorff calls this approach *intra-coder agreement* → applied.
- Reproducibility: Reproducibility works similar to stability, with the main difference that the analysis is conducted under different circumstances, which usually means it is done by different persons. Usually referred to as *inter-coder-reliability*, Krippendorf uses the term *inter-coder agreement*, as "*(…) it is more objective in the sense of independence of the results from the analyzing person*" (Mayring, 2014, pp. 111-112).
- Accuracy: The final criterion refers to the extent to which the analysis conforms to a particular functional standard → since the mentioned instructions are basically a summary of the seven previous criteria, the actual application of content-analytical quality control was done according to Mayring's final interpretation of Krippendorff's approach: He states that "*In qualitative research however, a perfect agreement between different analysts can hardly be reached, because interpretative elements (even if extremely rule guided as in Qualitative Content Analysis) always bear a subjective element. So we must be a little bit more modest*." (Mayring, 2014, p. 114)

Finally, three different levels of *inter-coder agreement tests* that differ in their degree of rigour are suggested: The strongest test suggested is to give the material as well as the research questions to a second person to analyse it, including the full process from category building, definition and application, to the definition of procedures, to finally coding. The downside of this approach is that a lot of theoretical considerations are introduced (so a lot of theoretical knowledge of the coding person is requested), plus the results have to be seen as theory dependent. Since for the research at hand most of the subcategories are developed from the material (instead of being theory-driven), this approach is not applicable. Another option is to give the material to another person for coding, along with all content-analytical rules like procedure, units, category definition, category assignments etc. The disadvantage of this approach in regards to the research at hand is that it works best when the material is not very open, and when there are theories for clear definitions. Both preconditions are not fully met, therefore the third suggested option was applied.

According to what Mairing calls a "*lighter test*", the second coder gets insights into the complete material, definitions and coding of the initial coder. The task of this second coder is to work as a supervisor and check if the analysis can be confirmed (or not). If this reliability test procedure is likely to be very time consuming, it is possible to select parts of the textual material like random samples, exemplary text portions or difficult text portions instead of the complete material. So, for the thesis at hand, this procedure was applied in two steps: In a first step, the coding of every fifth article among the first 50 articles (the number that led to the final dimensions and subdimensions) was discussed with a second person. This feedback was used to finalise the subdimensions (see chapter 12.4.9). In a second step, the first five articles of each year from 2011 onwards (the first 50 articles were published from 2007 to mid-2010) (including their coding) were given to the second person to discuss. The rate of agreement on the assigned codes was about 95%.

## 11.5 Codebook

The detailed codebook including anchor samples runs to 26 pages and is presented in the appendix, because of its volume.

## 11.6 Technical realisation

The actual analyses were done using the software tool MAXQDA, which, according to its own definition is *"Software for Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Research"* (VERBI, 2017). It was chosen over the software tool QDAmap for the following reasons:

- First developed in 1989 and therefore likely to be more stable than the alternative software developed in 2014.
- Data is stored on a local computer rather than in a cloud.
- Internet connection is not required for coding.
- Data remains in researcher's hands.
- More features especially for exporting data.
- More options for graphic output.

The version used was 12.4 in the English version for Mac OS released in 2017, the hardware the coding was done on was an *iMac 27"* built in 2016, running *Mac OS El Capitan* (Version 10.11.6). Overall, the 368 articles were assigned a total of 3.030 codes. The complete database is in the ownership of the author and can be provided for confirmability issues.

## 11.7 Challenges and limitations

The main challenge became manifest when during the analysis different spelling versions of the term *Polyamorie* (i.e. *Polyamory*, *Polyamoury*) as well as attributions (*polyamorös*, *polyamourös* etc.) appeared – this led to approximately double the number of articles to be analysed. This, while, as a downside, causing a delay in publishing the results, had the upside of leading to a much more differentiated and detailed result.

The limitations are insignificant since it is a full survey. The only articles that might have been missed are ones from newspapers and magazines unavailable in the WISO database – which is true for only a very small number of print products, and should therefore have no significant influence on the outcomes. Not a limitation, but a possible expansion of the study would be to broaden it to include newspapers and magazines in countries that are not German-speaking – for example follow-up studies on the Spanish-speaking, French-speaking or Dutch-speaking print markets.

## 12. The interior view: Self-perception

While the previous chapter centered on the media representation of polyamory, the present chapter focusses on the self-perception of people who live/feel/act polyamorous. The introduction will relate to the challenges of measuring sex and emotions, followed by an explanation of why I opted for the *interview* method as the method of choice, and which specific interview technique was chosen for what reasons. The main part illustrates the "hands-on" technical approach, e.g. how the sample was selected, how the interviews were conducted, and according to which rules the transcripts were made, and the manner in which all this is framed by ethical considerations. The final part describes the process of generating categories and sub-categories in order to compare the results of the interviews (to be found in chapter 14) with the results of the media analysis (to be found in chapter 13).

### 12.1 How to measure sex and emotions

One look at the research of scientific colleagues is enough to show the path most social researchers chose to generate data: It is questioning people – in quantitative as well as qualitative ways (Baur & Blasius, 2014, p. 45). And in contrast to academic disciplines like natural sciences, where researchers are able to measure clearly defined parameters like temperature or distance, measuring in our discipline is somewhat more challenging. Still, some aspects can be described by sheer numbers, which is what quantitative research aims at. The goal of such descriptive research is usually to get a comprehensive description of a clearly defined field; such research designs focus on questions of the distribution of characteristics. In order to execute such an approach, the basic population and the sample must be defined clearly (Stein, 2014, p. 136). For the research project at hand, the overall goal is a slightly different one. It is not only about description, it is about what lies beneath the obvious. And it is set within an interdisciplinary field, it is about studying relationships, where qualitative approaches have a larger share compared to quantitative approaches (Manning & Kunkel, 2014, p. 433). It hardly claims to be representative, as that would require a large enough sample. Looking at the largest research project on the matter of sexual behaviour after WW2, the Kinsey Reports, the problem becomes obvious: Although the research team at the time collected data on roughly 5,300 male respondents in the first report (Kinsey et al., 1948), and roughly 6,000 female respondents for the second report (Kinsey et al., 1953), there was still criticism that the sample of people questioned was too small for being representative. (Gerste, 2018, p. 13)

The advantages of a qualitative approach in relationship studies are described by Manning and Kunkel (2014, pp. 435-436) along four major aspects: They *provide an insight into the production of meaning in action* (1), they *allow for marginalised voices to emerge* (2), they *evoke senses of feeling, emotion, experience and latitude* (3), and finally they *serve as a constitutive form of sensemaking across interaction levels and methods of inquiry* (4).

At this point, questionnaires (understood as tick box-concept, usually either applied in pen and paper or electronically via digital questionnaires) should also be mentioned. They come with the advantage that a big number of people can be questioned in a relatively short period of time and with less expense and effort, and therefore also less cost for researchers, but they have a range of limitations as well: Brewster et al. (2017) investigated the methodological approaches to non-monogamy research[215], in which 42 out of 116 articles referred to empirical studies. It showed that 83% of the studies went for convenient sampling; a further 45% used the Internet as a recruitment tool – which means that for nearly half of those studies, basic knowledge of computers and connections to relevant communities were a precondition for participation. And there are yet further advantages of qualitative approaches compared to more quantitative tickbox settings with regard to research on relationships and sexual orientation/identity outside the heteronormative norm: Existing sexual-romantic and gender criteria often fail to represent the respondents (Galupo, Lomash, & Mitchell, 2017, pp. 160-161). Another possible outcome can be that although people would prefer not to tick a specific box in order to avoid labels and identity categories in general, they still do so to increase visibility for the bigger issue (Albury, 2015, p. 650). For a final limitation, which already goes deep into the topic of polyamory research, it seems that in research on polyamorous lifestyles, gay men are over-represented in proportion to the overall population of poly people (Séguin et al., 2017, p. 86). From here, the chapter narrows down from general qualitative approaches to the specific qualitative method of interview(s) as applied method of choice for the project at hand.

## 12.2 The interview: Versions, advantages and limitations

According to Atteslander (2010, p. V), interviews as a method are considered to be the ideal way to identify global, radical changes of societal structures. As the theoretical chapters have shown, the idea of polyamory offers the potential for such significant societal changes. In order to measure this potential, interviews are a valid, often used, appropriate methodical tool for doing so – especially, since there is not "one" interview technique, there is a whole range of different settings. The following

[215] As shown, polyamory is only one aspect of the wider field of non-monogamy – the challenges for methodological approaches remain the same.

table provides an extended overview of different interview techniques - on the horizontal axis from the more structured guideline interviews, to more variable narrative approaches, to even more open group techniques; on the vertical axis several criteria for their application:

| | *Guidelined Interview* | | | | | *Narrative as procedure* | | *Group procedures* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Method<br><br>Criteria | **Focussed Interview** | **Semi-standardised Interview** | **Problem-focussed Interview** | **Expert Interview** | **Ethnographic Interview** | **Narrative Interview** | **Episodic Interview** | **Group discussion** | **Joint telling** |
| **Open for subjective view of interview partner due to** | Non-influencing by unstructured questions | Open questions | Topic- and process oriented / Space for narrative | Is limited → interest to expert only | Descriptive questions | Non-influencing once the narrative starts | Narrative of important experiences / Selection by interviewee | Non-direct discussion lead / Permissive discussion sphere | Sacrifice of talk stimuli and methodical interventions |
| **Structuring of the subject matter by** | Stimulus / Structured questions / Focus on emotions | Questions on hypothesis / Confronting questions | Guideline as base for turns and abortion of non-awarding content | Guideline for structure | Structured questions / contrastive questions | Story-telling prompt / Narrative questioning at the end / summarisation part | Combination of narrative and arguments / providing concrete situations for story telling | Dynamics developing within the group / control by guideline | Dynamics of shared telling / Control list for demographic data / observation protocol |
| **Contribution to the general development of the method interview by** | Many criteria for interview design / Analysis of object as second source | Structure of content by rules / Suggestions of explication of implicit knowledge | Short questionnaire / postscript | Exemplification of control: Restriction of interview on expert | Focus of problem of generating the interview situation | Localisation of structuring the interview at the beginning and the end / Identifying the method narration | Systematic combination of narration and argument / focussed story telling prompt | Alternative to single questioning by group dynamic | Connection of narrative and interaction analysis / focus on construction in narrative |
| **Area of application** | Analysis of subjective meanings | Reconstruction of subjective theories | Societally or biographically relevant problems | Expert knowledge in institutions | Field research in open areas | Biographical development | Change, routines and everyday situations | Opinion and attitude research | Family research |
| **Problems of implementation** | Dilemma of compatibility of criteria | Extensive methodological requirement / problems with analysis | Non-systematic change from narrative to question-answer-scheme | Diffusion of role with interviewee / blockade of expert | Mediation between friendly talk and formal interview | Extremely one-sided interview situation / Problems of interviewee / Problemati | Illustration of the principle / dealing with the guideline | Mediation between silent and talkative interviewees / development difficult to plan | Dispense of thematical focus of narrative |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | c of zugzwang | | | |
| **Limitations of method** | Objective recognition of researched item to be questioned / hardly ever purely applied | Providing a structure / Need to adapt the method to item and interviewee | Problem orientation / non-systematic connection of different parts | Limitation of analysis on expert knowledge | Especially useful in combination with observation and field research | Assumed analogies of experiences and narration / reduction of the topic on tellable aspects | Limited to day-to-day knowledge | Massive organisational effort / Problem of comparability | Dispense of control / Self-empowerment as single method / Extent of cases |
| **Literature** | Merton and Kendall (1979) | Scheele and Groeben (1988) | Witzel (1985) | Meuser and Nagel (1991) | Spradley (1979) | Fritz Schütze (1983) / (Hermanns, 1991) | Flick (1995) | Krüger (1983), Bohnsack (1991) | Hildebrand and Jahn (1988) |

Fig. 12.1: Overview on qualitative interviews according to (Flick, 1995, pp. 146-147). English translation by the author.

The advantage of such a wide range of variation is that there are a whole range of approaches, depending on the goal of the research and the availability of respondents.

The latter also contains the major pitfall when it comes to the implementation: Finding a representative sample. Participants in research on relationship topics within the LGBT (or its extended community) are often recruited through counseling service and by snowball sampling, therefore the results may not be representative (McCormack, 2014, p. 475); and/or are leading to a dominance of white, upper-class, educated participants (Takacs, 2020, p. 490). This also holds true for research within the polyamorous community. For a local Austrian example: Three master theses conducted in Austria by Maly (2015), Maikisch (2017) and (N. D. Berger, 2018) opted for this approach and identified their interview partners via the snowball system. Being aware of this, and considering that the aim is not to draw conclusions from individuals living in polyamorous relationships to the general population, the selection process of interview partners has been spread in the broadest possible way within the Viennese polyamory community, as the following sub-chapter will show in detail.

Further general challenges one is confronted with when applying interviews as a method are the circumstance that some of the related stories can date back years or even decades; it can happen that in interviews, participants' memories might not be completely accurate, and therefore the events they tell may have happened differently (Duplassie & Fairbrother, 2018, p. 436); and the matter of social desirability, i.e. courteous answers although the questions are disagreeable for participants (S. M. Johnson et al., 2015, p. 331).

Finally, two limitations that are very specifically related to the research topic: First, research on polyamorous gay men as a sample is over-represented in proportion to the overall population (Séguin et al., 2017, p. 86); and second, researchers who are in favour of polyamory rather than monogamy have been perceived as having a pro-polyamory bias (Conley et al., 2017, p. 205).

## 12.3 Narrative biographical interviews as method of choice

A preliminary word on interviews is that the implementation needs to be done according to ethical guidelines. This applies to interviews in general, even more so when it comes to sexuality and relationship research. This research project operates with sensible, personal data, therefore it needs to establish rules of how the empiric generation of data, as well as further processing and publication of the data, are carried out. The Austrian Science Fund who funded the project the thesis at hand is based on refers to the documents "*Ethics for researchers*" as published by the European Commission for FP7-projects (European Commission, 2013), or the document "*The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*" published by the European Science Foundation (European Science Foundation, 2011) as guidelines. These standards have been applied, all details on this issue are presented in Chapter 1 "Introduction".

The method of choice for the thesis at hand is the narrative interview (7th column from left). The reasons behind this decision are guided by the criteria given in the left column:

- Openness for subjective view of the interview partner by → non-influencing a once-started narrative

  The interviewee shall not be directed in terms of "what the interviewer wants to hear for the research". S/he should not feel that their behavior with regard to their way of living a relationship is either right or wrong according to legal or societal standards. Whatever the person tells is OK when it is told, without any judgmental comments.

- Structuring of the subject matter by → a story-telling prompt / narrative questioning at the end / summarisation part

  This structure matches the idea of the research design best: An introductory question that is the same for all participants, then questions on what has been said and what has not been said with regard to the research questions, ended by a retrospective summary.

• Contribution to the general development of the method interview by → localisation of structuring of the interview at the beginning and the end / identifying the method narration

This aspect of furthering the method was not a goal or approach of the research project – if it should come about as a side effect, it is very welcome.

• Area of application → biographical development

This is the one of the key reasons for choosing this method: with regard to the first research question, the project aims at finding out what happened in someone's biography that they became respondents in an interview on polyamory.

• Problems on implementation → extremely one-sided interview situation / problems of interviewee / problematic of zugzwang

The one-sided interview situation cannot be denied, but is not considered to be a problem. It is about the story of the interviewee, and not the interaction with the interviewing person. While the interviewee may encounter problems, these should be alleviated by check-back questions that provide a safe environment during the interview situation. The problem of zugzwang could appear, but should also be kept to a minimum by sensitive questioning (without pushing for answers) by the interviewer.

• Limitations of method → assumed analogies of experiences and narration / reduction of the topic on tellable aspects

Both aspects have their right to exist, and both cannot be absolutely excluded. Especially the latter seems not to be a problem for the analysis: It is a social science research project, not a psychological one. Therefore, the analysis can restrict itself to what has been said. While we can mention issues that remained unsaid, it is impossible to offer an in-depth interpretation of what this may mean.

Flick refers to two German sociologists for this approach: Fritz Schütze (1983) and Harry Hermanns (1991). The selected author for the realisation of the project is Fritz Schütze, since his work is quoted more frequently, it is better documented, and more widely known internationally.[216] In addition, although written nearly four decades ago, it is still applied in current sociological research projects[217],

[216] See for example Nohl (2005), who refers to a whole range of studies that are based on Schütze's principles.

[217] An good example is Rosenthal (2014, p. 513), who refers to Schütze in her abstract on biographical research in an anthology on qualitative methods.

and most of all: It is best suited for the requirements and challenges of the research questions with regard to self-perception.

## 12.4 Hands on: Implementing interviews as suggested by Schütze (1983)

In 1983, Fritz Schütze wrote an article titled "*Documentary interpretation of narrative interviews*", in which he claims the meaningfulness of questions on process structures of individual biographies. Such structures can be found, fully or in parts, in all walks of life. Biographical interpretative patterns and interpretations of the individual are only of interest within the reconstructed life story, but not beyond. The life story and its interpretation pattern by the individual shape the individual, which is why the connection of the two aspects is of major interest to sociological research. For this, a fundamental heuristic question is essential: What has actually happened in sociologically interesting life stories? This is the basis on which the individual can embed their practical actions into a theoretical framework, which is a precondition for the researcher to be able to interpret the life story. Therefore, it is important for the researcher to keep an eye on the sequential structure of the life story of the individual. When the dominant process structure changes, this also changes the interpretation of the individual's life story – and this is where the researcher comes in: It is their challenge to gather data from the multi-layered process structures which emerge from the changing interpretations by the individual. In order to gain to this knowledge, a method is needed that collects this primary data. This method is the narrative biographical interview. It creates data, which reproduce experienced life stories of the individual; the result is a text that illustrates and explains the social process of development and change of a biographical identity – without non-immanent motivated interventions or suppression by the researcher or their theoretical preconceptions. Schütze (1983, pp. 284-286)

Summing up Schütze's text, his key conclusion is that there are process structures within each individual live history, which lie in their systematic subsumption by types (Schütze refers to them as "identities") of relevance for the society. And for its practical implementation, the text refers to types (identities) that need to be generated from the data itself rather than testing existing types/identities with the generated data. It is therefore the base for a hypothesis developing rather than a hypothesis testing approach.

Below is a description of the three main consecutive steps as suggested by Schütze in their implementation for the project, followed by the documentation of the whole process from identifying interview partners up to finally having written transcripts in hand for the analysis.

The first step when conducting an interview is an autobiography-orientated story telling prompt. This can be a question that will lead to the whole life history, but it can also focus on a period of special interest to the researcher. During this part, the interviewee should not be interrupted, but notes will be taken by the interviewer. Only when there are verbal indications that this part is completed, the interviewer starts with the second step, the call-back questions. For these questions, already mentioned topics (for which the notes are used) will be explored further. Schütze insists that the questions at this stage should be truly narrative, and that the interviewer should reconstruct the status quo ante of the first, narrative part. The third and final step has two aspects: The interviewee should now be considered as an expert and theoretician of their own narrative; this is where the connection to the theoretical framework of the research project comes in: The interview partners will be asked about issues that they did not talk about in the narrative part, but which are of interest to the researcher. This enables us to make use of the full potential of their situational, habitual, and socio-structural background. The second part is the request directed at the interviewee to describe situations, repeating processes, and systematic correlations. This will be introduced with the question "*Have I missed something? Is there anything else you would like to tell me?*". By doing so, aspects are brought up that, while not pertaining to the clearly defined research questions, are important for an understanding of the respondent's world.[218]

### • Conducting interviews: How to identify the sample

Finding interview participants for a societally stigmatised topic is difficult.[219] In the case of polyamory, it proved even more difficult – first for the just stated reason of stigmatisation and the lack of legal protection in case of an outing, and second because of the growing demand of research as well as media for the topic. As one person who was asked for participation within this project in the initial phase stated: "*Last month I had more requests from media representatives and university students to talk about my polyamorous life than requests from my partners to talk about OUR polyamorous lives*." Therefore, interview partners were acquired through several paths to ensure an as widespread call as possible. For privacy rights and protection of the community, all places, organisations, or presentations remain unnamed.

[218] For the detailed theoretical approach and its practical implementation, see Fritz Schütze (1983, pp. 284-285).
[219] While this was the case during the recruitment for interview partners which started in 2015/2016, it was less so when this chapter was actually written in 2020.

• Visits to regular polyamory meetings organised by a mailing list, taking place in different bars, cafés or restaurants once a month.

• Visits to an association with its own club house that describes itself as "sex-positive" place and offers all kinds of theoretical as well as practical events that can be subsumed under the queer umbrella.

• Visits to book presentations, readings, and non-regular events on the broader field of non-monogamy.

• Calls to participate by colleagues and friends who participate in relevant Facebook groups.

• Word of mouth after publications, blog entries, and media reports that were published by the author.

So, first contact has been established, potential persons of interest have been informed in detail about the project. In a next step, individuals were invited for an interview at the University of Vienna. Already at first contact, an interest was expressed to conduct interviews with more than one individual from each polycule. After the interview had been conducted, the request to ask partners from the polycule to consider making themselves available for an interview was repeated.

### • Sample size and composition

Overall, 33 people from 14 different polycules participated. The interviews were conducted between April 2016 and December 2018. The largest had a total 6 people participating in an interview, with 5 people individual interviews were conducted – this was due to other partners not being willing to participate, but also due to mono-polys[220] participating. The following diagram does not illustrate one of the actual relationships as drawn by one of the interviewees in the demographic questionnaire that followed the oral interview[221], but a random fictitious one:

[220] The term mono-poly is used for individuals who live/feel/act polyamorous but are not in an actual relationship.

[221] Examples of actual polycules are to be found in chapter 14.

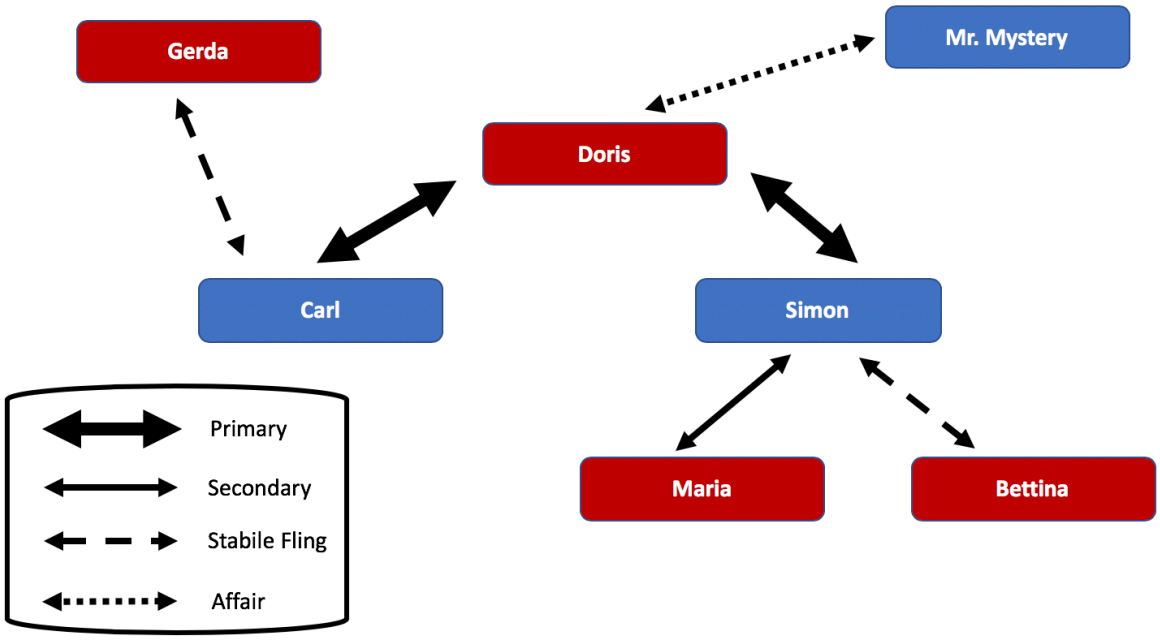


Fig. 12.2: Diagram of a random fictitious polycule including relationships of different intensity between partners.

Two reasons were decisive for my attempt to interview as many of those involved in any one polycule as possible: First it was an option to reach people are not out (yet/enough) or comfortable enough to appear in public as events that may socially be perceived as non-monogamic; and second it was the best option to catch not only the voices of the partners in the center of a relationship, but also the voices at the margins – who, it was assumed, have different needs and demands than the ones who are in the center.

### • Interview accomplishment

With one exception, all interviews were conducted at the Department of Social and Economic History, University of Vienna – either in a seminar room, a meeting room, or in the author's office. Beside the interviewee and the interviewer, no one else was in the room at the time[222]. The sessions started with a short introduction of the project itself (without giving away the focus of the research), followed by information on the ethical considerations. With consent of the interviewee, the audio recorder was started and the author asked his introductory question, which was the following: "*What happened in your life that we are now sitting here talking about the topic of polyamory?*" This rather open and innocuous introductory question was chosen in order not to push the participants and to help them to mobilise their memories and talk freely – an approach as for example suggested by Hopf (2004, p. 356) supplementing Fritz Schütze (1983, p. 285). Then the call-back questions were asked. After the

[222] Only exception was a 10-month-old baby during one of the interviews.

recording, which lasted between 18 minutes and 1h 4 minutes,[223] a demographical questionnaire[224] was handed out. Finally, the signature of the consent form[225] finished the session.

### • Rules of transcription

Since all of the interviews were held in German, German-speaking literature was consulted for a set of rules on how to transcribe. Fuß and Karbach (2014) give a good overview on the three main sets of rules in social sciences when dealing with spoken text that is later to be analysed with a qualitative approach. One of the most-quoted authors in this regard is Ralf Bohnsack, whose approach to transcription was also published in English – see for example Bohnsack (2010). Since his set of rules is based on group discussions and needs to come up with a system that allows to transcript spoken text containing comments of at least two interviewees, this method was not considered. As the guidelines for the interviews followed Fritz Schütze, using his set of coding rules seemed to be an obvious choice – at first sight. The first time he published a set of transcription rules together with Werner Kallmeyer dates back to 1976 (Fuß & Karbach, 2014); the most up-to-date publication was published more than 20 years ago, at a time when computer-based interview transcription was in its fledgling stage (Fritz Schütze, 1994). This leaves the educationist Udo Kuckartz. In his last publication, titled "*Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Methoden, Praxis, Compterunterstützung"*[226], he provides a set of 14 rules on how interviews can be transcribed (Kuckartz, 2014). These rules were applied in the transcription of the first two Interviews.[227]

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[223] The detailed list with length and codenames can be found in the appendix.
[224] To be found in the appendix.
[225] To be found in the appendix.
[226] "*Qualitative content analyses. Methods, practice, computer aid*"
[227] These fourteen rules read as follows:
*Rule 1) All translation has to be literal. Existing dialects will be translated into standard German as precisely as possible.*
*Rule 2) Language and punctuation should be smoothed. Style of sentences, articles etc. will be transcribed as spoken even when they contain mistakes.*
*Rule 3) Obvious, longer breaks will be indicated by dots in brackets, the number of dots standing for seconds. Breaks that last longer than three seconds will have a number showing the actual number of seconds the break lasted.*
*Rule 4) Empathised terms will be underlined.*
*Rule 5) Words spoken loudly will be transcribed in capital letters.*
*Rule 6) Affirmative or confirmative words of the interviewer will not be transcribed unless they interrupt the interviewee's flow.*
*Rule 7) Interruptions by the interlocutor will be noted in brackets.*
*Rule 8) Vocalisations of the interviewee that enforce the statements such as laugher or sighs will be noted in brackets.*
*Rule 9) The interviewer will be coded as the letter "I"; the interviewee will be coded by the letter "B", followed by their of interviewee number.*
*Rule 10) Each verbal input will be transcribed within a paragraph. Changes of speaker will be indicated by a blank line to increase readability.*
*Rule 11) Interferences will be noted in brackets stating the event that caused the interference.*

After transcribing the first two interviews, this set rules on the one hand seemed to be too comprehensive regarding some aspects, on the other hand it fell short regarding further issues that came up for which Kuckartz did not provide any rules.[228] For a guideline apparently missing issues, additional rules were taken from Dresing and Pehl (2015) who wrote the manual book of the used Software F5 which provides twelve rules for simple transcription (quite similar to the rules by Kuckartz). From these twelve points, only the ones that covered upcoming issues were added using consecutive numbers.[229] For quicker coding, additional codes to the default codes/shortcuts were generated in the *text module field* in the transcript software F5 that was used for the transcription.

- **Technical and administrative realisation**

The transcripts were not done by the author but by two freelancers who are familiar with the topic of non-monogamy and have a social science background. To ensure compliance with the ethical code of the project as stated in chapter 12.3.1, the two individuals signed a code of conduct form stating they would not reveal any kind of data. In addition, they were only provided with the false names on the digital sound file, but at no stage did they receive a list of the genuine names of the interviewees. The technical realisation was done with the same software used in the previous chapter on media representation: The transcripts were imported into the software tool "MAXQDA2018" and were then coded according to the classifications stated in the previous sub-chapter 12.4.

## 12.5 Analysis in detail: Generating categories

To ensure comparability with the media representation of polyamory, the codes generated from the media analysis are also the codes used to classify the transcripts of the interviews that were generated using qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2014) and Mayring (2015) – with the exception of the first question on the love and life history, which was coded following the rules of Kelle and Kluge

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*Rule 12) Non-verbal activities and comments by the interviewee as well as the interviewer will be noted in double brackets.*
*Rule 13) Unintellegible words will be noted as such.*
*Rule 14) All data that allow a conclusion as to the identity of the interviewee will be anonymised*. (Kuckartz, 2014, pp. 136-138).

[228] For the transcriptions, rule 4 and 5 were cancelled since emphasis and words spoken more loudly seem to individually depend on the interviewees; no pattern that would make a reference to them worthwhile could be found. Rule 6 was not applied (These words helped to increase readability, since some statements of the interviewees would otherwise have covered several pages), for rule 12, the author lacks the training to interpret the actions, so it was not applied either.

[229] *Rule 15) In case a translation from dialect into standard German is impossible, the dialect term will be used.*
*Rule 16) Unfinished sentences will be transcribed by a slash.*

(2010). The following chapter lists the categories and the way they were submitted to a call-back in detail.

### • Love and life history

Building types were generated following the rules of Kelle and Kluge (2010)[230], two social scientists who describe how to generate more or less representative types from diverse interview data. They suggest four consecutive steps – these were applied in order to generate types: The first step is the *development of relevant comparable dimensions*[231]. The goal is to create and define similarities and differences between cases (which can be amongst others persons, social groups, ways of behaviour, actions, events, norms, cities, organisations etc.). These dimensions (also described as categories) should be highly homogeneous on the level of types as well as highly heterogeneous on the level of typology. The authors suggest three different ways in which the dimensions can be created: deductive (qualitative), inductive, or abductive. As for their origin, the dimensions can be *ad hoc* (qualitative inductive – the use of theoretical sources as long as they are to some extent open and do not contain a high degree of empiricism) or along the research material, for which again three options are given: Criteria for selection of cases or plan of sample, the tool (in this setting the interview guideline) or by coding the actual material (Kelle & Kluge, 2010, pp. 91-96). The following figure illustrates these steps (English version by the author, the original German source is presented in the appendix):

[230] "From single case to type"; in the German original: *„Vom Einzelfall zum Typus. Fallvergleich und Fallkontrastierung in der qualitativen Sozialforschung*".

[231] "*Erarbeitung relevanter Vergleichsinformationen*"

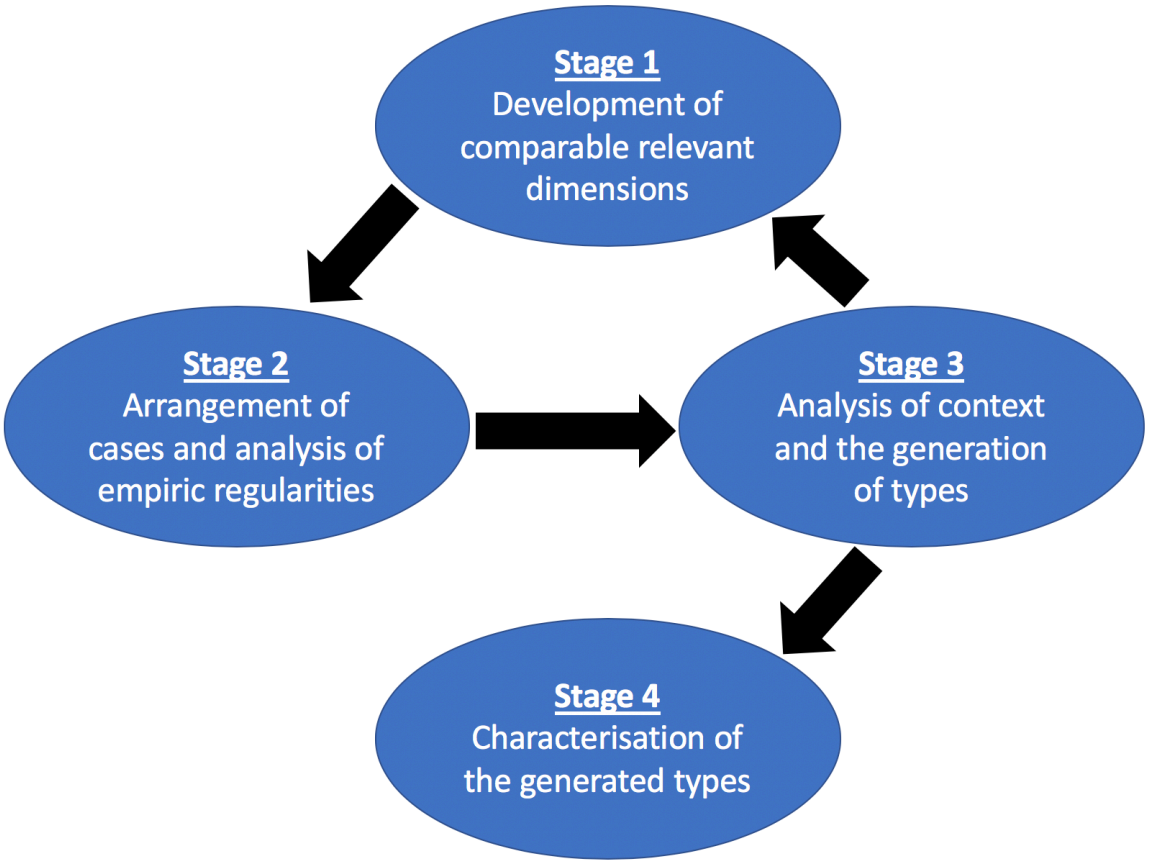



Fig. 12.3: Stage model of empirically based type generation ("*Stufenmodell empirisch begründeter Typenbildung*") by Kelle and Kluge (2010, p. 92) – English version by the author.

Since the empirical sample does not represent a randomized cross-section of the population, and since the interview guideline is of no help on the topic of life and love history as it is the introductory question for the interviews, the codes were developed from the actual material, the transcripts of the interviews. To avoid similarities within the creation of types due to the fact that people within a polycule may be expected to display similarities, the transcript of the first person of each polycule who was interviewed was used, leading to a total of 10 interviews to generate categories. In total, 4 rather wide categories with 2 sub-categories each were identified, which were then used to analyse the remaining 19 interviews as well. Within these 19 interviews, no further categories or sub-categories were identified, which led to the following three categories plus sub-categories, with the first two excluding each other:

***1.1 Intrinsic poly***: The interviewed person has always felt/acted/been polyamorous. The relevant sub-categories are

***1.1.1 ideological****:* Monogamy as a concept was rejected.

***1.1.2 sexual****:* Always had the desire or actually did practice sexual acts.

***1.2 Poly by choice*:** The interviewed person has at some stage decided to life/act polyamorous. The relevant sub-categories are

***1.2.1 self-determined*:** The interviewed person decided to do so on their own.

1.2.1.1 poly: The interviewed person decided to life/act polyamorous.

1.2.1.2 non-monogamous: The interviewed person decided to practice non-monogamy.

***1.2.2 externally determined:*** The relationship partner(s) decided and the interviewed person then decided to do so as well.

1.2.1.1 poly: The interviewed person decided to life/act polyamorous.

1.2.1.2 non-monogamous: The interviewed person decided to practice non-monogamy.

***1.2.3 consensually determined***: Both partners decided to life/act polyamorous.

1.2.1.1 poly: The interviewed person decided to life/act polyamorous.

1.2.1.2 non-monogamous: The interviewed person decided to practice non-monogamy.

***1.3 Awakening experience***: What has happened that the interviewed person came to doubt monogamy.

***1.3.1 in relationship:*** The interviewed person was in a relationship at the time.

*1.3.1.1 opening:* The interviewed person opened their relationship.

*1.3.1.2 not opening:* The interviewed person did not open their relationship.

***1.3.2 not in relationship***: The interviewed person was not in a relationship at the time.

The second step is the *arrangement of cases and the analysis of empirical regularities*[232]. At this point, the transcripts were coded and the given codes were fed into a matrix.[233]

The third step is the *analysis of context and the generation of types*[234]. This is where each category *1.1 intrinsic poly* or category *1.2 poly by choice* and their sub-categories were cross-referenced with the category *1.3 awakening experience* and its sub-categories.

[232] "*Gruppierung der Fälle und Analyse empirischer Regelmäßigkeiten*".
[233] To be found in the appendix.
[234] "*Analyse inhaltlicher Sinnzusammenhänge und Typenbildung*".

The fourth and final step then was the *characterisation of the generated types*[235]. The following figure illustrates these types:

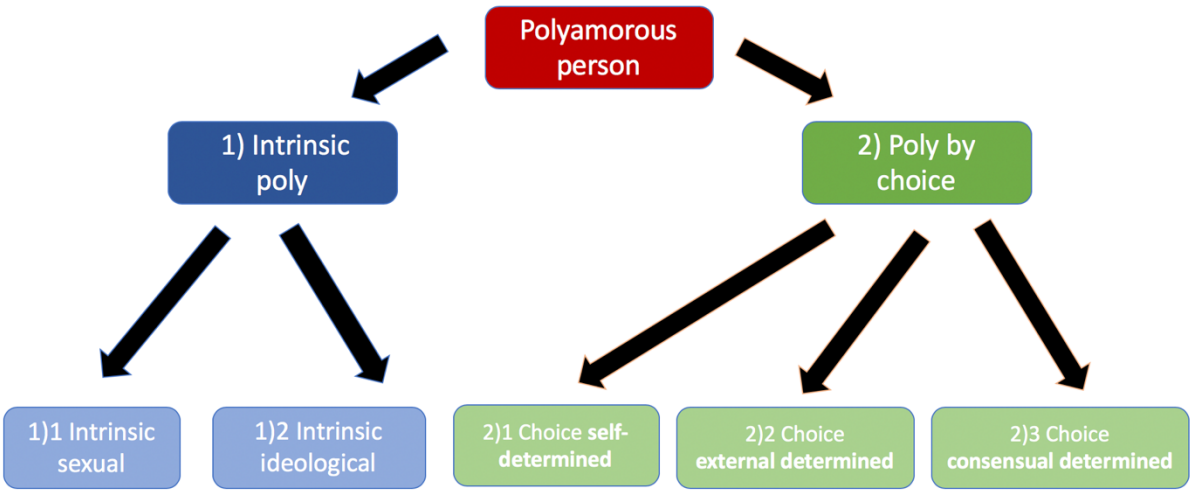



Fig. 12.4: Categorization of poly types (figure by the author).

**Limitation/supplementary details:**

The first important thing to consider when it comes to *types* is that in general the generated types don't match all characteristics, but rather have similarities with these characteristics (Kelle & Kluge, 2010, p. 105). Secondly, and even more importantly for the research at hand, due to the relatively small sample size of 33 individuals, the generated types are not representative but indicate prototypes. Thirdly – classifications on the basis of existing cases are a socio-scientific approach to categorise objects. Different disciplines have different approaches to categorisations. They are not about judging, but about describing something based on existing data and the tools I have created. This neither has any claim to comprehensiveness, nor can it be final.

The characteristics of the five types generated from the material as well as their given names represent the key findings regarding the question on love and life history and will be presented in detail in chapter 14.

### • Classification, social acceptance, legal and religious recognition

The second question is on the classification of polyamory. In the further inquiries regarding this issue in the interviews, two aspects were usually asked: First – how would the interviewee classify polyamory; usually the following options were given: Polyamory as intimate practice (code 2.1), as form of identity (code 2.2), as a sexual orientation (code 2.4), or something else. If the interviewee

[235] "*Charakterisierung der gebildeten Typen*".

described something else, the relevant codes from the media analysis (code 2.5 for monogamy as something not natural, code 2.6 for multiple emotional relationships, code 2.7 for monogamy as economic system, and code 2.8 as other – including its classification) were assigned. Second – does the interviewee consider themselves a member of the LGBT(I)(Q) community? Therefore, possible answers relate to one or more of the following sub-categories:

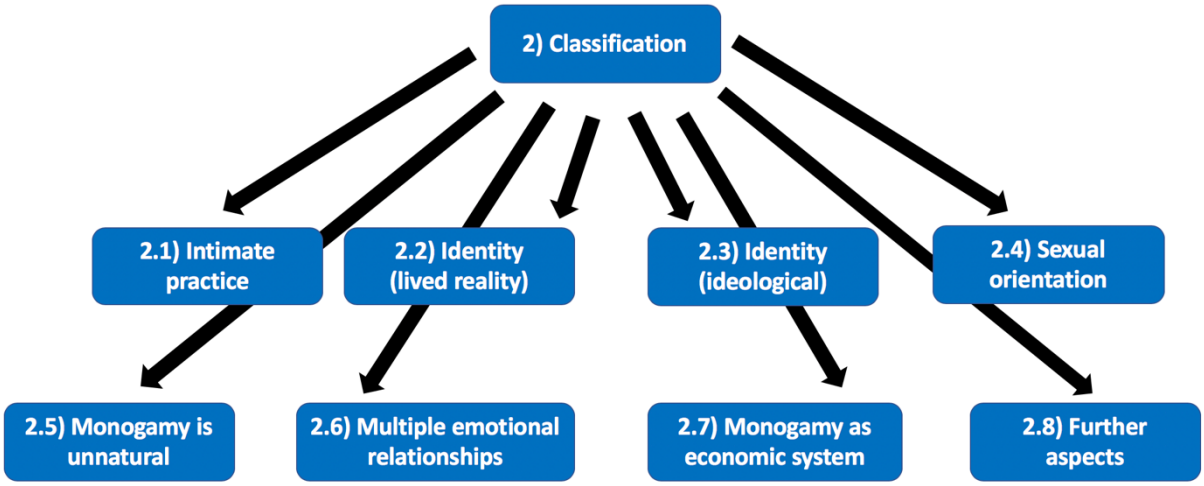



Fig. 12.5: Sub-dimensions of the second category "classification" (figure by the author).

The third question is on the social acceptance of polyamory. In the interviews, all the following sub-categories were been assigned regarding the question of how the respondents are perceived and treated because of their polyamorous way of life: perception (and possible outing) within their family (code 3.1), perception (and possible outing) by their friends (code 3.2), possible outing and knowledge about their way of living at work (code 3.3), and the way society in general (re)acts on public appearances as a poly couple/polycule (code 3.4). The following figure illustrates these options:

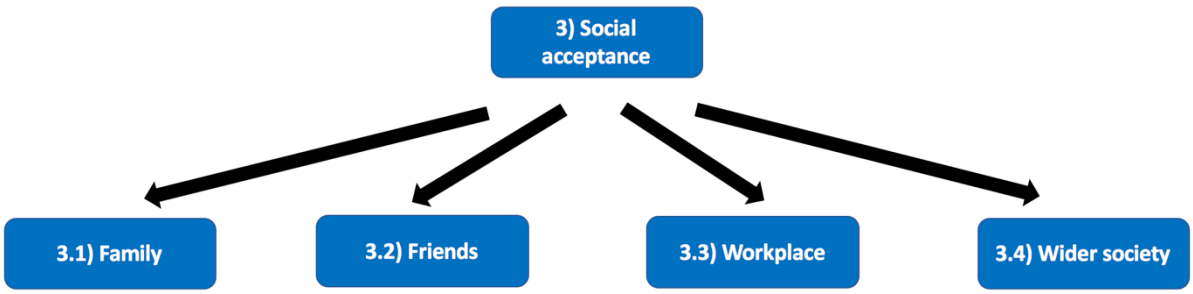



Fig. 12.6: Sub-dimensions of the third category "social acceptance" (figure by the author).

Aspect four concerns the demand for legal recognition, and, if present, which aspects would be important to interview partners. So the question asked started with the general demand for legal acceptance, followed by listing the five main aspects developed by the media analysis: A marriage or partnership contract between more than two people (code 4.1), equality with LGBT rights (code 4.2), legal protection for children from polyamorous relationships (code 4.3), legal entitlement regarding assets and property (code 4.4), as well as the general responsibility of the state to come up with solutions for polyamorous relationships (code 4.5). One aspect was named so often that a new sub-category was introduced: the demand to have the right to visit partners in hospital or to have a say when they are fatally ill and cannot decide for themselves anymore. This was summarized in code 4.6 Hospital and care.

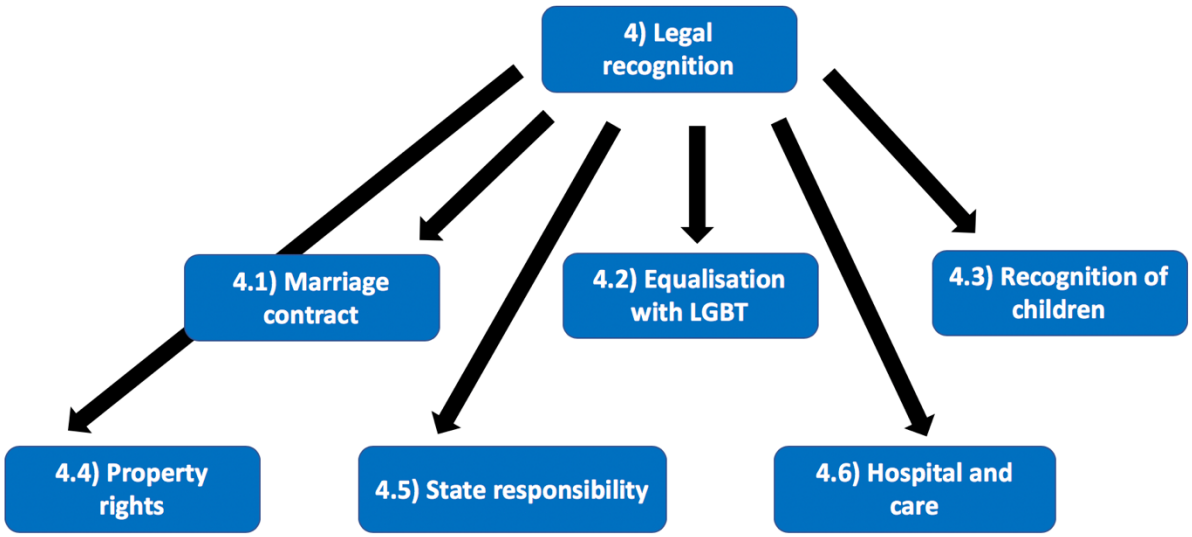



Fig. 12.7: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category "legal recognition" (figure by the author).

The subsequent fifth aspect covers the issue of religious recognition. If the respondent did not state their confession during the previous part of the interview, the callback question was mostly posed like this: "*Is religious recognition of your way of living by institutions like the Catholic or Protestant churches an issue for you?*" Again, the codes used for the media analysis were used for the analysis of the interviews, too: recognition by the Roman-Catholic church (code 5.1), recognition by the Protestant church (code 5.2), recognition by the Anglican church (code 5.3), acceptance or recognition by Christian confessions in general (code 5.4), and the two further codes Mormons (code 5.5), and Islam (code 5.6). This is illustrated in the following figure:

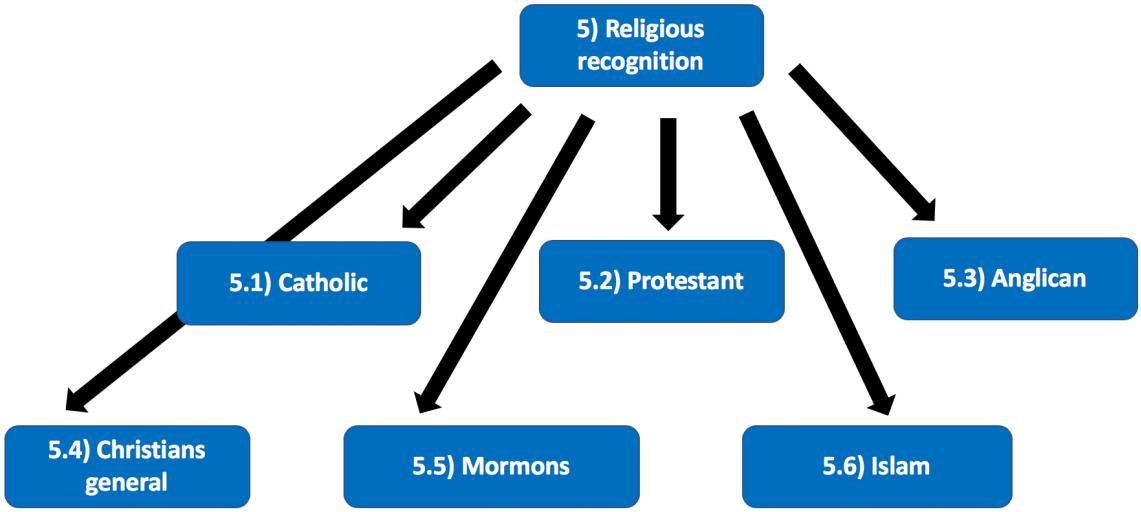



Fig. 12.8: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category "religious recognition" (figure by the author).

## • Gathering knowledge

The sixth question on how people gathered knowledge on polyamory once they realised that they would like to look into the issue was approached in more depth: When the interviewees talked about something that fell in one of the sub-categories developed in the media analysis, the according type was call-backed. So, if interviewees mentioned "Internet" as source of information (code 6.1), the exact source ("*Which blog? Which article? Wikipedia? German or English sources?*") was asked. If interview partners spoke about regulars' meetings or locations where people physically met (code 6.2), the name of the place was enquired. When people mentioned printed sources like academic books, advice literature, or periodicals like magazines and newspapers (code 6.3), the title was asked. In the rare case that someone spoke about poly testimonials (code 6.4), I tried to find out the name of the testimonial and its impact on the individual, and if a movie, a TV series or a theater play was referred to (code 6.5), the title was asked. This is illustrated as follows:

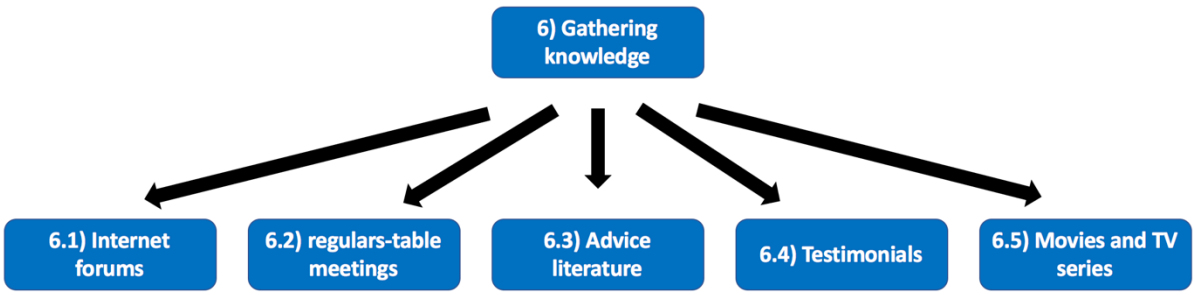



Fig. 12.9: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category "Gathering knowledge" (figure by the author).

- **Further aspects ("miscellaneous")**

The final question of the interviews was "*Is there anything else you would like to say on the topic of polyamory so the world might get a chance to hear it when they read the thesis?*" If the answer matched one of the six sub-categories developed from the media analysis, the according coding was assigned (differentiation from free love – code 7.1, differentiation from polygamy - code 7.2, differentiation from communes – code 7.3, jealousy – code 7.4, polygamous societies – code 7.5, amount of people living polyamorous – code 7.6) – it turned out that only four of these six categories were mentioned by a respondent (see illustration below). Additional statements that were not pre-defined were analyzed separately.

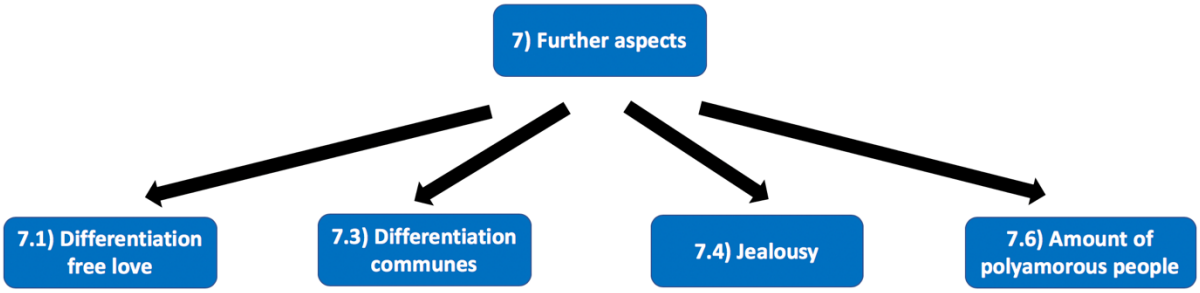



Fig. 12.10: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category "further aspects" (figure by the author).

The generated types, the findings and analyses of classification, social acceptance, the suspected demand for legal and religious recognition, as well as the analyses on sources of knowledge and further aspects will follow in chapter 14.

## 13. Results media analysis

In the following chapter, the results of the media analysis will be presented. It starts with statistical data on the articles such as overall numbers per year, numbers of articles per country, genres of the published articles, average word counts, etc. Then the sub-chapters provide a repetition of the respective research question, an illustration showing the amount of codes assigned to each sub-category, and thus illustrating the importance of the topic, and then a more detailed description of the sub-categories and an interpretation of these accumulations illustrated by exemplary quotes from the newspapers and magazines. The research questions all include the media aspect in brackets to demonstrate that the whole chapter is about what the media write about polyamory rather than how individuals experience it – and thus the media interpretation of the topic, again interpreted in a scientific approach.

In order to illustrate the rising media attention, the first illustration is a graph on the number of articles by year over the research period.[236] The orange line shows the number all articles that were found in the database and were screened for relevance or non-relevance,[237] the blue line shows the actual number that was analysed by year:[238]

[236] The year 2017 was been included in this statistic since the research period ended on January 21, 2017 – and the according numbers for these three weeks might lead to misinterpretation of the graph.

[237] See chapter 11 on the method of selection as relevant or non-relevant.

[238] See my article on the media representation of polyamory and kinship, based on exactly 100 articles containing the word "Polyamorie" (in its German spelling) covering the years 2007 to 2013 (Ossmann, 2017). In this smaller sample, the increase of the number of articles over the years is similar to the rise of the graph illustrated in figure 13.1. Furthermore, a preview of selected results (that have undergone a more detailed and accurate analysis for the chapter at hand) were published by the Austrian Journal of Historical Studies, where a similar figure can be found in which only the relevant articles were included (Ossmann, 2019, p. 185).

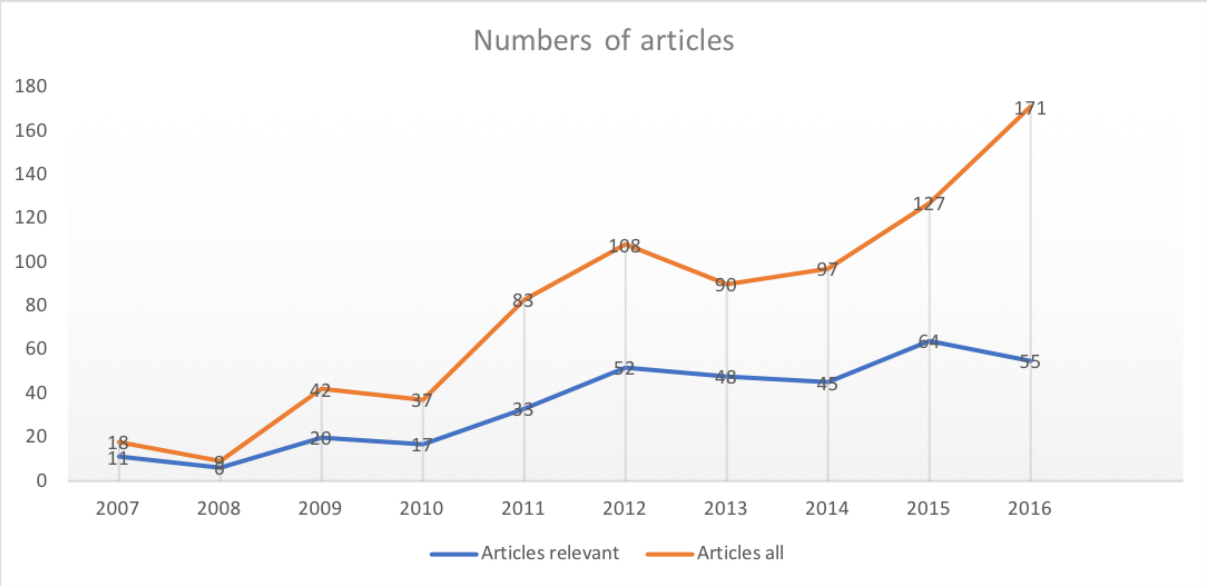
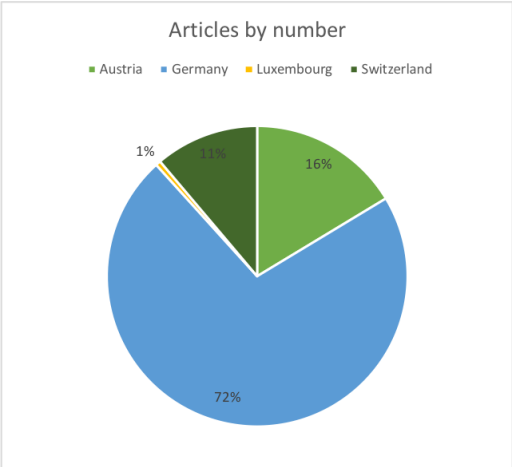



Fig. 13.1: Number of articles that were found/analysed in detail (figure by the author).

It shows that there is a constant rise in numbers; it also shows that there is no year that shows an extraordinary rise in number of articles. When looking at the articles in detail, no special event that might have generated a major increase could be identified. Noticeable incidents that are described in newspaper articles are the following: a public campaign started by the Dutch polyamory activist Ageeth Veenemans. She published a book titled "*Ik hou van twee mannen*" ("*I love two men*") in 2007 and aimed at 40,000 supporters for a legislative initiative in April 2009 (mentioned in 8 articles in the year 2009), and the legalization of a relationship between two women and one man in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in August 2012 based on the fact that they had lived together for more than three years and had a joint bank account (mentioned in 4 articles in the same year). Even more articles on one specific incident focussed the coming out of Johannes Ponader, head of the German Pirate Party from 2012 to 2013. He publicly spoke about his polyamorous lifestyle in a number of talk shows, and this was a topic for the German press even after he retired from his political activities. A total of 8 newspaper articles in the year 2012, 2013 and 2015 covered this issue. One last event to be mentioned that generated a cumulative number of articles is the Israeli sociologist Eva Illouz and her book "Why love hurts", published in the original English as well as in German in 2012, which was mentioned in 9 articles – and similar to Ponader and the Pirate Party, it did not only attract media attention in the year it happened, but also in the following years.

Of the total of 367 analysed articles, 60 (→ 16 %) were published by Austrian media,[239] 264 (→ 72 %) by German[240] media, 2 (→ 1 %) by Luxembourg media,[241] and 41 (→ 11 %) by Swiss media.[242] This says something about the number but not much about the extent of the articles in which polyamory was mentioned. Therefore, the average word count of articles addressing polyamory for each country were calculated as well. The average number for Austrian media is 614, 264 for German media, 817 for Luxembourg media (which is not a significant number as is derived from only 2 articles), and 946 for Switzerland. The average number of words of newspaper articles addressing the issue of polyamory is 753 (see figure below). This leads to the preliminary finding that in relation to the population, more articles were published in Austria; but with regard to extent, the articles published in Switzerland are the most comprehensive – with the limitation that not all articles focussed on polyamory itself; in some cases, polyamory was only an aspect of a different topic mentioned only once.



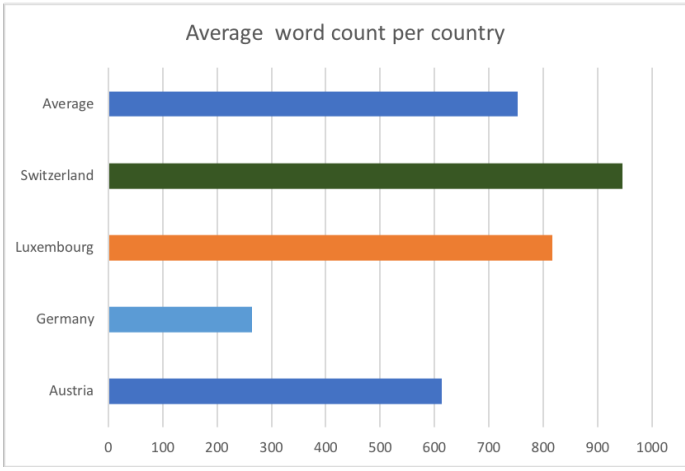




Fig. 13.2 and 13.3: Number of articles according to country / Average word count per country (figures by the author).

Another interesting topic to show is the question of the newspaper section (desk) in which the article on polyamory was published: Is it a political topic? Or rather a societal issue, or even a cultural one? Is science the section where polyamory fits best? Is there a chance to spot articles on polyamory in the sports section? The following figure illustrates the findings: Articles that are *newspaper-specific* were excluded.[243] Also excluded were *local issues* of newspapers where the articles appeared in the local news section;[244] the *online* publication when the articles appeared online and in print; sections that are described *by acronyms* and could not clearly be identified;[245] and sections of which their written-

[239] With a population of 8.82 million in 2018.
[240] With a population of 82.79 million in 2018.
[241] With a population of 602.000 in 2018.
[242] With a population of 8.57 in 2019.
[243] This applies for example for the "Austria"-feature or "Switzerland"-feature in a German weekly newspaper,
[244] For example the resort "*City of Potsdam*" in the "*Märkische Allgemeine*".
[245] For example "*BIZ*" in the "*Berliner Morgenpost*" or "*BU*" in the "*Kölner Stadtanzeiger*".

out name did *not make any sense.*[246] In addition, 40 articles were *not published in a specific section*. This leaves a total of 237 articles, in which one of the following sections appeared at least once (alphabetical order in German) – with the additional information that the section's names were taken from the database and not assigned during the collecting or coding process: *Album, international,*[247] *supplement, sports, letter to the editor, books,*[248] *cover story,*[249] *documentation, story,*[250]*, magazine, panorama, Europe, TV programme, feuilleton, forum, leisure, society, background, university/science/knowledge, national, interview, journal*[251]*, comment, communication, criticism, culture, life,*[252] *health,*[253] *people, encyclopaedia, love,*[254] *literature, lifestyle,*[255] *opinion, money, worldwide, news, local news,*[256] *politics, psychology, advice, editors,*[257] *service, Sunday, urban, style, trends, mixed,* and *weather.*

[246] For example the resort "*Anfang*" in the "*Weltwoche*".
[247] In all its variations such as *international*, *worldwide*, etc.
[248] In all its variations such as *books, book section, book review, non-fiction book*, etc.
[249] Including resorts *like* title or *title page*.
[250] Including the resort *report*.
[251] In all its variations like *journals, weekend journals, magazine*, etc.
[252] Including resorts *like life and love, life today, ways of life, modern life*.
[253] Including resorts like *living longer*.
[254] *Including the section partnership.*
[255] *Including the section scene.*
[256] *Including the section regional news.*
[257] *Including the resort tazzwei of the TAZ since it reflects the editors' voices.*

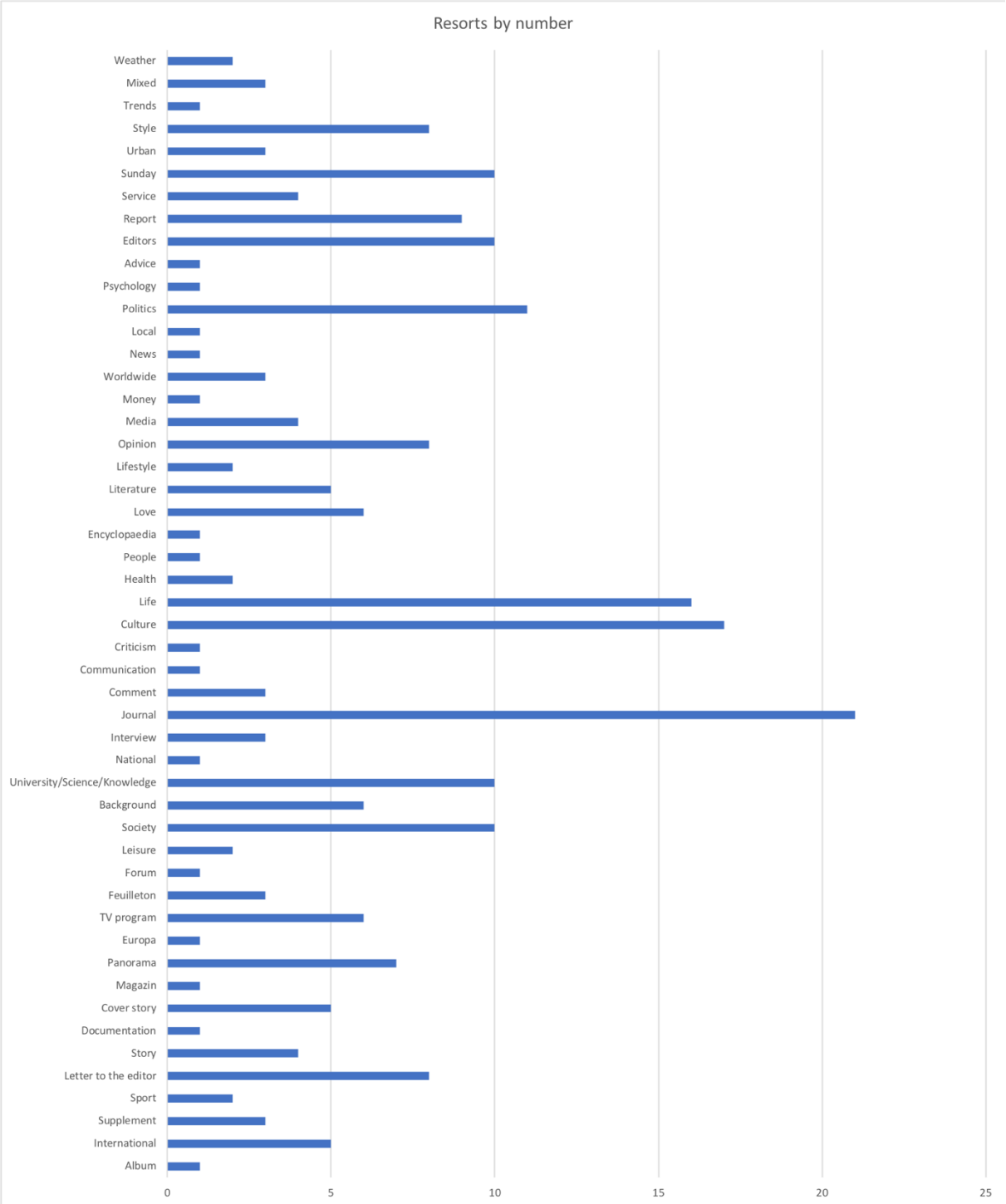



Fig. 13.4: Number of sections of newspaper articles on polyamory (figure by the author).

The three sections journal, culture and life clearly take the lead, followed by another 10 categories that hit double digits. Looking at the sections in detail, **two conclusions** can be drawn: First, **polyamory is a complex topic** when described by print media, a significant number of articles is not published in regular issues of newspaper or magazines but in journals and weekend/Sunday editions. And second, there is a significant number of articles in the sections *culture, life,* and *society*, leading to the

conclusion that the print media in the German-speaking regions consider **polyamory** predominately as **a cultural and societal topic.**

My final statistical illustration is on the three newspapers per country that published the most articles. For Austria, this the daily newspaper *Kurier* (13x), which ranges somewhere between broadsheet and tabloid and has a liberal outlook,[258] the bourgeois-liberal daily broadsheet newspaper *Die Presse* (7x), and, sharing 3rd place with 6 articles each, the left-liberal weekly *Falter* and the daily newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*, which is 100% owned by the Republic of Austria. For Germany, most articles were published in the green-leftish daily newspaper TAZ (41x), the Berlin-published daily newspaper *Der Tagespiegel* (19x), and the also Berlin-based daily newspaper *Berliner Zeitung* (18x).[259]. For Switzerland, most articles were found in the Sunday edition of the liberal-democratic *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (9x), followed by the regular weekly edition of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* (7x), and the *SonntagsZeitung*, which is also only published on Sundays (5x). The following graph shows the number of articles by newspaper or magazine.

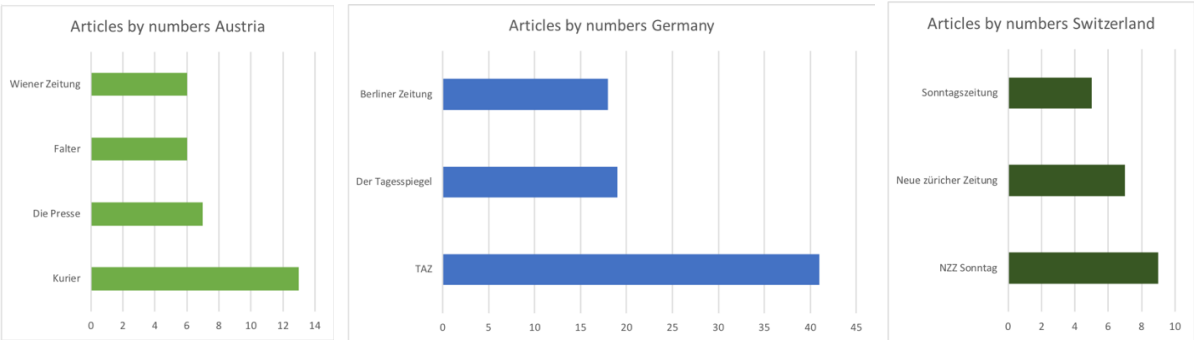



Fig. 13.5, Fig. 13.6 and Fig. 13.7: Number of the three newspapers in Austria, Germany and Switzerland that covered the topic of polyamory most often (figure by the author).

