Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research

Edited by *Tiffany Jones · Leanne Coll · Lisa van Leent · Yvette Taylor*

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Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research

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Preface

Introducing '*Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research*'

Working in gender and sexuality (G&S) education and research can be a meaningful, impactful and ultimately uplifting experience. However, efforts at stymying G&S work, research and research careers have been seen both historically and recently amongst multiple contexts for many different reasons. This backlash to G&S education and research work exists for example in:

- Extremes of conservative policies, politics, court decision-making, and media backlash attacking or restricting our work;
- Well-intended feedback from general academic supervisors, not necessarily in the field, and promotion process or reward structures which push researchers to fit traditionally 'safe' education or policy fields and the achievements they most value over newer pathways with more creative impacts; and
- The scarcity mentalities and win-lose thinking about grant assessment and publication peer-review responses amongst G&S researchers

themselves who can believe that the limits on their own opportunities mean limiting others in their own field would somehow ensure 'more opportunity' was available to only themselves.

This publication came out of a 2018 seminar event in which G&S researchers and educators from various parts of the world came together to discuss their successes and failures, and the complexities in their chosen careers organised by several members of the editorial team and their research peers. The book aims to build on the momentum around the goal we discovered we all shared at that event: to combat the negative discourses on G&S work in education and research. It aims to encourage or 'uplift', showcase and celebrate *as* emotionally 'uplifting' the important and innovative work now being done in this quickly expanding international field. It proactively envisions G&S education workers, researchers and stakeholders as collectively helping each other to shatter the ceilings on how we as peers in a shared field think about the value of the work done in this area and the exciting impacts it can have on societies. It calls for, affirms and offers examples of pathways towards exciting and dynamic collaborative work in G&S in education, research and policy… whilst also acknowledging the complexities of this work in detail and being very clear about the context-specific barriers people face in these fields.

The publication brings together papers from diverse G&S research generators and workers at early and advanced career points, government and non-government organisations, educators and students, peer-reviewers and assessors, stakeholders and end users of work in the area. It includes work from multiple contexts including global work and work or experiences specific to Australia, Germany, Israel, Kenya, Norway, Russia, Taiwan, the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK) and many other locations. It includes work from people who are female, male, cisgender, transgender, queer, straight, of various class backgrounds, of various sex characteristics (with and without intersex variations), open or closed about their diversity, and so on. The editors draw together the information, examples and advice from cross-sector experts to set an agenda of ensuring G&S education workers and researchers' mutual supportiveness and to encourage

smoother pathways to future collaborations. Parts of the book model collaborative co-authoring in a proactive effort to establish mentoring in the field and cross-sector partnerships and alliances, to create a more cohesive field and strategically lift up and connect people in different parts of the G&S education and research field. We offered newer researchers more access to well-established research peers through encouraging different collaborations or methods of working together, to enhance researchers' future opportunities, expand their interests and grow their readerships. The publication includes considerations for both emerging and more established researchers of starting and developing G&S research and education work; enabling factors and barriers to progressing & not progressing in G&S education or research work; mentoring of G&S researchers and career success stories & secrets; and ensuring policy and program impacts and outcomes in the field.

Ultimately this book is a love letter from the field of G&S Education Work and Research to itself, with the strong and much-needed message at its heart that together, *we can and must uplift each other's efforts to be the very changes we want to see for our field*. We need to engage in big field mentalities to grow this field and ensure more opportunities for everyone in it: we need to support each other's promotions through mentoring; support each other's publications through co-authoring, co-editing and helpful rather than dismissive peer reviews; and ensure each other's grant successes through collaborations and useful rather than crushing assessments of the quality and value of our peers' work. People who work in this field are attacked enough already from outside it—we should never seek to attack our peers or be used by the media to denounce work done in this field, but always seek to better it discretely and from the inside with genuine intentions towards growing more opportunities for everyone in this complex area of work. The authors, educators, researchers and young people in this book were identified by the editors as experts in a field related to or within G&S issues in education and research which we wanted to lift up and share with the field. They were all given rough guidelines and tips for their chapters; however, the contributors all had their own personal styles and ideas for what was important to the uplifting of their shared field and were free to negotiate alternative ideas with the editorial team for what their

contribution to the book could be. Some worked individually, some in pairs or small groups with their editorial team members and translators. The chapters were peer-reviewed and then collated by the editors into themed collections in the three parts of this book considering the different influences on G&S education and research:

1. Part I 'The Landscapes of Gender & Sexuality Education Research';
2. Part II 'Doing Gender & Sexuality Education Research Differently'; and
3. Part III 'Carving Out Careers in Gender & Sexuality Education Research'.

A brief outline is provided for each of these parts introducing their central concepts, and summaries of key chapter contributions. Within each chapter, a 100-word abstract and some keywords are also provided for readers, along with a list of references for further reading on the topics they explore.

Outlining Part I 'The Landscapes of Gender & Sexuality Education Research'

Multiple, sometimes clashing and sometimes constraining landscapes form the background to gender and sexuality (G&S) education research. These especially include:

- Conceptualisation landscapes;
- Social landscapes;
- Media landscapes;
- Developmental landscapes; and
- Legal landscapes.

These landscapes also shape what is possible in G&S education research. However, these landscapes are in turn shaped by the G&S education research work performed within them or reported across them.

In Part I, 'The Landscapes of Gender & Sexuality Education Research' of *Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research*, five chapters explore five different research landscapes to aid emerging and establishing researchers in developing their work in G&S education research. All of the chapters seek to offer advice to various people in the field, and to move towards ways of uplifting G&S education and research uplifting the (im)possibilities and of these landscapes.

In Chapter 1, Tiffany Jones discusses conceptualisation landscapes, urging researchers to understand both the globally imported ideas on G&S in operation in education and research; and the contextually specific ideas on gender, sexuality and sex characteristics which may affect what identities and experiences are even possible to conceptualise. In Chapter 2, Dmitrii S. Tolkachev and Varvara M. Vasileva discuss social landscapes, and how these can differ somewhat from what a policy landscape may appear to suggest or enforce. They particularly explore the case study of Russia and its propaganda policies, and traditional approach to G&S, and how younger Russian educators and the Russian population are influenced by global ideas and local debates. In Chapter 3, Debbie Ollis discusses media landscapes, including how they impact research on G&S in education, and also its translation into practice. She gives a detailed personal account of her experiences with media backlash to her research-based programs and resources, and considers how researchers and educators should respond to media influences in seeking to make an impact. Chapter 4 provides a discussion of developmental landscapes for youth which needs to be considered in G&S education, research and supportive interventions by Uri Eick, Guy Shilo, Shai Hertz, Inbal Ketzef and Aylon Slater. They explore both theory and data on these landscapes, and describe the differences in development by age groups and sexual orientation groups over time in Israel, and how changes should be modernising educational and research responses. Finally, Tiffany Jones broadly outlines the international, regional, national and other legal landscapes to be considered in G&S education and research work. Detailed tables of policy texts is offered to help researchers navigate their ideas with consideration for the restraints and opportunities in the specific locations of their work.

Outlining Part II 'Doing Gender & Sexuality Education Research Differently'

A broad agenda has been set by contemporary gender and sexuality (G&S) education research for doing things differently. These especially include:

- Re-doing institutional and social rules and hierarchies in education and curricula and the practices surrounding them;
- Re-doing teacher education and the values surrounding it;
- Re-doing teaching on G&S and the curricula surrounding it; and
- Re-doing research directly addressing G&S in education studies.

Innovations are desperately needed in these areas of work to break down the reproduction of broader hegemonies of sexuality and gender in schools and other educational institutions. In Part II 'Doing Gender & Sexuality Education Research Differently' of *Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research*, four chapters explore these four different areas of practice and research in which problematic hegemonies have been identified. Each offers innovative strategies have been employed to uplift current G&S research and work in its specific topic area. All of the chapters seek to illustrate practical methods of uplifting G&S education and research by clear example. They explore the affective, emotional and psychological 'uplift'—the sheer joy—of doing so; and provide pleasurable, 'uplifting' or provocative reading.

In Chapter 6, Emma Renold describes how researchers, educators, activists and young people can creatively re-do institutionalised rules both formal and informal. Renold describes how a group of young girls are re-doing their response to institutionalised gender rules, after experiencing prolific sexism, up-skirting (the uplifting of their skirts by boys using rulers) and other forms of sexual abuse and violence in their small Welsh town which had been providing a victimising position for them to step into. The girls invented and wore empowering 'ruler skirts' to draw attention to and subvert the gender dynamics in play in their school and local community. They captured their experiences, feelings

and activisms in exciting displays of poetry and art. In Chapter 7, Emily Gray considers how the possibilities for finding spaces to teach within, for and about social justice—for 'doing teacher education differently'—are being increasingly constrained. Gray uses the case of the prescriptive teaching standards reducing teaching to technocratic skills in Australia. However, she points out that there are unique possibilities inherent in the situation when considered from the perspective of Berlant's 'cruel optimism' and data from Queer teacher educators expressing joy at being on the margins. Gray considers the opportunities for more generative pedagogical spaces and how being 'on the edge' of G&S work and spaces can also inspire pleasure, joy and a sense of freedom. In Chapter 8, Lisa van Leent examines the possibilities for doing G&S education and research differently by re-doing teaching. Specifically, it challenges teachers' conceptions of their work in this area, and the common assumption that the best approach to G&S is to not engage with these phenomena all. The chapter argues cisgender and heterosexual norms are so inherently promoted in schools and engaged with by teachers; that non-engagement implicitly supports traditional G&S positions. It outlines relevant curricula and policies on sex education endorsing a critical teaching approach, and data showing some teachers take pleasure in a critical approach regardless of curriculum requirements. Finally, Tiffany Jones proposes re-doing research on G&S in education in more inclusive ways. She explains best-practice guidelines developed for a 2018 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) technical brief used for advising governments and transnational survey directors on the monitoring of violence based on sexual orientation, gender identity and intersex (SOGIE) status and education sectors' responses. She details the history of her development of the key standard questions on G&S for education studies, which were recommended in the brief (including for both student and staff surveys, focus groups and interviews). She then outlines the reasons it is important to consider issues of G&S in schools in relation to violence and other topics, the development of questions on G&S over the years and the complications of cultural and other differences. Jones argues that increasingly uplifting, positive pleasurable and activist experiences and

exploration will become possible over time in G&S education research; as it reflects and creates new realities. She asserts the need to 're-do' best practice conceptualisations of research over time and continually challenge existing and past hegemonies.

Outlining Part III 'Carving Out Careers in Gender & Sexuality Education Research'

Carving out careers can involve many different steps or pathways, and no two careers in gender and sexuality (G&S) education and/or research need look the same. However, goals for people carving out careers in the scholarly field broadly include:

- Carving out qualifications;
- Carving out pathways; and
- Carving out successes.

These are complex goals to achieve and require overcoming numerous challenges. In Part III 'Carving Out Careers in Gender & Sexuality Education Research' of *Uplifting Gender and Sexuality Education Research*, three chapters explore the three different goals to aid emerging and establishing researchers in developing their work in G&S education research. All of the chapters seek to offer a diversity in advice and the understanding that different options work for different individuals, but helping each other and collaborating as a field can lift everybody up.

In Chapter 10, a group of eight research collaborators consider the difficulties of studying gender and sexualities and carving out qualifications in their field. The chapter recalls their current and past experiences as higher degree research (HDR) students—including Honours, Masters and Ph.D. candidates. It first reviews the literature on working in this area and second provides a series of individuals' most difficult experiences of being an HDR in G&S research: senior bias, studying controversial or psychologically sensitive topics, recruitment difficulties, being insiders or outsiders to the communities they studied or even to the norms of academia itself. The collaborators discuss both how they

creatively overcame key obstacles as individuals, and themes they see as valuable across their experiences. In Chapter 11, a group of professors and associate professors/readers discuss carving out a pathway in academia or related G&S careers: wedging your foot in the door, using it to open that door and keeping that door open to yourself. The experts answer eight questions about G&S careers in research and education. All experts have held or hold academic roles in research-only institutions and teaching faculty roles, professional research roles, related professional/corporate/government roles, and engaged in both theoretical and empirical studies. All questions were submitted by early career and student researchers and workers in sexuality and gender in education from a range of countries around the world, and deal with key issues of concern to ECRs and students. The diverse answers show that context, experience and personality traits all have a role to play in the approaches taken to key career questions we face; for experts as well as for those starting out. In Chapter 12, Annette Brömdal, Leanne Coll and Lisa van Leent address carving out successes in gender, sexuality, education and research careers. The three lead authors have worked in collaboration with a dozen established 'star scholars' in the field to bring together a collection of impressive career memoirs and manifestos. These pieces are written directly for early career and mid-career researchers. These memoirs and manifestos outline advice, creative strategies, defining moments, inspirations, unique turning points and positive stories. It is envisioned that this chapter will inspire different ways of being, becoming and relating to gender and sexualities research in education as an uplifting possibility.

The editors sincerely hope this book is of value to a range of stakeholders in G&S education, research and related areas. We thank you for sharing in this work and hope to share in reports of your own as you progress in our shared field, uplifting it together.

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Notes on Contributors

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Raewyn Connell is a highly cited Australian sociologist. She gained prominence as an intellectual of the Australian New Left. She is currently Professor Emeritus at the University of Sydney, known for the concept of hegemonic masculinity and southern theory. She is the author of several books and many journal publications.

Carolyn D'Cruz is a Senior Lecturer in Gender, Sexuality and Diversity Studies at La Trobe University. She is author of *Identity Politics in Deconstruction: Calculating with the Incalculable*, co-editor of *After Homosexual: The Legacies of Gay Liberation*. She loves to think, read and write about connections between activism and academia.

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Emma Renold is a Professor of Childhood Studies at the School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University, Wales. She is the author of *Girls, Boys and Junior Sexualities* (2005), *Children, Sexuality and Sexualisation* and co-editor of *Routledge Critical Studies in Gender and Sexuality in Education* series. Inspired by feminist, queer and new materialist posthumanist theory, her research investigates how gender and sexuality come to matter in children and young people's everyday lives and the affordances of co-productive, creative and affective methodologies to engage social and political change with young people; including the co-production of the creative-activist resource 'AGENDA' (see www.agendaonline.co.uk). In 2018 she was winner of the ESRC Impact in Society Prize—a landmark achievement for how feminist-queer qualitative research-activisms can inform policy and practice.

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Part I

The Landscapes of Gender & Sexuality Education Research

<center>**1**</center>

Conceptualisation Landscapes: Overview of Global Gender and Sexuality Constructions

<center>**Tiffany Jones**</center>

Introduction

Gender and sexuality (G&S) identity can be constructed variably around the globe, particularly in relation to marginal gender and sexual identities including Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) identities. Whilst sometimes these stem from dominant Western globalising discourses, some identities are only known and used in ways which are 'meaningful' in the cultures from which they derived. This can make them harder to study and sometimes researchers avoid the task altogether. There is a need for researchers to provide objective internationalist LGBTI education issues knowledge to pre-service teachers; studies show teachers want this information [1]. This section collates literature and data towards supporting researchers to: globalise LGBTI conceptualisations, use reliable research and avoid unreliable sources.

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Globalising LGBTI Conceptualisations

Researchers addressing LGBTI identities may first define them. When doing so they should combat the sense that concepts associated with LGBTI issues solely occur within 'Western' identity constructions, recalling diverse geographical histories of local LGBTI identity conceptualisations or social practices and emphasising their relevance to teachers of history, geography and social studies.

Sexual orientation variance including same-sex and multi-sex attraction or encounters are not limited to gay, lesbian, bisexual, fluid and queer 'labels'—these are established in multiple nations' pasts. Around 2500 years ago Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra* included an entire chapter on homosexuality; male same-sex relationships appeared in Tamil literature in the third century BC and female same-sex relationships were seen in 1700s Urdu poetry [2]. Same-sex sexual acts were documented as a normal facet of life prior to 1800s Western influence within the context of general male sexual craving in the Middle East [3]; and romantic relationships in Asia [4]. Whilst in early modern history British colonisation spread anti-sodomy laws throughout many countries and Western psychiatry pathologised what it labelled 'homosexual' attraction, evidence from researchers like Kinsey and members of the American Psychological Association (APA) informed the dominant contemporary view in the West that homosexuality is a common and healthy occurrence in both humans and animals [5]. Modern school psychology has moved from 'fixing' students to fit heterosexual norms; towards affirming approaches creating supportive school environments for LGBTIs [6]. Amongst secondary students globally, it is generally estimated that about 10% identify as gay or lesbian and bisexuality may count for over one-third of adolescents' sexual experiences [7]. Most recognised their same-sex attraction around puberty (11–16 years), over a third knew earlier [8, 9].

Gender identity variance (how a person identifies as being a masculine, feminine, neither, or both, or a combination, which may or may not correspond to the sex assigned to them at birth) and **gender expression variance** (how a person expresses their gender through manners, dress, social roles and other means) has been documented for thousands of years in African, Middle Eastern and other societies with varying levels of

acceptance [10, 11]. It has not historically been limited to, transgender, transsexual, transvestite, gender fluid, gender queer, cross-dress and drag queen and king 'labels'. Whilst in Malaysian history there has been recognition of 'mak nyahs' (referring to males who may see themselves as feminine or as doing 'female work' right through to male to female transgender people) [12]; and Thailand has acknowledged 'kathoey' (a combination of transgender female or feminine gay male) identity, for example [13]. Multiple African nations have histories of same-sex activities in the context of divination-based healings or have reported couples in which there were 'female husbands' or 'male wives' [11]. Samoa has had cultural and familial roles for 'fa'afines' (of male sex at birth but embodying male and female traits/behaviours) said to be more flexible than those generally available for females—roles akin to those of the Cook Islands' akava'ine, Fiji's vakasalewalewa, New Zealand's whakawahine, Niue's akafifine, Papua New Guinea's palopa, Tonga's fakaleiti and Tuvalu's pinapinaaine [13]. Over time, medical understandings of gender diversity have evolved to include notions of both biological and sociocultural influences on individuals' gender expressions [14], and psychological texts will soon be rescinding even notions of 'gender dysphoria' as they in the past rescinded notions of 'gender identity disorder'—progressing towards de-medicalisation of gender affirmation treatments [15]. An online global study estimated that 1.4% of the global population have engaged in gender affirmation processes [16].

Intersex variance (variation to sex characteristics including chromosomes, hormones and anatomy) can include, but is not limited to, the over 40 medically recognised 'Western' labels like Androgyn Insensitivity Syndrome, Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia, Klinefelter's Syndrome, Turner's Syndrome and Swyer's Syndrome [17]. For 4000 years India recognised 'Hijra'; a third sex neither male nor female [18]. There have also been local conceptualisations including, for example, the Dominican Republic's guevedoche or Iran's do-jensi/miyan-jensi [19]. However, to this day many countries around the world are still influenced by Western medicalisation of intersex bodies, and enforce so-called 'corrective' or 'normalising' surgical and hormonal treatments on infants, children and teens [20]. Around 1.8% of people are estimated to have intersex variations, and Australian data found around two-thirds are told their diagnosis aged under

18 years [17]—this likely varies in different global contexts where medical information procedures and access differs. This Australian data showed most people with intersex variations experienced negative impacts from purely aesthetic interventions that they did not choose, and do not believe doctors and parents should intervene in the child's body autonomy.

Sharing Reliable Research with Educators

Researchers in any region can cover major institutional school violence survey data in their teacher education or research training units to **emphasise the negative impacts of gender-based and sexuality-based violence on students**; in more protected contexts this emphasis may extend to acknowledging the significant contributions of LGBTIs to anti-bullying campaigns and sexuality education advocacy. This information should be emphasised in relation to the development of teachers' classroom management plans and whole-school safety strategies especially where LGBTI rights debates are volatile. Discussing violence data does not breach the bans discussed nor constitute propaganda, however researchers in unprotected contexts should consider local restrictions and rely more on UNESCO data than other sources (employing the United Nation's [UN] authorising power, where this will help enable the work). Describing violence data *implicitly problematises violence against LGBTI students* to future teachers who will respond to it in their classrooms, and response requirements for countries with protective policies and procedures can then be justified and outlined afterwards. Table 1.1 can be provided to pre-service teachers to show the countries where governments systematically collect data on violence against LGBTI students, based on multinational research reviews and key informant interviews. These are the countries in which teachers will be expected to refer to local research provisions, though only two countries' governments systematically collected data on violence based on students' intersex status.

Table 1.2 provides other basic examples of regional data collated from several reports on the targeting of LGBTI students for negative anti-LGBTI comments and behaviours [1, 21–26]. This can be shared with pre-service teachers to compare the 'amount of' targeting (which varies in

Table 1.1 Countries where governments systematically collect data on school-based violence against LGBTI students

Collects data on violence based on **Sexual Orientation**	Collects data on violence based on **Gender Identity/Expression**	Collects data on violence based on **Intersex Status**
Albania, Canada, Chile, France, Ireland, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Thailand, US, Viet Nam	Albania, Canada, France, Ireland, Montenegro, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Thailand, US, Viet Nam	Netherlands, Sweden

time and in nature due to socio-cultural factors and may be unreported in contexts where it is difficult to discuss LGBTI issues). The table shows this violence is being studied across all key regions and useful larger-scale data can be obtained from government, university-based and non-government sources—the UNESCO data reports are particularly recommended for use by teachers due to their coverage of multiple contexts and aspects of LGBTI student experience. These and other reports emphasise that violence against LGBTI students occurs in education-related environments such as classrooms, playgrounds, toilets, changing rooms, around schools, on the way to and from school and online [21]. It can involve: physical, verbal and psychosocial abuse [1, 21]. Teachers should be reminded, in explaining the need to teach against violence, that LGBTI students who experience violence are more likely to:

- Feel unsafe at school;
- Achieve lower grades;
- Miss participation, classes or school days;
- Drop out of school;
- Have decreased employment and/or housing prospects;
- Feel depressed;
- Adopt risky health behaviours;
- Think about or attempt suicide [17, 23, 27–29].

Table 1.2 Regional LGBTI Student Bullying Data

Key regional data	Student group	% reported as targeted for negative comments/behaviours
Africa		
UNESCO, Hivos & GALA African Study (*N* = 2523)	Botswana Gender Non-conforming students	10.7
	Lesotho Gender Non-conforming students	20.4
	Namibia Gender Non-conforming students	17.6
	Swaziland Gender Non-conforming students	7.9
Gay and Lesbian Network South African Study (*N* = 1301)	South Africa Lesbian students	42
Asia-Pacific		
Buckland Foundation Study (*N* = 3134)	Australia LGBTI students	61
UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 421)	Cambodia LGBT students	52
UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 421)	China LGBT students	77
UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 609)	Japan LGBT students	68
UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 1178)	Nepal LGBT students	16
UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 255)	South Korea LGBT students	80
Plan International, UNESCO Reporting (*N* = 246)	Thailand LGBT students	56
UNESCO, MoET Vietnam Study (*N* = 755)	Vietnam LGBT students	72.2
Europe		
European Union LGBT Study (*N* = 93,079)	Austria LGBT students	60
	Belarus LGBT students	69
	Belgium LGBT students	72
	Croatia LGBT students	69

Table 1.2 (continued)

Key regional data	Student group	% reported as targeted for negative comments/behaviours
	Cyprus LGBT students	75
	Czech Republic LGBT students	66
	Denmark LGBT students	64
	Estonia LGBT students	61
	Finland LGBT students	68
	France LGBT students	67
	Germany LGBT students	65
	Greece LGBT students	75
	Hungary LGBT students	60
	Ireland LGBT students	72
	Italy LGBT students	69
	Latvia LGBT students	58
	Lithuania LGBT students	67
	Luxembourg LGBT students	69
	Malta LGBT students	66
	Netherlands LGBT students	64
	Poland LGBT students	61
	Portugal LGBT students	70
	Romania LGBT students	61
	Slovakia LGBT students	70
	Slovenia LGBT students	61
	Spain LGBT students	70
	Sweden LGBT students	67
	United Kingdom LGBT students	76
The Americas GLSEN Study (*N* = 10,528)	US LGBT students	85.2

Communicating any local policy protections to their classes is helpful—when protective policies are known LGBTI students are significantly more likely to feel safe (75% v. 45%); and significantly less likely to experience physical abuse (23% v. 47%) or attempt suicide (13% v. 22%) [30]. Pre-service teachers should be taught that whilst a portion of their students *will* be LGBTIs, some will not disclose their identities for safety or privacy—

particularly in punitive contexts [21, 23, 31, 32]. However if they disclose their identities, research shows that rejecting LGBTI students is harmful [17, 24]. Transgender students with teacher support are especially less likely to drop out of school (5% v. 23% without teacher support); hide at lunch (23% v. 50%), experience discriminatory language (31% v. 62%) or be bullied by phone (8% v. 27%) [28]. If the teacher is not protected by policy or comfortable enough to express general support (e.g. 'I support you!'), they can objectively discuss international legislative human rights protections (e.g. 'It's your human right')—avoiding negating disclosing students. Using 'mostly appropriate' pronouns for transgender students (asking their preference), makes it less likely they will drop marks (26% v. 54% when teachers use mostly inappropriate pronouns); and drop out (6% v. 22%) [28]. Students with intersex variations particularly wanted schools to supply information on intersex variations, offer support features such as inclusive counsellors and protect them from bullying (Jones 2016). Where schools do not have supportive structural features in place researchers can advocate for them based on research supporting the difference they make.

Conclusion

Researchers in all contexts should be aware of the diverse range of conceptualisations of identities around gender, sexuality and sex characteristics—including but not limited to heterosexual, cisgender male and female and LGBTI identities more commonly discussed in G&S research. Shifting cultures—particularly youth cultures—and also the impacts of social media, contextually specific histories and other influences may impact their work and the kinds of G&S identities and themes which are possible to explore. Some contexts have established patterns of data collection around G&S education issues, however even these will need development over time as cultural trends fluctuate dynamically and education methods change. Many contexts still offer plenty of opportunities to instigate new programmes of G&S research, to broaden existing topics of consideration or to ensure established explorations will be ongoing and appropriate flexible over time. These are the projects new researchers should apply

themselves to, alongside critiquing how existing offerings can best be improved.

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2

Social Landscapes: A Conservative Turn for Russian Gender and Sexuality Education

Dmitrii S. Tolkachev and Varvara M. Vasileva

Introduction

The year 2013 was important for Russia in many ways. Oil oligarch Khodorkovsky and the band 'Pussy Riot' were afforded amnesty; there was increased restriction of foreign bank accounts for public servants and MPs; there was a crackdown on political opposition[1] and Russia adopted an 'anti-gay' federal law. The full name of this legislation is the Russian Federal Law 'for the Purpose of Protecting Children from Information Advocating for a Denial of Traditional Family Values'. It imposes administrative sanctions (Article 6.21, Administrative Offenses Code of RF) on anyone advocating 'nontraditional sexual relationships among underaged' in the form of:

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dissemination of information aimed at formation of non-traditional sexual attitudes among underades, attractiveness of non-traditional sexual relationships, corrupted image of social equivalency of traditional and non-traditional sexual relationships, or touting of information provoking interest to such relationships.