Amongst the 10 newspapers that published most articles on polyamory, there is not one single tabloid; there are, however, weekly and weekend editions of newspapers. This leads to the conclusion that **in the German-speaking region, polyamory is addressed in quality newspapers and magazines rather than tabloids**.

[258] All political orientations of the newspapers have been taken from the editorial of the according newspapers.
[259] The different editions of the Welt would have beaten by the number of 26 the other two newspapers – since it is three different editions (*Welt am Sonntag, Welt kompakt, Welt online*), it has not been considered.

It is not possible to compare these first descriptive data with similar studies from other countries, simply for the fact that there is no published similar data. For the following sub-chapters, only a handful of publications deliver results that can be more or less related to the findings at hand.[260] These respective findings will be mentioned in the footnotes.

## 13.1 Love and life history

The first research question reads as follows: **1) Due to which experiences (by media representation) do individuals identify themselves as polyamorous?** As illustrated in chapter 11, the following five main reasons have been identified:

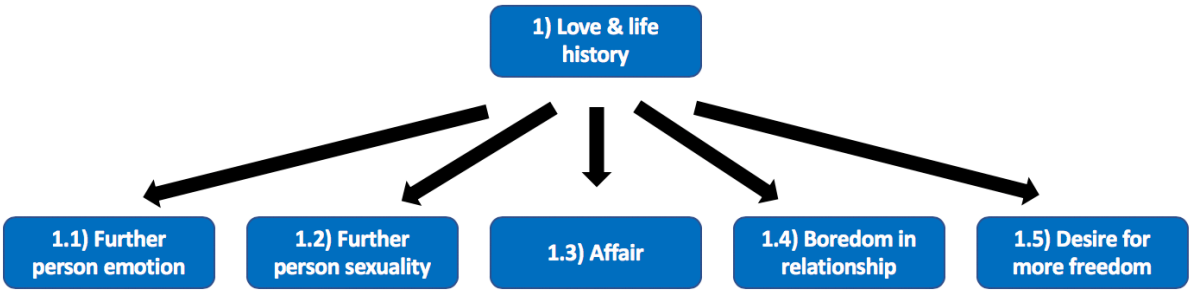



Fig. 13.8: Sub-dimensions of the first category *1) Love and life history*[261] (figure by the author).

[260] Probably the most similar results, or rather results of a most similar research approach, come from the CORDIS project, an EU-funded HORIZON 2020 project coordinated by the Manchester Metropolitan University titled "*Consensual Non-Monogamies and Social Movements: A Comparative Study of Activism in Portugal and the UK*" which was launched in September 2019 (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2019). Due to personal contacts, I got access to the short report on its findings, which is currently under review. I will refer to the corresponding article (Cardoso, 2020) when appropriate, with the caveat that there may be changes in the wording of the final report, although I expect no major changes to the analysis of the media representation.

[261] One publication covered the key aspect of love and life history in its media representation, based on historical biographies of three selected famous Americans who at the time lived what we would call polyamorous lives today: Schippers (2020, pp. 67-90) does so in chapter 4 of her book "*Polyamory, monogamy, and the American dream*"; unfortunately with regard to comparability with my findings, this is not based on newspaper articles but on publications by other authors interpreting these three characters (William Multon Marston, Emma Goldmann, E. E. Cummings); in detail by the specific language they use, the interpretations they propose, and the conclusions they draw from that.

The following illustration shows the number of codes assigned on this question:

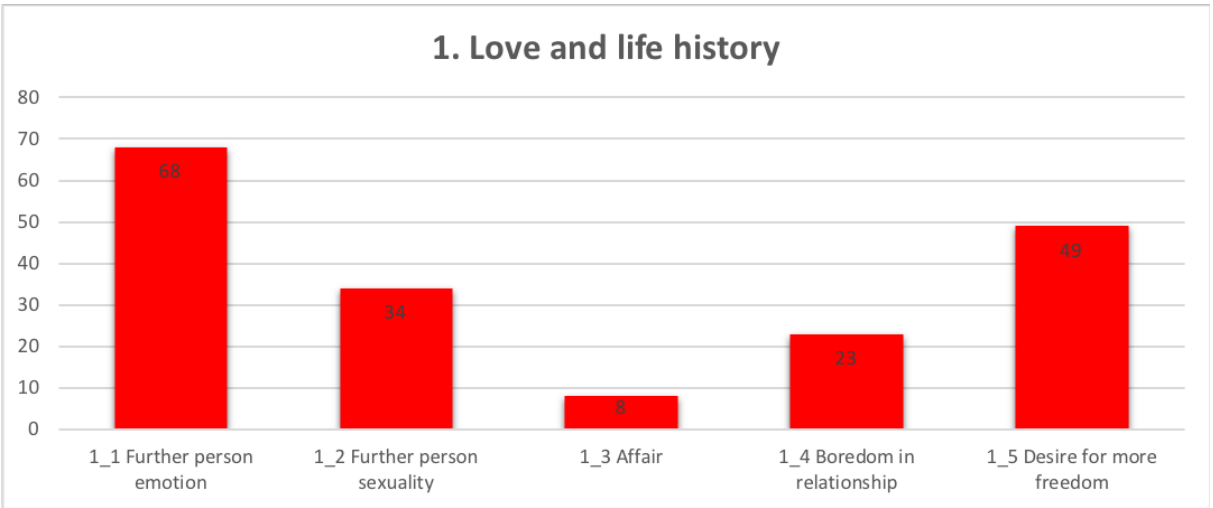



Fig. 13.9: Number of codes assigned to love and life history (figure by the author).

The largest number of articles describe a person having *fallen in love with another person* (68x) (coded as *further person emotion*), which was the key event to start a polyamorous life. This may have resulted in either the separation from the current partner and starting the new relationship with a new non-monogamous approach (as it happened for example with the protagonist in the following article: "*The married economist met a guy named Bob at a congress whom she fell in love with*.")[262], or it could have resulted in opening the existing partnership to an additional partner.

The second largest number was the *desire for more freedom* (49x). Most articles in this category describe couples who have been in long-term relationships, still love and appreciate their partners, but need more space for their thing in different aspects; but a few newspapers also describe this motivation at the beginning of a new relationship: "*When the whole thing with Marcel started I was worried to lose the freedom I enjoyed until then being single in Berlin. I thought the concept of polyamory was interesting, but I never thought that it would happen to me personally as quickly as that*."[263] In this context, it should be mentioned that all couples were represented as heteronormative, i.e. one man is/was in a relationship with one woman.

The sub-category with *further person sexuality* (34x) describes that a one-time or also regular sexual act with one or more people led to a polyamorous life ("*A rising number of women outsource their*

[262] "*Die verheiratete Wirtschaftswissenschaftlerin hatte bei einem Kongress einen Mann namens Bob kennengelernt, in den sie sich verliebte.*" (Welt am Sonntag, 17/12/2011).

[263] "*Als das mit Marcel losging, hatte ich Angst, die Freiheit zu verlieren, die ich bis dahin genossen hatte als Single in Berlin. Ich fand das Konzept der Polyamorie interessant, aber ich hätte nicht gedacht, dass es bei mir so schnell passiert.*" (Sächsische Zeitung, 13/03/2015).

*sexuality at least at times from their regular relationship when it feels too sparse*.")[264] – in a few cases, the newspaper describe phenomena as polyamorous that, according to the definition of polyamory used in this research project, would rather be understood to be open relationships or simply cruising.[265]

Also, a separate sub-category is <u>*boredom in relationship*</u> (23x), which differs from the freedom subcategory in that it covers exactly what it describes: Individuals are bored with and by their partners, symbolically represented by the following statement about a couple who now has a polyamorous relationship: "*Lea's need for extremes and Noam's need for security were a brilliant balance for the first two years. But balance without adventure will turn out to be too boring over the years for many people*."[266]

Last in the frequency of occurrence is <u>*affairs*</u> (8x), understood for this chapter as a secret second partner over a longer period of time that led to a polyamorous opening; the end of the initial relationship and a new relationship with the affair under polyamorous conditions; or affairs as eye-openers for a polyamorous relationship, as illustrated by the following quote: "*She had various affairs over the following years. 'It was rather wild', she sums it up. 'But simply because what I really wanted did not work: parallel relationships*.'"[267] With only 8 codes assigned, and thus 16 codes less than the first four reasons, they are mentioned but not considered as a reason in media representation as to why individuals went for or found themselves in a polyamorous relationship.

Summarising these aspects in order to answer the first research question on experiences leading to a poly life, the answer reads as follows: **Due to one of the following four experiences, in the sequence of their significance: Falling in love with another person (1), the desire for more freedom (2), the desire to have sex with someone other than the partner (3), and for being bored in the actual relationship (4).**

---

[264] "*Immer mehr Frauen lagern ihre Sexualität wenigstens zeitweise aus ihrer angestammten Beziehung aus, wenn ihnen diese zu karg vorkommt.*" (Luzerner Zeitung, 22/11/2010).

[265] Kean (2018) somehow got into that topic as she looked into the attributions used for swinging and polyamory, where she found similar blurry lines between the topics, or even more terms used wrongly, if one believes academic sources as shown in chapter 2. Her object of investigation however has not been newspaper and magazine articles but a number of non-monogamy blogs and online glossaries – overall not reaching the number of a doused of different sources.

[266] "*Leas Hang zum Extremen und Noams Sicherheitsbedürfnis, in den ersten zwei Jahren war das ein wunderbares Gleichgewicht. Aber Gleichgewicht ohne Abenteuer, das ist auf die Dauer für viele langweilig*." (ZEIT Magazin, 02/10/2013).

[267] "*In den folgenden Jahren hatte sie diverse Affären. 'Es war ziemlich wild', stellt sie rückblickend fest. 'Aber bloss, weil nicht klappte, was ich eigentlich wollte: Parallelbeziehungen*.'" (Weltwoche, 16/05/2007).

## 13.2 Classification

The second research question concerns the classification of polyamory and reads in detail as follows: **Do poly people understand themselves (by media representation) as part of an expanded LGBT acronym? –** This question had to be must be adapted since the newspaper articles mostly didn't ask people about their identity, so instead, the category was assigned according to the classification given in the article.

The updated research question on the matter goes as follows: **Can polyamorous individuals (according to media representation) be classified as being part of an expanded LGBT acronym?** This sub-category was by far the one that delivered most information coded according to the methodological design, and thus delivered the most comprehensive data. One drawback of the high number of codes is that the edges of some sub-categories were a little blurry – this circumstance was mitigated to my best knowledge and ability by using a fairly detailed codebook. Still, in contrast to other issues which we'll come to later, for instance legal recognition, where there is little ambiguity for instance when we read about child rights in polyamorous relationships – what is at issue then is clearly child rights in polyamorous relationships – the subdivision between *identity practically lived*, *identity ideological* and *further aspects* was much more challenging. Below the sub-dimensions, as illustrated in chapter 11, followed by the findings by number:

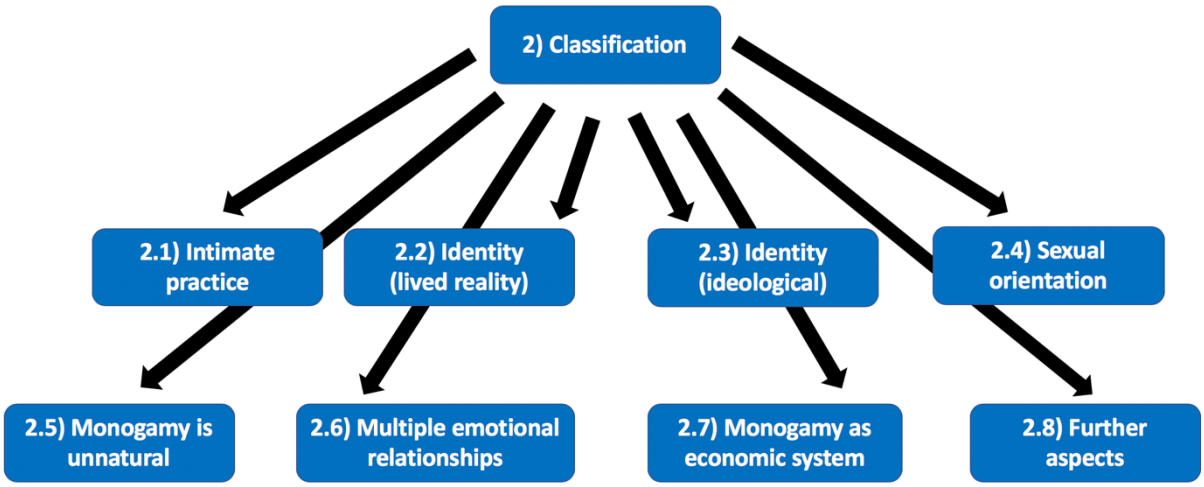



Fig. 13.10: Sub-dimensions of the second category *2) Classification* (figure by the author).

The illustration below shows the number of the according attributions:

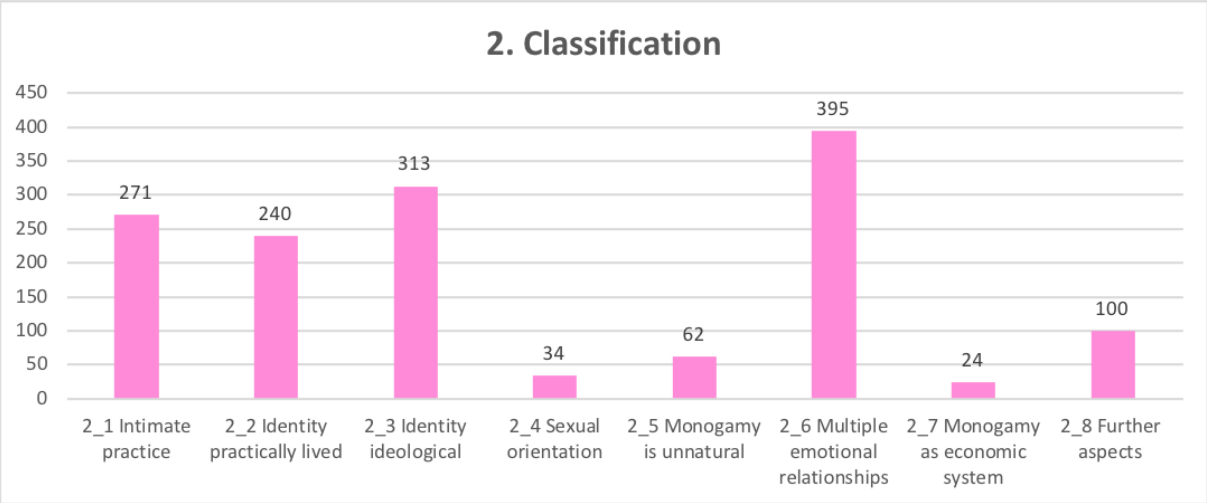



Fig. 13.11: Number of codes assigned to the classification of polyamory (figure by the author).

Most codes were allocated to the category *multiple emotional relationships* (395x), which concerns an issue one might assume to be the key aspect, but which, as shown in the theoretical chapter, falls a bit short in academic discussion: **Love**! Hence the name, polyamory in all its variations is about loving more than one person (and thus about the emotion before anything else): loving a third person, loving many, love relationships, parallel and transparent love relations, love networks, multiple loving, same heart rhythm amongst several people, falling in love with several people, multilateral love relationships, loving more, emotional affection with many, empathic love with several people, shared love. For a short example: "*They still dream of love. Only that it is shared by three or four, or several people. Hence, the name: Polyamory*."[268] To sum it up: Looking at the sheer numbers – out of 7 categories with a total of 45 sub-categories and the total amount of 3,088 codes – 395 were assigned to the **media representation of polyamory as multiple emotional (love) relationships**, making this more than 12% for one category out of 45. This comes as a surprise due to a shortage on that aspect in literature as well as in empirical studies,[269] and is therefore **a key finding of the research project**! For the coming conclusion as well as for the attribution of polyamory in the previous chapters, a very reduced description of this sub-category in two words is: **Loving poly.**

[268] "*Trotzdem träumen sie noch von der Liebe. Nur eben zu dritt oder zu viert. Eben zu mehreren. Daher der Name: Polyamorie.*" (Mittelbayrische Zeitung, 19/01/2017).

[269] This is the second parallelism with Kean (2018) - she does refer to the important role of love with regard to polyamorous relationships, but, as just stated in chapter 13.1, on the basis of different empirical data.

The second highest number of codes, and also representing more than 10% of all assigned codes, was in the sub-category *identity ideological* (313x) in which the ideological concept of polyamory takes centre stage. This category was especially difficult to differentiate against *polyamory as philosophy*, with the latter not being assigned its own sub-category but included in the sub-category *Further aspects*[270]. Consequently, the following aspects lead to a categorisation of polyamory as an ideological identity: A relationship ideal, something people can profit from, an attitude, duration instead of constant change, a preference, a system where more needs can be fulfilled than in other relationship forms, a space in which partners can be trusted, same rights for all involved partners, being faithful with two or more people, a moral concept, something that includes liability, the capability to love more than one, an idealistic idea, an individually agreed arrangement within a partnership, a decision out of free will with how many partners one would like to be, a consensual relationship, something equal, trust and obligation alike, social faithfulness, the better way of life, and similar attributions – exemplarily described by the following quote: "*They believe that sensual love cannot be limited, and stand up for the freedom to live several relationships at the same time, but, and that is the differentiation to 'wild' free love or to traditional polygamy, with the full knowledge and consent of everyone involved.*"[271] For the coming conclusion as well as for the attribution of polyamory in the previous chapters, a very reduced description of this sub-category in two words is: **Thinking poly.**

In third place comes *intimate practice* (271x), i.e. all aspects that have to do with sexuality, be it sex or "minor" expressions/acts of physical affection[272], as the following quote shows: "*He has been with some of his parallel girlfriends for years. Denise knows many of them, they even really like each other. She on the other hand loves to have sex with other women, as she experiences this kind of sex as more intense and tender.*"[273] For a more detailed description, attributions like the following or related attributions fall into this category: sexual subculture, intimate relationship, a sexual practice, legitimation of cheating, visiting the muse, a modern way of steering clear of the establishment and still sleeping with one person more than once, successful escapades, amorous adventures, the confession of being unfaithful, the practiced dream of the erotic land of milk and honey, the esoteric

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[270] Polyamory as *Relationship philosophy* would only have been coded when it was explicitly stated accordingly – these numbers were lower than the sub-category *Monogamy as economic system* and therefore weren't assigned a separate sub-category but subsumed under *Further aspects*.

[271] "*Sie gehen davon aus, dass sich die sinnliche Liebe nicht auf eine Person beschränken lasse, und plädieren für die Freiheit, mehrere Beziehungen zugleich zu leben, allerdings und das ist der Unterschied zur 'wilden' freien Liebe oder zur traditionellen Polygamie mit vollem Wissen und Einverständnis aller Beteiligten.*" (Neue Züricher Zeitung, 24/04/2011).

[272] This sub-category is less blurry at the edges compared to the two versions of identity for example, which made the respective coding easier than with other aspects.

[273] "*Einige seiner Parallelfreundinnen hat er schon seit Jahren. Denise kennt viele von ihnen, sie verstehen sich sogar gut miteinander. Sie wiederum schläft gerne mit anderen Frauen, weil sie den Sex so intensiver und zärtlicher empfindet.*" (NEWS, 08/03/2012).

version of free love, sexual permissiveness, lust for others, changing sexual partners, the constant arousal, fun in stranger's beds, boundlessness in a partnership, fulfilling BDSM needs, a little bit of swinging with rules, sleeping with someone else without risking the partnership, more intimacy, no cheating and no swinging but still sex with more than one partner, bunga-bunga, official cheating, not looking for excuses for lover's trysts, hustle and bustle, intimate practice previously described as moral decline, negotiated sex, erotic cosmos of the coming centuries, promiscuity, sexual freedom for the whole of mankind.[274] An interesting fact within this sub-category is that other than the previous sub-category of *ideological identity,* where the media presentation of polyamory is predominately positive, the attributions that describe polyamory as intimate practice cover the whole range from very positive to very negative, with the latter in the majority. For the coming conclusion as well as for the attribution of polyamory in the previous chapters, a very reduced description of this sub-category in two words is: **Acting poly.**

The last identified sub-category that hit a three-digit number of codes allocated is *Identity practically lived* (240x). This category was assigned to all aspects that described practical aspects of polyamorous relationships: How life between more than two people works; how to deal with jealousy; how to share time and attention; polyamorous patchwork families when children are involved; sharing attention between several people; adapting the housing situation; how to involve partners that are part of a polycule without practiced sexuality for reasons like age, potency problems, or asexuality; talking, talking, talking; handling of financial aspects in a multiple relationship; managing long-distance relationships between several people; planning and managing holidays; dealing with a surplus of love but a shortage of attention; veto rights in practice; appearing in public with more partners; laundry and dishes between several people; etc. etc. – i.e. basically daily routines within polyamorous relationships, as the following sentence symbolises: "*One woman is pregnant, two men who are a couple themselves – one of them is her longtime partner – might both be the father, and all of them*

[274] The only somewhat comparable publication on the matter of categorization of polyamorous – or to be more precise CNM – relationships is Cardoso (2020). He content-analyzed 237 newspaper articles published in Portugal, also across one decade, starting in January 2010. In relation to the topic of the sub-chapter, he was looking for the manner in which certain ideas or facts were articulated with each other, which was the closest research design to my approach. His top ten frameworks (the numbers represent the percentage of the total) are: *Sexual expression* (64%), *Alternative to monogamy* (34%), *Normalization* (28%), *New generation trends* (14%), *Social/cultural corruption* (13%), *Evolution of gender* (11%), *Future of relation* (10%), *Fetishization* (9%), *Reflections of neoliberalism* (9%), and *Pathologization* (8%). With regard to my findings, sexuality has a much higher significance; love on the other hand does not come up at all. This might be due to the circumstance that the keywords he was looking for to collect the articles contained (beside *polyamory*) *consensual non-monogamy, monogamish, open relationship, open marriage,* and *relationship anarchy* – but it would still be worthwhile to do an in-depth research for well-founded arguments regarding the different outcomes.

*will be parents to the child*."[275] For the coming conclusion as well as for the attribution of polyamory in the previous chapters, a very reduced description of this sub-category in two words is: **Living poly.**

At a fair distance to these big four, three more sub-categories were developed:

*Monogamy is unnatural* (62x), which basically approaches relationship norms from the other side: it is not monogamy but polyamory that is (or was, when articles referred to society "*in the old days*") considered as the norm, monogamy is the odd one out – or, as one article describes it more elaborately: romantic love with its demand for exclusivity is an invention of the modern era and no longer lives up to the current needs of a pluralistic society. It was furthermore applied for articles which argue the concept of monogamy is predisposed to fail – for which a number of reasons were put forward: monogamy as façade; our culture is sufficiently developed for us to decide how we want to live, monogamy as a challenge; an ideal that no longer has anything to do with today's reality; monogamy as a historical failure; a will'-o-the-wisp of exclusive love; something that is out of date. And finally, there are articles that follow a biological/naturalistic approach, considering monogamy as unnatural, something humans are not made for, as for instance in the following quote from the first-ever article published in German-speaking media that included the word *Polyamorie,*: "*'The monogamous relationship, promising oneself to each other exclusively for a lifetime, all that runs counter to human nature', this is what representatives of polyamory claim*."[276] All such attributions were included, and the latter was used to name for this category as it is the boldest description.

Codes for the sub-category *Polyamory as sexual orientation* (34x) were given when articles described polyamory in the context of people falling under the LGB acronym, so basically same-sex loving individuals with minority rights due to their sexual orientation; when the articles described polyamory as disposition (for a short example: "*Not all of them have a polyamorous predisposition*");[277] or when polyamorous individuals described their coming out (or failure to do so). In addition it was applied when articles described polyamory as one aspect of sexual plurality practiced by adults of their own free will; when the wording circled around the idea of living it up; and when the term becoming poly was used. Similar to men who feel for men, women who feel for women, or men who feel for men and women, as well as woman who feel for women and men, the sub-category stands for people who feel for more than one person, regardless of these persons' sex or gender, and regardless of whether they

[275] "*Eine Frau ist schwanger, zwei Männer, die ebenfalls ein Paar sind - einer davon ist ihr langjähriger Partner – kommen als Vater infrage und sie alle werden Eltern für das Kind sein*." (taz, 26/10/2012).

[276] „*'Die monogame Beziehung, sich ein Leben lang ausschliesslich einander versprechen, das läuft der menschlichen Natur zuwider', sagen die Vertreter der Polyamorie.*" (Tagesanzeiger, 21/01/2007).

[277] "*Nicht alle sind polyamor veranlagt.*" (Neue Luzerner Zeitung, 12/07/2012).

are in a relationship at the time or not, in a relationship with one person, or in relationships with multiple persons. For the coming conclusion as well as for the attribution of polyamory in the previous chapters, a very reduced description of this sub-category in two words is: **Feeling poly.**

*Monogamy as an economic system* (24x) may look similar to *monogamy is unnatural* at first glance, but looks at the issue from a different angle: economy! It includes all attributions that either criticise normative monogamy for its economic dimension or highlight the advantages of polyamory for reasons of economy; also those which address the aspect of the economic, neo-liberal approach of optimising, arguing that relationships are optimised by multiple partners fulfilling various existing demands and needs. As with polyamory as *intimate practice, the* positions the newspaper articles take regarding polyamory cover the whole range from very positive to very negative: From individuals extremely critical towards property expanding this thought on partnerships (for example: "*In the old days the monogamous two-person-relationship might have been important for economic reasons. This no longer applies today*.")[278] – all the way to polyamory as a way of self-realisation and personal development, or an increasing economisation of sexuality, relationship, and family.

Finally, the sub-category *Further aspects* covered all attributions that did not fit into one of the seven sub-categories above, and appeared less than 10 times and therefore weren't assigned a separate category. It included aspects such as the already mentioned *polyamory as philosophy*, and other somewhat bland descriptions such as movement, experiment, lifestyle, community of values, responsibilities, a trend, a different view on life, a relationship network, something spiritual, an agreement, an expression of the modern age, a relief for the main relationship. It also covers attributions that can be identified as negative, such as an epidemic of non-binding nature, an adventure phantasy, polygamy, polygyny and polyandry described in a pejorative and degrading manner, a feminist strategy against the establishment nobody needs, an attitude amongst likeminded thinkers, a strange living environment, the final approach to save a relationship, a counterpart of the heterosexual culture of initiation, a perversion. And as where there is shadow, there is also light, amongst positive attributions were a solution, something ethical, a declaration of love towards life, the ideal of doing relationship, and last but not least the future of our culture.

As a last sub-finding, all aspects of this research question appeared equally over the investigated decade, no abnormalities were found.

[278] "*Früher war die monogame Zweierbeziehung vielleicht aus ökonomischen Gründen wichtig. Das gilt heute nicht mehr*." (PROFIL, 30/2012).

With regard to the second research question, the answer depends on how being part of an expanded LGBT acronym is understood. According to the majority of legal frameworks in Western societies, it is not prohibited by law to love more than one person, it is (for most aspects) not prohibited by law to practice[279] multiple relationships, it is not forbidden to have sex with more than one person as long as it is consensual and with a partner who has the legal age, and if such a relationship model suits the involved people and their system of values, the state is not going to stop them. According to the perception of multiple emotional and sexual relationships by society, the answer would be a different one – but society does not make laws. Summing up these aspects to answer the second research question, it is: **In media representation, polyamorous people can be considered as being part of an extended LGBT-acronym according to social norms, but not according to legal norms.**

## 13.3 Social acceptance

The third research question asks about the social acceptance of polyamorous individuals: **By which aspects and to which degree do polyamorous people have the need to be accepted for their way of living by society (according to media representation)?** As illustrated in chapter 11, the following four main reasons were identified:

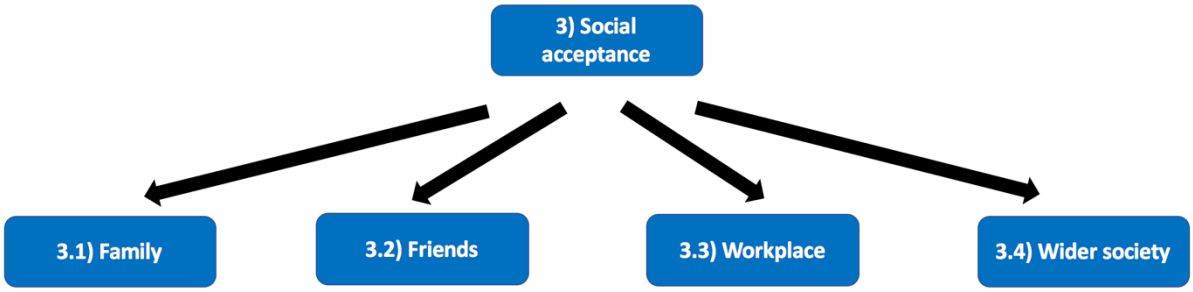


Fig. 13.12: Sub-dimensions of the third category *3) Social acceptance* (figure by the author).

[279] For details of what exactly is legal and what is not, the forth research question provides more precise facts.

The illustration below clearly shows the most named issue on the matter:

Fig. 13.13: Number of codes assigned to social acceptance of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

*Wider society* (103x) is by far the most represented issue of polyamory when it comes to social acceptance, and when examining these descriptions in detail, the tenor is that society has a problem with people being in more than one relationship at a time. The following rather dramatic quote describes the consequences of a life outside the Western/religion-based moral values: "*Such moral codes are 'rules a society develops to influence behavior outside legal boundaries. When you break these rules, you will be ostracized', says psychotherapist Pale*."[280] Monogamy is described as a dogma, a rule, as the way relationships have to be, a promise, the shared codex, the norm. On the other side, being polyamorous is perceived by society as suspicious, as a dangerous development, something related to HIV, a slowly progressing threat of eventual recognition of polygamy, something exotic, an activity that can have negative consequences when made public, something that cannot be understood. A fact that is rather symbolic of the above findings is that newspaper articles covering polyamory using one or several protagonists mostly use pseudonyms. And one more aspect is frequent in the media representation of statements on polyamory by the wider society: People reflecting on their own love life saying: *"This would not work for me."*[281] To sum it up, individuals who openly live against the concept of monogamy are met with a lack of understanding by wider society.

Taking it from people other people don't know in person to the ones they do know, the media represents three further groups: *family*, *friends*, and people at the *workplace* (the latter also used for fellow students in an academic setting). Due to the small number of codes with regard to *family* (13x), the only accumulation found within this sub-category is that the topic is predominately presented in a

[280] "*Solche Moralvorstellungen sind 'Regeln, die eine Gesellschaft entwickelt, um Verhalten außerhalb des Gesetzes zu beeinflussen. Wer diese Regeln bricht, wird geächtet.'*" (NEWS, 08/2016).

[281] In its German variations such as "*Für mich wär das nichts.*" or "*Für mich kann ich mir das nicht vorstellen*."

neutral or negative light. The following quote is an example that a poly coming out within family structures does not automatically mean telling the parents: "*However, she is not free enough to share her form of relationship with the outside world, her adult daughter is not in the loop*."[282]

In the sub-category *friends* (14), it is either about friends who reject or who support this form of living relationships. The following two statements illustrate the two opposite spectrums on the matter, both purposely picked from the same newspaper, but from articles written by different authors: *"I once told a friend. She was shocked since it runs counter to our norms*."[283] versus "*When we talk about it with people from your circles, many find it rather interesting. The reactions are positive in their vast majority*."[284]

In terms of *workplace* (11x), in most statements the people concerned have not come out there, and have no plans to come out due to the consequences they might face, as the following quote vividly shows: "*Most people don't talk about their way of living, the rejection of work colleagues or within the family is too strong*."[285] A further remarkable fact is that articles addressing this issue were only found in three consecutive years: 2011, 2012 and 2013; however, no other similarities in the contents in these three years could be identified.

It was impossible to define degree to which acceptance is demanded in any nuance or grading in any of the subcategories – the answer is rather a black and white one: those polyamorous people who are described by newspapers and magazines as having a problem because of a lack of acceptance by society want to be accepted by society; others either are accepted or don't care.[286] Putting this in one sentence to answer the third research question on social acceptance, it reads as follows: **Most importantly, the whole of society is asked to accept polyamorous relationships in the media representation; acceptance in detail by family, friends and workplace would be needed too.**

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[282] "*So frei, dass sie ihre Beziehungsform offen nach außen trägt, ist sie aber nicht. Ihre erwachsene Tochter ist nicht eingeweiht.*" (Berliner Zeitung, 08/03/2016).

[283] "*Ich erzählte es mal einer Freundin, aber sie reagierte schockiert, weil es unserer Norm zuwiderläuft*." (Die Zeit, 22/03/2012).

[284] "*Wenn wir mit Leuten in unserem Umfeld darüber sprechen, finden viele es aber ziemlich interessant. Die Reaktionen sind fast durchgehend positiv*." (Die Zeit, 22/06/2011).

[285] "*Die meisten sprechen nicht über ihre Lebensweise, die Ablehnung bei Kollegen oder in der Familie ist zu groß*." (Welt online, 08/05/2013).

[286] These findings cannot be compared to any other results as no comparable study on media representation regarding the social acceptance of polyamory was found.

## 13.4 Legal recognition

Research question four raises the matter of legal recognition, or, to be more precise, which aspects of legal recognition are represented in the media: **How distinctive is the demand for legal recognition within polyamorous relationships (in media representation)?** As illustrated in chapter 11, five main reasons were identified:

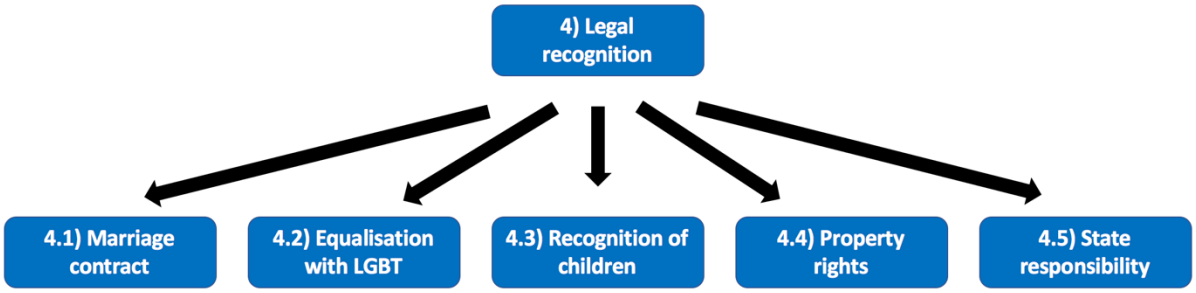


Fig. 13.14: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category *4) Legal recognition* (figure by the author).

The following graph provides the respective numbers in the newspaper articles; the numbers for three of the issues are more important that the other two:

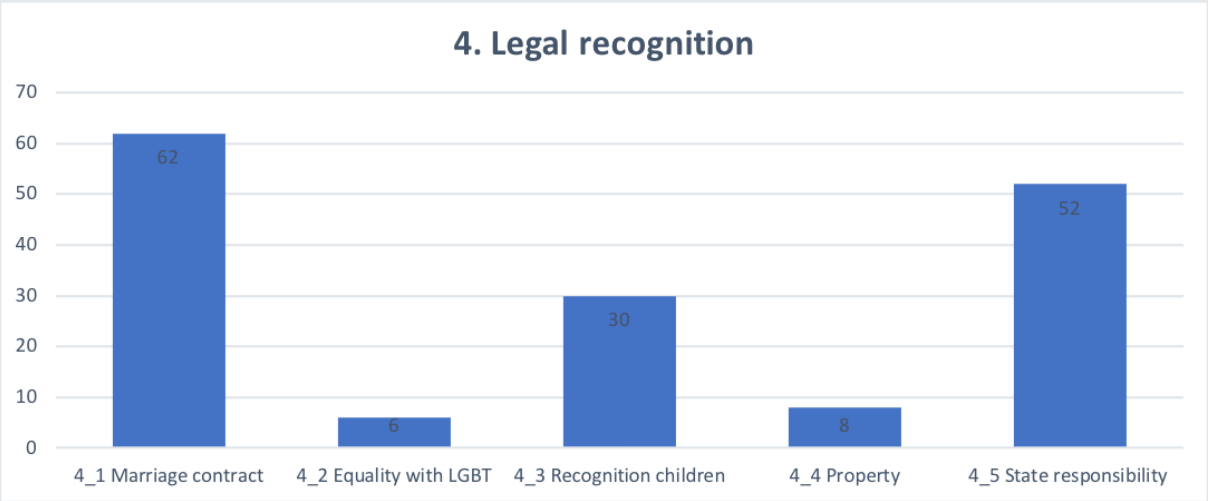


Fig. 13.15: Number of codes assigned to the demand for legal recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author). Chapter 17

Most codes were dedicated to a *marriage contract* (62x), i.e. some document that generally grants legal rights to relationships that involve more than two people. Noticeable are two concrete events that were addressed more than once: First, a petition to legalise multiple relationships in the Netherlands launched in April 2009 by Ageeth Veenemans, a Dutch activist and book author on the topic of polyamory. This event was covered by a total of 7 newspapers. What is interesting is that all articles are based on the same original article by the German news agency DPA (*Deutsche Presse-*

*Agentur*) without any further journalistic investigation or comment. Second, a formally legalised three-people-relationship in Brazil in Mai 2012 between one man and two women which received media attention only 3 three months later because of a protest of religious groups – both events did not resurface in the media at any later time. And another noticeable event is that there are two political parties that are mentioned with regard to some kind of marriage contract: The German Pirate Party, when they announced their programme for the federal election in 2013 – interpreted somewhat critically in this statement: "*They want to abolish marriage in its old version. Instead there should be registered partnerships not only for heterosexual and homosexual couples, but also for 'polyamorous' love relationships between more than two people*."[287]; and the Young Greens in the German federal state of Bavaria who demanded the recognition of partnerships between more than two people through a family contract at their annual congress in 2014 – also a statement that was not revisited later.

A second aspect is *state responsibility* (52x), understood as something wider, more general than a concrete contract. It is about the state taking responsibility for the needs or demands of affected people. In the analysis, it turned out that it was mostly either the state being confronted with the actual demands of activists' groups, or the individual voice of people speaking in the media that the state should stand up to its responsibility and create legal structures of some kind. On this question, a clear accumulation of articles published in 2014 and 2015 was found. They all directly refer to two events that have been identified: Again, the federal election programme of the Pirate party in Germany, which is, however, set in a broader context in these articles; and a public discussion in Switzerland in 2014 on adapting the family law to the current situations and needs of the population, which included the legalisation of relationships between siblings, and some kind of legal status for relationships between three (or possibly more) people. The following headline gets to the heart of the issue: "*Switzerland considers to legalise love between more than two partners and between siblings. This is not a breach of taboo. It is already happening now, only no one has realised*."[288]

Numerically slightly less important is the issue of *recognising children* (30x) in polyamorous relationships (i.e. for instance the option to declare two fathers in a triangle relationship of one woman and two men). What is interesting here is that no specific event gave rise to media coverage, it is an issue throughout the analysed decade. And here one quote shall symbolically represent an issue that

[287] "*Die Ehe in der alten Form will sie abschaffen. Stattdessen soll es eingetragene Lebenspartnerschaften nicht nur für hetero- und homosexuelle Paare geben - sondern auch für ‚polyamouröse' Liebesbeziehungen mehrerer Menschen*." (Berliner Zeitung, 17/08/2013).

[288] "*Die Schweiz überlegt, die Liebe zu mehreren Partnern und zwischen Geschwistern zu legalisieren. Das ist kein Tabubruch. Es findet jetzt schon statt, nur merkt es keiner*." (Sonntagsblick, 15/06/2014).

is otherwise much neglected in the thesis: legal polygamy in some Muslim countries – illustrated in a quote on children with more than two parents: "*After all, we do have here, for example amongst Muslims, polygamous communities of responsibility with children. Why then should marriage be opened only for two same-sex partners and not for three, four, or even more partners of the same or different sexes when they want to live for each other in responsibility*?"[289]

Much less important are *property* issues (8x), which cover questions like inheritance law, tax issues and resident rights in apartments or houses after a partner has passed away. On a similarly small scale, *equal rights to the rights of LGBT people* (6x) were mentioned – here the picture is the same as in the second research question: poly people are mentioned in an LGBT context but are not really considered as belonging to an expanded LGBT acronym.[290]

Overall, regarding the amount of codes dedicated in relation to the overall amount of codes assigned, the importance of legal recognition is more or less in the same range as social acceptance, which is – compared to the second aspect of categorisation of polyamory – only moderately important.

Looking at the fourth research question, the one-sentence-answer is: **There is a moderate demand for legal recognition represented in the media with regard to some form of contract to legalise relationships between more than two people, and it is the state that should fulfil its responsibility to make this possible.**

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[289] "*Schließlich gebe es hierzulande, etwa unter Muslimen, polygame Verantwortungsgemeinschaften, in deren Schoß ebenfalls Kinder lebten. Warum solle man die Ehe dann nur für zwei gleichgeschlechtliche Partner öffnen, nicht aber für drei, vier oder noch mehr Partner gleichen oder unterschiedlichen Geschlechts, wenn die in Verantwortung füreinander leben wollten?"* (Welt am Sonntag, 12/07/2015).

[290] McFarland (2011) covered LGBT-rights and the importance of media in public discourse with a rather similar methodology. Based on the same theoretical framework that mass media influence public discourse, she also looked at a total of 600 newspaper articles published in seven different states in the US and content-analyzed them. Two major differences apply: She "only" concentrated on one month (November 2006) and was therefore only able to represent the status quo at the time (rather than possible changes regarding specific issues along the timeline – which, however, only rarely emerges in my findings, too), and the term polyamory only appeared once in connection with bestiality and incest. With regard to the aspect's marriage contract, recognition of children, and quality rights that I have developed, the paper would have been a brilliant source of comparison – if polyamory would already have been an issue one and a half decades ago. Failing this, at least her conclusion also applies to the findings at hand: "*Future research on this issue and others should consider the ways that elites and non-elites develop frames as they engage with each other in public debate*." (McFarland, 2011, p. 275)

## 13.5 Religious recognition

The international research community has so far completely ignored the following issue – it is about polyamory and religion. The question in detail: **5) To which extent is recognition by religious institutions of importance to polyamorous persons (in media representation)?** First the different subcategories, defined along denominational lines as developed in Chapter 11:

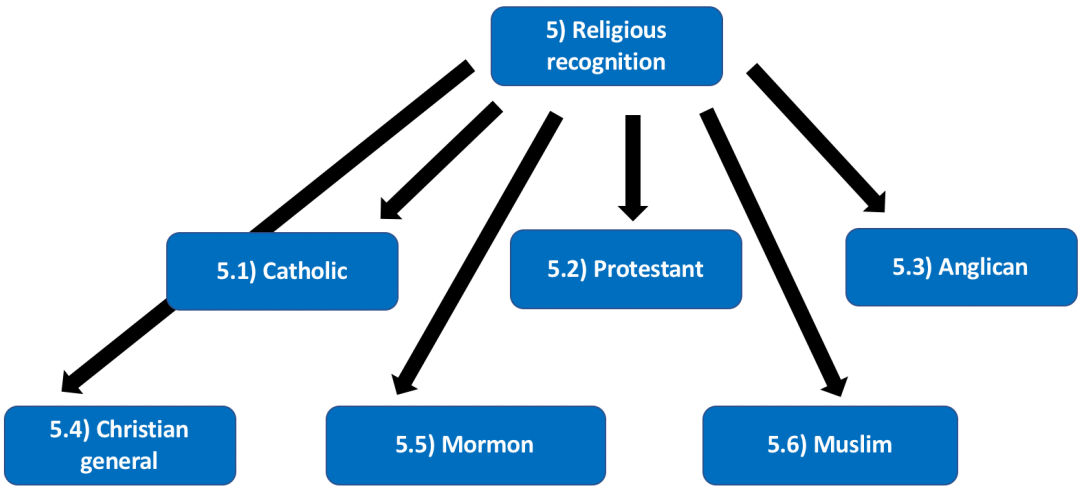


Fig. 13.16: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category *5) Religious recognition* (figure by the author).

And, in the graph below, the respective numbers – they provide a clear picture of the importance of religion in the polyamorous context in its media representation:

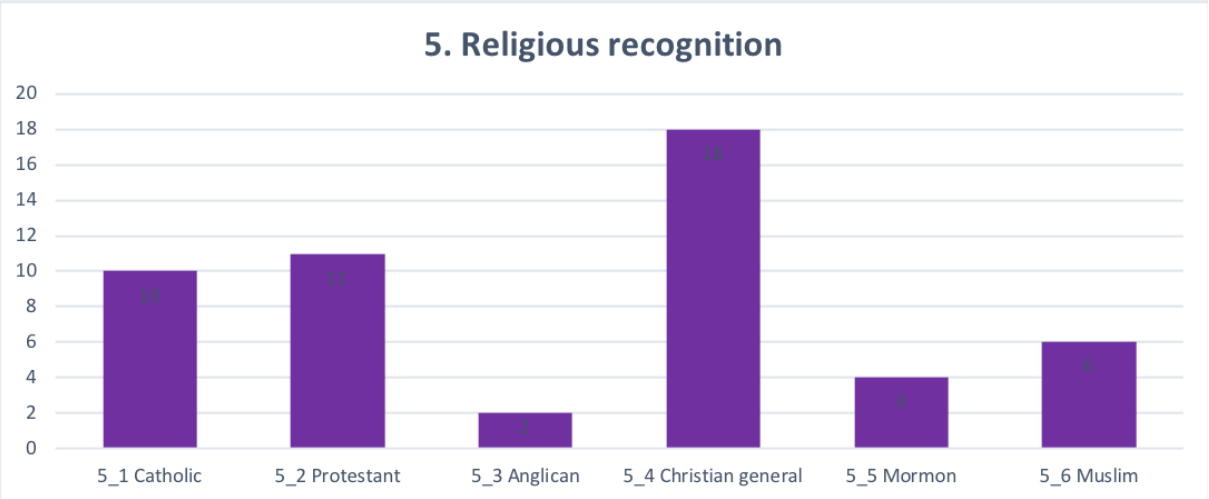


Fig. 13.17: Number of codes assigned to the demand for religious recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

*Christians* (18x) without clarification of their denominational affiliation take the lead; the following statement illustrates a general challenge confessions face: "*Is the church allowed to interfere with the problems of the state? Or does it need to force the interference? And who says that churches will exist then? Isn't faith a bit like the polyamorous model? I mean, a bit of Christianity, a little Buddhism, and prayers via twitter?*"[291] While articles citing *Protestants* (11x) see the poly issue in a rather neutral light, or as something to be discussed, *Catholics* (10x) seem to have a problem. The following example is the response of a reader to an interview with the president of an antiabortion association, who stated that surrogate parenting leads to the dystopic future of polyamorous families: "*In your confident attitude that as a Catholic or religious person you have the exclusive right on morals, on right or wrong, you consider same-sex marriages as wrong and marriage to be reserved for heterosexual couples. Luckily enough not everyone is a Catholic, and to portray human beings who think and feel differently as ill-informed or unable to lead a moral life or have morally valid judgment is arrogant and unworldly*."[292] Numerically less important are articles on *Muslim* (6x), *Mormon* (4x), and *Anglican* (2x).[293] What is interesting, but rather anecdotal due to the small number of quotes, is when the different faiths and denominations appear: the articles referring to Mormons date back to 2006 and 2007, articles regarding Catholics and Protestants end by the year 2013; later articles either concern Christians in general, or Muslims.

Overall, 54 codes out of about 3,200, which is less than 2% of the total of assigned codes were about the issue of religious recognition. The number related to the Catholic denomination roughly matches the number on the Protestant denomination, Christians as a whole received slightly more media attention, but still too little to deduce regularities. This allows a straightforward answer to the research question: **According to media representation, religion is in general not important in a polyamorous context.** Due to the fact that I wasn't able to identify even a single empirical media study makes it

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[291] *"Darf die Kirche sich einmischen in die Probleme des Staates? Oder muss sie das künftig sogar stärker? Und wer sagt, dass es Kirchen dann überhaupt noch gibt? Ist es mit dem Glauben nicht schon heute wie im polyamoren Liebesmodell? Also ein bisschen Christentum, ein wenig Buddhismus und Gebete über Twitter?"* (Focus, 22/05/2010).

[292] "*In dem Selbstbewusstsein, als Katholik oder religiöser Mensch den Alleinanspruch auf die Moral, auf richtig oder falsch, zu haben, bewerten Sie die gleichgeschlechtliche Ehe als "falsch" und finden, dass die Ehe nur heterosexuellen Paaren vorbehalten bleiben soll. Nun sind aber zum Glück nicht alle Menschen katholisch, und andersdenkende und andersfühlende Menschen als "falsch informiert" und unfähig einer moralischen Lebensweise oder Urteilskraft darzustellen, ist anmaßend und weltfremd.*" (Luxemburger Tageblatt, 01/03/2013).

[293] One might miss the Orthodox church in the listing of Christian confessions. It neither appeared in the media coverage nor in the self-perception of the chapter to come. For further reading on which probably comes closest to polyamory and the Orthodox church I recommend the paper by Takacs and Szalma (2019) who examine social attitudes towards homosexuality in predominately catholic Hungary and predominately orthodox Romania. Parts of the data they analyzed came from the *European Value Study*, and contains parameters such as casual sex relationships and extramarital relationships.

admissible to expand this specific finding for the German-speaking world to the rest of the Western world.[294]

## 13.6 Generating knowledge

In its setting, the last research question is designed like a Russian Matryoshka doll – it asks about the media (and possible other encounters) polyamorous people consume or seek in order to gain knowledge on the issue in its media representation: **How (according to media representation) do polyamorous people gain their knowledge on the issue?** Following the illustration of the 5 sub-categories developed:

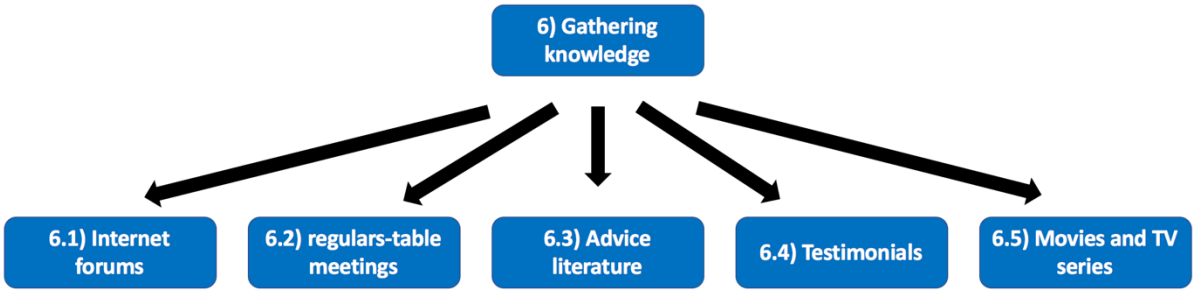


Fig. 13.18: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category *6) Gathering knowledge* (figure by the author).

The following figure gives the respective numbers:

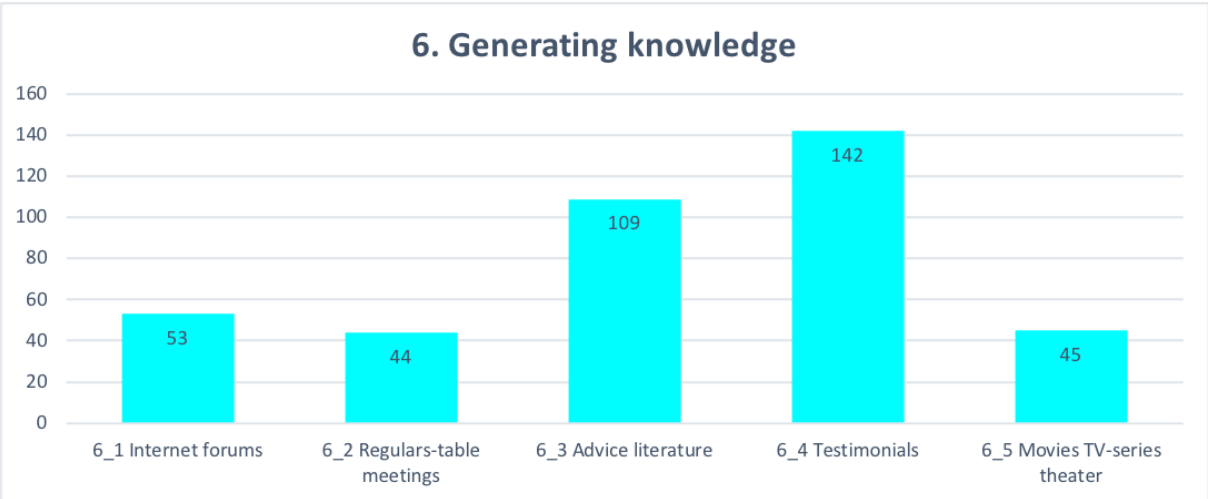


Fig. 13.19: Number of codes assigned to the generation of knowledge on polyamory (figure by the author).

[294] Here one caveat is necessary: This applies to publications in English and German sources only. Possibly existing papers from Catholic countries like Spain, Portugal, or Italy in their respective languages as well as papers written in French were not considered when they did not come with an English or German subtitle that would have made them show up in academic search engine searches.

*Testimonials* (142x): When testimonials[295] appeared in an article, they were only coded once per article in order to count how often people have been mentioned. The mentioned persons[296] are: French philosopher and writer Jean-Paul Sartre (13x); his partner, also French feminist, author and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (11x) who was in an open relationship with Sartre; German actor, film director and now "professional polyamorist"[297] Christopher Gottwald (10x); German poet Bertold Brecht (9); German founder of *Kommune 1* Rainer Langhans (9x); German film director Dieter Wedel (8x); German psychologist Silvio Wirth (8x); Johannes Ponader, former managing director of the German party *Piraten* (8x); English writer Virginia Woolf (7x); Dutch activist Ageeth Veenemans (7x); German sexologist Volkmar Sigusch (6x); Austrian novelist and journalist Arnold Zweig (4x); British philosopher Bertrand Russell (4x), British actor Tilda Swilton (4x); German writer Arnold Zweig (4x); French chef Paul Bocuse (3x); Swiss founder of the *Kirschblüten-Gemeinschaft* Samuel Widmer (3x), former model and first German groupie ever Uschi Obermaier (3x); and Jesus Christ (once in his function as Jesus Christ in the quote: "*At the poly regulars' table meeting there was a heated discussion on whether the most famous polyamorist wasn't Jesus Christ*.")[298] Two tendencies emerged: First, people who are already dead got more positive media coverage than those still alive; and second, people who are in arts, film and the like got more positive media coverage than politicians and activists.[299] [300]

A second important sub-category is *advice literature* (109x), i.e. books that were quoted for people who want to read deeper into the subject of polyamory – extended by fiction, since polyamory appeared in this genre as well from 2014 onwards. The most-quoted advice books (in running order of appearances) were *Frühstück zu dritt* (by Erhard Söhner, 6x); *The Ethical Slut* (by Dossie Easton and

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[295] Testimonials are understood as people named in the context of polyamory nevertheless if they were portrayed positive or negative.

[296] Only testimonials that appeared at least 3 times (with the exception of Jesus Christ) were mentioned in the main text; among others cited were for instance Friedrich Engels, John Maynard Keynes, Will Smith, Erwin Schrödinger, Horst Seehofer, Pierre Besson, Anne Kramp-Karrenbauer, Helmut Schmidt, Hannelore Elsner, William Blake, Charlie Sheen, Warren Buffet.

[297] A term Christopher Gottwald uses to describe himself, as he is now able to earn his living with talks, presentations and advice on polyamory.

[298] "*Am Poly-Stamm erregt etwa die Frage die Gemüter, ob der berühmteste Polyamorist Jesus Christus hiess*." (Sonntagszeitung, 10/02/2013).

[299] The first article that contained *polyamory* and *media* in the title was written by Antalffy (2011). It did not contain any empirical data but illustrated the subject by examples of its coverage in the Australian media. What is interesting is her approach to divide positive representation into several types: articles that poly members wrote themselves, articles that are written about poly members, and researched articles that do not involve (what the author calls) laypeople in the creation of the stories. Unfortunately, this approach was not applied methodically.

[300] Cardoso (2020) moved the approach by Antalffy (2011) forward as he also looked at what kind of people (or, as he calls them, *social actors*) is presented by the media in the context of consensual non-monogamy. The first three actors (according to the number of plays) are *people who are in CNM's themselves* (49%), *celebrities* (32%), and *researchers from human and social sciences* (22%).

Janet Hardy, 10x); and *111 Gründe offen zu lieben* (by Cornelia Jönsson, 4x). Also covering polyamory but addressing the issues of love, emotions and sexuality on a more general level are *Why love hurts* (by Eva Illouz, 7x); *Future Sex* (by Emely Witt, 3x); and *Sex at Dawn* (by Christopher Ryan, 6x). For fiction, the books *Wir kommen* (by Ronja von Rönne, 7x) and *Die juristische Unschärfe einer Ehe* (by Olga Grjasnova, 1x) were quoted.

All variations that have to do with the world-wide web came on third place, with various German and English *Internet forums*[301] (53x), platforms by and for people living polyamorous lives, the *Wikipedia* entry on polyamory, and references to *Facebook groups* used for exchange as well as to advertise meetings. In contrast to the previous sub-categories, beside the German site *polyamory.de* that was mentioned six times (in all cases with more or less neutral descriptions, as for example: "'*I don't think that everybody is poly, and I am not a crusader. What I do want to provide with my work, and this website, is a platform for those who think and feel alike', it says on the website polyamory.de*.")[302] no accumulation of topics or pages was noticed.[303]

The subcategory *films, TV-series and theatre* (45x) covers exactly that. One documentary produced by the German public-service broadcaster *ZDF* titled *I love more than one person,*[304] was written about in 5 different newspapers, all other items in this category only appeared once. The number of fiction films is about the same compared to documentaries, theatre productions only appeared on a minor scale. It is interesting that the crime series *Tatort*, which is the longest-running (since the 1970s) and most popular crime series in the German-speaking world, addressed the issue of polyamory in an episode in 2017 for the first time.[305]

Nearly the same number of codes was dedicated to *regulars' table meetings* (44x), including academic gatherings like conferences on polyamory (3 articles only) as well as meetings, gatherings, events, and similar activities by activists and other affected people. Most focus on meetings that took place in the

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[301] Used as general term for everything that falls in the category *quaternary media*, see chapter 4.

[302] "'*Ich denke nicht, dass alle Menschen poly sind, und will keinen missionieren. Ich möchte aber mit meinem Wirken und natürlich auch mit dieser Seite all denen, die ähnlich denken und fühlen, eine Plattform bieten', heißt es etwa auf der Homepage polyamorie.de.*" (Tiroler Tageszeitung, 16/02/2011).

[303] Hurson's (2016) PhD thesis, titled "Networks of Many Loves: A History of Alternative Media in the Polyamory Movement" covers media representation, and, especially with regard to gaining poly knowledge, it would be relevant for my thesis – if, and this is already indicated in the title, the source would be mainstream newspapers rather than weblogs by polyamorous activists. What I can adopt here is one aspect of the conclusion where Hurson states that despite similar threads in the polyamorous (and CNM) discourses, movements tend to follow the direction of their leaders, and there adhere to the motivations of particular ideologies, whereas news media presents more diverse voices.

[304] In the original German: "*Ich liebe nicht nur einen*."

[305] See tatort-fans.de (2017)

surveyed countries, i.e. Austria, Germany, and Switzerland; what is noticeable is that stories about polyamorous communities start with poly meetings and the correspondent atmosphere, setting and participating characters, as the following quote illustrates: "*On a cold evening they are sitting in the bookbar in Neustadt, 15 people, more men than women. There are lots of tea cups and a few beer and wine glasses on the table. A young woman presents her thesis in psychology, which has the title 'Jealousy in non-monogamous relationships'*".[306]

With regard to the sixth research question on gathering knowledge on polyamory, *testimonials* had most codes, but are not really described as a source of information – they are in the media, but not to impart any knowledge but rather because they are famous. So, the answer is: **The most important source of information for polyamorous people in their media representation is advice literature, followed with roughly equal importance by Internet forums, regulars' table meetings, and television and TV-series and theatre plays.**

## 13.7 Further frequent aspects

Some aspects came up regularly in the newspaper and magazine articles but where not represented in the research questions. In order to highlight these and provide reference points for further research, the six most frequent ones are listed below:

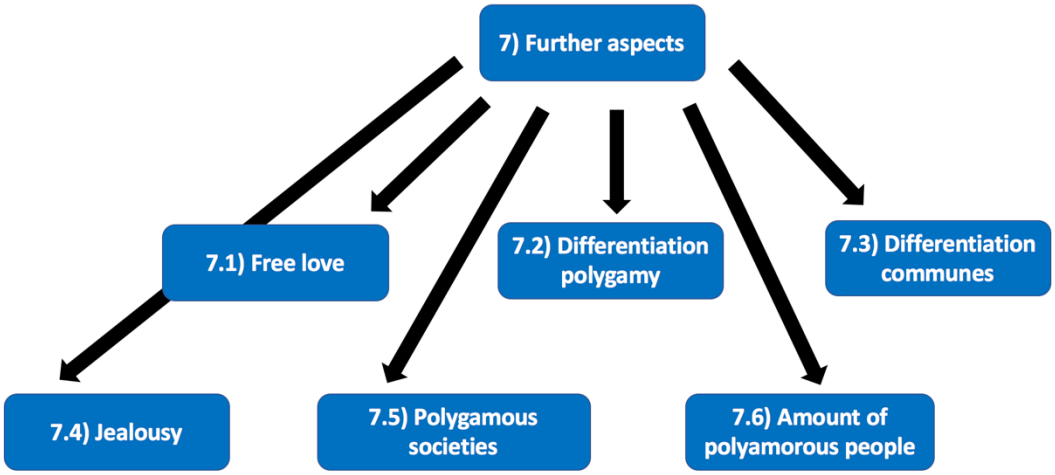


Fig. 13.20: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category *7) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

[306] "*An einem kalten Abend sitzen sie in der Buchbar in der Neustadt, 15 Leute, mehr Männer als Frauen. Auf dem Tisch stehen viele Teetassen, wenige Bier- und Weingläser. Eine junge Frau berichtet von ihrer Abschlussarbeit in Psychologie, Titel: 'Eifersucht in nicht-monogamen Beziehungen'*". (Sächsische Zeitung, 13/03/2015).

The following figure illustrates these topics by numbers:

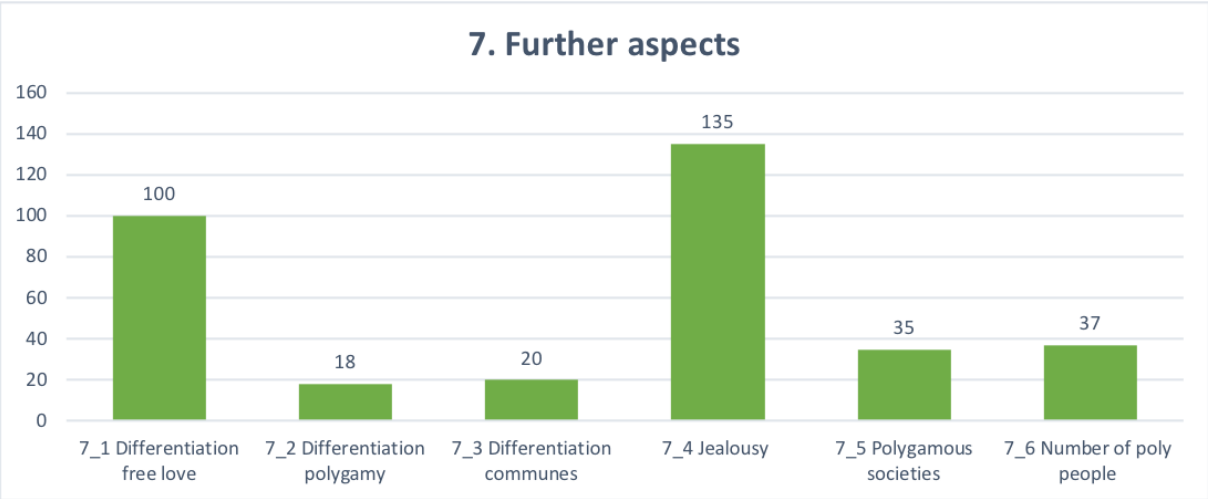


Fig. 13.21: Number of codes assigned to further aspects that appeared in a larger number and did not fit any of the other categories or were not represented by a research question (figure by the author).

The "all-time-favourite" *jealousy* (135x) was assigned most codes. This issue was covered from all possible angles: not being jealous at all, how to do deal with jealousy, how to shake it off (or not), fear of losing the partner, exclusivity, self-esteem, perspectives, rules and freedom, and finally *compersion* as a counter-concept to jealousy.[307] A good example of a rather neutral description of the term is the following quote: "*In contrast they use the polyamorous term of 'compersion' The other man or the other woman is not regarded as a competitor, but as a benefit*."[308]

A second important aspect is the *differentiation to free love* (100x), interpreted as *all kinds of consensual sexual interaction that do not include emotional involvement*. In detail, these are swinging, free love, sex only, cheating, threesomes, promiscuity, the generation of 1968 (also found as hippies), orgies, public sex, exchanging partners, more sexual freedom, uncontrolled shagging, erotic adventures, one-night stands, open relationships, and the like. The following is a rather sarcastic delimitation of polyamory to swinging: "*The followers of polyamory want to have their way of life understood as something completely different from so-called swingers: a sexual sporting discipline where completely strangers jump into bed with each other*."[309]

[307] An initially promising candidate for comparison is Pain's (2019) book chapter "Race, class, gender and relationship power". In her introduction, she proposes that managing jealousy – certainly a challenge for many polyamorists – is a topic for news and media culture outlets; for the analysis however, she conducted interviews with 44 adults who had experience with polyamorous relationships rather than approaching the subject from its media representation.

[308] "*Ihr setzen sie den polyamorösen Begriff der 'Mitfreude' entgegen. Der andere Mann oder die andere Frau werden nicht mehr als Konkurrenz, sondern als Bereicherung empfunden.*"
(Welt am Sonntag, 22/02/2009).

[309] "*Die Anhänger der Polyamorie wollen ihre Lebensweise streng von sogenannten Swingern unterschieden wissen: einer sexuellen Sportart, bei der wildfremde Menschen miteinander ins Bett gehen*".
(Die Welt, 27/10/2007).

Also listed are quotes that include the (assumed) *number of polyamorous people* (37x), with widely diverging numbers: from a few hundred or 1.000 to many thousands in Germany; 3% and 5% of the population in Switzerland[310]. No numbers were found for Austria; in the US, estimates range from thousands of people in the urban areas of the East Coast and California to one out of five American citizens. Other articles say that there are no numbers, we simply don't know. What is quite surprising is that the media's estimates of the number of people living polyamorous lifestyles did not rise over the years. A fine example are the two following quotes on numbers in Germany, both printed in German newspapers in autumn 2011: "*There about 600 to 6,000 people in Germany living this way*."[311] and "*Just as around 10,000 people in Germany, she loves polyamorous, meaning she has more than one partner*."[312] Finally, one quote compares human beings with animals: While 97% of animals are polyamorous, in human beings in contrast, the same percentage is monogamous. Quite a surprise.

*Polygamous societies* (35x) also appeared in a significant number. The following countries, regions, continents or faiths were named: The Middle East, tropical Africa, Islam, western Africa, Lebanon, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bangladesh, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Burkina Faso, Switzerland (in connection with migration from Serbia and Montenegro), Turkey, the countries of the former Soviet Union, Bhutan, India, the Himalaya region, Tibet, Africa, South Africa, and "tribes" in general. The context these "polygamous societies" were mentioned in with regard to polyamory was their use as examples of functioning multiple relationships.

The *differentiation to communes* (20x) is mentioned in the aftermath of the liberal generation of '68, the Hippie movement, and free love. The majority of these articles distinguish the two approaches, a minority equate polyamory with the goings-on in the generation of '68. Finally, there were a number of articles that introduce a clear *differentiation between polygamy and polyamory* (18x), with no further accumulations of topics within this sub-category.

[310] For research-based input regarding the number of poly people in the world and/or the focus countries Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, please refer to Chapter 2.8 Polyamory by sheer numbers.

[311] "*In Deutschland leben ungefähr 600 bis 6000 Menschen auf diese Art*." (Berliner Zeitung, 20/08/2011).

[312] "*Sie liebt, wie etwa 10 000 Menschen in Deutschland, polyamor, heißt, mehrere Partner*." (Express, 11/09/2011).

## 13.8 The valuation of polyamory in the press

A final aspect and by-product of the media analysis is the categorisation of the general valuation of polyamory in the articles: Is their attitude towards polyamory positive (for example: "*And gay marriage only exists today because a few people questioned traditional models and so-called nature. Polyamory is practiced by many people. The sexual revolution has not failed, it is ongoing*.")[313], rather positive (for example: "*The most important thing in their threesome apparently is a relationship aspect. There are some couples who can live together in this 'polyamory'. As long as no one suffers, it's nobody's business*.")[314], neutral (for example: "*The organisation 'polyamory' aims to collect 40,000 signatures to hand over to the parliament until September*.")[315], rather negative (for example: "*His open affirmation of 'polyamory' and the tantra workshops also scandalised public opinion and earned him headlines as a 'sex guru'*.")[316], or negative (for example: "*Berlin delegate Alexander Morlang called the former girlfriend of a fellow party colleague an ex-slut on Twitter. In his apology, he explained that he had only wanted to describe a sexual partnership within a polyamorous network*.")[317]? Or, as became apparent in the course of the coding process, is there no judgment and the articles could be categorised as satire (for example: "*The President of the Federal Republic of Germany used the occasion of the Federal Congress of Couple Therapy in Freital near Dresden to deliver a speech on polyamory: 'Love is freedom, freedom is love, and liberal love is free love. This is why the peaceful revolution in the former German Democratic Republic was practiced love for freedom. Let's believe in it!'*")[318]? Each article was only assigned one of the six respective codes. Below the illustration:

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[313] "*Und die Homo-Ehe gibt es heute auch nur, weil ein paar Leute die traditionellen Modelle und die angebliche Natur infrage gestellt haben. Polyamorie wird bereits von einer Menge Leute gelebt. Die sexuelle Revolution ist nicht gescheitert, sie geht weiter*." (Welt am Sonntag, 13/10/2013).

[314] "*Die Hauptsache in Ihrem Dreieck ist offenbar der Beziehungsaspekt. Es gibt einzelne Paare, die in dieser 'Polyamorie' miteinander leben können. Solange keiner leidet, geht Ihr Beziehungsmuster niemanden etwas an*." (Kronenzeitung, 24/07/2012).

[315] "*Die Organisation 'Polyamory' will bis September 40.000 Unterschriften sammeln und dem Parlament übergeben*." (Kurier, 15/04/2009).

[316] "*Auch sein Bekenntnis zur 'Polyamorie' und die Tantra-Kurse erregten in der Öffentlichkeit Anstoss und brachten ihn als 'Sex-Guru' in die Schlagzeilen*." (Die Nordwestschweiz, 19/01/2017).

[317] "*Auf Twitter hatte der Berliner Abgeordnete Alexander Morlang die Ex-Freundin eines Parteikollegen eine 'Ex-Fickse' genannt. Zu seiner Verteidigung sagte Morlang, er habe nur eine sexuelle Partnerschaft in einem Netzwerk polyamouröser Beziehungen beschreiben wollen*." (Wiener Zeitung, 24/04/2012).

[318] "*Den Bundeskongress Paartherapie in Freital bei Dresden nutzt der Bundespräsident zu einem Vortrag zum Thema Polyamorie: 'Liebe ist Freiheit, Freiheit ist Liebe, und freiheitliche Liebe ist freie Liebe. Eben darum war die friedliche Revolution in der DDR gelebte Liebe zur Freiheit. Trauen wir sie uns zu!'*" (Der Spiegel online, 17/01/2014)

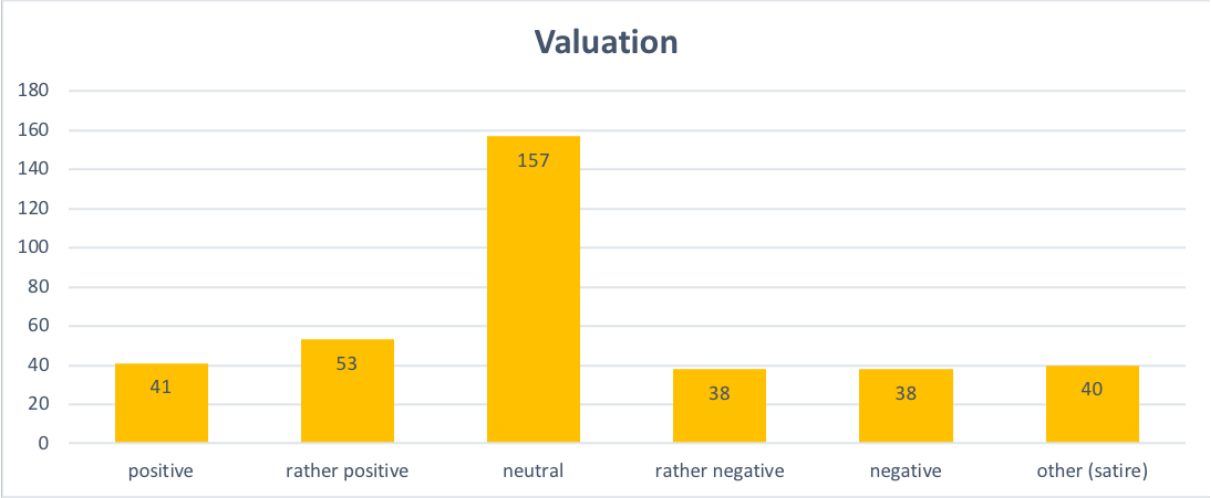


Fig. 13.22: Number of codes assigned on the valuation of the individual articles (figure by the author).

This shows that the **valuation** of newspaper articles featuring polyamory **is balanced**, and that **the majority of articles are written in a neutral tone** – it seems that German-speaking media more or less embrace the idea of (neutral) information rather than taking a stand for the concept or to condemn it.[319] And it also shows that more than 10% of the articles are of satiric origin, so it seems to be a topic that easily lends itself for a non-too-serious approach.

Another interesting aspect is the question of whether the valuation of polyamory has changed over the years, in other words whether a trend towards a more positive representation of polyamory for example can be distinguished. The following figure shows the mean value of representations per year, and numbers assigned for valuation: 1 for positive, 2 for rather positive, 3 for neutral, 4 for rather negative, and 5 for negative (excluding satirical articles).

[319] The CNM-MOVES project has a completely different finding on the Portuguese media representation. According to its author who explained his research design in an e-mail correspondence to me, he applied a similar but less detailed categorization with the categories *positive, neutral, negative, mixed* and *satire*. His results show that 31% of the articles are positive, 30% are neutral, 17% are negative, 12% are mixed and 8% are satire (Cardoso, 2020, p. 5). We would only be able to speculate on the reasons for this difference at this point; however, this would be an interesting starting point for follow-up research.

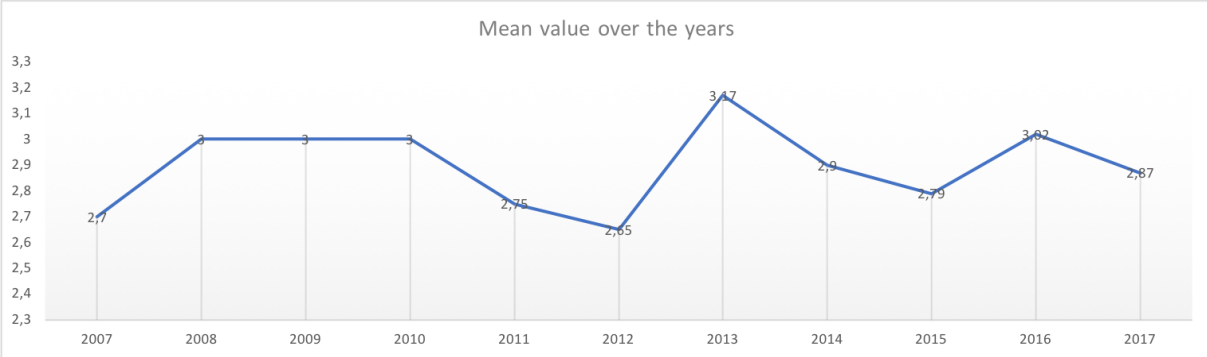


Fig. 13.23: Mean value of validation of newspaper articles on polyamory year (figure by the author).

Considering the whole range from 1 to 5, the overall fluctuation is minor. Looking at the changes in detail, the key finding is that there is no trend for reporting in favour of or against polyamory along the timeline. What is noticeable is that, while 2012 was the year with the most positive newspaper articles, the following year 2013 was the most negative one; it was not possible to identify any obvious reason for this phenomenon.

## 13.9 Summary

This chapter revealed a number of findings that either came as a surprise after looking at academic publications on the issue (as far as expectations can be extrapolated from existing data where not the media representation but the affected individuals themselves were questioned and analysed); delivered new insights; and in addition provided something of an instruction on how to deal with the term polyamory and/or polyamorous for the thesis at hand.

Simply by number, the overall number of articles on polyamory in the German-speaking world is rising. The extent to which the issue is covered varies between countries, with Austria taking the lead by sheer number, and Switzerland in terms of the length of the articles. Due to its complexity, the issue is more likely to be addressed in weekend and magazine editions, and it is a cultural topic rather than a political one.

By number of assigned codes, matters dealing with the classification are by far dominating the media representation of polyamory. This does not necessarily represent the issues polyamorous individuals engage with; rather, it seems to be owed to the way media work: Newspapers and magazines tell stories, and for telling stories they need a plot – and this plot suggests itself in the classification in terms of a concept of how polyamory can be understood. For the other aspects, the question of how someone finds him/herself in a polyamorous relationship (love and life history) shows a number of

different reasons; social acceptance is an issue especially in terms of its wider societal view; a wide variety of legal aspects are addressed, with the state and other formal institutions viewed as the main stakeholders; religion is not an issue; knowledge transfer is illustrated through testimonials and books; and jealousy and the differentiation to free love are further hot topics. With regard to the newspapers' presentation of polyamory as a good or a bad thing, the answer is: neither, its depiction is predominantly neutral. Another aspect to be mentioned is that there is no major accumulation of specific issues along the timeline, in other words, there was no year in which for example one specific topic or key event was dominant. In addition, there is no major change over the years in whether polyamory is judged by the media, as either something positive, or something negative.

And finally, the challenge of how to address polyamorous people in this thesis has also been solved: The chapter shows that polyamory (as a noun) or polyamorous (as a verb and an attribution) is a whole range of things, and cannot be narrowed down to one specific description. The key aspects are **to love more than one person (1)** (loving polyamorous); **to live polyamorous (2)** in an understanding of everyday life routines (living polyamorous); **to act polyamorous (3)** in terms of intimate practices with more than one person (acting poly); **to think polyamorous (4)** as a form of theoretical concept (4); and to **feel polyamorous (5)** as a form of self-perception/identity (feeling poly).

And finally, concentrating all this into one sentence that will serve as the description of polyamorous people in this thesis: Polyamorous individuals – hence **poly people** – are understood as persons who **love, live, act, think and feel poly**.

## 14. Results self-perception

The chapter starts with a summary of the demographic data of the participants[320] – mixed and in random order to ensure that the identity of the interviewees cannot be traced; followed by a sample of a polycule. Then (due to the chosen method of narrative biographical interviews) its focus lies to a large extent on the love and life history of individuals, introducing types of individuals in polyamorous relationships. It continues with the classification, separated into two aspects, and then goes on to cover the remaining topics that are described in the research question. The chapter closes with issues that were represented in the media analysis to such an extent that begged analysis also for the interviews, and concludes with a short summary.

### 14.0 Demographic data and polycule sample

With regard to age, the youngest person was 22 years old at the time the interview was conducted, the oldest one 65. 10 people were in their twenties, 12 in their thirties, 9 in their forties, one person in their fifties, and one person over 60. The average age was 35 years. The following two figures show the number of participants by age compared to the overall population of Vienna, indicating that three age groups (20-30 years, 31-35 years, and 40-45 years are overrepresented):

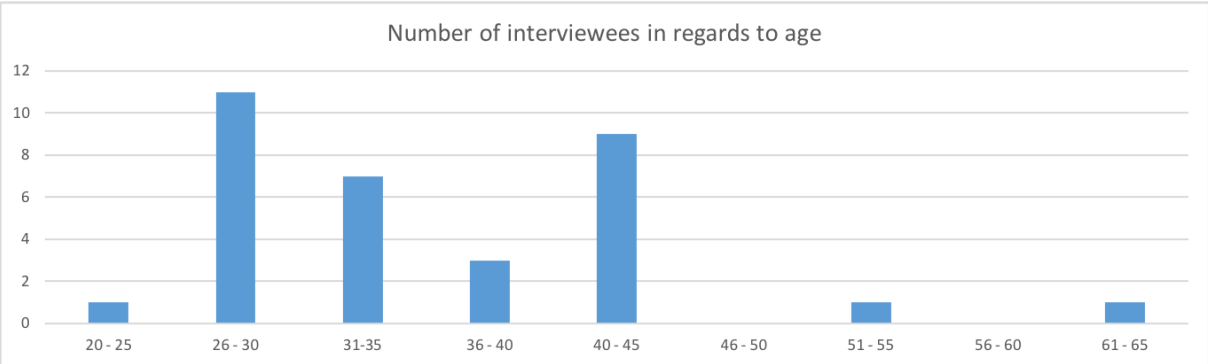


Fig. 14.1: Number of interview partners by age in 5-year steps (figure by the author).

[320] The headline was given the number 0 so the following headlines of the sub-chapters match the research question and coding logic.

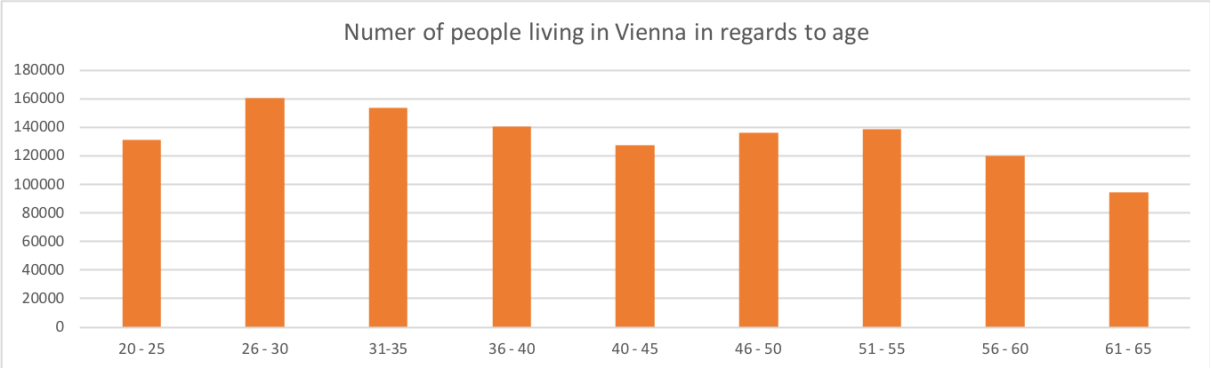


Fig. 14.2: Population of Vienna by age in 5-year steps (figure by the author).[321]

With regard to their material status (including all options that the Republic of Austria allows by law)[322], 20 respondents were single, 8 married, 4 divorced, and one person had an unregistered registered partnership[323]. None of the participants was widowed. 9 of the 33 respondents have children, 7 of them with their current partner, and 2 with their previous partner.

For the category gender, the questionnaire differentiated between *sex* (as in *biological*)[324] and *gender* (as in *social gender*). In the first category, 14 individuals defined themselves as male and 19 as female. In the latter category, the number of males remained the same, but one individual who self-defined their sex as *female* identified their gender as *non-binary*, and another as *non-binary-trans**. When it came to self-defined sexual orientation, the answers got more diverse. The following figure shows the distribution of sexual orientation by numbers; here, the first five options were given, and the sixth option was an open text box; furthermore, respondents were allowed to choose more than one tick box, which results in a total of 40 answers regarding sexual orientation in 33 interviewees:

| **hetero** | **gay** | **lesbian** | **bisexual** | **queer** | **other** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | other | pansexual | bi-open | hetero-flexible | BDSM |
| **16** | **0** | **0** | **10** | **4** | **3** | **2** | **1** | **3** | **1** |

Fig. 14.3: Sexual orientation by self-classification by the interviewees (figure by the author).

[321] The data is taken from Statistics Austria and represents up to date data as of January 1, 2019, see Statistik Austria (2019).

[322] In this context, the citizenship of the interviews is of relevance: 27 respondents hold an Austrian passport, two a German passport, one person has both these citizenships, and one person each comes from Italy, Luxembourg and Belgium.

[323] As shown in chapter 5, at the time of the interviews, the Austrian law did not allow same-sex *marriages*, but *registered partnerships* instead. When such a legal alliance is separated, it is not called *divorced*, but *unregistered registered partnership*.

[324] The options given where the three options recognized by the state, i.e. *male, female*, and *intersex*.

With regard to education and personal income, the interviewees also were quite diverse: One respondent had completed vocational training, one had a general secondary education diploma, 3 a technical secondary education diploma. One respondent was actively studying, 7 had earned a bachelor's degree (two were continuing their studies in a master's programme at the time), 2 had completed a technical college, and 12 held a master's degree. 4 people held a PhD, one person declined to answer, and one person identified as self-educated. The following figure shows the interviewees' income (in Euros per month before tax) – in order to aggregate them into categories, the incomes were grouped in steps of 400 Euros. The average monthly income was 2,073 Euros (according to the Austrian payment system, before tax, 14 times a year).

| 0 - 400 | 401 - 800 | 801 - 1200 | 1201 - 1600 | 1601 - 2000 | 2001 - 2400 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 7 | 2 |

| 2401 - 2800 | 2801 - 3200 | 3201 - 3600 | 3601 - 4000 | above 4001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 |

Fig. 14.4: Monthly income before tax in Euros according to the interviewees' self-classification (figure by the author).

Another data set was where the interviewees grew up (rural/provincial/suburban/urban) and where they lived at the time the interview was conducted. The numbers for the growing-up period are more or less balanced (10 people grew up in the countryside, 5 in provincial settings, 4 had spent suburban childhoods, and 15 had grown up in the city – except for the ones who did not grow up in Austria, in Vienna); for the place of residence at the time of the interviews, the numbers are much more uneven: one person lived in the countryside, and one person in a small town, all others lived in Vienna, which, with its population of 1.87 million, clearly counts as urban.

The final information retrieved by means of a tick box was the question regarding the relationship status of the interviewees, with multiple answers allowed. The single category needs some explanation: it allowed respondents to choose among single by choice (self-determined) or single because it happened to the person (outside-determined), and the option whether the respondent was looking for one or more relationships.

| Single | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| self-determined | single outside-determined | looking for relationship | looking for relationships |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 |

| two-person relationship | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| not open | open with no information agreement | open with information agreement | affair |
| 0 | 1 | 9 | 0 |

| multiple relationships | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| not open | not everyone knows | everyone knows | all know each other |
| 0 | 1 | 4 | 10 |

| other | | |
|---|---|---|
| fling | relationship anarchy | kink play relationship |
| 1 | 18 | 1 |

Fig. 14.5: Relationship status according to the interviewees' self-classification (figure by the author).

The first notable outcome is that, although the setting is an examination on polyamory, more than half the participants described themselves as being in a relationship anarchy relation. Furthermore, those who defined themselves by a two-person relationship clearly tended to an information agreement between themselves and their partner; and those who stated that they were in a multiple relationship predominantly knew everybody who was involved in it. At first sight, the last number reflects badly on the selection of the interviewees, as only 15 out of 33 claim to live in polyamorous relationships. According to this study's underlying definition of polyamory as *a consensual relationship between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over longer period of time*, and comparing how the interviewees described their relationship(s), the self-attribution does not concur with the researcher's view: According to the definition, at least three quarters of the participants were in polyamorous relationships either at the time of the interview or at some earlier stage.

While it was relatively easy to standardize the demographic data, a standardization of the current relationship status of the interviewees turned out to be simply impossible, as every individual in a polycule has a different perception. The participants were asked to draw their current relationship including the intensity between the individuals without being given any specifications how this should be achieved. Below is a sketch of the biggest polycule of the interview series (6 persons) as an example of what individual perceptions can look like. To facilitate reading, the illustrations follow a design that was already used in chapter 2 for the different polyamorous relationship models.[325]

[325] While in chapter 2, all individuals in the sample were gay men, the reality for this thesis is a different one. The following colour codes were applied: The bright colors represent people who gave an interview themselves, the light colours those who were included in participants' relationship sketches but did not

The first person presented is Ludmilla, this is her perception of the polycule at the time of the interview: She is in a primary relationship with Ma; has a friendship with Do without sexuality at the time; a play relationship with Tatjana and Mi; and she dates Si & Ch, but only as couple, not individually.

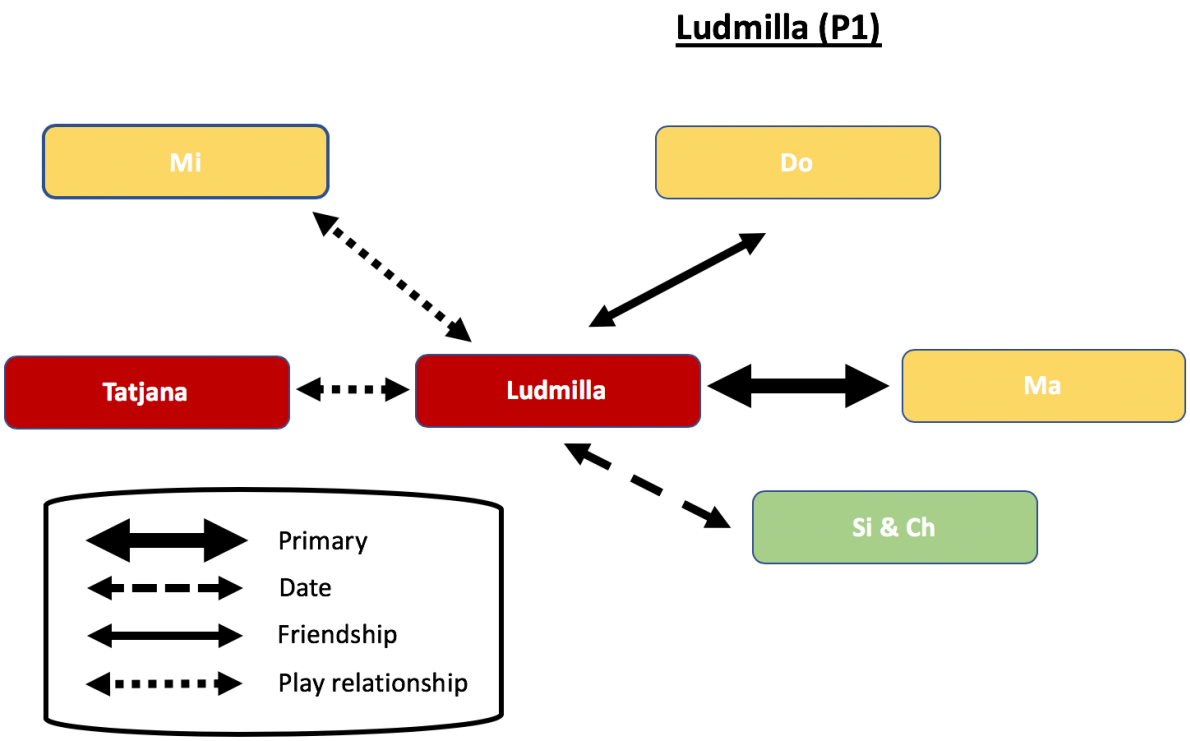


Fig. 14.6: Relationship status drawn by Ludmilla (standardised and illustrated by the author).

The second person to be presented is Tatjana: While in the previous picture Tatjana was "only" a play relationship for Ludmilla, for Tatjana it is includes friendship. In addition, she has a primary relationship with Gustav – and in her illustration, she also refers to his additional partners, which is a play relationship with Fanja and a play relationship and friendship with Sabine. Directly attached to Tatjana is also Siegfriedo, who is a secret affair (and therefore part of the polycule but not part of the understanding of consensual non-monogamy); and a friendship, a play relationship and a love relationship with Loisl, whom she defined as intersex.

give an interview. Red stands for interviewees who describe themselves as female, blue for interviewees who describe themselves as male. Yellow stands for people for whom no sex was specified; green stands for couples, grey for intersex individuals. The intensity/form of the relationship between different individuals was also represented by the interviewees without any guidelines from my side.

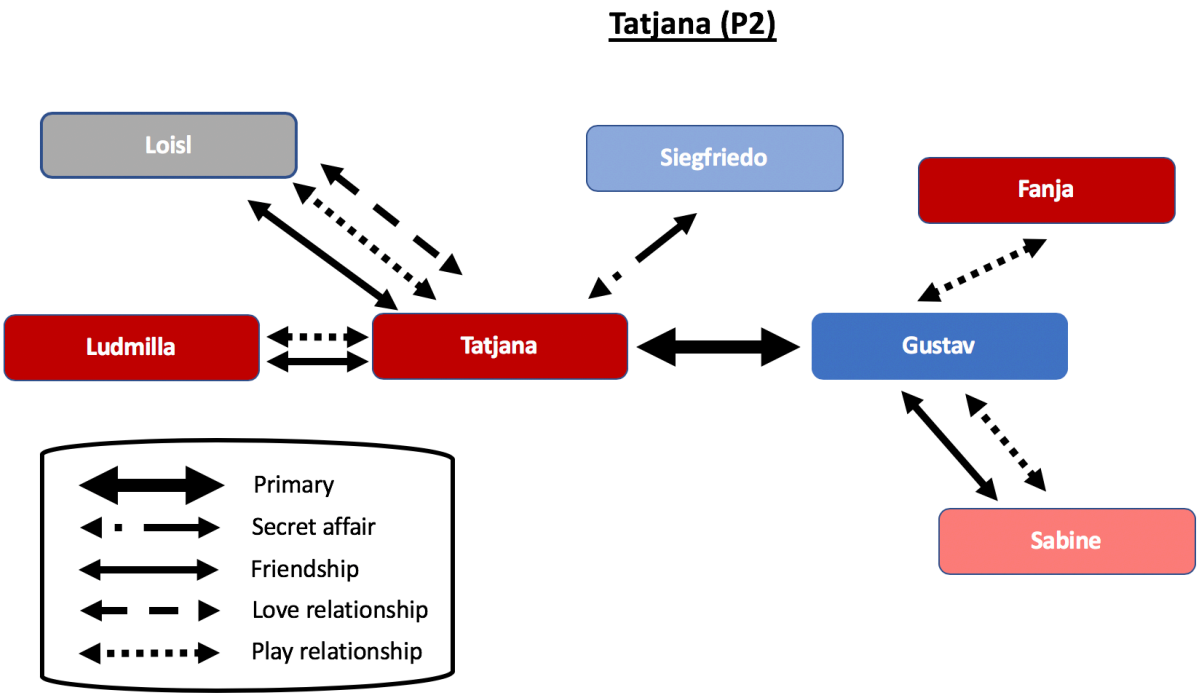


Fig. 14.7: Relationship status drawn by Tatjana (standardised and illustrated by the author).

The third person to be introduced is Gustav, whose illustration is rather minimalist compared to the others: He is in a primary relationship with Tatjana (which matches her illustration), and in a play relationship with Fanja, which Tatjana's drawing also describes. That is it for him, end of story.

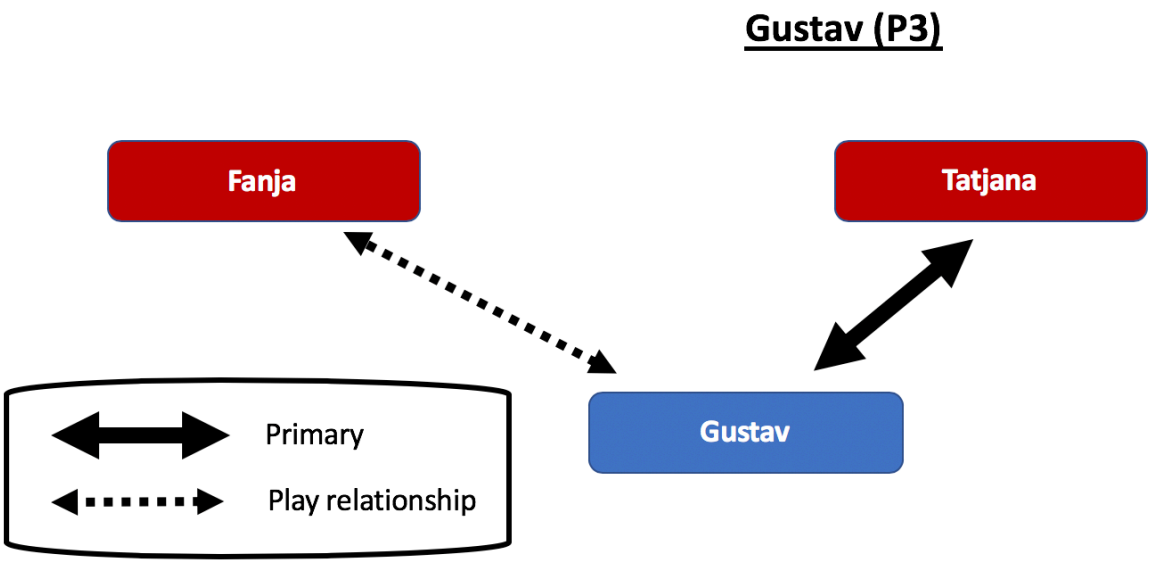


Fig. 14.8: Relationship status drawn by Gustav (standardised and illustrated by the author).

The fourth person in this constellation is Tobias, although one would assume it is Fanja's drawing, as she takes the center in the picture: He is married to Fanja, nobody else is attached to him. He then includes his wife's kink-massage-museum-sex-relationships with two other men of whom he knows the names, and a third man whom he describes as unimportant. His illustration is unique in that he also includes Tatjana, who is the stable relationship of the man with whom his wife has a kink-massage-museum-sex-relationship.

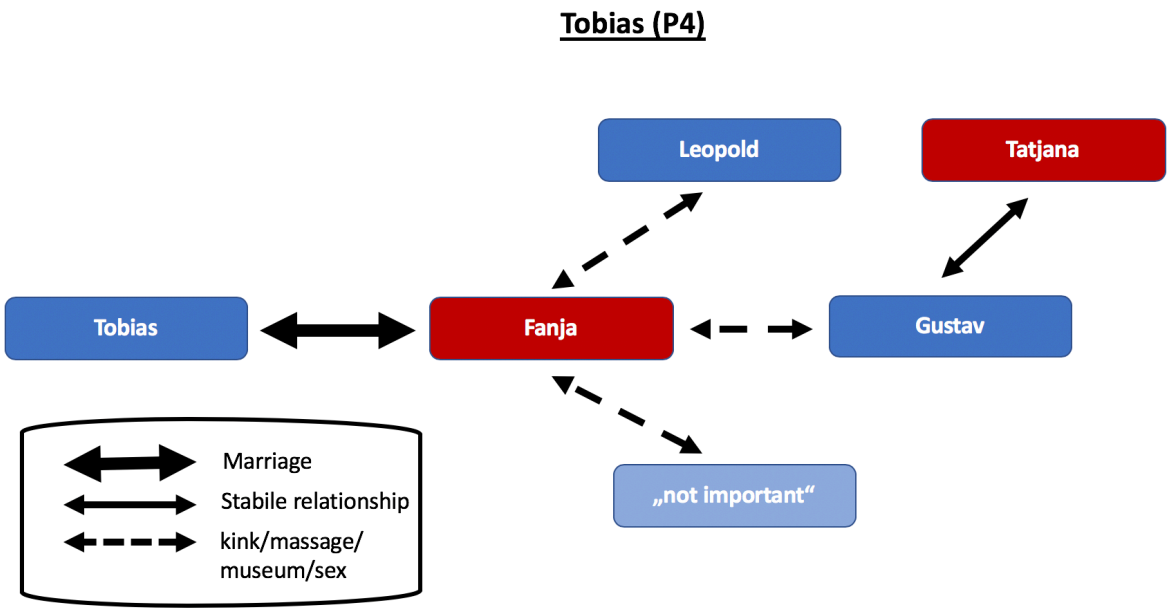


Fig. 14.9: Relationship status drawn by Tobias (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Now for the fifth person: Fanja, Tobias's wife: beyond marriage, she also depicts a love relationship with her husband. She then has a friendship plus with Leopold; and a distant affair (which, according to her explanation, is consensual) with a person who remains unnamed. In addition, she maintains a friendship plus and a play relationship with Gustav, which coincides with Gustav's perception (without the friendship).

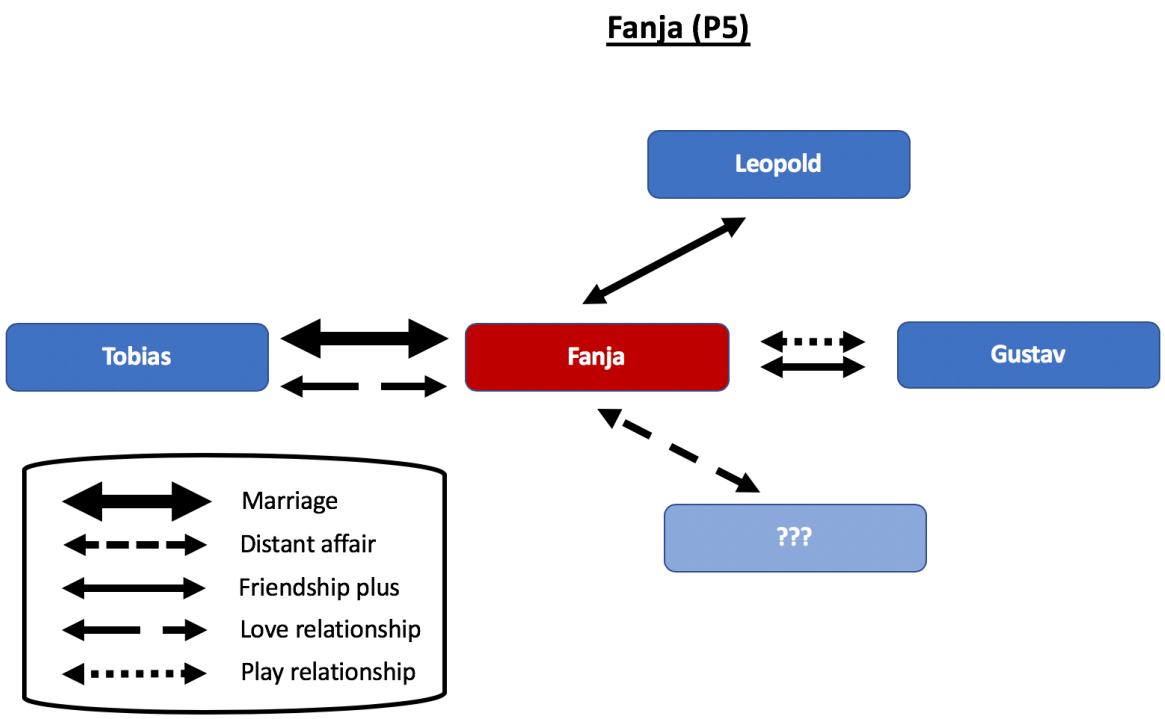


Fig. 14.10: Relationship status drawn by Fanja (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Sixth and last is Leopold: he did not name three of the four individuals he included in his sketch; nor did he use terms such as primary or secondary, but illustrated the intensity of his connection to these four women. The monogamous person was rather new in his life but (at the time) did not mind him seeing others. The connection with Fanja – the only person was named – is strong, which more or less matches Fanja's illustration (in the wording of friendship plus).

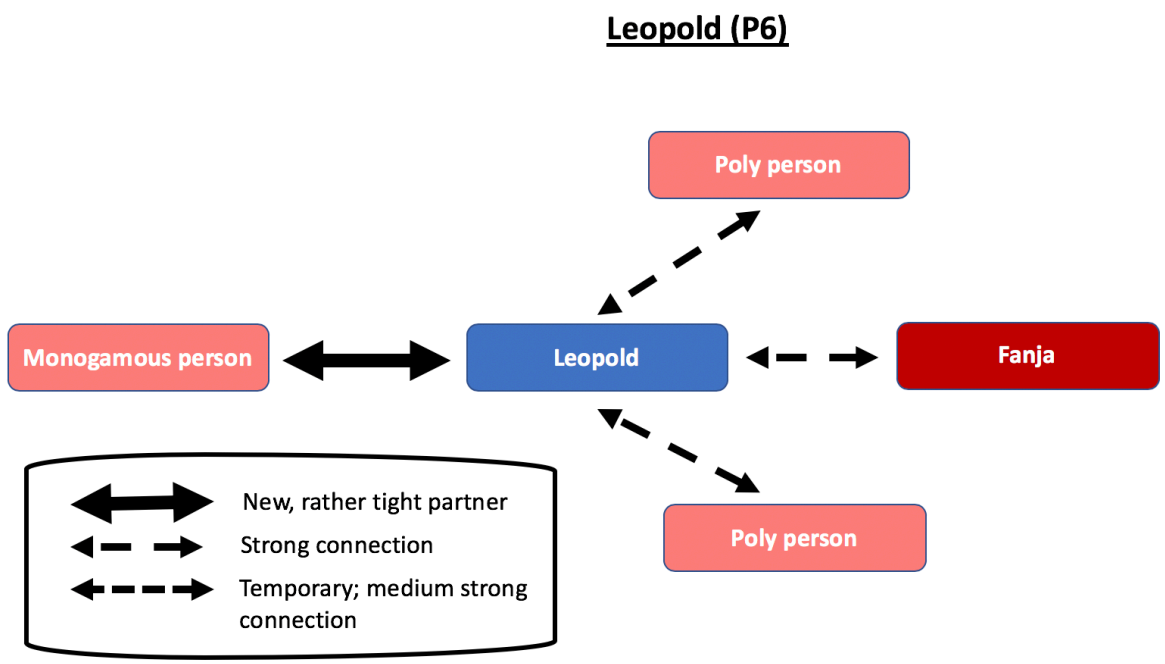


Fig. 14.11: Relationship status drawn by Leopold (standardised and illustrated by the author).

## 14.1 Love and life history

The first research question is the one that differs most from the media analysis in its structure. In the media analysis, the sub-categories were developed from the newspaper articles, and these categories were transferred identically – with minor adaptions and expansions as the chapter will show. So, to answer the research question (**Due to which experiences do individuals identify themselves as polyamorous?**), these cases were identified. In a next step, the answers were not simply taken and counted too see what was named most (in terms of a quantitative approach, which is the first obvious finding of the media analysis)[326], but, following the methodological approach of Kelle and Kluge (2010), used to create types as described in chapter 12.

In the first sub-chapter below, the interviewees' experiences that led to them coming to the interview are described and illustrated by individual quotes. These quotes – as all other quotes – were translated into English by the author, with the original German provided in the footnotes. The rules of transcription as stated in chapter 12.4.4 were not applied for the English translations, except for the "(…)" symbol where parts of a sentence were cut. The second sub-chapter 14.1.b describes and illustrates the resulting types.

### • Experiences leading to a poly life

Following the methodological guidelines, the experiences made by the interviewees were divided into three categories: Experiences made that happened while being in a relationship, experiences made while not being in a relationship, and (a minor point to illustrate that it is not a must and that there are individuals that have not made such experiences), individuals that have not made such experiences. Within the first group, another aspect emerged: for some of the interviewees, it took one or more such experiences to open their relationships, others did not.[327] The following figure illustrates these aggregates:

[326] See Chapter 12 and appendix.

[327] These categories were developed from the material. A similar outcome with a different approach was published by Carlström and Andersson (2019b). They combined two theoretical concepts (Ahmed's phenomenological concept of turning points and lines, and Halberstam's concept of queer time and temporality), and applied them to the results of 22 in-depth interviews in Sweden. What is here described as "experiences" is categorized by the Swedish authors as turning points for the interviewees, not only in their relationships as such, but as having consequences for their entire lives.

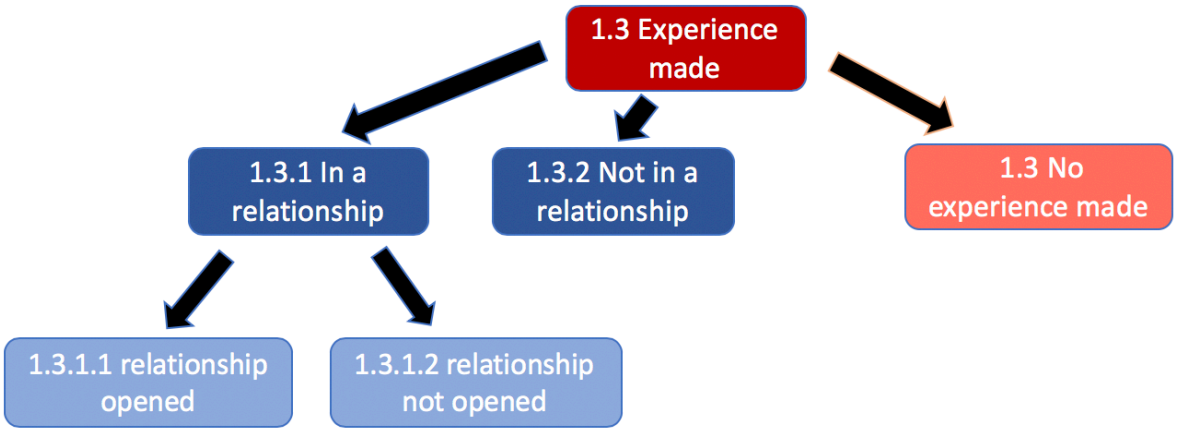


Fig. 14.12: Experiences made in order to be/live/act polyamorous (figure by the author).

From there, these aggregates were grouped and summarized in order to generate types. In a last step, the types were characterised. The types as generated and illustrated in chapter 12 are followed by a description of how those types are understood. One important finding in this regard are the sheer numbers of codes assigned to the experiences: 90 codes were assigned to experiences made while the interviewees were in a relationship, and the vast majority of them were in monogamous relationships (and thus not even in any kind of consensual non-monogamous relationship with a lesser emotional bond than polyamory would require). Agnes's quote is a "classic" on that matter, in that she uses the word "normal" to describe what was then the norm for her: "*When I had my first boyfriend, where everything went normal, I was 18 or 19, it happened after one and a half years that I met someone else, and I fell in love again with someone else. That was such a strange situation that it was formative for me, because I still loved my old boyfriend and wanted to be with him, but at the same time I was so much in love with this new guy and wanted to meet him, and I actually wanted to have both, and it was somehow clear to me that this was not possible*."[328] For Hubert it was not only himself, but him and his wife who fell in love with another person: "*We only had the two of us, indeed. Then we both fell in love with a woman, that was for about a year really a tight triple, it was very exciting*."[329]. These three examples show that it can happen at any given time in a life span, and with all kinds of different

[328] *„Also als ich meinen ersten Freund hatte, wo alles noch ganz normal gelaufen ist, das war so mit 18 oder 19 (nachdenken), da ist es da nach anderthalb Jahren passiert, dass ich jemand anderes kennen gelernt hab und mich verliebt hab in jemand anderes, noch. Und das war eine so seltsame Situation, dass das für mich sehr prägend war, ( mhm (bejahend) ) weil ich eben meinen alten Freund noch geliebt habe und eigentlich auch mit ihm zusammenbleiben wollte (mhm), aber auch gleichzeitig eben so verliebt war in diesen anderen Neuen und den auch treffen wollte, und eigentlich / ja, also eigentlich wollte ich beides haben und mir war irgendwie klar, dass das nicht möglich ist.*" (Int. 003, par. 19).

[329] *„Wir haben uns halt nur gegenseitig gehabt, schon. Dann haben wir uns gemeinsam in eine Frau verliebt, das war dann ein gutes Jahr lang wirklich ein enges Triple, es war sehr spannend.*" (Int. 033, par. 155).

situations – the common element in this category is that all these experiences happened while being in a relationship.

In total, only 8 interviewees (categorized in detail with 26 codes) made experiences that led to switching from monogamy to polyamory while they were not in a relationship. Ludmilla's quote represents those who thought about their previous monogamous relationship after they had ended: "*Well, I had a very long, concrete relationship of 9 years that ended abruptly two years ago. I was monogamous in this relationship, but after a few years I realized that I actually would have liked to have sex with other people as well*." [330] Antonia also rethought monogamy, although not primarily for sexual but rather for ideological reasons. She says: "*I studied law for four years, then I changed disciplines and studied sociology and women's studies. That was when a new world opened up for me. And just through reading, I questioned my heterosexuality, and later also (…) monogamy*."[331] Some of the experiences the interviewees refer to actually happened even before adolescence, as Valerie for instance describes: "*I think a relevant point is that my parents got a divorce when I was about 8, so they split up when I was 8, and that I think caused some sort of disillusion towards getting married and such concepts*. "[332].

Those who had their defining experiences while being in a relationship were further divided into those who opened the relationship, and those who did not. The number of people who did is about the same as the number of people who did not – with latter sooner or later leading to an end of the monogamous relationship. The experiences, although established according to a different methodological realization, were categorized and counted to allow a comparison with the media analysis. The following figure illustrates the experiences by number:

[330] "*Es war so dass ich eine äh sehr lange nämlich neun jährige Beziehung hatte, (.) die vor zwei jähren ah zu Ende gegangen ist und in dieser Beziehung habe ich ähm die war monogam, habe ich nach einigen Jahren ähm gemerkt, dass ich eigentlich gerne auch mit anderen Menschen Sex haben würde*." (Int. 004, par. 15).

[331] "*Ich hab Jus studiert vier Jahre, dann hab ich Studium gewechselt zu Soziologie und Frauenforschung. Und dann hat sich für mich eine neue Welt eröffnet. (Beide lachen) und eigentlich nur durchs lesen hab ich auch meine Heterosexualität in Frage gestellt und dann irgendwann auch die (...) Monogamie*." (Int. 021, par. 22).

[332] "*Ich glaub dass für mich ein relevanter Punkt ist, dass ich meine Eltern scheiden haben lassen, wie ich etwa 8 Jahre alt war, also getrennt haben wie ich 8 Jahre alt war, und des durchaus in mir glaube ich so eine Art (.) Desillusionierung bezüglich, bezüglich heiraten und solche Konzepte verursacht hat*." (Int. 001, par. 24).

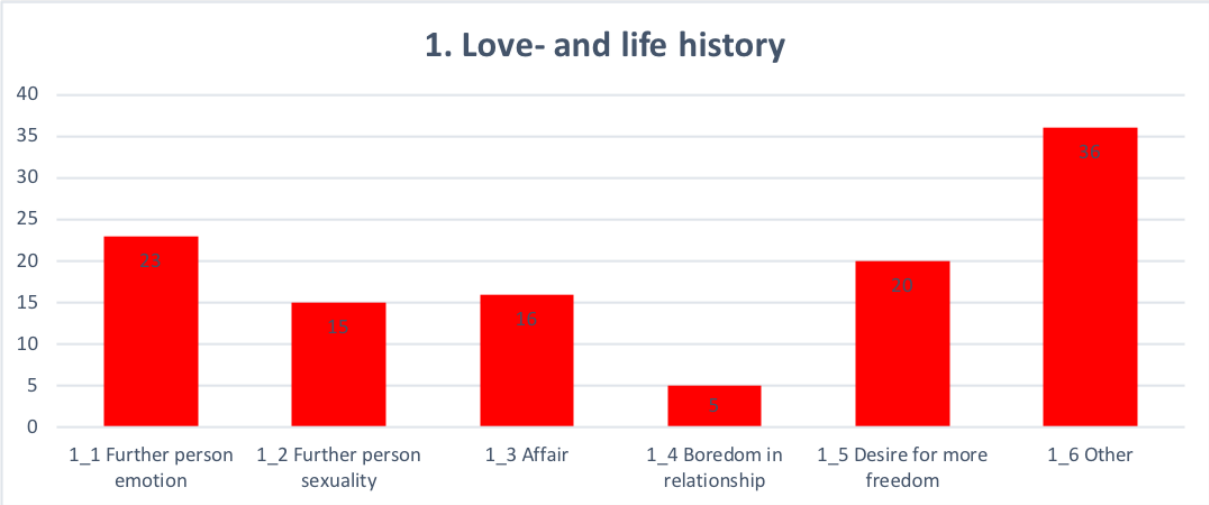


Fig. 14.13: Experiences by subject matter leading to being/living/acting polyamorous (figure by the author).

The biggest sub-category by self-perception are "other" experiences not found in large enough numbers to create separate categories. The ones that were named most were *long-distance relationships*, *own children*, and *the desire for same-sex experiences* of people who, up to that point, lived heterosexual lives (and one person in a long-term same-sex relationship who suddenly felt the desire for a heterosexual experience). Falling in love with another person and the desire for more freedom where the reasons for living a polyamorous relationship most coded, followed by affairs[333], and the urge (or the occasion) to have sex with someone who is not the initial partner. Boredom in relationship was not a big issue.[334]

The last category no experience made was only coded three times, and this because of a direct answer of the interviewees on the matter. In the analysis, however, experiences did come to light – which is why these statements are not represented at this point.

[333] While in the media representation it is mostly secret affairs that turn into relationships, in the self-perception, the majority of experiences started as friends with benefits, tinder dates that became regularities, and/or similar loose sexual contacts where emotion developed over time.

[334] Other studies focussing on the issue of the love and life histories in polyamorous relationships are rare. In one recent publication on sexual desire discrepancy in relationships (mixed methods, 229 participants), polyamory was mentioned as a strategy of putting less pressure on the sexuality within a relationship, as well as an approach of balancing issues around sex. The relevant statements in the findings, however, were more exemplary than conceptualized (Vowels & Mark, 2020, p. 1025).

## • The attempt of creating poly (proto)-types

The second finding of the applied methodological approach is the poly (proto-) types as shown in chapter 12. Shown below once again is the stage model that leads to the creation of the resulting types.

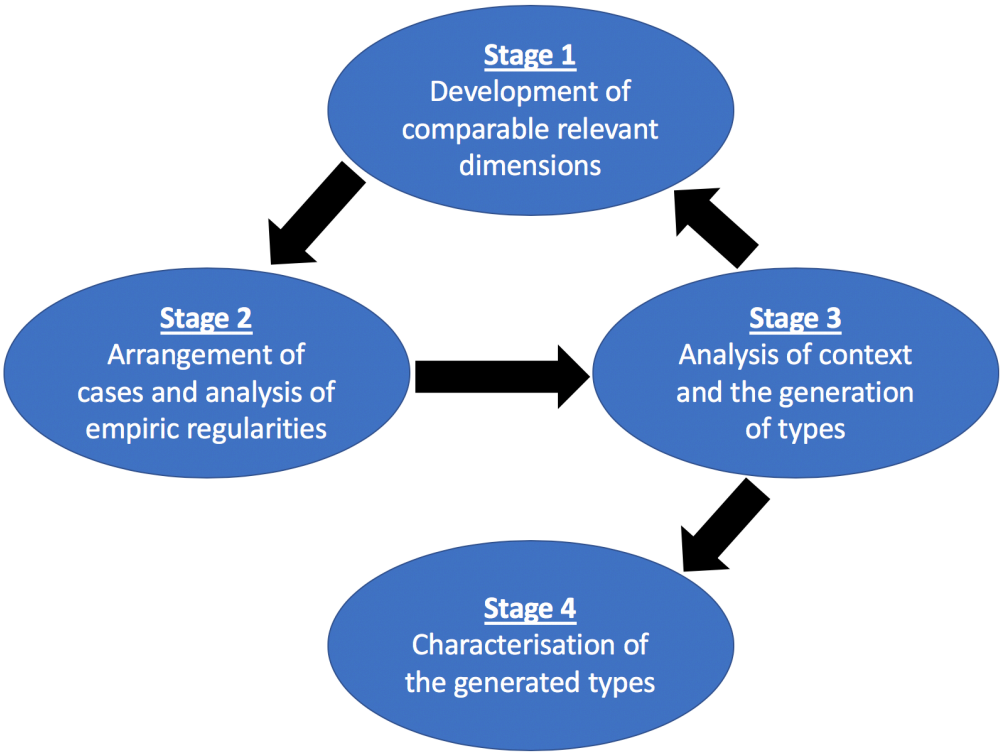


Fig. 14.14: Stage model of empirically based type generation ("*Stufenmodell empirisch begründeter Typenbildung*") by Kelle and Kluge (2010, p. 92) – English version by the author.

Again, I would like to point out that due to the relatively small sample size of 33 persons, the generated types are not representative but indicate prototypes. Furthermore, the generated types presented below don't match in all characteristics but rather have similarities in their characteristics, which according to Kelle and Kluge (2010, p. 105) still allows us to subsume them as *types*. These types read as follows:

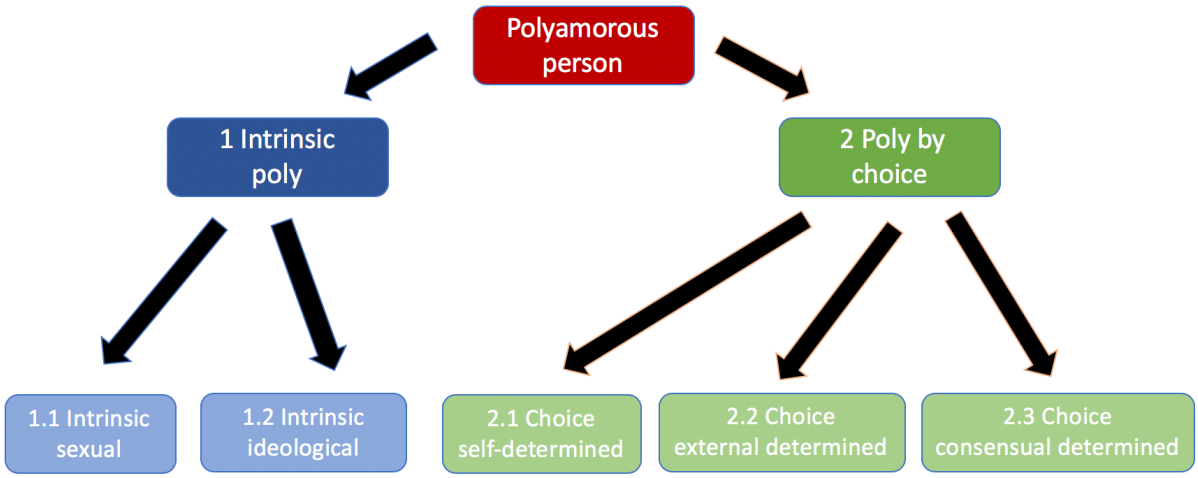


Fig. 14.15: Types of polyamorous characters (figure by the author).

**1 Intrinsic poly**

If we were to describe this generated type in one sentence, a possible explanation is that the desire to be in more than one relationship is inherent in a person and has always been there. Bernie describes his understanding of polyamory in his initial statement, reflecting on his being and living poly: "*Nevertheless, if you say you are poly, or if you have a name for it, or whatever. You live poly, that's the way it is. (…) It is part of it, irrespective of your gender or other things, age, education, never mind. (…) Why we live poly? From my point of view, it has never been different, and now the whole thing has a name more or less*."[335] For a more detailed categorisation following Keller and Kluge's rules, two sub-types were identified:

1.1 Intrinsic poly by sexual desire

The following aspects followed by exemplary statements illustrate what led to this classification directly or through other, content-related similar statements:

[335] *„Egal ob du jetzt offiziell sagst du bist poly, oder ob du da einen Namen dafür hast (I mhm) oder was auch immer. (..) du lebst poly, es ist so. (...) Das gehört dazu und (..) deswegen (.) auch unabhängig vom Geschlecht oder sonst was, Alter, Bildungsstand, Wurscht. (...). Warum wir jetzt da poly leben? Weil es einfach für mich aus meiner Sicht nie anders war, (.) ich nie anders gelebt habe, (.) und (.) jetzt das ganze halt einen Namen hat mehr oder weniger*. (Int. 022, par. 18).

- *The possibility of multiple intimacy*: "*It was simply the wish to have the possibility to experience physical and sexual intimacy with several people*."[336] (Tatjana);
- *The challenge of sexual monogamy* (incidentally, it was not possible to attribute this as a male or female prerogative through the statements in the sample): "*I was married before. But I was never serious with fidelity in my marriage*."[337] (Betti) and "*I would say I am a man, and men usually don't manage to stay faithful to only one woman*."[338] (Heinzi);
- *An urge deeply rooted in human beings*: "*When one starts to think about it, then of course there is immediately the question: Why do I do it? That is, whether it is something in me, something natural, biological in me that works in me and I need to act accordingly, or whether it is all a societal construction, and we simply do it as a alternative model? I came to the conclusion that it is the former, i.e. a biological urge, a so to say natural circumstance that remained, despite civilisation or civilised societies, despite containing this desire or nature, it is still there*."[339] (Agnes).

In general, the type "intrinsic poly by sexual desire" represents an approach to relationship and sexuality with a relatively strong biological slant.

### 1.2 Intrinsic poly by ideology

While the previous category is rather narrow, the ideological one has a somewhat wider range – and this despite fewer codes dedicated to it compared to the former. In detail, the aspects followed by exemplary statements illustrate what led to the classification directly or through other, content-related similar statements:

---

[336] *„Es war halt einfach der äh Wunsch da, mit ähm (.) Menschen ah (nachdenken) mit mehreren Menschen ähm die Möglichkeit zu haben ah körperliche und sexuelle (nachdenken) Intimität zu leben*." (Int. 004, par. 17).

[337] *„Ich war schon verheiratet. Ich habe es aber nie in der Ehe mit der Treue gehabt*." (Int. 028, par. 18).

[338] *„Ich würd sagen ich bin ein Mann und Männer (..) schaffen es meist nicht, dass sie nur einer Frau treu bleiben*." (Int. 032, par. 16).

[339] "*Wenn man dann mal anfängt drüber nachzudenken, dann kommen natürlich auch die Frage sofort: wieso mach ich das denn jetzt eigentlich? Also ist es etwas in mir, (ja?) ist etwas Natürliches, biologisches in mir das halt so arbeitet in mir und ich muss mich dann demnach verhalten oder ist das (.) (nachdenken) ist das alles überhaupt gesellschaftlich konstruiert und wir machen jetzt einfach nur eine Gegenkonstruktion. Und (.) also ich bin zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass es eher ersteres ist, also eher ein biologischer Drang, oder ein., eine, ein, ein, sozusagen (Seufzen) eine natürliche Tatsache, die wir halt noch übrig/ die halt noch übrig geblieben ist (.) trotz Zivilisation oder zivilisierter Gesellschaft (.) trotzdem eindämmen dieses Dranges oder dieser Natur ist es immer noch da*." (Int. 003, par. 25).

- *A characteristic, something substantial*: "*It is what characterises me as a person, which maybe makes me feel comfortable in my world*."[340] (Helga), "*I realised that there is something wrong with my concept of the perfect relationship, in a sense that in reality, it obviously does not align with my life or my character*."[341] (Leopold);
- *The challenge of emotional monogamy*: "*Simply because I kiss another person, this doesn't change my feelings towards the person who has been there before. All it does is make me uncomfortable, because I was brought up like that. Entering into a relationship therefore meant that I agreed to a huge compromise, that I needed to tie myself to this person, which was such a narrowing feeling*."[342] (Marianne);
- *A logical consequence*: "*And so the logical consequence was, ok, if we open it, he should too (…) so leaving my desires and needs. So, I thought OK, I don't stop loving one person just because I love someone else as well*."[343] (Sybille) or simply *logical in itself*: "*I am generally speaking a logical person, and when you think the whole thing through logically from a to z, I don't really have a problem*."[344] (Cristl).

In general, the type "Intrinsic poly by ideology" represents a rational, logical approach to relationships and emotions.

To sum up the category of **Intrinsic poly**: The stage of life when polyamory it is finally practiced, when the coming out (if so, this is not a necessity) happens, can be at any stage of an individual's life. It can occur (deliberately or not) during adolescence, on the road to family, in an existing family while the children live in the household, or even after the children have moved out. It happens to men and women alike, and it cannot be neglected, it is something that cannot be reversed, as Petrus vividly describes: "*So I think this it is not a reversible process. I think, and I agreed with my partner on that, we can bring our relationship back to monogamy, if we want that. Which we don't want*."[345] To be

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[340] "*Was für mich glaub ich als / als Person glaub ich irgendwie (.) ein Charakterzug ist, der dazu vielleicht führt ja? Dass ich mich in der Welt wolfühl.*" (Int. 006, par. 32).

[341] „*(...) bin ich darauf gekommen, (.) dass (.) mit dem Konzept wie ich mir die perfekte Beziehung vorstelle (..) etwas nicht stimmt, in dem Sinn dass es offensichtlich nicht mit meinem Leben oder mit meinem Wesen in Wirklichkeit (.) vereinbar ist.*" (Int. 017, par. 16).

[342] „*Nur weil ich (..) eine weitere Person küsse verändert das ja nicht meine Gefühle zur Person die früher schon da war. (…) es macht mir nur ein schlechtes Gewissen, weil ich so erzogen worden bin. (……..) und (..) eine Beziehung eingehen hat damals für mich geheißen (..) ich geh einen riesigen Kompromiss ein, und ich muss mich jetzt an diese Person so quasi binden. (….) und das war so ganz ein beengendes Gefühl.*" (Int. 030, par. 18).

[343] "*Und dann war für mich der logische Schluss naja wenn wir es öffnen dann soll er auch / also sozusagen von weg von meinen Wünschen und Bedürfnissen, (...) Dass ich mir gedacht hab ok, (.) man hört ja nicht auf eine Person zu lieben nur wenn man auch noch jemand anderen liebt.*" (Int. 011, par. 20).

[344] "*Ich bin (.) generell eher logisch veranlagt und logisch wenn man das Ganze von A bis Z durchdenkt hab ich eigentlich nicht wirklich ein Problem.*" (Int. 015, par. 19).

[345] "*Also ich glaub dass man / ich glaub auch übrigens, dass das kein reversibler Prozess ist. Ich glaub nicht, da*

more precise, the action, the habit, the practice can be stopped for a limited time or for the rest of the life, but the desire will always be there.

**2 Poly by choice**

Vero describes in her statement how "poly by choice" can be understood: "*So for me it is definitely a choice, a very fundamental question. So it is not whether I am poly or not, but this is something that is a very important decision for me, but it still is my decision, not my identity*".[346] On the basis of the common denominator, i. e. that it is a choice, three sub-types were developed.

2.1 Poly by choice – self-determined

The following statements by Hubert illustrate what led to the classification: "*Are you poly or not? No my friend, it is no predisposition, I am not poly, I am not mono, I can life nullo if I must. The question is how good I feel about it, and if I want it, and then it is something I decide. Not a predisposition. Is your predisposition mono or poly? Neither, this approach is ridiculous.*"[347] Other statements in this regard say: *An important decision I made for myself, the result of an inner dialogue, something I did for myself and my life, being honest with myself during that time, we as humans can decide, a swap from mono to poly, relationship reconsidered, something that currently suits my live.* Combining these statements with other data from the entry question and the demographic data shows that there is no pattern as to the stage of a relationship in which the decision by the protagonist was made. It happened while being in a monogamous relationship, in a consensual non-monogamous relationship, or while being single.

Condensing the results in one sentence, *poly by choice self-determined* is understood as a person who decides by themselves out of their own free will to live polyamorous.

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*sind wir uns auch beide einig, wir können diese Beziehung wieder retour führen auf (.) auf eine monogame Beziehung selbst wenn wir es wollten, was wir nicht wollen.*" (Int. 024, par. 18).

[346] "*Also für mich ist es definitiv eine Wahl, also doch eine sehr fundamentale Frage. Also nicht quasi ja bin ich halt poly oder nicht, sondern es ist schon etwas, was a sehr wichtige Entscheidung für mich ist, aber es ist trotzdem meine Entscheidung, es ist nicht meine Identität.*" (Int. 001, par. 34).

[347] *„Bist Du poly oder nicht? Nein Alter, das ist keine Veranlagung, ich bin nicht Poly, ich bin nicht Mono, ich kann auch Nullo leben wenn ich muss, ja". Die Frage ist wie gut es mir damit geht und ob ich das möchte, aber das ist ja immer noch eine Sache die ich entscheide. Nicht eine Veranlagung. Bist Du poly oder mono veranlagt? Na weder noch. (.) Das ist völlig sinnlos."* (Int. 033, par. 143).

2.2 Poly by choice – externally determined

With the previous type, the decision is in the hand of the protagonist. For this type, two different main scenarios were identified. Zacharias's stands symbolically for the former, he says: "*So that was the moment, my partner, it was her idea, she said there must be something else, a different concept. So she she looked for information, and I was mainly confronted with her input. It was really hard in the beginning, like, wow, what are we going to do. How do I feel about it, or rather, can I deal with it at all?*"[348]; Edeltraud describes the challenges of living in a relationship in which the partner took the decision for a polyamorous relationship: "*My share in this polyamorous relationship is the monogamous part, I live it monogamously. The only one, so I am not actively engaging in meeting someone else so to say. Yes. And this is a constant challenge. A constant challenge, a lot of conversations. It is like a roller coaster ride. It is definitely not boring*."[349]

Similar statements can be summed up as *something that happened on the initiative of my partner*, *been told to take it or leave it*, *or a constant challenge that annoys me, something I would like to work*. For a pattern, the first aspect of *externally determined poly by choice* stands for a couple who decide to open their relationship, but where the protagonist is not the one who took the decision but rather their partner who pushed for this idea.

The second scenario is described by Dimitros, who says: "*By now I have a new girlfriend. (…) I told her right from the beginning, that's what it is, I am only available in a non-monogamous version. (…) She agreed to it, although she doesn't aim to have more relationships. She is made in a monogamous mold* (…)."[350] In this case, this causes difficulties, as he adds: "*There are constant problems with this, we regularly have arguments about this*."[351]; Sorona experiences similar difficulties with her current partner: "*And then I've been contacted by someone who said he's is not unattached, actually, he is not single but unattached. I told him not to be mad at me if it stays platonic since I cannot handle this. I*

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[348] "*Also des war der, der Punkt und dann gabs ähm, / und meine Partnerin, (...) des von ihr ausgehend die Überlegung, hey, da muss es was anderes geben, da muss es ein anderes Konzept geben des / und hat dann sich dahingehend informiert und ich bin eigentlich dann maßgeblich über das, was ich von ihr mitbekommen hab, da im (.) (nachdenken) damit konfrontiert gewesen. Und das war für mich zuerst so richtiger Brocken, so, wow, okay, was machen wir? Wie gehts mir damit, oder, kann ich damit überhaupt umgehen?*" (Int. 013, par. 15).

[349] „*Mein Teil (..) an dieser Polybeziehung ist monogam. Ja? Ich lebe (I mhm) / ich lebe es monogam. Der einzige (..) also ich tu aktiv nichts dafür, sag ich jetzt einmal, dass es (..) dass ich da noch jemanden kennen lern. (..) Das ist (..) ja. (..) Und (.) ja. (.) es ist eine Herausforderung ständig. Ständige Herausforderung, viele Gespräche, (.) es ist wie eine Hochschaubahn. (..) und ja. (.) Fad ist mir nicht.*" (Int. 027, par. 18).

[350] „*Ich lebe / ich hab inzwischen eine neue Freundin. (…) Ich hab ihr auch gleich am Anfang gesagt, so schaut es aus bei mir, mich gibt's nur in nicht-monogamer Version. (..) sie hat sich darauf eingelassen, obwohl es ihr kein Bestreben ist mehrere Beziehungen zu führen. Sie ist monogam gestrickt*." (Int. 026, par. 26).

[351] „(...) *hat es immer wieder Probleme damit, das ergibt dann immer wieder Probleme zwischen uns*." (Int. 026, par. 26).

*don't want to be a secondary. And then the guy came around the corner and I fell for him. This was 3.5 month ago, and it is the most difficult time of my life.*"[352]

Summarising the results of the two scenarios in one sentence, <u>*poly by choice externally determined*</u> stands for people whose partners decide to live or are already living in a polyamorous relationship, and the protagonists have to accept this.

<u>2.3 Poly by choice – consensually determined</u>

"*So we both like reading, so we got us some literature. I think we started off with a classic, the ethical slut. And in a way it was an eye opener for us, like, ok, there is a different way of living*."[353] Helga's quote is representative of what consensually determined means for the protagonists: A dialogue between two partners about their monogamous relationship. There are different causes for the transformation to multiple relationships. For Helga it was literature, for Tobias it was attraction in combination with a specific sexual desire his wife had that led to their current polyamorous relationship. He states: "*My wife eventually did indicate that she thinks the whole thing interesting, and that she is interested in this BDSM stuff, and on top of that she had to do with a guy at work who she seemed to be interested in. (…) Well, I sort of told her that it could be, that it might be possible to put it into practice some day, something like that*."[354]

While the above is true for couples who start out with the concept of monogamy, couples who already find themselves in a consensual non-monogamous but less committed relationship, for instance an open relationship, can still be considered as part of this type. Gerald describes how his relationship transformed from open to poly: "*The whole thing actually started much longer ago, because I come from a 13-year relationship that we lived openly (…). In the last years we opened this relationship further and further because there were problems but we still got on well with each other*."[355] While for

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[352] *„Und bin dann (..) irgendwann einmal angeschrieben worden, von jemanden, der mir zu Beginn gesagt hat, er ist / wie? (.) er ist zwar nicht ungebunden, aber / er ist zwar nicht solo aber ungebunden. (...) Ich hab ihm damals geschrieben, er soll mir aber bitte ned böse sein, wenn's was platonisches bleibt, weil ich mit dem Thema nichts anfangen kann. (.) Ich will keine Zweite sein. (...) und der Typ kommt halt einfach ums Eck und es war vorbei mit mir. (...) Also das ist jetzt dreieinhalb Monate her und es ist die schwierigste Zeit meines Lebens*." (Int. 020, par. 18).

[353] "*Also wir sind halt beide (..) große Leser, das heißt wir haben uns dann Literatur besorgt. Ich glaub als allererstes sind wir eh bei einem Klassiker gelandet, the ethical slut ja? (...) Und es war irgendwie so ein / ein Augenöffner irgendwie, für aha (.) man kann anders leben*." (Int. 006, par. 36).

[354] *„Also meine Frau irgendwie dann doch sozusagen erkennen lassen dass sie das irgendwie auch interessant findet und vor allem auch dass sie diese BDSM Geschichten interessant findet und (.) / und außerdem war da / da hat sie grad mit einem Mann beruflich zu tun gehabt, (.) den sie offenbar auch interessant gefunden hat. (..) naja (...) ich dann irgendwie gesagt sie ke/ das kann dann schon auch einmal irgendwie (.) / das ist schon auch möglich, dass einmal zu (….) realisieren irgendsowas.*" (Int. 016, par. 16).

[355] *„Angefangen hat das ganze eigentlich (.) vor/ (.) eigentlich schon viel länger dadurch dass ich jetzt aus einer*

protagonists like Gerald the path from monogamy to polyamory put an end to his relationship at some point, for others it can also be the beginning of a long-lasting relationship, as Julius explains in his interview: "*The whole thing developed quite quickly, changed into an open relationship within a week actually, and then we began to take an interest in polyamory on her initiative*."[356] Similar statements can be summarised as *the logical path we took together, the result of a philosophical process with my partner, something we managed quite well, the process of my partner and me leading to the point of opening our relationship.*

Condensing these findings into two sentences, the category of *consensually determined poly by choice* means a couple decides to transform their current relationship, which can be monogamous or open, into a polyamorous relationship. This decision is taken consensually by both partners.

To sum up the category of **poly by choice**: Living a polyamorous life is a decision. The decision can be made by a protagonist who is single, by an individual from a monogamous relationship or a consensual non-monogamous but "no feelings attached" one, or by consensus between partners. And, in contrast to the previous category of *intrinsic poly*, it is a decision that can be reversed when the situation in life changes.

Summing up in order to answer the first overall research question (**Due to which experiences do individuals identify themselves as polyamorous?**), a simple listing of reasons would fall short of illustrating the comprehensive and detailed statements from the interviews. Therefore, the answer to the research question relates to the identified characters[357]:

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*dreizehn Jahre langen Beziehung komme, wir aber eigentlich eine offene Beziehung geführt haben (...) die letzten Jahre eigentlich immer mehr geöffnet haben die Beziehung, weil es so eh nimma gut gelaufen ist aber wir uns trotzdem noch gut verstanden haben*. (Int. 007, par. 19).