The introduction of a 'prohibition of gay propaganda' law was following the trend set by previous regional legislation banning 'homosexual propaganda' in various ways. However, despite the different wording of the 2013 federal law, it banned not 'homosexual propaganda' but 'nontraditional sexual relations'. Vague drafting of the law has opened doors to lateral law enforcement showed by its analysis within court rulings. This 'prohibition of gay propaganda' law showed Russian refusal to comply with human rights legislation on sexual orientation and gender identity, and as such aligned with other refusals, such as laws created as a refusal to comply with international human rights policy supporting women. Despite the fact that in 1996 Russian Government recommended that governments support for including gender studies,[2] and in 2003 claimed it planned to include gender studies in federal educational standard of university degree, none of these was put into practice.[3] Moreover, 2003 federal legislation on 'gender equality' passed only the first reading, than was left untouched for 15 years. Now—after a harassment scandal involving MP Slutsky—it is considered to be withdrawn by a subject of legislative initiative, who happens to be the State Duma speaker, Vyacheslav Volodin.

This states of affairs is considered in literature from different research perspectives. 'Cultural explanations' are popular: particularly arguments that these laws emanate from the longterm influence of 'Soviet syndrome', i.e. GULAG subculture, where anal penetration was a demonstration of dominance [1]. Alternative 'cultural' explanations include: the high level of intolerance in Russian society in general [2]; the increase of traditional values [3]; or the masculine culture and sexism dominant in Russia [4] which all are linked with heterosexism. Biopolitics is also used to explain anti-gay campaign as an attempt of the government to try to control bodies by creating new norms [5].

Another frequently used group of explanations could be labelled 'Institutional'. Institutional explanations focus on how the Russian political

regime, mainly its institutional design, are required for authoritarian survival. For example, a theory of state-homophobia [6, 7], argues that the laws could be explained by the need for electorate consolidation in authoritarian regimes [8], or for creating an enemy for the majority [9] and to espouse a Russian 'moral sovereignity' [10]. Broadly, the literature agrees that autocratic governments tend to generally discriminate against minorities [11].

The 'prohibition of gay propaganda' federal law is in keeping with these legislative themes. However, one particular feature of this legislation trend (both regional and federal) has yet not been considered in the literature: its impact on Russian gender and sexuality (G&S) education. Unlike previous anti-gay laws, the Prohibition law was initially constructed as a way to limit opportunities for G&S education and was more clearly aimed *at the promotion of conservative patriotism (as understood by the legislators) among school children* than at the punishing of gay activists. This conservative orientation to education includes an authoritarian approach, protection of children from sexual content, and negative attitudes or silence towards non-heterosexual relations [12]. In this chapter, we describe how Russian attitudes toward homosexuality are impacted in the context of anti-gay federal and regional and education laws, the process of creating meanings of this Propaganda Law and its consequences for school education.

Does Propaganda Law Reframe Russian Education?

This paper is an attempt to consider the short-term outputs and outcomes of the recently introduced legislation on gender education at schools. No matter what the initial reason for the legislation was—neoconservative turn or authoritarian struggles in order to find a new scapegoat 'enemy'—when it comes to public opinion the anti- propaganda law was not of any significant effect.

From 1998 till 2015 there have been two sustainable trends in the publics' perception of homosexuality [13–15]: the first one is seeing homosexuality as a result of a bad upbringing; the second as the result of a disease that should be cured (Fig. 2.1). The first frame considering homosexuality

Homosexuality is a result of a...
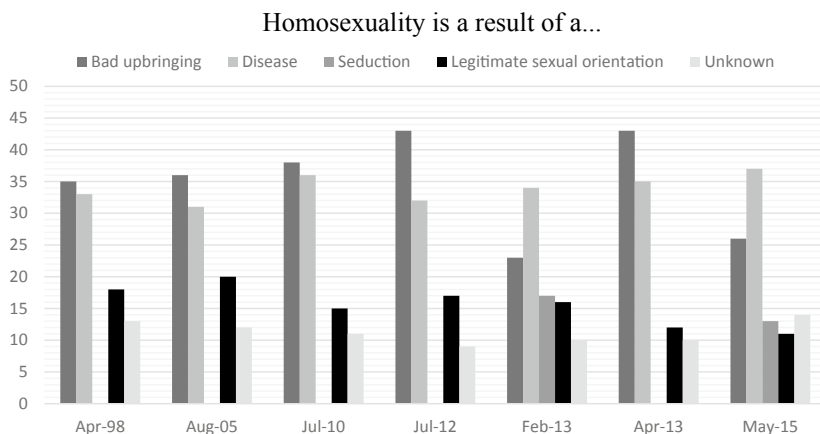
Fig. 2.1 Russians' perceptions of the nature of homosexuality 1998–2015 [13, 14]

as a result of upbringing coexists with other 'socially acquisition' explanations. For example, when the concept of homosexuality as a 'result of bad upbringing' trend slightly decreased its hold (Winter 2013, Spring 2015), the concept of homosexuality as a 'result of seduction' became more popular.

One explanation of this phenomenon is that an informational vacuum was experienced by the general public after the decriminalization and depathologization of homosexuality in Russia in the early 1990s. Igor Kon asked 'Why the terrible "sexual perversion" has suddenly became a normal option? It was explained to nobody, even to doctors' [4]. Lacking information on the topic, the general public were more likely to fall victim to a representativeness heuristic [16]: 91% of respondents had never personally met a homosexual [15], but more than one third of respondents treated homosexuality as a disease and another third considered it to be a socially acquired phenomenon (through socialisation or as a consequence of a seduction). Another important notion resulting from the 91% of participants who 'never-met-a-homosexual' in polls could be the law lacking a 'bottom-up' aggregation of interest mechanism, because meanings (i.e. hatred of the Other) are generally produced through the interaction with the subject (the Other). Thus, without even a chance to create a 'bottom-up' aggregation of anti-gay interest to be translated into the 'Prohibition

law', legislators were forced to mobilise support.[4] In this sense the general Russian public seems to be following a logic 'I have never met anybody from this dangerous group, but I carry a wooden stake just in case'.

Propaganda Law

The 'Propaganda Laws' impacts on Russian G&S education need to be considered with explanatory notes to the law, with regional laws, with resolutions of courts and law-enforcement practice. In our analysis of legal processes in Russia surrounding the law at the national level, we observed intertextuality, inadvertent misinterpretation or incorrect citing and copy-paste reproductions of related judgments. Russian researchers selecting the main points about the law reduce it to the following statements: homosexuality is not traditional, that homosexual relationships are not equivalent to the traditional family and harmful to the development of the child; and that sexual orientation is a personal choice based on certain views and beliefs [17, 18]. So, the law purports homosexuality as unequal to 'normal' orientation, can and has to be forbidden (in the law this includes preventing any positive illumination of homosexuality). Moreover, regional propaganda of 'homosexuality' is replaced by the propaganda of 'nontraditional sexual relations' on the federal level, which blurs the conceptual framework. The Propaganda Law therefore supports the social fears about homosexuality defined by the following frames: the nontraditional nature of homosexuality, the social conditionality of homosexuality (the sexuality is a choice, or a result of an upbringing or a disease), and that homosexuality is dangerous to children.

Regional Propaganda Laws

Several Russian Regions contributed to early propaganda laws. The Ryazan region was the first Russian region in 2006 to prohibit the 'propaganda of homosexuality' in the domestic law 'On protection of morality and health of children in Ryazan region':

Article 4. The prevention of public actions aimed at propaganda of homosexualism[5] **among minors:** *Public actions aimed at propaganda of homosexualism (muzelozestvo [sodomy]*[6] *and lesbianism) are not allowed.* [19]

This later included related changes to the administrative code:

Article 3.10. Public actions aimed at propaganda of homosexualism (muzelozestvo and lesbianism) among minors: *Public actions aimed at propaganda of homosexualism (muzelozestvo and lesbianism) among minors shall entail the imposition of an administrative fine on citizens in the amount of one thousand five hundred to two thousand rubles; on officials —from two to four thousand rubles; on legal entities from ten to twenty thousand rubles.* [19]

The law is aimed at public actions. The concept of propaganda, as well as the public actions themselves, are not defined. However, most likely, the local government was trying to prevent public actions common in the West like Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) pride marches.

In response to LGBTI activists' efforts to determine the legality of the law adoption and conceptualise the term 'propaganda', the Russian Constitutional Court later added:

By itself, the ban is of such propaganda as an activity of purposeful and uncontrolled information dissemination capable to harm the health, moral and spiritual development, including forming misconceptions about social   equivalence of traditional and nontraditional marriage relations, among persons deprived because of their age the opportunity to critically assess such information cannot be regarded as violating the constitutional rights of citizens. [19]

The constitutional court thus refers to the Constitution and traditions of ancestors to claim the need to protect the motherhood and childhood, as well as the family from homosexuality as:

values that ensure continuous change of generations, are a condition for the preservation and development of the multinational people of the Russian Federation, and therefore need special protection from the state. [19]

In the Arkhangelsk region, a law that entirely repeats the Ryazan text was adopted and later expanded, imposing fines on citizens 'promoting homosexualism' in 2011 [20]. This was the first Russian law on G&S education initiated by scholars and religious activists. In their view, homosexuality is the result of socia conditioning, and there is a need to protect children from propaganda. The author of the bill also does not hide that the law is directed against the local Arkhangelsk LGBT organisation 'Rakurs', whose activities, in his opinion, are '*aimed at obtaining money from foreign funds to promote their orientation*' [20]. The Supreme Court affirmed that:

> *the Prohibition of homosexual propaganda does not prevent the exercise of the right to receive and impart information of a general, neutral content about homosexuality, to hold public debates about the social status of sexual minorities without imposing homosexual attitudes.* [20]

The law also added excluded the promotion of an attractive image of the sex-same family.

A Kostroma (Russian riverside city) regional law in 2012 banned 'homosexual propaganda' (muzhelozestvo and lesbianism) among minors, and expanded the prohibition of propaganda to 'bisexualism', transgender people and paedophilia [21]. Kostroma's Prohibition Law particularly confused the concepts of 'homosexuality' and 'paedophilia'. The law was also adopted in 2012 in St. Petersburg [22]. The author of St. Petersburg prohibition law was Vitaly Milonov, a regional MP and orthodox activist. Adoption of a 'prohibition law' in one of the two federal cities finally brought the 'propaganda' discussions onto a new, federal level [23].

Due to popularity Milonov's legislative activity, a prohibition law was adopted in the Magadan region [24]. Notably, where the passing of the St. Petersburg's law was highly criticised and followed by the political opposition's demonstrations [22], Magadan's legislators banned 'promotion of homosexuality, lesbianism and bisexualism' without any discussion or debate [24]. Alongside this, they were the first Russian legislators to define the term 'bisexualism';

Article 2. The basic concept used for the purposes of this Act:
(…) 10. Bisexualism is a sexual attraction to both own and opposite sex. [24]

Regional legislators therefore set a trend of defining and regulating sexual orientation and its manifestations in Russia. They formalised an understanding of homosexuality as an attitude, and as a socially constructed behaviour. The idea of inequality for different sexual orientations and relationships was thus legislatively declared.

The Federal Law

On 28 March 2012, the Novosibirsk Legislative Assembly introduced a bill establishing administrative sanctions for 'homosexual propaganda' to Russian State Duma. In the explanatory note, the authors of the bill wrote:

> *The propaganda of homosexualism nowadays in Russia is widespread. Such propaganda is conducted both through the media and through carrying out public actions propagating homosexuality as a norm of behavior.* [25]

Authors of the bill warned that gay propaganda (defined as any information about the social equivalence of traditional and nontraditional sexual relations) is dangerous for children and young people.

The bill was passed to the State Duma Committee on family, women and children headed by MP Elena Mizulina. The bill passed the first reading on 25 January 2013 with a recommendation to be considered in the second reading with amendments [25]. The final version of the bill for the second reading underwent significant changes, but none of them clarified the key definition of 'propaganda of homosexualism'. Moreover, the version passed in the second reading prohibited 'promoting nontraditional sexual relations' [26]. The dissemination of such information on the Internet or in the media was punished by a more significant (than imposed by regional 'prohibition' laws) fine or a suspension of all activities, and foreign citizens faced deportation [26].

In sum, a regulatory trend set in 2006 by Ryazan regional law was continuously expanded regarding its geographic reach, its increasingly ambiguous definitions and its disproportionate punishments. Regional regulations at first, then followed by the federal 'Prohibition law' formalised attitude to homosexuality as a dangerous socially conditioned

behaviour. Altogether these regulations fueled the fear of the other among citizens and created wide discretionary powers for law enforcement bodies and courts. 'How and against whom these discretionary powers can be used?' created a challenge on the implementation step.

Realisation: How 'Prohibition Laws' Frame Homosexuality

The proper definition is essential for the process of framing. The 'Prohibition law' became a specific trigger and the Goffman's question 'What is going on here?', which starts the discussion about homosexuality. That way the 'Prohibition law' served as an instrument of dissemination of information on the 'nontraditional sexual relations': citizens best of all informed about the law forbidding propaganda of the from series of restrictive laws [14].

In the 'new' conditions each specific event has its own name and depiction, which not only assigns a specific meaning to the event but also differentiates between 'familiar' and 'unfamiliar' [27]: a homosexual individual should be defined by a term differentiating homosexuality from heterosexuality. However, polls results are doubtful not only due to 'a spiral of silence' [28], or preferences' falsifications [29], but also because of a limited number of frames about homosexuality used during polling. Therefore, we suggest considering homosexuality frames through the analysis of search queries. How is the homosexuality defined and categorised? Search query destroys a spiral of silence and demonstrates a real interest. In this analysis, we do not consider comments on social networks to avoid paid commenting activity (web 'crews' of bots and trolls).

We will analyse inquiries 'homosexualism' [gomosexualism] and 'gay propaganda' [propaganda gomosexualisma] which have been mentioned during the discussion and 'prohibition legislation' adoption most often. A number of queries 'homosexuality' (Fig. 2.2) and 'gay propaganda' (Fig. 2.3) in 2013–2015 in Google trends rapidly increased in the months of legislative discussion and adoption of the 'Prohibition law'.

The most important peak for online searches around homosexuality (Fig. 2.2) was June 11, 2013, when the 135-FL was accepted. Another
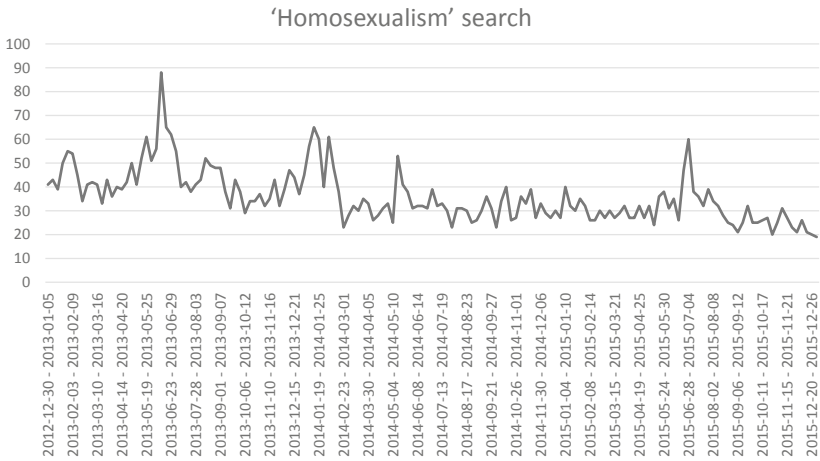
Fig. 2.2 Percentage popularity of searches for 'homosexualism' in Russian Google trends (2013–2015)
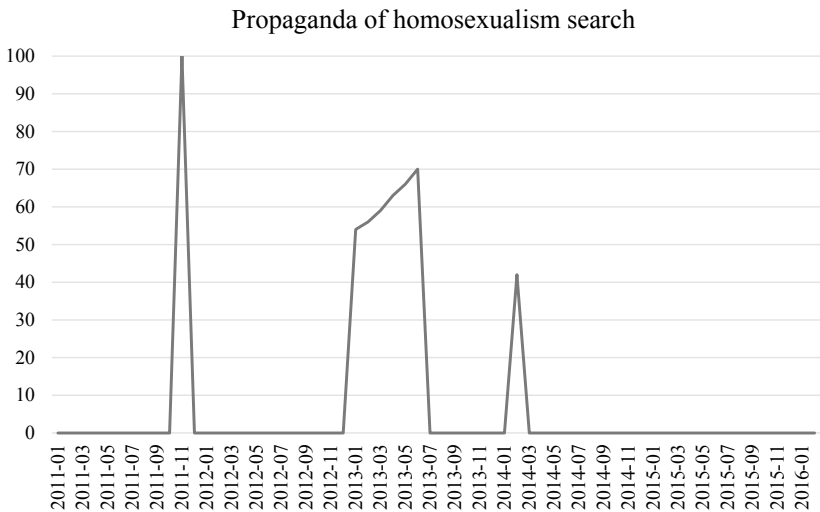
Fig. 2.3 Percentage popularity of searches for 'propaganda of homosexualism' in Russian Google trends (2011–2016)

peak in searches occurred at the beginning of 2014, when the issue of human rights and the rights of LGBTI people arose under international influence during the Olympic Games in Sochi. The next peak was seen during discussion of results of Eurovision in May 2014 and legalisation of same-sex marriages in the United States of America on June 26, as shown in Elena Pronkina's research [30]. A final peak occurred at the end of 2015; connected to a bill to ban coming out or sexuality disclosures [26].

Periods of international and national discussion of propaganda are also reflected in search queries (Fig. 2.3). The increase in search queries indeed is connected with a discussion of laws of propaganda in 2011 (the law in St. Petersburg) and 2013 (Federal law) and also discussion of the law (as news provoking) during the Olympic Games in Sochi at the beginning of 2014. In the explanatory note to the bill, E. Mizulina noted: 'Gay propaganda has accepted broad scope in modern Russia. Such propaganda is conducted both through mass media, and through active holding the public actions propagandising homosexuality as the standard of behaviour' [25]. However, 'gay propaganda' remains was not a significant search term for online search systems before the adoption of the laws; after their introduction some inquiries reached several hundred per month. 'Gay propaganda' as a concept gained ground in popular usage during the legal action, despite the fact that the legal action was intended to ban it.

Google Trends data showed that inquiries 'latent homosexuality', 'animals' homosexuality', 'homosexuality in Russia', 'homosexuality as a disease', 'the famous homosexuals', 'the homosexuality test' and 'gay porn' were popular. According to data from Yandex inquiries about the term 'homosexuality' (on average 21 thousand per month) mostly linked users to information and searches around 'gay propaganda', 'the reasons for causing homosexuality', 'the homosexuality history', and much less—'homosexuality is a disease' and 'homosexuality is a sin'. Inquiries about the terms 'gays' (on average 3.6 million per month) and 'lesbians' (on average 1.2 million per month), mostly linked users to porn websites, and more seldom to information about gays celebrities and same-sex relationships. Inquiries about the term 'faggots' (twice exceeding inquiry into the word 'homosexuality'), 'fag' (exceeding inquiries into the word 'homosexuality' by almost two and a half times), and 'poofy' (exceeding inquiries into

'homosexuality' by four times) were linked to pornographic or political content.

Another frame purports that homosexuality is more about sex, but not about relationships and love.[7] This is a primary hindrance of the legalisation of the homosexual relationships (partnerships, marriages); as one of the features of relationship policy is a desexualisation [31], where sexual understandings of LGBTI people follow social understandings (around marriage and adoption). Moreover, inhabitants of regions of Russia with the most conservative views about homosexuality may need to substitute offline sexual relations with online pornography for reasons of isolation or safety; hindering their development of a social understanding of homosexuality or relationship policies. It should be noted that according to Pornhub the most popular porn category in Russia for several years in a row has been the category 'anal'; the category is four times as popular for males than for females [32]. Why are anal sex depictions so popular at a time of such disapproval around gay sex? From a political science perspective this may be a question of the power of pornographic acts ranked lower in the acceptability hierarchy; another potential framing.[8]

The state propaganda skillfully uses the law to achieve anti-Western purposes. This goal is reflected in the categorization of images on the Russian Internet, where the 'Western Values' or 'European Values' tag issues pictures of LGBTI parades and gender fluid Austrian performer Conchita Wurst.[9] In 2013 online inquiries, only an insignificant portion of respondents (1–2%) extolled Russian spirituality or family values around these sexuality themes [33]; the question of values was displaced towards sexuality. This framing of homosexuality through such online tagging and correlations has several messages: that homosexuality is imposed by the West; that homosexuality is immoral; and that homosexuality is not traditional for the Russian culture. A particular role is also played here by biopolitics: the message that homosexuality does not increase the population of the country (thus heterosexism emerges within nationalist ideology).

The adoption of anti-propaganda laws is therefore treated as a current problem that draws attention to earlier 'unnamed' homosexuality issues. Due to the invisibility of gay community—most Russians do not believe they have homosexuals in their social networks [15]—the stereotypes about homosexuality seen in the laws can prevail. Consequently, the

law does not just 'make' gays visible, it 'creates' them. The entity of homosexuality is made only, for many Russians, by the government's framing. It is necessary for a successful framing (in framing theory) that the frame would open new opportunities for actions [27], but here a choice of frames against homosexuality is limited, and events are interpreted in already set systems of frames.

Narration Theory: From a Frame to Action

Earlier made operations of selection, categorising and naming form a narrative in a narration of a policy or law; where actors are stimulated to convince others of their interpretation. Actors not only create frames around policies or laws but also redefine them, manipulate them and reframe the answers of opponents. At the same time, the various audiences' interpretative lenses often lead to ambiguous framings (interpretations). Therefore, Russians' support is impacted according to the values appropriated (to homosexuality). Considering statistical polling data [15], legislated values could have influenced Russian society in different ways. Both actions and interpretations (Fig. 2.4) will depend on how Russians frame homosexuality. If the Russians polled framed homosexuality as a disease—they supported treating homosexuals or helping them to live with it adequately (read heterosexually); if they framed homosexuality as a deviation—they supported pursuing homosexuals under the law; if they framed homosexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation—they supported leaving homosexuals alone.

However, if homosexuality, first of all, is a story about sex, then how to govern the body? When Russians were asked whether they believed adults had the right to enter same-sex relationships by mutual consent, more than a half of the citizens polled did not (see Fig. 2.5, answers are distributed in opinion on the nature of homosexuality). At the same time around a third of the Russian citizens considering homosexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation and endorsing dignified treatment of homosexuals, also considered the private life of citizens as nonetheless a public concern. The state thereby not only is attributed a role to protect society from propaganda around homosexuality, but also to interfere with
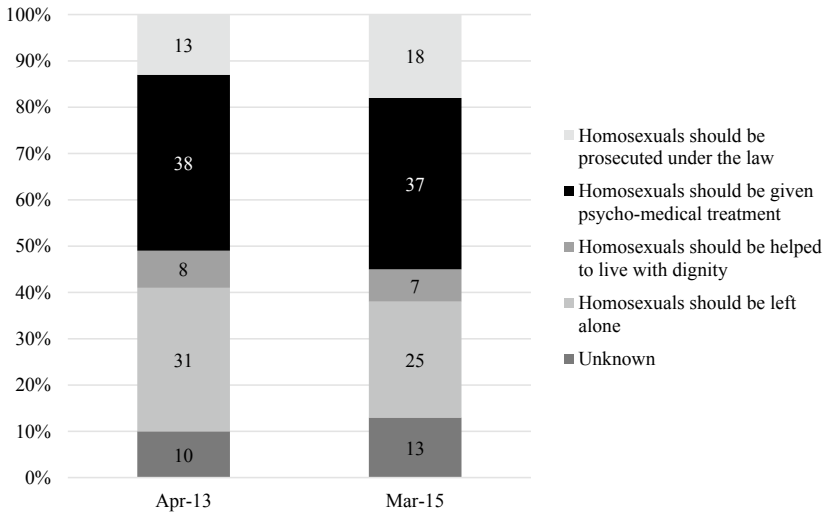
Fig. 2.4 How Russians felt homosexuals should be treated in 2013 vs. 2015

questions of the regulation of sexuality. This dangerous trend endorses a lack of freedom in governing one's own body.

Russian Gender Education Study: Methods

We aimed to investigate how the theme of gender, family and social norms was firstly presented in Russian education; secondly understood and taught by teachers; and thirdly understood by pupils. In January–February 2018, we conducted five interviews with teachers of social science in one of the schools in Moscow and two in the Kirov region on teaching the topic of family, social norms and gender (where questions of G&S can be addressed). In two schools (in Moscow and Kirov region), pupils of grades 10–11 (the last two senior years) filled out a questionnaire via Google Forms. In the Moscow school, we received only 13 answers; in the school of the Kirov region, we received 54 answers (in total 14 boys and 49 girls). Participants were able to choose whether or not they answered the

Do homosexuals have a right to a relationship?

100%		
90%		8
80%		25
70%	41	43
60%		18
50%	27	20
40%		41
30%		22
20%	18	
10%	13	13
0%	1	2

Homosexuality is a Disease   Homosexuality is a Deviation   Homosexuality is a Legitimate Sexual Orientation

■ Definitely Yes ■ Probably Yes ■ Unsure ■ Probably No ■ Definitely No
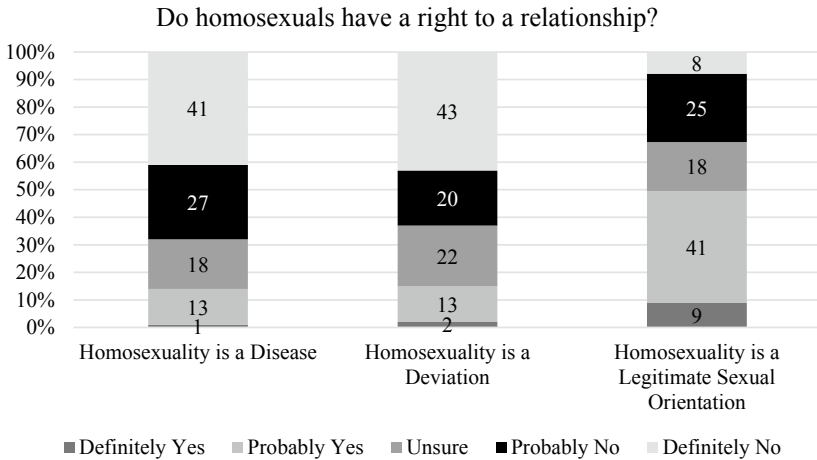
Fig. 2.5 Russian agreement with the right of adults to mutually consenting same-sex sexual relationships, by their perception of homosexuality (as a disease, deviation or orientation)

questions; so there was a small amount of reduction in survey responses towards the end of surveys.

Russian Gender and Sexuality Education: Findings

Gender, Family and Social Norms in Russian Education Settings and Texts

Firstly, we found that Gender Studies programmes are not widespread in Russian higher education; although Russian gender centres, education programmes and institutions have been organised across Russia since the 1990s [34]. Gender Studies courses were run in the European University at Saint Petersburg[10]; before the university closed in 2017.[11] Notably, the official campaign against the European University began with a complaint specifically about its Gender Studies and Queer Studies programmes. Some gender-related courses and research groups exist in other Russian

universities, broadly covered within social science faculties; for example at the Higher School of Economics.[12] Gender centres also still exist in Saint Petersburg State University,[13] Moscow State University[14] and Perm University.[15] Independent gender centrs have however been prosecuted by the state for receiving foreign finance under the foreign agents act including in Samara[16] (attributed a foreign agent status since 2015[17]), Saratov[18] (closed since 2014 after it was attributed to foreign agent status[19]), and Saint Petersburg[20] (attributed foreign agent since 2015[21]). Gender centre in Ivanovo continues their work.