[356] "*Das hat sich dann sehr schnell sehr heftig eigentlich entwickelt, (.) vor allem sehr schnell umdefiniert zur offenen Beziehung, eigentlich innerhalb von einer Woche würde ich sagen, und dann eigentlich gemeinsam angefangen, von ihr angestoßen, für Polyamorie zu interessieren*." (Int. 014, par. 16).

[357] Other studies on this topic give a slightly similar but less detailed description, e. g. M. Barker (2005, p. 83). They summarized statements of interviews by what their interview partners described as "something I (naturally) am" vs. "something I (choose to) do", relating it to either one's identity or something people choose. They did then give interview samples on this issue in the text, but they failed to take it any further than the challenge of understanding sexuality as an identity, nor did they come back to the question in their conclusion.

**Some polyamorous people act intrinsically. The experiences made that led to the decision to live relationships in this manner is either based on the need, the demand, the necessity to be intimate with more than one person** – under the precondition that emotions (love) are allowed, desired, welcomed or required; or it is an ideological necessity: There was always love for more than one person, monogamy was the societal norm that people try to live up to, but it has always felt wrong to some extent. The lived poly practice can be suspended, but the desire for this practice cannot be abandoned. Experiences are triggers but not the underlying cause.

**Other people choose at some stage in their lives to live polyamorous**. This decision can be made **by the persons themselves, with a partner in some kind of a dialogue, or externally determined by one or more partners**; and the decision is reversible, the return to mono-normative structures for a limited amount of time or indefinitely is possible. Experiences are triggers and cause alike.

## 14.2 Classification

The first issue that can directly be compared to the media analysis is the question of the classification of polyamory. The codes shown in the figure below cover two aspects: The actual answers to the question by the interviewees as well as the attribution of how they described their way of living polyamorous relationships.

### • Identity, intimate practice, sexual orientation, or something else?

After the surprising finding in the media analysis that *multiple emotional relationships (i.e. love)* is the attribution of polyamory that occurs most often, the following sub-chapter will show whether this result is also reflected in the self-attribution. Below I will discuss the number of codes assigned to the self-classification of polyamory by the interviewees, followed by the analytical interpretation:

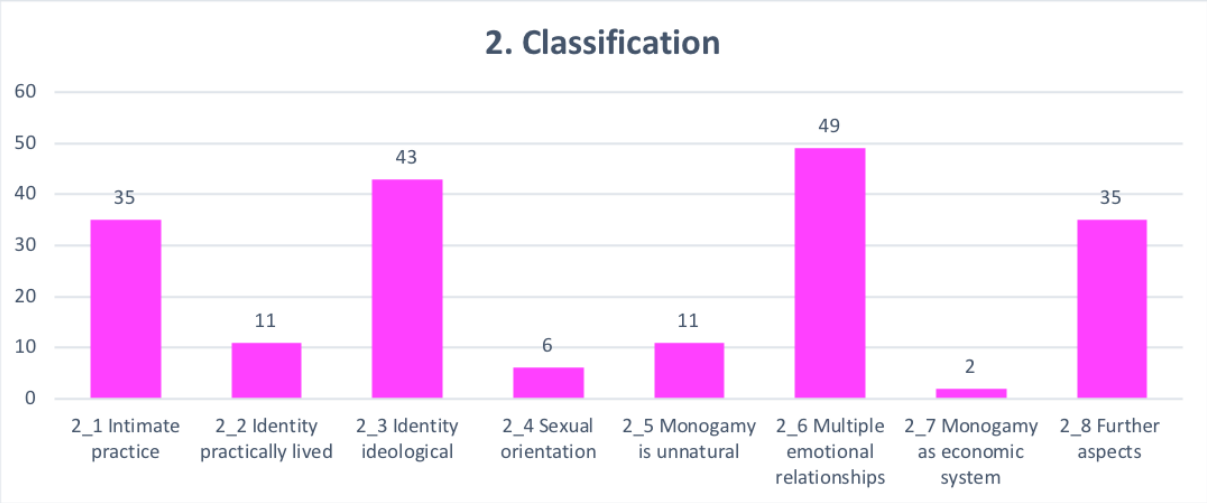


Fig. 14.16: Number of codes assigned to the classification of polyamory (figure by the author).

By sheer number, multiple emotional relationships as well as polyamory as a form of ideological identity are leading the field, and give a clear indication of how polyamory is understood: Fist of all, it is something emotional, something that involves love, something that confers an identity through its ideology.

In detail: "*I definitely have more emotional relationships and it is not only a sexual thing,*"[358] is Theodora's answer to the question of what polyamory means to her. Fanja says straightforward that "*Polyamory is, for me, the state when I love more than one person, or when the partner loves more than one person*."[359] That these emotional bonds don't necessarily need to be equally tight is described by Heinzi: "*So I think, it is absolutely possible to love more than one person. Maybe in a different intensity or in a different form, but in my opinion, it is possible to love more than one person, also more than one woman*."[360]; Bernie is stricter on this issue. He starts with a critique of predominately male members of the community who call themselves polyamorous only to have an excuse to "*colourful sleeping around*" within their open relationships, and then gives his statement of his understanding of the word: "*This is why you should take the word as it is, it is not called polyamory for nothing. It is multiple love. And this is why everybody needs to be honest to themselves. Do I really, completely have the emotions so I can call it some kind of love? Can I really say that?*"[361] Hubert is less ideological and

[358] *„Ich hab (.) definitiv mehr emotionale Beziehungen und es ist nicht nur ein sexuelles Ding*." (Int. 025, par. 46).

[359] *„Polyamorie ist, für mich, der Zustand, wenn ich mehrere Liebe, oder auch wenn der Partner mehrere liebt*." (Int. 012, par. 22).

[360] *„Also ich glaub (…) es ist durchaus möglich mehrere Menschen zu lieben. Vielleicht in einer anderen Intensität oder in einer anderen Form, aber es ist nach meiner Ansicht direkt / also sicher möglich, dass man mehrere Menschen liebt, auch mehrere Frauen*." (Int. 032, par. 18).

[361] *„Deswegen wär / sollst das Wort so nehmen wie es ist, es heißt ja nicht umsonst Polyamorie. Es ist Vielliebe. Und deswegen, da Muss wirklich jeder für sich ehrlich sein. Hab ich wirklich komplett die Gefühle, dass ich sage es ist eine Art von liebe? Kann ich das wirklich sagen?"* (Int. 022, par. 36).

more intrinsically convinced regarding this issue – he says: "*What I would like to say is that it comes with a lot of emotions. Not because I need to believe this, because I am ideological about it, but because the attraction is real and honest. Only that is it not an erotic one in the strict sense*."[362] To sum up, despite different interpretations, meanings or priorities, understanding polyamory as a multiple emotional relationship is the attribution which most of the interviewees identified themselves with – 25 out of the 33 interviewees made at least one statement in which they referred to the word polyamory in its Latin origin of *many loves*.

"*For me it is not about loving more than one person or necessarily having more than one partner, or to absolutely having to have sex with more than one person, it is about what lies beyond, and I think it is about being authentic with oneself or with others, and honest with oneself and others.*"[363] This is Ludmilla's definition of polyamory, and it perfectly sums up the understanding of polyamory as identity, as something ideological, something meaningful that determines, that constitutes a person.[364] Helmut's approach is similar, he uses the term *moral concept* to describe what polyamory means to him: "*For me, the confrontation with polyamory is primarily one with myself. This means I confront myself with my person, my emotions, my needs, my lust, my desire, and also with my unconscious traumata from my childhood or my teenage days*."[365] The statements of other interviewees are similar in content; attributions such as *attitude, position, belief, mentality*, and *approach* are used in reflections on their own being and doing with regard to their relationships. In addition, Helga makes a remarkable statement, as she does not reflect on her personal life but rather addresses the social and legal impact of a categorisation: "*However, there is always the question, how much does one want to force identity politics and therefore also legally protecting this form of relationship? In this case, it is obviously a better strategy to position it as sexual orientation, isn't it?*"[366] The last aspect to be

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[362] *„Ich möchte schon sagen, es ist schon mit sehr sehr viel Gefühl behaftet. Es ist nicht weil ich das muss, weil ich das ideologisch glaube, sondern die Anziehung ist schon echt und ehrlich. (..) Nur ist es jetzt keine Erotische in dem Sinn*." (Int. 033, par. 58).

[363] *„Mir geht's auch nicht so sehr um das mehrere Menschen zu lieben oder unbedingt mehr wie einen Partner, Partnerin zu haben, oder unbedingt mehr / mit mehr wie einer Person sexuell sein zu können sondern es geht um das was da dahinter ist und ich find es geht um das, dass man (..) authentisch mit sich selbst oder mit anderen sein kann und ehrlich mit sich selbst und mit anderen sein kann*." (Int. 005, par. 40).

[364] Comparable studies on polyamory as a form of identity could not be found. In the somehow related field of BDSM research, Bauer (2016) published on identities and practices of marginalized positions within the BDSM community. His setting was similar, he conducted 49 semi-structured interviews with involved people, of which some declared to live non-monogamous.

[365] *„Es geht mir bei / bei der Auseinandersetzung mit der Polyamorie vor allem um eine Auseinandersetzung mit mir selbst. (I ok) (.) das heißt (.) ich (.) setz mich mit mir, mit meinen Emotionen, mit meinen Bedürfnissen (.) mit meiner Lust, mit meinem Verlangen, (…) und auch mit (..) unterbewussten (.) Traumata aus der Kindheit oder der Jugend auseinander*." (Int. 009, par. 35).

[366] *„Wobei natürlich dann immer die Frage ist inwiefern / wie / wie sehr will man Identitätspolitik betreiben und diese Form von Beziehungen auch (.) rechtlich absichern, ja? Dann ist es natürlich irgendwie (.) sag einmal strategisch günstiger das als sexuelle Orientierung zu positionieren ja?*" (Int. 006, par. 44).

mentioned is that its categorisation as an identity means that for some interviewees, it is not necessarily about the number of partners[367], as Dimitros illustrates in his answer on the issue: "*Even when I cross the street all by myself, I am poly, or I consider myself poly*."[368]

While a classification of emotions and ideology can at times get blurry at the edges, the classification on intimate practice is more straightforward – at first sight. However, taking a closer look it is not as straightforward as one might assume: only 14 out of the 35 codes dedicated to the category *intimate practice* did contain the term *sex*; other paraphrases such as *living it up, intensive affair, intimacy, having fun together*, *actions in bed*, and the like are also used. A further remarkable aspect is the term "*Spielbeziehung*" (which literally translates as "*play relationship*") used by most of the participants of the largest polycule that participated in the interview – their relation with each other stood out from the others in terms of their BDSM practice, which had a significant influence, if it was not (amongst other reasons) the cause for a polyamorous life. One major point that differs from the two previous attributions is that the categorization was not done by the interviewees themselves, but in the analysis, with most quotes taken from the first, narrative part of the interview, and thus before any further inquiry questions. One of the few direct answers came from Petrus, with a definition that describes intimate practice as well as identity: "*I think I would not say it is a sexual orientation, because for me it is not about sex. That would mean sexual orientation for me. Intimate practice it could be. Of course, it has two levels. The one is what I think and so on, and the one is how I act, so it probably can be both*."[369]

The fact that, even within a relationship, the understanding of polyamory can vary between two partners is demonstrated by Chiara, when she recalls a conversation she had with her husband: "*I fall in love more or less regularly, and neither are you really monogamous, so if we want to somehow sort it out and grow old together, we need a plan*."[370]

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[367] In this aspect the findings differ from studies with a similar research concept. In his methods chapter, Maliepaard (2020), who conducted 31 interviews with bisexual individuals in Rotterdam and Amsterdam (The Netherlands), defines individual sexual identity as something linked to the partner. The dominant norm is compulsory monogamy or compulsory coupledom; therefore, polyamory is excluded.

[368] *„Auch wenn ich alleine über die Straße gehe bin ich poly. (..) oder fühle ich mich poly.*" (Int. 26, par. 34).

[369] *„Ich würd es glaub ich nicht sagen dass es eine sexuelle Orientierung ist, weil es eben nicht um Sex geht. Also das ist / würd für mich sexuelle Orientierung heißen. (..) intime Praxis (..) kann schon auch sein. Natürlich, weil es hat ja zwei Ebenen. Das eine ist ja das was ich denk und so weiter, und das andere ist wie ich handle, also kann's wahrscheinlich wohl beides sein.*" (Int. 024, par. 30).

[370] *„Ich verlieb mich, mehr oder weniger regelmäßig, du bist auch ned so wirklich monogam, und wenn wir das ganz jetzt irgendwie zusammen kriegen wollen und des/ die Grundprämisse des gemeinsamen Alterns leben wollen, dann sollten wir uns was Überlegen.*" (Int. 008, par. 19).

The categories polyamory as *practically lived identity* and *monogamy as something unnatural* only got 11 codes each. The discrepancy to the much higher number of codes in the media analysis on practically lived identity results less from different accounts in media representation and self-perception than that it lies in the nature of the newspaper medium: print media exist on the stories they tell, very often illustrated by individuals who live like that. In the interview, no questions on the day-to-day life in a polyamorous relationship were asked. The quotes on monogamy as something unnatural pretty similar as regard their content. Eros, who is an academic himself, made the following statement, which is also somewhat self-deprecating: "*From a biological perspective it makes no sense. Going down this road is dangerous as it compares biology with our society, but… it fits my system of beliefs, and that is why I can say it*. "[371]

Even fewer codes were dedicated to polyamory as sexual orientation, thus completely matching the findings from the media analysis. Among the relatively small number of five interviewees, none was absolutely convinced of this categorization; Marianne makes clear what she thinks of such classifications in general: "*I believe that we do need these categories now, only to not give a fuck about them in a few decades*."[372] Monogamy as economic system was described by only one person, Heinzi, at 65 the oldest participant. He said: "*I managed 23 years in my first marriage, and I honestly have to say I was rather long-suffering. I should have quit earlier, but there were the kids (…). When there is nothing but fighting, or when it is hate-based, or when people are stuck with each other for material or other reasons, then it truly does not make sense*".[373]

The category further aspects matches the range of attributions shown in chapter 2 as used in newspaper articles to a high degree. The terms or synonyms used were (in order of appearance): "*Rebellion against the norm; deviance; a part of queer; experimenting; societal phenomenon; form of relationship, a relationship structure, phenomenon; delimitation to monogamy; relationship construct; concept of life; different way of life; compensation by someone else; relationship-explaining-construct; a committed relationship with a partnership; something political, a fight, an equal thing; the philosophy*

[371] *„Das ist auch, biologisch gesehen macht es keinen Sinn. Also wenn man die Karte spielt, es immer gefährlich, weil (..) über Biologie mit unserer Gesellschaft zu vergleichen, aber (..) da passt es mir ganz gut grad rein und dann darf ich das (lacht)*." (Int. 029, par. 28).

[372] *„Ich glaub, dass man aber diese Kategorisierung aber jetzt brauchen, damit es in ein paar Jahrzehnten scheißegal ist*." (Int. 30, par. 30.)

[373] *„Ich hab es in der ersten Ehe 23 Jahre ausgehalten und muss ehrlich sagen es war auch sehr leidensfähig, ja? (.) Ich hätte da schon viel früher wahrscheinlich beenden sollen, aber da waren halt Kinder da (...). wenn es nur streiten ist, oder nur mehr Hass drinnen ist, und man nur mehr aus materiellen Gründen oder diversen aneinander festhängt, dann ist das wirklich sinnlos*." (Int. 032, par. 36).

*of the possibility to love more than one person; lifestyle; relationship cluster; model;* and a *necessity to save the world*.[374]

To conclude: Categorizing polyamory is a difficult, broad, at times not selective task – not only for the interviewees themselves, but also for the analysis. Even within a single interview, people provided more than one definition; in other interviews, there was a mismatch between what the respondent said in the interview about what polyamory means to them, and how this content was interpreted and coded. In summary, the answers reflect what the media analysis has already shown: There is no one way of classifying polyamory, it can be a lot of things – except for a sexual orientation.

### • Part of the LGBT community

"*I do consider myself as part of the LGBT community, but I think that the community does not consider me as much part of it, as I do toward them*."[375] Sybille's answer is one of the few that is in favour of the idea of being part of the community, the majority of the answers to the question "*Do you consider yourself as part of the LGBT community*[376]*, or as member of an extended LGBTIQ acronym?*" paint a different picture: "*No. Definitely no. Especially since I was in the LGBT scene before. Poly is not involved there at all, it is simply a different way of living isn't it?*"[377] (Sorona); "*I will definitely not allow anyone to squeeze me into any pattern, or become a member of a scene, I mean, that's just the same as with the church*."[378] (Heinzi); "*Short and sweet: No*."[379] (Betti). With regard to the introduction to the chapter, the following statement by Antonia looks at the matter from the LGBT side: "*I know a lot of very conservative gay and lesbian people. They usually want to live in traditional relationships or in a gay marriage, they want to adapt to the hetero norm. Or to have everything in order as couple. I think*

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[374] In it's German original: *„Rebellion gegen das Normale; Devianz; ein Teil von queer; experimentieren; gesellschaftliches Phänomen; Beziehungsform, eine Form von Beziehungsgestaltung; Phänomen; Abgrenzung zur Monogamie; Beziehungskonstrukt; Lebenskonzept; eine andere Lebensform; irgendetwas kompensieren durch wen anderen; Beziehungserklärungskonstrukt; eine gebundene Beziehung mit einer Partnerschaft; etwas politisches, ein Kampf, eine gleichberechtigte Geschichte; die Philosophie über die Möglichkeit, mehr als einen Menschen zu lieben; Lifestyle; Beziehungsgeflecht; Modell; Notwendigkeit, um die Welt zu retten ."*

[375] *„Ich seh mich schon als Teil der LGBT Community, ich glaub aber dass die LGBT Community mich nicht als Teil so stark wahrnimmt wie ich mich als Teil dessen wahrnehme*." (Int. 011, par. 22).

[376] The term LGBT community is widely used, but does not always apply. Gössl (2014, pp. 181-183) for example describes distance and ignorance of lesbian female networks towards gay men, who for their part then are irritated about that situation.

[377] *„Nein. //ok// definitiv nein, na. Vor allem weil ich vorher in der LGBT Szene war. (.) Poly ist ja da drinnen überhaupt nicht, Poly ist einfach eine andere (.) Lebensform, ja?"* (Int. 020, par. 24).

[378] *„Ich lass mir da sicher nicht in irgendein Schema pressen oder zu irgendeiner Szene dazugehören, ich mein das ist ja schon wieder das gleiche wie das mit der Kirche*." (Int. 032, par. 20).

[379] *„Kurz und bündig nein*." (Int. 028, par. 36).

*that there are quite a few who don't share the idea of polyamory that several people can be involved in a relationship*."[380] Somewhat similar answers were given by several respondents.[381]

From a heterosexual perspective (Julian described himself in the demographic questionnaire as *hetero/heteroflexible*), the attitude towards the topic looks as follows: "*I am a bit torn on that, on the one hand, LGBT is strongly defined as non-heterosexual, therefore it primarily is not about polyamory*."[382]; Tobias refers to the suppression of the LGBT community, which he as a hetero-poly does not experience: "*So for me it is a question of respect towards these sexual minorities who paid a high price, or still do in some parts of the world. Considering that, I have the impression, directly compared, that there is not really a problem*."[383] This perspective is taken up by individuals who claimed a same-sex or bi-sexual orientation who would tend to feel they are part of this group due to their non-heteronormative sexual orientation[384]. Gerald even extends the question of "being part of it" to BDSM activities: "*Yes and no, there are some who are kinky, others who are not. Some bisexual, so I think you cannot categorise poly even further, in terms of all kinks are poly, or one is not allowed to be hetero to be polyamorous or whatever. I believe there are polyamorous relationships and monogamous relationships in every group*."[385]

Two final side notes: First, in order to be part of something, the relevant circumstances may be necessary, which in the context of polyamory are further partners. As shown in the previous chapter, the statement of Dimitros (who says he feels poly even when he crosses the street all by himself) illustrates that this does not apply to everyone. Antonia for example feels the situation to be different:

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[380] *„Ich kenn halt auch sehr viele sehr konventionelle konservative (.) schwullesbische Personen. Sind das meistens dann. (.) die (.) jetzt auch sehr klassische Beziehungen leben wollen oder auch mit der Homoehe ja eigentlich sich total an die Heteronorm angleichen wollen ja? Oder alles schön geordnet wiederum in Zweierpärchen sich sortieren. Und ich glaub dass da einige nicht so viel übrig haben (.) für die Idee der Polyamorie und dass da mehrere dabei sein wollen in einer Beziehung."* (Int. 021, par. 30).

[381] This finding clashes with Compton (2020) which might be due to the fact that it relates to the US Midwest rather than to liberal urban centers. He refers to social stigmatization not only against same-sex relationships, but also against other non-normative sexual identities such as heterosexual relationships with significant age discrepancies, and polyamory (Compton, 2020, pp. 1013, 1021).

[382] *„Ich bin ein bisschen hin und her gerissen, einerseits ist LGBT schon sehr stark als (.) nicht heterosexuell definiert, dementsprechend hat's mit Polyamorie primär nicht sonderlich viel zu tun.*" (Int. 014, par. 34).

[383] *„Also für mich ist das ja nicht zuletzt auch eine Frage von Respekt gegenüber den / denjenigen (.) sexuellen Minderheiten, die tatsächlich (..) einfach einen hohen Preis gezahlt haben, oder auch das (.) in vielen Teilen der Welt das ja immer noch so ist. (...) Und (.) im Vergleich dazu hab ich halt irgendwie den Eindruck naja es ist halt irgendwie im Vergleich so / da gibts jetzt nicht wirklich ein Problem.*" (Int. 016, par. 20).

[384] None of the 33 interview partners described him/herself as *trans*, which is why (according to minority rights as stated in the chapter on legal acceptance) the term *sexual orientation*, but not *identity* is used.

[385] *Ja und nein also es gibt welche die Kinky sind, welche die nicht Kinky sind, welche die (schnauft) (..) nur hetero sind, manche bi, also ich glaub das man das poly jetzt nicht (.) weiter kategorisieren kann, ok die Kinkies sind alle poly oder (..) man (.) darf nicht hetero sein um poly zu sein oder was auch immer. Ich glaub in jedem Bereich gibt es Polybeziehungen und (.) monogame Beziehungen.*" (Int. 007, par. 31).

"*I am now, where I would define myself, a poly single, although I don't even know whether this term exists, or if it is a contradiction in terms. I have nothing to show. No two partners at my side, however many, but absolutely no one. So for me, it is more an intellectual approach or an attitude*."[386]
And secondly, some people did not care whether they have a share in the LGBT community. When looking at the answers of these individuals in detail, it seems that they spend so much time and energy in managing their multiple relationships that they have not worried much about whether they need a "bigger" ideological home beyond the poly community. Some also simply don't care, as Karin demonstrates ("*But for me it is not really relevant whether I am member of the community or not.*")[387]; Carlos shares this opinion and also gives his reason: "*For me personally it is not important. Because I am no politician, I don't have to propagate something, no message, no nothing, because everyone should be happy the way they want. And can*."[388]

With regard to the second research question (**Do poly people understand themselves as part of an expanded LGBT acronym?**), the answer is straightforward: Polyamorous individuals understand their way of living as emotional relationships, as some form of identity, and also as an intimate practice. The margins between these categories are occasionally blurry, but they clearly do not understand polyamory as a sexual orientation. Furthermore, when they consider themselves as being part of the LGBT community, then more due to non-hetero-normative ways of living than to being poly. To answer the question in one sentence: **No, the majority of poly people do not understand themselves as being part of an extended LGBT acronym**.

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[386] *„Ich bin ja (.) jetzt auch / wo ich mich definieren würde als poly Single, obwohl ich gar nicht weiß ob es den Ausdruck gibt oder ob sich das nicht widerspricht. Hab ich ja nichts vorzuweisen ja? Ich hab keine zwei Partner, Partnerinnen an meiner Seite, wieviel auch immer, sondern überhaupt niemanden. Also ich / für mich ist es auch jetzt mehr (.) nur ein / gedanklicher Zugang oder eine Haltung*." (Int. 021, par. 42).

[387] *„Aber es ist für mich nicht wirklich von Bedeutung ob ich zu der Community dazugehöre oder nicht*." (Int. 023, par. 24).

[388] *„Mir persönlich ist das auch nicht wichtig ja? Weil ich bin kein (.) bin kein Politiker und ich muss da nichts verbreiten, keine Botschaft und kein gar nix, weil jeder soll so glücklich werden wie er will. Und kann*." (Int. 019, par. 34).

## 14.3 Social acceptance

The third topic is about the social acceptance of their poly relationships. The four options (Family/Friends/Workplace/Wider society) have been directly posed in order to get an answer on each aspect.[389] Those aspects are rather evenly distributed by number, with the matter of social acceptance by their families slightly taking the lead. Furthermore, the amount of assigned codes indicates that it is an important issue for the interviewees.

Fig. 14.17: Number of codes assigned to social acceptance of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

The range of answers with regard to acceptance within the family is extensive, from none all the way to "everyone knows". In detail: About a third of the interviewees have not come out themselves with their parents; if anyone of these people have told anyone in the family about their way of living, it is usually the one they have the closest bond with, which is mostly a sister or a brother. An important aspect in this regard is the quality of the relationship – Ludmilla for example illustrates what a bad relationship to parents can lead to: *"I would find it quite cool if one could get divorced from one's parents: I know several people who nearly got cast out by their families, or had similar extreme experiences, and there has really been a complete cut."*[390]

[389] There are no similar studies that focus on exactly these four aspects. One similar study conducted in Portugal, for which the rather high number of 609 people participated online, had a similar goal: identifying attitudes towards polyamory. The studied aspects were quite different though, for example *polyamory as something harmful for children; the long-term success of poly relationships; legal rights similar to married couples; polyamory as way of cheating without consequence; own children playing with children whose parents live in polyamorous relationships*; and *the spreading of sexually transmitted diseases by poly relationships* (Cardoso et al., 2020, p. 123).

[390] *„Ich find es zum Beispiel / fänd ich es extrem cool wenn man sich von seinen Eltern scheiden lassen könnte. (Beide lachen) (I ok) weil/ ja kenn ich zum Beispiel wirklich mehrere Leute, die was fast schon (.) von Ihrer Familie verstoßen worden sind oder so extreme Erfahrungen macht und da hats eigentlich wirklich einen Cut gegeben (...)"* (Int. 005, par. 44).

Correlations exist between sexual orientation and being out within the family – a sexual orientation coming out in terms of not being hetero-normative is more likely to lead to coming out regarding multiple relationships as well. Coming out in the other generational direction (not towards the parents but towards one's children) was only mentioned by one person, although 9 out of the 33 respondents have children – this may be related to age, since all nine share a household with underage children. The exact age of the children has not been collected. Another interesting aspect is the fact that 3 people explicitly mentioned that they came out to their mothers without mentioning the father. There was no further inquiry whether in these cases the relationship to the mother is closer than that to the father, or whether the parents are not living together any more. Due to the relatively large number of interviewees who mention some kind of kink tendency or practice, the following quote gives an insight into how these aspects can be combined when coming out: "*(…) what I see is that there are parallels of coming out as polyamorous and kink. Or trans outings or so. I for instance consider it important, also for others, that I come out as polyamory-open and poly-capable, and even more so as kinky*."[391] In this quote, another interesting aspect is the use the terms "*poly-open*" and "*poly-capable*"; the latter was not by any other respondent.

In terms of the judgment on polyamorous relationships by family members, the range is broad as well: it went all the way from parents/family members opposing or not approving this choice to the (rare) case of ignoring it completely, to their being supportive. A striking example of the latter are the members of one polycule who go to family gatherings with their two partners. One aspect widely neglected in polyamory research are people who consider themselves poly but who are not in relationships with anyone, or not to such a degree that they would call the people they meet partners – or people who realize that they would like to have more than one partnership but have none. As Antonia puts it: "*I rarely had a long relationship where I could say 20 years and look, this is my relationship, my one and only. For me relationship is very important, but of short duration. And that's what makes coming out difficult, if you have no one to show*."[392]

With regard to <u>friends</u>, about half of the interviewees differentiated between good or close and less close friends – and when they did, only good friends knew the story. Those who did not differentiate

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[391] *„(...) was ich schon finde ist, dass ich / es ist eher so, dass ich beim Kink und bei der Polyamorie Parallelen sehe zu Homosexuellenoutings. Also ich (.) oder auch Trans (.) Outings, oder so. Also ich empfinde es als wichtig, auch für andere, dass ich mich als polyamorie-offen (.) oder polyamoriefähig und vor allem als kinky oute*." (Int. 012, par. 32).

[392] *„Also ich hab selten eine ganz lange Beziehung gehabt wo ich sagen könnte 20 Jahre und schaut her, da / das ist meine Beziehung, das ein und alles. Also für mich war (.) Beziehung zwar schon immer sehr wichtig, aber (.) von kurzer Dauer. Deswegen (.) gab da irgendwie / und das macht es auch schwerer, das outen ja? Wenn man niemanden hat da zum zeigen ja?"* (Int. 021, par. 42).

and spoke about friends in general got reactions that were not exclusively positive – with reactions from "cannot work" to "would not work for me". Here we can see a tendency of friends feeling threatened in their own monogamous lifestyles. Two individuals had not told their friends at all. With the ones who got positive feedback from their close friends, deeper and longer discussions of how relationships can work ensued; and for one person, it led to their friend coming out about a non-monogamous relationship model as well. Julian said: "*One of my best friends said immediately, yes, yes, I also have an alternative relationship model. That was a real surprise for me, and actually it was very nice.* "[393]

Another fact than can be related to the first question on love and life history – those with supportive friends occasionally got to hear that it did not come as a surprise and that an alternative approach to living and practicing relationships had only been a matter of time. To sum it up, from not telling to even (so-called) close friends to absolute transparency with a "take-it-or-leave-it" approach, everything was found in the interviews.

A coming out at the workplace is rarer than coming out to family and friends[394], and this is due to various reasons: One reason is that some interviewees strictly separate between workplace and private life, and therefore don't speak about their private lives (and also do not take more than one partner to business events like Christmas parties for example). Those who do share private matters at their workplace[395], a correlation between income and position and coming out became visible: The higher the income, the better the position within a company, the more people are in a hierarchical structure below the interviewee, the less likely it is that someone comes out at the workplace. Furthermore, and without this coming as a surprise, there is a connection between the business and the degree of openness at the workplace: When an employer is more traditional or conservative, coming out is less likely. A possible prejudice the interviewees were afraid of is that the colleagues correlate or judge the quality of their work on the basis of their way of living relationships. Ludmilla says: "*Especially when you have those fears over and over again, that it may be projected onto other topics, or something like: when I am not efficient or not efficient enough at work, it will be related in*

[393] "*Einer meiner besten Freunde sagt gleich, joah joah, ich hab auch seit einigen Jahren ein alternatives Beziehungsmodell, das hat mich recht überrascht und auch angenehm empfunden eigentlich*." (Int. 014, par. 38).

[394] The issue of talking about polyamory at work is pretty much unexplored. One study which the design close to my research is by Paccagnella (2020), who conducted 22 semi-structured focused interviews with people who identified as polyamorous in Italy. He stresses the importance of online communication spaces for poly individuals, because these issues cannot easily be addressed at the workplace (or at home). His conclusion focusses on the importance of social media rather than on the details of the issues affected people experience at work or with their families.

[395] For those who were active students and/or had marginal or part-time employment, at the time of the interview, it was suggested to consider these employments and/or the university setting as a workplace.

*the sense of: ah ok, you and your five dramas, obviously*."[396] As a last example at the intersection between work, family and friendship, Carla describes one of her worst fears of what might happen if she is outed at work: "*If my family cuts me off, then this is a small circle of loved ones who maybe don't speak to me anymore, and maybe I don't even like them that much. As for work, I need to go there to feed my family, to pay my house and to live. I don't have many alternatives and I have managed to build quite something. If I ran into trouble there and experienced attacks, or if I experienced social rejection because of it, I would have a huge problem*."[397]

While in the three aspects family, friends and workplace presented above at least some similar experiences of individuals can be found, the variety of answers of polyamory and the wider society is even more diverse and less determined by similar stories. Therefore, this first insight covers some of the experienced aspects ranging from very negative to less negative: Attribution as a disruptive element of society, rejection of inquiries at a rainbow family centre as these see their focus on gay two-person-relationships (with children) direct insults in the public space, nasty looks, simply not society-compliant, not been taken seriously in other aspects of life, living in a country where it is still not just ok to walk with two other people holding hands. Statements about when the general public reacted neutrally or not at all to poly appearances were not found in the interviews – which makes sense for the interviewee from a storytelling aspect: If nothing happened, there is "nothing to write home about". Rarely, but still, some interview partners also experienced support and positive reactions – which was described by one person as possibly related to the rather tolerant environment ("bubble") she usually operates in; one person stated that from a rather random meeting with someone who they didn't know at the time, this person then questioned their monogamous relationship approach and moved to non-monogamy/polyamory. For some interviewees, the emotional bond between the different partners makes the difference in public appearances. Betti answers the question whether she would hold hands with her partners in public as follows: "*In general I don't have a problem with that. Only that I have different partners I would say. Those who more or less are only sexual partners. They are not partners in terms of life partners. This is why we don't hold hands or do things like that outside.*"[398] Finally, there was a small number of interviewees who stated

[396] *„(...) vor allem wenn man halt immer wieder diese Ängste hat, dass es dann halt auf andere Themen pro/ also projiziert wird oder dass es im Sinne von (…) wenn ich dann nicht leistungsfähig oder nicht leistungsfähig genug in der Arbeit, das es dann in Kombination gebracht wird oder so, ja, So im Sinne von jaja, du mit deine fünf Dramen, klar.*" (Int. 005, par. 30).

[397] "*Wenn meine Familie den Kontakt abbricht dann ist es halt ein kleiner Kreis von (.) geliebten Personen die eventuell nicht mehr mit mir reden aber dann hab ich sie vielleicht gar nicht so lieb, in der Arbeit da muss ich hin um meine Familie zu ernähren, um mein Haus zu zahlen und um zu leben. Da hab ich nicht recht viel Alternativen und hab mir ziemlich was aufgebaut. Wenn ich da Probleme krieg und Anfälle dann erlebe oder auch soziale Zurückweisung dann erlebe deswegen muss dann hätt ich ein ziemliches Problem.*" (Int. 008, par. 35).

[398] *An und für sich habe ich kein Problem damit. (.) Nur (…) ich habe ja verschiedene Partner sag ich jetzt einmal.*

that they don't care how others react; and one person said that people only recognize what they are familiar with: "*In pubs or the like, I have the impression that people only see what they want to see, if it is not too obvious. And although it was really easy to see, people have not caught on or realized it*."[399]

Besides the actual experiences, some public experiences were avoided because of the interviewee's expectations of possible, fictive reactions: closed groups on Facebook to avoid unwanted outing, no holding hands in public with other partners in order to avoid questions from friends one might bump into by chance, a danger of a possible personal social or economic relegation, even fears that some state organization might intervene and take away the children because of an unsettled moral conduct. On a final note, one person described that being a polyamorous woman appearing as such seems to be a bigger challenge compared to poly men: One woman with two men exchanging tenderness was described as creating more attention than the other way around, which as a result for this one interviewee takes more effort and bravery for women. This is only an exemplary illustration and does not describe what the majority has or has not experienced – it seems that outside the internal view, where male proponents of the polyamorous community in Vienna were described as dominating the internal perception of polyamory[400], the general public does not care about the gendered setting but the setting as a whole.

Summarizing these points with regard to the third research question (**By which aspects and to which degree do polyamorous people have the need to be accepted for their way of living by society?**), these aspects were already developed and mapped out in the media analysis. Going into detail, the findings show that **with regard to family, the whole range exists, from being out not at all to being fully out**; that **even with friends, poly people who cannot publicly stand up to their way of living tell only their closest circle**; that **a poly outing at work does not happen in the majority of cases**; and that **with regard to openly showing their relationship in public space, this depends on the individual**. The majority of interviewees would wish to be accepted for their multiple relationships, but as yet seem to be wary of standing on all levels due to societal constraints.

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*(.) Die sind aber nur eher sexuelle Partner. Die sind nicht meine Partner in dem Sinn Lebenspartner. Dadurch werden außen jetzt nicht wirklich irgendwie Händchen gehalten oder sowas*." (Int. 028, par. 52).

[399] *„(...) in Lokalen oder so, habe ich das Gefühl die Leute nehmen nur das wahr, was sie sehen wollen (lachen) wenn es nicht zu offensichtlich ist sozusagen. Also obwohl man ganz leicht das sehen hätte können was los ist haben das die Leute zum Teil nicht gecheckt oder nicht wahrgenommen."* (Int. 001, par. 40).

[400] See chapter 16 on "Needs, demands and visions of the community" for a detailed description.

## 14.4 Legal recognition

The position of the research questions correlates with the importance of the topics for the interviewees. While in the opening question on love and life history, it was possible to identify and return to aspects of classification and social acceptance in the first round of call-backs, the general interest in legal recognition was less manifest; most statements were collected in the second round of call-backs.

Beside the five categories developed in the media analysis and one additional category "*further aspects*" that covered what is important to the interview partners, statements demanding legal recognition, statements in favour of legal recognition, as well as statements of people who did not demand legal recognition for polyamorous relationships were collected and coded. The latter issue produced one of the most unexpected findings not only for the question of legal recognition, but for the whole thesis: "*Currently not a topic for me.*"[401] (Julian); "*Well I don't know, I have actually never thought of it*."[402] (Petrus); "*I mean, for me personally it is not an issue, since generally speaking, well, I don't know, getting married or something like that. But I can understand that it is an issue for many people. And this is why I support it*."[403] (Miranda); "*That's currently not a big topic for me, simply for practical reasons*."[404] (Zacharias); "*It is difficult. For me, it somehow does not play a big role*."[405] (Eros); "*So for me personally it is not important, simply because other people have not yet become so important for us. Not like my husband and myself between us. But in general, I think it is important that recognition does come. For other people living like us, and maybe also for our future*."[406] (Karin) are selected statements – a total of 24 out of 33 interviewees said that legal acknowledgement of any kind is not an issue for them. Some qualified their statements by adding "*not at this moment*" (or similar statements), and most supported the idea of legal recognition or even stressed the importance of it, such as Karin quoted above or Levi even more vehemently: "*For me as legal practitioner, it is of course interesting, which rights people have, who feel responsible for and toward each other, who feel responsibility. Whether and how the state accepts this and supports it. I think that's very very*

[401] *„Also jetzt aktuell ist es für mich kein wirkliches Thema.*" (Int. 014, par. 44).
[402] *„Mhmmhm weiß nicht über das hab ich noch nie so nachgedacht tatsächlich.*" (Int. 024, par. 37).
[403] *„Ich mein mir persönlich ist es kein Anliegen, weil ich grundsätzlich nicht vor hab irgendwie, weiß nicht (..) zu heiraten oder so. Aber (……) ich kann verstehen, dass es vielen Leuten ein Anliegen wäre. Und somit find ich das halt unterstützenswert.*" (Int. 018, par. 26).
[404] *„Das ist für mich grad nicht so ein großes Thema einfach aus praktischen Überlegungen.*" (Int. 013, par. 37).
[405] *„Ist schwierig. Für mich hat das einfach keine sonderlich große Rolle. (..) irgendwie.*" (Int. 029, par. 36).
[406] *„Also für mich persönlich in diesem Moment ist es jetzt aktuell nicht wichtig, weil einfach noch nicht andere Personen so eine Wichtigkeit erlangt haben für uns. (.) Wie mein (.) Ehepartner und ich untereinander. Aber im Generellen find ich es wichtig, dass diese Anerkennung kommt. Für andere so lebende Menschen und eventuell auch für unsere Zukunft.*" (Int. 023, par. 42).

*important*".[407] Still, this leaves the vast majority of people living polyamorous relationships who neither need nor demand legal recognition for themselves.[408]

Going into detail on the facts stated, below there is the number of allocated codes. In addition, illustrated by sheer numbers, the overall number of allocated codes compared to the previous two dimensions once again indicates the insignificance of the topic:

Fig. 14.18: Number of codes assigned to the demand of legal recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Continuing with the sub-topic that generated the most dedicated codes (recognition of children), one would assume that if a person, a couple, or a polycule has or have a child or several children, they would want or have more to say on the topic that people without children – this is not the case. The 25 quotes are by 21 interviewees. In the overall interview pool of 33 persons, 9 have at least one child, but only 7 of these made statements regarding polyamory and children[409]. On the other hand, 14 people who do not have children commented on the topic. Points that were of interest to the first group with children are who will get custody of the children when one or both of the natural parents

[407] „*Für mich als Jurist ist natürlich schon auch interessant (.) sozusagen welche (..) welche Rechte dann doch Menschen haben, (.) die sich gegen (.) gegeneinander und (..) gegenüber einer Verantwortung (.) / also eine Verantwortung spüren, (.) inwiefern der Staat das akzeptiert und das unterstützt. Und das find ich sehr sehr wichtig*." (Int. 017, par. 49).

[408] As already shown in Chapter 8, the discussion regarding legal acceptance is based on publications on theoretical approaches and legal rules rather than interviews with affected people themselves. One of the few articles that does involve interviewing affected people is by Arseneau et al. (2019). They look into polyamorous childbearing and birth experience in Canada, based on semi-structured interviews with 24 participants. According to them, polyamorous families face marginalization during pregnancy and birth – an experience that was not reported in my study.

[409] On a side note, one couple came with an infant, and while one person was giving the interview, the other partner took care of the child; and a third person came with an infant as well and breastfed it during the interview.

die (Chiara: "*Especially, when we, so in such cases, what is when I have an accident?*"[410]), care of the children of other partners (Carlos: "*That one can take care of the children of the deceased partner or the like, what is going to happen then? The worst-case scenario is that you are then considered a kidnapper who drags a child somewhere (…)*"[411]), pregnancy caused by someone who is not the primary partner (Fanja: "*I mean, what I have been thinking of is, what if I get pregnant by another person?*"[412]) and more generally child custody as such. The second group without children basically spoke about the same issues (some because their polycule structure involved partners with children, others completely childless).[413] An additional topic was care obligations, and a general statement on family by Ludmilla: "*So in principle, one of the things we urgently, very urgently must queer is family. The concept of family*."[414]

In the newspaper articles, there was a clear distinction between the aspects covered regarding some kind of legal protection of a multiple relationship as a kind of a binding, legally tenable relationship contract or marriage contract and a future state responsibility. In the interviews, the edges between those two categories were a little blurrier; still, some differences and issues that apply more to the more detailed contract compared to the wider field of general state responsibility could be identified. Furthermore, the question of legal recognition as such was often linked to a marriage or relationship contract initially. The aspect that has already been pointed out, being "in favour but no need for me," also dominated this sub-question.[415] Still, two additional aspects emerged in this regard: First, it is not going to be easy, not only for and by the state, but also for poly people who plan to go down this road, as Antonia puts it: "*Still it should be possible for all, a wedding for example with three or five, so, I think it needs quite elaborate framework conditions, and first on the poly side. To have a concept of how to*

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[410] *„Vor allem wenn wir / also weil so Sachen, fragen kommen wie was ist wenn ich einen Unfall hab?"* (Int. 008, par. 29).

[411] *„Dass man halt die Kinder von nicht living Partner aufpasst oder so und wie ist das dann ja? Ist man dann quasi (.) so im blödesten fall der Kindesentführer, der ein Kind irgendwo herumzerrt (...)"* (Int. 019, par. 39).

[412] *„Ich meine, es wäre nur / also woran ich jetzt gedacht hätte wär, wenn ich jetzt von jemand anderem schwanger würde."* (Int. 012, par. 42).

[413] An interesting example of how to measure family practices in a European comparison (in that case with a focus on fathering practices) is illustrated in a publication by Szalma and Takács (2017). They list large-scale cross-national studies on quantitative bases such as *The European Value Studies*, the *Eurobarometer*, the *ESS*, and the *International Social Survey Programme*. Unfortunately, none of those mentioned surveys include polyamorous families or – for the specific matter of the publication – polyamorous fathers.

[414] *„Also prinzipiell (.) find ich eines von den Sachen die wir dringend, ganz dringend auch noch queeren müssen ist Familie. Das Konzept Familie."* (Int. 005, par. 44).

[415] Some parallels with the discussion on gay and lesbian marriage in the 1970ies can be drawn. Rydström (2011, p. 88) Illustrates by the example of Scandinavian countries that only a minority in the established gay and lesbian movement supported the idea of a separate registration or gay marriage of same-sex couples.

*set it all up*."[416] And secondly, it is not likely to happen soon, as expressed for instance by Agnes: "*On the one hand, of course I would like it to happen immediately, on the other hand I know exactly that society is not ready for it, not for a long time. Not a very long time. With very long I mean at least 50 years, or 50 to 100 years.*"[417]

With regard to state responsibility, two opposite tendencies emerged: One (larger) part of the interviewees advocated for less state influence in general and especially in relationships – a system with the power to regulate can also regulate sexuality, children, and relationships in general – and this cannot be supported. Tamara for example says: "*I am an opponent of marriage. I don't' consider it as good when the state involves itself in our relationships, it is a very old system where regulation happens, where relationships are regulated, therefore sexuality is regulated, and of course offspring is regulated*."[418] The other (smaller) part demands more influence of the state, in terms of taking responsibility to establish structures in which polyamorous relationships are protected to some extent – expressed predominantly in the subjunctive mood with words like *should* rather than as demands with *must or has to*. One individual also gave an indication of how soon they expect this to happen: years or decades, without much hope that things will speed up in the current political and social trend towards conservativism. And one more aspect was brought up by one person who had been looking into the issue due to her (their) personal situation: How do you split up (within) a polycule (in theory according to legal aspects) when some of the people involved want to continue their relationships, and (an)other(s) don't.[419]

An interesting statistical fact with regard to the question (and answers) of property rights is the average age of the interviewees who answered. 13 out of the 33 people expressed themselves on the matter – and while the average age of all those interviewed was 34 years, the average age of those who contributed to the question is 40 years.[420] My deduction/indication from this is that even in a polyamorous setting, the older the people involved become, the more important property rights

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[416] „*Trotzdem sollte es schon für alle möglich sein wie eine ehe mit zum Beispiel drei oder dann gleich fünf oder so, also ich glaub da braucht es schon nochmal ganz durchdachte Rahmenbedingungen erst mal von der poly Seite. Dass man da ein Konzept hat, wie man das realisieren könnte überhaupt*." (Int. 021, par. 50).

[417] „*Einerseits hätte ich natürlich gerne, dass es sofort passiert, andererseits weiß ich genau, dass die Gesellschaft noch nicht bereit dazu ist, also noch lange nicht. Noch sehr lange nicht. (Seufzen) (...), also mit sehr lange mein ich so sicher 50 Jahre oder 50 bis 100 Jahre.*" (Int. 003, par. 39).

[418] „*Ich bin eine, eher eine Gegnerin der Ehe ähm (.) deswegen weil ich es nicht gut finde dass der Staat sich einmischt in unsere Beziehungen, ist ein sehr altes System wo eben reguliert wird, wo Beziehungen reguliert werden, damit auch Sexualität reguliert wird und natürlich auch Nachwuchs reguliert wird*." (Int. 004, par. 37).

[419] More details on that matter also in Chapter 16.2.

[420] Rounded value towards full years; to be more precise by two decimal places: 35,09 and 39,92.

become.[421] Going deeper into content, most comments again where based on fictitious situations rather than current real and actual issues the interviewees presented. Only Edeltraud, who had got a divorce a few years earlier, had a thought based on her experiences: "*I own an apartment, in sole ownership now. That took everything I have. I earn my living myself, I am not looking for a breadwinner. I fought for it, let's say it cost me 19 years of my life. (…). The only thing I can currently imagine for the future is if I was to live with a partner, and in case I died before them, I would somehow establish a right of residence*."[422] Overall, this question stands out a bit from all other aspects as it can be resolved by a last will, and is therefore less important for the main question regarding legal demands.

The assumed demand of <u>equal rights</u> for being considered <u>as members of an extended LGBT-acronym</u> has two aspects and can be answered in one sentence: The rights lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons have been fighting for and achieved are motivation and stimulus for poly rights; and on the opposite, that poly people need to fight their own fight since theirs are too far apart from the goals of the LGBT community. The following (longer) quote by Antonius who described herself[423] as queer with regard to sexual orientation gets to the heart of it: "*I know a lot of very conservative gay-lesbian people. They usually want to live in very traditional relationships (…) and want to adapt to the hetero-norm by same-sex marriage. Or to have everything in order as a couple. I think some of them are not in favour of the idea of polyamory that several people can be involved in a relationship. So I don't know if it is the same fight. I think there are so many subgroups also within the LGBTIQ community, so I don't know if all of them want to set up synergies and alliances with regard to 'let's go out and fight'.*"[424]

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[421] For a sociological hypothesis, a bigger sample would be needed.

[422] „*Ich bin jetzt Eigentümerin von der gemeinsamen Wohnung, Alleineigentümerin. Also (.) ja, da steckt mein (.) da steckt alles drinnen was ich gehabt hab, also (.) und (.) finanzier mir meinen Lebensunterhalt selber ja? Also ich / es ist jetzt für mich nicht so, dass ich einen Ernährer oder so suche. (...) ich hab für diese Wohnung, die ich jetzt / wo ich Eigentümerin bin ja? (.) Quasi gekämpft oder die hat mich 19 Jahre meines Lebens gekostet, in gewisser Weise, (...) das einzige, was ich mir mal vorstellen könnte im Moment ist, wenn ich dann mit einem Partner wohne ja? Also das war, das ist jetzt schon, der Gedanke war schon länger, dass ich dann / und ich würde früher sterben oder dass ich irgendwie ein Wohnrecht festschreiben lasse.*" (Int. 027, par. 32).

[423] The term *herself* is used here since the interviewee described her *biological* as well as her *social sex* as *female* in the demographic questionnaire.

[424] "*Ja ich kenn halt auch sehr viele sehr konventionelle konservative (.) schwullesbische Personen. Sind das meistens dann. (.) die (.) jetzt auch sehr klassische Beziehungen leben wollen oder auch mit der Homoehe ja eigentlich sich total an die Heteronorm angleichen wollen ja? Oder alles schön geordnet wiederum in Zweierpärchen sich sortieren. Und ich glaub dass da einige nicht so viel übrig haben (.) für die Idee der Polyamorie und dass da mehrere dabei sein wollen in einer Beziehung. Also deswegen weiß ich nicht ob das so der gleiche Kampf ist. (.) ich glaub es gibt so viel Untergruppen auch in der LGBTIQ Community, das ich nicht weiß ob da alle Synergien bilden wollen und Allianzen für (..) / geh ma jetzt raus in den Kampf.*" (Int. 021, par. 30).

Closing this chapter, in the category "further aspects", 12 of the 16 statements were on "*family rights in hospital*", i.e. the right to visit someone in hospital, to get information on the health status, and/or have a say in important decisions when the partner cannot decide him/herself any more.[425]

With regard to the forth research question (**How distinctive is the demand for legal recognition within polyamorous relationships?**), the short overall answer has two aspects: **Not distinctive for polyamorous people for themselves, but in favour for the general idea.** The demand expressed most often by number was the **recognition of children** by all parents involved – but this is only an issue for those who are concerned in the matter because they **have children.** A **wedding contract or relationship contract is an issue**, but, as just stated, **not due to personal needs,** but rather for the community as a general demand. The interviewees in general did consider the **state has responsibility** in the matter and should therefore provide legal protection, but again for the cause itself rather than for themselves individually. The matters that concern affected people in detail are on a practical level **hospital visits** regardless of the legal status and/or the **option of sharing property equally**. What finally stands out is that poly people **do not demand equal rights** like people who are part of the LGBT acronym and therefore legally protected – a direct follow-up on the research question 2 of the categorization of polyamory, where only a minority considered themselves as part of an (extended) LGBTIQ acronym.

## 14.5 Religious Recognition

The fifth question was on the possible demand for religious recognition of polyamorous relationships. For results in more depth, the current and previous religious denominations were collected in the demographic questionnaire. The graph shows the assigned codes, followed by the denominations of the interviewees. And in contrast to the interviews (in which no codes on the meta-category *Religious recognition* were dedicated), general statements on religion(s) were collected:

[425] More details on that matter also in Chapter 16.2.

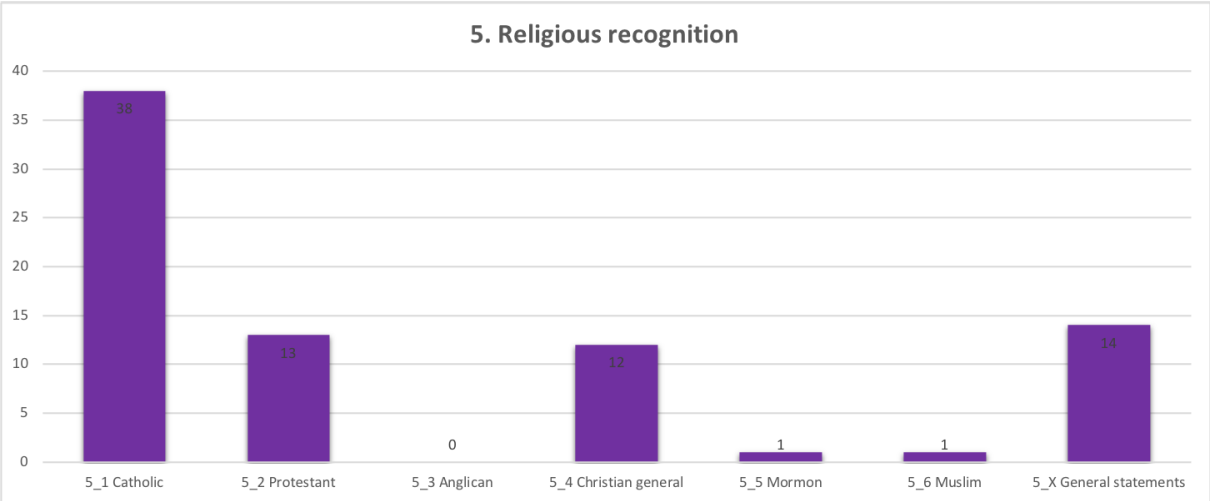


Fig. 14.19: Number of codes assigned to the demand of religious recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Looking at the sheer numbers and starting at the low end, Mormons and Muslims were only mentioned once, the Anglican Church was not mentioned at all. A dozen statements were about polyamory and Christians in general, without referring to any denomination, and here the only discernible trend of a topic that respondents mentioned repeatedly were statements that the Christian faith is not important to them, or that they have never been members of any Christian denomination – or as a short statement by Miranda illustrates: "*I am entirely atheist*."[426]

Five people who identified as protestant spoke about religion, but except for one person, religious recognition was not a top priority on their list. The one person that did consider recognition as a possible demand spoke about a kind of "ritual", a blessing rather than a wedding since a wedding has consequences like an entry in the church register and would therefore be more difficult to implement. A statement by Helga reveals her assessment of the importance and chances of a protestant-denominational recognition: "*The chances are not high, since I so far I have no experience of this being an issue. I could imagine that, if there was a huge campaign, and people address the issue, there may be a chance, especially since the Protestant church has no strong centralist organization (…) But I have never heard that it would have been an issue. Therefore, I see little chance.*"[427]

[426] „*Ich bin ein kompletter Atheist*." (Int. 018, par. 44).

[427] „*Die Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht so groß, weil ich bisher nicht erlebt hab, dass es je Thema gewesen wäre, ich könnte mir vorstellen, wenn das massiv irgendwie aufgegriffen wird und sich Leute damit auseinandersetzten, wär's unter Umständen durchaus möglich, grad auch weil die evangelische Kirche nicht sehr zentralistisch, organisiert ist (...). Aber ich hab bisher noch nicht mitgekriegt, dass es irgendwo thematisiert worden wäre. Also insofern sehe ich da wenig Möglichkeiten*." (Int. 014, par. 48).

By far the most answers with regard to religious recognition refer to the Roman Catholic church, and instead of relating to polyamory within this denominational context, a number of statements clearly show what the interviewees think of the institution in general: "*The Catholic church is not an institution I would like to join again, since it has no appeal for me whatsoever*."[428] (Marianne); *"(…) so especially this Catholic structure that also exists in Austria is something I consider absolutely outdated*."[429] (Agnes); "*I am, I used to be Catholic and left, so to be honest what the church does or does not do has no significance for me*."[430] (Cristl); "*The spaghetti monster is OK. But the rest? I mean, the whole attitude of the Catholics and the others towards gays and lesbians, that's simply out of this world. Sorry, that's so ridiculous, so unrealistic and out of touch, ignoring people's lives, it is repulsive. It is disgusting*."[431] (Hubert). Further comments broached issues like the wealth and power of the churches' representatives, abuse scandals, women not being allowed to become priests, too many rules, never having been asked to be baptised as a child, being divorced by law but still married according to church law, the lacking competence of priests in dealing with relationship problems, and especially poly relationship problems, and celibacy for priests being ridiculous.

These statements manifest a general trend, as the following figure from the demographic questionnaire shows: While only 2 out of 6 baptized Protestants had left the church, 12 out of 21 baptized Catholics had left the church – an indication that a membership in the Catholic church is less attractive than one in the Protestant church.

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[428] *„Die katholische Kirche ist für mich kein Verein in den ich wieder einsteigen würde. (..) weil es für mich überhaupt keinen Anreiz bietet*." (Int. 030, par. 58).

[429] *„(...) vor allem diese katholische Struktur, die es ja in Österreich auch gibt, die find ich absolut nicht mehr zeitgemäß*." (Int. 003, par. 41).

[430] *„Also ich bin / ich war römisch-katholisch und bin ausgetreten, also was die Kirche macht oder nicht macht ist mir ehrlich gesagt ziemlich / (lacht) das hat für mich keine Bedeutung*." (Int. 016, par. 37).

[431] *„Das Spagettimonster ist schon OK. (.) Aber sonst. Ich mein die ganze Haltung zu Schwulen und Lesben, die die Katholen, und die anderen genau so ja, das ist ja einfach, das ist ja nicht mehr von dieser Welt. Entschuldige, das ist so dermaßen lächerlich und an der Praxis vorbei, am Leben vorbei, an den Menschen vorbei, es ist abstoßend. Es ist ekelhaft*." (Int. 033, par. 129).

| previous denomination | current denomination |
|---|---|
| Roman Catholic | Flying Spagetti Monster |
| Roman Catholic | Atheist |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Protestant | Protestant |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| *not provided* | Without confession |
| Without confession | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Without confession | Without confession |
| Lutheran | Calvinist |
| Lutheran | Without confession |
| Lutheran | Lutheran |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Protestant | Without confession |
| Lutheran | Lutheran |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Without confession | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Roman Catholic |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |
| Without confession | Without confession |
| Without confession | Without confession |
| Roman Catholic | Without confession |

Fig. 14.20: Previous and current denominations of the interviewees as stated by the interviewees themselves (figure by the author).

Some of those who did not fundamentally oppose the institution tried to bridge the topic with polyamory. Dimitros for example explicitly stated that he left the Catholic church because it clashes with his new way of life: "*For example, I was active in a parish, and then, due to my whole process of changing, I left the church. Polyamory was the last straw there. Because I did not want to be part of an institution in which my form of relationship is tolerated at best.*"[432] Another person referred to her husband for whom it was important to be married in a church as well, with the agreed consequence

[432] *„Also ich (..) war (.) zum Beispiel in einer Pfarre aktiv, das hab ich / ich bin dann (.) im Zuge von meinem ganzen Veränderungsprozess auch aus der Kirche ausgetreten. (…) Da war die Polyamorie auch (.) der Tropfen, der das Fass zum Überlaufen gebracht hat. (I mhm) (.) Weil ich kein Mitglied mehr sein wollte von einem Verein, der meine Beziehungsform bestenfalls toleriert.*" (Int. 026, par. 44).

that in case of marriage problems, they would rather seek advice with a priest than with a divorce lawyer. One additional aspect to be mentioned was expressed by Bernie, who placed the religious meaning of a wedding above the legal one: "*Personally for me it is not a big issue, since I was married in church and I know that my love to my wife is so great that there is no way I could love someone else like this. Therefore a second marriage could only ever be a civil one, to resolve inheritance law issues or the like*."[433] As with the estimates regarding the subchapter on the chances of legal recognition of polyamorous relationships in the future, a number of (previous or actively Catholic) respondents also gave estimates of the timeframe of religious recognition. Their statements, from optimistic to less optimistic, read as follows: "*That's not going to happen in the next 200 years*."[434] (Fanja); "*I think that's a moot question, since I belief that this is so far from reality that it will only happen in a couple of hundred years*."[435] (Karin); "*I grew up Catholic, I was in a Catholic church. I cannot imagine, that they will ever be open to multiple relationships. There will sooner be female priests I suppose*."[436] (Dimitros).

For a summary of the remarks on religious denominations with regard to the fifth research question (**To which extent is recognition by religious institutions important to polyamorous people?**), the answer is quite clear: **Except for individual people who have a connection** to the Catholic or Protestant Christian faith beyond the average, **religious recognition is not an issue**.[437] **Furthermore, the Catholic church does not get much positive feedback as an institution in general**.

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[433] *„Für mich persönlich wär es zum Beispiel keine Idee weil ich bin kirchlich verheiratet und ich weiß dass (.) meine Liebe zu meiner Frau (.) so groß ist, dass sie zu keiner anderen so groß werden kann, deswegen würde eine zweite ehe in dem fall nur mehr staatlich in Frage kommen, wenn / um jetzt irgendwelche Erbfolgen oder so zu klären*." (Int. 022, par. 32).

[434] *„Das wird in den nächsten 200 Jahren nicht geschehen*." (Int. 012, par. 46).

[435] *„Ich glaub die Frage stellt sich nicht, weil ich glaub das ist derart von der Realität entfernt, (.) dass das (.) in den nächsten paar hundert Jahren passieren wird*." (Int. 023, par. 46).

[436] *„Ich bin katholisch aufgewachsen, ich war in einer katholischen Kirche, (.) ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, dass sich die jemals für Mehrfachbeziehungen öffnet. (..) Das (..) da werden vorher noch die Frauen Priester glaub ich*." (Int. 026, par. 58).

[437] This finding was foreseeable due to the small number of publications on polyamory and religion overall; with regard to empirical studies, not even one was identified. One study that at least scratches the surface of the topic is already quoted Paccagnella (2020), who in his limitations states that his findings are based on Italian participants, and thus come from a country with strong Catholic traditions. However, he does not enlarge on how this fact has an effect on his outcomes. For a voice from the US, a recent publication states that *"(…) even Christians with sex-positive values are often internally and externally pressured to hold on to a monogamy-centric worldview*." (Garrison, 2019, p. 30)

## 14.6 Generating knowledge

From "*Of course there is the tabloid press that comes up with some things once in a while, but this is extremely superficial, and when you're more involved, that's not really exciting*."[438] (Carl) via "*I did not really get anything from the media on the issue*."[439] (Gustav) to "*To be completely honest, I have to say it was very difficult for me to find any information on poly at all*."[440] (Sorona): What the traditional media has to offer does not seem to be much help for affected poly people, advice literature is the only printed product that is important. Internet forums and webpages are more important, and the most important factor in order to generate knowledge are real-life meetings. The following figure illustrates these numbers in detail:

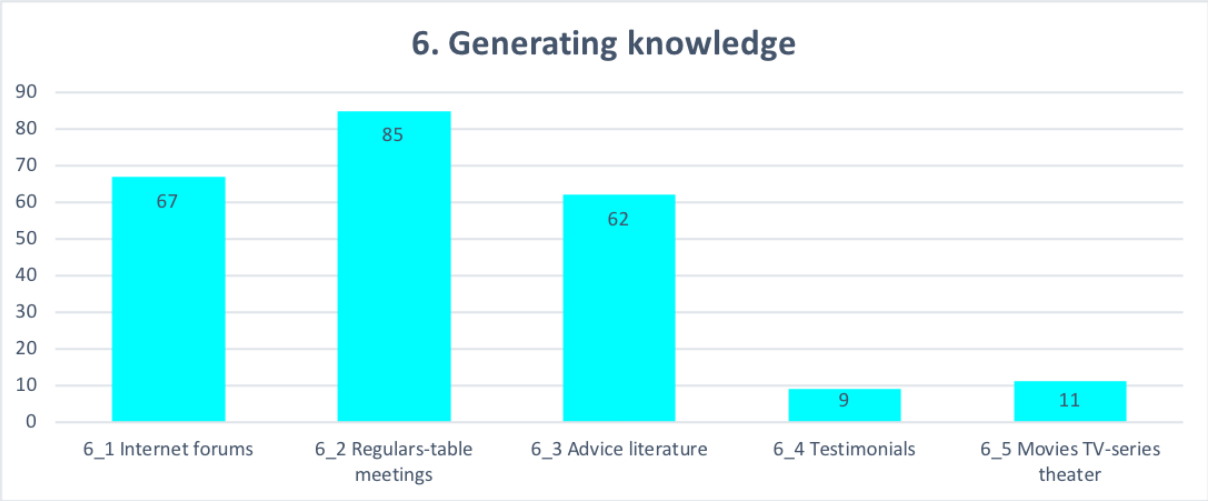


Fig. 14.21: Number of codes assigned to the generation of knowledge on polyamory (figure by the author).

Most codes were assigned to regulars' table meetings, which indicates at first sight that such meetings have an important role. A look at the statements in detail confirms the importance of these places, as for example Leopold states in his interview: "*Overall, I always got my information from people whom I knew to be active, they are in active polyamorous relationships, and they are into the issue*."[441] With regard to locations, one important place of exchange in Vienna is the *Polytreff*, a "classic" regulars' table meeting, where experienced and new people meet in changing bars and cafés with no option of

[438] *„Da gibt es Klarerweise die Boulevard Medien wo so irgendwelche Sachen immer wieder kommen, aber das ist halt recht oberflächlich und wenn man da tiefer drin steckt dann ist das halt so (…) nicht wirklich spannend*" (Int. 019, par. 24).

[439] *„Rein medienmäßig hätt ich so eigentlich auch nie wirklich irgendwas mitbekommen*." (Int. 007, par. 49).

[440] *„Also ich muss ehrlich gesagt sagen, es war für mich wahnsinnig schwierig überhaupt etwas über Poly zu finden*." (Int. 020, par. 44).

[441] "*Im Großen und Ganzen hab ich mir Informationen eigentlich immer von den Menschen geholt wo ich gewusst hab die sind ganz aktive / also aktive (…) die (.) aktive polyamore Beziehungen leben und die sich mit diesem Thema beschäftigen*." (Int. 017, par. 37).

physical tenderness in terms of comfort zone or safe places for intimate acts. No other Austrian cities were mentioned (although at the time of the interviews, there were such forums in two other cities), but similar regular's table meetings in German cities. Also, spin-offs of these meetings were cited, and they seem to serve the individual needs of the people involved: poly meetings for parents with children, poly picnics, queer poly meetings were introduced because of a perceived male dominance in regular poly meetings. And yet another aspect was pointed out, going back to "earlier days"[442] of polyamory in Vienna: "*So, they started to organize a brunch on weekends, where she invited people she thought were fun. She did not want to come out completely like at regulars' table meetings or on the Internet, instead she wanted to do it in her home, in the extended circle of friends*."[443] (Carlos) – showing that even meetings amongst poly folk was too much outing for some of those affected. Furthermore, Karin pointed out the aspect of the language most literature on polyamory is available in: *"(…) then I bought more than two but never completely read it. I have to admit. (…) The fact that it is in English and I don't understand everything makes things even more difficult. I prefer to go to a poly group and speak about my problems, sorrows, fears, whatever there."*[444] This quote comes from someone who has a master's degree from university requiring intermediate-level English language skills. This aspect of language was only highlighted by one person, but we may assume that others had the same issue but did not want to admit it.

On the level of "consuming-information-only", one-off presentations and talks, book presentations and similar were cited, especially as places of first contact with the topic. A controversial, important, loved and hated, admired, respected – in any case not to be ignored – place is the *Schwelle Wien* (formerly known as *Schwelle7)*, legally a clubhouse that describes itself as "*Vienna's first sex-positive location*". It hosts regular meetings for polyamorous people called *polyconnect*, which is basically a place of exchange on all issue's poly people are confronted with – with the difference to the *polytreff* that there is a backroom that allows physical contact. This option elicits a variety of reactions – some liked it and even found partners there, others (especially those who went there on their own) described the atmosphere as a "meat market". One person calls *Schwelle* "home", the place where she can be who she is. Another location mentioned by three people is the *SMart café*, according to its

[442] Unfortunately, no year was quoted by the interviewee.

[443] "*Jedenfalls haben die dann begonnen irgendwie so Brunches zu machen am Wochenende, wo sie dann irgendwie Leute eingeladen hat wo sie gemeint hat ok, das ist witzig alles. So komplett outen will sie sich aber auch nicht irgendwie, so Stammtisch mäßig, internetmäßig, (.) verlautbaren, sondern sie will das halt dort bei sich zuhause machen im erweiterten Freundeskreis*." (Int. 019, par. 20).

[444] "*(...) hab dann More Than Two gekauft aber nie komplett gelesen. Muss ich ehrlich sagen also (.) (...) die Tatsache, dass das auf Englisch ist und ich nicht alles verstehe erschwert die Dinge auch noch. (.) Da ist es mir lieber ich geh in eine Poly Gruppe und red dort über meine Probleme, Sorgen, Ängste, was auch immer*." (Int. 023, par. 32).

self-description *Vienna's first SM and fetish café*; in contrast to *Schwelle,* these mentions came without judgment of the place itself.

The sub-category Internet forums contains all aspects of media types that fall in the category of Quaternary media (see chapter 10), so all kinds of digital media that have some sort of feedback channel for the consumer. These may be search engines like *Google* for information on the topic of polyamory, named pages with relevant content, open and closed network tools such as *Facebook* for networking and information on events[445], apps for finding potential partners, and even digital tools like calendars to coordinate a poly life. In detail:

For some, simply searching the term *polyamory* (and synonymous terms) with search engines (most named *Google*) was the first contact; from there the paths of how people continued searching and informing themselves split depending on the varied interest of the individuals. Claus's statement describes the path several interviewees took for initial information on polyamory: "*For the first engagement on the Wikipedia page, which provides additional links. I consulted these links and there was a newsletter, too, indeed. I subscribed and regularly read it at the beginning*".[446] For a list of exemplary homepages that were named, *Beziehungsgarten* was named – according to its own description a webpage (without legal information) that started in 2008 and a weblog that followed in 2011 on open relationships, polyamory and other alternative relationship models (Anonymous, 2019); the no longer existing *Erdbeerlounge* (which used to be described as a kind of lifestyle magazine for women), the already mentioned *Schwelle* for various events that are advertised on their homepage; the *Planet-Liebe* forum that describes itself as *community on the topics sex, love, eroticism and the first time* (Planet-Liebe, 2019), of which the latter is a long shot to polyamory, and the weblog *Gspusicast*, which describes itself as "*the alpine version of polyamory*" and basically represents a podcast on polyamory and other versions of consensual non-monogamy (Hennrich, 2019). This catalogue shows that there is no one obvious specific direction of interest among the interviewees, each and every one of them has their individual interests.