Russian qualitative literature on Gender Studies and Queer Theory is lacking. These studies have not impacted school textbooks, which are regularly reprinted with the same (unchanged) text. Therefore, in the Russian school community preference is given to the social science textbook under the author 'L.F. Bogolyubov'. Teachers are limited in the choice of textbooks by the recommendations of the Russian government. Our interviews uncovered that teachers in the Kirov region use Bogolyubov's textbook. Teachers in Moscow preferred to use recent articles and did not use the textbook.

Tatyana Antonova [35] indicates this social science textbook has significant discrepancies in its use of depictions of images of more males (73.5%) than of females (19.6%). The content of textbook also reflects traditional gender stereotypes; women are assigned a secondary role in the overall background of men. The school textbook deals with the social and legal aspects of the concept of marriage. Marriage is defined as a union of a man and a woman, concluded by the procedure established by law, giving rise to the mutual rights and obligations of spouses. The textbook on social science gives the following characteristics of marriage overall:

- Marriage is a Union between a man and a woman.
- In Russia, only heterosexual marriage is recognised.
- The purpose of marriage is to create a family.
- A marriage entered into without the intention of starting a family, but only out of self-interest (for example, the possibility of living in the spouse's apartment), is considered fictitious and is therefore declared null and void.
- Marriage is a Union registered with the registry office.

- Marriage in social terms is defined as a socially recognised form of relationship between a man and a woman to create a family.

Gender, Family and Social Norms According to Russian Teachers

Secondly, we consider how schoolteachers interpret the proposed topics. Alexander Kondakov pointed out that the law had a direct impact on everyday life of school LGBT teachers: LGBT topics have become a taboo [34]. There is an informal policy of 'don't ask, don't tell'. The school director does not carry out any specific policy towards LGBT people, but estimates how related to LGBT issues can 'damage' the school, causing pressure from higher authorities. In our study however, we were not interested in the sexual orientation of teachers, only how they understood and taught about G&S. Teachers at the Kirov school were not limited in the resources to Bogolubov's textbook. The course of social studies in the 10–11 class consists of law, sociology, political science and economics modules. The topic of the family is considered in legal and social lenses. The theme of gender is almost not considered. Instead, the teachers reportedly discuss role-based approaches. Teachers do not question the theoretical approach of the textbook and do not check its claims against modern research. At the same time, teachers indicate that they do not hold any one position, but provide different points of view. Teachers' definitions of family that were not in textbooks or went beyond them, drew on examples from reality. Only examples visible in local social networks, films or other sources were given by both teachers and pupils:

> A family can be, for example, a mother and a child, rarely a father and a child. That's me in the movie such example was seen when mom left, and dad with children remained. In life children say it's very rare or almost never occurs. We're talking about the family not only as a Union between a man and a woman. (Teacher, 30 years of teaching, small city)

Regarding same-sex marriages, the teachers with many years of experience pointed to some Russian heterosexuality 'in mentality', and homosexuality as something imposed by the West.

> I watched the special TV show, that trying, may be roughly said, to impose the view that male-male is a family; woman-woman is a family. Family in Russia is a man and woman. (Teacher, 30 years of teaching, small city)

Teachers of the older generation tended to repeat the judgments of the state television propaganda; issues of sexuality and including homosexuality was taboo for them. Young teachers conversely tended to discuss any topic regardless of the law on propaganda:

> We say that from the point of view of the law such marriage is prohibited, registration I mean. From the point of view of morality, society basically does not approve, but the ban does not exist. I have this theme always pick when I give a classification of families. If the interest is there, but it certainly it is, I have a few words to say about it. (Teacher, 17 years of teaching, small city)

These teachers did not know about the law on propaganda. At the researchers' mention of the law, they claimed that they still did not violate it:

> And where does the law? If I gave in class of a homosexual, it would be propaganda. And so, we are discussing, that this there is. The law has nothing to do with it. (Teacher, 17 years of teaching, small city)

We found that, since the textbooks do not cover the gender topic fundamentally, the teachers did not understand modern definitions of gender. One stated:

> Gender is a common model, who and what should do here; a woman should be soft, cook, give birth to children, sit with them. A man is a defender, it's a getter. There is no clear definition of gender. There are patterns of behaviour. (Teacher, 30 years of teaching, small city)

Another commented:

> We're replacing sex [concept]. We use only the word gender in high school. We consider it genetic, innate, biological. That person is born; he or she is

originally a man or a woman. Of course, yes, sex change operations [idea] immediately arise [as discussions]. (Teacher, 17 years of teaching, small city)

Teachers in the Moscow school used modern sources and different textbooks. However, they pointed out that they preferred to use academic articles more than textbooks. They are more open to discussing homosexuality and gender topics. However, this was still given few academic hours for discussion. One of the teachers offered a 'socio-anthropological focus of the family' theme, and here she could discuss same-sex couples:

> I'm trying to show statistics, for example, American longitudinal studies have shown how homosexual families raise children. The number of homosexuals among these children is not higher than the population average. (Teacher, 3 years of teaching, big city)

Another topic where teachers discuss homosexuality is within the 'social norm' topic. One of the teachers here pays attention to self-censorship:

> When we talk about homosexuality, we talk about the relativity of norms. I recall the case that it was a criminal offence in our country until the early '90s. We're talking about it, but I'm a little slow down. You can call it self-censorship, because sometimes you have to filter yourself. And I feel it on these themes. (Teacher, 2 years of teaching, big city)

Another teacher said time constraints were limiting:

> For a gender topic discussion, they have not time a lot. The topic is discussed superficially, mainly social construction of gender: socially defined male or female roles, a definition that is opposed to the biological sex. Further, we say that these roles are relative and so on. (Teacher, 2 years of teaching, big city)

Gender, Family and Social Norms According to Russian Students

Thirdly, it was important to understand how children understood the textbook and teachers using the survey data. As part of the survey, we included several questions about same-sex relations and gender, guided by the law on propaganda. These four questions, with written response options, included:

1. Are same-sex marriages considered marriage?
2. Who cannot be married? Maybe an impediment to marriage?
3. How do you understand the statement 'gender is the social sex'[22]? Explain with an example.
4. Try to explain what "gender construction" is.[23]

Additionally, two questions considered the students' beliefs, using a Likert scale:

1. Do you agree with the following statements: Two mothers in a child is bad.
2. Do you agree with the following statements: Homosexuality is a disease.

Among the younger generation, 23.87% of students believed that homosexuality is a disease and 28.57% of thought that having two mothers would be bad for children. In the 20-year period that we can estimate by the surveys, we saw that there had been little change in attitudes towards homosexuality. However, there were some changes towards same-sex marriages. This may have been impacted by the promotion of family values in Russian education; the family is seen as more important than personal preferences (including homosexuality) (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7).

   The critical value of the right-wing turn in Russian policy and education should place marriage as a central concept, but does the notion of same-sex marriage fit into such a definition? From the state and the educational system, this has certainly not been a message. However, according to the students' responses, same-sex marriages also require recognition. We took a screenshot of the school textbook with the definition of mar-

Homosexuality is a disease, %
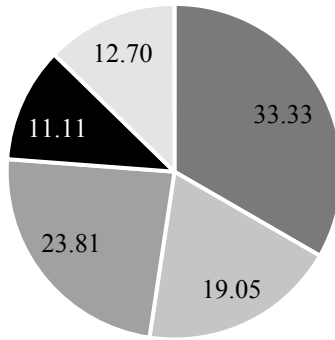
■ Fully disagree   ■ Disagree   ■ Difficult to answer   ■ Agree   ■ Fully agree

Fig. 2.6 Russian agreement with the statement 'homosexuality is a disease'

Two mothers is bad, %
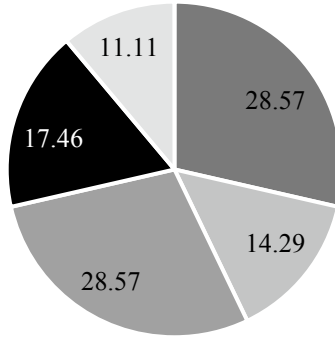
■ Fully disagree   ■ Disagree   ■ Difficult to answer   ■ Agree   ■ Fully agree

Fig. 2.7 Russian agreement with the statement 'a child having two mothers is bad'

riage and offered pupils some questions on this text: Do you agree with these definitions? Do you think same-sex marriages are marriage? What should be the purpose of marriage, in your opinion? Is the official registration of marriage mandatory? There were three types of answers. The first type discussed same-sex marriage as equal to heterosexual marriage.

The family frame is more represented in these answers; perhaps an unexpected result of conservative policy and family values propaganda, where students tended to then also approve same-sex marriages as equal. Here the students' valuing of the family frame is seen as more relevant than ideology and family creation did not depend on the sex stamp in one's passport; as one student commented:

> Same-sex marriages are also marriages. The goal is the family creation. Registration is not required; people can create a family without registering the marriage. (Female, 16 years, small city)

Another said:

> The purpose of marriage is to create a family; a family is not only a man and a woman, but it can also be two men, so same-sex marriages are marriages. If you COMPLETELY trust the person, then the marriage registration may not be necessary. (Female, 18 years, small city)

The second frame uncovered in the data was a union frame, when respondents spoke more about other forms of marriages like partnerships or civil unions. However, state registration of the unions was not seen as obligatory, and one boy commented:

> I think same-sex marriage is marriage. If you select a specific purpose for marriage, I feel closer to a partnership, where spouses share everything and at the same time have all in common. (Male, 17 years, small city)

A girl similarly said:

> Same-sex marriages are considered. The purpose of marriage is to give hope for a healthy emotional and financial union between the two people. Marriage registration, I think, is solely at the request and preference of the couple. (Female, 16 years, small city)

Another girl stated:

> The purpose of marriage cannot be only the creation of family because there are couples who do not have children (childfree). I believe that same-sex marriages are normal statistical marriages. Registration of marriage is not mandatory, and the purpose of marriage may be to be in a love relationship. (Female, 16 years, small city,)

A rights frame was also observed in some answers, which assumes state registration of marriage. Here respondents listed the rights and obligations of spouses, which in most cases should be regulated by the state. For example, one student said:

> Same-sex relationships are the same as between a man and a woman. Any love is accepted to be considered love, not something wrong or disgusting. All people have the same set of rights at birth, and they can love whom they want, and also have children/ adopt them. (Female, 17 years, small city)

Another student said:

> Marriage should be considered as a voluntary Union of people of any nationality, race, political views, orientations and so on. Since the goal may be simple symbolism to unite people, support for their future life together and maybe starting a family. (Female, 17 years, big city)

Another student discussed the symbolic importance of documents:

> Same-sex marriages are marriages, regardless of gender differences. The purpose of this documentary evidence of the senses. (Male, 16 years, small city)

Idealisations of marriage were however sometimes replaced by a rational interpretation of Russian reality, where desired arrangements may not always be valid:

> Same-sex marriage may be a marriage, but not in the territory of the Russian state. The purpose of the marriage is the bond of love bonds, the birth of a child secondary. Registration of marriage in the 21st century is not mandatory - if both partners agree to live in a civil marriage, it is normal. (Female, 16 years, big city)

This frame is closer to the second most common type of response, which manifested heteronormativity. These comments featured a positive view of sex-same marriage but a different view on nature of homosexuality. These students think that homosexuality is a disease or believe homosexual propaganda is a problem, for example, a girl said:

> I believe that we live in a free world full of possibilities, if you want to marry your neighbour Vasya [male name] - go ahead! The disapproval by society is not your problem AS LONG as you are not openly propagandizing your orientation. (Female, 17 years, small city)

Heterosexist views on the family correlated with negative views on homosexuality. In this subgroup of responses, respondents questioned the ability of homosexuals to create a family: they were not against same-sex marriage, but considered homosexuality as an illness and saw the nurturing of children by homosexuals as unacceptable. One girl said:

> I believe that same-sex marriage should count for marriage and quote as well, as marriage men and women. I believe that the purpose of marriage is to secure the rights of husband and wife. I do not think marriage needs to be registered. (Female, 16 years, big city)

Another girl said:

> Same-sex marriage is marriage; it is everyone's business. The purpose of marriage is the creation of a family and the reproduction. Registration of marriage is not mandatory. (Female, 17 years, small city)

Some of the above answers also featured a discourse of reproduction. Moreover, the same discourse appeared when respondents negatively wrote about same-sex marriage. The third most common type of answer centred on reproduction as a central theme for marriage. This was the only frame that defined a negative attitude to same-sex marriage. One female student, for example, commented:

> Same-sex marriages are not marriages. I think that the purpose of marriage is also a consolidation forces to achieve the typical result of two people

who have similar goals and views on life. Registration of marriage is not mandatory, but desirable. (Female, 17 years, small city)

Another girl stated:

It seems to me that same-sex marriages are not marriages because they are not created to continue the family [reproductivity]. I see no point in registering them, as there is no need for them. It is likely some other institution of the family. (Female, 18 years, small city)

Another said simply:

I believe that same-sex marriage is meaningless since the main purpose of marriage is procreation, marriage registration is not required. (Female, 17 years, small city)

Finally, a few individuals gave short and aggressive comments on the nature of same-sex marriage, rejecting it outright. Such answers were in the minority. For example, one student said *'Same-sex marriage is idiotism and perversion'* (Male, 17 years, small city); while another stated '*Same-sex marriage is not a marriage for me personally*' (Male, 17 years, small city).

When students were asked about gender as a concept in their school, their answers suggested they received no quality education programme on Gender Studies. Moreover, gender was understood as roles that people play. The students suggested that the Moscow school devoted only one hour in a whole social science course for gender, but its material was more modern than in the Kirov school. The first frame uncovered in their comments was one of social construction; the respondents did not know social construction theory (textbooks do not provide information about the approach) however the students were trying to define gender in the framework of this approach; for example, one girl said: '*Gender is how a person identifies himself/herself in society by recognised gender characteristics*' (Female, 16 years, big city). Another girl commented:

Gender is a social construct, which is based on a specific range of characteristics, such as, for example, the feeling of one's own masculinity/femininity.

A person's gender may not match biological sex, causing a feeling of living in 'someone else's body. (Female, 16 years, small city)

A second framing strategy uncovered was behaviour and choice. Some answers framed gender as drag or considered transgender persons. For example, one student said:

Gender is sex chosen not by nature but by person and/or society. For example, transvestites as men by nature, but themselves (and society too if he has good makeup) perceive them as women. (Female, 18 years, small city)

Most of the answers about the concept of gender were devoid of scientific meaning and had a positive connotation about the possibility of human choice of gender. Although this may sometimes be too distant from general understandings, as seen in one student's comment:

Gender norms determine specific behaviour. We can say that gender describes behaviour, not biology. The hero of Bulgakov's Sharikov[24] is a man biologically, but have a gender of the animal (although this does not exist in real life). (Female, 17 years, small city)

A few students gave a short answer denying gender as a category. One boy said '*If to bring up in the man freedom in the choice of the sex, it will be defective*' (Male, 16 years, small city) and another commented '*It is a product of corrupted human consciousness. No more*' (Male, 17 years, small city). The researchers interpret these comments as the result of right-wing politics in education where personal and subjective positions are given instead of theories and explanations.

Conclusion

The conservative turn in Russian politics has definitely had an impact on gender education. However, this impact consists mainly of unexpected results: a regulatory context and a state-approved framing met with disparate narrations of homosexuality and a lack of educational resources. Long-lasting trends in the Russian public discourse's framing of homosex-

uality as 'a deviation' or 'a disease' still dominate, influencing the younger generation's understanding of sexuality and gender. School education maintains this trend: only young teachers are bringing up issues of homosexuality, while elder teachers keep in line with a state-approved 'deviation' frames and choose a 'silence strategy' in teaching on the topic. Discussion of homosexuality and gender in class is often replaced by the issues of a family and same-sex marriages.

However, the state-approved 'deviation' framing promoted by the 'Prohibition laws' faces unexpected consequences when combined with another framing of homosexuality which dominates mass consciousness—the 'sex' framing (vs 'relationship/family' framing). It is also challenged by the right turn in policies promoting family values. This unforeseen combination of framings creates interesting results: homosexuality is still viewed as a deviation (that manifests itself mainly in sex) yet some Russian youth nonetheless believe that homosexuals should have the right to marry and that family duties should be shared regardless of gender. Given these new influences, the government has not achieved an unambiguous framing; there is now and will still be room for some major changes in Russia in the future contrasting against the relative lack of change over the last twenty years. In considering governments' attempts to control G&S education via law and policy, researchers must therefore understand that these policies may interact with other influences in complex and unintended ways.

Notes

1. The clearest examples from 2011 to 2013 are Alexey Navalny's 'Kirovles' case that ended with jail for oppositionist brother Oleg; and the 'Bolotnoe Delo' case where over 30 people were imprisoned for anti-regime protests in the Bolotnoe Delo Square.
2. Order of the Government of the Russian Federation of January 8, 1996 N 6 "About the concept of improvement of the status of women in the Russian Federation" Access: http://base.garant.ru/1518536/#friends.
3. Proceedings of the Commission for the advancement of women in the Russian Federation under the Government of the Russian Federation, 2003. Access: http://www.owl.ru/win/docum/rf/comission/2003-1.htm.

4. E.g. Regional authorities (whose opinion on the federal legislation introduced is a part of the legislation procedure in State Duma) were reporting approved anti-gay parades held by right-wing pro-government marginal groupings: See for, example, "Kirovchane supported the ban on gay propaganda". Access: http://devyatka.ru/news/society/434788/.

5. The term homosexualism [Russian: gomosexualism] and propaganda of homosexualism [Russian: propaganda gomosexualisma] have been used in Russian regional law since Ryazan case.

6. Muzelozestvo (sodomy) the term was introduced in traditional Russian Church law, which under this concept was understood exclusively homosexual anal sex. This term also used in Soviet law of criminalization of homosexuality. This term still exists in Russian criminal code in Articles 132–134 considering the crimes connected with violent sexual actions.

7. About 100 million inquiries of 'porn' per month versus about 10 million inquiries 'love' in Yandex if we speak about 'spirituality' or 'traditional' values.

8. In search queries in Yandex video, terms of a heterosexist connotation prevail: 'non-traditional', 'dirty', 'dissolute', 'rigidly', 'F**k', 'Banging', 'having sex', 'F**king'.

9. It is worth noting however that the song by the winner Eurovision entered in TOP-5 the Russian ITunes, see, for example, "Conchita and female share". Access: https://www.the-village.ru/village/city/situation/143773-konchita-i-zhenskaya-dolya.

10. Gender studies programme at EU. Access: https://eu.spb.ru/en/gender-studies.

11. Closure of the European University at St Petersburg: A dead cert? Access: https://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/dmitry-dubrovsky/closure-of-european-university-at-st-petersburg-dead-cert.

12. Programs at HSE devoted gender studies. Access: https://lirt.hse.ru/gender; https://social.hse.ru/en/gender/; https://www.hse.ru/edu/courses/214351797; https://pravo.hse.ru/en/Genderequality; http://sh.spb.hse.ru/youth/; https://electives.hse.ru/2018/minor_gender_study/.

13. Gendernye issledovaniya. Access: http://soc.spbu.ru/obrazovanie/teaching/mag/soc/soc_gi/.

14. Tsentr gendernykh issledovanniy sredstv massovoy informatsii i kommunikatsii. Access: http://www.journ.msu.ru/about/departments/tsentr-gendernykh-issledovaniy.php.

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20. Centre for Independent Social Research. Access: https://cisr.pro/en/ research/gender/.
21. CISR is registered as a foreign agent. Access: https://cisr.pro/en/news/ cisr-is-registered-as-a-foreign-agent/.
22. This is title of textbook gender topic.
23. The text of Russian gender researchers about gender construction was proposed, and then the question was asked.
24. Sharikov is a character of a Russian Bulgakov story 'Heart of a Dog', whose brain was replaced by a dog.

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3

Media Landscapes: 'Meet the Maker'—The Highs and Lows of Translating Gender and Sexuality Research into Practice

Debbie Ollis

Introduction

As a high-profile feminist researcher and program developer in sexuality education, I and others in the field have had to develop thick skins and keep focused on the purpose of our work. That is, improving the gendered and sexual lives of young people. Being accused of 'having an agenda', 'socially engineering gender', 'being a man hater' 'corrupting the innocence of children', 'promoting sexual promiscuity', 'recruiting children to homosexual lifestyles' and encouraging 'aberrant sexual practices that are pornographic' are but a few of the comments directed at me for the program/resource/intervention development, translated from gender and sexuality (G&S) research. Although I have been engaged in research, policy and practice in sexuality education for the past 35 years, it is only over in the last 5 years that I have been forced to confront the abuse and reputational damage of such public comments. In part, this is because of

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the readily available and often anonymous online platforms that enable such abuse to flourish and contribute to 'moral panic' around issues of G&S. It is also because the issues are more visible and explicit than they have been in the past. The *Safe School Coalition* and *Respectful Relationships Education* interventions in Australia and the state of Victoria, have clearly positioned this work in discourses of positive and inclusive social change. In the past, we have integrated the issues into broader resources in sexuality education.

For the most part I have spent the last 30 years supported in using my own and others' research in G&S to develop teaching and professional development resources for school-based sexuality and relationships education and teacher education. Abuse and reputational damage are a recent challenge to this work. The constant need to justify the research and content, are perhaps more persistent than the media attacks. Reflecting on the work for this project, I realised that much of 'sex and gender positive' work in the field has been subsumed within other negative public health campaigns and government priorities, such as HIV, drug education and bullying. I decided many years ago that sexuality education was the area of health education where my passion for social change resided. I had a number of opportunities to work in leadership positions in drug education but knew I would find it challenging to work in an area where the priority for drug use was really non-use. G&S on the other hand, was an area that research, policy and practice could really make a difference to young people and promote positive identities, bodies and relationships. Although there is still a long way to go, the research in this book is evidence of hope and change.

In this chapter I use the 2004 example of the *Catching On* [1], resources developed from research and policy undertaken and examined as part of the then Victorian Directorate of Education's (DSE) *STD/AIDs Prevention Education Project* (1994). I am hoping this project will provide an historical picture that is still relevant to work in the field today. The *Catching On* teaching and learning resources were written in 1997 but only released to schools in 2004. It took eight years and three government changes before they were made available to schools. The journey of translating the research undertaken into the practice for the STD/AIDs project has some positive and challenging lessons that are still relevant to researchers who

are passionate about making a difference to the lives of the young people they research.

The Context

In 1991, the then Victorian Ministry of Education (MoE) released the *AIDS/HIV Policy and Implementation Guidelines*, setting out schools' responsibilities around policy, procedures, discrimination and education [2]. This was in response to the HIV and AIDS epidemic which had killed millions of people worldwide. For 'good or bad' according to Dennis Altman [3] HIV and AIDS also brought sexuality education into the forefront of public contention (p. 32). The major response to the control of AIDS in Australia was education. Australia's response differed to other countries because rather than channelling resources into the traditional physical controls such as compulsory blood testing, Australia's major strategy involved 'culturally specific education' programs [4]. School based education was targeted through the *National HIV/AIDs Strategy* [5] as a means of reaching large numbers of the Australian populations and their families.

In Victoria, and other states and territories in Australia, schools were mandated 'to include HIV/AIDs within the context of a broad health education curriculum' as part of Ministerial Paper No. 6, '*Curriculum Development and Planning in Victoria, 1984*' [6], which emphasised the need for curriculum that included understanding of 'the human body and the social forces that shape personal health and wellbeing' (p. 13). The guidelines were outlined in another Executive Memo No. 140, '*Education about Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Including AIDs*', Office of School Administration 1991, which maintained that school programs should:

- build STDs (including AIDS) into the broader context of sexuality and relationships;
- focus on the total person and the promotion of his/her wellbeing;
- develop skills in decision which lead to responsible action;
- build upon and promote student self-esteem;

- encourage students to critically examine their own and other people's values and attitudes (through say, the use of case studies);
- assist students to understand other people's values;
- respect the rights of all individuals; and
- explore the total range of options for preventing STDs [7, 8].

So, it was in this context that I was employed to develop a statewide strategy for STD/AIDs prevention education. The dot points above, show that Victoria's approach at the time, although focused on the prevention of disease, positioned this education in discourses of rights, wellbeing and relationships. It acknowledged the sexual activity of young people and aimed to build 'self-esteem', 'responsible decision making' and help-seeking behaviours. School programs were to build an understanding of self and others, respect and critically analyse value positions.

Tiffany Jones' extensive historical analysis of sexuality policy, programs and resources [9], would suggest that this positioning illustrates a 'liberal' orientation to the teaching of sexuality education in which teachers, and teaching and learning activities and materials act as 'facilitators in students' development of knowledge and skills; particularly relating to inquiry and decision-making, concerned with the preparing the student for life by developing knowledge and skills for personal choice needed to protect themselves against STDs (p. 144). She maintains that in this liberal orientation, sexuality is positioned:

> as part of the process of self-actualisation; the aim is the weighing of values, possible outcomes and responsibilities so as to encourage the development of a consistent code of personal sexuality.

Her analysis is consistent with the prevailing discourses characteristic of the educational approaches in this policy.

The STD/AIDs Prevention Education project was a three-year project funded through Health and Community Services Victoria, as part of matched funding arrangements for the *National HIV/AIDS Strategy* [5]. Unlike earlier school-based educational approaches, this project funded the education department to develop and implement education resources and programs. It represented a change from previous approaches and

acknowledged that educational policy, programs and resources to address HIV should be done by education rather than health. Interestingly, funding by the health department for sexuality education remained for many years. Including the funding of a sexuality education resource for Universities in 2013 [10].

A Useful Case Study on G&S Research

This project is a useful case study to examine for a number of reasons. One, positive discourses of sexuality and gender were being made visible through the funding of another public health project designed to reduce STIs and BBVs. Secondly, it utilised a model that the literature would suggest incorporates key strategies and principles of health promotion and community engagement that builds commitment and capacity [11–13]. Education departments in Australia and elsewhere have a history of reactive practice to address health concerns through population-based interventions [14]. Until resources were available online, health teachers' shelves were lined with resources to address a myriad of health concerns such as smoking, drug use, sun smart, mental health, etc. Many of these resources developed from external funding with very short timelines and very short-lived relevance.

The STD/AIDs project took a strategic approach, utilising research, consultation, implementation and review of program implementation prior to the development of a teaching and learning resource for schools and professional development for teachers. In my experience, this is a rare approach to resource development. It is also an example of what health promotion scholars refer to as community-based participatory research (CBPR) [7, 8] because its aim [7] was the 'mutual and complementary goals of community health improvement and knowledge production' (p. 2), the improvement in education about STIs and BBVs. It was also premised on mutual partnerships, participation co-construction of research and in particular action, also referred to in the literature on CBPR [8]. Participation in this case study involved many stakeholders at a range of points in co-research, consultation, development and implementation.

A reference group guided and contributed to the project at all stages. It was made up of representatives from the key stakeholders including the Victorian Department of Education, Catholic Education Office, State Schools Principals Association, University of Melbourne, La Trobe University Centre for the Study of STDs, Victorian AIDS Council, Association of Independent Schools, Department of Health, Centre for Social Health, Family Planning Victoria and practicing teachers, who consulted with students [15]. This group was instrumental in spearheading potential moral panic and the sort of opposition we have seen in more recent times about G&S related issues. Moreover, members played key roles in research, participation and action over a 3-year period. This built commitment and agency which scholars in the field would argue happens when the approach matches the personal and professional values and goals of stakeholders [16, 17]. Jill Blackmore [18] argues participatory and consensus-based decision making used in the early stages of a project is important in winning over stakeholders. This was clearly the case in this project.

The *Catching On* teaching and learning resources were the final outcome of 3 years of collaborative research and development which proved to be a model that produced longevity, support and a sustainable focus on positive discourses of sexuality and gender in sexuality education in Victorian schools. Since the release in 2004, the resources have been updated and extended [19] and a resource developed for primary schools [1]. In addition, they were used as a basis for the development of the national resource *Talking Sexual Health* [20].

The longevity also relates to the evidenced-based focus on G&S in the *Catching On* resources. The 2004 *Catching On* resources were and still are positioned as sexuality education resources, although they were funded as an intervention to address HIV/AIDS and STIs. They include a gender and power analysis of relationships and sexual practices in a social context, at the same time as addressing the invisibility of sexual diversity on the one hand, and homophobia on the other. The name *Catching On* was a play on words to indicate that the resources were funded to address 'catching STIs and BBVs' and also to reflect the need to 'catch onto' a new framework for thinking about sexuality education, one that examined and included gender and sexual diversity, and took a more sex-positive approach.[1]

Making G&S Under the Radar

The Discussion Paper

The discussion paper, the first component of the research that guided the *Catching On* resources [1, 19], included a literature review, a review of current school programs, a survey of schools conducted by La Trobe University [21], consultation with schools, and a survey and follow up consultation process with community agencies who supported schools in sexuality education.

The review positioned young people's sexual activity as a normal aspect of their sexual cultures, arguing that school programs needed to acknowledge that young people were sexually active and that 'adolescent sexual activity is not by definition dangerous, harmful, sinful or painful [22]. Drawing on the work of Australian researchers [23, 24] and international research [25, 26], the review maintained that the level of sexual activity amongst young people had increased with approximately one in four young people being sexually active by age 15; one in four students having penetrative sex by year 10, and one in nine by the end of year eight [23]. Moreover, it also acknowledged same-sex relationships, and reported that same-sex sexual activity was also a feature of young people's sexual cultures. Citing the work of Haffner [27] who suggested that 5% of 13–18-year old had engaged in same-sex sexual activity, provided data to start to make visible issues of sexual diversity and the normalisation of sexual activity.

Much of the literature review was devoted to examining young people's sexual practices from a gender and sexual diversity perspective, which was conspicuously absent from mainstream sexuality education in the late 1990s. Specifically, the review drew on the work of Moore and Rosenthal [24]; Boldera [28] and Shaw [29] to examine 'recognising diversity' (p. 14), 'explaining condom use' (pp. 15–17), 'gender and power' (pp. 15–19), catering of NESB and students with disabilities' (pp. 19–21) and 'sexual orientation' (pp. 12–23). It also included a review of current programs and strategies focusing on difficulties in evaluating program effectiveness, shortcomings of teacher training, criticisms of program structure and content, failure to challenge dominant attitudes and successful programs and strategies [22] that included an examination of the need to be inclusive,

particularly of gender and sexual (pp. 24–28). Disappointingly, issues are still overwhelmingly, inadequately addressed or silenced in much sexuality and relationships education [30].

The Strategy

The discussion paper also drew on a number of other research components to develop the STD/AIDS strategy that collected data on schools, school programs and agencies who supported school programs. A survey of schools [21] a survey of community agencies and follow up consultation meetings with both. The STD/AIDS strategy was developed from the recommendations in the discussion paper (pp. 49–50) and included six elements.

1. Providing a background—publication of the discussion paper.
2. Providing a policy framework—updating existing policy be more consistent with the curriculum framework.
3. Providing flexible models of a variety of curriculum contexts—four pilots of different models evaluated by La Trobe University [31].

   a. One driven by local community agency.
   b. Integrated in line with the curriculum framework.
   c. A whole school approaches.
   d. A school wanting to renew their approach.

4. Skilling teachers—professional development package for schools and those providing PD to schools.
5. Skilling community agencies—professional development for community agencies to support the work they currently do and develop understandings of the best way to work with schools.
6. Resource development [15]—a resource that will 'address risk behaviours, sexual identity, gender and power, discrimination and the use of peer education strategies' (pp. 3–5).

Over the next year, the project piloted the 4 models of curriculum implementation. Evaluated by Lyn Harrison and Marg Hay at La Trobe Uni-

versity [31]. They collected data using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies that included pre/post program questionnaires [31], reproductive system questionnaire, classroom observation, teacher interviews, teacher journal analysis, focus group discussion and curriculum documentation examination (p. 4). This pilot also involved professional development for teachers and community agencies. The detailed report examines many of the issues identified in the discussion paper and made very strong recommendations that programs in addition to, incorporating teaching about risks to sexual health, should:

> …also, be explicit about varieties of sexual behaviours (including masturbation), safer sex practices, sexual orientation and other topics considered controversial…sexuality education be considered a core unit within an overall framework of comprehensive health education delivered from Year 7-10, preferably using an integrated curriculum model. That as matter of priority curricula should incorporate **teaching for difference** and the following areas: disability, discrimination, **gender,** NESB and prior learning. [32]

The *Catching On* Resources

The Development Challenges

The final aspect of the strategy was writing and trialling the *Catching On* resources. This was the direct translation of research into practice so that young people had access to resources and teaching and learning strategies that included a focus on gender and power, that could teach for difference in the way envisaged by Harrison and Hay [31], and provide young people with information and skill development that could help them make informed decisions about their sexuality and relationships. In addition to the research that had been undertaken as part of the STD/AIDS project, the 1996 National school survey undertaken by Lindsay et al. [33] was also instrumental in setting the direction of *Catching On*. The research provided data on Australian young people's, knowledge, attitudes and sexual behaviours. Moreover, the project was able to access the Victorian specific data that could also provide authenticity to the direction of the *Catch-*

ing On resource. At about the same time, the first *Writing Themselves In* research report was released [34] which painted a very grim picture of the experience of same sex attracted young people in Australian schools.

As Altman [3] pointed out, HIV/AIDS had firmly put sexuality and sexual practices on the agenda. This was an enabling factor in developing resources that were explicit about sex, acknowledged young people's sexual lives, including sexually diverse young people, and enabled dialogue and discussion about the discourses that were being used to position young people and their sexual cultures. Scholars at the time were arguing that there was a 'knowledge–action gap' between what young people were learning in sexuality education and their sexual behaviours [35, 36]. Others argued that current practices of the time assumed that sexuality education was 'value-free' preventing an examination of gender and power [37]. Valerie Walkerdine (1990) maintained that shifts were needed to enable girls (and boys) to examine issues of gender from multiple and dynamic perspectives to see that they were not:

> unitary subjects uniquely positioned, but are produced as a nexus of subjectivities, in relations of power which are constantly rendering them one moment powerful and at another powerless. [3]

A key theme in the literature was the need to be inclusive, to ensure that SSAY in particular, were not positioned as 'other and different' but rather ensure they were visible in sexuality education in ways that were meaningful and positive. Hillier and Harrison et al. [38] found that sexuality education was extremely heteronormative, covering safe sex and relationship issues as if all students were heterosexual. Others found that teachers were uncomfortable and reluctant to include sexual diversity and had little professional development to improve inclusive practices [32, 39–43]. Hillier et al. [44] also found that school programs were a key resource that young people used and trusted for information about sex and sexuality. This meant that SSAY people were not provided with information sources that they used and trusted. Rather, they had to access sources, such as the gay press and friends, which they did not necessarily trust. Moreover, they found, as did other scholars [9, 40, 43], if homosexuality was positioned

at all in sexuality education, it was in relation to negative discourses of disease and difference.

Recognition of the violence and abuse experienced by SSAY was perhaps the most significant factor in supporting the focus on gender and sexual diversity in the *Catching On* resources. Australia was not the only place calling for a more inclusive approach and recognition of the experience of SSAY in schools. Ian Warwick [43] in the United Kingdom demonstrates this:

> For too long, many teachers and governors have been 'playing it safe' when addressing issues of sexuality. This is, perhaps, understandable given government rhetoric and policy. An unfortunate consequence of this however has left lesbian and gay pupils victimised and unsupported, and the information needs of all pupils unhelpfully circumscribed. It is now timely to build on new initiatives to encourage the acceptance of the social and sexual diversity that makes humanity what it is. (p. 139)

At a practical level, this resulted in a conscious strategy to include issues of sexual diversity in an inclusive way by ensuring that diversity was woven to in the activities. The table of contents gives a sense of the approach. Remembering that a key aim of the resource was a focus on STIs and BBVs. This was challenging because the key framework in *Catching On* was overwhelmingly the need to address the social context of young people's sexual cultures, which the research and literature had clearly identified as gender and sexual diversity. This is where the reference group, made up of key stakeholders championed this approach and a decision was made to include a set of support materials that fulfilled the factual information on STIs and BBV's, and enabled the teaching and learning materials to focus heavily on broader issues of G&S (Table 3.1).

Being Explicit and Acknowledging Young Peoples' Sexual Activity

Being explicit and acknowledging the sexual activity of young people was also a challenge. Again, the research was crucial to the direction and development of the activities listed in the table of contents. There was an

Table 3.1 Contents section of the *Catching On* resource [1]

Table 3.1 (continued)

explicit focus in the first unit on sex, sexuality and gender, in line with the Australian and international research, that maintained these areas were missing, in particular what Michelle Fine called 'the missing discourse of desire' [45]. Intimacy, love and sexuality were clearly foregrounded in the resource, with particular attention to including inclusivity of diverse sexualities. The need for a gender analysis identified by scholars such as Szirom [37], Wyn [46, 47], Moore and Rosenthal [24] focused unit two on gender, sexuality and power, including gender and violence, violence towards SSAY and in same-sex relationships.

As the resource was to address STI education, the third unit focused on safer sex issues. However a broad view of this was taken and included social and emotional safety as well as safety from STIs. This required an explicit approach to sexual practices that itself created a set of challenges. It was one thing to acknowledge the sexual activity of young people from key reports [23, 33, 34] yet another to take an explicit and open approach to sexual practices in school-based resources.

The research emerging from the then Centre for the Study of Sexually Transmissible Diseases (later to become the Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society) was instrumental in the focus of the activities. The data was used, for example, to develop activities on 'Who can I trust?' [34], the national school survey data was used in an activity to test students' knowledge against the Victorian and Australian data—'How much do you know? [33]. Case studies from Mitchell et al. [48] on sexual coercion and young people focused the activity 'Assumptions', examining gendered assumptions in power and coercion in intimate relationships.

The Politics of G&S Education

In addition to empirical research, other community resources were used to translate the research into practice. HIV had put sex on the agenda and the media was also engaged in raising awareness of sex and safer sex practices. In December 1994, Cleo magazine in collaboration with the Department of Humans Services and Health released *The only Safe Sex Guide You'll Ever Need* [49]. I refer to this because it was instrumental in the development of a number of the activities in *Catching On*, but also illustrates the way those translating research into practice must navigate not only the political process but the sensibilities of those who make decisions to approve resources for schools.

Remembering that this project was funded by the health department as an intervention for education about STIs and BBVs to address the HIV epidemic, the Cleo guide was used in particular to develop the activity, 'How Safe is That?' [49]. The Cleo guide (pp. 18–19) provided an inclusive and extensive coverage of sexual practices, practices that in the main were excluded from any school-based sexuality education resource. This activity was one of the few that created tension and opposition during the Education Department's final sign off process and perhaps was another reason why the resource took 8 years to be released to schools. In the original version, all the sexual practices in the Cleo guide were included in the activity, although the slang was removed and they were summarised. For example, in the guide it lists 'cunnilingus, going done on, eating, licking out, muff diving, sucking off' (p. 18) in *Catching On* it is referred to purely as oral sex. However, a decision was made as part of the approval process that only the following behaviours could be included, love bites, kissing, holding hands, love letters, body and genital rubbing, cuddling, sex toys, anal intercourse, vaginal intercourse, oral sex, talking dirty, fantasy, oral sex, fetishism, fingering, eyeing someone off, massage and masturbation. Fisting and rimming were defiantly out!

Yankah and Aggleton [50] might argue that this is an example of the 'politics of silence', that they maintain was invoked during the HIV epidemic. They argue that HIV and STIs were constructed at this time, as a problem of 'other', 'of people far beyond domestic boundaries, and of groups (sex workers, gay men, people who inject drugs) whose existence

within a domestic frame of reference has been contested or denied' (p. 57). This was invoked in the opposition to the Cleo guide. Conservative Australian politicians grilled the Department of Health who had funded the guide in a parliamentary committee about its appropriateness and accuracy. Senator John Herron in particular disputed the figures on women and anal sex.

> Minister, you will recall at the last supplementary estimates committee hearings I asked about a Cleo safe sex guide and its advocacy of anal intercourse. I wrote to the editor of Cleo about the accuracy of the figures and questioned her about studies indicating that 13 per cent of couples engage in anal sex. Also, on another page she said that between 40 and 60 per cent of women have tried it and on another it was 13.9. [51]

There was also questioning about how and why teachers had been able to order multiple copies through the then Commonwealth Health Department, when according to a petition presented to the House of Representatives by Noel Hicks, Member for Riverina in NSW, National party of Australia, '*We believe that the sex guide encourages dangerous sexual practices which could have serious medical and moral effects*' [52]. When the controversy hit the media, we were asked by the Minister's office for not one copy to be sent up but six!

Political interference is not new to research and practice in sexuality education, there is a long history in Australia [14, 53] and elsewhere [54]. Yet *Catching On* was published and used in schools for 20 years with little opposition until the conservative backlash to the Safe Schools Coalition. As the table of contents illustrates, similar activities have been used in Victorian Secondary schools for at least 20 years.

Working with Community Agencies

The final aspect I would like to discuss is the constant call to undertake this work in collaboration with education, health, NGOs and other important stakeholders. Perhaps this is the most challenging and rewarding aspect of translating research into practice, particularly in school-based sexuality

and relationships education. I have work on enough projects to know the frustration that sectors feel when they perceive that their expertise is not being used to its full potential, particularly at the implementation phase such as classroom practice or teacher professional development. At the heart is a desire by all to make a difference to lives of young people and all sectors have a great deal to offer. Yet in practice there is a lack of recognition and understanding about what each sector or agency can bring to the table and more importantly, how such partnerships can work in practice in the context of the structural constraints of schools and a lack of understanding of teachers' work and NGO philosophies and priorities. The project ran a series of consultations with community agencies who worked with schools. It was clear that they were passionate about working in schools to improve the health outcomes of young people. However, they did not know how to work with schools, contact and support teachers, and had very little understanding or recognition of teachers' pedagogical expertise [22].

To address this the project developed a professional development resource and workshop that was used to enable teachers, health agencies and NGOs to come together to develop strategies for working together in sexuality education. A basic outline of this can be found in *Talking Sexual Health* [55], yet 20 years later these relationships and issues still exist and still clearly get in the way of productive partnerships. Teachers have the pedagogical knowledge, they know the curriculum, how to assess, how to address learning outcomes, they know the students, their families and how to promote student wellbeing, yet I have seen on many occasions community organisations belittle teachers' skills and knowledge. Partnerships with other agencies and NGOs are crucial and important to connect students to services and provide important professional knowledge, they can support the work of teachers but not replace the work of teachers. If schools need support from agencies they will generally seek it out [13, 56–58].

Final Reflections: Working to 'Current Political Climate'

As the previous sections have illustrated, there was momentum for change at the time we developed the *Catching On* resources [1, 19]. The structure and organisation of the democratic and participatory reference group had ensured that the key stakeholders were firmly behind a resource that was inclusive of gender and sexual diversity. The Hillier et al. [34] research had been instrumental in raising awareness of the exclusion, discrimination, violence and abuse SSAY were experiencing in schools. The legacy of the gender and violence work of the early 1990s and the focus on gender equity had women's health agencies demanding change and were excited to work with health and education to improve practice. Public discourse was overall positive and a more inclusive and explicit approach was emerging. Schools were crying out for resources to assist them to teach a more positive approach to sexuality education [57].

Catching On [1] received a public health awarded in 1999 and has been used to develop other resources in sexuality and relationships education such as *Talking Sexual Health* [20, 55, 59], *Catching on Later* [19] and elements in other resources. These have all translated research about sexuality and gender into classroom and teacher practice, more often than not under the guise of other health issues and from funding outside education. However, for G&S researchers and those translating the research into practice, the game has changed and the work has become personally risky. The internet has enabled critics such as the woman who calls herself 'Political Mumma', to attempt to discredit the work that we do. She made a video called 'Meet the Maker' in which she constructs a narrative of me and misconstrues the teaching and learning activities in an attempt to build a picture of inappropriate 'adult knowledge' being used in schools. A discourse Kerry Robinson [60] has found common to those who oppose young people and children having access to sexuality education. Yet, we know from recent research with young people that learning about G&S in sexuality education at school is a priority for them [30, 61, 62].

Conclusion

Sexuality education can be risky emotional work at the best of times. The current political climate can make it feel extremely personal for those of us who have been attacked by the neoliberal, conservative forces for trying to make a difference to the lives of young people. Although the personal impact of such attacks vary in how we individually make sense of them and deal on a day to day basis. I think it is worth remembering, as Sarah Ahmed [63] reminds us that these attacks are part of the 'cultural politics of emotions' which are aligned with 'particular bodies' which elicit emotional responses from those that position gender and sexual diversity as negative. To deal with this, I surround myself with researchers, policy makers and practitioners who work to bring about social change to enable young people to be safe, supported and celebrated regardless of their sexuality or gender and I pick my public battles. At times like the present, I try to remember the importance of this work and use whatever context I can to continue to translate our research into practice.

Note

1. I was the senior project officer for the STD/AIDs project and the *Talking Sexual Health* project, hence I have this insider knowledge.

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4

Developmental Landscapes: Milestones in the Development of Sexual Orientation of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Adolescents in Israel

Uri Eick, Guy Shilo, Shai Hertz, Inbal Ketzef and Aylon Slater

Introduction

Studies show that lesbian, gay, and bisexual people have difficulties with their sexual orientation and family and friends, mainly due to lack of social and family acceptance of their non heterosexual orientation [1]. One of the topics that preoccupy the world of research in this context is the process of developing one's sexual orientation, and researchers have attempted to formulate models for the development of sexual orientation that is not heterosexual [2–6]. Developmental theory models around sexual orientation have been particularly useful for work in education in Israel by the education activism organisation 'Hoshen' (meaning 'Education and Change'), which promotes LGBT youth acceptance operating in the sensitive cultural and religious G&S context of Israel. This book chapter—originally

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written in Hebrew and adapted with the aid of translators and editors[1]—reports on a survey of 617 gay, lesbian, and bisexual adults, young adults and adolescents in Israel. It considers how developmental sexual orientation models apply to lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) people in Israel; and intervention methods suitable for working with young gays, lesbians and bisexuals in light of the study's findings.

Developmental Models for Sexual Orientation

Developmental theorists have attempted to identify a number of stages from the point at which a person feels heterosexual to understand sexual orientation as an integral part of one's life. The developmental theories represented in the works of researchers such as Piaget [7] and Erikson [8], assume that human development is driven by an internal need to advance towards a personal perfection that includes self-awareness and interaction with those around one; and that the surrounding society tends to encourage and support this interaction [9]. Like Erikson did for development broadly (1968), some researchers theorising sexual orientation began to present 'step/stage models' for the development of sexual orientation in which there are several stages, with each conflict in a personal identity having a solution which leads to the next stage in the model [2–6]. Despite the recognition that models of stages of sexual orientation generally describe experiences of most gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals in part [10], this approach to understanding the development of sexual orientation simplifies the range of experiences related to the development of sexual orientation [11]. Critics of the step approach to development of sexual orientation note that there are many cases in which lesbian, gay, and bisexual people do not develop their sexual orientation in a linear way as these models suggest, and a person can go back to previous stages and be in several stages at the same time. In addition, these models ignore individual differences, such as age, race, cultural environment, and location, which can influence development of sexual orientation [12].

Another critique of the step model approach to the development of sexual orientation suggests that in the existence of linear stages the individual

is obliged to reach a final point where sexual orientation is integrated with the other components of personal identity, and that this model represents one way in which a person can feel at peace with his sexual orientation. The stages model approach does not therefore relate to the experiences that are shown in the research and life experience of gays, lesbians and bisexuals in which a person does not feel at peace with oneself even when one is in the early stages of the model [10, 13, 14].

In addition, it was argued that the approach to formulating sexual orientation in stages does not allow for the formation of bisexual sexual orientation [15]. According to the stereotypical assumption, bisexuality is a stage in the process of acceptance of homosexual or lesbian sexual orientation and reflects stages of confusion in the acceptance of gay sexuality [3]. Researchers in the field of sexual orientation who have studied bisexuality recommend that models be used to formulate sexual orientation that does not define steps or stages; but rather focus on the 'tasks' of sexual orientation, recognising the existence of bisexual self-identity. These researchers found that bisexuals were no different from gay and lesbian people in the timing of achieving such milestones in the formulation of their sexual orientation [15].

In recent years, researchers have begun to examine significant milestones in the development of sexual orientation, such as initial recognition of same-sex attraction, same-sex sex, exposure of sexual orientation to others, and exposure of sexual orientation to parents [1]. The researchers attempted to examine the ages at which these milestones appear among young adults and the environmental and social effects of their timing [16, 17]. First sex with the same-sex attracted group takes place at age 16 on average [14, 17, 18]. The youth reveal their sexual orientation to friends after the age of 17 on average, and to one parent at the age of 18 on average [17, 19, 20]. Studies show that there are various tracks in which sexual orientation is formed among young people [19]. These tracks, which differed at the age at which the sexual orientation of the youth developed, were dependent on the young peoples' demographic data (including degree of religiosity, gender, ethnic group), experiences and sociocultural attitudes (such as their participation in LGBT groups, and their personal attitudes towards homosexuality generally and their own homosexuality).

Savin-Williams and Diamond [19] found that girls undergo a different developmental path to boys. Girls first experience feelings towards their own sex and then experience sex with their other girls, whereas in boys the sexual experience with other boys precedes the development of feelings towards their own sex. Some researchers have attempted to examine the development of lesbian sexual orientation in studies based primarily on qualitative research methods [11, 21]. These studies highlighted the different timing of milestones in the development of women versus men, but stressed that lesbian women also go through the same developmental milestones related to sexual orientation as gay men. In addition, recent studies, both in the world and in Israel, have highlighted the intergenerational differences associated with age of exit. In a study conducted in Israel at the end of the 1990s [22], the average age for dating gay men to friends and family was 25, whereas in recent studies, age out of the closet for girls and boys to 16 [23].

Most of the studies described above were conducted in the United States. Since sexual orientation is a process in which social and cultural influences are also evident [1], the examination of the milestones in different societies and in different countries is important. A study had not yet been conducted in Israel that examined the developmental milestones related to sexual orientation. The study reported on in this chapter was intended to bridge this gap.

Research Method

Due to the difficulty in carrying out a probabilistic sampling in Meyer and Wilson [24], a convenience sample was used, and the data were collected using an online questionnaire that was distributed via e-mail to the Hoshen organisation's distribution list and through a range of Facebook social networking pages. The data were collected in June 2009. The study questionnaire included a list of milestones in the stages of sexual orientation [14, 25], and respondents were asked to indicate at what age each milestone occurred (see details in the findings on age, gender, sexual orientation). The final sample included 617 respondents, 51% of whom were women. 43% of the respondents stated that they were homosexual,

41% stated they were lesbian and the rest indicated that they were bisexual men or women. Respondents' age ranged from 14 to 69yrs (average = 27.4yrs; standard deviation = 8.2). Heath [26] offers to focus on young people in their 20s, she adds that very few studies have been conducted to examine the effect of human being on the life experience and expectations of his life in his twenties Bell [27] also offers the 20s as significant years for research. The respondents were divided into three age groups, with the focus being on the group of young people in their 20s. The following is a breakdown of the respondents in each age group:

- youth—up to age 20yrs (19% of the respondents),
- young people—in the age range of 21–30yrs (56%),
- adults—over the age of 31yrs (25%).

Because of the small number of participants who defined themselves as bisexual (32 Men, 64 women), we will refer here to findings related to gays and lesbians only.

Findings and Discussion

This section of the chapter presents descriptive statistics of the findings of the study, which will include a discussion of the findings. Table 4.1 presents the average ages reported for each of the milestones tested for gay men and lesbian women, divided by age groups.

The findings indicate that, similar to related studies conducted in the United States, the data from Israel shows the process of forming the sexual orientation is reduced by age: the youth groups reported that they passed the various milestones between the ages of 10 and 16 on average, while the adult groups reported much of the process throughout their 20s. The findings indicate that the beginning of the sexual orientation process, which begins with a feeling of difference that has not yet crystallised into clear self-definition, takes place at an early age between the ages of 10 and 14, as reported by all age groups. The significant differences in the age averages between the various groups are expressed mainly in the self-definition and behavioural expression of the sexual orientation: the age

Table 4.1 Average age of onset of sexual orientation milestones for gays and lesbians, by age

The Milestone	Sexual orientation and age					
	Gay males			Lesbians		
	Boys (up to 20) N = 54	Youth (21–30) N = 160	Graduates (over 30) N = 55	Girls (up to 20) N = 30	Youth (21–30) N = 139	Graduates (over 30) N = 80
I feel different	10.7	**10.8**	10.1	11.5	**12.2**	14.4
I am attracted to people of my sex	11.8	**12.4**	12.2	12.6	**14.3**	18.4
I know LGBT people	12.7	**14.6**	15.4	12.0	**14.9**	17.7
Maybe I'm LGBT	12.9	**14.6**	15.7	13.5	**16.8**	21.6
I'm sure I'm LGBT	14.5	**17.0**	19.4	15.0	**19.8**	25.7
I fall in love with people of my sex	14.7	**17.5**	19.0	13.9	**16.0**	20.5
I have had an experience with a same-sex sexual partner	14.8	**16.8**	17.6	15.2	**18.7**	23.9

(continued)

Table 4.1 (continued)

The Milestone	Sexual orientation and age					
	Gay males			Lesbians		
	Boys (up to 20) N = 54	Youth (21–30) N = 160	Graduates (over 30) N = 55	Girls (up to 20) N = 30	Youth (21–30) N = 139	Graduates (over 30) N = 80
I have had an experience with an opposite-sex sexual partner	15.3	**16.4**	18.0	14.0	**16.6**	17.6
I told someone I am LGBT	15.4	**17.5**	19.8	14.6	**18.5**	24.6
I have a LGBT friend	15.6	**18.5**	22.0	14.4	**18.6**	24.1
I told the family I am LGBT	16.0	**20.1**	23.0	15.9	**20.8**	27.5
I have had my first LGBT relationship	16.2	**20.1**	23.7	15.2	**20.3**	26.3
I told someone at work I am LGBT	17.4	**20.6**	24.8	15.9	**21.7**	28.4

at which sexual intercourse begins, the exit from the closet to the family, and the existence of same-sex couples. In these respects, it is possible to see gaps of about 10 years between the adult group and the youth group.