In addition to the information aspect satisfied by search engines and the websites and blogs they refer to, *online community platforms* were mentioned. In most cases, these were used to find potential partners for poly relationships: Tinder was only mentioned by one respondent, but the platform

[445] Paccagnella (2020) provides detailed information on the importance of *Facebook* for poly people, focusing on Italy. His findings differ from my findings regarding his approach of focusing on one platform (Facebook) only, and not covering physical meetings, testimonials, or advice literature.

[446] "*Für die erste Auseinandersetzung (..) ich glaub auf der Wikipedia Seite gibt's halt noch mehrere Links (mhm) also diese Links hab ich dann konsultiert und dann gibt's auch so nen Newsletter (ja!) also, genau. Da hab ich mich abonniert und hab dann am Anfang auch regenmäßig gelesen*." (Int. 002, par. 33).

*joyclub*[447] was used by several, and the dating platform *OkCupid* was the one most often mentioned – the reason being that it allows to specify "non-monogamous" and "polyamorous" as relationship status, as Chiara for example says in answer to the question about social acceptance and coming out: "*Well no, no clear outing, but a bit open relationship or non-monogamic life is stated on my OkCupid profile*."[448] Moving from consuming information and trying to find partners to the tools that allow communication, the polyamory Facebook groups seem to be important to some – and this for more than one reason: Communication within their polycules (Facebook messenger), asking questions, but also to learn about events and meetings on the topic. The first aspect of communication within the relationship is a big issue to some. Chiara (who is involved in a polycule with a high level of commitment and organization due to – amongst other issues – the presence of children) describes how they coordinate their different lives: "*We are simply connected via Google calendar. In total we have three Google calendars and three WhatsApp groups in which we coordinate with each other: in one, everybody enters their plans, and there is one WhatsApp group for the whole polycule for coordination, and one for each of the two sides with me as the intersection somehow*."[449]

The title of the sub-category advice literature was maintained for comparability with the sub-category from the media analyses; in fact, it also includes science books and papers on love and sexuality, fiction, novels, newspaper articles, and the eponymous advice literature. For the latter, two books dominate: *More than two* by Franklin Veaux and Eve Richards (quoted 11 times), and *The ethical slut* by Dossie Easton and Janet Hardy. The following quote by Petrus is an exemplary description of its meaning for some of the respondents – and sometimes their partners: "*Very important: The ethical slut. That was, my partner happened to find it I think, or it was recommended to her by someone? And for her, it was an important, a very important influence*."[450] One person admitted her difficulties reading these books in English[451], another person mentioned the book *Polyamory. Eine Erinnerung* written by two German authors, Schroedter and Vetter (2010), and printed and published in German as well. The only other

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[447] *Joyclub* describe themselves on their webpage as "*a sex-positive community for a lustful life*" (Joyclub, 2019). Where this platform differs from other dating sites is for example an option to choose couples or register as a couple.

[448] *„Naja kein klares Outing aber ein bisschen ein offene Beziehung oder nicht-monogam zu leben steht halt im Ok Cupid Profil.*" (Int. 008, par. 33).

[449] *„Wir sind eigentlich einfach nur über Google Kalender verbunden. Weil wir haben (.) ich glaub im Endeffekt (nachdenken) drei Google Kalender und (..) drei WhatsApp Gruppen. (I mhm) in denen wir uns koordinieren. Also (.) in der einen alle / alle / alle vom Polykül rein und alle schreiben Planungsrechte, und in die / die WhatsApp Gruppen sind halt einmal / einmal das ganze Polykül zur Koordination und dann einmal quasi (.) die beiden Seiten (.) mit mir ist Überschneidungspunkt irgendwie*" (Int. 008, par. 41).

[450] "*Ganz wichtig: (.) The ethical slut. Das war / das war / hat sich dann ergeben tatsächlich im Laufe / hat das dann meine Partnerin / hat sie es gefunden glaub ich, oder hat sie es wiederum von wem empfohlen bekommen? Und das war für sie ein wichtiger (..) ganz ein wichtiger Einflussfaktor.*" (Int. 024, par. 54).

[451] As stated in chapter 10, the second edition of *The ethical slut* is also available in German.

German book that was mentioned is *Frühstück zu dritt* [452] by Schlender and Söhner (2006). On a more academic level, Judith Butler was mentioned, Foucault and his approach on power relations got his reverence, and David Schnarch[453] was referred to twice. For poly people with children, Elisabeth Sheff was mentioned for her book *Stories from the polycule* as well as for her long-term study of polyamorous families. Looking at the "classics" of literature in general, the authors Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and Oscar Wilde were specified occasionally; furthermore, books with a scientific approach to sexuality were brought up without naming any authors.

The importance of literature to the readers in general has different origins: For some it gave them the advice they had been looking for. Others were looking for very specific aspects, as Fanja for example explains: "*I started to engage with feminist literature. What I wanted, and what was rather difficult to find, was something from a sex positive feminist approach. It was important to me to challenge the idea that men profit from polyamory since they want to have sex with other women, while women really only want to kiss and sex is something tedious to them*."[454] And yet others realized that books cannot really help them. An issue that was expressed more than once by people who were not part of the primary partnership at the time of reading was the problem of hierarchies, as Sorona for example describes: "*There are a few reference books, but as I said, in my case… I downloaded a whole bunch of books, but that didn't get me anywhere because they were all written by people in a primary relationship, and I was looking for something that would help me in my situation*."[455] So to sum it up, literature of any kind helped the interviewees with any kinds of problems – in most cases at least.

The sub-category, <u>movies, TV-series and theatre production</u> received much less attention than the three aspects before by sheer numbers as well as speech time and is therefore considered of minor importance. Going into more detail, only one series was cited by its title: *House of cards*[456] was mentioned, interestingly enough a series that did not come up in the media analysis. The channel

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[452] In English: *Breakfast for Three*.

[453] US-born professor David Schnarch does research on sexuality and relationship therapy – his most current book can be considered to be advice literature and is titled *Intimacy and Desire* (Schnarch, 2009); it basically covers what the title promises.

[454] *„Ich hab mich ein bisschen mit der feministischen Literatur dazu beschäftigt / also wollte ich, was relativ schwierig war da auch an was zu kommen, also mit dem Sex positiven Feminismus, ähm, war auch ein wichtiger Punkt für mich, sozusagen die, (.) diese Vorstellung zu durchbrechen, dass Männer, von der Polyamorie profitieren, weil die ja gerne Sex mit anderen Frauen hätten, während Frauen ja eigentlich nur küssen wollen und Sex ihnen was Lästiges ist*." (Int. 12, par. 56).

[455] "*Es gibt immer ein paar Referenzbücher, auf die wird verwiesen, (..) und (..) die aber wie gesagt, mir in dem Fall (.) / ich hab mir wahnsinnig viel Bücher runtergeladen, aber (..) es hat mir per se nichts gebracht, weils wirklich immer Leute geschrieben haben, die eben in so einer Primärbeziehung sind, (.) und ich für mich aber was gesucht hab, was mir weiterhilft in meiner Situation*." (Int. 020, par. 44).

[456] *House of cards* is an US-produced series that was aired for the first time on *Netflix* in 2013, and focusses much more on politics and corruption that on relationship issues.

*YouTube* was quoted twice, without referring to a particular series; theatre productions were not mentioned at all. What was remarkable is that the majority of statements about videos are about US-produced ones, as Bernie for example explained, in his case also with a comment on their imagined truthfulness: "*It has been visible in the US for longer, and it is addressed openly. Well, so you have the series from the US, which, like any other TV series, are true at a rate of something between 50 to 90 per cent*."[457] Overall, with regard to this sub-category, the (small number of) findings indicate that movies, theatre productions and TV series are simply not important to those interviewed.

Finally, least important when only considering the number of codes dedicated are testimonials, they were only mentioned 9 times; and these mentions were not much more than name-dropping and some context to it, but no real content. Nobody was mentioned more than once, the names that came up were Dossie Easton (because of a personal meeting), Felix Rückert[458], Laura Meritt[459], Armanda Palmer[460] and Christoper Gottwald[461]. The other codes were assigned when the interviewees spoke about poly role models in general – the following quote by Agnes confirms what has already been shown in the theoretical part (Chapter X) regarding polyamorous testimonials: "*I instantly think of politicians, well then you think of gay politicians (…), I know, I know no one, I can't really imagine it with anyone.*"[462] This finding was rather unexpected, since this sub-category had by far the biggest number of codes dedicated in the media analysis and allows a hypothesis on the meaning of role models, idols and further examples of more or less well-known poly people: Other than in the media representation, testimonials are nearly completely unimportant to the interviewed poly people of Vienna.

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[457] „*Weil es ja in Amerika eh schon viel länger publik ist oder (.) viel offener halt (.) damit umgegangen wird. Ja, dann hast du halt eine Serie aus Amerika, die (.) wahrscheinlich genau so wie alle Serien (.) irgendwo zwischen (.) 50 und 90 Prozent Wahrheit haben*." (Int. 022, par. 26).

[458] Felix Rückert is a German-born dancer, choreographer and author. He directed *Schwelle7* in Berlin for a whole decade (2007-2016), which basically inspired the founder of *Schwelle7* in Vienna (→ see *regulars' table meetings* in this chapter) to set up a similar venue. For more details on Rückert and *Schwelle7* in Berlin, see Rückert (2019).

[459] According to her homepage, Dr. Laura Meritt is "*sex-consultant, mediator and scientist of communication*" (Meritt, 2019). In addition, she runs her own toy shop in Berlin and, together with two co-authors, published a book on polyamory in German in 2005.

[460] Armanda Palmer is an US-born musician, singer, and songwriter; arguably most famous as part of the band *The Dresden Dolls*.

[461] For more on Christopher Gottwald see Chapter 13.

[462] "*Da denk ich sofort an Politiker, also (..) (nachdenken) die, also natürlich, weil dann fallen einem ja dann die homosexuellen Politiker ein und könnte ja sein / also, ich weiß / ich kenn niemanden, also ich kann mir das bei niemanden eigentlich vorstellen*." (Int. 003, par. 43).

With regard to the sixth research question (**How do polyamorous people gain their knowledge on the topic?**), the answer is: **Through three paths: in person, in print and online**. First (and in contrast to the findings of the media analysis), **testimonials** of well-known poly people are not an issue - but even more so physical contact with others with similar experiences, for instance at **regulars' table meetings and events**. These are points of information, exchange, support, guidance, socializing and, occasionally, the initiation of relationships. Secondly, **Internet pages** can be (and usually are) a point of first contact, but then the search goes on. And thirdly, when it comes to printed products, the Vienna-based polyamorous community consumes the same **advice literature** as the rest of the Western world: *The ethical slut* and *More than two* are classics poly people cannot leave aside. This definitely doesn't hold true for polyamory in the **movies** – they are simply not a big issue.

## 14.7 Further important aspects

The categories for the last aspect that is identical with the media analysis are *Further aspects*, for which the sub-categories have been adapted. The differentiation between polyamory and polygamy on an individual level as well as polygamous societies as whole were not mentioned; the differentiation to communes only came up once, and the amount of people suggested to be polyamorous came twice – in the form of the statement that we don't know the number of polyamorous, consensual non-monogamous and monogamous people. This leaves two relevant aspects as the following graph shows: The differentiation to free love, and jealousy:

Fig. 14.22: Number of codes assigned to further aspects from the media analysis that appeared in a larger number and did not fit any of the other categories or were not allocated to a research question (figure by the author).

15 of the interviewees made a clear differentiation between polyamory as something that involves emotions as much as intimacy – and free love, with was described as all kinds of non-monogamous situations such as open relationships, swinging, more than simply having fun, friends with benefits, more than a play relationship[463], simply sex, shagging, and the like. In this context it is important to mention a statement by Hubert, who, as the biographical part of the interview revealed, has been living in polyamorous relationships for more than two decades. He said: "*So someone in my polycule was really really sick. I mean here she was so sick that we assumed she was going to die. Months in hospital, intensive care unit, coma, you name it. Everything there. And that taught me once more, it really brought it home to me emotionally what it is really about. It is not about sex, baby*."[464] The aspect of the duration of successfully practiced polyamorous relationships was not part of the set of research questions; it should be considered for further research as this statement indicates a relation between the importance of sexuality in the poly experience and the age of the according person.

With 29 codes by a total 19 interviewees, the most-mentioned further aspect turned around jealousy and the way people experience it.[465] The perceptions covered the whole spectrum, and the statements resemble what can be found in advice literature: From not being jealous at all to absolute jealousy. Hubert calls it a "*beginners' problem*", Petrus claimed that he did not know what jealousy is, Leopold describes it as something uncommon: "*I then realized, jealousy is something I know, but it is something that feels strange in me*."[466] Those who did experience jealousy described a whole range of different characteristics, of which the most-mentioned ones were hierarchies, children, and attention. Claus describes his problem with hierarchies through a conflict between his primary and secondary partner ("*I always had this hierarchical feeling, I think that I should have suppressed those hierarchical feelings actively, then the relationships with both women could have lasted longer.*"[467] ); Chiara talks about an

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[463] The term *play relationship* was used by people with kink affinities.

[464] *„Also jemand in meinem Polykalkül war wirklich wirklich sehr schwer krank. Also ich mein damit so krank, dass wir eigentlich angenommen haben, dass sie stirbt. (..) Monatelang im Spital. Intensivstation, Koma, you name it. Everything there. Und das hat mich schon noch einmal gelehrt, also wirklich auch emotional nahegebracht, worum es nämlich wirklich geht. Und its not about sex baby*." (Int. 033, par. 60).

[465] In recent publications, jealousy is one of the aspects that seems to be more commonly analysed than others: Mogilski et al. (2019) compared jealousy, consent and compersion in monogamous vs. CNM-relationships. In a nutshell, the results of 159 CNM individuals interviewed on jealousy are that it was more important that the primary partner did not cheat vs. the secondary partner, and they also felt greater distress imagining that their primary (vs. the secondary partner) had cheated. Furthermore, one aspect arose among female CNM participants: For them it was more important that their partner(s) did not cheat sexually rather than emotionally. These findings match the issue with hierarchies in my research; where their paper falls short is the aspect of children, which is mentioned briefly but was not reviewed by the authors.

[466] *„Ich hab dann gemerkt Eifersucht ist eigentlich, ich kenn es, aber es ist eigentlich etwas, was sich total fremd in mir anfühlt.*" (Int 017, par. 18).

[467] *„Ich habe immer diese hierarchische Empfindung gehabt, und ich glaube dass ich diese hierarchische Empfindung hätte aktiv unterdrücken sollen, dann hätte diese Zeit der Beziehung mit beiden Frauen länger halten können.*" (Int. 002, par. 43).

issue with regard to polyamory with children *("(…) it is quite thrilling that there is some sort of jealousy on a different level. So jealousy on a different level, when the rest is OK, and then suddenly the kid asks if she can call the (other) partner 'mum' as well, this is when completely different issues pop up*."[468] ); and for Sorona, it was ok for her husband to have one other partner in addition to her at one time, but not yet another one: "*What I thought at the beginning, maybe jealousy. Jealousy is non-existing, but what I told him is that I would have a huge problem if there was to be a third one, if there were to be someone new*."[469] The term compersion, often used in advice literature and at regulars' table meetings, was mentioned by only one person, and their statement a little as though it came straight out of a guide book: "*I am generally a logical character. If you think the whole thing trough, I don't really have a problem, or in other words, if you transfer the concept of jealousy into compersion, which is a key term in polyamory, then for me it is more like a switch in the brain that one flips*."[470] (Cristl)

To sum it up, the sub-chapter on jealousy does not reveal many new aspects and represents what we know from academic literature on a topic that is more comprehensively analyzed than others: Jealousy is experienced individually, and so are the strategies of individuals to cope with it.

Since no research question on *further aspects* was asked, there will also be no answer at this point – in the following chapter the further aspects of the media analysis will be compared with the topics mentioned above.

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[468] *„(...) dass da eine gewisse Eifersucht auf anderer Ebene stattfinden kann, das ist recht spannend. (.) (I mhm)(I mhm)(I mhm) (lacht) also Eifersucht auf anderer Ebene, wenn es sonst auch nett auch ist wenn das Kind auf einmal (.) fragt ob es den Partner auch Mama nennen darf, dann kommen ganz andere Themen auf*." (Int. 008, par. 39).

[469] *„Was ich mir am Anfang gedacht hab, vielleicht die Eifersucht / Eifersucht ist überhaupt keine da, (.) // mhm (bejahend) // (...) was ich ihm allerdings gesagt hab ist, ich hätte das volle Problem, wenn's noch eine Dritte gäbe, also wenn jetzt jemand neuer dazukäme*." (Int. 020, par. 18)

[470] *„Ich bin (.) generell eher logisch veranlagt und wenn man das Ganze von A bis Z durchdenkt hab ich eigentlich nicht wirklich ein Problem oder besser gesagt, wenn man (.) dieses / dieses Konzept der Eifersucht in das Konzept der Mitfreude, was ja ein Schlüsselbegriff in der Polyamorie ist, verwandelt ist das für mich eher wie so eine Art Switch in the Brain, den man halt umlegt*." (Int. 015, par. 19).

## 14.8 Summary

In contrast to the media analysis, the attention all the topics above got in the interviews was more balanced – with the exception of the question on love and life history, which provided enough in-depth detail to create a matrix along which polyamorous people can be categorized (although obviously only to some extent and with blurry edges). The final step to follow is the comparison of these findings with the findings of the media analysis. The following chapter will summarize these results.

## 15. Conclusion

The following final chapter will contrast the findings of the media analysis with the findings of the interviews. It closes with an answer to the overall question of the research project compressed into one sentence: **Does the media representation correspond to or contradict the self-perception of polyamorous people with regard to their emotional and sexual pre-poly history (1), polyamorous attribution (2), social acceptance (3), the assumed need for legal (4) as well as religious (5) recognition, and the generation of poly knowledge (6)?**

### 15.1 Answers to the research questions in detail

Following I will present the answers to the research questions in greater detail. This represents the extensive results of chapter 13 and 14 in compressed statements[471], closing with a one-sentence answer to each of them. It also contains three additional major findings that were not included as research questions in the original concept.

#### • Love and life history: Love beats freedom and sex

The sub-categories on love- and life history were generated within the media analysis, the according findings look as follows: The top issue was falling in love with another person (68x) while being in a (monogamous) partnership, which either leads to an opening or an end to this partnership. Second was an issue that no bearing on another external person, it is the desire for more freedom (49x) in an existing, long-term partnership. Sexual acts with someone who was not the main partner (34x) only came in third place – interestingly, this aspect was only mentioned by people are/were in a relationship; with the difference here that monogamous concepts as well as consensual open relationships were described. Also mentioned were matters describing boredom (23x) in existing (again monogamous) relationships, and, by the smallest number, affairs (8x), i.e. classical non-consensual relationships.

[471] The numbers in parentheses behind the sub-categories represent the number of assigned codes.

In the self-perception, the number of codes were more equally distributed, but showed a relatively similar picture: It was also falling in love with another person (23x) that led to a polyamorous relationship, also followed by the desire for more freedom in existing relationships (20x). Sexual aspects were more present, an affair (16) and sexual acts with another person (15x) got nearly the same amount of mentions; boredom in an existing relationship (5x) was a minor topic.

And finally, the first answer concludes with an aspect that was not included in the detailed research question – and yet it is a result of a hypothesis-generating approach that allows findings outside the attempted: More than that, this result is – with regard to existing research literature – also one of three "eureka experiences" within the whole research project: **a description of poly (proto)-types**. It starts off with the experience that led to a polyamorous way of live: Those who were not in a relationship when realising or deciding to leave the monogamous track; those who were in a relationship, which resulted in either opening their existing relationship, or not doing so. From here, two main characters/types were developed: The first group was defined as intrinsic polys, i.e. those for whom practiced or not practiced consensual non-monogamy was present in their whole love and live history. And the second group, defined as poly by choice, i.e. people who at some stage decided to approach polyamory. This decision seems to be reversible when living conditions demand it, while for intrinsic polys, the desire will always be present.

To differentiate further, a more detailed description of intrinsic polys out of sexual desire, and intrinsic polys out of ideology was made. The second group was further differentiated in greater detail, resulting in polys by choice who made this decision self-determinedly, i.e. without any input from the external love and life world; polys by choice who made this decision consensually determined, i.e. with a partner; and those who had to deal with a given situation involving polyamorous people, and who thus were externally determined.[472]

Leaving the last aspect aside to answer the original question on the experiences that led to living polyamorous, it looks as follows: *Falling in love with another person* and the *desire for more freedom* are with reasonably distance the most common media-represented reasons for polyamorous relationship, the same two aspects are (less comprehensively but noticeably) the most quoted in the interviews as well. With regard to the overall question, the answer is: **What the media illustrates as experiences poly people have made are the same experiences the interviewees describe themselves**.

[472] The detailed description for these (proto)-types is to be found in the previous chapter.

- **Classification: As multifaceted as polyamory itself**

The second unexpected key finding follows right after the first research question – distinguished by the former, as this eye opener came about over the whole analysis period rather than, as the previous one, more suddenly: The sheer number of codings regarding the classification of polyamory in the newspaper articles. 1,439 out of 3,088 codes were dedicated to the categorisation of polyamory in its media representation, therefore standing for nearly half of all codes in a research concept covering a total of 8 different aspects. The sub-categories were developed by a mix of literature and additional aspects developed within the media analysis, leading to a total of 8 sub-categories. In detail: Most articles covered polyamory as multiple emotional relationships (395x), a rather unexpected finding as the emotion of "love" has so far been omitted in academic literature. Second came polyamory as an ideological identity (313x), and thus an ideological concept, a relationship ideal. Third came codes on polyamory as intimate practice (271x), covering all aspects and variations of sexuality as a key factor. Next up is polyamory as practically lived identity (240x), with all articles that described daily routines in a polyamorous relationship. With a much smaller number compared to the first four, the coding monogamy is unnatural (62x) describes polyamory from "the other side": it is not polyamory that is new, but monogamy that does not suit the current needs of a pluralistic society. Widely covered in academic literature, the attribution of polyamory as a sexual orientation (34x) could only be shown in a small number of codes. Monogamy as an economic system (24x) is the second aspect that does not focus on polyamory but on monogamy, and stands for exactly that: The economic perspective of monogamy as a narrow setting in contrast to polyamory as economically wider, broader, more inclusive. The final sub-category further aspects (100x) contained all attributions that did not match any of the previous categories but did not occur often enough to warrant its own classification.

With such a superiority of codes for media representation, the results of the interviews might be considered to be less representative – still they took up the most speaking time of the interviewees after the narrative of love and life history, and delivered more or less corresponding results: Most interview partners either identified with polyamory as multiple emotional relationship (49x), or their statements were coded accordingly. Quotes regarding polyamory as an ideological identity (43x) came second in number; and just as with the media analysis, the third place is taken by polyamory as an intimate practice (35x), with a wide range from sensitive intimate acts to BDSM practices. By the same number of coding's, polyamory was understood as a practically lived identity (11x) as well as monogamy as something unnatural (11). And also, in the self-perception, neither polyamory as sexual orientation (6) nor monogamy as economic system (2) was a hugely important; the latter was only described by one participant. The open category of further aspects (35) represented other attributions similar to the media analysis.

To sum it up – polyamory is about a lot of things: It is about love (a topic unrepresented in the academic discussion), it is about an ideological as well as a practically lived identity, and it is about intimate practices and acts, hence sex. And it became quite clear what polyamory is not, neither in media representation nor in self-perception: It is not a sexual orientation. With regard to the overall research question, the answer is: **The media describe polyamory with as many variants as it is experienced by poly-living people.**

This answer covers the empirical part, but falls short of covering the academic state of the art, where the categorisation of polyamory as a sexual orientation plays a major role. Merging these aspects together leads to the third eureka moment within the research project, a description of how polyamory can be categorised, narrowed down to one long sentence – with the addition that not all five aspects need to apply: Polyamorous people love more than one person (1) (loving polyamorous); live polyamorous in everyday life (2) (living poly); act polyamorous in terms of intimate practices with more than one person (3) (acting poly); think polyamorous (4) as a form of theoretical concept; and feel polyamorous (5) as a form of self-perception/identity (feeling poly). Compressing this into one short sentence, it reads as follows: Polyamorous people are people who **love, live, act, think, and feel poly**.

### • Social acceptance: A difficult and lengthy process

The media analysis revealed four major factors when it comes to the social acceptance of polyamorous relationships: The family (13x), friends (14x), the workplace (11x) (which can also be the university for those who are studying) and wider society (103x) (understood as all kinds of people that don't have a personal connection to affected people. The first three factors count for only about a third of the total of given codes – with friends either being pro or con polyamorous relationships, and poly people not willing to come out at their workplace as they fear disadvantages. By far the biggest issue is the acceptance within the wider society, with three tendencies: Affected people either would want to be accepted, they are accepted, or they don't care if they are accepted.

The interviews show a completely different picture: The four aspects were relatively equally covered, with the family (58x) taking the lead. The question of coming out with the family covers the whole bandwidth from no one in the family knowing to everyone in the family being in the picture. The same bandwidth is represented in the attitudes of family members towards this way of practicing multiple relationship: From rejection to ignoring it all the way to supportive behaviors. In addition, people who have a straight sexual orientation find it harder to be accepted, people who already outed themselves

for loving same-sex had a smaller hurdle to overcome. The acceptance by the wider society (48x) predominately illustrates a hostile atmosphere; speaking about polyamory at the workplace (40x) revealed a somewhat expected aspect: The higher the position at work, the better the income, the less likely the person is to come out; thus, it happened less often with the interviewees that a coming out with family and/or friends. For friends (40x) there was an accumulation of respondents clearly distinguishing between close and less close friends, the expected result was that coming out to good friends happens more often that to less close friends. In addition, the interviews predicted an aspect that was not present in the newspaper coverage: Social acceptance – regardless whether by family, friends, work, or wider society – is going to be a difficult and lengthy process and will not happen very soon.

Relating these findings to the overall question, the question asked concerning social acceptance shows (except for one more aspect below) the biggest difference between media representation and self-perception: The media cover the awareness of wider society; while on a personal level, family is the most important factor, and friends, workplace and wider society are very similar in their (lesser) importance. Summarising this in one sentence: **Acceptance of polyamory by 'the society' is more important for the media, while poly people make their positive or negative experiences of acceptance amongst their intimate groups and circles.**

### • Legal recognition: Generally yes, personally no

Similar to the question of social acceptance, the sub-categories for the assumed demand for legal recognition were also generated from the media analysis – and here, five aspects emerged. Among these, two aspects stand out: First, a marriage contract (63x) or relationship contract, which would allow some kind of legal security for poly relationships; for this matter, the numbers are somewhat misleading as this refers to two specific discussions related to two specific events dominating the media representation. And second and similar to some degree, but addressing the matter from the outside (government) rather than the inside (affected people): State responsibility (52x), i.e. the legal bodies being called upon to provide structures for the real-life situations of individuals in polyamorous relationships; here, too, the above-mentioned two events led to the newspaper discussion. Something not determined by a specific event but an issue throughout is the legal recognition of children (30x); the last two issues are only of minor importance due to their rare mention: Property issues (8x) and the demand for equality with individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or have a transsexual identity (i.e. those under the queer umbrella who are granted rights), so equal rights with the LGBT community (6x).

Before going into detail, two aspects that are not directly related to the sub-categories stand out in the interviews regarding legal recognition: For one, the issue is less important than the two previous topics as it was not brought up by most interviewees in the introductory narrative but asked about in the first callback round. And most interview partners stressed the general importance of the issue, but did not relate it to their own personal situation, nor did they refer to any action to demand something from the authorities; so there is sympathy and understanding and support for the idea, but not a huge desire to get up and take to the barricades for the cause.

A slight surprise, then, was that most codes were assigned to the legal recognition of children (25x), so one would assume this is quite an essential issue when it comes to the current challenges of polyamorous relationships. Only second and third came marriage contract (22x) and state responsibility (18x), with blurrier edges about what belongs into which category compared with the media analysis. If one tendency stands out, then it is a generally critical view of the (Austrian) state and its executive institutions, and/or the whole concept of signing some paper to determine a relationship. What should be mentioned here is a correlation between the age of interview partners and statements about property rights (17x) – people only seem to start thinking about this issue at a certain age. The demographic data of the interviewees also showed a correlation in the issue of equal rights with the LGBT community (7x): non-hetero-normative participants are fighting their fights with regard to their sexual orientation and mostly don't consider hetero-polys as a minority group. The latter therefore have to fight their own fight. On final aspect needs to be mentioned: while legal health issues such as providing information to relationship partners (12x out of 16) who are not legally related in hospitals were not mentioned even once in the media, this is an issue for the interview partners.

To sum it up with regard to the overall question, the answer is: **The main topics of legal recognition are the same in media and interviews, but there is only modest interest in demanding and implementing them.**

### • Religious recognition: Not an issue

The sub-categories from the suspected (lack of) demand for religious recognition were not generated in the media analysis but along the most important religious denominations in the target countries. The importance of the issue to the media is reflected the numbers: Those mentioned most frequently were Christians in general (18x), followed by Protestants (11x) and Catholics (10x) in nearly even numbers, Islam (6x), Mormons (4x), and even the Anglican Church (2x) was mentioned, though not significantly.

Just like the previous two research questions, the religious topic issue linked with the demographic data of the participants also results in an additional and unexpected finding: While the number of baptised Protestants who have left their church is relatively small, more half of the participants baptised Catholics have left their church. This rather critical attitude is also evident in the voices on the Catholic Church (38x), which were rarely in favour of the institution. The voices on the Protestant Church (18x) were more moderate, the ones on Christianity in general (13x) more or less rejected religion as a whole, and the statements on Islam (1x) as well as Mormons (1x) can be ignored as there is only a single reference each. Even more than with a possible demand for legal recognition, the idea of demanding religions recognition is not a clarion call a single participant of the interviewees would follow.

For the bigger picture of the research at hand, the topic of polyamory and religion is underrepresented in international research, and this study provides at least one reason for this: It is not a topic that gets a lot of attention in the media, and this also holds true for its interest to poly people themselves. In terms of the overall question, the answer is: **The close to non-existing media coverage of religion in a polyamorous context matches the close to non-existing interest in religious recognition of poly people.**

### • Generating knowledge: Idols and books vs. real life interaction

Compared to the three previous categories, the generation of knowledge is a bigger issue in media representation, with the sub-categories also developed from the newspaper and magazine analysis. Most mentioned were testimonials (142x), with an interesting difference between already-deceased and living individuals: the representation of testimonials who are no longer alive was mostly positive, among the living there was a marked difference between the – generally positive – image of artists as testimonials, and those of activists or politicians, which were viewed in a much more critical perspective. Regarding advice books, there seems to be a contrast English-language and German-language literature: The former tends to be more traditional advice books (109x), while the latter focusses more on fiction that describes poly relationships. With some distance follow codes on Internet forums (53x); movies, TV series and theatre productions (45x); last are ranked regulars' table meetings (44x), which are predominately used by newspapers to start a story on polyamory.

This view is contradicted in the interviews, where regulars' table meetings (85x) are the most important source of information (in number as well as regarding the narrative) – what matters is the exchange with like-minded people faced with similar challenges. Also, Internet forums (67x) are described as a valuable source of information: For "newcomers" as a source of information, and for

those who have been involved with polyamory for some time the web is also a tool for searching for (additional) partners. Advice literature (62x) is used in the meaning of the word itself, fiction with poly content is of minor importance. Movies, TV series and theatre productions (11x) are not a big thing; and even less significant are testimonials (9x): those concerned seek advice from others who are physically accessible rather than online – or even among the dead.

In summary: *Testimonials* on polyamory are big in the media, and also references to *advice literature* occur frequently. The self-perception shows a completely different picture: Ranked according to access, the first thing people consult are *webpages*, and in a second step they seek *physical meetings* (regulars' tables) as a method of choice to generate knowledge. Concerning the overall question, the answer is: **In real poly life, physical meetings and the exchange of experiences and knowledge are more important than books and inaccessible idols.**

## 15.2 Answering the key question

Summarising the results of five years of planning, implementing, conducting interviews and analysing in one sentence:

**The media analysis corresponds with love and life history (1) as well as attribution (2) of polyamory, it predominantly corresponds with the aspects and demands for legal recognition (4), and differs with regard to social acceptance (3) and generating knowledge (6) with the self-perception of polyamorous people, and it completely matches the media as well as the individual lack of interest in poly recognition within religious institutions (5).**

In the next chapter, I will look at the possible significance of these findings for the academic and societal discussion as well as for the poly community itself.

## 16. Outlook: The future of polyamory research

As shown, polyamory is an up and coming issue that penetrates into a lot of aspects of individual lives as well as into society as a whole. The major aspects have been covered in this thesis, others I had to neglect for a number of reasons, the major one being the limitations of space and time for the book at hand. In this final chapter, an outlook is presented for what might come in the next years. Its structure represents something of a ménage à trois, starting with the latest scientific and popular scientific aspects at the time printed, followed by quotes from the interviews regarding what the interview partners missed in the sessions and which they would like to add regarding the general topic of polyamory. In the last section, I attempt to summarize the past and present with regards to this thesis in an outlook on whether polyamory has the potential to be the future of relationships for all. as well as to briefly predict the future of polyamory research. To this end, I will provide 10 answers to what I consider to be the most pressing questions.

### 16.1 The (popular) scientific view

Finding a logical structure on the matter is rather difficult, as the scientific estimates on what is to come in poly research spread out like the branches of a tree. Therefore, this subchapter is a list of loosely connected bullet points rather than an argument that follows a clear concept, illustrating the multiple options that might develop. Some issues have the potential to reach a wider audience, others will in all likelihood remain at the margins of academic (and, for that matter, also societal) discourse. Some of these aspects and developments will attract the attention of scientific research, others will go unnoticed. As for the sources, most are peer-reviewed papers, some are reviews of popular scientific books, guidebooks, or advise literature or weblogs. The order is rather random and does not have any significance:

- **Polynormativity**

The term *polynormativity* has been around about a decade, and has been used by a number of authors since. Berry and Barker (2013, p. 27) define polynormativity as a more rigid way of doing open non-monogamy; Pascar (2019, p. 93) relates its origins to the previously negative stereotypes of consensual-nonmonogamous living people in their media representation and the ensuing distancing from such stereotypes by a positive, normative illustration. In the book *Polyfantastisch*? the term is

considered in a separate section, headlining four chapters on the topics amatonormative[473], authoritarian, classical and neoliberal tendencies within polyamorous relationships (Michel Raab & Cornelia Schadler, 2020, p. 10). The arguably most comprehensive definition comes from Schippers (2016, p. 18): "*Polynormativity refers to beliefs, practices and values within polyamory that reflect and sustain regimes of sexual relationship normalcy and/or social privilege along the lines of class, race, gender, religion, citizenship, and so on*." In a later book, she revisits the term once more and refers to the moral imperatives that come with this definition, which are occasionally offered by poly people as an evidence that polyamorous families are just like normal families, with the one characteristic standing out that there are more than two adults (Schippers, 2020, pp. 91-92).

Polynormativity often goes along with the term *polypride* for polyamory being variously natural, advantageous, or even superior. In the other extreme, this leads to critically characterize monogamy as "*(…) unnatural, hypocritical, or morally and spiritually bankrupt*.", for which Ferrer (2018, p. 832) even applies the word *monophobia*. This statement already indicates what I have pointed out in an article I have published on polyamory. Turning the normative framework upside down and declaring polyamory to be the norm comes with its pitfalls: Existing hierarchical dichotomies between the different forms of non-monogamy may be applied uncritically, including the various aspects of the ranges between love and sexuality, love and friendship, and the private and the public. (Ossmann, 2020, p. 374)

### • More polyamory in psychological and therapeutic education

As shown in the empirical chapters, the media attention, the advice literature on polyamory, and the number of people come out being poly as well those who inform themselves and show interest in the topic are on the rise. It seems logical that subsequently the issue gains more attention – or deserves more attention – in psychological and therapeutic training. Nevertheless, it was only last year that the first two papers were published that advocated for such measures: The overall aim of Mollen et al. (2020) is to gain knowledge regarding the specific education regarding sexuality Canadian psychologists receive during their training, for which they looked into 38 different counseling psychology doctoral programmes (mainly based in the United States). In 6 of the 38 programmes polyamory and open relationships were covered, which was little compared to what the authors called "*LGBTIQ-topics*". Their implication for the training of future psychologists, therefore, was to

[473] Brake (2012) – who is the source the relevant chapter refers to – defines amatonormativity as "*The expectation and normative expectation that everyone seeks and flourishes in the same type of dyadic, romantic, sexual love relationship*."

comprehensively evaluate existing programmes in the direction of "*(…) polyamory, kink, and other identity-based forms of sexual expression*." (Mollen et al., 2020, p. 387)

The second example is also based on quantitative data analysis: Lehmiller (2020) worked with the data of 822 respondents of an online questionnaire on fantasies of consensual non-monogamous relationships. Polyamory was a fantasy that 57% of the participants reported, only topped by the fantasy of an open relationship. In their clinical implications, the authors stated that it is important to distinguish between sexual fantasy and sexual desire (the former means not wanting to act on the fantasy all the time); however, there is a large number of people who do want to act on their fantasies. This does in consequence "*speak to the need for support and resources for those practicing consensual non-monogamy*", which also includes the specific needs of polyamorous people (Lehmiller, 2020, p. 12).

- **Love drugs and polyamory**

By this title one might assume articles on chemsex and polyamory, with chemsex being a neologism of *chemicals* and *sexuality* that designates the consumption of substances to initiate and/or increase sexual activity (Gertzen & Rüther, 2020, p. 34). P. Hall (2019, p. 82) dedicates a whole book chapter to sexuality and chemsex, but the only connection she draws to polyamory is within an alternative sexual lifestyle regarding societies' norms, embedded within the kink community. Polyamory, a neologism itself, contains *love* rather than *sex*, and this is how Earp and Savulescu (2018) interpret the connection with chemical substances. They write about the development and/or use of neurotechnology to influence romantic and love relationships with moral implications, and conclude that they assume that drugs enhancing love would have less or a different effect as people who are passionate about polyamory have a different high-level and low-level neurochemistry.

- **Polyamory for relatives**

This whole thesis is based on the similarities and differences of self-perception and media representation – which means that, apart from aspects of social perception – it is never about the relatives; yet they also have to deal with polyamory when it affects family members or friends. This means that counselling centers are not only confronted with the needs and demands of the community, but also with relatives seeking advice. As a consequence, councilors don't only need a solid knowledge of polyamory itself, but also training on how to deal with the expectations of those affected indirectly. Zika (2007) published a paper in which he refers to the position of advisors in relatives work. In his findings, he concludes that the following attitudes are helpful for counsellors when being confronted with the expectations of relatives: understanding, acceptance, neutrality

towards change, multi-partiality, needs orientation, orientation towards resources, extension of action, realism, and overall a holistic approach.

### • Finding the poly gene

Is there a gene in humans that carries the polyamorous code? I get this question on a regular basis when speaking about polyamory publicly, and it is certainly one this thesis cannot answer. One author who aims to do so is Wessels (2017). In a project called *Poly-Gen-Projekt,* his master thesis in psychology and cognitive neuro-sciences, he looks for the connection between the hormone oxytocin and polyamory. Unfortunately, the project website fails to explain the "how-to" in terms of methods, neither are the results published in any journal. The author does refer to his completed master thesis, which is not publicly accessible. In the findings on the website, he does refer to a difference of about 10% in the single nucleotide polymorphism between the roughly equally distributed total of 120 monogamous and the consensual non-monogamous participants, but states that the computer was unable to predict if a person is monogamous or not using a logistic regression model. Interesting as a bycatch, though, are his findings on demographic factors, which state – amongst others – that the polyamorous participants education status is far above average (A-levels or university degree) (Wessels, 2017). Since the recruitment tactics for participants are not explained, this may result from forwarding the questionnaire within personal (academic) networks.

### • Queering insect sexuality

Queer reading has its origins in the late 1980s and is a way of looking at aspects of identity, sexuality and gender, and also relationships through a queer lens, i. e. from a perspective that challenges heteronormativity (Woltmann, 2020, p. 221) and the according norms in all their aspects (Boisvert, 2020, p. 192). The term's short form, *queering,* is for example used by M.-J. Barker and Scheele (2016) in their widely reviewed graphic novel "*Queer. A graphic history*"; and it is used for aspects one might not expect with regard to animal sexuality, as the following example illustrates: "*I argue that Green Porno represents a queering of traditional documentaries on insects and examine what possibilities this might provide us with for rethinking insect sexualities*" is the author's introductory statement in the abstract, before moving on to a passage of key relevance for this thesis: *"from monogamy and heterosexual reproduction to S/M, queer sex, and polyamory*." (Magnet, 2018, p. 116) She basically compares two series that focus on insect sexuality (one rather traditional by Sir David Attenborough and one rather progressive by Isabella Rossellini) and concludes that with regard to the first documentary *"(…) the political instrumentalization of insect life is used to narrate a normative message about monogamy, heterosexuality, and the 'natural nature' of maternal nurturing*." (Magnet, 2018, p.

128) – an interesting argument that is valid far beyond the insect world when looking at the representation of relationship narratives in animal documentaries.

### • Polyamorizing classic literature

I am using the word "*polyamorizing*" in analogy to the previous issue of "*queering*" narratives. I would like to introduce this term to describe the use of a polyamorous lens on any kind of documented sources (i. e. books, films, etc.) to interpret situations as a kind of polyamorous setting even though this may not have been the author's intention, or the term polyamory as such did not exist then. Faucheux (2016) does something similar in the wider context of consensual nonmonogamous practices, focussing on two journals by Anais Nin that were published in the 1930s. Her main argument is that rather than focussing on adultery, illegitimacy and unfaithfulness in the hegemonic system of mononormativity, sex negativity and misogyny, a "*(…) reading practice through the lens of polyamory forces us to reconsider the position and agency of women (especially) outside the axis of legitimacy/illegitimacy*." (Faucheux, 2016, p. 296)

This idea, applied not only on female characters in books, can also be found in a call of the *Humanities and Social Sciences Online Net (H-net)* mailing list, according to its self-definition *"(…) an international interdisciplinary organization of scholars and teachers (…)*" (h-net, 2021). B. M. Watson posted the following call: „*I am looking for any books, articles or pointers towards people or groups that practiced some form of nonmonogamy/polyamory (defined broadly) especially in the pre-1960 Western world (defined broadly) for a book project I am working on.*" Six people replied, and the author considered to follow up some of their hints: Georgiana Cavendish, Bertrand and Dora Russell, Dick and Naomi Mitchison, Stella Browne, and the creator of *Wonder Woman* William Multon Marsten (Watson, 2018). In the end, it seems that the project did not succeed; at least at the time of writing I was unable to find any publication by B. M. Watson or a book on the matter. But one of the important standard works in German literature has its poly story: J. König (2008, pp. 272-273) identifies desires outside the socially accepted two-people relationship norm in *The sorrows of young Werther* (original title: "*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*") by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, published in 1774 .

### • Polyamory and citizenship

The wider field of queer citizenship is well researched by the ERC-funded multinational project *INTIMATE – citizenship, care and choice: The micropolitics of intimacy in southern Europe* (INTIMATE, 2019). A number of publications do refer more explicitly to polyamorous matters: Santos (2013) looked at agency, citizenship, recognition and normativity in the example of the LGTB movement in Portugal. She determines a sharp division of activists that stand up for the acceptance of same-sex marriage as

the most significant step in LGBT politics, and those who oppose it since it aligns with heteronormative normalization. With regard to polyamory, she refers to the 2008 LGBT march in Lisbon, where poly groups were denied participation in the organizing team (Santos, 2013, p. 58).[474] Pérez Navarro (2017) draws his findings from neighboring Spain. He researches the extent of monogamy that not only operates as consecutive element of marriage-like institutions, but beyond this the meta-juridical source of state violence, which, as he claims, is frequently overlooked. The author refers to a rapidly increasing visibility over the past few years, which also is due to points of contact between the polyamorous community and migration: the demand for legal recognition for people in stable poly relationships who are not European citizens and are subject to migration laws (Pérez Navarro, 2017, pp. 450, 455).

- **Whitewashing polyamory**

The publication by Park (2017) initially intended to examine the ways in which polygamists are positioned as the abject other, while in the discourse on polyamory the protagonists are dominantly positioned as queer revolutionaries. One of his approaches is to explore the framing of polyamory as a discourse to whitewash consensual non-monogamous practices. He opposes whitewashing polyamory with blackening polygamy, and concludes: "*I wish to convey two things: First, dominant poly discourses have idealized polyamory and participants; second this idealization rests on a radicalization of polyamorous people and practices as white*." (Park, 2017, p. 313) In this context, the book *The ethical slut* (Easton & Hardy, 2017) exactly fits his first argument by describing the practice of polyamory as something *ethical*; the second one is for example represented by the research sample of R. Balzarini et al. (2019), which leads to the conclusion that polyamory is a phenomenon among white, middle and upper class, educated people.

- **Polyamory and offspring**

I have already covered the topic of polyamory and children in the legal chapter and the empirical chapters – the focus there was on the possible demand for legal recognition, or to be precise, the non-recognition of more than two parents for a child. In fact, there is more to it than simply the legal status: Bevacqua (2018) writes about pediatric nurse practitioners who might come into contact with polyamorous families. She refers to an evolving society in which issues of multiple gender, sex, and relationships that previously were kept secret or were even repressed are now coming to the surface. The author's conclusion to this development reads as follows: "*Increased awareness of polyamory, and*

[474] For the often neglected needs and demands of the transsexual community, one can refer to (Kuhar, Monro, & Takács, 2018) with regards to transsexuality and global citizenship, in that specific case focusing on 14 post-socialist countries.

*children's part in it, is important as we strive to provide high-quality, culturally sensitive health care*." (Bevacqua, 2018, p. 493).

Leaving the path of academic journals towards guide books, Sheff (2015a) gives a good insight from the perspective of involved parties, dedicating a whole chapter of her book *Stories from the polycule* to describing the workings of a polyamorous family with children. Also from the category of counselling literature is Burde (2013) with her book *The polyamorous purpose guide to: Polyamory and pregnancy*. It comes as no surprise that the book exactly describes what the title promises. Moving yet a step further to a master thesis from one of the focus countries, Austria, Prasch (2017) looked into the social acceptance of polyamory, focussing on the impact on the development of involved children. According to her, the results were too diverse and the sample too small to come to a conclusion. In review but not yet published is the thesis of Christina Tiber, a midwife who covers the topic of obstetric care for polyamorous parents. And finally a completely non-academic source: Immergrün and Freudenweide (2021) run a weblog on polyamorous parenting, describing their experience of polyamorous parenting right from the decision to have a baby between three persons. It is a first in the German-speaking world, and widely discussed at poly meetings and in polyamorous forums.

- **Polyamorous separations**

The book *Polysecure. Attachment, trauma and consensual nonmonogamy* by Fern (2021) would also fit into the *poly in psychological and therapeutic education* section, but it covers one specific aspect that is widely overlooked in polyamorous research: separations. The author is a certified clinical trauma professional, and so her content-related focus is obvious – her special expertise is accompanying separations in a setting with more than two people. Polyamorous separations can hardly be compared with monogamous ones, as they have a characteristic that does not exist in a couple's separation: they change the dynamics among the remaining partners. Furthermore, in contrast to straight people, poly people often already come with a history of pain and confusion, as they had to go through a process of coming out which is similar to gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender persons. Mono-romantic beliefs are deeply embedded in the psyche, regrets and shame arise when people leave the monogamous path (Fern, 2021, p. 114).

- **Polyamory in video games**

Video games, or to be precise roleplay video games of any sort, allow users to pick characters and walk them through a digital world. It is no surprise that the relationship status of these characters may play a role, and this is what the research by Adams and Rambukkana (2018) focuses on. They looked at non-monogamy as element of game and story design in video games that are produced by mid-sized or

even major publishers with an accordingly high marketing and development budget. One of the key findings is that despite the dominant portrayals along normative lines, also some alternative representation exists. On explicit example is the game *Fallout 4*, in which relationship negotiation and non-monogamy could increase the replayabiliy and variability of play-throughs. However, the authors state that it still fails to include realistic polyamory dynamics in the romance options of the game, and that there is a long way to go until the existing non-monogamous reality will arrive in the scripted video game narratives (Adams & Rambukkana, 2018).

### • Spirituality and polyamory

The connection between science and spirituality resembles the relationship between the devil and holy water. Still, academia does refer to spirituality in the context of polyamory: J. N. Ferrer (2019) writes about polyamory as a path to emotional as well as spiritual growth. In his belief, polyamory – in an understanding of psychospiritual growth – can "*(…) create unique opportunities for the development of emotional maturity, the transmutation of jealousy into sympathetic joy (or compersion), the emancipation of embodied love from possessiveness, and the integration of sensual and spiritual love*." (Ferrer, 2019, pp. 17-18) A more critical voice is Dankemeyer (2010, p. 53): she differentiates between the German activists who moralize and complicate but yet unnecessary simplify and turn the original sexpositive start of polyamory upside down, while the American poly movement completely slipped into the esoteric mode, selling their sexual energy as spiritual way of life to tantric deities. This statement refers primarily to the already-illustrated historic origins of the term polyamory following Morning Glory Zell-Ravenheart from the *Church of all Worlds,*[475] who clearly had her origins in a spiritual environment. Dankemeyer's article does not find many positive words for this relationship concept, the title *Fuck polyamory* stands for itself.[476]

### • Ecosexuality and polyamory

Expanding spirituality to planet earth as a living being itself, the book *Ecosexuality*: *When nature inspires the art of love* (Anderlini-D'Onofrio et al., 2015) is arguably the best match to pair nature with polyamory. For a definition, the introductory chapter describes ecosexuality as follows: "*Ecosexuality encompasses a social movement, a philosophy, a lifestyle, a spiritual path, a mode of loving, a form of artistic expression.*"It also provides a definition of sexuality as it is understood in this book: "*Sexuality encompasses sexual pleasure, sexual energy, and erotic expressions of love, orgasm, symbiotic partnerships, and reproduction*." (Anderlini-D'Onofrio & Hagamen, 2015, p. 2) – or, in short for better

[475] See chapter 2 on the historical origins of the term *polyamory*.

[476] Interestingly enough, the publishing house where the article was published describes itself as the only left-wing consumer magazine – while the author seems to be far from celebrating the progressive political dimension of polyamory.

understanding: nature-inspired love. Despite its rather more spiritual than academic approach, it was reviewed in the SAGE journal sexualities; the reviewer clearly outlines the implications also for polyamory research: "*The theoretical advancements of the book are broad and far reaching. The book has paradigm-shift implications for queer theory, feminist theory, sexuality studies, environmental studies and polyamorous studies*." (Richter, 2018, p. 499) Although the article was already published three years ago, I have not come across any publications yet that researched polyamory in the spirit of ecosexuality yet.

- **Gay poly is not hetero poly**

The polyamory-community is so diverse with regard to constellations, ways of living, sexual desires, relationships and practices that academia seldom considers the scene as homogenous. Still, poly people do bond and come together, often appearing in public in the context of a movement with a political statement (Pieper & Bauer, 2014a, p. 8) – an aspect that is often observed by researchers but rather rarely addressed directly. Baumgartner (2019, pp. 204-205) refers to this focus on sexual orientation: there is a difference between gay and/or bisexual poly communities and rather more hetero-based communities. She further observes that also within the BDSM-community, consensual mon-monogamy is a common practice. And even for the interviews I have conducted, a further analysis with a focus on possibly different needs and demands of poly-practicing people according to their sexual orientation might be rewarding – with the sole limitation of the rather small sample size for such an important aspect.

- **Polyamory and aging**

This topic has so far only been studied superficially, which I believe is not because it is not an important issue, but because the methods of sampling that result in very low numbers of interviewees or respondents in the age-group 60+. One of the few examples that at least scratch the surface of the issue of elders and poly is Brake (2017) with her article on elder care and distributive justice. Her focus is on care as a primary service that should be available for infirm elderly and persons with disabilities, but she also describes care as something that can come from within a group. The concept of relationship the author follows is one in which people experience extensive and irreplaceable mental health benefits from mutual concern for each other's welfare as well as frequent interaction. This would, in her view, rule out a concept of care that is based on exchanging money or performing services, but, *"(…) it would rule in close, life-structuring friendships and small-group polyamory*." (Brake, 2017, p. 138) She does not expand on the number of people *small-group polyamory* would involve.

• **Polyamory as self-optimization and manifestation of neoliberal consumption**

Thesis advisor Franz X. Eder, a historian with a focus on sexuality as well as consumption, points out an aspect that is seldom seen, but represents his fields of expertise: in addition to the positive aspects (all dimensions of the alternatives to marriage or partnership according to the monogamous standards that have seen a decline over the past centuries anyway), he also points out an issue that he regards as a criticism on the matter: polyamory as a subtle way of creating emotion within the neoliberal culture and society of consumption; a strategy of self-optimization by constant engagement of one's self and an intensifying process of one's life. There is a constant need to decide how weekends are spent, how love and sexual desires are split up between the partners. Polycules are not set up for eternity and have an expiry date and therefore represent a project of entrepreneurial self-management. Where openness and negotiation is praised, in reality forced confession rules (Eder, 2021)[477].

[477] There is no printed document for this statement, which Franz X. Eder made when holding the keynote lecture at the *Revolution of Relationship conference* hosted by the *Leibnitz Centre of Contemporary History Potsdam*, in March 2021. Below I quote the passage in English, followed by the German original:
*"The critical or rather more critical perspective sees things a little differently: As a subtle form of producing feelings, polyamory fits perfectly into neoliberal consumer culture and society. Seen in this way, it represents a strategy for self-optimization through constant work on the self and for intensifying life. As in consumer hedonism, in the poly relationship the fulfillment of wishes is also accompanied by disappointment and leads to the fact that man and woman have to keep up the production of desire and needs. Like purchase decisions, poly relationships are driven by the permanent compulsion to choose, be it to decide with whom of the two or three partners the weekend will be spent or how love and sexual desire are distributed among the partners. Polycules are not designed for life, but are given an expiry date in advance, like buying a car, and thus are a project of entrepreneurial self-management. As in all emotional spheres for which no norms and inter- and intrapersonal scripts are available, here too the individual wishes and decisions are subject to a complex coaching and therapy process. Where openness and negotiation are praised in poly, there is actually a compulsion to confess and the individualization leads to 'polyvidualization,' as Schadler and Villa (2016) called it. Where poly promises diversity and freedom, the micropolitics of a governmental self-regime lurks that permanently drives the production of desires and emotions - one of the elementary premises of the neoliberal consumer society."*
*„Die kritische bzw. kritischere Perspektive sieht die Sache etwas anders: Als eine subtile Form der Gefühlsherstellung fügt sich die Polyamorie optimal in die neoliberale Konsumkultur- und -gesellschaft ein. So gesehen stellt sie eine Strategie zur Selbstoptimierung durch stete Arbeit am Selbst und zur Intensivierung des Lebens dar. Wie im Konsumhedonismus geht in der Poly-Beziehung mit der Erfüllung der Wünsche auch die Enttäuschung einher und führt dazu, dass Mann und Frau die Wunsch- und Bedürfnisproduktion am Laufen halten. Wie Kaufentscheidungen werden Poly-Beziehungen durch den permanenten Zwang zur Wahl angetrieben, sei es um zu entscheiden, mit wem der zwei oder drei Partner*innen das Wochenende verbracht wird oder wie sich die Liebe und das sexuelle Begehren auf die Partner*innen verteilen. Polyküle sind nicht auf Lebenszeit angelegt, sondern wie ein Autokauf schon vorweg mit einem Ablaufdatum versehen und damit ein Projekt der unternehmerischen Selbstführung. Wie in allen Gefühlssphären, für die keine Normen und inter- und intrapersonelle Skripts zur Verfügung stehen, unterstehen auch hier die individuellen Wünsche und Entscheidungen einem komplexen Coaching- und Therapeutisierungsprozess. Wo bei Poly die Offenheit und Verhandlung gepriesen wird, herrscht eigentlich Geständniszwang und die Individualisierung mündet in „Polyvidualisierung" wie dies Schadler und Villa (2016) genannt haben. Wo Poly Vielfalt und Freiheit verspricht, lauert also die Mikropolitik eines governementalen Selbstregimes, die permanent die Wunsch- und Emotionsproduktion antreibt – eine der elementaren Prämissen der neoliberalen Konsumgesellschaft."*

For an academic source to undermine his argument, he uses to the term *polyvidualization* (in the German original: *Polyvidualisierung*") in reference to Schadler and Villa (2016, p. 11) to describe polyamorous relationship constellations above all as an outcome of constant negotiation: "*These negotiation practices include super-individualized subjects with highly individual needs on the one hand and subjects with eroding boundaries on the other, because negotiation practices force them to be honest and open*." In the closing comment, he states that the promising plurality and freedom of polyamory is endangered by the micro-politics of a governmental self-regime, that drives the permanent desire of producing wishes and emotions – which is one of the most elementary premises of the neoliberal consumer society (Eder, 2021).

### • No (poly) future

*No future* is not only one of the slogans of the British Punk subculture that emerged in the 1970s, but also a possible prediction within polyamorous relationships. According to Herbert et al. (2013), this applies to self-perception as well as to outside ascriptions. From the inside, there is the challenge of time and attention management; balancing complete family and children constellations; a generally high complexity; the challenge of having to decide which side a person is on; jealousy and the fear of loss; monogamous desires; and the handling of social surroundings and eventually secrecy. From the outside view, poly people are occasionally confronted with statements by family and friends that this cannot possibly work for all those involved; that there must always be at least one person losing out; the inability of having deep relationships; destructiveness; the need to choose one person; and above all the certainty: This will not work in the long run (Herbert et al., 2013, pp. 37-43).

### • Polyamory is the future

In contrast to the previous aspect of possible popular and scientific topics to come, the last one closing this subchapter predicts polyamory as the future of relationships. It is a coherent title to close the sub-chapter, the sources, though, are from advice literature rather than empirically based publications. The first book to be introduced carries the modest title *Polyamory. A future for the future*[478] and claims that with its legal system, society hinders the development of polyamory, which is a problem as our relationships do become more intense and complex. Therefore, a far-reaching change of society is inevitable. All it would take is to shake off the ballast of millennia and to evolve from a civilized stone age (hu)man to the free and modern human of the future (Buchwald, 2011).

[478] In the German original: *Polyamorie. Eine Zukunft für die Zukunft*.

The second example is the journey of female sexuality by a journalist. In the book *future sex*, Emely Witt (2016) describes her insights into how society loves today that she gained through a self-experiment. In the chapter on polyamory – which is the most comprehensive one covering 40 pages – she mixes a general inventory of liberal US-American cities in the 2010s with the history of polyamory and personal stories and experiences. And in contrast to what the reader would expect judging from the title, polyamory is not presented as the general future of relationships for the whole world – yet it could be, or to be precise, it is for those for whom polyamory does work. The book was reviewed a number of times – again not by academic authors but in newspapers and magazines, therefore contributing to a certain extent to the societal discourse on polyamory. The comments range from *"(…) a catalogue of emerging sexualities produced by 'ingenuity and perversion'"* (Maughan, 2017, p. 46) via "*Unfortunately, her skepticism and recurring disappointment leaves the overall impression that nonnormative sexual pleasures are weird experiments doomed to failure*." (Clutterbuck-Cook, 2016, p. 112) all the way to an article titling "*A disgrace of feminism*", with the closing sentence: "*Six weeks on, I am still furious at having to finish this repulsive, meandering, incoherent book. I'd have had more pleasure being groped by Donald Trump*." (Hill, 2017)

The assumption by Witt that polyamory could be the future has not been shared by others; as from an academic perspective, the big question if polyamory is the future remains unanswered so far. I will dare to make a prediction in the last section of this chapter.

To sum up what we might see in future research on polyamory, it is really plural (poly so to say), and a lot of things seem to be possible. The topic expands in multiple directions: It stretches over a lifespan, all the way from polyamory and children to polyamory and aging. It has political dimensions; it is contested, it is possessive, it is queer – yet it has a neoliberal, self-improving, maximizing dimension as well that sees no shame in optimizing relationships at all costs. It not only keeps those affected busy, it is becoming an issue for friends and relatives as well as for wider society. As for the affected, the rage of advice institutions, therapy offers and overall involvement of the topic in everyday life makes polyamory more visible, allowing more people to come out and seek competent help. It has a spiritual dimension (which is hard to measure), and it appears in other virtual realities such as computer games.

And still, by no means all aspects are covered. One thing I am missing for example is polyamory and ecological/environmental publications that might address the fact that larger living arrangements lead to less consumption and less waste of resources; or even fewer children due to multiple parenting. Additionally, other topics are not to be found in academic or advice literature yet, but have been touched upon by my interviewees. The following subchapter shows some aspects from the interviews

in the empirical part of the thesis, which the interviewees think are not or not sufficiently covered, that are missing in the societal discourse, or that are ignored by the more narrow poly or the wider queer community.

## 16.2 Needs, demands and visions of interviewees

In the methodological chapter 12 I described how I started the interviews with the introductory question and the follow-up questions according to the aspects I aimed to gain knowledge on. My statement at the end of the interviews was the question if there was anything else they wanted to have included with regard to polyamory once the thesis is finished. The following subchapter illustrates key demands, observations and needs of the interviewees. The running order is by the dates when the interviews were held, therefore representing the timeframe from September 2017 until December 2018. I dispense with commenting on how important these topics might become in further research, and simply let them stand as statements by the affected.

### • Male activists dominate the public appearance

The one to start off with is actually not future-related but refers to experiences of the interviewee in the past: Valerie states that what is visible to the outside is dominated by men, that all organizers of poly meetings are male. There are private meetings organized by women, but if one is not invited, they are not accessible. She further relates this possibly to an Austrian/Viennese phenomenon: "*(…) but of course, if I take an outside view, only men are visible in public, for the Viennese community. I believe that internationally this is less distinct. And it possibly is to do with how many men are publicly out, and how many women*."[479]

[479] *„Und zwar (...) stimmt es glaube ich dass halt alles was nach außen hin sichtbar ist von Männern dominiert wird, also alle Organisatoren von Treffen sind Männer. Zumindest alle öffentlichen Treffen. Es gibt schon private Treffen die von Frauen organisiert werden, aber von denen weiß man nichts wenn man nicht eingeladen ist. (..) Und, also die Dominanz der Männer sozusagen in der Polycommunity bezieht sich auf alles was nach außen hin sichtbar ist, und ist aber in der Community lange nicht so stark spürbar. Es ist schon auch immer noch da (..) aber ich weiß nicht genau welche Frauen genauso zentrale Rollen spielen wie die zentralen Männer sozusagen, und deswegen habe ich es nicht so stark wahrgenommen, aber natürlich wenn ich die Außenperspektive reinnehme, da sind eigentlich nur Männer in der Öffentlichkeit sichtbar für die Wiener Community jetzt. International ist es glaube ich ein bisschen weniger stark. Und es hat wahrscheinlich schon auch etwas damit zu tun wie viele Männer sozusagen öffentlich out sind und wie viele Frauen*." (Int. 001, par. 43).

- **Indicator of tolerance within a society**

Agnes sees polyamory as an indicator of how potentially tolerant a society is as a whole. She says that the reaction of people regarding polyamory allows conclusions on this, as she explicitly states: "*So I think, if you look at it precisely enough, you get a picture, a good picture how other things can be taken up as well*."[480]

- **Reduced work capacities**

Less positive is Ludmilla when relating polyamory to her personal experience, especially when it comes to coming out at work. She only recently started her first official "real" job after finishing university, and so far refrained from coming out because of the following worries: "*Especially when you are afraid that it will be projected on other topics. If I am not efficient, or efficient enough, it could be linked to it, something like, 'of course, you and your five dramas'*."[481] What the interviewee did not say in her following statements was whether that is a theoretical fear, or whether she had had this experience in another context before.

- **Poly communication**

Communication has often been described as a key factor for polyamorous relationships to work out; in this case the topic is not the content, but the technical dimension of communication. Chiara explains how she coordinates her poly relationship: "*We are simply connected via Google calendar. I believe we have three Google calendars and three WhatsApp groups. In which we coordinate ourselves. So, one in which all from our polycule write, and all have planning rights, and the WhatsApp group is one time the whole polycule, and additionally both sides, with me as overlapping point somehow*."[482]

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[480] *„(nachdenken) Ja also (.) ich finde, dass Polyamorie ein sehr guter (..) (nachdenken) wie soll ich sagen, Anzeiger ist, für den Zustand einer Gesellschaft, also je nachdem wie die Leute auf Polyamorie reagieren, kann man schon sehr gut sehen, wie offen, oder wie (.) wie potenziell offen eine Gesellschaft ist, ja? Also ich denk, wenn man das genau genug beobachtet, dann kann man, hat man ein Bild, ein gutes Bild davon, wie auch andre Dinge aufgenommen werden könnten, so. Ja.*" (Int. 003, par. 7).

[481] *„Es ist für mich so ein erstes herausforderndes anderes Umfeld und offiziellerer Job oder so irgendwie. (..) Da bin ich schon ein bisschen unsicherer merk ich. Mhm. (….) M (.) vor allem wenn man halt immer wieder diese Ängste hat, dass es dann halt auf andere Themen pro/ also projiziert wird oder dass es im Sinne von (…….) wenn ich dann nicht leistungsfähig oder nicht leistungsfähig genug in der Arbeit, das es dann in Kombination gebracht wird oder so, ja so im Sinne von jaja, du mit deine fünf Dramen, klar.*" (Int. 005, par. 30)

[482] *„Wir sind eigentlich einfach nur über Google Kalender verbunden. Weil wir haben (.) ich glaub im Endeffekt (nachdenken) drei Google Kalender und (..) drei WhatsApp Gruppen. (I mhm) in denen wir uns koordinieren. Also (.) in der einen alle / alle / alle vom Polykül rein und alle schreiben Planungsrechte, und in die / die WhatsApp Gruppen sind halt einmal / einmal das ganze Polykül zur Koordination und dann einmal quasi (.) die beiden Seiten (.) mit mir ist Überschneidungspunkt irgendwie.*" (Int. 008, par. 41).

• **Bisexual against homoflexible pressure**

Martina presents a topic that is linked to a gender issue. She noticed – at least in her surroundings – a massive overrepresentation of bisexual women compared to not even bisexual but heteroflexible men. This results in the expectation that women have already been intimate with other women, or are at any rate open for it. This stands in contrast to men who find themselves in a situation that they both love the same woman, they like each other, and they also become closer physically due to the situation. Still, they have to overcome a feeling of disgust at the thought of having sexual relations with another man, although on the rational level, they would be open to it. Martina somehow seems to have come to terms with this situation, as she concludes: "*It seems that they (explanatory note: the men) have to overcome the bigger challenge, that the barriers to overcome are significantly bigger for them than for me, as I simply tell myself OK, I simply give it a go to find out what it is like with a woman*."[483]

• **(Female) coming out 30+**

Sybille also brings up an issue that can be related to her gender, as in Western societies the consequence of the issue she describes would not appear in the same manner if she were male. She made the experience that for her, polyamory is not only something unknown by the public, but similar to being lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans-ident. This leads to the question of coming out, and all the follow-up questions on who is the partner, who is part of the family and the like – everything that is important in society. Her key statement on this is the following: "*You are questioned all the time. Especially above 30 years of age. Then there is this question, are you married or do you have kids and so on, and then it is difficult to escape the whole thing*."[484]

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[483] *„Ich hab es interessant gefunden, wie / also auch wenn jetzt in diesem ganzen (…) sozusagen (.) LGBQ Kontext (..) dass tatsächlich in sozusagen / in meinem poly Umfeld (.) die bisexuellen Frauen wahnsinnig überrepräsentiert sind im Verhältnis zu jetzt auch nur (.) heteroflexiblen Männern. Also dass diese starke Schieflage von (..) von Frauen wird beinahe erwartet, dass sie eh schon mal was mit Frauen hatten oder dass das / das sie offen dafür sind, beziehungsweise stellt sich das für mich auch / also (.) tatsächlich viel eher so dar dass sie offen dafür sind, (.) im Vergleich zu Männern, die einfach / (.) die einfach dann eben in der Situation sind von wegen ok ja, sie lieben jetzt dieselbe Frau, und mögen sich auch und haben auch diese Situation schon mal irgendwie ok ja, sie kommen sich jetzt über das nahe, aber halt ganz krass mit ihren (.) sozusagen mit ihrer (..) bis jetzt erlernten (..) dingen in Bezug auf Kontakt mit Männern konfrontiert sind. Also wirklich tatsächlich mit (.) erstmal irgendwie dem Gefühl von Ekel vor dem anderen oder so. Obwohl sozusagen die rational (.) / die (.) Offenheit dafür da ist und die (..) ja. (.) die Bereitschaft und auch sozusagen / aber dass das trotzdem einmal dieses (.) dass sie sozusagen als Packerl da zu überwinden haben oder diese Barrieren oder einfach / kommt mir vor so dass es deutlich größer wär als wie bei mir, wo ich mir dann (sag) ok, ich probier es einfach mal aus, wie das mit einer Frau ist sozusagen, also*." (Int. 010, par. 75).

[484] *„Eine Erkenntnis (.) die ich hatte, (..) war dass für mich / also dass dieses / dadurch dass Polyamorie so unbekannt ist, ist es tatsächlich so ein Phänomen wie auch wenn man (.) keine Ahnung, (..) wenn man (.) lesbisch oder schwul ist, oder bisexuell oder Transident und sich überlegen muss ob man sich outet und so weiter. Es ist ganz oft so dass man sich überlegen muss ob man sich outet. Und (.....) die ganze / die ganze frage (.) mit wem ist man denn zusammen, und wer ist aller Teil der Familie ist so (.) wichtig in*

• **Polymeer (the polyamorous sea)**

The next one up would fit the category "glossary". As shown in chapter 2, the term *polyamory* made it into the Oxford Dictionary in 2006 and is by now sufficiently well-known to be recognized for example by spelling corrections of text editing applications such as Microsoft Word. Other related words that are used within the context of polyamory, however, are not: the word *polycule* could serve as example. Furthermore, English is the lingua franca these days, which means that it takes even longer for such terms to be adopted into other Western languages.[485] One of the interviewees created his own word as he described his personal relationship status: "*Molecules or polycules would be such connections of more atoms, that is the picture of it, molecules usually end somewhere. If I would draw my situation, my relationships, my partners, their partners, that gets tricky, since I might not know the current status of my partner's partner. (…) This is why I came up with the term Polymeer, since a molecule stands for something that goes on and on, it can constantly make further connections*."