While the sense of difference and sexual attraction is related to physiological development in adolescence, the other milestones are related to socio-environmental aspects of social acceptance and visibility [1]. In other words, it seems likely that what initiates the process of sexual orientation is biological and related to the onset of arousal and sexual desire in adolescence, while the continuation of the process is related to environmental-social aspects. Another difference between the groups of young people and adults and the youth group concerns the timing of the milestones. While young people and adults reported having sex with their own sex before they were identified as gay or lesbian, the youth group reported that they first defined themselves in terms of sexual orientation and only afterwards had sex with their own kind. In the past, in the absence of social and cultural visibility, the certainty of sexual orientation was linked to the existence of a sexual act that would strengthen the inner feeling. Today, adolescents understand the significance of sexual orientation that is not only related to the sexual act, but as also a component of personal identity [1].

Among lesbian women (in all ages) the gaps between the average ages of sexual experience with men, sexual experience with women, and the certainty that they are lesbians—larger than those among gay men. It appears that the emotional dimension associated with recognising sexual orientation is more significant for women, whereas for men the sexual aspect of sexual intercourse is a sign of certainty regarding homosexual sexual orientation. Moreover, higher percentages of lesbians reported having sex with men, compared to the percentage of gay men who reported having sex with women. This may be related to social processes and social norms, in which women feel social pressure to have sex with men, especially in adolescence. Table 4.2 describes the percentage of respondents on each milestone.

It can be seen that almost all respondents, regardless of age groups, reported a feeling of difference, attraction to their sex, and confidence in their sexual identity. The gaps between age groups are evident in sexual experience, same-sex relationships, and being 'out of the closet' to the

Table 4.2 The percentage of respondents for each of the sexual orientation milestones

The Milestone	Gay males			Lesbians		
	Boys (up to 20) N = 54 (%)	Youth (21–30) N = 160 (%)	Graduates (Over 30) N = 55 (%)	Girls (up to 20) N = 54 (%)	Youth (21–30) N = 160 (%)	Graduates (over 30) N = 80 (%)
I feel different	96	85	89	87	82	81
I am attracted to people of my sex	96	95	95	90	96	95
I'm sure I'm LGBT	96	96	100	83	99	95
I fall in love with people of my sex	91	97	95	90	98	100
I told someone I am LGBT	89	99	98	90	100	100
Maybe I'm LGBT	80	95	91	87	94	96
I know LGBT people	80	78	78	77	72	76

(continued)

Table 4.2 (continued)

The Milestone	Sexual orientation and age					
	Gay males			Lesbians		
	Boys (up to 20) N = 54 (%)	Youth (21–30) N = 160 (%)	Graduates (Over 30) N = 55 (%)	Girls (up to 20) N = 54 (%)	Youth (21–30) N = 160 (%)	Graduates (over 30) N = 80 (%)
I have a LGBT friend	80	95	95	93	94	89
I have had an experience with a same sex sexual partner	70	96	100	80	99	99
I have had my first LGBT relationship	57	88	93	77	97	98
I told the family I am LGBT	54	88	94	56	88	91
I have had an experience with an opposite sex sexual partner	44	63	75	50	85	90
I told someone at work I am LGBT	31	83	91	30	93	81

family and work. Young adults, like adults, are less closeted, more likely to be in relationships, and have more sex with their peers, compared with the youth group. These findings correspond to 'normative' developmental milestone, since sex and marital relationships occur more often after puberty. However, it is important to note that although the average age to disclose one's identity to family members is higher among young people and adults, most of them told their families (about 90%). This is in contrast to the youth, about half of whom have yet to tell their family about their sexual orientation. This puts the youth at a high risk and in a complex emotional state. The findings also show that in all age groups more lesbians experienced sex with men compared to gays who had sex with women. In addition, given the percentage of lesbian women of all ages who have sexual relations with men, it is important that sex education be given in relation to sexual relations with men for same-sex attracted women, to instruct young lesbians (and bisexual women) about risks in unprotected relationships and unwanted pregnancy.

The differences between the various age groups show that the group of young people (ages 20–30) undergo the individual stages of sexual orientation (recognising their sexual orientation and accepting it, as well as sexual experiences with their peers) during adolescence, while the stages of sexual orientation associated with getting out of the closet (disclosing identity to family, friends and work colleagues) is more likely to occur during adulthood. These findings are likely related to changes in Israeli society's attitudes towards sexual orientation, including changes in legislation and introduction of equal regulations relating to sexual orientation. Young people between the ages of 20 and 30 were born and raised at a time when LGBT visibility was low, and Israeli society still referred to non-normative sexual orientation as an illness. Only in 1988, the criminalising law banning male same-sex sexual activities was abolished; this may be why coping with coming out of the closet for this generation of young adults takes place between the ages of 20 and 30, as opposed to teenagers who deal with the implications of leaving the closet as early as adolescence.

Professionals working with young people may provide support for young people in this complex process of coming out, which includes coming out of the closet to the family and friends, getting out of the closet

as part of their work, dealing with finding and establishing a relationship with their kind. Fostering the young person's acceptance of their sexual orientation can aid the long-term mental health of young people and adolescents [23]. Therefore, professionals should recognise the unique aspects of LGB sexual orientation and help young people develop positive identities and attitudes towards their sexual orientation. In addition, in view of the findings on the existing relationship between social and family support and mental and physical health in Shilo and Mor [28], intervention programmes at the social and family level are important to help young people create a supportive social and family climate.

Conclusion

The milestones in formulating the sexual orientation or gender identity of young adults in Israel are characterised by emerging from the closet in their young adulthood and in the beginning of their relationships with their peers. Issues related to coming out to the family, and the implications of coming out of the closet on all aspects of adult life, as well as the ability to have meaningful relationships with their same-sex partners, are essential issues that professionals who work with young adults should focus on in their therapeutic work. In addition, social support for young adults is important, in the form of social frameworks that can provide the ability to become acquainted with each other.

The study reported on in this chapter has several limitations. It is a convenience sample, so it is more likely to include participants who are 'out', and does not include participants who are debating their sexual orientation or in the closet. In addition, adult participants reported retrospectively so this may have impacted their recall of the ages in which they experienced milestones in sexual orientation. Finally, the chapter discusses research which is essentially descriptive; we sought to examine the milestones in the formulation of sexual orientation as they are in Israel and while there appears to be overlap in some nations' reports on the topic (such as America) other countries may have other factors influencing transferability of findings (including different cultural beliefs around LGBT people, and different histories for these cultural beliefs). Con-

tinuing studies should examine other aspects of sexual orientation, such as feelings and emotions related to sexual orientation, social influences, sexual behaviours and more contextually specific cultural factors.

Note

1. Originally in order not to exclude any gender group, the Hebrew double suffix was used throughout the chapter, of which there is not a clear English equivalent—the unisex 'one' or 'they' are used sometimes in its place.

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5

Legal Landscapes: Laws Impacting Gender and Sexuality Education Research

Tiffany Jones

Introduction

Education—largely controlled by governments and international religious organisations—is the key industry in which politicised battles over gender and sexuality (G&S) issues are now being fought. Powerful transnational, national and local stakeholders are involved: the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, World Health Organisation (WHO), global religious organisations, regional governance bodies including the European Union (EU), governments, researchers and advocates. The volatility of G&S education issues is seen in how policies and programmes favouring wildly differing approaches are often applied, retracted and re-asserted again by different authorities within a few short years—including the US' transgender student policies, Australia's Safe Schools Program, and various African and Eastern European nations' G&S education propaganda bills [1, 2]. There

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is a need for researchers to consider internationalist LGBTI education contextual legal knowledge to understand the legality of the phenomena they study in certain contexts. This chapter collates some basic G&S international and national laws/policies to inform researchers working in different regions.

International Laws/Policies

Researchers should know and consider international laws and policies impacting G&S education issues. Since 2009 UNESCO Technical Guides have existed and been updated supporting comprehensive sexuality education [3, 4] and gender-based education equity [5–8]. Around 2011 a resolution sponsored by South Africa inspired international legislation protects non-discrimination in education on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity [9]. When two-hundred UN Member States convened on issues of G&S in schools that year, then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon called harassment of LGBTI students 'a public health crisis' [10]. The UN's *Born free and equal* policy clarified LGBTI peoples' rights to non-discrimination in education within international rights legislation [11]. UNESCO's first international policy consultations on LGBTI issues in schools were conducted in Brazil, where education policy guidelines were developed by academics, governments and human rights representatives—including the author [12, 13]. The Global Network Against Homophobic and Transphobic Bullying in Schools formed and met annually in different global regions to further policy goals [14]. Global and regional bodies including for example the UN's various arms (UNESCO/UNAIDS/UNDP) and the WHO promoted LGBTI rights in education to governments [15]. A *Ministerial Call For Action* committing to LGBTI student protections in educational institutions was signed by over 50 countries [16], committing to:

> reinforcing efforts to prevent and address violence including that based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression (…) and while taking into account the specificities of different legal and socio-cultural contexts. (p. 3)

Specific commitments included:

- systematic monitoring and research on violence against LGBTIs;
- national, subnational and school policies to address violence against LGBTIs;
- inclusive curricula providing age-appropriate, non-judgmental, human rights-based and accurate information on gender non-conforming behaviours;
- teacher training and education;
- inclusive and safe school environments; and
- evaluation (summarised from pp. 3–4).

Several countries (Chilli, The Netherlands, Norway, South Africa, the US and Thailand) and conglomerates (UNESCO, GALE and the EU) had roles supporting transnational policy rollout—however the nature of their roles were subject to change depending on changes in administrations. The US Trump Administration has most notably withdrawn from the US' past considerable support for global networking efforts supporting LGBTI education issues, though US NGOs (including GLSEN) remain connected [1, 2]. The updated *International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education* [3] strongly promotes tolerance, inclusion and respect for people of diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and intersex status with approaches sensitive to contextual and cultural differences. Researchers focussed on sociology; health, G&S education; and/or primary education from all regions should particularly disseminate the document to pre-service teachers and note that in many contexts any teacher may be called upon to provide sexuality education (particularly in the junior/primary years). This document's key concepts, topics and learning objectives supply age-based recommendations for lessons on (summarised from p. 42):

- respecting diverse individuals (5–8yrs);
- understanding stigma, discrimination and bullying on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity as harmful (9–12yrs);
- understanding non-discrimination around sexual orientation and gender identity as international human rights (12–15yrs); and

- challenging stigma and discrimination to promote inclusion (15–18+ yrs).

Exploring Polity on Gender and Sexuality Education Issues Relevant to Research

Researchers should know ***the spectrum of national and state laws and policies impacting G&S education research, so as to be aware of what laws*** *to potentially look out for in their own contexts when doing this work.* To create this information, the author drew on semi-structured interview data with 102 key informants about their regions' polity contexts conducted at global networking events in 2014–2017 (in Dublin, Stockholm, New York, Paris, Krakow, Johannesburg, Berlin, Copenhagen, Reykjavik, Oslo and Helsinki). Informants were all over 18yrs, were selected through their participation in UN system activities and global networks on LGBTI issues, and received no payment. They included education ministers and ministry officials, government members, civil society leaders, the directors and employees of non-government organisations (NGOs) and academics (Table 5.1). Ethical approval was received from various ethics committees over time including the University of New England's (UNE) Human Research Ethics Committee in 2014 (HE14-005) and La Trobe's Human Research Ethics Committee in 2016–2017 (HEC16-021). Informants determined any use of their details in direct quotes, due to sensitivities around gender or sexuality education issues. Policy verifications were conducted continuing into 2018 to monitor additions, rescindments and other changes including desk-based policy analyses for 207 countries.

Regional Trends & National Laws/Policies

Tables 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 provide a snapshot of laws, policies and provisions related to G&S education issues across the main four regions (Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe and The Americas) which can be considered by researchers. Table 5.2 maps a pattern towards more punitive treatment of LGBTIs in Africa, followed to a lesser extent by the mapping of the related Asia-Pacific

Table 5.1 Key informant characteristics (*n* = 102)

Informants' region				
Africa	Asia-Pacific	Americas	Middle-East	Europe
30	13	15	8	36
Global South		Global North		
60		42		
Informants' role				
Civil society leadership/staff	Government members/staff	Education ministers/leaders/ Teachers/counsellors	NGO directors/staff	Academics
7	20	22	31	22
Informants' sex/gender				
Male/masculine identifying		Female/feminine identifying		Non-binary/genderqueer
46		44		12
Transgender or gender diverse		Cisgender		
24		78		
Declared intersex variation/s		Did not declare any intersex variation/s		
4		98		

policies in Table 5.3. Researchers should recognise that provisions are continually in flux and check local updates, however they must be aware of the likelihood that these impacts will remain influenced by the trends for some time and should be especially cognisant of the need to plan research activities with sensitivity to these laws and to their own personal safety—as well as that of their participants—when thinking about what circumstances and questions their research may entail. It is important for researchers to explore how homophobic or sexually conservative approaches, or stances against certain perspectives on female and gender diverse rights or students, are not innate to these regions; informants explained many laws actually stem from British or other colonisers' examples, and religious organisations with global colonising histories.

Researchers should note that Asia-Pacific nations (Table 5.3) were also strongly represented alongside African nations in the 16 countries with unequal age of consent for same-sex sexual activities, 78 countries with anti-LGBTI bans of varying kinds, 67 nations with prison penalties (ranging from one month to life sentences, sometimes accompanied by public flogging or fines) and 15 countries with the death penalty (public hanging, stoning and other methods) for penalised LGBTI-related activities. The latter countries had largely autocratic rule and sometimes several Sharia laws applied (Nigeria and Somalia for example). Some nations had penalty text within the penal code—(Russia, Nigeria and Egypt), more had it within morality code or religious laws (Algeria, Qatar, Syria and many others). Most bans apply to females and males, some to males only (Pakistan, Singapore, Turkmenistan and others). African bans are more likely to include female same-sex sexual activities. The majority of nations with a ban penalised going 'Against Nature' (31 nations including Uganda and the United Arab Emirates/UAE). This broad-ranging categorisation could variously cover same-sex sexual activities, relationships or preferences; gender expressions; or bodily formations (having an intersex variation or having undergone sex affirmation treatments)—depending on arresting officials and social trends. Fifteen nations penalised 'same-sex sexual acts'—mainly in Africa and the Middle East (e.g. Maldives, Yemen and others). Thirteen penalised 'Buggery' (e.g. Kiribati, Solomon Islands and others) and eleven penalised 'Sodomy' (e.g. Cook Islands, Iran, Samoa and others)—terms taken from (colonising) British rule. Four

Table 5.2 African policy contexts on impacting gender and sexuality education

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call For action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Algeria		X/M/F	X						
Angola		X/M/F	X		X	XS			
Benin	X								
Botswana		X/M/F	X		X	X/S/Ga			
Burkina Faso									
Burundi		X/M/F	X						
Cameroon		X/M/F	X						
Cape Verde									
Central African Republic						X/S		X	
Chad	X								
Comoros		X/M/F	X						
Congo	X								
Côte d'Ivoire	X								
Democratic Republic of Congo									

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call For action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy pro-tection/s for LGBTI students
Djibouti									
Egypt		X/M/F	X						
Equatorial Guinea									
Eritrea		X/M/F	X						
Ethiopia		X/M/F	X						
Gabon	X								
Gambia		X/M/F	X						
Ghana		X/M	X						
Guinea		X/M/F	X						
Guinea-Bissau									
Kenya		X/M	X		X				
Lesotho									
Liberia		X/M/F	X		X				
Libya		X/M/F	X						
Madagascar	X							X	
Malawi		X/M/F	X		X				
Mali									
Mauritania		X/M/F	X	X					

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call For action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy pro-tection/s for LGBTI students
Mauritius		X/M	X		X	X/S		X	
Morocco		X/M/F	X						
Mozambique		X/M			X	X/S		X	
Namibia					X				
Niger	X	X/M							
Nigeria		X/M/F/P	X	X					
Rwanda	X				X				
São Tome and Principe									
Senegal		X/M/F	X		X				
Seychelles		X/M	X			X/S			
Sierra Leone		X/M	X						
Somalia		X/M/F	X	X	X				
South Africa					X	X/S/Ga/I	X/Me/A	X	X
South Sudan		X/M/F	X						

(continued)

Table 5.2 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call For action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy pro-tection/s for LGBTI students
Sudan		X/M/F	X	X					
Swaziland		X/M	X						
Tanzania		X/M	X						
Togo		X/M	X						
Tunisia		X/M/F	X						
Uganda		X/M/F/P	X		X				
Zambia		X/M/F	X		X				
Zimbabwe		X/M			X				

Table 5.3 Asia-Pacific policy contexts on LGBTIs impacting education

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Afghanistan		X/M/F		X					
Australia					X	X/S/Ga/I	X/Me/A	X	X
Bahrain	X								
Bangladesh		X/M			X				
Bhutan		X/M/F	X						
Brunei Darus-salam		X/M/G	X						
Cambodia							X/A(varies)		X
China						X/Ga			
Cook Islands		X/M	X						
East Timor						X/S			
Fiji					X	X/S/Ga		X	X
Gaza		X/M	X						
Guam						X/S/Ga	X/Me/A		
India		X/M	X		X	X/Ga/I			X
Indonesia	X	X/M/F/G/P Sumatra, Aceh	X Sumatra, Aceh		X	X/Ga			
Iraq		X/M/F(in practice)		X					

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Iran		X/M/F		X		X/Ga/I			
Israel						X/S/Ga	X/A	X	X
Japan						X/S/Ga		X	
Jordan						X/Ga			
Kazakhstan					X				
Kiribati		X/M/F	X			X/S			
Kuwait		X/M							
Kyrgyzstan					X	X/Ga			
Laos									
Lebanon		X/M				X/Ga			
Malaysia		X/M/F/G	X			X/Ga			
Maldives		X/M/F	X						
Marshall Islands									
Micronesia									
Mongolia					X	X/S/Ga			
Myanmar		X/M	X		X				
Nauru									
New Zealand					X	X/S/Ga(varies)	X/Me/A		X
Nepal					X	X/S			X

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Northern Mariana						X/Ga	X/Me/A		
North Korea		X/G/P	X	X					
Oman		X/M/F	X						
Pakistan		X/M	X	X	X	X/Ga/I(varies)			
Palau									
Papua New Guinea		X/M	X						
Philippines		X/M/F	X		X	X/S/I(varies)		X	X
Qatar		X/M/F	X	X					
Saudi Arabia		X/M/F		X					
Samoa		X/M	X		X	X/S/Ga			
Singapore		X/M	X			X/Ga			
Solomon Islands		X/M/F	X						
South Korea					X	X/S/Ga			
Sri Lanka		X/M/F/G	X		X				
Syria		X/M/F	X	X					

(continued)

Table 5.3 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sexed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Taiwan					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me		X
Tajikistan						X/Ga			
Thailand					X	X/S			
Tonga		X/M/G	X			X/S			
Turkmenistan		X/M	X						
Tuvalu		X/M	X						
Vanuatu						X/S			
Vietnam						X/Ga			
United Arab Emirates		X/M/F/G	X	X					
Uzbekistan		X/M	X						
West Bank in the Occupied Palestinian Territory									
Yemen		X/M/F		X					

Asia-Pacific nations penalised 'Indecency', covering homosexual expressions and in some cases gender diversity within Sharia law (Indonesia's South Sumatra and Aceh Provinces, Iraq, Singapore and Iran—informants explained the latter did not punish transgender or intersex people after '*conforming*' surgeries). At least five countries directly penalised gender diversity as 'cross-dressing', 'impersonation' or 'imitating the opposite sex' (Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Tonga, and UAE)—a Malaysian informant traced the rules to '*colonial legacies or Islam*'. Several countries banned LGBTI educational 'propaganda' or expressions considered against state interests, sometimes within communist/socialist stances (e.g. Russia and North Korea).

There were significantly more protections for LGBTIs' rights, relationships and education interests in Europe (Table 5.4). The 89 with countries with a Network for Regional Healthcare Improvement (NRHI) *actively inclusive of LGBTI rights* are listed because they encouraged anti-discrimination and education policy protections for LGBTIs—teachers should understand that these and any other local non-government organisations (NGOs) considerably aid work on LGBTI education issues (whereas countries restricting their work these difficulties are usually reflected in education). Overall 115 countries had some form of protections for any LGBTIs—100 protect from sexuality discrimination. Eleven countries had constitutional protections for students' non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and/or gender identity (Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Fiji, Kosovo, Malta, Mexico, Nepal, Portugal, South Africa and Sweden). Eighty countries protected the right to gender affirmations (variably name changes only, e.g. in El Salvador, required surgical options, e.g. in Lebanon, or with free choice for any or no affirmation options, e.g. in Australia). Laws or in some cases court rulings (e.g. in Botswana) reflected global de-pathologisation efforts for transgender people in psycho-medical and rights networks this decade. Some countries required sterilisation for gender affirmations (e.g. Russia, Turkey, others), borrowing from Swedish Eugenics perspectives that prevented people with mental illnesses from reproducing (Frederik Nilsen, RFSL Director, explained the NGO had worked with Sweden to rescind these past requirements a decade ago).

There were also more protections for LGBTIs' rights, relationships and education interests in the Americas (Table 5.5), and three nations officially

Table 5.4 European policy contexts on LGBTIs impacting education

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sexed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Albania					X	X/S		X	
Andorra						X/S	X/A	X	
Armenia									
Austria					X	X/S	X/Me/A	X	
Azerbaijan						X/Ga			
Belarus						X/Ga			
Belgium					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Bosnia and Herzegovina					X	X/S/Ga/I			
Bulgaria					X	X/S			
Croatia					X	X/S/Ga	X	X	
Cyprus					X	X/S/Ga	X	X	
Czech Republic					X	X/S/Ga	X	X	
Denmark					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Estonia					X	X/S/Ga	X/A	X	
Finland					X	X/S/Ga/I	X/Me/A	X	
France					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Georgia					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Germany					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X

(continued)

Table 5.4 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me) Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Greece	X				X	X/S/Ga/I	X	X	
Hungary					X	X/S/Ga	X		
Iceland						X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Ireland					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Italy					X	X/S/Ga	X	X	
Jersey					X	X/S/Ga/I			
Kosovo					X	X/S			X
Latvia					X	X/S/Ga			
Liechtenstein						X/S	X	X	
Lithuania		X/P			X	X/S			X
Luxembourg					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Macedonia (FYROM)					X	X/S			
Malta					X	X/S/Ga/I	X/Me/A	X	X
Moldova					X	X/S		X	
Monaco						X/S			
Montenegro					X	X/S/Ga		X	
Netherlands					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Norway					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Poland					X	X/S/Ga			
Portugal					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Romania					X	X/S/Ga		X	

(continued)

Table 5.4 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Russia		X/P (Chech-nya M/F/P)	X			X/Ga			
San Marino									
Serbia					X	X/S		X	
Slovakia					X	X/S/Ga			
Slovenia					X	X/S			
Spain						X/S/Ga	X/A	X	
Sweden					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Switzerland						X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Turkey						X/Ga	X		
Ukraine						X/S/Ga			
United Kingdom					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A		X

banned conversion therapies (Brazil, Ecuador and Malta). Twelve countries' provisions considered intersex people in some way—some banned discrimination around 'intersex status' (Australia, Jersey) or 'sex characteristics' (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Finland, Greece, Malta, South Africa); two countries in the Americas banned enforced surgical interventions (Malta and Chile). Forty-one countries had relationship rights for same-sex couples including civil unions or partnership registry; 29 had joint or second parent adoption rights for same-sex partners, and 25 countries had marriage equality (mainly in Europe). Over 50 countries (and counting) supported the Ministerial *Call for Action* supporting protection of LGBTI students in educational contexts and committing to generate specific education policies; 30 have such provisions already. One informant said '*governance and funding-based alliances in Europe such as the EU and also in South America are a major factor in encouraging regional support for LGBTI issues in education*'. Some policies were in dispute, for example the US Government's Obama administration (2009–2016) had supported the Ministerial Call and sent an eight-page *Dear Colleague Letter* to all education sectors advising Education Departments to treat a transgender student according to their gender identity [17]. The current Trump administration (2017+) repealed these protections; US informants explained this repeal was being appealed by multiple students.

Geopolitics Impacting Gender and Sexuality Education Research

Global networking had complex influences on policies: decolonising discourse, EU membership anti-discrimination accession criteria and UNESCO networking events on G&S education issues encouraged many formerly colonised nations' new policy provisions. Cambodia, Viet Nam, Thailand and other nations in the Asia-Pacific had particularly increased their protections and teacher education on LGBTI education issues due to UNESCO and multilateral collaborative work. Notably, South Africa and Cape Verde, the African nations signing on to the Ministerial *Call for Action*, are post-colonial nations which have rejected their former colonisers' laws criminalising homosexuality and engaged in global networking

Table 5.5 American (North and South) policy contexts on LGBTIs impacting education

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
Antigua and Barbuda		X/M/F	X						
Argentina					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Aruba							X		
Bahamas	X					X/S			
Barbados		X/M	X						
Belize						X/S/Ga			
Bermuda						X/S	X/Me(retracted)		
Bolivia					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Brazil					X	X/S/Ga		X	X
Canada	X				X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Caribbean					X	X/S/Ga		X	
Costa Rica					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Chile	X				X	X/S/Ga/I	X	X	
Colombia					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	
Cuba						X/S			
Dominica		X/M/F	X						
Dominican Republic						X/S			
Ecuador					X	X/S/Ga	X	X	X

(continued)

Table 5.5 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sex ed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
El Salvador						X/S/Ga		X	
Falkland Islands						X/S	X/Me/A		
Greenland						X/S	X/Me/A		
Grenada		X/M	X						
Guatemala		X/M	X		X	X/S/Ga		X	
Guyana		X/M	X						
Haiti					X				
Honduras					X	X/S/Ga		X	
Jamaica		X/M	X						
Mexico					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Nicaragua					X	X/S		X	
Panama					X	X/S/Ga		X	
Paraguay	X								
Peru					X	X/S/Ga		X	
St Kitts and Nevis		X/M	X						

(continued)

Table 5.5 (continued)

Region country	Unequal age of consent for same-sex acts	Bans (X): Male same-sex acts (M), Female same-sex acts (F), Gender diversity (G), LGBTI propaganda (P)	Prison penalty	Death penalty	NRHI include LGBTI/ liberal sexed	Protections (X): Sexual orientation (S), Gender affirmation (Ga), Intersex people (I)	Same-sex civil partnership (X) Marriage (Me), Adoption (A)	Ministerial call for action for LGBTI students	Specific education policy protection/s for LGBTI students
St Lucia		X/M/F	X			X/S			
St Vincent and the Grenadines		X/M/F	X						
Suriname	X								
Trinidad and Tobago		X/M/F	X		X	X/S			
United States						X/S/Ga(in dispute)	X/Me/A	X	X(in dispute)
Uruguay					X	X/S/Ga	X/Me/A	X	X
Virgin Islands						X/S/Ga varies	Varies		
Venezuela					X	X/S			

work; Cape Verde has also joined the EU. A South African NGO worker commented on how anti-apartheid intersex activists like Sally Gross were crucial in the development of anti-discrimination laws, and entwined post-colonialism with LGBTI diversity rights in the country.

One transgender African noted that South African colloquiums on LGBTI education issues '*were not whites-only ivory tower events. LGBTI education was explored in post-colonial African approaches*'. In several African nations active efforts are being made against imperialist outside attempts to incite local anti-LGBTI violence. In 2016, US pastor Steven Anderson was declared an 'undesirable' in SA due to his use of homophobic and transphobic hate speech to seek to influence South African policy and people and on this one SA informant said '*This placed South African LGBTs above US extremism, colonising power and money*'. A Ugandan educator described similar legal actions; '*Ugandan activists [with] legal support [had also] sued an American religious extremist for his malicious international interference in our LGBT rights issues*'. An Indian NGO worker described how '*anti-colonial resistance'* contributed to the approach in local Supreme Court efforts since 2014 to '*undo the legacies of British legislation and American religious fervour, which attacked our native hijra*'.

Some countries had differing influences reflected in their conflicting policies; Lithuania retained anti-LGBTI propaganda from Russian/Soviet influence in its policy trends, but had more recently acceded to EU anti-discrimination protection requirements and was increasingly being exposed to 2013 policy samples from the Irish Department of Education and Skills (requiring school policies to include a clause on transphobic and homophobic bullying). Irish NGO BelongTo Director Michael Nanci Barron commented that Lithuanian organisations were more open to pro-LGBTI work as a collaborative de-colonising effort, working with other post-colonial EU nations such as Ireland which had broken away from colonisation through increased anti-discrimination work and '*international bodies – the EU, Council of Europe, OSCE and then international networks such as ILGA and IGLYO*'. A Fijian government informant noted global networking work and development support had reinforced decisions to require action against '*homophobic remarks, name calling, threats*' in its 2015 Ministry of Education Child Protection policy.

Conclusion

Countries' support for females, sexual progressiveness, and LGBTIs in schools is influenced by geopolitical power expansion efforts, (post-)colonial dynamics and financial alliances. In this complex setting it is researchers' role to inform school staff, and school staffs' roles to inform students and school communities, of the new provisions in international rights legislation impacting education and to explore research on how these can best be manifested in the daily experience of schooling spaces. Given local restraints and ethical obligations, how this can occur at all will vary considerably. Females, LGBTIs and those people of diverse gender expression or relationship/marital status now have rights to non-discrimination, safety and access in educational institutions recognised in international human rights legislation and policies. Where researchers explore contexts endorsing the Ministerial *Call for Action*, it is useful to consider the extent to which endorsing this call translates into difference or debates around G&S at local policy and practice levels. Researchers in all contexts should be aware of backlash to G&S education and research efforts and programmes [18]; and how the instability of local laws and ethical provisions for different institutions they study or study in, may impact their work. There will always be, however, creative ways of bringing objectivity to G&S education issues whether overtly or otherwise, adapting one's work to the possibilities of the context one works in—research reported on in the other chapters within this book showcase how researchers overcome significant contextual barriers and backlash. Researchers in restricted contexts may simply consider an objective look at locally dominant policy provisions and texts or efforts in G&S provisions in schools, or universities if this is preferable, as a first step. International bodies (particularly the UN's agencies), are seeking to mediate the notable variances between nations' treatments of gender, sexuality and LGBTI education issues whilst encouraging localised cultures and sharing of best practices. Researchers can reinforce these change efforts, making creative training and research contributions and supplying data or insights to international bodies for comparative purposes or where these entities are significantly more able to publish and consider the results.

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Part II

**Doing Gender & Sexuality
Education Research Differently**

6

Ruler-Skirt Risings: Being Crafty with How Gender and Sexuality Education Research-Activisms Can Come to Matter

Emma Renold

SOME BOYS USE RULERS TO LIFT UP OUR SKIRTS
Ruler touching
Up her skirt
Between her legs
Ruler
Rule Her
Rule her with your ruler

Normalised
Ignored
Silenced
Some experiences are ruled out
Sexual harassment in school
Can be one of those
experiences

Fig. 6.1 Some boys use rulers to lift up our skirts

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Something to get used to
A getting used
to being used
in this way.

Over-ruled?
Skirted over?
#metoo
What else can a ruler do?

Fig. 6.1 (continued)

Ruler-Skirt Risings and D/Artaphacts

Art is about constructing artifacts – crafted facts of experience. The fact of the matter is that experiential potentials are brought to evolutionary expression. ([1], p. 57)

In the spring of 2015, myself and a group of 15 year old teen girls made a graffitied ruler-skirt (Fig. 6.2) to raise awareness of routinised sexual harassment and violence in school, online and in their community, a post-industrial semi-rural Welsh valleys town in Merthyr Tydfil (UK). 'The girls' (as they often referred to themselves) took up our invitation to work with some of the transcribed interview 'data' on gendered and sexual violence that was generated in the first phase of a research engagement project[1] (see [2]) in ways that might influence political change and lend support to the education amendments of the new Violence Against Girls and Women, Domestic Abuse and Sexual Violence (VAWDASV) bill which happened to be progressing through Welsh Government at the time.

Unplanned, the idea to create a ruler-skirt arose from a throw-away comment by one of the girls: 'boys lift up girls skirts with rulers' (see [3]). It was one of those moments where an affective 'snap' [4] meets creative 'runaway methodologies[2]' [5] and 'things in the making cut their transformational teeth' ([1], p. ix). As soon as the words were voiced into the space another girl scribbled in bold black capital letters: 'RULER TOUCHING' and an explosion of ruler-talk erupted about how rulers are used to sexually assault (e.g. up-skirting) and shame girls (e.g., measuring skirt length), how experiences of sexual violence are often ruled out (e.g.

Fig. 6.2 Ruler-skirt

normalised and silenced) and how gender norms are used to regulate who you can be and what you can do ('rule her, RULE HER, rule her with your ruler'). In a flash, the ruler seemed to become what Erin Manning ([6], p. 1) calls a 'minor gesture' - an "always political (…) gestural force that opens up experience to its potential variation". Across two further lunchtime sessions, the girls began rewriting the rules and outing practices that sexually shame girls on printed paper rulers. These paper rulers were turned into paper 'shame chains' to communicate how different aspects of sexual violence are inter-linked and how sexual violence restrains them. They then graffitied over 30 bendy acrylic rulers with similar messages that hurt and abuse, but which were interspersed with messages for change (e.g., 'respect us'). As ideas about assembling the rulers to create a wearable piece of fashion activism were in full swing, the proposal for a ruler-skirt struck a chord. Each graffitied ruler was clipped to a belt and the skirt began to take shape.

The ruler-skirt has been activating and making ripples and waves in and across policy, practice and activist spaces that none of us could have predicted three years later. I have begun to theorise this process as the making

and mattering of *da(r)ta*; using art-ful practices to craft and communicate experience, such as the paper or acrylic graffitied rulers and *d/artaphacts;* the art-ful objects that emerge, detached from the environment they are created in, and mobilising a politics in the making as they carry experience into new places and spaces [7]. Mixing data with art to form the hybrid da(r)ta is an explicit intervention to trouble what counts as social science data, and to foreground not only the value of creative methodologies, but also the speculative impact of art-ful practices. In d/artaphact, the 'ph' replaces 'f' to register and treasure the posthuman forces of art-ful objects as potential political enunciators and to encourage a move away from fixed, knowable and measurable social science facts (see also [8]).

The making of the ruler-skirt was one of those rare moments when research 'data', art-ful methods, girls' change-making desires, supportive school cultures, place-based historical legacies of revolution, national policy development and researcher expertise intra-acted [9] in ways that enabled us to do something with the 'something doing' [10]. In dialogue with a rich history of experimenting with what else our research on gender, sexuality and schooling can do (e.g. [11–14]), this chapter explores some of the unanticipated ripples and waves. It is a mapping that I am beginning to theorise as a collective of *ruler-skirt risings* to speculate and suture how the past folds of Merthyr's political history (i.e. the Merthyr Risings of 1831, and the queer political activism of the Rebecca Riots[3] 1839–1843) entangles to re-source the making and matterings of the ruler-skirt as one of many activist risings that have surfaced through time and across the globe to address the intersectional socio-structural manifestations of sexual violence.

Collectively, each 'ruler-skirt rising' has been selected to provide a glimpse into how they have become a series of 'minor gestures' puncturing, shaking-up and reorienting the field in some way. Crafted to capture their transversal nature, I have taken inspiration from the early formations of the fugue[4] with the ruler-skirt operating as the tonic[5] key, and the risings, a series of variations on what else the ruler-skirt can do. It's a tentative cartography, a 'skirting' process, that remains 'on the edge', on the 'outskirts'. It is an affective process 'that does not yet recognise itself, inventing as it does its own way' [6]: a way of stilling (see Fig. 6.3, the chained ruler-skirt clipped to the gates of the town square in the annual Merthyr Risings

Fig. 6.3   Ruler-skirt image pARTicipating at the Merthyr Rising festival

festival), embodying (ruler-fashion), law-making (ruler heART activism), resourcing (the agenda.wales young people's guide), imag(in)ing (ruling the new sexuality education curriculum) and sounding (ruler-rattling for a feminist government).

Ruler-Fashioning

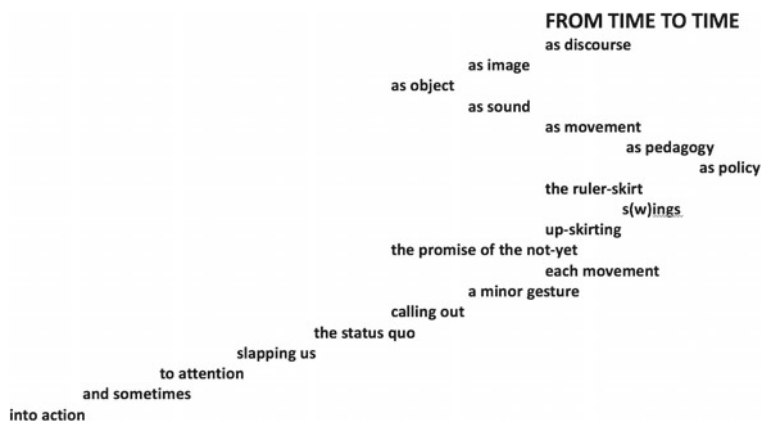The ruler-skirt had modest intentions to pARTicipate with the other d/artaphacts in the girls' school assembly to raise awareness of abusive

FROM TIME TO TIME
as discourse
    as image
as object
    as sound
        as movement
            as pedagogy
                as policy
        the ruler-skirt
                s(w)ings
        up-skirting
    the promise of the not-yet
            each movement
            a minor gesture
        calling out
    the status quo
        slapping us
        to attention
    and sometimes
into action

Fig. 6.4   From time to time

sexual banter and invite students to take part in their creative activism (see 'ruler-heART activism' below). Gifted by the girls to share their process and story, the ruler-skirt has since been touched, read and heard by hundreds of people, of all ages from all walks of life: policy makers and politicians, social workers and police officers, teachers and students, and members of the public, from toddlers to great-grandparents. Fashioning the political, I have worn it along school corridors, up and down shopping-mall escalators, on public transport, on arts-cuts protests, suffragette celebratory parades, at sexuality and gender youth conferences, in creative methods and pedagogy workshops, in government and National Union Teaching (NUT) events. It even travelled to the United Nations Headquarters in New York, with the first minister for Wales on a panel to share how Wales is advancing gender equality. With each outing its discursive-affective-material qualities seem to intensify. Actively politicising each environment it enters, wearing the ruler-skirt never ceases to move me to move with the more-than of how it can affect (Fig. 6.5).

Defying normalisation, the ruler-skirt demands to be heard, seen and touched. Its sonic and sartorial presence is alarming. You can often hear it coming before it comes into view. Siren-like, it slaps its way through space, making sonic agential cuts that interrupt stilled and stuffy conference atmospheres. Visually striking, this more-than-skirt asks 'how' and 'why'?

Fig. 6.5 Touched by the ruler-skirt

For more intimate interactions you have to get up, close and personal which often require bodies to kneel or bend over. Requests for closer inspection are almost always accompanied with the words, 'Can I ….?', a process of becoming-consent, sorely absent in the practices inscribed on many of the rulers and the ruler-skirt lifting assaults. However, even up close, it is a struggle to read what's written. As the girls say in their Ruler HeART story, 'the messages on the rulers are hard to read, just like girls' experiences of sexual harassment are hard to talk about and hear' ([15], p. 55).

Through sound, discourse and materiality the ruler-skirt exceeds meaning, its 'queer life' [16] making itself force-felt with each touching. Experienced via an 'immediate relation' in ways that reveal but keep secure and private personal narratives or identities, the ruler-skirt has become an ethical-political object, making researcher response-ability matter [9, 17].

Transindividual, non-representational, more-than-human, it fashions the political, hanging raw experience from a belt. Embodied and on the move, its stiff strips of pain, shame and hope become com/motion. Buzzing with 'extra-beingness' ([17], p. 133), what was once a phallic object that sexually assaults now swing-slaps as an agent of change, pARTicipating and stirring up a series of future ruler-skirt risings.

Ruler HeART Activism

It was really important to us that these were real comments, not photocopies, not typed up. They were personal. They were messages from the heart – messages that would swing out when the card was opened. But would they swing the politicians into action? [3]

Politicality, is always on its leading edge, affective. ([1], p. 173)

Writing on paper rulers became a central da(r)ta-gathering activity when the girls invited 300 students (age 12–14) during their school assembly to take part in a piece of direct political action. Each student had the opportunity to complete the sentence, 'we need a healthy relationships education because …'. The plan was to push the affective buttons of policy makers in a last ditch attempt to turn around a national bill which was failing to respond to the voices and experiences of young people. I shared our activity with two other secondary schools collecting over 1000 annotated paper rulers in total. We then invited 40 other young people from urban and rural south Wales, with the help of Citizens Cymru, to join our 'Relationship Matters' campaign and our HeART Activism.

The heart became a refrain in the early da(r)ta making sessions (see [7]) and its intra-action with Valentine's Day celebrations sparked the initial idea to send every assembly member a Valentine's Card. Each card was carefully crafted (see Fig. 6.6). Three paper rulers were hand-pasted inside a cut-out heart of a tri-folded red card, so 'the messages would swing out as the card as opened' [3]. The card also included a poem with lines written from each of the three participating schools—sessions that I facilitated over a series of weeks with over 30 young people in the lead up to the

Fig. 6.6 Making our heART activism matter

direct action. The cards would arrive one week after Valentine's Day (14 February) but crucially one week before the final amendments to the bill, which inspired the title, 'It's not too late'. The last line of the poem transforms the dominating and often divisive 'healthy relationships' discourse of 'respect' and 'consent' to the policymaking process itself ('policymaking is about respect and consent too'):

<div align="center">

It's not too late

Roses are red,
violets are blue,

</div>

it's not too late,
for me and you.

To change the law
that can change our lives,
and end the violence,
so we can survive and thrive.

We need pupil champions,
we need proper teacher training,
we need a real relationships education,
to stop girl shaming & boy blaming.

So when it's time to vote,
please think of our ode,
we NEED YOU to take action,
because you're in control.

Roses are red,
violets are blue,
respect and consent,
are about policy change too.

The card included a clear message listing our education recommendations and four postcards from the Speak Out research [18]—the only comprehensive qualitative Welsh research study on children's experiences of gender and sexual cultures. Each card was sealed with a lipstick kiss. This idea originally came from the director of Citizen's Cymru and immediately struck a chord with us, as it connected our local action to the global Violence Against Girls and Women campaign, *Red My Lips* (www.redmylips. org). This activity was a powerful reminder of what else a kiss can do (see [19]). A number of young people, youth workers and teachers, across the gender spectrum, took it in turns to red their lips and plant sticky kisses on the seal of each envelope. Indeed, hanging the hand-written messages from the heart and marking each card with the physical intimacy of a kiss, not only continued to keep the vital human and more-than-human affects of each card lively, but turned a proto-romantic/sexual gesture into

a political act (a gesture that later informed the primary school Kisstory project exploring the reanimation of consent, see www.agenda.wales).

The personal-political post-human HeART Activism seemed to be a hit. Every assembly member (AM) in Wales (60 in total) received a hand delivered valentine card in their office post boxes the next day. I also tweeted each AM's professional twitter account to see if they had received their card. This led to a flurry of images and accompanying tweets from all the political parties with comments that supported both our recommendations and their creative delivery (see [3]). While it's impossible and futile to 'measure' (see [20]) how the Ruler HeART activism directly affected the dramatic u-turn in the policymaking process at the ninth hour, personal communication with one of the assembly members, Jocelyn Davies (chair of the 'Violence Against Women and Children' cross-party group) suggested that it did make a difference, a 'real buzz'. The bill was passed on Tuesday 10 March 2015. It included many of the Relationship Matters campaign's education amendments for better teacher training; a whole education guidance for practitioners and a national advisor to oversee the implementation of the Act.

Agenda-Rules

"Plan, but plan lightly. It's always good to make space for the unpredictable. Sometimes the most exciting things happen when you least expect them". ([15], p. 69)

Resource;

Latin: Surger; to rise
   Old French: Resourdre; to rise again, recover, a source, spring

---

Following the passing of the VAWDASV Act, I was actively looking out for research-engagement assemblages that might allow new openings to take this emergent work on its way. Wales was buzzing with promise and possibility. Acutely aware that the VAWDASV Act hadn't quite achieved

the educational measures set out in its preventative aim of addressing VAWDASV, there was an opportunity to exploit this gap, and tap into the policy assemblages being created with the development of the new Welsh Government practitioner's whole-school guide to healthy relationships.

It all started with a tweet! I seized the moment during a minister-led twittersphere thread celebrating the potential new guide and Act. I boldly tweeted: 'how about a guide for young people'? An immediate affirmative response by the minister was tweeted back, and I spent the next 24 hours carefully crafting a highly speculative proposal for developing a Young People's guide. Within two months, the work was once more on its way. A flurry of emails between Welsh Government and key agencies (Welsh Women's Aid, NSPCC Cymru and the Children's Commissioner for Wales) garnered enough support to secure a 'real time' secondment from a new Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 'impact' funding stream. Aptly named the 'impact accelerator' scheme, the speed with which this new phase could get going, matched the fast-forward pace of policy and practice cycles—something which research grants very rarely make possible. Over the next 8 months, I facilitated the stARTer project (Safe To Act, Right To Engage and Raise) with an advisory group of 12 young people from three different schools (including two of the members from the Relationship Matters project). In total, over 50 young people participated in the development of '*AGENDA: A young people's guide to making positive relationships matter*' ([15], Fig. 6.7).

AGENDA is free to download, bi-lingual, 75-page activist resource addressing gender-based and sexual violence co-created with young people for young people. Its focus takes forward the 'new rules' of Welsh Government's practitioner's guide on whole school approaches to healthy relationships education and its explicit encouragement for schools to 'support young people to campaign and raise awareness of gender and sexual violence' ([21], p. 10). It opens with the story of the Ruler HeART Valentine Card activism, and emphasises the Latin origins of activism (actus: 'a doing, driving force, or an impulse') to invite young people to learn and do something about what matters to them on these issues in the context of social justice, rights, equalities and diversity. From equal pay and poverty to misogynoir, street harassment and LGBTQI rights this national resource lifts the silence on issues so often skirted over or silenced in schools with
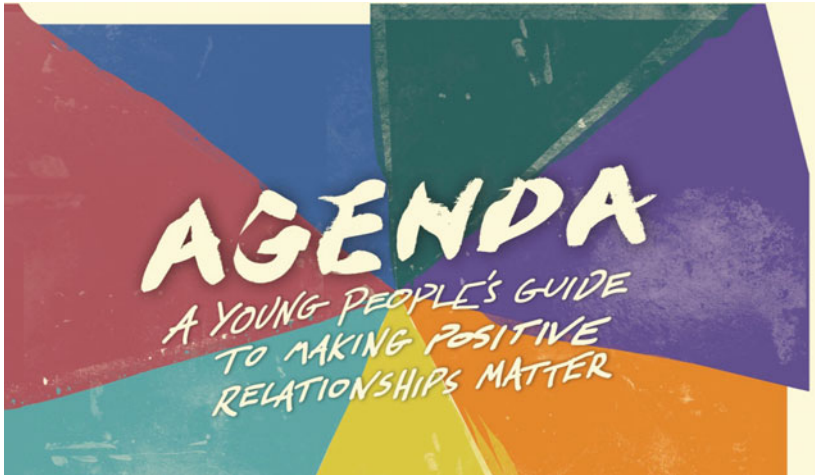
Fig. 6.7 Agenda

over 30 examples of creative change-making practices sourced from local and global youth activist stories and local case studies. Each case study incorporates d/artaphact made, found or hyperlinked to, including the ruler-skirt!

A kind of anti-guide, AGENDA resists any definitive statements on what constitutes a 'healthy relationship'. AGENDA is all about creating art-ful encounters that make space for young people to learn about gender-based and sexual violence in relations/hips through the rule-bending and rule-breaking practices of others. Carefully designed, it connects fields of practice together that are often estranged through divisive curricula (e.g., arts, science, humanities) or policy terrains (e.g., anti-bullying, children's rights, VAWDASV). Click on 'consent' in the word-cloud assemblage of the issues AGENDA includes and you are hyper-linked to the case study, Under Pressure? that explores coercion and control through movement, physics concepts on 'forces', sound and a glitch-art app. Click on 'diversity' and you are greeted with the Rotifer Project, a youth-led staff workshop on gender diversity via a game of gender-snap pairs created from pictures of gender diverse and creative cartoon characters, celebrities, historical figures and the rich queerness of the animal kingdom, from the Slipper

Shell to the Rotifer bacteria. Each case study includes a pull out DIY, so that the process can be easily adapted, making its own way in the world beyond the resource ([15], Fig. 6.11). Matter-realising [22] entanglement is also central to the design process. There are no straight lines. Edges are rough and jagged. Blocks of content over-lap and encroach on each other's territory.

Creativity, transformation and affirmation are the heartbeat of the resource—processes that have risen up from the making and mattering of the ruler-skirt d/artaphact and the Relationship Matters project. '*Creativity*' in AGENDA puts emphasis on the art-fulness of making what matters matter, and keeping what matters lively and open to change. '*Transformation*' attunes to the promise of the process, focusing on what happens along the way, rather than the outcome of any activity or campaign. '*Affirmation*' explicitly calls out the shame and blame pedagogies that often shape healthy relationships education by noticing or creating new feelings or practices in ways that 'neither predict nor (de) value in advance of its coming to be' ([6], p. 201). Notions of good or bad are kept in movement.

Anchored with sponsorship from Welsh Government and multi-agency support, and enhanced by the rising tidal wives of the global #metoo movement, AGENDA's affirmative approach to risky, radical and overtly political content continues to flourish. Schools are reaching out for support, and AGENDA (via our outreach team[6]) is responding. D/artaphacts co-created with young people at the first AGENDA conference are becoming useful, intra-active pedagogical objects, transporting ideas and experiences for others to intra-act with. And with each site visit new d/artaphacts are made to matter, and with permission, they are gifted and shared to in-form future pedagogy, practice or policy from the micro to the macro.

Landing tentatively but always in a field of possibility, we have seen the impact of AGENDA fly in how it has touched young people and their adult allies in ways that seem to open up new lines of political possibility (see the activities of the Welsh Valleys WAM, We Are More group and the development of www.agenda.online). Lifting the silence, however, on many of the issues in the resource always brings risk, and in each case there are moments when an activity or project will *fold,* where lines of flight are temporarily blocked, restrained or rerouted. The process and the

d/artaphacts, however, live on to in-form and inspire new ways to notice, feel and understand the impact of gender-based and sexual violence and in the context of wider inequities and injustices in the world.

Ruling the Curriculum

In-forming policy and policy formation takes time. It is three years since the Valentine Card activism. Some rules were changed, some reassembled. Mandatory sex and relationships education (SRE) however was shelved and slotted into future developments for the new Welsh curriculum. In March 2017, I was invited by the Minister for Education, Kirsty Williams, to chair a panel of experts to examine the current and future status and development of the Sex and Relationships Education curriculum in Wales. The panel met five times. Each meeting was carefully crafted to enable the group to reimagine what else SRE could become, using the power of d/arta and d/artaphacts to accompany and enrich traditional research reports and papers (see appendix 6, 23).

Only a short briefing was expected (40 pages), but we drafted a much longer 160 page sister report [24] to gather together and signpost all the possible promising practices across Wales and internationally. Primary and Secondary school case studies from the AGENDA resource (developed and designed with the new curriculum in mind) also populate the sections which gesture towards what a living curriculum might look like, with its underpinning principles to be 'creative and curious', 'experience-near and co-produced' and 'transformative and empowering'. The da(r)ta generated in the original ruler heART assemblies are carefully placed alongside the published international research on youth voice, a significant minor gesture, making young people's voices matter, in a process given limited capacity to meaningfully consult with children and young people.

Research reports can be d/artaphacts too. Explicitly signalling the making and mattering of the ruler heART activisms, the valentine card takes centre stage as the image for the title page of the panel's vision for the future of a new relationships and sexuality education (RSE) curriculum for Wales ([23], see Fig. 6.8)—a vision in which all of the recommendations from mandatory inclusive, holistic, empowering and rights-based

The Future of the Sex and Relationships Education Curriculum in Wales

Recommendations of the Sex and Relationships Education Expert Panel

December 2017

Fig. 6.8 Cover HeART

RSE (age 3–16). A footnote registers the connection and matter realises the legacy. Web search engines tasked with sourcing the document connect you directly with this image. Sometimes, d/artaphacts and their extra-beingness endure, resurface and reroute (Fig. 6.9).