This statement illustrates the diversity of polyamorous relationships and is a counterpart to for example closed triangles that exist as well. To explain the wordplay, the German word *Meer* means *sea*, while the word *mehr* (which would work just as well, not as a noun but as an adjective) means *more*; in addition, there is of course the association with *polymer*.[486]

• **Reproducing polyamorous stereotypes**

It is Zacharias again who wanted to add another aspect of the meaning of language, this time regarding its influence on polyamorous representation. He wonders how media representation is created, and how he or other people from the community can gain access to information/knowledge on polyamory in case they are interviewed themselves. His concern is the following: "*(…) how do I prepare for an interview, so that it cannot be used to push stereotypes that have no right to exist*."[487]

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*der Gesellschaft. Das wird man ständig gefragt. (.) also (.) vor allem so ab 30. Ist dann so dieses ja, und bist du verheiratet oder hast du Kinder und so weiter und / und es ist (.) schwer, überhaupt irgendwie dem Ganzen auszukommen*." (Int. 011, par. 82).

[485] See for example chapter 10 where I define the research period of the media analysis by the first appearance of the word polyamory in its German spelling Polyamorie.

[486] „*Moleküle oder Polyküle wären ja so Verbindungen als mehreren Atomen, es ist so das Bild und Moleküle enden normalerweise irgendwo. Und in meiner Situation ist es tatsächlich so, dass ich, wenn ich das jetzt aufzeichnen würde, könnt ich sozusagen meine Beziehungen, die Partnerinnen die ich hab, die anderen Partner auflisten und dann wird's langsam schwierig, weil ich vielleicht gar nicht den aktuellen Stand der Partner meiner Partnerinnen weiß, was grad deren Datenschaft sind, auswendig. Oder wenn ich die wissen würd, dann vielleicht die nächste Ebene / also ich weiß, dass es wahrscheinlich weiter geht, aber mein Wissen darüber ist begrenzt, und deswegen bin ich eben auf den lustigen Begriff Polymeer gekommen, weil äh eben ein Molekül bezeichnet, was immer weiter geht, also immer weiter Verbindungen machen kann, also*." (Int. 013, par. 25).

[487] „*Es war / mir hat a schon / immer wieder mal damit beschäftig wie es zu der Berichterstattung kommt, die es*

• **(No) Social poly housing**

This topic would match the chapter on legal acceptance, yet is addresses a very specific issue that I was unable to find in any publication. Miranda refers to polyamorous couples who already have or plan to have children, which makes the housing situation difficult. One thing that she explicitly mentions in this context is that poly people cannot simply apply for social housing as a "*couple*", if this *couple* consists of more than two people: "*So what is going to happen if three people that are not a family yet apply for an apartment with the city council? I could imagine that, since it is actually rather difficult*."[488]

• **Advice for secondary partners**

I have already shown the need to address polyamory more in psychological and therapy training on the basis of academic sources in this chapter; and also guidebooks can provide help for those affected. Both aspects usually refer to a specific target group, as Sorona points out. What she misses is explicit advice for secondary partners: "*Literature provides close to nothing. There are always a few books others refer to, but in my case… I have downloaded huge amounts of books, but they did not help. They are always written by people in a primary relationship, but I looked for something that could help me in my situation*."[489]

• **Polyamorous singles (mono-poly)**

Can someone be single and polyamorous? This is a question that bothers Antonia when she talks about her love and relationship history. The key message is hidden in the last sentence: it is less a matter for her personally but for her surroundings that keeps her from coming out, and for a reason that has not been covered yet: "*I was not successful at all in my relationship history. I seldom had a relationship*

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*gibt, vor allem in Medien mit größerer Reichweite, und welchen Einfluss man überhaupt drauf haben kann, also als Community, sofern man diesen Begriff benutzen für Leute, die a gemeinsame Lebenseinstellung in einem Lebensbereich haben, und wo es die Idee gibt, Material, oder wie bereite ich mich auf ein Interview vor, sodass halt ned, des irgendwie verwendet werden kann, äh um Stereotypen zu fördern, die eigentlich keine Berechtigung haben*." (Int. 13, par. 49).

[488] *„Wo ich schon sehe, dass viele polypaare, viele Polys, Polyküle auch teilweise mit Kindern, mit Kinderwunsch oder so Probleme haben ist wie man Wohnungssituationen ausbalanciert. (I ja) (.) das ist jetzt ein bisschen so auf die Art, das ist halt schwierig, aber ist für jeden Menschen schwierig mit der Wohnungssituation. Für Polys vielleicht ein bisschen schwieriger, und das könnt unter Umständen auch rechtliche Aspekte irgendwann einmal kriegen. (.) in ferner Zukunft. So nach dem Motto was passiert jetzt wenn drei Leute die keine Familie sind sich bei der Stadt um eine Wohnung bewerben oder so. (..) das könnt ich mir schon vorstellen, das ist nämlich wirklich was relativ Schwieriges*." (Int. 19, par. 48).

[489] *„Und es gibt von der Literatur her wahnsinnig wenig, ja? Es gibt immer ein paar Referenzbücher, auf die wird verwiesen, (..) und (..) die aber wie gesagt, mir in dem Fall (.) / ich hab mir wahnsinnig viel Bücher runtergeladen, aber (..) es hat mir per se nichts gebracht, weils wirklich immer Leute geschrieben haben, die eben in so einer Primärbeziehung sind, (.) und ich für mich aber was gesucht hab, was mir weiterhilft in meiner Situation*." (Int. 020, par. 44).

*where I could say 'look, this is my relationship, my one and only.' So, for me relationship has always been very important – but of short duration. This makes the coming out difficult. I have no one to show*."[490]

### • Opening a relationship to kill it slowly

Petrus' statement connects to the social acceptance of polyamorous relationships, especially to the reactions of friends he has experienced himself. Beside the all-time favorites "*it cannot work*" and "*you are doing this because you are an egotist*", he brings up a strategy that I have not heard or read before anywhere else: "*If a relationship does not work anymore, you simply open it up. This will lead to ending it slowly*."[491]

### • The definition problem

With Hubert I finished the interview series, and it is also a quote by Hubert that is going to conclude this subchapter. He touches on the matter of definition and links it to the questions that arise in his specific situation. His final sentence is related to his BDSM-affinity and polyamory, but the idea of it can also work for the wider field of polyamory: "*Who tells us that we cannot define ourselves. Maybe there are completely different templates to define relationships. And that is the big criticism I have in dealing with polyamory when it comes to discussion. That one only lives via relationships, as in: so, I have a relationship, or I don't have a relationship with, or I have a little bit a relationship with. Can we please discuss which ones? I mean I have my origins in the S/M scene. I once heard a woman say: 'Hey guys, I have a master, a partner, a daddy, a dog, two slaves and a servant. And now please tell me how many lovers I have, I don't know!'*"[492]

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[490] *„Weil ich auch so (.) beziehungstechnisch überhaupt wenig erfolgreich war in meiner Beziehungsvergangenheit. Also ich hab selten eine ganz lange Beziehung gehabt wo ich sagen könnte 20 Jahre und schaut her, da / das ist meine Beziehung, das ein und alles. Also für mich war (.) Beziehung zwar schon immer sehr wichtig, aber (.) von kurzer Dauer. Deswegen (.) gab da irgendwie / und das macht es auch schwerer, das outen ja? Wenn man niemanden hat da zum zeigen ja?*" (Int. 021, par. 42)

[491] *„Was meines Erachtens ein spannender Aspekt war doch durchaus diese Reaktionen von Freunden. (I mhm) das wär was was sicherlich irgendwie interessant wäre zu untersuchen. (.) also ich hab da alles gehört von kann nicht funktionieren, das tust du aus egoistischen Gründen, (…) oder wenn eine Beziehung nicht funktioniert dann macht man sie halt auf damit man sie langsamer beendet. (Lacht).*" (Int. 24, par. 56).

[492] *„Aber wer sagt uns, dass man das nicht selber definieren dürfen. Vielleicht gibt es noch ganz andere Schablonen. Beziehungen zu definieren. Und das ist, das ist schon auch eine ganz große Kritik an dem Umgang mit Polyamorie so wie ich ihn üblicherweise diskutiert höre. Dass man nur über Beziehungen lebt. Also ich hab eine Beziehung mit, oder ich hab keine Beziehung mit, oder ich hab ein bisschen eine Beziehung mit. Können wir bitte darüber diskutieren welche? Ich mein ich komm aus der S/M-Szene. Ich hab einmal eine Frau auf einer Veranstaltung fragen hören: Ja he Leute, ich hab einen Herren, einen Partner, einen Daddy, einen Hund, zwei Sklaven, und einen Bediensteten. Und jetzt sagt mir bitte wie viele Geliebte ich hab, ich weiß es nicht.*" (Int. 033, par. 70).

Summing this subchapter up is a rather difficult task. The topics listed are personal, rather random and have no common thread. All of them have their justifications; we'll only see in the future which ones will become empirically important, and which will be nothing more than a few lines in this thesis – I are not predict. What I do dare is an outlook on the future of polyamory – to be found below in the final subchapter.

## 16.3 Closing comments, or: is polyamory the future?

This is it. In a process of a total of seven years I intended to answer **the question if the media representation corresponds contradicts the self-perception of people living polyamorous** – which I did.

In addition, the research project delivered a new **definition** of polyamory ("**A consensual relationship between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over a longer period of time"**); and it furthermore showed that polyamorous individuals can be categorized as polyamorous when they **love, live, act, think, and feel polyamorous**. So, is this it?

I was interviewed by a young journalism student just a few weeks before finishing this final chapter and they asked the closing question whether polyamory was how Western societies would live relationships in the future; or in other words: Is polyamory the future? Will the majority of the population live in polyamorous relationships soon? This is a question I consider as essential on the topic of polyamory, but my position is no, it is not. Below I will give my reasons:[493]

### • 10 brief answers to the big question of polyamory

First, for the majority of the population, turning the desire for consensual loving many and being intimate with many into reality does not beat the individual challenges one would face in doing so.

Second, polyamory can be considered as a sexual orientation. If we do, I would think the number of people who are intrinsically poly is about the same as those who are gay or bisexual. In overall numbers, this is not the majority of the population.

[493] Any similarities of the subtitle with a book by a famous British physician titled *Brief answers to the big questions* is purely accidental and not intended!

Third, society is couple-based. Straight or gay, old or young, rich or poor, tall or small: The societal norm of a relationship consists of two people.

Forth, polyamory is somewhat illegal. To be precise, it is not illegal, but it is (nearly) impossible to get a legal status for an emotional and relationship between more than two people.

Fifth, Christian confessions will not allow polyamorous weddings. Not that poly people would care about that – but even if they would, they could not get the blessing of god's representatives on earth for their multiple relationship.

Sixth, there are not enough famous and loved-by-everyone polyamorous testimonials yet. This could change in the nearer future, but for the moment, there aren't.

Seventh, polyamory is political. It is predominately a leftist concept. The majority of governments in the Western world are populist, conservative and right-wing at the moment. So there is not much support to be expected from these governments.

Eighth, and this is what we have seen with the effects the Covid-19 pandemic: In times of crisis, people tend to turn towards things that promise stability. Polyamory seems not to promise more stability than monogamous relationships.

Ninth, the vast majority of the population is jealous, be it for emotional and/or sexual reasons. Polyamory and jealousy do not go well together.

And tenth, some choose a poly life when it fits the situation they are living in. When life becomes serious (in terms of offspring for example), many of them turn back to monogamy.

So, does that mean that polyamory is destined to fail? The answer is no again. Polyamory can work. Not for all, not all the time, but there is a small minority of the population for whom it does work. The challenges to get there and to stay there are manifold, yet polyamory is real and cannot be denied.

To those who do dare, to those who are challenged but cannot do differently, to those who failed and tried again, to those who do see the future in polyamory – to them I dedicate this thesis. Thank you!

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## 17. Appendix

The appendix at hand includes the following content: An abstract of the thesis in English and German language in the extent of 250 words each as requested by the Vienna Doctoral School of Social Sciences (17.1); a list of tables and figures of the used in the theoretical and empirical chapters (including the original German figures that I have converted into English) (17.2); the list of articles that have been used for the media analysis (17.3.a); the list of articles that have not been used for the media analysis (inclusive the reasons why the articles have been excluded) (17.3.b); the code book including samples how to implement the sub codes in German language (17.4); the list of interviewees participating including interview date, duration and pseudonym name (17.5); the declaration of consent every interview participant received (and is filed in copy with the thesis advisor Prof. Franz X. Eder) (17.6); the personal guideline form for the interviews I have used to ensure reproducibility (17.7); a detailed description on the whereabouts and the accessibility of the interview transcripts (17.8); the demographic questionnaire used for the interviews (17.9); and finally the mail correspondence with the management of the punkband *Die Toten Hosen* in order to use one of their lyrics for the thesis (17.10).

## 17.1 Abstracts (English and German language)

### • Abstract English

*(According to the submission requirements of the Vienna Doctoral School of Social Sciences, see https://vds-sosci.univie.ac.at/doctoral-programme/submission-and-review-of-the-doctoral-thesis/, accessed 17/09/2021)*

Polyamory – understood as a consensual relationship between more than two people based on emotional love and intimate acts over a longer period of time – emerged in the academic as well as societal discussion in the 1990s, with literature predominately focussing on sexual diversity in society and history. Anchoring polyamory within the wider LGBTIQ discourse leads to the issues that are discussed in the thesis: the love and life biographies of individuals; categorizations with regard to sexual minority groups; social acceptance by different peers; the (presumed) demand for legal as well as religious recognition; and the collection and distribution of information on polyamory.

The theoretical background is the communication science theory of media framing which, using a hypothesis-generating approach, illustrates to which extent the self-perception of those affected matches or clashes with the media representation. The applied methods are autobiographical narrative interviews with 33 people from a total of 14 polycules; and a qualitative content analysis of 368 newspaper and magazine articles on polyamory published in Austria, Germany and Switzerland in the years 2007 to 2017 (full survey).

The findings deliver a new, adapted understanding of the term polyamory from which the definition of loving, living, acting, thinking, and feeling poly is derived. Furthermore, different affected characters (poly prototypes) are identified. As for the overall question, the media representation corresponds self-perception regarding biographical, categorization and religious matters; and predominately regarding legal issues; self-perception only differs from predominant media representation with regard to social acceptance and the collection of poly knowledge.

## • Abstract German

*(According to the submission requirements of the Vienna Doctoral School of Social Sciences, see https://vds-sosci.univie.ac.at/doctoral-programme/submission-and-review-of-the-doctoral-thesis/, accessed 17/09/2021)*

Polyamorie – verstanden als konsensuale Beziehung zwischen mehr als zwei Personen, basierend auf emotionaler Liebe und intimen Praktiken über einen längeren Zeitraum hinweg – entwickelt sich in den 1990igern als Gegenstand akademischer als auch gesellschaftlicher Diskussion, wobei sich die Literatur vor allem auf sexuelle Vielfalt in Gesellschaft und Geschichte konzentriert. Die Verankerung von Polyamorie im breiteren LGBTIQ-Diskurs führt zu den Themen, die in der Dissertation diskutiert werden: die Liebes- und Lebensbiographien von involvierten Personen; Kategorisierungen in Bezug auf sexuelle Minderheiten; soziale Akzeptanz durch unterschiedliche Gruppen; die (vermutete) Forderung nach rechtlicher als auch kirchlicher Anerkennung; und die Wissensgenerierung und -verbreitung des Themas Polyamorie.

Theoretischer Hintergrund ist die kommunikationswissenschaftliche Theorie des Media Framings, auf Basis derer veranschaulicht wird, inwieweit Eigenwahrnehmung und medial vermittelte Fremddarstellung übereinstimmen oder sich unterscheiden. Die dafür angewandten Methoden sind narrative biographische Interviews von 33 Personen aus 14 Polykülen; sowie eine qualitative Inhaltsanalyse von 368 Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenartikeln aus Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz, die in den Jahren 2007 bis 2017 erschienen sind (Vollerhebung).

Die Ergebnisse liefern eine neue, adaptierte Definition des Begriffes Polyamorie, die auf dem Verständnis von polyamorös lieben, leben, denken, handeln und fühlen basiert. Ergänzend dazu werden unterschiedliche Ausprägungen betroffener Personen identifiziert und als Poly Prototypen kategorisiert. Bezugnehmend auf die forschungsleitende Frage entspricht die mediale Repräsentation der Eigenwahrnehmung bei den Liebes- und Lebensbiographien, den Kategorisierungen, sowie den kirchlichen Belangen. Überwiegend entsprechen Selbstbild und Fremdbild beim Wunsch nach rechtlicher Anerkennung; beim Thema sozialer Anerkennung von Polyamorie, als auch bei der Generierung und Verbreitung von Wissen können keine Übereinstimmungen aufgezeigt werden.

## 17.2 List of tables and figures

Following is the list of tables and figures by the running order of the chapters.

### • Chapter 1: Introduction

Fig. 1.1: Number of peer-reviewed publications in which the term "polyamory" appeared in the years 1999 to 2020 (figure by the author).

Fig. 1.2: Number of printed sources containing the term "polyamory" that appeared from 1990 to 2019 (figure by Google).

### • Chapter 2: Polyamory: Definition, history, and delimitation

Fig. 2.1: Characters within a polycule by Wolf (2016).

Fig. 2.2: Sexual identities, orientations, and statuses according to Anders (2015, p. 1178) – table 1.

Fig. 2.3: Sexual identities, orientations, and statuses according to Anders (2015, p. 1181) – table 2.

Fig. 2.4: The map of non-monogamy, Veaux (2010), in (Visschedijk, 2015, p. 63).

Fig. 2.5: The map of non-monogamy (Veaux, 2017).

Fig. 2.6: The *Primary/Secondary Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 98) (interpreted with two *primaries* and three *secondaries*, figure by the author).

Fig. 2.7: The *Primary/Secondary Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 98) (interpreted as a *hinge*, figure by the author).

Fig. 2.8: The *Multi-Primary Individual Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted with one person having two primary partners, figure by the author).

Fig. 2.9: The *Multi-Primary Family Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted as an open triad with one *secondary* involved, figure by the author).

Fig. 2.10: The *Multi-Primary Family Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted by a couple and another couple of which one each fell in love, and the others are now in the family constellation, figure by the author).

Fig. 2.11: The *Multi-Secondary Relationship Model* by Bettinger (2005, p. 99) (interpreted by five individuals of which one has two *secondaries*, figure by the author).

## • Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework on polyamory

Fig. 3.1: The fundamental questions of empirical social research ("*Grundfragen der empirischen Sozialforschung*") by Atteslander (2010, p. 4). English figure by the author.

The according original figure 3.1

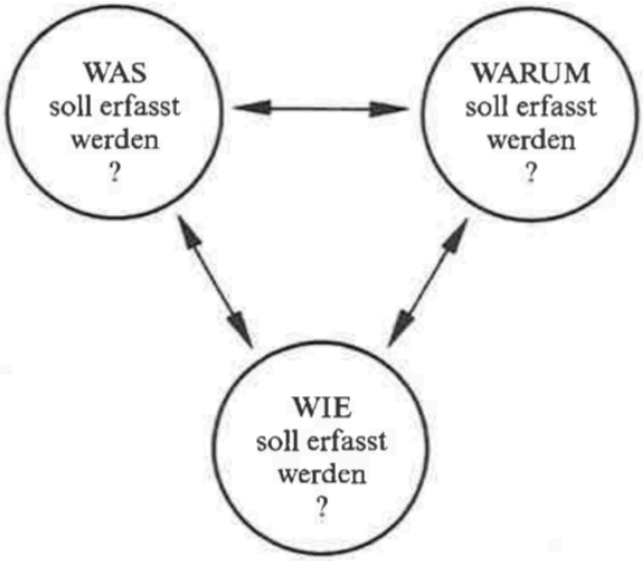


Abbildung 1-1: Grundfragen der empirischen Sozialforschung

Fig. 3.2: Degree of abstraction of theories and their frequency of verification ("*Abstraktionsgrad von Theorien und Häufigkeit ihrer Überprüfung*") by Atteslander (2010, p. 35).

The according original figure 3.2

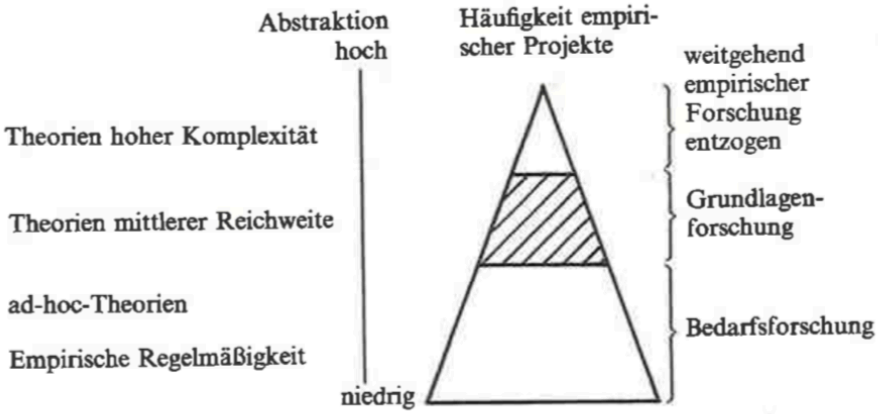


Abbildung 2-3: Abstraktionsgrad von Theorien und Häufigkeit ihrer Überprüfung

Fig. 3.3: Collage "How the media can manipulate our viewpoint" by Christensen (2021)

Fig. 3.4 A chronology of media effect paradigms from the 1930s to the 2010s according to Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016, p. 17).

- **Chapter 5. Love and life history**

Fig. 5.1: The "Triangle of relationship in Western countries since romanticism", figure by the author.

- **Chapter 10. Distributing poly knowledge**

Fig. 10.1: Number of peer-reviewed publications in which the term "polyamory" appeared in the years 1999 to 2020 (figure by the author).

Fig. 10.2: Poly problems, the first comic by Tikva Wolf (2013), of which further selected got printed in a book titling "*Ask me about polyamory. The best of Kimchi Cuddles*."

Fig. 10.3: MAOAM subject "polyamorous practice". Picture credit Spiegel_online (2004).

Fig. 10.4: Poster of the then Austrian member parliament Fabian Schmid promoting to be "Öffi für alles". Picture credit Herbert Pfarrhofer (2015).

- **Chapter 11. The exterior view: Media analysis**

Fig. 11.1: The general procedural model according to Mayring and Frenzl (2014, p. 54).

Fig. 11.2: Cutout from a newspaper article containing the word *Polyamorie*. The article was published in the *Landsruter Zeitung* on the 10th of November 2014; its number in the coding process is 2014_41.

Fig. 11.3: The same article as above, in .txt-file format, which was actually used for coding.

Fig. 11.4: Determine of the sub-components (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.5: Sub-dimensions of the first category "Love- and life history" (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.6: Section of the codebook translated in English language – in detail of the first three subcategories of the first category "Love- and life history".

Fig. 11.7: Sub-dimensions of the first category *1) Love- and life history* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.8: Sub-dimensions of the second category *2) Classification* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.9: Sub-dimensions of the third category *3) Social acceptance* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.10: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category *4) Legal recognition* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.11: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category *5) Religious recognition* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.12: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category *6) Gathering knowledge* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.13: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category *7) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.14: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category *W) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

Fig. 11.15: Content-analytical quality criteria according to Krippendorff (1980), IN: Mayring (2014, p. 110)

## • Chapter 12: The interior view: Self-perception of polyamory

Fig. 12.1: Overview on qualitative interviews according to Flick (1995, pp. 146-147)

The according original figure 12.1

| | Leitfaden-Interviews | | | | | Erzählungen als Zugang | | Gruppenverfahren | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Verfahren / Kriterien | **Fokussiertes Interview** | **Halbstandardisiertes Interview** | **Problemzentriertes Interview** | **Experten-Interview** | **Ethnographisches Interview** | **Narratives Interview** | **Episodisches Interview** | **Gruppendiskussion** | **Gemeinsames Erzählen** |
| **Offenheit für die subjektive Sicht des Interviewpartners durch:** | • Nichtbeeinflussung durch unstrukturierte Fragen | • offene Fragen | • Gegenstands- und Prozeßorientierung<br>• Raum für Erzählungen | • ist begrenzt, da Interesse nur am Experten, nicht an der Person | • beschreibende Fragen | • Nichtbeeinflussung einmal begonnener Erzählungen | • Erzählung bedeutsamer Erfahrungen<br>• Auswahl durch den Interviewpartner | • non-direktive Diskussionsleitung<br>• permissives Diskussionsklima | • Verzicht auf Erzählstimulus und methodische Interventionen |
| **Strukturierung (z. B. Vertiefung) des Gegenstandes durch:** | • Stimulusvorgabe<br>• strukturierte Fragen<br>• Fokussierung von Gefühlen | • hypothesengerichtete Fragen<br>• Konfrontationsfragen | • Leitfaden als Grundlage für Wendungen und Abbruch unergiebiger Darstellungen | • Leitfaden als Strukturierungsinstrument | • strukturelle Fragen<br>• kontrastive Fragen | • Erzählaufforderung<br>• narrativer Nachfrageteil am Ende<br>• Bilanzierungsteil | • Verbindung von Erzählung und Argumentation<br>• Vorgabe konkreter Situationen, die erzählt werden sollen | • Dynamik, die sich in der Gruppe entwickelt<br>• Steuerung durch Leitfaden | • Dynamik des gemeinsamen Erzählens<br>• Kontrolliste für Sozialdaten<br>• Beobachtungsprotokoll |
| **Beitrag zur allgemeinen Entwicklung der Methode des Interviews** | • vier Kriterien für die Interviewgestaltung<br>• Gegenstandsanalyse als zweite Datensorte | • Strukturierung der Inhalte durch Struktur-Lege-Technik<br>• Vorschläge zur Explikation impliziten Wissens | • Kurzfragebogen<br>• Postscript | • Verdeutlichung der Steuerung: Beschränkung des Interviews auf den Experten | • Verdeutlichung des Problems der Herstellung von Interviewsituationen | • Verortung der Strukturierung des Interviews an Anfang und Ende<br>• Ausloten des Instruments Erzählung | • systematische Verbindung von Erzählung und Argumentation als Datensorten<br>• gezielte Erzählaufforderung | • Alternative zur Einzelbefragung durch Gruppendynamik | • Verbindung von Erzählung und Interaktionsanalysen<br>• Betonung der Konstruktion im Erzählen |
| **Anwendungsbereich** | • Analyse subjektiver Bedeutungen | • Rekonstruktion subjektiver Theorien | • gesellschaftlich oder biographisch relevante Probleme | • Expertenwissen in Institutionen | • im Rahmen der Feldforschung in offenen Feldern | • biographische Verläufe | • Wandel, Routinen und Situationen im Alltag | • Meinungs- und Einstellungsforschung | • Familienforschung |
| **Probleme der Durchführung** | • Dilemma der Vereinbarkeit der Kriterien | • umfangreiche methodische Vorgaben<br>• Auswertungsprobleme | • unsystematischer Wechsel von Erzählung zu Frage-Antwort-Schema | • Rollendiffusion beim Interviewpartner<br>• Blockade des Experten | • Vermittlung zwischen ‹freundlicher Unterhaltung› und formalem Interview | • extrem einseitige Interviewsituation<br>• Probleme des Erzählers<br>• Problematik der Zugzwänge | • Verdeutlichung des Prinzips<br>• Handhabung des Leitfadens | • Vermittlung zwischen Schweigern und Vielrednern<br>• kaum planbarer Verlauf | • Verzicht auf thematische Fokussierung der Erzählungen |
| **Grenzen der Methode** | • Annahme, objektive Merkmale des Gegenstands zu kennen, ist fraglich<br>• kaum Einsatz in Reinform | • Vorgabe einer Struktur<br>• Notwendigkeit, die Methode an Gegenstand und Interviewpartner anzupassen | • Problemorientierung<br>• unsystematische Verbindung unterschiedlichster ‹Teilelemente› | • Begrenzung der Auswertung auf Expertenwissen | • vor allem in Kombination mit Beobachtung und Feldforschung sinnvoll | • unterstellte Analogie von Erfahrung und Erzählung<br>• Reduzierung des Gegenstandes auf Erzählbares | • Beschränkung auf Alltagswissen | • hoher organisatorischer Aufwand<br>• Probleme der Vergleichbarkeit | • Verzicht auf Steuerung<br>• Eigenständigkeit als Einzelmethode<br>• Umfang der Fallanalysen |
| **Literatur** | Merton & Kendall (1979) | Scheele & Groeben (1988) | Witzel (1985) | Meuser & Nagel (1991) | Spradley (1979) | Schütze (1983) Hermanns (1991) | Flick (1995b) | Krüger (1983) Bohnsack (1991) | Hildenbrand & Jahn (1988) |

*Tabelle 5:* Vergleich der Verfahren zur Erhebung verbaler Daten

Fig. 12.2: Diagram of a random fictitious polycule including relationships of different intensity between partners.

Fig. 12.3: Stage model of empirically based type generation ("*Stufenmodell empirisch begründeter Typenbildung*") by Kelle and Kluge (2010, p. 92) – English version by the author.

The according original Figure 12.3:

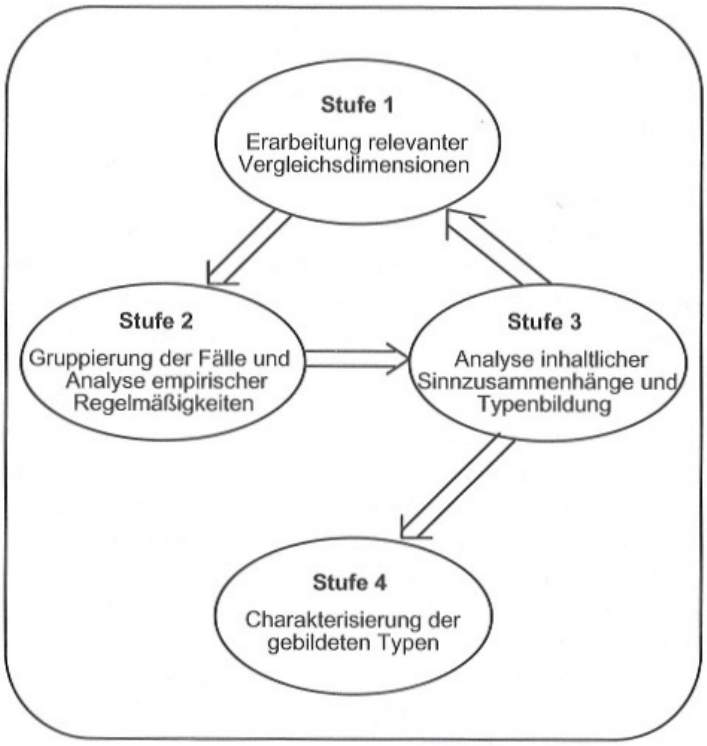


Fig. 12.4: Categorization of poly types (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.5: Sub-dimensions of the second category “Classification” (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.6: Sub-dimensions of the third category “social acceptance” (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.7: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category “Legal recognition” (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.8: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category “Religious recognition” (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.9: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category “Gathering knowledge” (figure by the author).

Fig. 12.10: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category “Further aspects” (figure by the author).

• **Chapter 13: Results media analysis**

Fig. 13.1: Number of articles that have been found/analysed in detail (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.2: Number of articles according to country (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.3: Average word count per country (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.4: Number of sections of newspaper articles on polyamory (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.5: Number of the newspapers in Austria that covered the topic of polyamory most often (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.6: Number of the newspapers in Germany that covered the topic of polyamory most often (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.7: Number of the newspapers in Austria, Germany Switzerland that covered the topic of polyamory most often (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.8: Sub-dimensions of the first category *1) Love and life history* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.9: Number of codes assigned to love and life history (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.10: Sub-dimensions of the second category *2) Classification* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.11: Number of codes assigned to the classification of polyamory (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.12: Sub-dimensions of the third category *3) Social acceptance* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.13: Number of codes assigned to social acceptance of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.14: Sub-dimensions of the fourth category *4) Legal recognition* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.15: Number of codes assigned to the demand for legal recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.16: Sub-dimensions of the fifth category *5) Religious recognition* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.17: Number of codes assigned to the demand for religious recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.18: Sub-dimensions of the sixth category *6) Gathering knowledge* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.19: Number of codes assigned to the generation of knowledge on polyamory (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.20: Sub-dimensions of the seventh category *7) Further aspects* (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.21: Number of codes assigned to further aspects that appeared in larger number and did not fit any of the other categories or were not represented by a research question (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.22: Number of codes assigned on the valuation of the individual articles (figure by the author).

Fig. 13.23: Mean value of validation of newspaper articles on polyamory year (figure by the author).

- **Chapter 14: Results self-perception**

Fig. 14.1: Number of interview partners by age in 5-year steps (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.2: Population of Vienna by age in 5-year steps (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.3: Sexual orientation by self-classification by the interviewees (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.4: Monthly income before tax in Euros according to the interviewees' self-classification (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.5: Relationship status according to the interviewees' self-classification (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.6: Relationship status drawn by Ludmilla (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.7: Relationship status drawn by Tatjana (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.8: Relationship status drawn by Gustav (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.9: Relationship status drawn by Tobias (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.10: Relationship status drawn by Fanja (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.11: Relationship status drawn by Leopold (standardised and illustrated by the author).

Fig. 14.12: Experiences made in order to be/live/act polyamorous (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.13: Experiences by subject matter leading to being/living/acting polyamorous (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.14: Stage model of empirically based type generation ("*Stufenmodell empirisch begründeter Typenbildung*") by Kelle and Kluge (2010, p. 92) – English version by the author.

Fig. 14.15: Types of polyamorous characters (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.16: Number of codes assigned to the classification of polyamory (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.17: Number of codes assigned to social acceptance of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.18: Number of codes assigned to the demand of legal recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.19: Number of codes assigned to the demand of religious recognition of polyamorous relationships (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.20: Previous and current denominations of the interviewees as stated by the interviewees themselves (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.21: Number of codes assigned to the generation of knowledge on polyamory (figure by the author).

Fig. 14.22: Number of codes assigned to further aspects from the media analysis that appeared in a larger number and did not fit any of the other categories or were not allocated to a research question (figure by the author).

## 17.3.a List of articles included

The following list includes all articles that have been analysed. The coloured background has been inserted for better clarity – the colours blue and green alternate every year.

Column 1 holds the running overall number,

Column 2 holds the published year and running number of article in that year,

Column 3 the name of the newspaper or magazine,

Column 4 the country,

Column 5 the title,

Column 6 the amount of words,

Column 7 the key word for which the article was found,

Column 8 the category in which it was published,

Column 9 the URL where the article is to be found.

| Nr. | Jahr | Medium (Name) | Land | Titel | Anzahl Woerter | Schlagwort | Ressort | URL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1997_01 | Der Spiegel | GER | Das Modell der Zukunft | 1969 | Polyamory | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPIE__DWOM970001199700400014600%7CTSPI__DWOM9700011997000400014600 |
| 2 | 2004_01 | Rheinische Post | GER | Frucht-Gummis? | 369 | polyamoröse | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/RP__95551265 |
| 3 | 2005_01 | Berliner Morgenpost | GER | Und wenn ich mich dabei verliebe? | 707 | polyamouröse | BIZ | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BMP__43723123 |
| 4 | 2006_01 | Kurier | AUT | Mehr-Blick | 552 | Polyamory | Freizeit | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520060%2004221739300199 |
| 5 | 2006_02 | Kurier | AUT | Polyamory. Die neue Form der Beziehung | 186 | Polyamory | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520060%2007121725040105 |
| 6 | 2006_03 | Die Weltwoche | SUI | Im Treibhaus | 1088 | polyamorischen | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEWO__112006026210 |
| 7 | 2007_01 | Tagesanzeiger | SUI | Ich liebe dich und sie, und du liebst mich und ihn | 1312 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAG__J20070123902720 |
| 8 | 2007_02 | Tagesanzeiger | SUI | Androgyne Imker | 186 | Polyamory | Regionalausgabe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAG__J20070125909393 |
| 11 | 2007_03 | Weltwoche | SUI | Geteilte Freuden | 2289 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEWO__052007167369 |
| 12 | 2007_04 | Weltwoche | SUI | Leserbriefe | 1519 | Polyamorie | Leserbrief | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEWO__052007247405 |
| 14 | 2007_05 | Focus | GER | CSU / Liebesgrüße aus Berlin | 979 | Polyamourist | Deutschland | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__FOC_04062007JJ0IQDUE040032 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 2007_06 | Focus | GER | PSYCHOLOGIE. Ich liebe dich (und dich auch) | 828 | Polyamorie | Modernes Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__FOC_04062007JJ0IQDUE126069 |
| 17 | 2007_07 | TAZ | GER | Ich heirate die Familie | 801 | Polyamory | TAZ Nord | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T070707.241 |
| 21 | 2007_08 | Welt | GER | Leben mit mehreren Partnern | 667 | Polyamorie | Wissenschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WELT__53438426 |
| 22 | 2007_09 | Berliner Morgen post | GER | Amerikaner wollen mehr Liebe | 173 | Polyamorie | Wissenschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BMP__53437306 |
| 23 | 2007_10 | TAZ | GER | Du und ich und ich und er | 1026 | Polyamory | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T071102.91 |
| 24 | 2007_11 | TAZ | GER | Das ist Polyamory | 101 | Polyamory | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T071102.92 |
| 26 | 2008_01 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Aktuell | 208 | Polyamory | Titelseite | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__08709009520080111014240002 |
| 27 | 2008_02 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Mehr als ein Liebesverhältnis | 443 | Polyamory | Wissen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__08709009520080111014240051 |
| 28 | 2008_03 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Polyamory | 133 | Polyamory | Wissen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__08709009520080111014240052 |
| 29 | 2008_04 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Leserbriefe | 608 | Polyamory | Service | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__08709009520080116011119009 1 |
| 30 | 2008_05 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Junge Welten | 278 | Polyamorie | Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__108013991 |
| 33 | 2008_06 | Sonntag szeitung | GER | Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern | 1398 | Polyamorie | Trend | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAS__J20081228264209 |
| 34 | 2009_01 | Sächsisc he Zeitung | GER | Wie viel ist Liebe geteilt durch sieben? | 700 | Polyamory | DRS Dresden Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__8513377 |
| 35 | 2009_02 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Naht das Ende der Monogamie? | 993 | Polyamory | Partnerschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__64301190 |
| 36 | 2009_03 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Zitate zum Mittwoch | 200 | Polyamory | Meinung | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__08709009520090415011129 0009 |
| 37 | 2009_04 | Kurier | AUT | Überblick | 158 | Polyamory | Weltchronik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520 09%2004151719220021 |
| 39 | 2009_05 | Der Tagesspi egel | GER | Die letzte Meldung | 83 | Polyamory | Die letzte Meldung | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__200904154720273%7CTSPH__200904154720273%7CTSPN__200904154720273 |
| 40 | 2009_06 | Rhein-Zeitung | GER | Stars und Sternchen | 352 | Polyamory | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/RZTG__9243F3C6A6D7D21A9BCA2E4E596D8A72 |
| 41 | 2009_07 | Potzda mer Neueste Nachric hten | GER | Unten Links | 68 | Polyamory | Titel | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PNN__200904154720090%7CPNNA__200904154720090 |
| 42 | 2009_08 | Nürnber ger Zeitung | GER | Tausende von Niederländern fordern die Vielehe | 197 | Polyamory | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZ__19959AA7021D12AFC1257599000F519A |

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| 43 | 2009_09 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Tausende Niederländer für Vielehe | 100 | Polyamory | Aus aller Welt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LVZ__40AF0F8894ABE38C23F2C50FA035A038 |
| 45 | 2009_10 | Reutlinger General anzeiger | GER | Tausende Niederländer befürworten Viel-Ehe | 116 | Polyamory | Weltspiegel | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GEA__srv0000000783318 |
| 46 | 2009_11 | Neue Züricher Zeitung | SUI | Zwei Frauen - ein Mann | 1209 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__GYNXO |
| 50 | 2009_12 | Hamburger Morgen post | GER | Dieter Wedel | 276 | polyamor | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MOPO__HMP2009080213032498 |
| 51 | 2009_13 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Wussten Sie schon? | 45 | polyamor | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BKU__P209025002 |
| 53 | 2009_14 | Oberösterreichische Nachrichten | AUT | Das Glück, mehrere zu lieben | 473 | Polyamorie | Leben heute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/OOEN__srv0000000958567 |
| 54 | 2009_15 | Oberösterreichische Nachrichten | AUT | Künstler, Schriftsteller, Wissenschafter | 59 | Polyamorie | Leben heute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/OOEN__srv0000000958651 |
| 55 | 2009_16 | TAZ | GER | Leserinnenbriefe | 706 | Polyamory | LeserInnenbriefe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T090812.86 |
| 68 | 2009_17 | Focus Money | GER | Familienpolitik / Die ich-will-alles-Gesellschaft | 1219 | polyamore | Money Debatte | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCM__FOCM_C78745A9B7A997DA221EF3F2408A5F38 |
| 69 | 2009_18 | TAZ | GER | Die unpolitische Nackte | 704 | Polyamory | Lebensformen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T090905.18 |
| 74 | 2009_19 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Delis, Dim Sum und polyamouröse | 284 | Polyamouröse n | Erzählungen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__KS1024200908020073AC99%7CKSTT__KS1024200908020073AC99 |
| 75 | 2009_20 | Falter | AUT | Schubumkehr im Nowak: Boulevard andersrum | 137 | Polyamorie | Kritik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__0700650760840690820952009%2011111725160008 |
| 76 | 2010_01 | Reutlinger General anzeiger | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 321 | Polyamorie | Journal | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GEA__srv0000001022037 |
| 89 | 2010_02 | Tagesanzeiger | GER | Der deutsche TV-Regisseur Dieter Wedel hat seine Autobiografie geschrieben. | 545 | polyamore | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAG__JM20100312000001195 |
| 95 | 2010_03 | TAZ | GER | Meine WG ist meine Familie | 806 | Polyamorie | Meinung und Diskussion | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T100421.105 |
| 96 | 2010_04 | Focus | GER | Gesamttitel: Wie liebe ich - und wenn ja, wie viele? | 3266 | Polyamorie | Gesamttitel | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20100522-focu-0111 |
| 98 | 2010_05 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Wenn Treue ein Fabelwort ist | 432 | polyamore | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__70709944 |
| 99 | 2010_06 | Focus | GER | Debatte online: "Ob Ehe, Familie oder Kommune" | 262 | polyamore | Redaktion | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20100531-focu-0088 |
| 100 | 2010_07 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Vorwurf: Die Erlebbarkeit der Anlage leidet | 579 | Polyamouröse | Dresden | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LVZ__0C2BB791205E37A40EEAC840C42D014F |

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| 102 | 2010_08 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | An jeder Hand zwei Frauen | 964 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TITA__08408409520100815050145000 1 |
| 104 | 2010_09 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Eine große Sehnsucht nach der Stille | 927 | polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__110063812 |
| 105 | 2010_10 | Zeit online | GER | Wen lieb ich und wenn ja, wie viele? | 879 | Polyamorie | Sachbücher | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__5CC49DE85FAA755F48CDA917CCC7E6B0 |
| 106 | 2010_11 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | "Christoph war wie ein Blitzableiter für unsere Generation" | 537 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__74560449 |
| 107 | 2010_12 | Oberösterreichische Nachrichten | AUT | Alles andere als gewöhnlich | 378 | polyamoröse | Menschen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/OOEN__srv0000002443882 |
| 109 | 2010_13 | Neue Luzerner Zeitung | SUI | "Untreue destabilisiert" | 1017 | Polyamory | | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NLZ__JM20101122004831717 |
| 110 | 2010_14 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | WOCHENENDTIPPS // Märchen, Orgeln und Advent | 642 | Polyamorie | Berlin Stadtleben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201011265921417%7CTSPH__201011265921417%7CTSPN__201011265921417 |
| 111 | 2010_15 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Liebe 2020: Vielweiberei, dafür Online-Scheidungen | 297 | polyamore | Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__75477248 |
| 112 | 2010_16 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Einer ist keiner // Drei Erwachsene lieben sich und leben zusammen - polyamor nennt man das, und es klingt nach Orgie. | 1506 | Polyamorie | Frauen und Männer Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201012055929894%7CTSPH__201012055929894%7CTSPN__201012055929894 |
| 114 | 2011_01 | Der Spiegel | GER | Carl Gustafs Freunde | 782 | Polyamorie | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPIE__CODESCO-SP-2011-001-32727%7CTSPI__CODESCO-SP-2011-001-32727 |
| 115 | 2011_02 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | Das große Glück beginnt zu dritt | 639 | Polyamorie | ALL Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TITA__08408409520101101160201440001 |
| 116 | 2011_03 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Es muss nicht immer nur der oder die eine sein | 220 | Polyamorie | STIL | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__77119752 |
| 117 | 2011_04 | Der Spiegel | GER | "König Sex" | 1857 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPIE__CODESCO-SP-2011-009-37285%7CTSPI__CODESCO-SP-2011-009-37285 |
| 118 | 2011_05 | TAZ | GER | Das sexuelle Elend ohne Korsett | 623 | Polyamorie | Literataz | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T110317.28 |
| 119 | 2011_06 | TAZ | GER | Neue Ideale | 268 | Polyamory | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T110317.204 |
| 120 | 2011_07 | Ostthüringer Zeitung | GER | Bildnis der Gräfin Kosel | 1661 | polyamoren | Reportage | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/OTZ__20110317%20OBPL076%20WDL |
| 122 | 2011_08 | NZZ am Sonntag | GER | Die Zukunft der Liebe | 1621 | Polyamorie | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__IMDTX |
| 124 | 2011_09 | Falter | AUT | Linke heiraten anders | 1434 | Polyamory | Stadtleben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__0700650760840690820952011%2004271725510116 |

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| 126 | 2011_10 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 431 | Polyamorie | Thüringen/Weimar | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TLZ__30747786 |
| 134 | 2011_11 | TAZ | GER | Aufregendes Nichtereignis / Homophobie | 622 | Polyamorie | Leibesübungen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T110518.124 |
| 141 | 2011_12 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Ist Fremdgehen nach der Hochzeit noch drin? | 86 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__111036990 |
| 14 | 2011_13 | Zeit online | GER | "Es gibt natürlich Blicke, wenn man zu dritt Händchen hält" | 634 | Polyamorie | online | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__27FFB0A3B38198E1B0C60D412A8C110E |
| 144 | 2011_14 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Im RADIO // Das Irrlicht exklusiver Liebe // Tom Peuckert verrät, was Sie nicht verpassen sollten | 604 | Polyamorie | Medien/Im Radio | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201106226345627%7CTSPH__201106226345627%7CTSPN__201106226345627 |
| 148 | 2011_15 | Lausitzer Rundschau | GER | ZDF-Doku: Ich liebe nicht nur einen | 205 | polyamoren | Leser | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LR__GLC3EERAS1 |
| 150 | 2011_16 | Kurier | AUT | tv-tipps | 186 | polyamoren | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520 11%2008020259190157 |
| 153 | 2011_17 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Von der Liebe auf dem Lande | 418 | polyamoren | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MAER__201108023002173 |
| 154 | 2011_18 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | 37°: Ich liebe nicht nur einen | 63 | polyamor | Fernsehen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__79747553 |
| 155 | 2011_19 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | 37°: Ich liebe nicht nur einen | 120 | Polyamorie | MA; TV-TIPPS | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__KS080220116390643.7122521883%7CKSTT__KS080220116390643.7122521883 |
| 156 | 2011_20 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | Und wenn ich sie nun beide liebe? | 260 | Polyamorie | Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__80072849 |
| 159 | 2011_21 | Express | GER | Polyamorie - Die Viel-Liebe | 483 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/EXPR__KX091120116520514.7123884767.DXKPT.21%7CEXPT__KX091120116520514.7123884767.DXKPT.21 |
| 160 | 2011_22 | Express | GER | Auch diese Menschen leb(t)en nicht monogam | 84 | Polyamorist | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/EXPR__KX091120116520514.7123884768.DXKPT.47%7CEXPT__KX091120116520514.7123884768.DXKPT.47 |
| 161 | 2011_23 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Die Sex-Ideologin der Linken Franziska Brychcy lebt mit zwei Männern und vier Kindern zusammen. | 264 | polyamorer | Berlin-Brandenburg | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BKU__P211032704 |
| 163 | 2011_24 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Die letzten Revolutionäre | 2412 | Polyamory | gs Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__IXP5N |
| 165 | 2011_25 | Falter | AUT | Freie Liebe, freie Triebe | 1110 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__070065076084069082095 2011%2010051159030020 |
| 167 | 2011_26 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Frühstück zu dritt | 494 | Polyamorie | Bunte (Sonntag) | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KRON__07508207907806909520 11100%2091717370205 |

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| 177 | 2011_27 | Der Standard | AUT | Switchlist | 684 | Polyamory | TV | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STA__08308406507806806508206802%20952011102519251201 08 |
| 178 | 2011_28 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Guten Morgen: Polyamore mio | 192 | polyamore | es | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TLZ__31560917 |
| 179 | 2011_29 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Auch Verbote haben ihren Reiz | 1072 | Polyamoristen | gs Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__IQ3L7 |
| 181 | 2011_30 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Vortrag: Vom Glück, mehrere Menschen zu lieben | 170 | Polyamorie | Kultur und Freizeit | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NN__A5B3A078C6BF98FEC1257951000F75D1 |
| 183 | 2011_31 | Nürnberger Zeitung | GER | Kann man mehr als einen Partner lieben? | 903 | Polyamorie | NPLUS | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZ__6D0B7BCE02D7B968C1257953000F39FC |
| 193 | 2011_32 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Kein Welpenschutz | 804 | Polymamores | Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201112116732031%7CTSPH__201112116732031%7CTSPN__201112116732031 |
| 194 | 2011_33 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Treu, aber frei | 1645 | Polyamorie | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__83195344 |
| 195 | 2011_34 | TAZ | GER | Moral, Sex und Wahn | 1115 | Polyamorie | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T111223.121 |
| 197 | 2012_01 | Hamburger Morgenpost | GER | Moderne Beziehung | 471 | polyamor | Ratgeber | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MOPO__HMP201201201845164 6 |
| 198 | 2012_02 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Vom Nutzen der Treue | 837 | Polyamorie | Wissen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__J7AZO |
| 200 | 2012_03 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | Love-News | 160 | Polyamoriegemeinden | Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__83934381 |
| 201 | 2012_04 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Von der Kunst, mehrere Partner zur gleichen Zeit zu lieben | 851 | Polyamorie | Stadt Nürnberg | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NN__53F92D0C42581F0FC12579A1000F7A23 |
| 202 | 2012_05 | Bonner General anzeiger | GER | Ein Kunstbegriff für die multiple Liebe Das Wort | 159 | Polyamorie | WEN | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GAZ__201202181687804 |
| 203 | 2012_06 | Bonner General anzeiger | GER | Mann + Frau + Mann = Liebe | 704 | Polyamorie | WEN | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GAZ__201202181687805 |
| 207 | 2012_07 | Bonner General anzeiger | GER | Ein anderes Wort für Untreue? Zum Artikel "Mann + Frau + Mann = Liebe" | 329 | Polyamorie | Diales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GAZ__201203011694515 |
| 208 | 2012_08 | NEWS | AUT | Ein Land geht fremd | 2400 | Polyamorie | A | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ANEW__078069087083095201203081 6%2000300004 |
| 210 | 2012_09 | TAZ | GER | "Du bist ein Sexsubjekt" | 1231 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T120308.135 |
| 200 | 2012_10 | Zeit | GER | »Meine Frau war unerfreut« | 1758 | Polyamorie | Politik Schweiz | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__20120322001%7CZEIA__20120322001 |
| 213 | 2012_11 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Ein Projekt muss erwachsen werden | 577 | polyamouröser | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201204186985802%7CTSPH__201204186985802%7CTSPN__201204186985802 |

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| 214 | 2012_12 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Wie offen kann eine Beziehung sein? | 398 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__112021839 |
| 215 | 2012_13 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | NSDAP-Vergleich bringt Piraten in stürmische Gewässer | 417 | polyamouröser | Europa | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WZ__0870900952012042403130826972002 8 |
| 216 | 2012_14 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Paare arrangieren Sex und Partnerschaft neu | 202 | polyamore | DRS Dresden Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__12724749 |
| 218 | 2012_15 | Neue Westfälische | GER | Liebe geht neue Wege | 399 | polyamore | Vermischtes | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NEUW__201205070067 |
| 220 | 2012_16 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Liebe nach Terminkalender | 293 | polyamore | Vermischtes | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__KS050720127274018.7135224734%7CKSTT__KS050720127274018.7135224734 |
| 221 | 2012_17 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | Ihr Liebesleben 2030: mehr Partner, Sex mit Freunden | 300 | Polyamorie | Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__85611073 |
| 222 | 2012_18 | Kurier | AUT | Multitasking liegt nicht nur beim täglichen tun im Trend | 536 | Polyamorie | Freizeit | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520120%2005121717500222 |
| 223 | 2012_19 | Die Presse | AUT | Walk of Häme | 361 | Polyamorie | ALL so | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__08008206908308306909520120%2005131915380146 |
| 224 | 2012_20 | Hamburger Morgenpost | GER | Sex nach festem Terminplan | 661 | polyamore | Leben + Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MOPO__HMP2012051311536723 |
| 228 | 2012_21 | Saale Zeitung | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 222 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SAZE__3126234213SA |
| 238 | 2012_22 | TAZ | GER | Binäres Phantasma | 119 | polyamouröse | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T120519.129 |
| 239 | 2012_23 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Nach Terminplan | 565 | polyamore | Livestyle | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BKU__P212017313 |
| 241 | 2012_24 | Zeit | GER | Die Domscheits-Bergs | 2182 | polyamoren | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__20120531101%7CZEIA__20120531101 |
| 243 | 2012_25 | Zeit Campus | GER | "Liebe auf den ersten Blick gibt es wirklich!" | 1271 | Polyamorie | Studierenden Sprechstunde | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZTCS__80282C2C8DE4F7FF92D7AE978304D276 |
| 244 | 2012_26 | TAZ | GER | Biologische Sinnsuche im "Glücksbezirk" | 657 | Polyamorie | Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T120612.148 |
| 245 | 2012_27 | Neue Vorarlberger Tageszeitung | AUT | Von Mensch zu Mensch. Ab zur Paartherapie | 238 | Polyamorie | Österreich | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NVT__07808608409520120616406800%2070070007006590688070 |
| 250 | 2012_28 | Blick | SUI | Von Liebe habe ich schon mal gehört | 580 | polyamourös | Blicksport | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BLI__201207101025750050 |
| 254 | 2012_29 | Neue Luzerner Zeitung | SUI | Fremdgehen. Soll ich sein Handy kontrollieren? | 453 | polyamore | Wetter | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NLZ__JM20120712001127998 |
| 256 | 2012_30 | Profil | AUT | Alleinstellungsmerkmale | 2282 | Polyamorie | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PROF__08008207907007307609520120%2007231351060030 |

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| 257 | 2012_31 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Kaputt. Ich lieben einen Mann, der mir von Anfang an gesagt, hat, dass seine Ehe kaputt ist | 489 | Polyamorie | lokal | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KRON__D1CCB51122598F4D2A7C9A95F767E8AF |
| 261 | 2012_32 | Spiegel Online | GER | Notarin beglaubigt Dreierbeziehung | 263 | polyamore | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__SPON20120830-852861 |
| 262 | 2012_33 | Die Presse | AUT | In Kürze | 304 | polyamouröse | APO Ausland | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__08008206908308306909520120%20083119163000019 |
| 263 | 2012_34 | Thüringer Allgemeine | GER | Brasilianische Notarin beglaubigt Dreierbeziehung | 129 | polyamore | Aus aller Welt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TA__34327451-ERFURT |
| 264 | 2012_35 | Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Unten LINKS | 92 | polyamore | Titel | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PNN__201208317260496%7CPNNA__201208317260496 |
| 266 | 2012_36 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Die Paarung der „Polys“ | 399 | Polyamorie | Potsdam Stadt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MAER__201209013321820 |
| 269 | 2012_37 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Die Paarung der „Polys“ | 1098 | Polyamorie | Belzig | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MAER__201209053323866 |
| 274 | 2012_38 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Marktplatz der Eitelkeiten | 3779 | polyamoren | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__112056529 |
| 275 | 2012_39 | Falter | AUT | Die Liebe, die Freiheit und der Widerstand | 392 | Polyamorie | Bücherherbst | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__070065076084069082095201201015392700 39 |
| 276 | 2012_40 | Spiegel Online | GER | Liebesschlösser knacken für die Kunst | 981 | Polyamorie | Netzwelt / Web | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__SPON20121012-860715 |
| 278 | 2012_41 | Welt online | GER | Die wilden Beziehungs-Experimente der Normalos | 200 | Polyamorie | Partnerschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__89151268 |
| 279 | 2012_42 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Ist eine Dreier-Beziehung modern? | 425 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__112059321 |
| 280 | 2012_43 | TAZ | GER | Bigotter Zweier | 601 | polyamourös | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T121026.138 |
| 282 | 2012_44 | TAZ | GER | Zärtliche Briefe schrieb er auch an Männerfreunde | 541 | polyamouröse n | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T121029.148 |
| 283 | 2012_45 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Leblose Piraten | 513 | polyamorer | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__KS103020127815911.7144695924%7CKSTT__KS103020127815911.7144695924 |
| 287 | 2012_46 | Kurier | AUT | Wenn es mehr als nur eine Liebe gibt ... | 562 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520120%2011181716300009 |
| 288 | 2012_47 | Kurier | AUT | Begriffe: Von der Liebe zu zweit und zu mehrt | 142 | PolyamorieDer | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520120%2011181716300003 |
| 289 | 2012_48 | Kurier | AUT | "Ich kenne nur ein monogames Paar" | 281 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520120%2011181716300004 |
| 292 | 2012_49 | TAZ | GER | Heimat Internet | 462 | Polyamorie | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T121127.124 |

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| 293 | 2012_50 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Großes Interesse an Vortrag über Beziehungen in der Frauenkultur | 443 | Polyamory | Stadtleben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LVZ__BE832E36361A231AA93C2FD745063C59 |
| 297 | 2012_51 | Uni Spiegel | GER | Altmodisch lieben | 142 | Polyamorie | Meldungen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/UNIS__CODESCO-USP-2012-006-94193 |
| 300 | 2012_52 | Gießner Anzeiger | GER | Von Beziehungen jenseits der Monogamie | 112 | polyamoren | Hochschule | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GIAN__67499240001355871600 |
| 301 | 2012_53 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Hat die Liebe eine Chance? | 1181 | Polyamorie | Die Sonntagsfrage | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201212237490322%7CTSPH__201212237490322%7CTSPN__201212237490322 |
| 305 | 2013_01 | FAZ | GER | Generation Vielleichtsager | 0 | polyamourös | Natur und Wissenschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FAZW__FNUWD1201302063777387 |
| 306 | 2013_02 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Mehr ist mehr | 1544 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__113008074 |
| 307 | 2013_03 | Sonntagszeitung | SUI | «Schon Adam und Eva durften die süsseste Frucht nicht anrühren» | 718 | Polyamorie | Fokus | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAS__JM20130210000865027 |
| 309 | 2013_04 | Sonntagszeitung | SUI | Untreu! Na und? | 1612 | Polyamorie | Front | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAS__JM20130210000866034 |
| 311 | 2013_05 | Spiegel Online | GER | "Die Atmosphäre ist vergiftet" | 409 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__PMGSPON-xPMG-SPOX-883846 |
| 316 | 2013_06 | Die Konservativen entdecken die Liebe | GER | TAZ | 828 | polyamouröse n | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130225.96 |
| 317 | 2013_07 | Luxemburger Tageblatt | LUX | Offener Brief zur gleichgeschlechtlichen Ehe | 721 | polyamor | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LUXT__910bb3c6-6074-450d-add9-8c95e8d8fb12 |
| 318 | 2013_08 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Romantik das war einmal | 1302 | polyamor | gs Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__K5078 |
| 319 | 2013_09 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Es hagelt Sechsen für Ponader | 757 | Polyamor | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__KS030520138190685.7151144209%7CKSTT__KS030520138190685.7151144209 |
| 320 | 2013_10 | Spiegel Online | GER | Absturz des Sandalen-Helden | 812 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__PMGSPON-xPMG-SPOX-887495 |
| 323 | 2013_11 | TAZ | GER | Krank, wegen der Grippe und der Welt | 476 | Polyamorie | Berlin aktuell | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130406.232 |
| 326 | 2013_12 | TAZ | GER | Nur du, du und du | 3069 | Polyamorie | tazzwei | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130420.17 |
| 327 | 2013_13 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | Ich liebe seit vielen Jahren mehrere Frauen | 435 | Polyamorie | Leute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__93018996 |
| 332 | 2013_14 | TAZ | GER | In guten, schlechten Tagen | 567 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130502.36 |
| 334 | 2013_15 | Die Zeit online | GER | Der gnadenlose grüne Kirchentag | 424 | polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__7D0B79AF4621E06505CB100F82CC26A7 |

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| 335 | 2013_16 | Welt online | GER | Polyamorie ist mehr als nur Abwechslung beim Sex | 801 | Polyamorie | Psychologie | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__94484625 |
| 337 | 2013_17 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Kein Schelm | 145 | Polyamorie | Graz Zentrum | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KLEI__07507606907307806909520 13%200511000000057 |
| 338 | 2013_18 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Man kann nicht nur einen Menschen lieben | 706 | Polyamorie | Graz Zentrum | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KLEI__07507606907307806909520 13%200511000000039 |
| 340 | 2013_19 | Südthüringer Zeitung | GER | Wenn Liebe keine Grenzen kennt | 708 | Polyamorie | Service | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STHZ__A54588849 |
| 348 | 2013_20 | Neue Luzerner Zeitung | SUI | Kann man mehrere Beziehungen gleichzeitig führen? | 482 | Polyamorie | Wetter | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NLZ__JM20130606000116781 |
| 350 | 2013_21 | Neue Züricher Zeitung | SUI | Generalangriff auf das "heteronorme Weltbild" | 793 | polyamory | oe Meinung und Debatte | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__KE8M8 |
| 353 | 2013_22 | TAZ | GER | Arbeitsmarkt und Soziales | 320 | Polyamor | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130711.66 |
| 355 | 2013_23 | Die Welt | GER | David Berger | 1207 | polyamouröse | Interview | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WELT__103316343 |
| 356 | 2013_24 | TAZ | GER | "Ich bin für Nerds!" | 2195 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130713.51 |
| 358 | 2013_25 | Müchner Abendzeitung | GER | Piraten sind treu | 98 | polyamouröse n | Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MUAZ__201307233322961M |
| 359 | 2013_26 | Die Zeit | GER | Ein Fall für Zwei | 1761 | polyamouröse | Feuilleton | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__PMG9285387-ZEI20130725-ZEI-2013-31-Homo-Ehe-2-Pro%7CZEIA__PMG9285387-ZEI20130725-ZEI-2013-31-Homo-Ehe-2-Pro |
| 361 | 2013_27 | Zeit | GER | Fachkräftemangel der Liebe | 378 | Polyamorie | online | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__B7D777025AA57CAD4A8B180946582E34 |
| 362 | 2013_28 | B.Z. | GER | Polygamie im Piratenprogramm | 84 | polyamouröse | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__107722575 |
| 364 | 2013_29 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Konservative rüsten gegen Familienpapier | 420 | polyamoren | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__113046215 |
| 366 | 2013_30 | TAZ | GER | Nur die Liebe zählt | 577 | polyamouröse | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T130912.77 |
| 367 | 2013_31 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Ein wenig Kindlichkeit wollen wir uns erhalten | 1218 | polyamouröse n | Thüringen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TLZ__36851286-ERFURT |
| 368 | 2013_32 | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Der Dichter und Publizist, Anarchist und Antifaschist Erich Mühsam | 80 | polyamouröser | Dresden | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/DNN__42652D98F5C80CC4DA0129C6AACDC18E |
| 371 | 2013_34 | Die Zeit | GER | Sex | 2837 | polyamoren | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__D6A84ABDC588E09AE2DA00A47438AEEF%7CZEIA__D6A84ABDC588E09AE2DA00A47438AEEF |
| 375 | 2013_35 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | "Die sexuelle Revolution geht weiter" | 1390 | Polyamorie | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__116221720 |

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| 376 | 2013_36 | Express | GER | Und der Gewinner ist | 319 | polyamourös | TV | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/EXPR__KX101720138765211.7160557781.DXKPT.90%7CEXPT__KX101720138765211.7160557781.DXKPT.90 |
| 377 | 2013_37 | TAZ | GER | "Gottlos glücklich" | 791 | Polyamorie | Lebensformen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T131019.39 |
| 378 | 2013_38 | Aargauer Zeitung | SUI | Ein Dorf fürchtet Überfremdung durch New Age | 1129 | Polyamorie | Thema | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/AGZ__91863BA02AF97BA471DA676A99407E85 |
| 379 | 2013_39 | B.Z. | GER | Love-News | 151 | Polyamore | Liebe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__118186700 |
| 380 | 2013_40 | SonntagsBlick | SUI | Schweizer behaupten: Wir wollen keine Dreierkisten | 175 | polyamoren | Service | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SBLI__JM20131027000069115 |
| 381 | 2013_41 | TAZ | GER | Das sollten Sie sehen | 75 | polyamore | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T131030.98 |
| 384 | 2013_42 | Blick | SUI | Polisex | 139 | Polyamorie | Blicksport | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BLI__201311214461429510 |
| 385 | 2013_43 | TAZ | GER | Allein unter Schwänzen | 1308 | Polyamorie | Lebensformen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T131205.162 |
| 388 | 2013_44 | Westfahlen-Blatt | GER | Ehe für alle | 1100 | polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WFB__93ED98A2B7EF0E2B0E62CC87D295A80B |
| 389 | 2013_45 | TAZ | GER | Von der Liebe in Braunschweig | 812 | polyamoren | Kommentar | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T131207.197 |
| 390 | 2013_46 | Sonntagszeitung | SUI | Kirschblüte im Winter oder Ein Dorf in Aufruhr | 1492 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAS__JM20131215000344594 |
| 391 | 2013_47 | Zeit | GER | "Mit allen Stürmen" | 10665 | Polyamorie | zeitmagazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__7B994782F91880C1454C4C20785A1F03%7CZEIA__7B994782F91880C1454C4C20785A1F03 |
| 392 | 2013_48 | Focus | GER | Unsterbliches Modell | 1026 | Polyamorie | Report | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20131223-focu-0080 |
| 369 | 2013_33 | Die Zeit | GER | Botin der Zukunft | 885 | polyamouröser | Feuilleton | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__FC78E91BB1B56DD0AB54CB27296DD6C2%7CZEIA__FC78E91BB1B56DD0AB54CB27296DD6C2 |
| 394 | 2014_01 | Zeit | GER | Ich will auch mehrere Frauen! Was meinst du, Schatz? | 921 | Polyamorie | Online | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__69B2F10FCE0C7670318C584AD1762AE3 |
| 395 | 2014_02 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Sexuelle Vielfalt akzeptieren | 453 | Polyamorie | Meinung | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201401138279413%7CTSPH__201401138279413%7CTSPN__201401138279413 |
| 396 | 2014_03 | News Aktuell Schweiz | SUI | Mobiler Journalismus | 328 | Polyamoristen | Vermischtes | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NECH__N0310749782 |
| 397 | 2014_04 | Welt online | GER | Die Welt der Boddymodder, Ultras und Polyamoristen | 410 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__124447717 |
| 400 | 2014_05 | Welt kompakt | GER | Freaks? Falsche Frage! | 999 | Polyamorie | News | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/DWK__124454944 |
| 401 | 2014_06 | Welt kompakt | GER | Polyamorie | 98 | Polyamorie | News | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/DWK__124454940 |

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| 402 | 2014_07 | B.Z. | GER | UnterANDEREN gelauncht | 71 | Polyamoristen | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__124459176 |
| 403 | 2014_08 | Spiegel Online | GER | Die Freiheit der Rede | 634 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__3F30D04944609EBD71E077D6966CD2F4 |
| 405 | 2014_09 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Was Frauen wirklich wollen | 1682 | Polyamorie | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__124565688 |
| 406 | 2014_10 | Welt online | GER | Die emotionalen Grenzen der Vielliebe | 1086 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__124585069 |
| 408 | 2014_11 | Welt kompakt | GER | Polyamorie ist dringend nötig | 122 | Polyamorie | Magazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/DWK__124572003 |
| 412 | 2014_12 | Welt | GER | Was sind wir polyamourös | 449 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WELT__124717416 |
| 413 | 2014_13 | TAZ | GER | Sex, Lügen und Futter | 683 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T140125.96 |
| 416 | 2014_14 | Kurier | AUT | Auf Zeit oder auf Lebenszeit | 280 | polyamouröse | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520 14%2002161834310027 |
| 417 | 2014_15 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Liebe ist of überbewertet | 591 | polyamourös | Spielzeit | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201402278348174%7CTSPH__201402278348174%7CTSPN__201402278348174 |
| 418 | 2014_16 | NZZ | SUI | «Persönliche Beziehungen sind das Wichtigste» | 1931 | Polyamorie | Zürich und Region | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__L21CB |
| 419 | 2014_17 | TAZ | GER | Jenseits der Monogamie | 578 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T140317.78 |
| 422 | 2014_18 | Die Weltwoche | SUI | Die Moderne Ehe ist keine | 483 | polyamouröse | Anfang | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEWO__126776737 |
| 424 | 2014_19 | B.Z. | GER | Vielseitig verliebt | 120 | polyamor | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__126826416 |
| 425 | 2014_20 | B.Z. | GER | Wechselnde Partner und mehr Planung werden das Sexleben der Zukunft bestimmen | 279 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__127055645 |
| 428 | 2014_21 | Kurier | AUT | Wenn ein Partner nicht reicht | 740 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520 14%2005251831300016 |
| 429 | 2014_22 | Wormser Zeitung | GER | Erinnerungen und Zukunftspläne | 346 | polyamoren | Region | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WORZ__95856020001401660000 |
| 432 | 2014_23 | SonntagsBlick | SUI | Die neue Familie | 1458 | Polyamorie | Thema | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SBLI__JM20140615001600988 |
| 435 | 2014_24 | Die Weltwoche | SUI | Waberndes Misstrauen | 1380 | Polyamorie | Geschichten | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEWO__128056078 |
| 436 | 2014_25 | Spiegel Online | GER | Torben, 27, sucht Sex statt Liebe | 795 | polyamouröse n | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__PMGSPON-xPMG-SPOX-976478 |
| 440 | 2014_26 | TAZ | GER | Der Lappen muss hoch | 916 | Polyamouröse | Dokumentation | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T140724.62 |
| 447 | 2014_27 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | "Erotischer Analphabetismus" | 1678 | Polyamorie | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__128988815 |