Ruler-Rattle

The artful is the event's capacity to foreground the feeling-tone of the occasion such that it generates an affective tonality that permeates more than this singular occasion. ([6], p. 61)
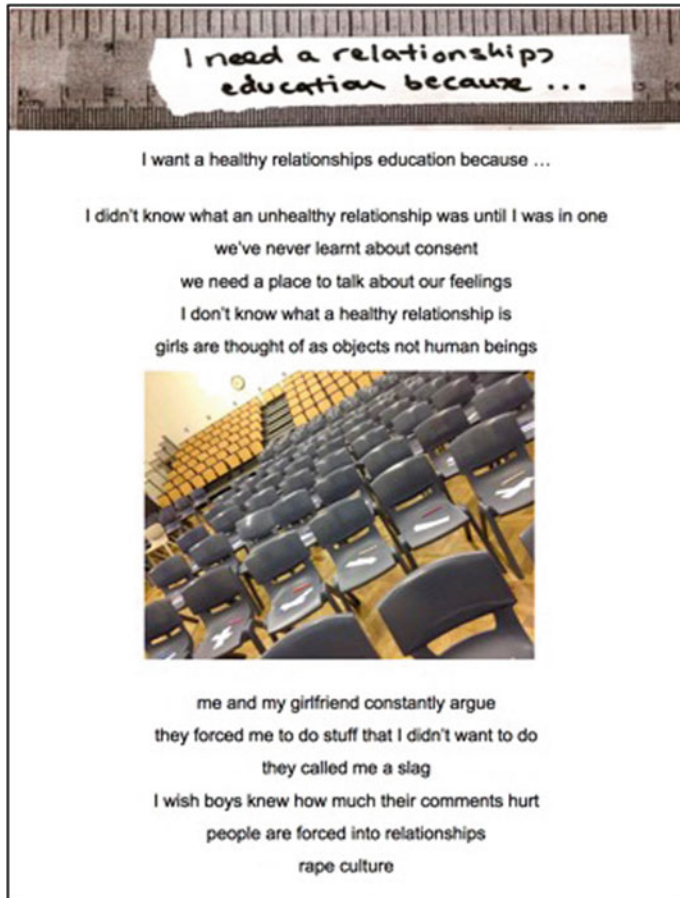
Fig. 6.9 Da(r)ta informing policy

The ruler-rattle brings this series of risings to a temporary close and returns to the discursive-material matterings of the rulers, and specifically their proto-political sonic qualities and the 'feeling-tone' that surfaced in a group activity we designed for Wales' first Gender Equality Youth Assembly at the civic City Hall in Cardiff on June 2018. Over 200 young people, from schools and youth groups, including young carers, LGBTQ youth groups and young asylum seekers participated in a series of work-

Fig. 6.10 Ruler-activism relfie

shops each set up to explore the intersectionality of a range of gender inequalities. Knowing that the Welsh Government were undertaking a rapid Gender Equality audit in Wales, at the end of the day I invited all young people and their teachers and support workers to write on rulers what they thought was needed to be changed to make Wales a more gender fair and gender equal place to live. In 10 minutes over 180 rulers had been graffitied (see Fig. 6.10).

Volunteers lined up to have their 'ruler relfies' taken. This activity was inspired from a recent AGENDA stARTer activity, 'Raging Relfie' as a way to politicise selfie-culture and create a safe space for expressing anger and rage. Connecting to the listening theme of the review 'audit' with the sonic clap-slapping of the ruler-skirt I had been wearing throughout the day (the making of which I shared to everyone in my morning keynote) we completed the ruler activism by making as much noise as we could muster with our rulers for 30 seconds (1/2 a second for every assembly member). The plan was to record the raucous and use it as a background soundscape to the vimeo of the ruler relfies. This vimeo would then be tweeted to the first minister and other relevant organisations with the hashtag #thisiswhatafeministassemblysoundslike, because earlier that year the minister had declared that he wanted to establish a feminist government.

Sometimes it's possible to intuitively feel that a session might take off. This was one of those times. It had been a lively day and many of the young people were energised by the workshops they were participating in. I had not, however, expected the activity to become quite so active, and ignite such a glorious riot. Conducting the potential commotion with a familiar opening refrain, 'ready, steady …. GO', the rulers started to rattle as soon

as 'ready' left my lips. By the time I voiced 'GO' they were hammering tables and chairs, and rising into a crescendo with a rhythmic roaring racket that seem to make our hearts beat faster. It felt like the entire room was shaking, like an aeroplane preparing for lift-off, and our ruler-skirt runaway methodology metamorphosing into a sonic boom, transporting us all in a barely perceptible time-space-mattering moment to a universe where anything is possible. Some young people were beating their rulers with such force that they cracked under the pressure and splintered. Shards of ruler pieces were flying into the air as if their hopes and dreams for a better world were too much to bear, or couldn't be grounded. Stilled and moved simultaneously, this was a moment that will stay with me, and perhaps others for a very long time. And while the vimeo[7] capturing this ruler-rising did not become click-bait, activating a twitter response from those with decision-making powers this time, the following week its potentiality was gathered in a new stARTer activity for the AGENDA website to inspire others to 'Reassemble the Rules' (Fig. 6.11). Four months later, the ruler-skirt rises again when those 150+ rulers were turned into eight new ruler-skirts, for a ribbons and ruler body-workshop inviting young people to move with the fixity and fluidity of gender norms.[8] They were also used as pedagogical political enunciators to support third sector stakeholders and Welsh government officials to connect with how 'gender equality' is mattering for young people—each skirt crafted carefully to demonstrate and encourage engagement an 'intersectional' approach to gender equality and equity.

Coda: The Rise and Rise of the Possible

> A Choreographing of the political sees minor gestures everywhere at work, and it seizes them. Choreographing the political is a call not only for the collective crafting of minor gestures but for the attunement, in perception, to how minor gestures do their work. ([6], p. 130)

In dialogue with what is becoming known as post-qualitative inquiry [25–28] and in debt to and inspired by a growing scholarship of new material and posthuman feminisms in educational studies [13, 29–31], this

Fig. 6.11 Re-assembling the rules

chapter has attempted to share in words and images what was possible in becoming crafty through art-ful processes in research-activist scholarship and practice in the field of gender and sexuality education in Wales. Taking inspiration from the musical fugue, I structured the chapter through a series of five ruler-skirt risings. Each rising involved 'choreographing the political' from the get go where the d/artaphacts were reassembling the rule(r)s in some shape or form. Always on the move, their material-discursive-affective qualities exceeding any narrative description or image with a feeling-force that continues to disrupt and propel what matters forward. In outing some of these ruler-skirt risings I hope I have begun to offer a glimpse at how affirmative, experimental pARTicipatory AGENDAS, rooted in, yet dispersing the feeling-force of local and global revolutionary risings took shape to in-form a route that carried the work on its way, and always with the post-qualitative shavings of events and inquiries yet to come.

While it's all too easy to over theorise the process in ways that dilute, or detract from, the heART of the matter [32], I have found, as I briefly set out at the beginning, Erin Manning's notion of the 'minor gesture' particularly compelling and generative to make sense of and conceptualise and communicate the risings beyond the performative in-the-moment ness. Manning ([6], p. 75) states how:

> The minor gesture pulls the potential at the heart of a process into a mobile field replete with force-imbued material that is capable of making felt not only what the process can do but how the ecology of which it is part resonates through and across it.

In many ways, each rising did seem to operate as a minor gestural force, drawing out 'the potential at the heart of a process', through 'force imbued material' that made itself felt across a range of fields, in micro-resonating moments (e.g. the up-skirting comment, the ruler-rattle) and macro force-fields of change (e.g. the making and mattering of the AGENDA resource). I have tried to share how the ruler-risings have 'done their work' are still doing their work and specifically, how art-ful processes in the making of da(r)ta and d/artaphacts, as ethical and lively objects, have opened up new avenues for researcher response-ability by becoming crafty in registering and sharing 'what matters'—reassembling the rules with 'particular prac-tices of engagement', which in and through other places, spaces, relation-ships and bodies may have been 'disinvited or ruled out as fitting responses' ([9], p. 81). Working in and creating conducive contexts to exploit the 'margins of manouverability' [1] have been key in this journey (the process of which I hope to elaborate upon further in future publications).

I have come to sense each rising as an affirmative process that enacts a 'speculative pragmatism' [33] insofar as every rising has carried a feeling that it can go somewhere and do something. Yet while its immanent direc-tionality might be intuitively felt (e.g. the 'ruler rattle'), it is impossible to predict in advance what might emerge. It's often all about aligning to the inflections, those flashpoints, in events and assemblages that might mobilise the more-than of a moment or in some cases a resource or a pol-icy. However, this intuition and alignment, and the ability to rise to the occasion and mobilise its potential in the ways I have gestured towards in

RULER-SKIRT RISINGS

> assemble and
> #reassembletherules
> with ethical response-ability
> and heART as the way
> they materialise an affective politics
> making d/artaphacts for the not-yet
> marking lines of flight
> with lesbian rule*
> a tiny thousand minor gestures
> beyond measure
> of what relationships and sexuality education
> might be
> and become

* According to Wikipedia, a lesbian rule was historically "a flexible mason's rule made of lead that could be bent to the curves of a molding, and used to measure or reproduce irregular curves" and alluded to by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics* (bk. V, ch. 10) as a "metaphor for the importance of flexibility in equitable justice".

Fig. 6.12 Ruler-skirt risings

this chapter, have only been possible and will only be sustainable through collaborations which support specific practices of engagement—collective practices and ethico-political assemblages that have taken years to trust in and forge.

In a post-qualitative, post-evidence, post-truth world when research data no longer seems to matter, and inquiry after inquiry, policy after policy seem to unfold as hollow or unsustainable grand gestures, sucked and spat out by vampiric media headlines, I draw this coda to a close with a question: how can the 'minor gestures' in our research choreograph the political so that how our research matters can be seen, felt and heard, differently?

Notes

1. The ruler-skirt and its ripple out effects started life in the 'Relationship Matters' project. This was a partially funded spin-off research-activist project from a larger multi-phased project, 'Mapping, Making and Mobilising: Using Creative Methods to Engage Change with Young People' [34], inside a five year ESRC/AHRC programme, Productive Margins: Regulating for Engagement (ES/K002716/1). Our aim was to invite young people to come together and co-produce new forms of research, engage-

ment, decision-making and activism on issues related to safe and unsafe places in their locality. The full research team in the Mapping, Making and Moblising project included Eve Exley, Eva Elliott, Gabrielle Ivinson, Emma Renold and Gareth Thomas (see [5]).

2. The concept of the runaway methodology was inspired by the girls' own analysis of the unanticipated twists and turns of our research activism ("not knowing where our project might go to next", and how "our ideas were always running away from themselves", see [3]). The concept also connects directly to Erin Manning's notion of an old medieval definition of art as "the way". Art, she says, is a process, not just something to behold. To conceive of art as the manner through how we engage, helps us glimpse "a feeling forth of new potential" ([6], p. 47). In-acting a runaway methodology requires a careful attention to the ineffable proto possibilities of ideas as they roll, flow and are transformed though words, artefacts and new events.

3. During the Rebecca Riots of 1839–1843 agricultural workers and farmers joined forces to oppose the enforcement of increased road taxes imposed by The Turnpike Trust and was part of a wider series of protests on the Poor Law. Blockading the toll gates, "the men donned women's clothes as a signal to outsiders that they wanted to avoid violence in their protest" ([35], p. 163).

4. A fugue is a composition of multiple voices built upon a subject (e.g. the ruler-skirt) which, in the Renassiance, unfolds and recurs in improvised form (e.g. the ruler-risings), where each variation can contain a 'melismatic' (e.g. runaway methodology) component. As Manning ([6], p. 25) states, "The unfolding affects us, moves us, directs us, but it does not belong to us".

5. In musical terms, the tonic carries the main register, pitch, or tone of a piece. In addition, its Greek roots in Tonikos ('of or for stretching') and its connections to well-being ('something with an invigorating effect', Oxford English Dictionary) aptly connect with the multiple modalities of the making and mattering of the 'ruler-skirt'.

6. Matthew Abraham, Siriol Burford, Victoria Edwards, Kate Marston and Sarah Witcombe-Hayes.

7. To watch the video go to: https://vimeo.com/276544847.

8. See some of the workshop here: https://vimeo.com/300026336.

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7

Re-doing Teacher Education: Joyful Differences? Australian Queer Teacher Educators and Social Justice Education

Emily Gray

Introduction

This chapter engages with data gathered from a small-scale research project entitled *Teaching In/difference.* The project examined the experiences of higher educators who work within the practice-based disciplines of nursing and teacher education in Australia. All of the participants in the study identified as Other to the white, cisgender and heterosexual mainstream in terms of their gender, race, Indigeneity and/or sexual identity. *Teaching In/difference* aimed to develop a picture of what it is like to teach with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion when, as a teacher, your identity places you outside of or other to the mainstream. This chapter focuses on the experiences of the 4 participants in the study who identified as queer, all of whom work in teacher education.

My own experiences of working as a queer teacher educator precipitated this research. I have often found myself on the receiving end of student

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feedback that calls into question the 'relevance' of teaching into what can broadly be described as the social justice space [1]. Whilst framing up my project I had many discussions with academic friends and colleagues who had similar experiences to my own, and similar feelings of aversion to students who articulate the world in opposition to their understandings of it. I therefore wanted to investigate more formally what it means to teach difference, inclusion and social justice in contemporary times, to examine the notion that student's encounters with difference and social justice encompass 'indifference' and also to engage with the experiences of higher educators working within practice-based disciplines who embody difference in some way. There are affective dimensions to such teaching, it can leave the educator feeling deflated, their identity irrelevant, but there is also joy in occupying a fringe space as this chapter will demonstrate.

First, the chapter outlines the state of play within teacher education in Australia in terms of the pedagogical spaces through which it is possible to teach with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion, with a particular focus upon gender and sexual diversity. The chapter argues that the standardisation of teaching within Australia is squashing the possibilities for such spaces, and that this has both social and political implications. I will link this to notions of Australian nationhood and illustrate how the global rise of the right has impacted upon Australian education and the possibilities for teaching with, in, for and about diversity, difference and inclusion within teacher education.

The chapter will then offer an overview the *Teaching In/difference* project and demonstrate how the 4 queer teacher educators who participated in the study understood the affective dimensions of the work that they do. Here, I draw upon the work of Sara Ahmed [2, 3] who provides a useful theoretical framework for thinking with, through and about affect. Finally, I argue that teaching from a place of difference towards socially just aims within teacher education encompasses a kind of cruel optimism [4]. However I argue that there is pleasure to be found in such a space, a kind of joyful difference that comes from acknowledging the 'chaos, crisis and injustice in front of us' and continuing to imagine an alternative, more liveable alternative (p. 227), though as I will demonstrate, this very desire can be a cruelly optimistic one [4].

Teacher Education: The Australian Context

Like many contemporary Western liberal democracies, Australian education has become increasingly standardised over the past two decades. As a profession, teaching is governed by the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL). All teacher education programmes that are delivered within Australian higher education must be accredited by AITSL who impose a set of graduate standards for professional knowledge upon them. These standards are carried through a teacher's career and progress as follows: graduate, proficient, highly accomplished and lead. For example, AITSL standard 1.2 *Understand how students learn* progresses through career stages as follows:

- **Graduate:** Demonstrate knowledge and understanding of research into how students learn and the implications for teaching.
- **Proficient:** Structure teaching programmes using research and collegial advice about how students learn.
- **Highly accomplished:** Expand understanding of how students learn using research and workplace knowledge.
- **Lead:** Lead processes to evaluate the effectiveness of teaching programmes using research and workplace knowledge about how students learn (adapted from https://www.aitsl.edu.au/teach/standards).

Therefore, teacher education programmes must ensure that students meet the graduate level standards upon graduation. There is well documented concern among educational academics and professionals that such a standardisation of teaching and teacher education reduces teaching and learning to a set of technocratic skills that do not take into account the complex knowledges required by teachers to manage pedagogical encounters that cannot always be planned for [5–7]. I do not wish here to argue against teaching standards, however I do wish to question their foci as well as the extent to which they act as 'controlling devices' [7] that profoundly influence what is and is not able to be taught, learned, spoken and made visible within teacher education and therefore within Australian classrooms. My key concern within this chapter regards the (dis)appearance of gender and sexuality within the standards and the impact that this has

upon the possibilities for teaching with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion.

The AITSL standards are organised into professional knowledge areas, for example:

1. Know students and how they learn
2. Know the content and how to teach it
3. Plan for and implement effective teaching and learning.

Under these broad areas come the specific standards plus the career stage progressions. Diversity and difference appear within the standards in particular ways, for example under knowledge area 1: *Know students and how they learn*, the graduate standard for 1.3 *Students with diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds* is presented as follows:

> Demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds. (https://www.aitsl.edu.au/teach/standards)

The way in which this standard is framed is problematic because it carries or normative assumptions about how particular groups of students learn. These are diverse students with 'backgrounds' that place them outside of the centre. The standard also groups together diverse student groups and doesn't acknowledge the diversity present within these groups of students. Similar concerns have been raised about AITSL standards 1.4 and 2.4 that relate to the teaching of Indigenous students and also require that graduating students possess knowledge of and respect for Aboriginal histories and cultures [8]. Moodie and Patrick suggest that the way in which Indigenous learners are presented as 'different' from the mainstream and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures are represented as separate to 'Australian' history perpetuates essentialised understandings of Australia's Indigenous peoples [8]. Standard 1.3 does something similar by grouping together populations of students and labelling them as 'diverse'.

Despite AITSL's concern for particular diverse student populations, the words 'gender' and 'sexuality' are almost entirely absent from the standards. A search of the AITSL website yields one result for gender, an exemplar graduate lesson plan in psychology that uses gender stereotyping in the media as a case study. There are no hits for sexuality, the word does not appear at all. Sexuality has simply not been written into the standards. Gender and sexuality are conspicuous absences from the AITSL standards, and their absence reflects ongoing discussions and debates in Australia around the legitimacy of same sex relationships, trans* and gender diverse identities and also the extent to which these issues should be addressed within schools—see for example [9–11]. Such debates reflect the global rise of the right that is exemplified by Trump's election and subsequent presidency and a Brexit campaign that was fought and won largely based upon promises to restrict immigration. It is into this milieu that queer teacher educators attempt, struggle and continue to keep social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion, including G&S, part of the programmes that they teach into.

Teaching In/Difference

In 2016 I carried out a small-scale research project *entitled Teaching In/difference.* The project aimed to develop an understanding of what it means to teach with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion within practice based disciplines in higher education when, as a teacher, your identity places you outside of or other to the mainstream. The project was guided by the following key questions:

- What does it mean to teach difference, inclusion and social justice in contemporary times?
- Do HE teachers perceive students as indifferent to difference?
- What are the experiences of higher educators working within practice-based disciplines who embody difference?

I interviewed six participants, 5 worked in teacher education and 1 in undergraduate nursing programmes. The participants identified as follows:

- 5 female, 1 male
- 4 LGBTIQ
- 1 Indigenous Australian
- 1 Indian Australian
- 1 African American Australian

The interview schedule was based around participants' experiences of teaching with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion as someone Other to the mainstream and data was analysed thematically. As a scholar, I am interested in what such pedagogical moments feel like, with the tipping points and with the notion that epistemological clashes within such pedagogical encounters can be generative points of interruption that may, or may not, transform student and teacher thinking [1].

There are affective dimensions for all teachers and within the context of higher education and the learning and teaching of diversity, difference and social justice, affect takes particular form. Often, this is because the teacher has an emotional investment not only in the topics covered by their courses but also in the ways of thinking about the topics. Teaching within such a context is an embodied experience and identity, politics and values can be written on the body, visible to our students and others as we move through our private and professional lives. Both students and teachers can have emotional responses to the content and dynamics of the social justice classroom and affective response ensue.

What I found in my research was that participants articulated emotional responses in reaction to happenings and events within their classrooms that demonstrated an epistemological clash between teacher and student. In other words, when students articulated oppositional stances on the world, participants felt them emotionally and bodily as the following passages demonstrate. The increasing standardisation of teaching has meant that there are fewer and fewer spaces available to contest commonly accepted discourses around the purposes and promises of education in Australia

[7]. There were strong feelings amongst participants about education's changing landscape and the kinds of students that are drawn to teaching. Natalie, who is a professor in Early Childhood, stated that:

> I always assumed that people who went into teaching wanted to change the world. And I don't see that. I don't see it at all […] I'm so disappointed that it seems as though the people that're coming into teaching don't have a radical thinking bone in their body. And that they just want to reinforce the status quo […] and any time that you begin to even give them the possibility of thinking differently, they really get upset and it's like…I don't know who's coming into teaching these days.

The standardisation of education squeezes the possibilities within teacher education for teaching about social justice. One of the ways that such squeezing can be illustrated is the way in which the standards frame diversity as issues that affect certain groups of students (the culturally, linguistically, religiously diverse, low SES and Indigenous students). Natalie demonstrates how discourses of standardisation impact upon the classroom—she perceives that her students have little interest in thinking differently about education, that they are quite literally indifferent to difference.

Natalie's statement also brings into focus the emotional dimensions of teaching with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion. She talks about her students getting 'upset' when she attempts to change the discourse within her classroom, to orient it towards social justice, diversity and inclusion in ways that contradict standardised notions of what these concepts are, and what they mean. The affective dimensions of the classroom are exacerbated when the educator belongs to an oppressed minority. Sara Ahmed writes about affect and sexual orientation as follows:

> Sexual orientation involves bodies that leak into world; it involves a way of orienting the body towards and away from others, which affects how one can enter different kinds of social spaces. ([2], p. 145)

Much has been written about teaching and sexuality that frames decisions around coming out as crucial to LGBTIQ educators—see for

example [12–14]. A key concern for queer educators is about entering different kinds of social spaces and having private lives that they may feel needs to be kept separate from professional lives—see for example [13, 15, 16]. There are affective dimensions to consider in decisions around coming out as well as considerations around how students and teachers perceive one another. Here, I return to Ahmed [2] who frames the affective exchanges that happen between people as follows:

> Emotions shape the very surfaces of bodies, which take shape through the repetition of actions over time, as well as through orientations towards and away from others. (p. 4)

Natalie's statement about her students demonstrates how student indifference to classroom material can orient the teacher away from the student. Similarly, student can also orient themselves away from queer educators. I draw here on Kay's experience to illustrate such affective manoeuvrings.

Kay teaches sexuality education at a large Australian university. She stated in our interview that she doesn't come out to students because she feels that this would be 'overkill'. Kay stated this in the context of her overt feminist politics and alignment with queer theoretical perspectives. She felt that coming out as lesbian would be 'too much' or going 'too far' within the context of her classroom. Kay has had experiences in the classroom that she can't put her finger on, but that she *feels* are connected to her identity:

> Well I think that um that sometimes I feel like being tall, assertive, a feminist and a lesbian, even though those things aren't written on the page, that they can be quite confronting for students and that that is part of what they respond to […] I mean I think that lots of women teachers and people from non-English speaking backgrounds have students who challenge them, so it's really hard to know what it is that's causing the dispute. But you…I think I do know that sometimes it's not about the subject matter, it's about other things going on.

Kay then *feels* her students orienting themselves away from her as an educator, as well as the material that she teachers. Kay's students respond to her as tall, assertive, feminist and lesbian, these are the 'other things

going on' in her classroom. Ahmed argues that attending to emotions in research allows us to understand that 'actions are reactions' (p. 4) and that what we do and how we do it is shaped by the contact that we have with other people [2].

Within the teacher education classroom that is concerned with teaching with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion, contact with other people encompasses an invitation to think differently that may be refused by students [17]. Such refusals both contain and (re)produce affect. Simon, who is a queerly identifying gay man, articulated how such refusals can feel personal to queer educators,

> [It] sort of bites. You know? 'Cause it's not just a disagreement around ideas er…it is a disagreement around ideas, around ideas that I'm quite invested in, and it's a disagreement around a part of my teaching identity and researcher identity […] so social justice for me is not…it's not just a series of ideas, it's actually a very embodied, visceral er and emotional and affective.

Simon illustrates how orientations away from the material he teaches feels like an orientation away from him as a person in the world, and a person who is committed to social justice in education. Such epistemological clashes may seem to leave us at an impasse where we can't transform students' thinking or engage them in alternative discourses of difference. As students and educators we orient ourselves away from one another when epistemological difference is too much to bear.

Simon's experience shows us some of the ways that emotions 'circulate between bodies' [2]. Affective encounters stick, and move and as such, their articulations can be painful or an expression of pain. Simon talked about having 'niggling thoughts' about teaching that kept him awake at night, this illustrates that actions are indeed *reactions*, they occur when we rub up against something that sits in opposition to the ways in which we configure the social world and they shape our responses to it. However, there is also pleasure and joy to be found in occupying spaces of difference, as the following section illustrates.

Joyous Differences

This section of the chapter focuses on participants' articulations of joy within their work as teacher educators. To think through these, I use an analytical lens that draws from Sara Ahmed's work on happiness [3] and Lauren Berlant's work on what she terms 'cruel optimism' [4]. I also focus on data from Simon as he clearly articulated the pleasures and joys he got from teaching with, in, for and about social justice, diversity, difference and inclusion.

During the *Teaching In/difference* project I became increasingly interested in why teacher educators who are themselves Other to the mainstream were so deeply committed to teaching into this space. Participants were asked about whether or not their work was tied to social justice aims, all except one stated that it was. Simon saw his professional identity as deeply connected to his personal history as a queerly identifying gay man and the times through which he has lived:

> I think the desire to do socially just stuff is bound up with identities, I think for me […] it's the queer stuff, you know so the experience of being queerly identifying, in a heterosexist culture, particularly through the 70's and up to now, erm that gives you…and experiencing actually the changes through that. I mean through the political changes that've been wrought at this particular place in time I think give you a taste of genie out of a bottle. The experience of being on the edge, and I think queerly identifying people have that experience, you know erm that that gives you a taste for being on the edge and the edge [is] a double edged [sword] I mean it's very pleasurable, but it can be very frustrating too.

For Simon, there is both pleasure and frustration to be found in occupying a space outside of the mainstream. What I find interesting about Simon's statement is that he links his contemporary concerns about social justice with his history as a queer person. Queer histories are not happy tales, they are characterised by shame. Munt argues that, in the lives of LGBTIQ people, the notion of shame encompasses what one 'is, or made to be' through the discursive practices that act to Other non-normative gender and sexual practices [18]. However, shame can, argues Munt, be transformative because it can force an acknowledgement by the social actor

of a new self (ibid.). Simon alludes to this notion by talking about living through times of political change for queer people as offering a taste of 'a genie out of a bottle', that is a self that is unencumbered, disembodied, free. There is euphoria to Simon's articulation, a joy to be found on the margins.

Ahmed makes a clear case for the continued engagement with unhappy histories in queer genealogy. She writes that we must refuse to make a distinction between happy and unhappy endings in queer stories because they are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and are generative [3]:

> When we read this unhappy queer archive […] we must resist this literalism, which means an active disbelief in the necessary alignment of the happy with the good, or even in the moral transparency of the good itself. Rather than read unhappy endings as a sign of the withholding of moral approval for queer lives, we must consider how unhappiness circulates within and around this archive, and what it allows us to do. (p. 89)

Simon's understanding of being on 'the edge', and of the conflicting emotions that accompany this position, as well as his narration of self as moving through political history in particular ways, allows us to understand the queer subject in ways that Ahmed suggests: as a figure who can be affected by unhappy histories. Such unhappy histories are characterised by joyous moments, some of which come from finding oneself relegated to the margins by the mainstream.

This last notion leads me to think about Berlant's [4] work on cruel optimism. Berlant presents cruel optimism as a state of being that is characterised as follows [4]:

> Cruel optimism [is] a relation of attachment to compromised conditions of possibility whose realization is discovered either to be impossible, sheer fantasy, or too possible, and toxic. (p. 24)

An attachment to social justice aims within education could be read as cruelly optimistic because it is a project without an end, achieving social justice may be an impossibility. Berlant speaks of intimate political attachments as potential sites of cruel optimism, especially if the political actor looks to the normative political sphere as a scene of action. Even if we do

not do this, our desire for the political may lead us to a relation of cruel optimism:

> Amidst all of the chaos, crisis and injustice in front of us, the desire for alternative filters that produce the sense – if not the scene – of a more liveable and intimate sociality is another name for the desire for the political. (ibid., p. 227)

Our desires for a better life, better ways of living may then facilitate attachments to the impossible, in the case of my participants, to the impossible promises of social justice. As impossible to achieve as many of these aims may be, they are nevertheless bringers of much joy, and the intellectual project of thinking about oneself as part of a socially constructed edge itself brings pleasure, as Simon articulates:

> I think the identity stuff actually is very consistent with academic work. And look I know the edge isn't outside of centres, like there are centres on the edge you know so it's not like you're totally not complying with anything or conforming erm but it seems a freer type of conformity. You know and those books […] are not about achieving strategic directions and measuring and all of that, they're about interesting grey stuff that you can just read about forever, they're poetic.