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| 450 | 2014_28 | B.Z. | GER | Hera Delgado dreht in Kreuzberg Fetisch-Filme | 284 | polyamourös | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__129021827 |
| 451 | 2014_29 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Radio Tipps | 174 | Polyamorie | Seite TV | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MAER__201409033837813 |
| 455 | 2014_30 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Du bist so sapiosexy! | 1174 | Polyamorie | Mag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-E93466B7-3172-485A-90B8-B6180B6F520C |
| 457 | 2014_31 | Welt online | GER | In der Zukunft kommt der Sex aus der Maschine | 564 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__129112737 |
| 458 | 2014_32 | Badische Zeitung | GER | "Ohne richtig und falsch leben" | 1015 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BADZ__5192624716 |
| 459 | 2014_33 | TAZ | GER | Besser als Hollywood | 229 | Polyamorie | Bremen aktuell | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T140922.150 |
| 461 | 2014_34 | Zeit | GER | Jetzt wollen die auch noch Kinder! | 511 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__1F8B9517D99159E39E0242BD5F5FFC9A |
| 462 | 2014_35 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Kreuz und quer | 759 | polyamouröse n | LOK | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-00585312-4A88-461A-A84E-14E6F85B7749 |
| 463 | 2014_36 | Basler Zeitung | SUI | Inzest statt Ethik | 452 | polyamores | Meinung | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BAZ__201409309336421191 |
| 464 | 2014_37 | Zeit | GER | Schneeflöckchen im Nussknacker | 506 | Polyamorie | Literatur Spezial | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__4B7D419C56136545FC3DB48A2E4D57C6%7CZEIA__4B7D419C56136545FC3DB48A2E4D57C6 |
| 465 | 2014_38 | TAZ | GER | "Ich habe kein Problem damit, als Fetisch betrachtet zu werden" | 1637 | Polyamorie | Lebensformen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T141018.12 |
| 467 | 2014_39 | Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung | GER | "Ist das schon Mitleid?" | 1559 | Polyamorie | Wochenendjournal | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NOZ__2005713 |
| 475 | 2014_40 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Grüne Jugend fordert Freigabe aller Drogen | 609 | Polyamorie | Stadt Landshut | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009048756-LANDSHUTER%20ZEITUNG |
| 478 | 2014_41 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | An den Rand geschrieben | 236 | Polyamorie | Stadt Landshut | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009056350-LANDSHUTER%20ZEITUNG |
| 480 | 2014_42 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Jugend schützt vor Torheit nicht | 381 | polyamore | Stadt Landshut | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009053502-HALLERTAUER%20ZEITUNG |
| 482 | 2014_43 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Etliche Verrücktheiten | 216 | Polyamorie | Briefe an die Redaktion | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009128537-HALLERTAUER%20ZEITUNG |
| 487 | 2014_44 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Warum nur einen lieben? | 118 | Polyamorie | MA | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__MDS-A-D953AE9F-9260-4085-A3B1-498BF3A32971%7CKSTT__MDS-A-D953AE9F-9260-4085-A3B1-498BF3A32971 |
| 489 | 2014_45 | TAZ | GER | Du kannst sei alle haben | 252 | Polyamourie | Kommentar | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T141213.77 |
| 491 | 2015_01 | TAZ | GER | Sexbekenntnisse überfordern die CDU | 374 | Polyamorie | Inland | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T150102.26 |

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| 493 | 2015_02 | Zeit | GER | Berlin ist die Stadt, in der in der Liebe alles möglich sein sollte | 1504 | Polyamorie | Zeitmagazin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__B7052FF9400DCE6B79332514431E559B%7CZEIA__B7052FF9400DCE6B79332514431E559B |
| 494 | 2015_03 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Ewig auf der Welt | 879 | Polyamorie | Länger leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__LTZUW |
| 495 | 2015_04 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | In Kürze | 194 | Polyamory | Potsdam Stadt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MAER__201502033939244 |
| 496 | 2015_05 | Neue Westfälische | GER | Pärchen und Peitsche | 780 | Polyamourösität | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NEUW__3339AAE4E20D220CF673330CC1903AB8-BIELEFELDER%20TAGEBLATT%20HAUPTAUSGABE%20BI%20WEST |
| 497 | 2015_06 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Viele Freiheiten und viele Fallstricke | 1100 | Polyamorie | Leben heute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NN__3D105EB2F671CB5FC1257DEA0000AAF4 |
| 498 | 2015_07 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | "Die Wahrheit lieber ertragen" | 353 | Polyamorie | Leben heute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NN__4B1E060A7E6EEEA0C1257DEA0000AAFD |
| 499 | 2015_08 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Liebe zum Mitnehmen | 281 | polyamorösen | Szene Leipzig | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LVZ__EAA32E9F881D5DA4BB3489553441FACD |
| 500 | 2015_09 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | In dubio pro Stammtisch | 470 | Polyamorie | Stadt Landshut | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000009639069-LANDSHUTER%20ZEITUNG |
| 507 | 2015_10 | TAZ | GER | Ich brauche Geld für Zigaretten | 534 | polyamorer | Kommentar | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T150306.119 |
| 508 | 2015_11 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Drei ist keiner zuviel | 1252 | Polyamorie | Dresden Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__22145544 |
| 509 | 2015_12 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Wie eine Familie | 377 | Polyamorie | Dresden Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__22145545 |
| 510 | 2015_13 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Freiheit genießen | 337 | Polyamorie | Dresden Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__22145546 |
| 511 | 2015_14 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Geheimnis der Begierde | 113 | polyamore | MA | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__MDS-A-93736C5F-A444-4522-8A39-DBD256968FD7%7CKSTT__MDS-A-93736C5F-A444-4522-8A39-DBD256968FD7 |
| 515 | 2015_15 | Die Presse | AUT | Partnerschaft: Lass uns doch zusammenbleiben | 1375 | polyamor | Leserbriefe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__080082069083083069095201531915370132 |
| 516 | 2015_16 | Die Zeit | GER | Our city of love | 1984 | polyamorous | International | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__923E1C7E8C541F00839C2154F953DA13%7CZEIA__923E1C7E8C541F00839C2154F953DA13 |
| 517 | 2015_17 | Zeit online | GER | Ich liebe dich. Und dich auch. | 802 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__68158E1FED0BC3C42ACE140AEB3D1391 |
| 518 | 2015_18 | Aargauer Zeitung | SUI | Kinder, Kinder! | 1364 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/AGZ__06FDF738EF19690552B430BDB2C858BA |
| 521 | 2015_19 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Zwischen Tantra und Therapie | 1050 | Polyamorie | MAG | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-1F56BC16-FACD-4EEB-8722-3D4B1F5B6C62 |

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| 522 | 2015_20 | TAZ | GER | Politik | 364 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Programm | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T150416.46 |
| 523 | 2015_21 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Liebe? Langweilig! | 644 | Polyamorie | Mehr Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201504189244217%7CTSPH__201504189244217%7CTSPN__201504189244217 |
| 527 | 2015_22 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Woher kommt seine Agression gegen mich? | 438 | polyamoren | Mag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-BFC98994-FFA8-4E32-83B6-D043643B5942 |
| 528 | 2015_23 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Liebe? Unmöglich! | 681 | Polyamorie | Mehr Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201504259267042%7CTSPH__201504259267042%7CTSPN__201504259267042 |
| 530 | 2015_24 | Berner Zeitung | SUI | Johanna judith gaillard | 262 | Polyamorie | Stadtausgabe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BERN__F1CBE1F959E0EBD64C86B59B053A94A4 |
| 531 | 2015_25 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Was vor wenigen Jahren allenfalls im Spätprogramm denkbar gewesen wäre... | 198 | Polyamor | TV | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TZH__53276F3235E3F71A3000 |
| 535 | 2015_26 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Für immer untreu | 1640 | polyamore | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__135010515 |
| 538 | 2015_27 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Verwüstete Kinderseelen | 113 | polyamore | Forum | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__135131889 |
| 541 | 2015_28 | Saarbrücker Zeitung | GER | Von freier Liebe und Frieden | 408 | Polyamory | Region | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SAAR__0615050129 |
| 542 | 2015_29 | Falter | AUT | Vorgartencafe am Markt | 768 | polyamor | Stadtleben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__0700650760840690820952015%20061067066068707040681 0 |
| 543 | 2015_30 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Mensch ist kein Baukasten | 579 | Polyamorie | BR | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__MDS-A-47611453-6ECE-4AF0-B1D4-1FFDCAE4B257%7CKSTT__MDS-A-47611453-6ECE-4AF0-B1D4-1FFDCAE4B257 |
| 544 | 2015_31 | Focus | GER | Gesamttitel: Die große Freiheit | 3074 | Polyamorie | Leben und genießen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20150613-focu-0105 |
| 545 | 2015_32 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Im Kreis erzählen, was einen bewegt | 1295 | Polyamorie | Sonntag Zu Hause | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201506149365951%7CTSPH__201506149365951%7CTSPN__201506149365951 |
| 547 | 2015_33 | Focus | GER | Gesamttitel: Einer für alle | 2187 | Polyamorie | Politik und Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20150620-focu-0075 |
| 548 | 2015_34 | Focus | GER | Gesamttitel: Einer für alle | 176 | Polyamorie | Politik und Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20150620-focu-0076 |
| 549 | 2015_35 | Focus | GER | Inhalt / Inhaltsverzeichnis | 533 | polyamor | Redaktion | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FOCU__PS-20150620-focu-0082 |
| 550 | 2015_36 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Mitleid mit dem Verführer | 471 | polyamorös | Literatur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201506219388981%7CTSPH__201506219388981%7CTSPN__201506219388981 |
| 551 | 2015_37 | Solinger Morgenpost | GER | Piraten kämpfen für "Mehr-Ehe" | 259 | polyamouröse | Land und Leute | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SOMP__201506270157470000044488013 |

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| 555 | 2015_38 | NZZ | SUI | Rückzugsgefechte der Traditionalisten | 655 | Polyamorie | al International | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__MOQMO |
| 556 | 2015_39 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Eine Ehe für alle? | 338 | polyamouröse | NRW | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__136287308 |
| 558 | 2015_40 | Christ und Welt | GER | Ehe für (fast) alle! | 539 | polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/CUW__CDFC8EC68ABDE57A55FB3973AD8E0ABD |
| 559 | 2015_41 | Vorarlberger Nachrichten | AUT | Unterscheiden heißt nicht diskriminieren | 229 | polyamoren | VNC | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/VN__086078095201507182320371395601 18 |
| 560 | 2015_42 | NZZ | SUI | Ich liebe euch doch alle! | 587 | Polyamorie | Meinung und Debatte | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__MPDB4 |
| 562 | 2015_43 | NZZ | AUT | Polyamorie gibt es längst | 575 | Polyamorie | Schweiz | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__MRUTP |
| 563 | 2015_44 | Solinger Morgenpost | GER | Piraten machen sich klar zum Kentern | 576 | polyamoröser | Politik | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SOMP__201507270138340000449968 13 |
| 568 | 2015_45 | TAZ | GER | Dachzeile | 168 | Polyamorie | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T150808.5220852 |
| 569 | 2015_46 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Die offene Beziehung ist eine Lüge | 655 | Polyamouröse n | me Meinungen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__MU14Q |
| 570 | 2015_47 | Zeit campus | GER | Was gebe ich für die Liebe auf? | 3250 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZTCS__1F50A51C701FB9B0448C08B5317FA3AE |
| 573 | 2015_48 | Welt online | GER | Sex? Ja. Ist aber nicht so wichtig | 956 | Polyamoristen | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__138272274 |
| 577 | 2015_49 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Muriels Ex' Hochzeit | 428 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__138513240 |
| 578 | 2015_50 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Evolution // Monogam dank Oma | 372 | Polyamorie | Seite 1 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201509099549861%7CTSPH__201509099549861%7CTSPN__201509099549861 |
| 579 | 2015_51 | Der Standard | AUT | Grüne Aufregung über rote Kussmünder | 295 | polyamourös | Inland | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STA__083084065078068065082068 0%20952015091619400231858004 9 |
| 589 | 2015_52 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | "Mit Papa zusammenwohnen? Bloß nicht" | 1210 | Polyamorie | Medien | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201509249583156%7CTSPH__201509249583156%7CTSPN__201509249583156 |
| 591 | 2015_53 | Die Zeit | GER | Die Erotik des letzten Mals | 1389 | polyamourös | Feuilleton | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__7603BC84C7196F7366E732FB5E384550%7CZEIA__7603BC84C7196F7366E732FB5E384550 |
| 594 | 2015_54 | Berliner Morgenpost | GER | Wir sind frei und zugleich verbunden | 2169 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BMP__139352852 |
| 595 | 2015_55 | Berliner Morgenpost | GER | "Eine offene Beziehung erfordert viel Selbstreflexion und Reife" | 775 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BMP__139352853 |
| 599 | 2015_56 | Kurier | AUT | Lieber lieben | 171 | polyamouröse n | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520 15%2010241921410239 |
| 603 | 2015_57 | TAZ | GER | Was muss als nächstes passieren? | 983 | Polyamourie | TAZ-Bericht | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T151028.5245285 |

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| 606 | 2015_58 | Welt online | GER | Hört endlich auf, euch selbst zu pimpen! | 650 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__139703802 |
| 610 | 2015_59 | Kurier | AUT | Die Sehnsucht verstehen - und aus ihr lernen | 356 | polyamourös | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520152011221921120018 |
| 612 | 2015_60 | B.Z. | GER | Die B.Z. zeigt, wie sich das Sexleben in den nächsten zehn Jahren entwickelt | 284 | polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BZ__140437704 |
| 613 | 2015_61 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Polyamorie bei Eltern | 131 | polyamore | Service | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TLZ__42058129-ERFURT |
| 614 | 2015_62 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Zeig ihm lieber Deine Tennismuskeln | 926 | polyamourös | Mag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-FB4F9ED4-1A18-4D37-B4D3-B02499FF9B57 |
| 616 | 2015_63 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Das Beziehungsleben zu dritt ist nicht immer leicht | 272 | | DRS Dresden Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__25787898 |
| 617 | 2015_64 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | In jedem Weltuntergang liegt deine Chance | 812 | Polyamorie | Medien | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201512309776660%7CTSPH__201512309776660%7CTSPN__201512309776660 |
| 618 | 2016_01 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Polyamorie | 240 | Polyamorie | Lokal Niederösterreich | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KRON__075082079078069095201601 0%201102940100 |
| 620 | 2016_02 | Falter | AUT | Wenn der Punschkrapfen mit der Batterie pudert | 139 | polyamouröse | Lexikon | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/FALT__070065076084069082095201 6%2001134067553606515068 |
| 621 | 2016_03 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Comedy | 247 | Polyamoristen | Medien | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__201512309776660%7CTSPH__201512309776660%7CTSPN__201512309776660 |
| 639 | 2016_04 | Sonntagszeitung | SUI | Barometer | 175 | polyamor | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAS__JM20160214000208551 |
| 644 | 2016_05 | NEWS | AUT | Wie es euch gefällt | 2141 | Polyamorie | Cover | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ANEW__078069087083095201602274 0%2069160068066572 |
| 645 | 2016_06 | NEWS | AUT | Wenn man mehr als einen liebt | 435 | Polyamorie | Rubriken | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ANEW__078069087083095201602270 6%20706561630660680660 |
| 649 | 2016_07 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Niemand muss eine Nummer auf dem Geschirrspüler schieben | 1781 | Polyamoristen | Stil | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__143488427 |
| 650 | 2016_08 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Der Kick nach dem Klick | 595 | Polyamorie | Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-35366202-C214-4F0B-BEC5-716F9AB28761 |
| 654 | 2016_09 | Zeit | GER | Was aus der Liebe wird | 1587 | Polyamorie | Wissen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIT__6AAA411CA8DC00EF21C54D4C274DCE9A%7CZEIA__6AAA411CA8DC00EF21C54D4C274DCE9A |
| 655 | 2016_10 | Zeit online | GER | Anders lieben wollen | 624 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__425869996F58911D1F8BF2508C37BA2C |
| 656 | 2016_11 | Berliner Morgenpost | GER | Wenig Experimente | 523 | polyamor | Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BMP__143578538 |

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| 657 | 2016_12 | NEWS | AUT | Gewissensbisse | 249 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ANEW__07806908708309520160312 06%20850706706592 |
| 658 | 2016_13 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Woher kommt plötzlich diese Eifersucht? | 437 | Polyamorie | MAG | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-92455CF5-770A-4818-8320-0BFB5F117A10 |
| 660 | 2016_14 | Der Spiegel | GER | Berliner Narzissmus | 1472 | polyamores | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPIE__CODESCO-SP-2016-011-205625%7CTSPI__CODESCO-SP-2016-011-205625 |
| 662 | 2016_15 | Bonner General anzeiger | GER | Angst vor dem Fall | 660 | polyamouröse n | FEU | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GAZ__201603162568371 |
| 664 | 2016_16 | Thüriger Allgemeine | GER | Erinnerungen an nur kurz Zurückliegendes | 278 | polyamouröse n | Beilage | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TA__42590257-ERFURT%20LAND |
| 671 | 2016_17 | Welt online | GER | Fetter Rächer, Zahnpasta-Model und Fessel-Amazone | 1201 | polyamoren | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__143802708 |
| 674 | 2016_18 | Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung | GER | Egoisten-Quartett am Strand | 491 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NOZ__2788682 |
| 677 | 2016_19 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Leere als Lebensgefühl | 445 | Polyamorie | BU | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KSTA__MDS-A-EF42B45C-75FA-45B9-ACF6-A5E26DE25140%7CKSTT__MDS-A-EF42B45C-75FA-45B9-ACF6-A5E26DE25140 |
| 678 | 2016_20 | Der Standard | AUT | "Schreiben, um zu verstehen" | 1510 | Polyamorie | Album | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STA__083084065078068065082068 0%20952016040219400522307015 9 |
| 696 | 2016_21 | Zeit online | GER | Im Theater der Erkenntnis | 736 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZEIO__D3E317ADD1846A3723076AFE11A7A87B |
| 698 | 2016_22 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Sagenhaft, wie alles im Gleichgewicht ist | 260 | Polyamoristen | DRS Dresden Lokales | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SZO__27142304 |
| 700 | 2016_23 | Luxemburger Tageblatt | LUX | "Ich bin Autorin" | 913 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LUXT__95c999fd-655e-487e-bbbd-aee1220a7c26 |
| 706 | 216_24 | TAZ | GER | So viel Liebe | 89 | Polyamorie | taz Nord | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T20162904.5296896 |
| 708 | 2016_25 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Nacht der Begierde | 764 | Polyamorie | Berlin | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__2016050610030458%7CTSPH__20160506100304 58%7CTSPN__2016050610030458 |
| 709 | 2016_26 | Neue Luzerner Zeitung | SUI | Tolle Sätze, mäßige Story | 239 | polyamouröse n | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NLZ__JM20160509000469543 |
| 711 | 2016_27 | Neue Westfälische | GER | Große Kunst auf kleiner Bühne | 360 | Polyamoristen | Bielefeld | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NEUW__EF0DEBCB0D215307C1D6FBDB99F75ECD-BIELEFELDER%20TAGEBLATT%20HAUPTAUSGABE%20BI%20WEST |
| 712 | 2016_28 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Nomaden der Digitalelite | 1098 | Polyamorie | MAG | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BEZE__MDS-A-BF6BBAF4-51B0-4518-9D1A-F2EB787FA807 |

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| 716 | 2016_29 | Zeit Campus | GER | Erwischt! | 84 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ZTCS__8024FF2D65B5908CB5DEA514C5595C66 |
| 722 | 2016_30 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Liebesroman in Telegrammstil | 675 | Polyamoristen | Literatur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LAZ__asr0000012623689-LANDSHUTER%20ZEITUNG |
| 724 | 2016_31 | Lausitzer Rundschau | GER | CSD, LGBT und Co | 391 | Polyamorie | Panorama | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/LR__GFS67UIR31 |
| 726 | 2016_32 | TAZ | GER | Das Wohl der Arbeiter | 507 | Polyamore | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T20162307.5327108 |
| 727 | 2016_33 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Berechnend | 437 | Polyamorie | Lokal | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KRON__075082079078069095201607 2%206313860297 |
| 729 | 2016_34 | Münchner Merkur | GER | Ein tödliches Spiel | 220 | polyamor | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MUME__omp0000001241238 |
| 734 | 2016_35 | Kurier | AUT | Die Monogamie-Lüge | 967 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/KUR__07508508207306908209520162008210401120005 |
| 735 | 2016_36 | Neue Züricher Zeitung | SUI | Ich liebe Dich, aber... | 1439 | polyamourös | Lebensart | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZ__201608260051802474 |
| 736 | 2016_37 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Die Erfindung der Monogamie | 2498 | Polyamorie | Wissenschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WAMS__146517142 |
| 741 | 2016_38 | Tages-Anzeiger | SUI | Die Feindin aller Liebenden | 1542 | Polyamoristen | Hintergrund & Debatte | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAG__JM20160907001045498 |
| 742 | 2016_39 | Die Welt | GER | Kurzkritiken | 698 | Polyamoristen | Literarische Welt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WELT__146758955 |
| 750 | 2016_40 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Mehrere Lieben zugleich | 111 | Polyamorie | Beilagen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__201609180052398384 |
| 751 | 2016_41 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Was hat mit zu tun? Sex Liebe | 2103 | Polyamorie | Beilagen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/NZZS__201609180052398382 |
| 755 | 2016_42 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | "Viel rankt sich um die Frage, ob Liebe Gründe hat" | 686 | polyamoröse | Sonderthemen | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TSP__20161016103112 91%7CTSPH__20161016103112 91%7CTSPN__2016101610311291 |
| 758 | 2016_43 | Solinger Morgenpost | GER | Die Inszenierung der Liebe | 821 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SOMP__nse0000025596523 |
| 762 | 2016_44 | Basler Zeitung | SUI | Von wegen Monogamie | 328 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/BAZ__2016102613238320766 |
| 765 | 2016_45 | TAZ | GER | Zahlen, bitte | 979 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T20160511.5350857 |
| 772 | 2016_46 | Profil | AUT | Von Kopf bis Fuss auf Triebe eingestellt | 2013 | Polyamorie | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PROF__080082079070073076095201 6%2011282070819069069243 |
| 773 | 1016_47 | Profil | AUT | Rein, raus, fertig, gute Nacht | 808 | Polyamorie | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PROF__080082079070073076095201 6%20112818500650680680 6806 |
| 774 | 2016_48 | Profil | AUT | Im Supermarkt der Sexualität | 615 | Polyamour | Gesellschaft | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PROF__080082079070073076095201 6%20112806573065660692 0693 |

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| 776 | 2016_49 | Passauer Neue Presse | GER | Entblättert, ehrlich und erleuchtet | 767 | polyamor | Lokales Landau | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PNP__29%2056667355 |
| 777 | 2016_50 | Der Standard | AUT | Neues von der Himmelsmacht | 593 | Polyamorie | Kommunikation | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STA__083084065078068065082068 0%20952016120319400421476011 2 |
| 780 | 2016_51 | Spiegel Online | GER | Wir Organsmusoptimierer | 1042 | Polyamoröse | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__PMGSPON-xPMG-SPOX-1124790 |
| 781 | 2016_52 | Welt online | GER | Stadt vs. Land - eine kurze Befindlichkeitskunde | 841 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/SPON__PMGSPON-xPMG-SPOX-1124790 |
| 783 | 2016_53 | News | AUT | Not am Mann | 2038 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/ANEW__078069087083095201612170 0%20660520677109 |
| 786 | 2016_54 | TAZ | GER | Was der Entspannung dient | 672 | Polyamorie | 0 | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/TAZ__T20162412.5366164 |
| 788 | 2016_55 | Der Standard | AUT | Der Irrsinn der Monogamie | 201 | Polyamorie | Leben | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/STA__083084065078068065082068 0%20952016123119400419352005 0 |
| 790 | 2017_01 | Die Presse | AUT | 15 Liter Farbe | 48 | Polyamorie | LES Leserbriefe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__080082069083083069095201 7%2001081915120125 |
| 791 | 2017_02 | Die Presse | AUT | Recht auf Abschalten | 71 | Polyamorie | INT Interview | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__080082069083083069095201 7%2001081915120014 |
| 792 | 2017_03 | Die Presse | AUT | Blattlinie | 314 | Polyamorie | INT Interview | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__080082069083083069095201 7%2001081915120008 |
| 793 | 2017_04 | Die Presse | A U T | Wenn ein Partner nicht mehr reicht | 922 | Polyamorie | LES Leserbriefe | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/PRE__080082069083083069095201 7%2001081915120131 |
| 796 | 2017_05 | Welt kompakt | GER | Die Hölle, das ist die ewige Zugfahrt mit allen Kritikern | 1037 | Polyamorie | Bücher | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/DWK__148959327 |
| 797 | 2017_06 | Welt online | GER | Von wegen Monogamie - was Frauen wirklich wollen | 1689 | Polyamorie | Kultur | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/WEON__149050817 |
| 798 | 2017_07 | Aargauer Zeitung | SUI | Bis zum Schluss / Als Guru verehrt | 594 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/AGZ__F65807E05A700627253348D3852CB4E0 |
| 799 | 2017_08 | Mittelbayrische Zeitung | GER | Fühlt sich der Wolf im Landkreis bald wohl? | 89 | Polyamoristen | Titelseite Neumarkt | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MIB__6B33F293550875B62359CC56E7A4A532-NEUMARKTER%20TAGBLATT |
| 801 | 2017_09 | Mittelbayrische Zeitung | GER | Sie wollen mehr als nur einen lieben | 674 | Polyamoristen | Region Nürnberg | https://www.wiso-net.de/document/MIB__DF077D383B2F8C6E7F75B90E4EDD5169-VILSTAL |

## 17.3.b List of articles excluded

The following list includes all articles that have NOT been analysed. No colour code has been used as those articles have not further been analysed.

Column 1 holds the running overall number,

Column 2 holds the published year,

Column 3 the name of the newspaper or magazine,

Column 4 the country,

Column 5 the title,

Column 6 the amount of words,

Column 7 the key word for which the article was found,

Column 8 the category in which it was published,

Column 9 the relevance,

Colum 10 the reason why the article was not coded.

For space-saving reasons, the URL or the according articles has been removed.

| Nr. | Jahr | Medium (Name) | Land | Titel | Anzahl Woerter | Schlagwort | Ressort | Relevanz | Grund |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 2007 | Tagesanzeiger | SUI | Androgyne Imker | 188 | Polyamory | Regional ausgabe | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 10 | 2007 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Sex - von Erotik befreit | 492 | polyamourö se | Feuilleto n | nein | Einmalnennung ohne weiteres Eingehen |
| 13 | 2007 | Focus | GER | Inhaltsverzeichnis | 519 | Polyamorie | Inhaltsve rzeichnis | nein | Inhaltsverzeichnis |
| 16 | 2007 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Interview-Krieg und echte Landespolitik | 303 | Polyamouris ten | 0 | nein | Begriff von einem Focus-Artikel übernommen |
| 18 | 2007 | TAZ | GER | Ein Mann. Ein Wort | 927 | polyamourö se | tazzwei | nein | Begriff von einem Focus-Artikel übernommen |
| 19 | 2007 | Bayrische Staatszeitung | GER | Frauenverbraucher minister | 280 | polyamourö sen | Blickpun kte | nein | Begriff von einem Focus-Artikel übernommen |
| 20 | 2007 | Welt | GER | Gesundheit: Heiß, aromatisch - und auch gesund? ++ Wissenschaft: Neutronen lassen tief blicken ++ Partnerschaft: Mehrere Partner lieben ++ Wissenschaft für Kinder: Kunst mit Herbstlaub ++ Buch der Woche: Meyers Großer Weltatlas | 404 | Polyamorie | Wissensc haft | nein | Ankündigung |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | 2008 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Kurz notiert | 144 | Polyamore | 0 | nein | Verweis, das der Artikel erst morgen erscheinen wird |
| 31 | 2008 | Hamburger Abendblatt | GER | Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern | 458 | Polyamorie | City & Singles | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 32 | 2008 | TAZ | GER | Mehr lieben | 104 | Polyamorie | Hamburg aktuell | nein | Ankündigung |
| 38 | 2009 | Kurier | AUT | Überblick | 168 | Polyamory | Weltchronik | nein | Doppung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 44 | 2009 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Tausende Niederländer für Vielehe | 97 | Polyamory | Aus aller Welt | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 47 | 2009 | Die Presse | AUT | Polyamoröses Orakel sucht Nachfolger | 281 | polyamore | ALL me | nein | Einmalnennung ohne weiteres Eingehen |
| 48 | 2009 | Falter | AUT | Wilde Kombinationen | 546 | polyamouröse | Lexikon | nein | Einmalnennung für ein Filmfestival (Identities 2009) |
| 49 | 2009 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Alles halb so wild | 1559 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um S/M |
| 52 | 2009 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Dieter Wedel | 296 | polyamor | Panorama | nein | Ident mit Artikel aus Berliner Morgenpost |
| 56 | 2009 | Welt online | GER | Melissa ist eine Domina mit Intelligenzfetisch | 665 | polyamor | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 57 | 2009 | Welt online | GER | Melissa ist eine Domina mit Intelligenzfetisch | 665 | polyamor | 0 | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 58 | 2009 | Die Welt | GER | Krimiwelt | 708 | polyamouröse | Literarische Welt | nein | Buchkritik mit Einmalnennung |
| 59 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 60 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 61 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 62 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 63 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 64 | 2009 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Latex-Lady | 270 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 65 | 2009 | Coburger Tageblatt | GER | Latex-Lady | 269 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 66 | 2009 | Bayrische Rundschau | GER | Latex-Lady | 269 | Polyamor | Boulevard | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 67 | 2009 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | MAOAM / Geile Gummis | 339 | polyamouröös | Feuilleton | nein | Satire, hat mit dem Thema Polyamorie nichts zu tun |
| 70 | 2009 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Die Wahl-Hamburgerin Melissa lebt ihre Intelligenz auch im Studio aus | 640 | polyamor | Moderne s Leben | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 71 | 2009 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Die Wahl-Hamburgerin Melissa lebt ihre Intelligenz auch im Studio aus | 631 | polyamor | Moderne s Leben | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 72 | 2009 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Die Wahl-Hamburgerin Melissa lebt ihre Intelligenz auch im Studio aus | 631 | polyamor | Moderne s Leben | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 73 | 2009 | Die Welt | GER | KrimiWelt | | polyamourö se | Literarisc he Welt | nein | Artikel ist vor einer Woche bereits erschienen |
| 74 | 2016 | Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung | GER | Kult und Konvention | 479 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | ident mit vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 77 | 2010 | Südkurier | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 310 | Polyamorie | Tipps | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 78 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 320 | Polyamorie | Erlangen - Höchstad t | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 79 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 321 | Polyamorie | Forchhei m | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 80 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 320 | Polyamorie | Bamberg | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 81 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 321 | Polyamorie | Obermai n | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 82 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 320 | Polyamorie | Kronach | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 83 | 2010 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Guter Sex will Weile haben | 321 | Polyamorie | Hassberg e | nein | Dopplung mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 85 | 2010 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Frauen sind aktiver beim Sex | 326 | Polyamorie | Partnersc haft | nein | Idennt mit gleichem Artikel aber anderer Überschrift |
| 86 | 2010 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Reden und Gutes tun | 328 | Polyamorie | Moderne s Leben | nein | Idennt mit gleichem Artikel aber anderer Überschrift |
| 87 | 2010 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Erforschung sexueller weiblicher Wünsche treibt Wissenschaftler um | 336 | Polyamorie | Moderne s Leben | nein | Ident mit gleichem Artikel aber anderer Überschrift |
| 88 | 2010 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Das Weniger als Mehr | 310 | Polyamour | Kultur | nein | Es geht um eine Platte (Musik) |
| 90 | 2010 | Kronenzeitun g | AUT | Fast schon alle paar Wochen erscheinen derzeit Pop- und Rockalben... | 321 | Polyamour | Lokal | nein | Es geht um eine Platte (Musik) |
| 91 | 2010 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Sie ist vielfältiger geworden. Und schwieriger. | 1584 | polyamore | Finanzen und Anlagen | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 92 | 2010 | Falter | AUT | Ohren auf | 292 | Polyamour | Lexikon | nein | Es geht um eine Platte (Musik) |
| 93 | 2010 | Falter | AUT | Ein Funkgott, Denker-Pop und Instrumentalrock | 130 | Polyamour | Steierma rk | nein | Es geht um eine Platte (Musik) |
| 94 | 2010 | Falter | AUT | Neue Platten | 325 | Polyamour | Steierma rk | nein | Es geht immer noch um eine Platte (Musik) |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 97 | 2010 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Wenn Treue ein Fabelwort ist | 432 | polyamore | Stil | nein | ähnlich wie kommender Artikel, nur 60 Zeichen kürzer |
| 101 | 2010 | TAZ | GER | "Die Reihe ist kultig geworden" | 562 | Polyamorie | Politisches Buch | nein | Polyamorie nur im Titel |
| 103 | 2010 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | An jeder Hand zwei Frauen | 964 | Polyamorie | Leben | nein | Datenbankfehler, ist genau gleicher Artikel wie der vorherige |
| 108 | 2010 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | Jubiläum für eine extravagante Schottin | 573 | polyamoröse | TT am Sonntag | nein | Idente Sätze wie im vorherigen Artikel (OÖ Nachrichten) |
| 113 | 2011 | Der Spiegel | GER | Inhaltsverzeichnis | 545 | Polyamoristen | Inhaltsverzeichnis | nein | Inhaltsverzeichnis ohne inhaltliche Wertung |
| 121 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Anatomie der modernen Kleinfamilie | 276 | polyamourösen | Kommentar | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 123 | 2011 | NZZ am Sonntag | GER | Liebe der Zukunft | 68 | Polyamoristen | Frontseite | nein | Inhaltsverzeichnis ohne inhaltliche Wertung (für ausführlichen Hauptartikel) |
| 125 | 2011 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Mephisto 97.6 | 61 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 127 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 430 | Polyamorie | Eichsfeld | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 128 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 431 | Polyamorie | Gotha | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 129 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 430 | Polyamorie | Jena | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 130 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 431 | Polyamorie | Unstrud-Hainrich-Kreis | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 131 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 431 | Polyamorie | Eisenach | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 132 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 431 | Polyamorie | Erfurth | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 133 | 2011 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Mit Aufklärung und Fest gegen Homophobie | 430 | Polyamorie | Gera | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 135 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Außerdem | 123 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Film | Nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 136 | 2011 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio | 151 | Polyamorie | Medien | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 137 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Außerdem | 87 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Film | nein | ident mit vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 138 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Außerdem | 87 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Film | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 139 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Außerdem | 87 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Film | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 140 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Außerdem | 87 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Film | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 142 | 2011 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 9.55 Kalenderblatt | 100 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ankündigung Radioprogramm |
| 145 | 2011 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio /MDR FIGARO | 164 | Polyamorie | Medien | Nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 146 | 2011 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Hörfunktipps | 198 | Polyamorie | MA; TV-TIPPS | Nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 147 | 2011 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Warum propagieren Sie immer Monogamie? | 375 | polyamor | Die Frage nach der Liebe | nein | Satireartikel, Polyamorie wird nicht explizit ausgeführt |
| 149 | 2011 | Blick | SUI | Die TV-Tipps des Tages | 223 | Polyamorie | Blicksport | Nein | Ankündigung für einen Film |
| 151 | 2011 | Kurier | AUT | tv-tipps | 182 | polyamoren | Kultur | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 152 | 2011 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Einer reicht nicht | 171 | polyamoren | DRS Dresden Kultur | nein | inhaltlich ident mit anderem Artikel - Programmankündigung direkt von ZDF übernommen |
| 157 | 2011 | B.Z. Berlin Nachrichten | GER | Anne Will startet mit Wut im Bauch | 70 | Polyamorie | Fernsehen | nein | Andündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |
| 158 | 2011 | Express | GER | Liebe und Sex mit mehreren Partnern | 26 | Polyamorie | Sonntag | nein | Ankündigung für Artikel in der gleichen Ausgabe |
| 162 | 2011 | TAZ | GER | Das Problem mit den zwei X-Chromosomen | 726 | Polyamore | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 164 | 2011 | NZZ am Sonntag | SUI | Wir werden Chinesen | 1260 | Polyamory | gs Gesellschaft | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 166 | 2011 | Falter | AUT | Freie Liebe, freie Triebe | 1111 | Polyamorie | Durst | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 168 | 2011 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Tiere | 120 | Polyamourös e | Tiere | nein | Es geht um das Brunftverhalten eines Rothirsches |
| 169 | 2011 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Ziel "Lebensersparnis" | 374 | Polyamorie | Bücher | nein | Buchbeschreibung mit nur einer Nennung, die nicht wesentlich ist |
| 170 | 2011 | Falter | AUT | Wie cool ist Austropop | 406 | Polyamory | Lexikon | nein | Ankündigung für ein Musikfestival |
| 171 | 2011 | Der Standard | AUT | Konzert | 220 | Polyamory | Szenario | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 172 | 2011 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Staatsoper | 328 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 173 | 2011 | Der Standard | AUT | Do, 20. Oktober | 398 | Polyamory | Szenario | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 174 | 2011 | Die Presse | AUT | Musikalische Vielliebelei | 80 | Polyamory | KUL Veranstaltungen | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 175 | 2011 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Staatsoper | 394 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 176 | 2011 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Staatsoper | 401 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 180 | 2011 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | Ein Coat für alle Fälle | 458 | Polyamourie | modischer Leben | nein | Es geht um einen Mantel (Winterbekleidung) |
| 182 | 2011 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | SA, 26. November | 451 | Polyamory | Anzeigen | nein | Radio-Ankündigung |
| 184 | 2011 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 5.03 Guten Morgen Österreich | 716 | Polyamory | Feuilleton | nein | Radio-Ankündigung |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 185 | 2011 | Kurier | AUT | Radio Ö 1 | 161 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | Radio-Ankündigung |
| 186 | 2011 | Nürnberger Zeitung | GER | Dienstag, 29. November | 527 | Polyamorie | Tipps zum Tage | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung (Gottwald) |
| 187 | 2011 | Nürnberger Zeitung | GER | Lust auf...??? | 712 | Polyamorie | NPLUS | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 188 | 2011 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Dienstag, 29. November | 528 | Polyamory | Service | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung (Gottwald) |
| 189 | 2011 | Falter | AUT | Wir wollen ein Haus | | Polyamory | Feuilleton | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 190 | 2011 | Nürnberger Zeitung | GER | Do., 1. Dezember/Bühne | 461 | Polyamorie | Tipps zum Tage | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 191 | 2011 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Do., 1. Dezember/Bühne | 461 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel |
| 192 | 2011 | Falter | AUT | Unser Fehler | 61 | Polyamory | Falter und Meinung | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 196 | 2012 | TAZ | GER | Eigentlich müssten wir Wände einreißen | 1833 | polyamor | Berlin | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 199 | 2012 | Reutlinger Generalanzeiger | GER | Ehrlicher als ein Seitensprung | 531 | Polyamorie | Weltspiegel | nein | Fast ident mit Artikel 65, nur dass Artikel 65 einen Absatz mehr enthält |
| 204 | 2012 | Bonner Generalanzeiger | GER | Polyamorie: eine Beziehung mit drei und mehr | 19 | Polyamorie | WEN | nein | Nur die Überschrift, kein weiterer Text |
| 205 | 2012 | Bonner Generalanzeiger | GER | GA BLOG Diskutieren Sie mit uns! Im Aktionsblog | 50 | Polyamorie | WEN | nein | Aufruf zur Teilnahme an einem Diskussionsblog |
| 206 | 2012 | Badische Zeitung | GER | Kann man parallel lieben? | 353 | Polyamorie | Forum | nein | Fast ident mit Artikel 65, nur diesmal wesentlich kürzer |
| 209 | 2012 | NEWS | AUT | Das Dogma der sexuellen Treue ist eine Mogelpackung | 394 | polyamore | Chronik | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 212 | 2012 | Thuner Tagblatt | SUI | Mi, 18. April | 2507 | Polyamorie | Thuner Tagblatt | nein | Ankündigung für einen Stammtisch |
| 217 | 2012 | Saarbrücker Zeitung | GER | Forscher: Paare arrangieren Sex und Partnerschaft neu | 136 | polyamore | Themen des Tages | nein | Gekürzte Version des vorherigen Artikels; Inhalte direkt von der DPA übernommen |
| 219 | 2012 | B.Z. | GER | Love-News | 89 | polyamore | Liebe | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 225 | 2012 | Express | GER | So lieben wir uns in der Zukunft | 480 | polyamore | Sonntag | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel (gekürzte Version, dafür mit Autor) |
| 226 | 2012 | Die Welt | GER | Zippert zappt | 162 | polyamore | Titel | nein | Zweifachnennung: 1x ohne Wertung, 1x sarkastisch |
| 227 | 2012 | Welt kompakt | GER | Zippert zappt | 161 | polyamore | Leute | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 229 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 225 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 230 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 225 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 231 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 224 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 232 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 225 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 233 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 225 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 234 | 2012 | Fränkischer Tag | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 224 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 235 | 2012 | Die Kritzinger | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 223 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 236 | 2012 | Coburger Tageblatt | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 225 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 237 | 2012 | Bayrische Rundschau | GER | Sex nach Terminkalender | 224 | polyamore | Wissenschaft | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 240 | 2012 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Nach Terminplan | 561 | polyamore | Livestyle | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 242 | | Der Standard | AUT | Artlist | 194 | polyamoröse | Galeriens piegel | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 246 | 2012 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Von Mensch zu Mensch | 242 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit dem vorigen Artikel (80) |
| 247 | 2012 | TAZ | GER | Warten für eine bessere Welt | 1201 | Polyamorie | Wirtschaft und Umwelt | nein | Es geht um einen Döner |
| 248 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Altbacken. Frau im Schatten | 445 | Polyamorie | Medien | nein | Fernsehtipp |
| 249 | 2012 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Gemütlicher Campus | 119 | Polyamorie | Vermischtes | nein | Veranstaltungshinweis |
| 251 | 2012 | Hamburger Morgenpost | GER | Sex- und Suffskandala | 373 | polyamourös | Panorama | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel, wenngleich gekürzt und anderes Land |
| 252 | 2012 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Kurier sprach mit dem Hollywood-Star Charlie Sheen | 392 | polyamorös | Politik-Nachrichten | nein | ganz ähnlich mit dem vorigen Artikel, andere Satzstellung |
| 253 | 2012 | Express | GER | Charlie Sheen: Ich bin polyamorös | 396 | polyamourös | Vermischtes | nein | ganz ähnlich mit dem vorigen Artikel, andere Satzstellung |
| 255 | 2012 | Weltwoche | GER | Freunde, nicht Feinde | 1075 | polyamores | Leserbriefe | nein | Geht um Fremdgehen, nicht um Polyamorie |
| 258 | 2012 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Kaputt. Ich lieben einen Mann, der mir von Anfang an gesagt, hat, dass seine Ehe kaputt ist | 504 | Polyamorie | lokal | nein | Ident mit vorigen Artikel (86) |
| 259 | 2012 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Vegane Peitschen und Muschi-Malbuch | 687 | polyamourösen | 0 | nein | Es geht um einen Öko-Sex-Shop |
| 260 | 2012 | Neue Kärntner Tageszeitung | AUT | Mich nervt der Altersrassismus in Deutschland ungeheuerlich! | 156 | polyamoren | Fernsehen | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |

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| 265 | 2012 | Ostthüringer Zeitung | GER | Brasilianische Notarin beglaubigt Dreierbeziehung | 127 | polyamore | Aus aller Welt | nein | Ident mit vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 267 | 2012 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Die Paarung der „ Polys“ | 749 | Polyamorie | Potsdam Stadt | nein | Vortsetzung von Artikel 88. Ist relevant, wird zu einem Artikel zusammengefasst |
| 268 | 2012 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Polyamorie: Von Berthold Brecht bis Dieter Wedel | 58 | Polyamorie | Potsdam Stadt | nein | Ist der Kasten/Teaser zum Artikel vorher (89) |
| 270 | 2012 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Polyamorie: Von Berthold Brecht bis Dieter Wedel | 67 | Polyamorie | Belzig | nein | Ident mit Ankündigung, Artikel 90 |
| 271 | 2012 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Die Paarung der „ Polys“ | 951 | Polyamorie | Potsdam Stadt | nein | Fast ident mit Artikel 91, nur ein bisschen kürzer |
| 272 | 2012 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Polyamorie: Von Berthold Brecht bis Dieter Wedel | 58 | Polyamorie | Potsdam Stadt | nein | Ident mit Artikel 92 und 90 |
| 273 | 2012 | Passauer Neue Presse | GER | Neustart mit Intensiv-Jazz | 199 | Polyamory | Lokales Regen | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 277 | | Focus | GER | Generation Gerätestreichler | | polyamor | Kultur und Leben, Medien | nein | Es geht um Smartphones und die Vereinsamung |
| 281 | 2012 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Zeitreisen und Zeitpunkte | 465 | polyamourösem | Meinung | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um die Piratenpartei |
| 284 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Versicherung, Leben und Liebe | 138 | Polyamorie | Stadtleben | nein | Ankündigung Vortrag |
| 285 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Theater | 2169 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 286 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Ein Besuch im Londoner Museum | 1087 | Polyamorie | Stadtleben | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung (die Gleiche wie im Artikel 100) |
| 290 | 2012 | Freie Presse | GER | Der Paradiesvogel | 1139 | Polyamorie | Nachrichten | nein | Lebenslauf des Piraten-Spitzenkandidaten in GER |
| 291 | 2012 | Badische Zeitung | GER | Der kleine Hobbit | 1130 | Polyamorie | Die dritte Seite | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel (104) |
| 294 | 2012 | TAZ | GER | Politik | 353 | Polyamorie | tazplan-Program m | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung |
| 295 | 2012 | Spiegel Online | GER | Low-Budget, aber smart | 657 | Polyamorie | Uni Spiegel | nein | Einmalnennung als mögliches Thema für ein neues Magazin |
| 296 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Großes Interesse an Vortrag über Beziehungen in der Frauenkultur | 443 | Polyamory | Stadtleben | nein | ident mit vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 298 | 2012 | Neue Vorarlberger Tageszeitung | AUT | Frisch gezappt | 217 | Polyamorie | TV & Medien | nein | Ankündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |
| 299 | 2012 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Vom Umgang mit der ehelichen Treue | 61 | Polyamorie | TV & Medien | nein | Andündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 302 | 2012 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 13.30 Kleines Konzert | 120 | Polyamorie | Radioprogramm | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 303 | 2012 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio | 154 | Polyamorie | Medien | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 304 | 2013 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Von der Oper bis zum Festival | 138 | Polyamory | Bundesland | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 308 | 2013 | Sonntagszeitung | SUI | Freie Liebe | 85 | Polyamorie | Front | nein | Teaser für Artikel 116 in der gleichen Ausgabe |
| 310 | 2013 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Ärzte. Allgemeinarzt | 2212 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 312 | 2013 | Spiegel Online | GER | Hier dürfen Sie Pirat sein | 968 | Polyamory | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um die Piratenpartei |
| 313 | 2013 | Der Spiegel | GER | Liquid Democracy | 1696 | polyamoren | Deutschland | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um die Piratenpartei |
| 314 | 2013 | Der Spiegel | GER | "Das musste raus" | 1207 | Polyamorie | Deutschland | nein | Gleiche Nennung des Zitates zu Polyamorie (Einfachnennung) wie im Artikel 120 |
| 315 | 2013 | Spiegel Online International | GER | Pirate Party Sinks amid Chaos and Bickering | 2011 | polyamorous | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um die Piratenpartei |
| 321 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Liebe - nicht in Rosa | 295 | Polyamorie | Themen des Tages | nein | Ankündigung für eine Sendung mit Schwerpunkt "Liebe", in der Poly einen von 8 Aspekten darstellt |
| 322 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Der Don Juan unter den Vögeln | 1130 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | nein | Es geht um einen Vogel |
| 324 | 2013 | Die Zeit online | GER | "Wer viel schreibt, zeigt, dass es nicht nur um Sex geht" | 642 | polyamorer | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 325 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Müssen wir die Liebe neu erfinden? | 51 | Polyamorie | Seite 1 | nein | Ankündigung für Artikel in der gleichen Ausgabe |
| 327 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Liebe, Sex und Treue | 153 | Polyamorie | tazzwei | nein | Ist ein Textkasten zum Hauptartikel des gleichen Tages (Nr. 128) |
| 329 | 2013 | Der Standard | AUT | Geschüttelt, nicht gerührt | 352 | Polyamorie | Album | nein | Es geht in einer Einmalnennung um das Liebesleben eines Hundes |
| 330 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Leserinnenbriefe | 1172 | polyamor | LeserInnenbrief | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 331 | 2013 | Thuner Tagblatt | SUI | Mittwoch 1. Mai | 2682 | Polyamor | agenda | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung für einen Stammtisch |
| 333 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Der Gescheiterte | 2265 | Polyamorie | Themen des Tages | nein | einmalige Nennung des Lebensstils des Piratenpartei-Vorsitzenden |
| 336 | 2013 | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Die Dresdner Piraten rüsten sich für den Wahlkampf der Kommunalwahlen 2014 | 763 | polyamore | Dresden | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 339 | 2013 | Welt kompakt | GER | Zur Person: Clarisse Thorn | 73 | Polyamorie | Livestyle | nein | Zuschreibung einer Autorin, die zum |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | Thema Poly schreibt (Einmalnennung) |
| 341 | 2013 | Meininger Tageblatt | GER | Wenn Liebe keine Grenzen kennt | 704 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Ident mit Artikel 137 |
| 342 | 2013 | Freies Wort | GER | Wenn Liebe keine Grenzen kennt | 708 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Ident mit Artikel 137 und 138 |
| 343 | 2013 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 8.05 Bayrisches | 132 | Polyamorie | Radioprogramm | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 344 | 2013 | Format | AUT | Auf der Watchlist | 398 | polyamourö se | Kultur und Style | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 345 | 2013 | Mitteldeutsche Zeitung | GER | Liebe ohne Grenzen | 606 | Polyamorie | Ratgeber | nein | Gekürzte Version des Artikels 137 und 138 und 139 |
| 346 | 2013 | SonntagsBlick | SUI | Keine Enge in Zürich | 509 | Polyamorie | Wissen | nein | Ist nur eine Begriffsdefinition |
| 347 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Ihr seid doch so berechenbar! | 544 | Polyamorie | Tazzwei | nein | Einmalnennung von Polyamorie in Bezug auf den Deutschen Piraten |
| 349 | 2013 | Trierische Volksfreund | GER | Zu klein, zu mickrig, zu provinziell | 721 | polyamor | Gesamt-Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 351 | 2013 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Lange Haare und was die Welt sonst noch bewegt | 395 | polyamourö sen | Kulturkalender | nein | es geht um eine Konzertkritik |
| 352 | 2013 | Hamburger Abendblatt | GER | Wie wär's mit uns heute Nacht? | 800 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich über ein Buch zu Pick-up Artists |
| 354 | 2013 | Welt kompakt | GER | Es gibt nicht "die Homos" oder "die Heteros" | 510 | polyamourö se | Livestyle | nein | Es geht eigentlich um Homo-Rechte, Einmalnennung Polyamorie ohne Wertung |
| 357 | 2013 | TAZ | GER | Überführung ins Spätwerk | 456 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ist eigentlich eine Kritik zu einem Album der Pet Shop Boys |
| 360 | 2013 | AArgauer Zeitung | SUI | Berlin ist locker, Dietikon ist sauberer | 1276 | polyamor | SO Limerttaler Zeitung | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um Polygamie |
| 363 | 2013 | Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz | GER | Die Kraft des Augenblicks | 243 | Polyamory | Lokales | nein | Wird als Synonym für eine Person verwendet |
| 365 | 2013 | Südkurier | GER | Die Familie stösst an ihre Grenzen | 352 | polyamoren | Politik | nein | idente Inhalte mit vorigem Artikel (von Agentur übernommen) |
| 370 | 2013 | Zeit | GER | Zeit Magazin | 134 | Polyamorie | Magazin | nein | Inhaltsverzeichnis. |
| 372 | 2013 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Om und Orgasmus | 1340 | polyamorer | Mag | nein | Einmalnennung, um eine Person zu beschreiben |
| 373 | 2013 | Thuner Tagblatt | SUI | DO, 10. Oktober | 4641 | Polyamory | Thuner Tagblatt | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 374 | 2013 | Thuner Tagblatt | SUI | FR, 11. Oktober | 2048 | Polyamory | Thuner Tagblatt | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 382 | 2013 | Mitteldeutsche Zeitung | GER | Vorgemerkt | 368 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 383 | 2013 | Rheinische Post | GER | Turteltauben | 70 | polyamore | Lokales | nein | Es geht um das Balzverhalten von Tauben |
| 386 | 2013 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Treibsand am Dancefloor | 254 | polyamour | lokal | nein | Es geht um ein Musikalbum |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 387 | 2013 | Westfahlen-Blatt | GER | Ehe für alle | 275 | polyamore | 0 | nein | Gleicher Inhalt wie der folgende, umfassendere Artikel |
| 393 | 2013 | Kleine Zeitung | GER | L.Kranzelbinder | 51 | Polyamory | Bundesland | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 398 | 2014 | Die Welt | GER | Aus aller Welt kompakt | 259 | Polyamoristen | Panorama | nein | Einmalnennung ohne weiteres Eingehen |
| 399 | 2014 | Die Welt | GER | Was ist schon normal | 48 | Polyamoristen | | nein | Ankündigung der Titelgeschichte |
| 404 | 2014 | Spiegel Online | GER | Die Freiheit der Rede | 638 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 164 |
| 407 | 2014 | Welt kompakt | GER | Drei war einer zuviel | 1088 | Polyamorie | Magazin | nein | Ident mit Artikel 167 |
| 409 | 2014 | Welt Panorama | GER | Drei sind einer zuviel | 1074 | Polyamorie | Panorama | nein | Ident mit Artikel 167 und 168 |
| 410 | 2014 | B.Z. | GER | Mit dem Smartphone UnterANDEREN | 100 | Polyamoristen | 0 | nein | ganz ähnlicher Artikel zwei Tage vorher erschienen |
| 411 | 2014 | Welt kompakt | GER | Eine Woche "Unter Anderen" | 117 | Polyamoristen | Internet | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 414 | 2014 | Der Standard | AUT | Wie würde die Welt aussehen, wenn ...? | 876 | Polyamorie | Album | nein | Einmalnennung in einem "Gedicht" |
| 415 | 2014 | Main-Post | GER | Facebook bietet mehr Geschlechter | 229 | polyamourö se | Politik | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 420 | 2014 | TAZ | GER | Hier Gangbang-Video, dort Vagina-Bildband | 571 | Polyamorie | Hintergrund | nein | Geht um Sexshops, Einmalnennung in Bezug auf Polyworkshops |
| 421 | 2014 | Welt kompakt | GER | Flirt-Apps als Sittengemälde der Zeit | 330 | Polyamor | Livestyle | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 423 | 2014 | Oberösterreichische Nachrichten | AUT | Die Zukunft der Liebe | 560 | polyamore | Kultur und Leben | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 426 | 2014 | Thüringische Landeszeitung | GER | Tage gegen Homophobie | 117 | Polyamorie | Ausgabe Weimar | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 427 | 2014 | Thüringer Allgemeine | GER | US-Gitarrist Marcus Wolf im Mon Ami Weimar | 307 | Polyamorie | Ausgabe Weimar | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 430 | 2014 | Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz | GER | Erinnerungen und Zukunftspläne | 348 | polyamoren | Region | nein | Etwas kürzere Version des vorherigen Artikels |
| 431 | 2014 | Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz | GER | Star-Regisseur live: Dieter Wedel kommt | 300 | polyamoren | Region | nein | Ebenfalls ähnlich als der vorige Artikel |
| 433 | 2014 | Welt kompat | GER | Reingeschaut in andere Leben | 422 | Polyamoristen | Magazin | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 434 | 2014 | Aargauer Zeitung | GER | Nach dem Ritt kommen | 836 | polyamore | Forum | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 437 | 2014 | Nürnberger Zeitung | GER | Dienstag 22. Juli | 314 | Polyamorie | Tipps zum Tage | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung |
| 438 | 2014 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Dienstag 22. Juli | 313 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung, |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | ident mit Artikel 183 |
| 439 | 2014 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Lust auf...? | 242 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung, allerdings mit inhaltlicher Beschreibung |
| 441 | 2014 | Kurier | AUT | Monogamie - wirklich nur ein Mythos? | 607 | Polyamourös e | Leben | nein | Es geht um Monogamie, Polyamorie kommt einmal vor und wird nicht näher ausgeführt |
| 442 | 2014 | TAZ | GER | Was macht die Bewegung | 229 | Polyamory | TAZ-Bericht | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 443 | 2014 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 12. 07. Studio 9 | 115 | Polyamorie | Radioprogramm | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 444 | 2014 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Lieber Herr Thadeusz, wären Sie fit für den Promi-Container? | 474 | polyamoren | POL | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 445 | 2014 | Die Presse | AUT | Hätt ich doch was vernünftiges gemacht | 1335 | polyamourösen | All GE | nein | Einmalnennung nicht im tatsächlichen Polyamorie-Kontext |
| 446 | 2014 | Welt online | GER | "Eine gediegene Ausrede ist manchmal menschlicher" | 1594 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 187 (187 besser graphisch aufbereitet) |
| 448 | 2014 | Welt online | GER | "Eine gediegene Ausrede ist manchmal menschlicher" | 1694 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 187 (187 besser graphisch aufbereitet) |
| 449 | 2014 | TAZ | GER | Zwischen Rhein und Tanztee | 753 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | ist eingentlich Theaterkritik |
| 452 | 2014 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 152 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 453 | 2014 | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | RadioProgramm | 155 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Gleiche Radioankündigung wie Artikel 192 |
| 454 | 2014 | Welt online | GER | "Eine gediegene Ausrede ist manchmal menschlicher" | 1694 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 189 |
| 456 | 2014 | Welt | GER | Hauptsache, es vibriert: Sex aus der Maschine | 292 | Polyamorie | Panorama | nein | Kurzform des Artikels 196 (der nur die Hälfte der Wörter umfasst) |
| 460 | 2014 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Du bist so sapiosexy! | 1122 | Polyamorie | MA | nein | Ident mit Artikel 195 |
| 466 | 2014 | Schwäbische Zeitung | GER | Endlich wieder Urlaub | 525 | polyamourös | Wochenende | nein | Es geht um ein Lied von Farin Urlaub (Ärzte) |
| 468 | 2014 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Überleben im dritten Jahrtausend | 404 | polyamourös | 0 | nein | Geht um Musik von Farin Urlaub (Die Ärzte) |
| 469 | 2014 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Polyamourös | 488 | Polyamourös | Musik | nein | fast ident mit vorigem Artikel |

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| 470 | 2014 | Schweriner Volkszeitung | GER | "Musik ist degradiert" | 1766 | Polyamorie | Magazin | nein | Ident mit Artikel 204 |
| 471 | 2014 | Der Prignitzer | GER | "Musik ist degradiert" | 1765 | Polyamorie | Magazin | nein | Ident mit Artikel 204 und 205 |
| 472 | 2014 | Norddeutsche Neueste Nachrichten | GER | "Musik ist degradiert" | 1768 | Polyamorie | Magazin | nein | Ident mit Artikel 204 und 205 und 206 |
| 473 | 2014 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Aufgschnappt | 182 | polyamourö ser | Mehr Nürnber g | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 474 | 2014 | Der Standard | AUT | Radio-Tipps... | 165 | Polyamorie | TV | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 476 | 2014 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Grüne Jugend fordert Freigabe aller Drogen | 609 | Polyamorie | Stadt Landshut | nein | Ident mit Artikel 209 (andere Stadtausgabe) |
| 477 | 2014 | Die Welt | GER | Nell Zink lässt ein Fenster offen | 511 | polyamoröse n | Literarisc he Welt | nein | Einmalnennung ohne verwertbare Wertung |
| 479 | 2014 | Straubinger Tagblatt | GER | An den Rand geschrieben | 234 | Polyamorie | Dingolfin ger Anzeiger | nein | Ident mit Artikel 211 |
| 481 | 2014 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Jugend schützt vor Torheit nicht | 379 | polyamore | Stadt Landshut | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 483 | 2014 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Etliche Verrücktheiten | 217 | Polyamorie | Briefe an die Redaktio n | nein | Ident mit Artikel 213 |
| 484 | 2014 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Nicht ganz logisch | 371 | Polyamory | Stadt Landshut | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Relevanz |
| 485 | 2014 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Nicht ganz logisch | 364 | Polyamory | Stadt Landshut | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 486 | | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Polyamourös | 492 | Polyamourös | Musik | nein | Es geht um Musik von Farin Urlaub (Ärzte) |
| 488 | 2014 | Berner Zeitung | SUI | Di, 9. Dezember | 2471 | Polyamorie | Stadtaus gabe | nein | Veranstaltungsank ündigung Buchpräsentation |
| 490 | 2014 | TAZ | GER | Irgendwann geht das hier bergauf | 687 | Polyamorist en | TAZ-Bericht | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 492 | 2015 | Mitteldeutsch e Zeitung | GER | Gospelchor auf Glory Halleluja Tournee | 289 | Polyamorie | HAL | nein | Veranstaltungsank ündigung Buchpräsentation |
| 501 | 2015 | Tages-Anzeiger | SUI | Das selbst gebastelte Paradies | 1012 | polyamore | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 502 | 2015 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 6.05: Guten Morgen Österreich | 777 | polyamoröse n | Radiopro gramm | nein | Einmalnennung, Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 503 | 2015 | Kronenzeitun g | AUT | Christian Mederitsch präsentiert dir ab 16 Uhr die... | 394 | polyamoröse n | Lokal | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 504 | 2015 | Kronenzeitun g | AUT | Christian Mederitsch präsentiert dir ab 16 Uhr die... | 396 | polyamoröse n | Lokal | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 505 | 2015 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 6.05: Guten Morgen Österreich | 477 | polyamoröse n | Radiopro gramm | nein | Einmalnennung, Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 506 | 2015 | Kurier | AUT | Radio-Tipps | 73 | polyamoröse n | Kultur | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |

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| 512 | 2015 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Drei ist keiner zuviel | 1252 | Polyamorie | Bautzen Lokales | nein | Ident mit Artikel 214 |
| 513 | 2015 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Wie eine Familie | 377 | Polyamorie | Bautzen Lokales | nein | Ident mit Artikel 215 |
| 514 | 2015 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Freiheit genießen | 337 | Polyamorie | Bautzen Lokales | nein | Ident mit Artikel 216 |
| 519 | 2015 | AArgauer Zeitung | SUI | Kinder, Kinder! | 1100 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | nein | Kurzform des Artikels 231 |
| 520 | 2015 | Münchner Abendzeiteung | GER | Reden hilft nicht mehr | 305 | polyamoren | Kultur | nein | Theaterkritik mit Poly-Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 524 | 2015 | Welt online | GER | Was genau macht eigentlich ein Bundesfrauenreferat? | 1449 | polyamorös | 0 | nein | Es geht um die Jobbeschreibung eines Bundesrates |
| 525 | 2015 | Die Welt | GER | Liebe grüne Frauen | 1492 | polyamorös | Politik | nein | Ident mit Vorartikel |
| 526 | 2015 | Welt kompakt | GER | Liebe grüne Frauen | 1015 | polyamorös | Politik | nein | Ident mit Vor-vor-Artikel |
| 529 | 2015 | NZZ | SUI | Rebellentum light | 530 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für ein Theaterfestival (Einmalnennung) |
| 532 | 2015 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Was vor wenigen Jahren allenfalls im Spätprogramm denkbar gewesen wäre... | 199 | Polyamor | TV | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 533 | 2015 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Was vor wenigen Jahren allenfalls im Spätprogramm denkbar gewesen wäre... | 198 | Polyamor | TV | nein | Ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 534 | 2015 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Was vor wenigen Jahren allenfalls im Spätprogramm denkbar gewesen wäre... | 199 | Polyamor | TV | nein | Ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 536 | 2015 | Welt online | GER | Nie war ein Seitensprung so leicht wie heute | 1660 | polyamore | 0 | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 537 | 2015 | Welt kompakt | GER | Abschlussprojekte der Akademie | 179 | Polyamoristen | Internet | nein | Artikel bereits mehrfach erschienen |
| 539 | 2015 | Der Standard | AUT | Watchlist | 278 | Polyamorie | Szenario | nein | Ankündigung für eine Buchlesung |
| 540 | 2015 | Saarbrücker Zeitung | GER | Nachrichten | 227 | Polyamorie | Region | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung Vortrag (mit Kurzbeschreibung) |
| 546 | 2015 | TAZ | GER | Geburt ohne Spuren | 869 | polyamoren | TAZ-Bericht | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 552 | 2015 | Rheinische Post | GER | Piraten kämpfen für "Mehr-Ehe" | 259 | polyamourö se | Land und Leute | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 553 | 2015 | Neuss-Grevenbroicher Zeitung | GER | Piraten kämpfen für "Mehr-Ehe" | 260 | polyamourö se | Land und Leute | nein | Ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 554 | 2015 | Bergische Morgenpost | GER | Piraten kämpfen für "Mehr-Ehe" | 260 | polyamourö se | Land und Leute | nein | Ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 557 | 2015 | Die Zeit | GER | Vor Dir neigt die Lende sich | 1001 | polyamourös | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 561 | 2015 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Demokratie 2015 | 955 | Polyamorie | Service | nein | Einmalnennung in Bezug auf die wirtschaftliche Situation in Griechenland |
| 564 | 2015 | Rheinische Post | GER | Piraten machen sich klar zum Kentern | 577 | polyamoröser | Politik | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 565 | 2015 | Neuss-Grevenbroicher Zeitung | GER | Piraten machen sich klar zum Kentern | 577 | polyamoröser | Politik | nein | Ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 566 | 2015 | Bergische Morgenpost | GER | Piraten machen sich klar zum Kentern | 577 | polyamoröser | Politik | nein | Ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 567 | 2015 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 6.45 Kasperlüberraschung | 1537 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |
| 571 | 2015 | TAZ | GER | Dachzeile - die Liste | 189 | Polyamorie | Kommentar | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 572 | 2015 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 19:30 ImproVision | 272 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Fernsehprogramm |
| 574 | 2015 | Die Welt | GER | Sex? Ja. Ist aber nicht so wichtig | 942 | Polyamoristen | Panorama | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 575 | 2015 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Wartehäuschen | 404 | Polyamorie | Seite 1 | nein | Es geht um das Design von Wartehäuschen in Köln |
| 576 | 2015 | Welt kompakt | GER | Die Liebes-WG | 721 | Polyamoristen | Wetter | nein | Kurzform des vorigen Artikels |
| 580 | 2015 | Nahe Zeitung | GER | Liebesgeschichte spielt im Hundsrück | 674 | polyamoren | Lokal | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 581 | 2015 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | A is polyamoröses Experiment | 53 | polyamouröses | Veranstaltungen | nein | Es geht um eine Band |
| 582 | 2015 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | A is polyamoröses Experiment | 54 | polyamouröses | Veranstaltungen | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 583 | 2015 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | A is polyamoröses Experiment | 53 | polyamouröses | Veranstaltungen | nein | ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 584 | 2015 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | A is polyamoröses Experiment | 54 | polyamouröses | Veranstaltungen | nein | Ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 585 | 2015 | Rhein-Hunsrück-Zeitung | GER | Liebesgeschichte spielt im Hundsrück | 676 | polyamoren | Lokal | nein | ident mit Artikel vorher |
| 586 | 2015 | Thierischer Volksfreund | GER | Liebesgeschichte spielt im Hundsrück | 647 | polyamoren | Mosel-Kreis | nein | Ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 587 | 2015 | Thierischer Volksfreund | GER | Liebesgeschichte spielt im Hundsrück | 648 | polyamoren | Haupt-Hochwald | nein | Ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 588 | 2015 | Neue Presse | GER | Auf die eine und die ganz andere Art | 706 | Polyamorie | Seiten | nein | Geht um eine Schriftstellerin, die einen Roman über Polyamorie geschrieben hat. |
| 590 | 2015 | Falter | AUT | Was Sie über die Wien-Wahl wissen sollten | 3979 | polyamourös | Politik | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 592 | 2015 | Zeit | GER | Vollständig lebendig | 527 | Polyamorie | Die Zeit Literatur | nein | Es geht um Ein Buch zu Lungenkrebs mit Einmalnennung von Polyamorie |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 593 | 2015 | Handelsblatt global | GER | Operas Problem with Reality | 964 | polyamorous | Lifestyles | nein | Englischsprachiger Text |
| 596 | 2015 | Die Welt | GER | Dostojewski, der Riesling und ich | 1245 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um die Frankfurter Buchmesse |
| 597 | 2015 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Wenn eine/r nicht genug ist | 133 | Polyamorie | TV | nein | Ankündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |
| 598 | 2015 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Mehr als Sex | 475 | Polyamorität | Berlin | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 600 | 2015 | Kurier | AUT | Lieber lieben | 171 | polyamourösen | Kultur | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 601 | 2015 | Freie Presse | GER | Kopfkino für die Frau | 865 | Polyamorie | Redaktion Nutzwerk | nein | Einmalnennung im Zuge der Vorstellung eines Erotikmagazins für Frauen |
| 602 | 2015 | Die Welt | GER | My Love, die hat drei Ecken | 535 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um eine Theaterkritik |
| 604 | 2015 | Der Standard | AUT | Drachengasse: Hasenschlachten mit Vermisster | 187 | polyamoren | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 605 | 2015 | Welt online | GER | Muss man denn jeden Roman auf die Bühne bringen? | 547 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 264 |
| 607 | 2015 | Welt online | GER | Hört endlich auf, euch selbst zu pimpen! | 650 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artikel 266 |
| 608 | 2015 | Welt kompakt | GER | Hört endlich auf, euch selbst zu pimpen! | 629 | Polyamorie | Lifestyle | nein | Ident mit Artikel 266 und 267 |
| 609 | 2015 | TAZ | GER | In Hamburg sagt man Tschüss | 1145 | polyamouröser | Kommentar | nein | Einmalnennung, Satire |
| 611 | 2015 | TAZ | GER | Dachzeile | 543 | polyamouröser | Kommentar | nein | Kurzversion eines vorherigen Artikels |
| 615 | 2015 | Märkische Allgemeine | GER | Antiheld des Heavy Metal | 415 | polyamoröse | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 619 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | Das Punschkrapferl liebt die Mandarine, das Tixo ist dagegen | 243 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um eine Performace zu Liebe |
| 622 | 2016 | TAZ | GER | Was mach die Bewegung | 156 | Polyamorie | Aktuelles | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung für einen Infoabend |
| 623 | 2016 | Österländer Volkszeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 170 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 624 | 2016 | Oschatzer Allgemeine | GER | Radio-Tipps | 170 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 |
| 625 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 174 | Polyamorie | Borner-Gaithainer Zeitung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 und 274 |
| 626 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 174 | Polyamorie | Delitzsch-Eilenburger Kreiszeitung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 und 274 und 275 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 627 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 174 | Polyamorie | Muldentalzeitung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 und 274 und 275 und 276 |
| 628 | 2016 | Freie Presse | GER | Im Radio | 166 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Veranstaltungs-Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 629 | 2016 | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Radioprogramm | 172 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 und 274 und 275 und 276 und 277 |
| 630 | 2016 | Döbelner Allgemeine Zeitung | GER | Radio-Tipps | 171 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 273 und 274 und 275 und 276 und 277 und 278 |
| 631 | 2016 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Heute | 2236 | Polyamorie | MA | nein | Ankündigung für eine Lesung |
| 632 | 2016 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Die große Qual der Wahl | 98 | polyamourö se | Veranstaltungen | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 633 | 2016 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Die große Qual der Wahl | 99 | polyamourö se | Veranstaltungen | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 634 | 2016 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Die große Qual der Wahl | 98 | polyamourö se | Veranstaltungen | nein | ident mit vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 635 | 2016 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Die große Qual der Wahl | 99 | polyamourö se | Veranstaltungen | nein | ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 636 | 2016 | Christ und Welt | GER | Im Glauben zerrissen | 1401 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 637 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 6:00 Heidi | 1428 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für eine Fernsehsendung |
| 638 | 2016 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Genderwahn | 286 | polyamore | Berlin extra | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 640 | 2016 | Welt online | GER | Der erste Popstar unter den Köchen wird 90 | 1311 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um einen Koch |
| 641 | 2016 | Welt am Sonntag | GER | Popstar an Blätterteig | 1383 | Polyamorie | Stil | nein | Ident mit Artikel 283 |
| 642 | 2016 | Wirtschaftswoche | GER | Engel der Geschichte | 524 | Polyamorie | Editorial | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um den Bürgerkrieg in Syrien |
| 643 | 2016 | Landshuter Zeitung | GER | Der Rand | 172 | Polyamorie | Stadt Landshut | nein | Kurz aber mit Wertung des Begriffes |
| 646 | 2016 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Theater | 636 | polyamourö sen | Ticket | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 647 | 2016 | Straubinger Tagblatt | GER | kreis & quer | 181 | Polyamorie | Allgemeine Laber-Zeitung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 286 |
| 648 | 2016 | TAZ | GER | Moralismus ist die schlimmste Droge | 527 | polyamore | 0 | nein | Satire, Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 651 | 2016 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Single-Lektüre | 273 | Polyamorie | Berlin | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um ein Buch (Belletristik) |
| 652 | 2016 | Welt online | GER | So geht leidenschaftlicher Sex trotz Beziehung | 1816 | Polyamoristen | 0 | nein | Ident mit Artiklel aus der Print-Ausgabe |
| 653 | 2016 | Welt online | GER | So geht leidenschaftlicher Sex trotz Beziehung | 1816 | Polyamoristen | 0 | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 659 | 2016 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Buchpremiere mit Ronja von Rönne | 181 | polyamourö se | Fre Freital Lokales | nein | Einalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 661 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Scheitern an den Möglichkeiten | 262 | polyamorer | Beilage | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 663 | 2016 | Sächsische Zeitung | GER | Eine kleine Sensation | 467 | polyamourö sen | Fre Freital Lokales | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 665 | 2016 | Osterländer Volkszeitung | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1087 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Geht eigentlich um die Buchmesse in Frankfurt |
| 666 | 2016 | Oschatzer Allgemeine | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1089 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | ident mit Artikel 296 |
| 667 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1092 | Polyamorie | Borner-Gaithain er Zeitung | nein | ident mit Artikel 296 und 297 |
| 668 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1092 | Polyamorie | Delitzsch - Eilenburg er Kreiszeit ung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 296 und 297 und 298 |
| 669 | 2016 | Leipziger Volkszeitung | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1091 | Polyamorie | Muldent alzeitung | nein | Ident mit Artikel 296 und 297 und 298 und 299 |
| 670 | 2016 | Döbelner Allgemeine Zeitung | GER | Kiezbeobachtungen | 1089 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 296 und 297 und 298 und 299 und 300 |
| 672 | 2016 | Die Welt | GER | Übermenschlicher Unterkiefer | 1129 | polyamoren | Kultur | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 673 | 2016 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Muttertags-Protokolle | 2832 | polyamourö s | Sonderth emen | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 675 | 2016 | Main-Post | GER | Ronja von Rönne und die Sinnfrage | 393 | polyamourö sen | Kultur | nein | Ident mit einem vorhergehenden Artikel |
| 676 | 2016 | Zeit online | GER | Der Literaturbetrieb hat ein Problem mit Frauen | 1141 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentich um Frauen im Literaturbetrieb |
| 679 | 2016 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamourö sen | BEI | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 680 | 2016 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | Ident mit vorgem Artikel |
| 681 | 2016 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 682 | 2016 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 683 | 2016 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 684 | 2016 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 685 | 2016 | Taunus Zeitung | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 686 | 2016 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 687 | 2016 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamourö sen | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 688 | 2016 | Nassauische Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 689 | 2016 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 690 | 2016 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 691 | 2016 | Höchster Kreisblatt | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 98 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 692 | 2016 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 692 | 2016 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 694 | 2016 | Frankfurter Neue Presse | GER | Polyamouröse Panikattacken | 99 | polyamouröse | Bei | nein | ident mit einigen vorigen Artikeln |
| 695 | 2016 | Zeit Wissen | GER | Im Theater der Erkenntnis | 3138 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 697 | 2016 | Neue Presse | GER | Herzschmerz von Bamberg bis Hollywood | 322 | Polyamorie | Seiten | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht um ein Buch (Belletristik) |
| 699 | 2016 | Norddeutsche Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Schau zeigt bewegte Bilder | 278 | polyamouröse | Rostock | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung für eine Buchpräsentation |
| 701 | 2016 | Tiroler Tageszeitung | AUT | Status-Update für die "Tristesse Royale" | 156 | polyamouröses | Nachrichten | nein | Buchkritik (Ronja von Rönne) ohne Wertung |
| 702 | 2016 | Neue Züricher Zeitung | SUI | Pop-Literatur im Zeitalter der Blogger | 860 | polyamouröse | fe Feuilleton | nein | Buchkritik (Ronja von Rönne) ohne Wertung |
| 703 | 2016 | Kölner Stadtanzeiger | GER | Heute | 2143 | Polymory | MA | nein | Ankündigung für eine Diskussionsrunde ohne Wertung |
| 704 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 9.05 Radio-Wissen | 151 | Polyamory | Radioprogramm | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 705 | 2016 | Zeit online | GER | Wie Menschen aneinander vorbeibegehren | 1083 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um ein Buch |
| 707 | 2016 | Der Spiegel | GER | Popstar des Feminismus | 1853 | polyamouröus | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 710 | 2016 | Mittelbayrische Zeitung | GER | Und dann war Stalin persönlich am Telefon | 467 | polyamor | Feuilleton | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 713 | 2016 | Lampertheimer Zeitung | GER | Besuch in der Hauptstadt der Springbrunnen | 334 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um eine Buchlesung |
| 714 | 2016 | Darmstädter Echo | GER | Besuch in der Hauptstadt der Springbrunnen | 334 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 313 |
| 715 | 2016 | Bürstädter Zeitung | GER | Besuch in der Hauptstadt der Springbrunnen | 335 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | Ident mit Artikel 313 und 314 |
| 717 | 2016 | TAZ | GER | It must have been love | 3471 | Polyamorie | Wirtschaft und Umwelt | nein | Es geht um den Vergleich von Deutschen Autos |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | mit Beziehungstypen |
| 718 | 2016 | Westdeutsche Zeitung | GER | Der Kultursommer in Krefeld wird literarisch | 397 | polyamourösen | LK Lokal Kultur | nein | Ankündigung Lesung (Ronja von Rönne) ohne Wertung |
| 719 | 2016 | Kleine Zeitung | AUT | Theater... | 240 | Polyamorie | Aviso | nein | Veranstaltungshinweis |
| 720 | 2016 | TAZ | GER | TAZ. Die Tageszeitung | 740 | polyamor | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung in einem Leserbrief |
| 721 | 2016 | Handelszeitung | GER | Geliebte Maschinen | 524 | polyamore | Unternehmen und Politik | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 723 | 2016 | Straubinger Tagblatt | GER | Liebesroman in Telegrammstil | 693 | Polyamoristen | Literatur | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 725 | 2016 | Brand Eins Wirtschaftsmagazin | GER | Selbst ist die Frau | 2184 | Polyamorie | Schwerpunkt: Lust Sexspielzeug | nein | Einmalnennung, es geht eigentlich um Erotik-Shops |
| 728 | 2016 | Kronenzeitung | AUT | Lust und Liebe | 424 | Polyamorie | Diverses | nein | Ident mit Artikel 321 |
| 730 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 12.00 Panorama | 986 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Fernsehprogramm |
| 731 | 2016 | Die Zeit | GER | Was hat dieser Mann getan? | 3767 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 732 | 2016 | Die Zeit online | GER | What has this man done | 4636 | polyamorous | 0 | nein | Englische Version des vorherigen Artikels |
| 733 | 2016 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Alleinunterhalter | 141 | Polyamoristen | Kulturka | nein | Ankündigung für einen Kabarettabend |
| 737 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 19.15 Musiksalon | 265 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für eine Radiosendung |
| 738 | 2016 | Welt online | GER | Warum die Welt ein Rätsel bleibt | 2476 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Ident mit gedrucktem Artikel im gleichen Medium |
| 739 | 2016 | Nürnberger Nachrichten | GER | Ronja von Rönne - und die Krisenbewältigung am Meer | 721 | polyamouröse | Extra-Campus | nein | Buchkritik (Ronja von Rönne) ohne Wertung |
| 740 | 2016 | Vorarlberger Nachrichten | AUT | Homoehe und Todesstrafe | 207 | Polyamoristen | VN-C | nein | Einmalnennung, Leserbrief ohne weitere Erklärung |
| 743 | 2016 | Der Spiegel | GER | Gestrandet | 1712 | polyamor | Deutschland | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 744 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 19:00 /fh | 257 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Andkündigung für eine Radio/Fernsehsendung |
| 745 | 2016 | Leine-Zeitung Neustadt/Wundstorf | GER | Kult und Konvention | 477 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | Es geht um ein Musikalbum |
| 746 | 2016 | Leine-Zeitung Garbsen | GER | Kult und Konvention | 477 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 748 | 2016 | Deister-Anzeiger | GER | Kult und Konvention | 476 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 749 | 2016 | Calenberger Zeitung | GER | Kult und Konvention | 478 | Polyamory | Kultur | nein | ident mit vor-vor-vor-vorherigem Artikel |
| 752 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 19:30 Die Waffen nieder | 267 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für eine |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | Radio/Fernsehsendung |
| 753 | 2016 | Neue Züricher Zeitung | SUI | Die Geliebte | 565 | polyamourö se | Lebensart | nein | Es geht um Monogamie, nicht Polyamorie |
| 754 | 2016 | Badische Zeitung | GER | Von Herzen und Öffnungen | 515 | polyamourö sen | Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 756 | 2016 | Der Bund | SUI | Diese Mischung aus Intelligenz und Blödheit | 183 | polyamoren | Der kleine Bund | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 757 | | Tages-Anzeiger | SUI | Der Witz als ernsthafte Waffe gegen Stumpfsinn | 757 | polyamoren | Kultur und Gesellschaft | nein | Ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 759 | 2016 | Rheinische Post | GER | Die Inszenierung der Liebe | 844 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 760 | 2016 | Neuss-Grevenbroicher Zeitung | GER | Die Inszenierung der Liebe | 822 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 761 | 2016 | Bergische Morgenpost | GER | Die Inszenierung der Liebe | 822 | Polyamorie | Kultur | nein | ident mit vor-vor-vorigem Artikel |
| 763 | 2016 | Die Zeit | GER | Ich hasse diesen Text | 1446 | Polyamourie | Feuilleton | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 764 | 2016 | Berliner Zeitung | GER | Nicht von schlechten Eltern | 436 | polyamourö sen | SON | nein | Es geht um die Darstellung bei einem Theaterfestival |
| 766 | 2016 | Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Verschmelzung von Sachse und Seemann | 591 | polyamourö se | Literatur | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 767 | 2016 | Kölnische Rundschau | GER | In Kürze | 110 | polyamoren | Stadtt | nein | Veranstaltungsankündigung, keine Wertung |
| 768 | | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 6.05 Guten Morgen | 813 | Polyamory | Radioprogramm | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 769 | 2016 | Die Presse | AUT | Theater | 135 | polyamourö sen | All Kultur Program m | nein | Es geht um das Brut Theaterfestival |
| 770 | | Profil | AUT | Wie wir lieben werden | 48 | Polyamorie | Titelseite | nein | Es handelt sich um eine Bildüberschrift |
| 771 | 2016 | Profil | AUT | Aus der Redaktion | 273 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, Ankündigung für den Hauptartikel |
| 775 | 2016 | Falter | AUT | Mit den Händen des Kondors | 1176 | Polyamory | Feuilleton | nein | Es geht um ein Musikfestival |
| 778 | 2016 | Welt online | GER | Sie ist nicht einfach noch ein Transgender-Model | 1192 | Polyamorie | 0 | nein | Einmalnennung, auf die nicht näher eingegangen wird |
| 779 | | Kurier | AUT | Adventmarkt. Altes AKH | 1072 | Polyamor | KT Kompakt | nein | Es geht um eine Veranstaltung in einem Club (Loop) |
| 782 | 2016 | Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten | GER | Politischer Paradiesvogel | 678 | polyamoröse n | Potsdam Kultur | nein | Einmalnennung von Ronald Schernikau ohne Wertung |
| 784 | 2016 | Der Tagesspiegel | GER | Fragebogen | 540 | Polyamourie | Ticket | nein | Einmalnennung zu einem Schauspiel-Stück |
| 785 | 2016 | Wiener Zeitung | AUT | 7:30 Die Garde der Löwen | 1459 | Polyamorie | Feuilleton | nein | Ankündigung für eine TV-Sendung |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 787 | 2016 | Südkurier | GER | Vier Stimmen und die wahre Liebe | 353 | polyamourösen | Tiengen-Lauchringen | nein | Einmalnennung, Beschreibung eines Theaterstücks |
| 789 | 2017 | Kurier | AUT | Kabarett Casanova | 454 | Polyamor | Kultur | nein | Ankündigung für ein Thema im Club "Pratersauna" |
| 794 | 2017 | Berliner Kurier | GER | Von Selfie-Drohne bis Yologamie | 158 | Polyamorie | PAN | nein | Einmalnennung ohne Wertung |
| 795 | 2017 | Express | GER | Von Selfie-Drohne bis Yologamie | 158 | Polyamorie | Nachrichten | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 795 | 2017 | Münchner Merkur | GER | Die Szene-Trends des Jahres | 847 | Polyamorie | Welt | nein | inhaltich ident mit den beiden vorigen Artikeln |
| 800 | 2017 | Mittelbayrische Zeitung | GER | Termin: Der Poly-Stammtisch findet jeden zweiten Donnerstag im Monat ab 18:00 statt | 77 | Polyamoristen | Region Nürnberg | nein | Einladung zu einem Stammtisch |
| 802 | 2017 | Aargauer Zeitung | SUI | Bis zum Schluss / Als Guru verehrt | 577 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | nein | ident mit vorherigem Artikel |
| 803 | 2017 | Aargauer Zeitung | SUI | Bis zum Schluss / Als Guru verehrt | 472 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | nein | ident mit vorigem Artikel |
| 804 | 2017 | Aargauer Zeitung | Sui | Bis zum Schluss / Als Guru verehrt | 480 | Polyamorie | Mantel MZ | nein | ident mit vor-vorigem Artikel |

## 17.4. Codebook

**Codebuch**

Für das Forschungsprojekt

**Polyamorie in medialer, sozialer und Identitätsperspektive**

**Version 5.0**

*Mai 2019*

### 1_ Liebeshistorie

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss zutreffen | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Weitere Person Emotion | 1_1 | Eine Person verliebt sich in eine weitere Person, dies führt zu polyamorösem Lebensstil. | # Person in monogamer Zweierbeziehung verliebt sich in eine weitere Person und öffnet Beziehung.<br><br># Person ist in monogamer Zweierbeziehung, verliebt sich in weitere Person, trennt sich noch nicht, aber führt die Folgende Beziehung polyamorös. | *„Nach der dramatischen Scheidung zog Veronika mit den Kindern in eine Kleinstadt. Ein Jahr später lernte sie einen Tessiner kennen. Ein paar Jahre lang waren sie monogam. "Aber dann verliebte er sich in eine andere. Ich schnappte mir ebenfalls einen andern, und dann versuchten wir es eine Weile zu viert."* |
| Weitere Person Sexualität | 1_2 | Eine Person hat mit einer weiteren Person Sex. | # Person hatte einmal Sex außerhalb der monogamen Zweierbeziehung (→ Impuls zur Hinterfragung von Monogamie).<br><br># Person hatte regelmäßig Sex außerhalb der monogamen Zweierbeziehung.<br><br># Prinzip „(körperliche) Treue" wird abgelehnt. | *„Veronika fand die Idee der Monogamie schon als Jugendliche seltsam. "Warum soll man nicht mehr als einen Menschen lieben können, und zwar auch erotisch?", fragte sie sich schon damals."* |
| Affäre | 1_3 | Eine Person hat zu einer anderen Person, die nicht Primärpartner(In) ist, eine heimliche Beziehung. | # Eine Affäre führt kurz- mittel- oder langfristig zu polyamorösen Lebensstil. | *„In den folgenden Jahren hatte sie diverse Affären. "Es war ziemlich wild", stellt sie rückblickend fest. "Aber bloss, weil nicht klappte, was ich eigentlich wollte:* |

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| | | | | *Parallelbeziehungen. Lange dachte ich, es liege nur an mir.“* |
| Langweile in Beziehung | 1_4 | Langweile in monogamer Zweierbeziehung von zumindest einer Person führt auf unterschiedlichen Wegen zu polyamoröser Lebensweise. | # Monogame Zweierbeziehung wurde langweilig.<br><br># Wenig/kein sexuelles Verlangen mehr.<br><br># Wenig/kein prickeln mehr.<br><br># Wenig/keine emotionale Liebe mehr.<br><br># Keine Aufrechterhaltung des Status Quo mehr. | *„So halten manche Zeitgenossen etwa eine Reform unserer Liebesverhältnisse für dringend geboten. Immer die gleichen Kalamitäten, immer die gleichen Widersprüche. Das ist ein typisches Beispiel: Eltern, die sich nicht mehr lieben, bleiben der Kinder wegen zusammen und leiden daran.“* |
| Wunsch nach mehr Freiheit | 1_5 | Eine oder zwei Personen in einer monogamen Beziehung verspürten den Wunsch nach mehr Freiheit in der Beziehung. | # Aufgabe des Exklusivitätsanspruchs.<br><br># Wunsch, neue Dinge zu erleben (sexuell und/oder emotionell). | *„Der Herausgeber eines kritischen Esoterik-Magazins mit Schwerpunkt Tantra meint, "diese Menschen wollen ihre Seitensprünge nicht verbergen müssen. Sie wollen, wenn sie sich neu verlieben, nicht ihren Ex ‚entsorgen` müssen. Sie suchen Treue und Abenteuer zugleich - tiefe, dauerhafte Liebe und Verbindlichkeit, ohne dabei einander ein Gefängnis zu bauen."* |

## 2_Klassifizierung

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss zutreffen | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intime Praxis | 2_1 | Polyamorie wird als überwiegend sexuelle Handlung verstanden. | # Focus liegt auf Sexualität.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „sexual arrangement“. | *„Während ich diesen Text schreibe, ist mein Freund bei einer anderen Frau. Das ist nicht unüblich: Studien erzählen davon, dass eine große Zahl von Verpartnerten schon mal Spaß in fremden Betten hatte.“* |
| Identität (gelebte Realität) | 2_2 | Polyamorie wird als eine Form gelebter Lebens-, Liebes-, Beziehungs-Identität verstanden. | # Nicht an Begrifflichkeiten festgemacht, sondern: Beschreibung des gelebten Alltages in einer polyamorösen Beziehung | *„Polyamor zu leben, ist ein Luxus, der Zeit kostet", sagt Cornelia Jönsson. "Alle Beteiligten müssen ständig kommunizieren, ihre Bedürfnisse formulieren, damit es funktioniert." Anders als mancher vielleicht* |

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| | | | | *vermutet, bedeutet Polyamorie keinesfalls eine nicht enden wollende Orgie. Es heißt im Gegenteil, immer organisiert zu sein, viel zu planen, auf Spontaneität zu verzichten.“* |
| Identität (Ideologie) | 2_3 | Polyamorie wird als Ideologie, Überzeugung, etwas Sinnstiftendes verstanden. | # Selbstzuschreibung „Polyamorist“ oder „polyamoröses Leben“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „mehreren Personen treu sein“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „Verbindlichkeit zu mehreren Partnern“.<br><br># Begriff „Einstellung“ oder „Lebenshaltung“.<br><br># Begriff „Ideal“.<br><br># Begriff „Notwendigkeit“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „andere Art gelebter Beziehung“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „Beziehungsform“.<br><br># Begriff „Konzept“ oder „Lebenskonzept“.<br><br># Begriff: „Lebensentwurf“.<br><br># Begriff: „Lebensform“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „Form des Zusammenlebens“.<br><br># Gemeinsame Nennung von „Liebe (Emotion“) und „Sexualität“ → dann keine Zuschreibung zu 2_1 und/oder 2_3.<br><br># Begriff Partnerschaftsstruktur“. | *„Das Modell, das die Familie lebt, heißt "Polyamorie". Das bedeutet, mit mehreren Menschen eine Beziehung zu führen - alle Beteiligten sind informiert und einverstanden. Polyamorie ist etwas anderes als eine offene Beziehung, bei der Sex mit anderen zwar erlaubt ist, die "Primärbeziehung" aber immer Vorrang hat.“*<br><br>*„Die Polyamorie - frei übersetzt etwa: Mehrfach-Liebelei - bezeichnet eine Lebenshaltung, deren wachsende Anhängerschaft mit der klassisch-monogamen Zweierkiste radikal aufräumt. Man oder frau liebt und verkehrt nach Belieben mit jedermann oder jeder Frau, alle wissen, was läuft, und billigen es, neue Werte wie Verbindlichkeit und Toleranz ersetzen Altlasten wie Treue oder Eifersucht.“* |

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| | | | # Begriff „Lebensweg“.<br><br># Begriff „Modell“. | |
| Sexuelle Orientierung | 2_4 | Polyamorie wird als sexuelle Orientierung (in Anlehnung an Homosexualität und Bisexualität) verstanden. | # Begriff „coming out“ und „outing“.<br><br># Begriff „Neigung“. | *„Andrea ist 25, Hebamme in Ausbildung und hat lange gezweifelt, mit sich gerungen, sich schliesslich durchgerungen - zum Entschluss, jene Neigung, die sie schon lange und immer deutlicher spürt, nicht länger zu verbergen. Sie will auch öffentlich zu ihrer bisexuellen Polyamorie stehen - neben Pascal unterhält sie eine Liebesbeziehung zu einer verheirateten Frau.“* |
| Monogamie ist unnatürlich | 2_5 | Monogamie ist die Norm die es zu hinterfragen gilt. | # Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „wider der Natur“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „nicht mehr zeitgemäß“. | *„Die monogame Beziehung, sich ein Leben lang ausschliesslich einander versprechen, das läuft der menschlichen Natur zuwider.“* |
| Multiple Liebesbeziehung | 2_6 | Polyamorie wird überwiegend als emotionale Beziehung zwischen mehr als zwei Personen verstanden. | # Begriff „Liebesbeziehung“.<br><br># Begriff „Liebe zu dritt“ oder „Liebe zu mehrt“.<br><br># Begriff „Liebesnetzwerk“.<br><br># Begriff oder Sinnverwandtschaft „mehr Menschen gleichzeitig lieben“. | *„Loving More" - so nennt sich eine Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der "Polyamorie" in Amerika. Gerade eben fand an der amerikanischen Ostküste eine Konferenz der Leute statt, die "mehr lieben" wollen als andere.“* |
| Monogamie als Wirtschafts-System | 2_7 | Der Focus liegt auf den ökonomischen Aspekten von Beziehung(en). | # Monogamie als Wirtschaftssystem.<br><br># Polyamorie als alternatives Wirtschaftssystem. | *„Andere tun es aus politischen Gründen: Sie sind besonders liberal oder besonders kritisch gegenüber Besitzverhältnissen und wollen diese auch in Beziehungen abschaffen.“* |
| Sonstiges | 2_8 | Aspekte, die in keine der vorherigen Kategorien passen. | # Aspekte, die in keine der vorherigen Kategorien passen.<br><br>→ Begriffe, Zuschreibungen, Definitionen etc. werden notiert. | *"Polyamorie ist eine Philosophie, die auf Ehrlichkeit, Offenheit und Selbstverwirklichung basiert, eine Art Überbegriff für eine offene Lebensweise."*<br><br>*→ Begriff: „Philosophie“.* |

## 3_Soziale_Akzeptanz

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss direkt genannt werden oder sinngemäß gemeint sein: | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Familie | 3_1 | Die (mögliche) soziale Wahrnehmung von polyamoröser Lebensweise im familiären Umfeld. | # Begriff „Familie“.<br><br># Begriff „Eltern“.<br><br># Begriff „Geschwister“.<br><br># Begriff „Kinder“ wenn es um Kinder in einer Beziehung geht, und sich die Eltern (nicht) Poly outen wollen. | *„Es gelten meist feste Regeln: Der Sex mit dem Zweit- oder Drittpartner soll nicht im Ehebett stattfinden. Zu Familienfeiern geht man nur mit dem Erst-Partner.“* |
| Freunde | 3_2 | Die (mögliche) soziale Wahrnehmung von polyamoröser Lebensweise im Freundeskreis. | # Begriff „Freunde“.<br><br># Begriff „Freundeskreis“.<br><br># Begriff „persönliches Umfeld“ und ähnliche sinngemäße Inhalte. | *„Wenn wir mit Leuten in unserem Umfeld darüber sprechen, finden viele es aber ziemlich interessant. Die Reaktionen sind fast durchgehend positiv, auch wenn jedes Mal der Spruch kommt: Schön, dass es bei euch funktioniert, aber für mich wäre das ja nix.“* |
| Arbeitsplatz | 3_3 | Die (mögliche) soziale Wahrnehmung von polyamoröser Lebensweise im familiären Umfeld. | # Begriff „Arbeitsplatz“.<br><br># Begriff „Arbeitskollegen“.<br><br># Begriff „persönliches Umfeld“ (→ wenn sinngemäß abgegrenzt von Familie und/oder Kinder).<br><br># Bei Priestern: Kirchengemeinde.<br><br># Bei Politikern: Mitglieder der jeweiligen Partei.<br><br># Bei Kindern: Begriff „Schule“. | *„Innerhalb von Beziehungen tut sich allerdings die große Mehrheit noch schwer, ihre Bedürfnisse ehrlich zu formulieren und auszuleben. Wer erzählt schon im Büro vom Liebhaber?“* |
| Gesellschaft allgemein | 3_4 | Die (mögliche) soziale Wahrnehmung von polyamoröser Lebensweise durch die (nicht an konkrete Personen festgemachte) Gesellschaft. | # Begriff „Gesellschaft“<br><br># Sinnerfassende Beschreibung von Gesellschaft. | *„Denn noch immer beherrscht der Verhaltenskodex der Monogamie mit all ihren Begleiterscheinungen die westliche Gesellschaft.“* |

## 4_Rechtliche_Anerkennung

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss direkt oder indirekt vorkommen: | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ehevertrag | 4_1 | Die rechtliche/legale Absicherung einer Mehrfachbeziehung. | # Begriff „Ehevertrag“ oder sinngemäße Inhalte zu Ehevertrag.<br><br># Begriff „Partnerschaftsvertrag“ od er sinngemäße Inhalte zu Partnerschaftsvertrag.<br><br># Begriff „Rechtliche Absicherung oder sinngemäße Inhalte zu rechtlicher Absicherung. | *„In den Niederlanden gibt es seit zehn Jahren die Form des "Samenlevingscontract", mit dem mehrere Menschen ihr Zusammenleben rechtlich regeln können. Darin haben die drei ihr Arrangement verbindlich definiert.“* |
| Gleichstellung mit LGBT | 4_2 | Die rechtliche/legale Gleichstellung mit Personen, die LGBT-Rechte für sich in Anspruch nehmen. | # Gleiche Rechte wie Mitglieder der LGBT-Community.<br><br># Anerkennung von Poly sein als sexuelle Minderheit.<br><br># Anerkennung von Poly sein als sexuelle Orientierung. | *„Ehe und Familie sind in Deutschland durch Artikel 6 des Grundgesetzes besonders geschützt. Sie genießen als Lebensform eine normative Ausnahmerolle. Das Ideal sind also Homo- und Hetero-Ehen, die auf Familie - sprich: Nachwuchs - angelegt sind. Alle anderen Lebensformen liegen zwar in der freien Selbstbestimmung jedes Einzelnen, dürften aber von verfassungspatriotisch gesinnten Lehrkräften nicht im vollen Sinne als gleichwertig mit Ehe und Familie vermittelt werden.“* |
| Absicherung Kinder | 4_3 | Die rechtliche/legale Absicherung von Kindern in einer Mehrfachbeziehung. | # Rechtliche Anerkennung von Kindern aus polyamorösen Beziehungen.<br><br># Rechtliche Absicherung von Kindern aus polyamorösen Beziehungen. | *„Bevor man die bewährte Ehe über Bord wirft, müssen die juristischen und sozialen Folgen dieser Idee überprüft werden. Es könnte ja sein, dass Kinder in Mehrfachbeziehungen zum Spielball von Streitigkeiten der Eltern werden - auch wenn die Forschung nahe legt, dass es gut für die Entwicklung von Kindern ist, wenn sie mehrere Bezugspersonen haben.“* |
| Eigentum | 4_4 | Die rechtliche/legale Absicherung von Eigentum in einer Mehrfachbeziehung. | # Rechtliche Absicherung von Eigentum in/aus | *„Würden polyamore Ehen gesetzlich anerkannt, müsste der Staat also nicht fürchten, dass er seinen Bürgern* |

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| | | | polyamorösen Beziehungen. | *deshalb weniger Geld abknöpfen kann.“* |
| Staatliche Verantwortung | 4_5 | # Verantwortung des Staates, sich mit Mehrfachbeziehungen auseinanderzusetzen. | # Verantwortung des Staates, sich mit Mehrfachbeziehungen auseinanderzusetzen. | *„Der Staat muss seine Gesetze an diese Vielfalt der Lebensstile anpassen.“* |

## 5_Kirchliche_Anerkennung

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss direkt oder indirekt vorkommen: | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Katholisch | 5_1 | Die Katholische Kirche. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf die katholische Kirche.<br><br># Inhalt bezieht sich auf Personen katholischen Glaubens. | *„Mit Kritik hält sich der 69-Jährige auch nicht zurück, wenn es um seinen Chef geht, den Papst. Bei diesem Thema kann der Abtprimas sehr selig lächeln und darauf verweisen, dass sich schon Paulus für die Redefreiheit ausgesprochen habe.“* |
| Protestantisch | 5_2 | Die Protestantische Kirche. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf die protestantische Kirche.<br><br># Inhalt bezieht sich auf Personen protestantischen Glaubens. | *„Am Poly-Stamm erregt etwa die Frage die Gemüter, ob der berühmteste Polyamorist Jesus Christus hiess. «Das kann man so nicht sagen», protestiert Pfarrer Ruedi Sommer*. Die Frage beschäftigt den 49-jährigen polyamoren Prediger als Privatmann ebenso wie aus der Sicht des Theologen. Persönlich würde ihm ein möglicherweise vielfältiges Sexualleben dieses Jesus Christus ganz gut in den Kram passen. «Dann könnte ich auch auf der Kirchenkanzel offen über jene Liebe sprechen, die ohne Lüge auskommt», sagt er - und fühlt sich mit seinen Worten an die eigene Lebenslüge erinnert“* |
| Anglikanisch | 5_3 | Die anglikanische Kirche. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf die anglikanische Kirche<br><br># Inhalt bezieht sich auf Personen anglikanischen Glaubens. | |
| Christen allgemein | 5_4 | Christliche Religionen im Allgemeinen. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf Christen allgemein ohne nähere Bestimmung der Religion. | *„Darf die Kirche sich einmischen in die Probleme des Staates? Oder muss sie das künftig sogar stärker? Und wer sagt, dass es Kirchen dann überhaupt noch gibt? Ist es mit dem Glauben nicht schon heute wie* |

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| | | | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf Christen allgemein. | *im polyamoren Liebesmodell? Also ein bisschen Christentum, ein wenig Buddhismus und Gebete über Twitter?“* |
| Mormonen | 5_5 | Die Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf die Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage.<br><br># Inhalt bezieht sich auf Personen mormonischen Glaubens. | *„Bei den Mormonen konnten die Männer traditionellerweise mehrere Ehefrauen haben. Erst etwa vor hundert Jahren schworen sie der Polygamie ab. Damals spaltete sich die Fundamentalistische Kirche Jesu Christi der Heiligen der Letzten Tage (FLDS) ab, die weiterhin an der Vielehe festhielt.“* |
| Islam | 5_6 | Islam. | # Inhalt bezieht sich auf den Islam.<br><br># Inhalt bezieht sich auf Personen islamischen Glaubens. | *„Die Polygynie ("Vielweiberei") ist - man ahnt es bereits – weiter verbreitet als die Polyandrie. Man kennt sie von den Mormonen; bis heute ist sie Bestandteil des Islam. Kennzeichnend für die Vielweiberei sind die stark ausgeprägte Hierarchie und eine starke Rivalität zwischen den Frauen.“* |

## 6_Aneignung_Wissen

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss direkt oder indirekt vorkommen: | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Internetforen | 6_1 | Internetforen, Mailinglisten, Chatrooms, Dating-Plattformen, in denen es um Polyamorie geht. | # Internetforen.<br><br># Datingplattformen, in denen explizit nach polyamorösen Beziehungen gesucht werden kann (Beispiel OKcupid).<br><br># Homepages zum Thema Polyamorie (Wikipedial, Blogs, etc.).<br><br># Facebook-Gruppen zu Polyamorie. | *„Vor sieben Jahren suchte Roman im Internet Gruppen, die Beziehungen wie er leben, doch wurde er nicht fündig. So entschloss er sich, selber eine Plattform aufzubauen. Sie ist unter www.polyamory.ch zu finden.“* |
| Stammtische und Treffen | 6_2 | Regelmäßige und unregelmäßige Treffen von polyamorösen Menschen und/oder zu polyamorösen Themen. | # Polyamorie-Stammtische.<br><br># Regionale und überregionale, nationale und internationale Polyamorie-Treffen.<br><br># Workshops und Selbsthilfegruppen zum Thema Polyamorie. | *„Die Leute werden neugierig. Sie kommen zu diesem Stammtisch im Hamburger Karolinenviertel und wollen wissen, was das ist: Polyamorie.“* |

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| | | | # Queere Veranstaltungen mit Polyamorie-Features. | |
| Ratgeberliteratur | 6_3 | Ratgeberliteratur (keine wissenschaftliche Literatur), die sich mit dem Thema Polyamorie auseinandersetzt. | # Bücher explizit zum Thema Polyamorie.<br><br># Bücher zum Thema Liebe und Beziehung, in denen Polyamorie thematisiert wird.<br><br># Verweise auf Features in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Magazinen zum Thema Polyamorie.<br><br># Ergänzung: Buchtitel werden notiert. | *"Maresch hat zusammen mit Co-Autorin Cornelia Jönsson vor kurzem ein Buch herausgebracht. Es heißt "111 Gründe, offen zu lieben" (Verlag Schwarzkopf & Schwarzkopf), und beim Lesen kann man glatt das Gefühl bekommen, schön blöd zu sein, sich noch freiwillig die Zwänge einer Zweierbeziehung anzutun."* |
| Testimonials | 6_4 | Bekannte Personen, die mit Polyamorie in Verbindung gebracht werden. | # Personen die derzeit mit Polyamorie in Verbindung gebracht werden.<br><br># Personen die bereits tot sind und polyamorös gelebt haben, wenngleich zu Lebzeiten unter anderen Begrifflichkeiten (nachträgliche Zuschreibung von polyamoröser Lebensweise).<br>→ wenn ein Testimonial für einen Artikel interviewt wird, wird diese Person nur einmal pro Artikel gezählt.<br><br># Ergänzung: Namen der Personen werden notiert. | *„Immer wieder wurde diese Doktrin infrage gestellt, von Denkern wie Bertolt Brecht und Jean-Paul Sartre bis hin zu einem Koch wie Paul Bocuse, der sich gleich mit fünf Frauen umgibt."* |
| Film- und Fernsehserien | 6_5 | Filme, Fernsehserien und Theaterstücke, die inhaltlich Polyamorie thematisieren. | # Kinofilme zum Thema Polyamorie.<br><br># Fernsehserien zum Thema Polyamorie.<br><br># Theaterstücke zum Thema Polyamorie. | *„1+1+1 Ist eine offene Dreier-beziehung möglich? Oder können nur "Träumer" daran glauben - so lautete der Titel von Bernardo Bertoluccis Film von 2003."* |

## 7_Sonstiges

| Variable | Code | Definition | Codier-Regel: Mindestens einer dieser genannten Aspekte muss direkt oder indirekt vorkommen: | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abgrenzung „Freie Sexualität" | 7_1 | Formen von non-mongamer Lebensweise, in denen offene | # Offene Beziehung. | *„Die Gleichsetzung von Mehrfachbeziehunge* |

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| | | Sexualität im Mittelpunkt steht. | # Offene Ehe.<br><br># Promiskuität.<br><br># Swingen. | *n mit Promiskuität ist unzutreffend - und manchmal auch diskriminierend.“* |
| Abgrenzung Polygamie | 7_2 | Legalisierte Mehrfachbeziehungen. | # Polygame Gesellschaften.<br><br># Mehrfachehen.<br><br># Vergleiche mit dem Tierreich, wenn Polygamie ein Thema.<br><br># Vor-moderne Gesellschaften. | *„Bigamie und Polygamie sind der Polyamorie zwar ähnlich, jedoch weist die Vielehe striktere Normen auf: Ein Mann ist dabei gewöhnlich mit mehreren Frauen verheiratet.“* |
| Abgrenzung Kommunen | 7_3 | Formen des Zusammenlebens in Kommunen-Strukturen. | # Kommunen generell.<br><br># 68iger-Kommunen und wortverwandte/sinnverwandte Begriffe.<br><br># Kommune 1.<br><br># Hippie-Generation, wenn Sexualität/Mehrfachbeziehung ein Thema.<br><br># 60iger-Generation, wenn Sexualität ein Thema. | *„Der nächste Einwand kommt bestimmt: "Ach, das ist ja wie die 68er, Kommunen und so ...!" Womit für die meisten das Thema auch schon wieder erledigt ist. "Funktioniert ja eh nicht" soll das nämlich heißen, "haben andere probiert, sind gescheitert".“* |
| Thema „Eifersucht“ | 7_4 | Eifersucht und Verlustangst. | # Nennung von Eifersucht als Problem.<br><br># Nennung von Eifersucht als Thema.<br><br># Überwundene Eifersucht. | *„Doch wie steht es mit der Eifersucht? Die lässt sich wohl kaum auf Knopfdruck eliminieren. «Eifersucht gibt es natürlich auch, aber in geringem Ausmass», sagt Mirja aus Zürich.“* |
| Polygame Gesellschaften | 7_5 | Polygame Gesellschaften. | # Nennung polygamer Gesellschaften. | *„Auch wenn wir uns mit den Sitten in anderen Regionen beschäftigen, wird deutlich, wie subjektiv unsere Normen sind. So gibt es zum Beispiel in Teilen Indiens und im Himalaya Menschen, die in polyandrischen Beziehungen leben: Eine Frau hat zwei* |

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *Männer, in der Regel Brüder.“* |
| Anzahl polyamorös lebender Personen | 7_6 | Nennungen/Schätzungen von Anzahl an Personen, die polyamorös leben/denken/fühlen. | # Anzahl Personen, die polyamorös leben, denken, oder fühlen.<br><br># Ergänzung: Anzahl wird notiert. | *„Wie viel Polyamore es in Deutschland gibt, ist nicht ganz einfach zu schätzen, ein paar hundert wohl. Christopher Gottwald hält Vorträge zum Thema. In Berlin waren siebzig Leute da, in Nürnberg zwanzig.“* |

## W_Generelle Darstellung von Polyamorie

| Variable | Code | Definition und Codierregel | Ankerbeispiel |
|---|---|---|---|
| Positiv | W_1 | Das Konzept der Polyamorie wird im Artikel (unabhängig vom Rest des Artikels) positiv dargestellt. | *„Rainer Langhans, Ex-Mitglied der Kommune I.<br>Wir haben 1968 erlebt, was Liebe ist. Wie viel Liebe ich und alle sind. Das ist so viel mehr als dieses bisschen, was Sex bringt. Das Lieblose, das hier in der Gesellschaft besteht, mit Ehe und allem drum und dran, ist nicht real! Würden alle Menschen polyamor leben, gäbe es keine Heimlichtuerei mehr und damit auch nicht diesen Schmerz. Man würde sich wirklich ernstlich damit befassen, ob und wie man mit mehreren Menschen liebevoll umgehen kann. So ist das immer verboten - und das ist natürlich schrecklich. Wir haben eine Welt vor uns, die lieblos, kriegerisch und trostlos verfeindet miteinander ist. Da ist Polyamorie sehr dringend nötig.“* |
| Eher positiv | W_2 | Das Konzept der Polyamorie wird im Artikel (unabhängig vom Rest des Artikels) eher positiv dargestellt. | *„In Zeiten der Globalisierung und der intensivierten Kommunikation ändert sich das Leben - und die Liebe. Ungewöhnliche Beziehungsformen werden vermehrt ausprobiert. Etwa die Polyamorie, die Fähigkeit, zur selben Zeit mehrere Menschen zu lieben.<br>In deutschen Großstädten kommt das Liebesthema Poly-amorie (griech.: polys "viel, mehrere" und lat. amor "Liebe") immer mehr en vogue. Nachdem die Liebesheirat, gekoppelt mit dem hohen Anspruch lebenslanger Treue, gerade im städtischen Raum zum Minderheitenprogramm geworden ist, griff die "serielle Monogamie" um sich: Man sucht, bahnt an, beginnt eine Beziehung, bis man sich wieder trennt und von vorne beginnt. Immer mehr Menschen stellen sich die Frage, ob sie damit glücklich sind.<br>"Immer mehr Menschen glauben, dass serielle Monogamie nicht der optimale Weg zum Glück sein kann", sagt Wolf Schneider. Der Herausgeber eines kritischen Esoterik-Magazins mit Schwerpunkt Tantra meint, "diese Menschen wollen ihre Seitensprünge nicht verbergen müssen. Sie wollen, wenn sie sich neu verlieben, nicht ihren Ex ‚entsorgen` müssen. Sie suchen Treue und Abenteuer zugleich - tiefe, dauerhafte Liebe und Verbindlichkeit, ohne dabei einander ein Gefängnis zu bauen."<br>Es sind die polyamor Liebenden, die für sich in Anspruch nehmen, zur selben Zeit mehr als einen Menschen zu lieben - intim, sexuell und ohne Heimlichkeit. Wobei sich die Polyamoriker gegen die 1968 propagierte "freie Liebe" à la "Wer zweimal mit demselben pennt, gehört schon zum Establishment" hin abgrenzen. Denn freie Liebe sei zu wenig identitätsstiftend.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *"Polyamorie stellt an den Einzelnen große Herausforderungen", sagt Schneider. "Man braucht dazu Vertrauen in sich selbst und den Partner, Toleranz und einen weisen Umgang mit der Eifersucht." Polys grenzen sich auch von der Swingerszene ab, die überwiegend sexuell orientiert ist.*<br>*Eifersucht ist laut polyamor Liebenden die größte Hürde im Alltag. Idealerweise soll der Hauptpartner einer eifersüchtigen Person diese liebevoll, akzeptierend und begleitend behandeln, ähnlich wie jemand mit der Trauer eines Freundes umgeht, der eine nahestehende Person verloren hat, oder der Angst eines Kindes, welches sich nicht sofort traut, schwimmen zu lernen. Doch eine solche begleitende Haltung und Bereitschaft zur Begegnung mit intensiven Gefühlen muss selbst oft erst erlernt werden. Deshalb ist weniger die Abwesenheit von Eifersucht wichtig als die Bereitschaft zur Begegnung mit ihr. Es gilt: Ein Verschweigen von potenziell Eifersucht auslösenden Situationen durch den Partner wäre längerfristig zerstörerisch für eine gute Beziehung.*<br>*Grundsätzlich neu ist die Beziehungsform der Polyamorie nicht. Bereits aus den 20er-Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts sind solche Beziehungen überliefert. Breiter wurde die Bewegung in der Aufbruchsstimmung der 1960er-Jahre. Der Begriff Polyamorie wurde erst Anfang der 1990er-Jahre geprägt. Im deutschsprachigen Raum sollen einige zehntausend Menschen der Polyamorie frönen. Sie tauschen sich in Internet-Foren aus, die ständig wachsen.*<br>*Die Frage, woran man erkennen könne, ob man selbst für die Polyamorie reif oder bereit sei, illustriert Schneider mit einer Anekdote: "Wie weit bin ich auf meinem spirituellen Weg fortgeschritten", wollte ein Schüler einst von seinem Meister wissen. Seine Antwort: "Schau dir deine Beziehungen an."*<br>*Nähere Infos: www.connection.de, www.polyamorie.de“* |
| Neutral | W_3 | Das Konzept der Polyamorie wird im Artikel (unabhängig vom Rest des Artikels) neutral dargestellt; es wird keine Wertung vorgenommen / das Thema wird beschrieben. | *„Unter den polyamor Liebenden finden sich große Namen der Vergangenheit: etwa die Philosophen Jean-Paul Sartre und Simone de Beauvoir, der Mathematiker und Philosoph Bertrand Russell, die Schriftsteller Bertolt Brecht und Arnold Zweig, ihre Kollegin Virginia Woolf. Rapper und Schauspieler Will Smith liebte ebenfalls einvernehmlich Mehrere.“* |
| Eher negativ | W_4 | Das Konzept der Polyamorie wird im Artikel (unabhängig vom Rest des Artikels) eher negativ dargestellt. | *„In Sachen Liebe, Sex und Partnerschaft gilt ein klares "Entweder, oder" bzw. "Ja oder Nein" heutzutage immer mehr als hoffnungslos antiquiert.*<br>*Beispiele dafür, dass vielfältige "individuell ausgehandelte Arrangements" zunehmend altmodische Sitten- und Moralvorstellungen verdrängen und Liebespraktiken, die lange als Sittenverfall galten, von den Rändern der Gesellschaft in den Mainstream gelangen, hat der Think Tank "Zukunftsinstitut" im neuen Monatsmagazin "Trend-Update" (5/2012) zusammengetragen.*<br>*Das Internet sei dabei ein wesentlicher Motor für die neue Vielfalt der Liebesweisen, da hier auch kleinere und ungewöhnlichere Phänomene leicht eine große Öffentlichkeit erhalten können.*<br>*"Polyamorie", "Scheduled Sex", "Friends with Benefits"*<br>*Auch erleichtere der Boom verschiedener Dating-Portale das Suchen und Finden von Partnern, die womöglich die eigenen Vorlieben bezüglich partnerschaftlicher und sexueller Arrangements teilen.*<br>*Sei es "Polyamorie", bei der ein Partner nicht genug ist, "Scheduled Sex", der Intimität nach Terminkalender regelt, "Friends with Benefits", wo Freunde eben DOCH Sex haben können, "Casual Sex" ohne* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Verpflichtungen, "Asexuelles Zusammensein" ohne Lust auf mehr, oder eben doch die ganz klassische monogame, traute Zweisamkeit - die Komplexität in Liebesdingen schien noch nie so groß wie heute.“* |
| Negativ | W_5 | Das Konzept der Polyamorie wird im Artikel (unabhängig vom Rest des Artikels) negativ dargestellt. | *„Ein anderes Wort für Untreue?*<br>*Zum Artikel "Mann + Frau + Mann = Liebe"*<br>*Vielleicht lebe ich ja "hinter dem Mond", aber in diesem Artikel habe ich zum ersten Mal von "Polyamorie" gelesen. Natürlich wird das von denen begeistert beklatscht, denen moralische Schranken immer schon ein Dorn im Auge waren. Früher nannte man dieses Verhalten einfach Ehebruch oder Unzucht - und es war geächtet.*<br>*"Polyamorie" klingt viel fortschrittlicher und bekommt hier quasi wissenschaftliche Weihen. Ich kann das Bedauern darüber, dass es "noch" zu wenig Toleranz hierzulande gibt, nicht teilen. Eifersucht als völlig natürliche Reaktion auf Treuebruch soll weggeredet und das Gewissen vergewaltigt werden. Nebenbei empfinde ich es als ziemlich bösartig, diesem Treiben durch einen "Partnerschaftsexperten" einen seriösen Anstrich zu geben.*<br>*Welche Qualifikation hat dieser Experte? Welche Studien, die von wem und wo in Auftrag gegeben wurden, mag der "Experte" Schirmohammadi wohl zitieren, wenn er beruhigend feststellt, dass Kinder aus polyamoren Verhältnissen angeblich keinen Schaden leiden? Jeder mag selbst prüfen, ob es gesellschaftlich förderlich ist, wenn eine polyamoride und schwangere Frau die Vaterschaft erst mal durch Tests zu klären hat und wie es um die Verbindlichkeit dann (wohl leider oft) bestellt sein mag.*<br>*Oder ob Kinder eher mit festen oder eher mit häufig wechselnden Bezugspersonen glücklich aufwachsen. Oder was passiert, wenn jemand seine sexuelle Verwendungsfähigkeit verliert? Der/die Nächste, bitte?*<br>*Letztlich darf ich nach mehr 30 Jahren mit ein und derselben Frau freudig feststellen, dass gar nichts eingeschlafen, sondern Körperlichkeit nach wie vor interessant und erfüllend ist. Und ich bin überzeugt: Das ist gar nicht so selten, wie uns diese "Neugeilen" Glauben machen wollen.*<br>*Uwe Peters, Sankt Augustin*<br>*Leider ist schon die Überschrift falsch oder soll im Ernst diese Praxis mit Begriffen wie Mutterliebe, Heimatliebe oder anderen Begriffen solcher Art gleichgesetzt werden.*<br>*Dr. Franz Goerlich, Wachtberg“* |
| Other (Satire) | W_99 | Es handelt sich um satirische Artikel. | *„HEUTE: Was bedeutet eigentlich Polyamorie?*<br>*Babsi: Oh, dies Wort - ein wahrer Ohrenschmaus. Polyamorie ist ein hybrider Neologismus, also ein neu erfundenes Wort, das sich aus zwei unterschiedlichen Sprachquellen herleitet. In diesem Fall ist das der griechische Terminus "poly", der mit "mehrere" zu übersetzen ist, und das lateinische Wort für Liebe: amor. Jemand, der die Polyamorie betreibt, unterhält mit mehreren Menschen eine Liebesbeziehung. Der Unterschied zum schlichten Betrug ist, dass alle Teilnehmer einer polyamorösen Beziehung Kenntnis über die Existenz der anderen Teilnehmer haben und mit dieser einverstanden sind. Wenngleich für mich die Niederungen der zwischenmenschlichen Kontakte ohnehin nicht in Frage kommen, finde ich dieses Modell der Mehrsamkeit auf partnerschaftlicher Ebene doch sehr interessant. Wie steht es mit dir, Ali?*<br>*Ali: Ey holy Bimbam, wie pornös ist das denn? Johnson! Ich hab mehrere Ischen auf einmal, und die finden das auch noch phat. Da krieg' ich sofort Hummeltitten, so 'ne gute Idee ist das. Ich fahr' mir schon voll die Filme, wie das Leben als Polyamörant aussehen kann: Morgens weckt mich Baby 1 und nudelt mich aus dem Schlaf, dann kommt Baby 2 und lässt mich beim Duschen nicht so allein fühlen.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Baby 3 macht mir ein Hammerfrühstück, mit Baby 4 ess ich's auf. Na und so geht's immer weiter. Komm Babsi, zeig mir mal dein Telefonbuch, dann fang ich an mit der Aquise. Ha, Fremdwort! Da staunste, was? Na bei dir Projektbremse werd' ich da wohl nicht viel Erfolg haben, in deinem Buch stehen bestimmt nur 'n paar Lehrer und andere Schnarchhähne drin. Aber danke für die Itze, Babsi. Es lebe der Speichelsport! (Max Arnisch, 17 Jahre).“* |

## 17.5 List of interviewees

This list contains the running order, the date, the name and the duration of the interviews. Further information such as number of polycule has been removed due to privacy reasons and can be provided upon request if scientific need is provided by the requesting person.

| Running order | Date | Name | Duration |
|---|---|---|---|
| 001 | 14.Apr.16 | Valerie | 18:30 |
| 002 | 06.Mai.16 | Claus | 58:38 |
| 003 | 28. September 2016 | Agnes | 30:44 |
| 004 | 13.Jänner 2018 | Tatjana | 33:13 |
| 005 | 15. Jänner 2018 | Ludmilla | 34:31 |
| 006 | 19. Jänner 2018 | Helga | 1:04:38 |
| 007 | 6. Februar 2018 | Gustav | 18:05 |
| 008 | 9. Februar 2018 | Chiara | 18:57 |
| 009 | 12. Februar 2018 | Helmut | 25:29 |
| 010 | 12. Februar 2018 | Martina | 1:04:46 |
| 011 | 14.Februar 2018 | Sybille | 44:52 |
| 012 | 15.Februar 2018 | Fanja | 45:37 |
| 013 | 19. Februar 2018 | Zacharias | 26:06 |
| 014 | 20. Februar 2018 | Julius | 21:49 |
| 015 | 20. Februar 2018 | Cristl | 43:53 |
| 016 | 22. Februar 2018 | Tobias | 44:38 |
| 017 | 28. Februar 2018 | Leopold | 39:18 |
| 018 | 5. März 2018 | Miranda | 19:09 |
| 019 | 15. März 2018 | Carl | 40:35 |
| 020 | 23. März 2018 | Sorona | 30:33 |
| 021 | 15. Juni 2018 | Antonia | 33:50 |
| 022 | 18. Juni 2018 | Bernie | 40:20 |
| 023 | 18. Juni 2018 | Karin | 30:52 |
| 024 | 19. Juni 2018 | Petrus | 32:30 |
| 025 | 20. Juni 2018 | Theodora | 27:13 |
| 026 | 2. Juli 2018 | Dimitros | 1:04:41 |
| 027 | 6. Juli 2018 | Edeltraud | 36:20 |
| 028 | 6. Juli 2018 | Betti | 28:32 |
| 029 | 9. Juli 2018 | Eros | 29:21 |
| 030 | 7. September 2018 | Marianne | 31:00 |
| 031 | 10. September 2018 | Victoria | 28:17 |
| 032 | 14. November 2018 | Heinzi | 36:57 |
| 033 | 3. Dezember 2018 | Hubert | 1:18:46 |

## 17.6 Declaration of consent

**Universität Wien**
**Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte**
**Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät**

**Einverständniserklärung**

Ich bin mit der Erhebung, Verarbeitung und Verwertung der Interviewdaten für das vom österreichischen Wissenschaftsfonds finanzierten Forschungsprojekt „*Polyamorie in medialer, sozialer und Identitätsperspektive*“ unter der Projektleitung von Prof. Dr. Franz X. Eder, und dem Projektmitarbeiter MMag. Stefan F. Ossmann einverstanden.

In wissenschaftlichen sowie medialen Veröffentlichungen werden Interviews nur in Ausschnitten zitiert, um gegenüber Dritten sicherzustellen, dass der entstehende Gesamtzusammenhang von Ereignissen nicht zu einer Identifizierung der Person führen kann.

Die personenbezogenen Kontaktdaten (vorliegende Einverständniserklärung) werden von den Interviewdaten getrennt abgelegt und sind Dritten nicht zugänglich. Alle Daten werden verschlossen aufbewahrt; Zugang haben ausschließlich ProjektmitarbeiterInnen. Die digitalen Abschriften (Transkriptionen) werden auf passwortgeschützten Projektrechnern angefertigt und gespeichert, die dazugehörigen Backup-Systeme sind ebenfalls passwortgeschützt. Für die Ausarbeitung und Analyse werden die TeilnehmerInnen anonymisiert (z.b. mit fortlaufender Nummer oder Pseudonymen).

Ich habe eine Kopie der Einwilligungserklärung erhalten. Hiermit erkläre ich meine freiwillige Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt.

Datum _____
Name TeilnehmerIn _____
Unterschrift TeilnehmerIn _____

Datum _____
Name durchführende Person Interview _____
Unterschrift durchführende Person Interview _____

## 17.7 Personal guideline interviews

# Gesprächsleitfaden zu den Interviews "Polyamorie in medialer, sozialer und Identitätsperspektive"

# Aufnahmegerät einschalten

# Begrüßung

# Echtname oder Pseudonym?

# Fahrplan

- Einstiegsfrage, so lange erzählen bis Du fertig bist (*bis 20 min → nicht angeben*)
- Rückfragen zu offenen Aspekten
- Demographischer Fragebogen
- Einverständniserklärung

# Dauer: Ca. eine Stunde *(Angabe für Interview-TeilnehmerInnen)*

# Einstiegsfrage: *Was ist in Deinem Leben passiert, was hat dazu geführt, dass wir uns jetzt zum Thema „Polyamorie" gegenübersitzen*?

# Aspekte im Detail

- Wie würdest Du Polyamorie kategorisieren? Siehst Du Dich als Teil der LGBTIQ-Community?
- Soziale Wahrnehmung?
- Bedürfnis nach rechtlicher Anerkennung?
- Bedürfnis nach kirchlicher Anerkennung?
- Welche Medien hast Du konsumiert (nach erstem Kontakt mit dem Begriff)
- Gibt es noch etwas was Du mir sagen willst?

## 17.8 Interview transcripts

Since the dissertation at hand is publicly accessible, and the transcripts of the interviews could (despite fake names) allow conclusions on the identity of the interview partners, the transcripts are not attached in this document.

In order to provide full transparency, the transcripts can be seen after prior written appointment at the University of Vienna, which is where those printed documents are stored in a save and locked place. In such case, please contact the leader of the FWF-project, Prof. Dr. Franz Eder, with a short justification and a proof of academic qualification (so personal reasons for access can be excluded) by the following contact details:

Prof. Dr. Franz X. Eder
Department of Social and Economic History
University of Vienna, Austria
Universitätsring 1, 1010 Vienna
Room 02.34, Main building, staircase VI
Office hours: Wednesday, 13:00 – 14:00
Call: +43-1-4277-41321
Mail: franz.eder@univie.ac.at

## 17.9 Demographic questionnaire

Interview-PartnerIn Nummer:_____

Name (Pseudonym oder Initialen):_____

# Demographischer Fragebogen "Polyamorie in medialer, sozialer und Identitätsperspektive"

1) **Alter** _____

**2) Wie würden Sie/würdest Du Ihr/Dein biologisches Geschlecht beschreiben?**

- ❑ Männlich
- ❑ Weiblich
- ❑ Intersex
- ❑ Anderes, bitte spezifizieren _____

**3) Wie würden Sie/würdest Du Ihr/Dein soziales Geschlecht beschreiben?**

- ❑ Männlich
- ❑ Weiblich
- ❑ Transgender
- ❑ Anderes, bitte spezifizieren _____

4) **Wie würden Sie/würdest Du Ihren/Deine derzeitige Wohnsituation beschreiben?** (Mehrfachantworten möglich)

- ❑ Alleine
- ❑ Mit einem oder mehreren Elternteilen
- ❑ In einer Wohngemeinschaft
- ❑ Mit PartnerInnen – bitte Anzahl bekanntgeben _____
- ❑ Mit minderjährigen Kindern – bitte Anzahl bekanntgeben _____
- ❑ Anderes – bitte spezifizieren

_____

5) **Wie würden Sie/würdest Du Ihre/Deine sexuelle Orientierung beschreiben?**
(Mehrfachantworten möglich)

- ❑ Heterosexuell
- ❑ Schwul
- ❑ Lesbisch
- ❑ Bisexuell
- ❑ Queer
- ❑ Anderes, bitte spezifizieren _____

**6) Höchste abgeschlossene Schulbildung / akademische Ausbildung?**

- ❑ Pflichtschule
- ❑ Matura/Abitur (AHS)
- ❑ Matura/Abitur (BHS)
- ❑ Bachelor
- ❑ Fachhochschule
- ❑ Master / Magister/Magistra / Diplomingenieur/Diplomingenieurin
- ❑ Doktorat
- ❑ Habilitiert
- ❑ Anderes, bitte spezifizieren _____
- ❑ Derzeit studierend

**7) Über welche StaatsbürgerInnenschaft verfügst Du/verfügen Sie?**

- ❑ Bitte spezifizieren _____

8) **Wo bist Du/sind Sie aufgewachsen?**

- ❑ Urban (städtisch)
- ❑ Suburban (trabanten-städtisch)
- ❑ Midurban (mittel-städtisch)
- ❑ Rural (ländlich)

9) **Wo wohnst Du/wohnen Sie derzeit?**

- ❑ Urban (städtisch)
- ❑ Suburban (trabanten-städtisch)
- ❑ Midurban (mittel-städtisch)
- ❑ Rural (ländlich)

**10) Welchen Beruf üben Sie/übst Du derzeit aus?**

- ❑ Bitte spezifizieren _____

11) **In welchem Berufsstatus befinden Sie sich/Du Dich derzeit** (z.B. Praktikum, angestellt, Werkvertrag, Dienstvertrag, arbeitssuchend, prekär, VorarbeiterIn, Teamleitung, Abteilungsleitung, etc.)

- ❑ Bitte spezifizieren _____

**12) Wie hoch ist Ihr/Dein derzeitiges monatliches Brutto-Einkommen?**

- ❑ Bis € 416,- (Geringfügigkeitsgrenze)
- ❑ Bis € 838,- (Mindestsicherung)
- ❑ € 834,- bis € 1.200,-
- ❑ € 1.201,- bis € 1.600,-
- ❑ € 1.601 - € 2.000,-
- ❑ € 2.001 - € 2.400,-
- ❑ € 2.401 - € 2.800,-
- ❑ € 2.801 - € 3.200,-
- ❑ € 3.201 - € 3.600,-
- ❑ € 3.601 - € 4.000,-
- ❑ Über € 4.000,-

**13) Wie hoch ist Ihr/Dein derzeitiges Haushaltseinkommen? (Brutto, alle Personen die im gemeinsamen Haushalt leben)**

- ❑ Bis € 416,- (Geringfügigkeitsgrenze)
- ❑ Bis € 838,- (Mindestsicherung)
- ❑ € 834,- bis € 1.200,-
- ❑ € 1.201,- bis € 1.600,-
- ❑ € 1.601 - € 2.000,-
- ❑ € 2.001 - € 2.400,-
- ❑ € 2.401 - € 2.800,-
- ❑ € 2.801 - € 3.200,-
- ❑ € 3.201 - € 3.600,-
- ❑ € 3.601 - € 4.000,-
- ❑ € 4.001 - € 4.400,-
- ❑ € 4.401 - € 4.800,-
- ❑ € 4801 – € 5200,-
- ❑ € 5.201 - € 5.600,-
- ❑ € 5.601 - € 6.000,-
- ❑ € 6.001 - € 6.400,-
- ❑ € 6.401 - € 6.800,-
- ❑ € 6.801 - € 7.200,-
- ❑ € 7.201 - € 7.600,-
- ❑ € 7.601 - € 8.000,-
- ❑ Über Euro 8.000,-

14) **Wie lautet Ihr/lautet Dein rechtlicher Familienstand?** (Mehrfachantwort möglich)

- ❑ Ledig
- ❑ Eingetragene Partnerschaft
- ❑ Verheiratet
- ❑ Geschieden
- ❑ Verwitwet

15) **Haben Sie/hast Du Kinder? Falls ja, in welcher Beziehungskonstellation und mit welchem rechtlichen Status?**

- ❑ Nein
- ❑ Ja
- ❑ Aus der Beziehung mit/aus den Beziehungen mit _____
- ❑ Rechtlicher Status _____
- ❑ Lebt derzeit mit/bei _____

16) **Welches Religionsbekenntnis haben Sie/hast Du derzeit?**

- ❑ Aktuelles Religionsbekenntnis _____

17) **Falls Sie/Du das Religionsbekenntnis aktiv geändert haben – was war Ihr/Dein früheres Religionsbekenntnis?**

- ❑ Früheres Religionsbekenntnis _____

18) **Wie würden Sie/würdest Du Ihren/Deinen derzeitigen Beziehungsstatus beschreiben?** (Mehrfachantworten möglich)

- ❑ Single - selbstbestimmt
- ❑ Single - fremdbestimmt
- ❑ Single - auf der Suche nach einer Partnerschaft
- ❑ Single – auf der Suche nach Partnerschaften

- ❑ Affäre (nicht alle involvierten/betroffenen Personen wissen voneinander)
- ❑ Zweierbeziehung (offen - ohne Informations-Übereinkommen)
- ❑ Zweierbeziehung (offen - mit Informations-Übereinkommen)
- ❑ Zweierbeziehung - geschlossen

- ❑ Mehrfachbeziehung - geschlossen
- ❑ Mehrfachbeziehung (offen – nicht alle wissen voneinander)
- ❑ Mehrfachbeziehung (offen – alle wissen voneinander)
- ❑ Mehrfachbeziehung (offen – alle wissen voneinander und kennen einander)
- ❑ Relationship anarchy

- ❑ Andere (bitte spezifizieren) _____

19) **Bitte zeichnen Sie/bitte zeichne Ihre/Deine derzeitige Beziehungskonstellation auf** - mit Pseudonymen oder Initialen; inklusive Intensität/Bedeutung der Beziehung (gerne mit Legende)

## 17.10 Mail correspondence die Toten Hosen

In order to be allowed to use the lyrics of the Song "*Steh auf, wenn du am Boden bist*", I asked for copyright clearance. Below my request and the answer of the record label that represents the Punktband *Die Toten Hosen* with their OK to use it.

**Von:** "JKP | info@jkp.de" <info@jkp.de>
**Betreff: WG: Verwendung eines Liedtextes in der Danksagung meiner Dissertation (Uni Wien)?**
**Datum:** 22. September 2021 um 11:07:24 MESZ
**An:** "stefan.ossmann@univie.ac.at" <stefan.ossmann@univie.ac.at>

Hi Stefan,

Vielen Dank für die Anfrage an JKP,
wir erlauben dir das, bitte verwenden die angehängten Credits:

Titel: STEH AUF, WENN DU AM BODEN BIST
HOLST VON/FREGE
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Vielen Dank, Grüße
C. Orth

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**DIE TOTEN HOSEN** * **BROILERS** * **ANTILOPEN GANG** * **FEINE SAHNE FISCHFILET**

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**Von:** Stefan Ossmann <stefan.ossmann@univie.ac.at>
**Gesendet:** Dienstag, 21. September 2021 13:42
**An:** JKP I info@jkp.de <info@jkp.de>
**Betreff:** Verwendung eines Liedtextes in der Danksagung meiner Dissertation (Uni Wien)?

Sehr geehrtes JKP-Team,

Mein Name ist Stefan Ossmann, ich bin Doktorand am Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Universität Wien und bin kurz davor, meine Dissertation zum Thema Polyamorie abzuschließen, siehe: https://polyamorie.univie.ac.at/

…und darüber hinaus bin ich großer Hosen-Fan, und das schon mittelmäßig lang (Geburtsjahr 1976), komme immer wieder auf Konzerte (Persönliches Highlight: Die Zeche in Bochum am 1. Dezember 2014 - die Warmup-Konzerte für Argentinien, für das ich extra nach Germanien geflogen bin) und dürfte was mein Aussehen angeht auch Ähnlichkeit mit dem sehr geschätzten Campino haben.

Wie passt das zusammen und was will ich von Ihnen/euch?

Ich bin insgesamt 8x über 1.5 Jahre hinweg damit gescheitert, meine Dissertation finanziert zu bekommen. Das Geld war aus, viele sagen mir dass eine Doktorarbeit zu konsensualen Mehrfachbeziehungen ohnehin zum Schweitern verurteilt ist, ich war ganz kurz davor es hinzuwerfen - und saß an einem warmen Oktobertag 2015 im Park und hörte mir „Steh auf“ von den Hosen an...

...Und genau das tat ich nach dem Lied, einmal noch aufstehen, einmal noch versuchen…

In kurz: Der letzte Versuch ging auf. Insgesamt 5 Jahre Finanzierung, 320 Seiten Inhalt, in zwei Wochen lade ich das Ding hoch. Im Vorwort habe ich den Hosen ein Unterkapitel gewidmet, und dafür würde ich gerne den Text des Liedes verwenden. Jetzt meine direkte Frage an euch - wegen Copyright:

Darf ich das?

Zur Info finden Sie/findet ihr den Entwurf der Danksagung im Anhang, das Inhaltsverzeichnis kann ich bei Interesse gerne mailen.

In diesem Sinne in Vorfreude auf eine Antwort und mit besten Grüssen aus Wien,

Stefan Ossmann

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MMag. Stefan F. Ossmann, Bakk.
Abschlussstipendiat PhD Universität Wien
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