There is poetry then in the impossible, a joy that comes from surviving unhappy histories, in continuing to believe in a better sociality, a more liveable life. In the end, perhaps Ahmed [3] is right, 'if queer politics is about freedom, it might simply mean the freedom to breathe' (p. 120). Simon offers an articulation of such freedoms, thinking can free us like a genie out of a bottle and we can find poetry in the everyday doings of our lives.

Conclusion

The increasing standardisation of teaching in Australia has meant that the possibilities for teaching in, with and for social justice, diversity, difference are being squeezed. This has an effect on classroom teaching [5]

as well as higher education teaching [7]. This chapter has demonstrated the queer teacher educators struggle within contemporary times to render G&S relevant to the programmes they teach into. The chapter has also demonstrated that there is an affective dimension to teaching in/difference that sees teachers and students orient themselves both towards and away from one another. This movement can be because of the material taught in the social justice teacher education classroom, but can also be because of the presence of the Other within the classroom.

Although such affective manoeuvrings can produce tension and frustration, the act of being a subject 'on the edge' can also inspire pleasure, joy and a sense of freedom. I understand the importance of reflecting upon the affective dimensions of teaching and learning and that exploring the role of emotion in teacher identity and practice can yield a richer understanding of the teacher self. Within higher education we are increasingly told that our job should be to 'transform lives', at my institution we no longer 'teach' but offer a 'Transformative Student Experience', however what is not spoken is *who* we are transforming, and *from* what *to* what. Given this, perhaps we can think about the affective manoeuvrings and orientations that happen within a classroom as generative moments, as productive interruptions to the status quo, even if, in the end, we have not reached consensus. We could think of such pedagogical encounters as moments for reflection, moments that allow us to ruminate upon our queer lives. We might then reconfigure the tension and frustration as part of the queer experience, an experience that is also full of joy. These important moments add to the archive of LGBTIQ histories:

> Our archive is an archive of rebellion. It testifies to a struggle. To struggle for an existence is to transform an existence. No wonder: there is hope in the assembly. [19]

Queerness can offer the Othered subject a place to belong, a space to celebrate. Living 'on the edge' in this way is, for many, preferable to being part of the status quo. This, in itself, should give us cause to be joyful.

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8

Re-Doing Teaching: Teachers' Conceptions of 'Sex Education'

Lisa van Leent

Introduction

> In the public system, everything has to remain neutral because it's not my position to enforce my beliefs on you or anything like that… Um, I think the department (government department of education) would, no, I don't think the department would want me to do anything to do with sexuality. I don't think they'd want me to even speak of it… (Interview L).

The teacher quoted in the opening of this chapter shares an experience which reveals that by responding to a given situation about non-heterosexuality, they believe that they might be viewed as enforcing a certain set of beliefs about sexuality. They believe that their employer doesn't want them to engage with *any* pedagogy or curriculum that might speak 'sexuality'. The teacher's statement also suggests that they do not

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acknowledge the visibility of heterosexuality. Interestingly, the department of which they speak did indeed have policy in relation to this topic which does not espouse the approach 'don't do anything'. I will explore these relevant curricula and policies in relation to sex education in this chapter. A broad-brush picture is painted of the global climate framing the Australian context and the local picture of Queensland. The picture incorporates an historical overview of curriculum and policy development along with research on teachers' practices.

Sex Education: Global, National, Local

I will begin with a broad international perspective then move to an Australian perspective and finally, will focus on a Queensland perspective (the context of the study) that explores sex education curriculum, policy and cultural social views.

Progressive Nations

Nations around the globe have been forging an educational pathway for LGBTIQ+ rights and inclusion. And, others do not and continue to develop and instil and enforce oppressive policies and laws. Whilst significant work is being conducted by individual scholars, small research institutes such as the Queering Research Institute, NY, and larger research machines like La Trobe University all of which is very valuable, it is impossible to represent all the pockets of research contributing to the clearing of the pathway. However, I will attempt to provide a snapshot of some comparable nations to Australia producing visible and well published/cited research in the field.

The Netherlands has a history of being a progressive nation in relation to human rights and social policy; as the first nation to legalise same-sex marriage for example. Following, the Netherlands is known for their progressive and effective sexuality education philosophies. A key driver of the reputation of the Netherlands is Rutgers: a research centre for sexual and reproductive health and rights, funded by the Dutch government

and informing education policy and curriculum not only in the Netherlands but internationally as well [1]. Underpinned by the Rutgers research, Dutch children through to young adults are afforded comprehensive and inclusive sexuality education classes including, but not limited to: gender stereotypes, sexual diversity and sexual assertiveness, love and relationships [2]. The policies and curriculum provide an exemplar; carving a wide and well-lit pathway, to continue the metaphor.

Canada has a well-publicised progressive nation also. Canada has had inclusive curriculum and progressive policy in place since 2015 and a local news report described the curriculum as catching up to social norms with the inclusion of same-sex relationships in the curriculum [3]. Given Canada was one of the first nations to legalise same-sex marriage in the early 2000s, it is a telling tale that some 15 years later, education policy reflects the law. Yet, with a charter of rights and freedoms (which Australia doesn't have), publicly funded religious education institutions continue to deny an equitable learning experience for all students [4]. However, a recent decision by the Ontario Superior Court dismissed a parent application to withdraw his children from aspects of the curriculum, namely G&S diversity [5]. This decision may form a precedent for school boards as they navigate sex education curriculum and religious beliefs. Callaghan [6] reports that Catholic education is committed to complying with the law and recognition of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. However, discrimination based on sexual diversity continues in Catholic schools as evidenced in Callaghan's work [6]. Malins [7] discusses the experiences of primary school educators in Canada as 'teachers still experience barriers that prevent them from feeling fully able to discuss diverse gender and sexual identities' ([7], p. 135). Although a small study of five teachers, Malins' [7] research reveals many similarities to Australian teachers' experiences; maintaining boundaries reliant on assumed parental beliefs, being unsure and cautious, and avoiding the topic of diverse genders and sexualities altogether.

Another global region with numerous academics who, over time, have attempted to progress sex education is the United Kingdom. It is difficult to only name a few but I will attempt to cover some ground. Debbie Epstein has been a significant contributor to the field of sexualities in education, from research in early childhood to tertiary institutions from the

1990s. The prominent and pertinent aspect of Epstein's work, in relation to my own study, has been the dissemination of evidence that (hetero) sexuality exists in primary school and early childhood contexts and that these early year contexts are not void of concepts of sexuality and in this case, diverse sexualities. Epstein's earlier work, Cultures of schooling/cultures of sexuality [8], had a strong focus on gender construction and the connection with hetero/sexuality. The motivation of the study was to dispel the myth that 'teaching' children about diverse sexualities is wrong because children are not mature enough to understand heterosexuality let alone 'such concepts as homosexuality' ([8], p. 38). Epstein's work was pivotal in moving research regarding sexuality concepts from the secondary school into the primary school and early childhood arena.

DePalma and Atkinson's [9] work in the United Kingdom aimed to develop an action research project which would develop teaching practices to address homophobia and heteronormativity. The project aimed to develop pedagogical responses for teachers to address heteronormativity which is very relevant to the work undertaken here. The point of difference is that this research aims to reveal current practices not interrogate or develop teacher practices. In Australia, there is minimal research to provide an understanding of the current pedagogical practices of teachers from teachers' perspectives [10]. More recently, scholars such as Emma Renold (although a long scholarly history in the field also) are leading the charge [11]. Renold's work on gendered harassment and violence, and sex and relationships education has had extraordinary progress with Welsh curriculum and policy progress. Many lessons may be gleaned not only from the products or outcomes, such as curriculum documents and policies, but from the ways in which the scholarship has been achievable. Of course, many, many individuals have contributed to and continue to contribute to the push for sex education that is inclusive and that harnesses human rights perspectives. My intention is not to not acknowledge those individuals but to provide some examples from around the globe.

Australian National Trends in Sex Education

Research in Australia regarding 'education' and 'sexuality' has thus far been focused on curriculum development (see for example [12, 13]), policy

analysis (see for example [14]), LGBT people in education (see for example [15]) and the home-based versus school-based sex education debate (see for example [16–18]). My research focuses on teachers' accounts of their pedagogy and how they conceive their responses to concepts of diverse sexualities. The following provides an overview of the curriculum and policy context in Australia.

Queensland: A History of Curriculum and Policy Development

In this section, I explore the curriculum and policy development and changes in sex education in Australia and Queensland. The background on curriculum development is one aspect of understanding the context in which the research was conducted. Research to date on sex education has been focused on developments in curriculum and policy opposed to teacher practice. National trends in support of equality for LGBTIQ+ people in general government policies have influenced the inclusion of diverse sexualities in national education policies but not necessarily influenced national curriculum until more recently after the study was conducted. Queensland policies have been influenced by national policies and at present have some inclusion based on 'LGBT' people in a student well-being sense. More recently, diverse sexualities have become more evident and explicit in the curriculum, but this was not the case at the time of the interviews for this study. Because sex education is not compulsory in Queensland, issues of equality for LGBTIQ+ people are not governed in schools through curriculum implementation. They are mandated through Queensland education policies; however, with a lack of explicit curriculum content, teachers are their own agents in regards to dealing with issues of equity and diverse sexualities. The danger exemplified by some of the teachers in this study, is that given the sensitive nature of this topic, many teachers may neither engage with nor address these issues or ask for support.

Sex Education

Sex education is as an overarching concept which includes a diverse acknowledgement of the term sexualities. Sexuality education refers specifically to personal/relationship development, social development (education of diverse sexualities such as gay and lesbian sexualities) and health and physical development [17].

From a national educational perspective, Australia has its own history, social contexts and education policy regarding sex education. In terms of a national commitment to sex education policy, the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) developed a *Declaration on National Goals for Schooling*. MCEETYA's membership comprises State, Territory, Australian Government and New Zealand Ministers with responsibility for the portfolios of education, early childhood development, and youth affairs. The aim of the framework is to guide and assist schools with a set of principles to implement practical student well-being policies to create learning environments unimpeded by behaviours such as bullying. The first Declaration, *The Hobart Declaration of 1989* [19] and the second, *The Adelaide Declaration on National Goals for Schooling of 1999* [20], were not inclusive of sexuality education. The most recent Declaration, *The Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians of 2008* [21] specifically identifies sexual orientation as an attribute upon which students should not be discriminated. In the 2008 declaration, sexual orientation is included with the goal, 'Australian schooling promotes equality and excellence' ([21], p. 7). The sub-point of the goal states that all students should be provided with 'access to high-quality schooling that is free from discrimination based on gender, language, sexual orientation…' [21]. In the 1999 declaration, a section titled 'socially just' included equality issues of sex, culture, and socio-economic background [19]. Between 1999 and 2008, social justice and equality in education, according to the Ministerial Council, has moved from sex, culture and economics to be inclusive of sexuality and other categories such as, 'gender, language, pregnancy, ethnicity, religion, health or disability or geographic location' ([21], p. 7).

The development and changes in the curriculum and policy documents regarding sex education in Queensland are reflective of these broader poli-

cies and research perspectives. Research regarding the review of sexuality education in Queensland has been published by Goldman in 2010 [22], 2011 (23) and more recently in 2012 [24]. Whilst Goldman's research is pivotal to the Queensland context, her work is problematically framed by heteronormative perspectives. Goldman has had an interest in sex education and child development evident in a range of publications since the early 1980s, although mostly framed within heteronormative ideologies. Finally, Goldman [22] reviewed the Queensland Curriculum with a view to interrogate 'sexualities' and revealed there was no inclusion of diverse sexualities in any reference to sex education. Goldman's work focuses on curriculum which unfortunately excludes references to relevant policy at the time; Education Queensland's Inclusive Education Statement [25] in which diverse sexualities is included. The focus of Goldman's research was on sex education within the Queensland context and the Queensland Study Authority's curriculum documents yet does not include reference to policy documents which may have provided a supportive argument for inclusion at that time. In a paper published in Sex Education: Sexuality, Society and Learning in 2011, Goldman reiterates the need for sexuality education in schools and she presents research of three external providers on the delivery of their programmes. Goldman argues vehemently for sex education as a necessary feature of primary school education and advocates that the teacher is best placed to deliver such curricula [23]. The progress of Goldman's work in 2012 is evident in her critical analysis of UNESCO's International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education [24] and comparison to Australian curriculum. She declares 'the sampled Australian curriculum is woefully inadequate for the task of teaching puberty, sexuality and reproductive health and safety education' ([24], p. 1). Finally, in her most recent publication, Goldman and colleagues [26] in her further analysis of the Australian curriculum is uncritically aware of diverse gender and sexualities content, but acknowledges its inclusion.

Research conducted to explore teachers' conceptions of sexuality in the Queensland Catholic education system by Willmett and Lidstone [27] also focused on curriculum. The research did not focus on an overview of the curriculum as such; rather the focus was on primary teachers' conceptions of sex education in the curriculum. The point of difference between Willmett and Lidstone's research and my research is their focus

on the teachers' conceptions of sex education vis-á-vis my focus on teachers' conceptions of their pedagogical responses to diverse sexualities in the primary school context.

Changes in Queensland legislation such as changes to the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1991* (Qld) in 2002 also impact curriculum and policy development at a more local level [28]. Sex education in the Queensland curriculum does not become evident until 1992 when relationships education (heterosexual relationships) was included. The Health and Physical Education curriculum in the late 1990s in Queensland included heterosexual and reproductive content [22]. The 2012 draft of the national health curriculum included the key idea of 'relationships and sexuality' ([29], p. 4) within the strand of 'personal, social and community health' ([29], p. 3). The relationships and sexuality section was elaborated with 'exploring sexual and gender identities' ([29], p. 6); however, the document did not include concepts of diverse sexualities, sexual orientation or gay, lesbian, bisexual, intersex and/or transsexual people. The response from Queensland to the draft consultation in regards to the 'sexuality' component included how 'some feedback stated that the curriculum fails to scope out...sexuality' ([30], p. 7) The National LGBTI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Intersex) Health Alliance recommended the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) consider 'consistent and respectful inclusion of LGBTI students and families in the Curriculum' ([31], p. 1). In spite of the criticism and recommendations, there has to date been no inclusion of diverse sexualities in Queensland curriculum documents relevant to the primary sector.

More recent iterations of the Australian Curriculum include notions of diversity in relation to G&S. The document informs us that from year 3 to year 10 (approx. ages 7.5–15.5) the Health and Physical Education Curriculum identifies a focus area of relationships and sexuality and the relevant descriptors include:

- *bullying, harassment, discrimination and violence (including discrimination based on race, gender and sexuality).*
- *changing identities and the factors that influence them (including personal, cultural, gender and sexual identities).*

- *celebrating and respecting difference and diversity in individuals and communities.*

Whilst national curriculum indicates a clear inclusion of diverse genders and sexualities, localised education curriculum and policies do not necessarily follow suit. Queensland policy tends to focus on gender diversity in instances of conflict only, and or in the context of legislative responsibilities. Upon revisiting the Queensland curriculum at the time of writing, any concepts of sexuality which are included in the national health and physical education curriculum, is not included in the Queensland state exemplar curricula plans or mapping documents for primary school curriculum.

Education Policy

Changes in government and shifting politics have seen backward steps in education policy in Queensland over the last decade and a half. In 2005, Education Queensland produced a relatively comprehensive Inclusive Education Statement which included the term 'sexuality'. Whilst no specific definition of 'diverse sexualities' was presented, the policy was 'open' to interpretation. Slee [25] argued that teachers 'must be given the opportunity to update and refine their knowledge of issues of…sexuality in order to respond to diversity and to effectively deliver productive pedagogies' ([25], p. 3). Within the 2005 document it was stated that all Education Queensland staff had responsibilities within these procedures to implement the Inclusive Education Statement [25]. Under the responsibilities section, all Education Queensland staff were to embed principles that inclusive education is part of all Education Queensland school practices, for all students through their schooling [25]. Further information regarding the responsibilities of leadership within the state education department itself to provide appropriate resources, monitoring of implementation, further strategies to support implementation of the policy, and support for teachers in terms of professional development opportunities to implement the policy was available in this document [32]. In 2012, the Queensland Government updated their Policy and Proce-

dure Register to include a preamble which defined diversity to encompass sexual orientation and 'Inclusive curriculum acknowledge[s]…sexuality' [33]. These definitions supported the reading of the Inclusive Education Statement in a different way by specifically including the words 'sexual orientation'. The 2012 policy was progressive for its time. However, it was not a long-standing policy and was promptly revised to 'nothing' of its former self.

In 2013 the Queensland Government replaced the policy with, *Supporting Same Sex Attracted, Intersex or Transgender Students at School* [34]. The two-page document stated:

> It is important to develop an understanding of the individual needs and circumstances of students who identify as same sex attracted, intersex or transgender and ensure that they are treated with respect; information pertaining to these students is managed in accordance with confidentiality policies and they are provided with opportunities to contribute to decisions about practical solutions for any relevant aspects in the school environment. ([34], p. 1)

The document continued with suggestions that schools have responsibilities regarding discrimination, duty of care, student well-being and a list of considerations the school must consider such as student use of toilets. The document included some resources but did not encompass training for school administrators or teachers, advice about curriculum inclusions or reference to social equity issues. The resources included were more limited than the previous iteration. Curriculum documents at the time in Queensland did not support implementation of sex education in schools even though there was evidence of sex education expectations within a key Education Queensland policy document, the *Inclusive Education Statement* [33] and the most recent addition (see [34]). Unfortunately, sometime in 2013–2014, under a liberal/national government, various iterations of the policy were made public and removed. A new policy became visible to the public some time in 2015 under a new labour government. The new two-page document titled, 'Diversity in Queensland Schools: Information for Principals' has a focus on gender diversity [35]. The information and strategies within the document are focused on supporting principals only

and include limited definitions of sex, G&S identities, relevant legislative documents and a few practical strategies around toilet usage and uniforms. With a liberal/national political focus at a national level, labour state politics are erring on the conservative side in relation to diversity in education.

Experienced Australian researchers in the field of LGBTIQ + youth equity, Hillier and Mitchell [16], highlight issues regarding the absence of sex education in curriculum throughout Australia and also the lack of influence or monitoring of government policies such as the *Declaration on National Goals for Schooling* [21] or Queensland's *Inclusive Education Statement* [25]. Hillier and Mitchell [16] suggest, 'Sex education is not mandated in any state or territory of Australia' ([16], p. 5) and therefore they argue LGBT students are missing out on important sex education information. Australian governments have included sexuality issues and social equality issues for people and students with diverse sexual orientations within federal and state/territory policies due to the Western trend towards equality for LGBTIQ + people. Because sex education is not specifically mandated in curriculum, school-based decisions are made according to broad curriculum frameworks regardless of overarching policies. As a result, schools in Australia are not places free from discrimination based on sexual orientation [15].

Parents Versus Schools

Running parallel to developments in policy and curriculum in 'sex education' in Australia is the debate regarding 'who' is responsible for 'sex education', parents or schools? This debate within schools and the wider community has been occurring since the 1970s. In the 1950s and 1960s sex education was non-existent in schools. It was thought of as a private matter. Over recent decades, due to an interrogation of Western childhood development theories, such as the work of Jean Piaget, sex education has become more of a school responsibility. Piaget's ideas regarding human development have dominated educational philosophies for decades and have had a significant impact on concepts around the appropriate age for children to engage in sex education [13]. According to teachers and parents, informed by a comparative study between Leeds, United King-

dom and Sydney, Australia, more contemporary views on responsibility of the school or family for sex education are 'progressing towards securing pragmatic partnerships between schools, agencies and parents' [17]. More recently, research conducted by Ullman and Ferfolja [36] present parents' views which are supportive of inclusive sex education for their children and the researchers highlight the importance of sharing their voices. This research interrupts the teachers' conceptions in my study regarding their fears of parents' views (assuming parents don't want diverse G&S content in sex education contexts).

The debate over the responsibility for educating students about sex and sexuality and what should or shouldn't be included is one element in the history of the development of sex education in Australia. Other wider social and political trends both nationally and internationally have influenced education curriculum and policy development such as religious, cultural and political perspectives. More recently trends towards equality for LGBT people from other Western countries and wider Australian government laws and policies have influenced education policy to be inclusive of diverse sexualities in school practices. These changes impact on teachers and students in schools in Queensland, Australia. It is difficult to justify moving research on sex education of diverse sexualities into the primary school arena when beliefs about childhood innocence still exist. However, research has shown that 'children (in Australia) encounter knowledge about sexuality in their everyday lives through media, interaction with peers and some through queer family members and friends' [37]. This research, along with research on students in primary schools knowing about sexualities [13], has established a place for further research regarding diverse sexualities in the primary school arena. Much research in secondary schools in Australia has been motivated by a need to address homophobic bullying. The primary school context has been a largely avoided avenue for research on sex education inclusive of diverse sexualities due to notions of childhood innocence, social norms and religious taboos [37].

Victoria and Western Australia have sex education policies and supporting resources that are inclusive of diverse sexualities. Victoria has developed the *Catching on Everywhere* document, which is a resource for schools developed by the state government health and education departments in partnership. The document includes reference to policy and

an online resource called *Catching On-line*. There is explicit reference to inclusiveness of diverse sexualities. Based on health content the document also refers to pedagogical resources. Similarly, the Western Australian government (education sector and health sector) has developed resources that support teachers with as much detail as lesson plans with explicit focus on inclusive sexuality education and pedagogical advice [38]. Victorian and Western Australian policies and resources are driven by health issues and equality education, for example, addressing bullying. Because of varying historical and political programmes and policies, the different jurisdictions throughout Australia differ on their sex education stance.

Teachers' Conceptions of Sex Education in Queensland, Australia

As described above, Queensland has unique political and social histories on educational policy and curriculum in relation to sex education. This section reveals teachers' conceptions who are working the forefront of policy and curriculum in the real-world. A range of teachers' conceptions about sex education are presented here and I describe and analyse them with the curriculum and policy context in which they are being revealed. The following quotation reflects one teacher's conceptions about how sex education is implemented in the classroom. The teacher describes what they do and what influences their decision-making.

> Yes, I've organised for my employer to purchase a copy and when I hand out parental permission for them to watch, it's a PG rated DVD, um I give them also a link so parents can access to see what's about. So, if they have any reservations about viewing, or their child viewing this particular resource they can agree for their child not to be present or for their child not to be exposed to that content… Um not so much diverse sexuality. So, but I think, I add that as an adjunct basically… It's not something that I, it's not a focus of my lesson but it is mentioned and I think it's important to mention that, maybe I'm negligent or remise to mention it to parents but not, I don't think substantial conversations are made at home or I don't know, but I think children should be aware that there are other, (pause)

people have relationships that are not heterosexual… Not negligent, yes ok, I said the word negligent (pause-sigh)… (Int. F)

The participant quoted makes note that the resources used are 'approved' by the principal and parents but does not make any reference to curriculum; it is a personal agenda that influences the teacher's actions to teach sex education and to include information about diverse sexualities. The teacher seems unsure about their personal decision with the '*I don't know*' and the pauses and the sigh indicating that they are aware this is, at least, a complex decision. The participant uses the word '*negligent*' to refer to their perceived responsibility to gain permission by parents to explore diverse sexualities within a formal educational context such as health education. It appears that regardless of curriculum, policy or parental wishes, students are at the mercy of teachers to make pedagogical decisions about diverse sexualities, good or bad.

The next excerpt is an example of how hidden curriculum can play-out in schools. Teacher uncertainty when responding to concepts of diverse sexualities may be influenced by a lack of training. This teacher reflects on their lack of training to support professional decisions when responding to diverse sexualities:

Ok where are you (student) going with this (a statement of love for another student of the same gender) because a lot of the time I, because there's nothing really, I hadn't really researched anything, I was just going on gut feeling… I've experienced that confusion as a young person myself but then coming back and having a professional hat on, so to speak, and having to think right, how am I going to attack this? Cause there's nothing written, there's nothing, you're not given, you go to university and you're taught yes there is a little bit, the minute, the tiniest bit delves into sexuality and kids but that's about it, there's nothing because there's nothing out there, you've got to search for information yourself… In terms of just um, how much information is too much information?… and I thought, crap, should I've said that or do I just… Well, it's unfortunate you know, I can't pull him aside to point it out but we can certainly talk to him about what's appropriate (sigh)… I guess I'm still gathering information (laugh). (Int. G)

The teacher was relying on their own personal experiences as a young person and building empathy into their response or how they might like to respond but their response is also driven by the perceived expectation that 'I can't pull him aside'. The teacher's response sends a message to the student that talking about sexual diversity is 'inappropriate' and that they can only talk about the topic in a very general way. This perpetuates the normalisation of heterosexuality. This participant highlights the desire for professional and or pre-service training opposed to 'going on gut feeling' and doesn't make any reference to curriculum or policy. The conflict between personal experiences, professional training needs and resources available inspires an uncertain response by this teacher when a student discusses his own sexual attraction to another student of the same gender.

Looking for support from administrators, curriculum and or policy documents suggest teachers are uncertain about how to respond to diverse sexualities with respect to their professional responsibilities. The following excerpt indicates that the teacher relies on both personal experiences/beliefs and their employer's expectations. This is the expanded excerpt from the beginning of this chapter:

> Yep, yeah I think you need to be very careful because it's like religion, it's not my place to tell you if you're right or wrong, you have your own beliefs but, I can certainly put my own spin on things and provide both perspectives and then you can make your own decision from there especially in the public system that everything has to remain neutral because it's not my position to enforce my beliefs on you or anything like that… Um, I think the department would, no, I don't think the department would want me to do anything to do with sexuality. I don't think they'd want me to even speak of it… Well, I think that the department as far as family planning goes is all that we're required to touch on and even so it's not something that I specifically touch on you know, outside agencies are brought into do that and you know… But um, I don't think the department would appreciate me going forth and you know, telling the world that everybody should be straight or everybody should be gay or everybody should wear pink pants on Thursday… They would still want me to follow their procedures and the code of conduct and anything that I did say would probably breach the code of conduct anyway. (Int. L)

Here the teacher uses an interesting term, neutral. When the teacher uses the word neutral, there is no acknowledgement of the pervasive normality and acceptance of heterosexual; I would argue that views on sexuality in schools are far from neutral and that heterosexuality is very much present, visible, normalised and celebrated. I'm not suggesting that it shouldn't be, but all sexualities should be present, visible, normalised and celebrated. The teacher doesn't seem to see that schools are places where heterosexuality is highly visible in which case sexuality is not neutral; in fact, heterosexuality is promoted through its normalisation. By seeing heterosexuality played out in narrative texts, word problems in mathematics, teachers sharing of personal lives, common family structures, and especially in sex education classes and family planning, it renders other sexualities other than notions of heterosexuality hidden, abnormal, and far from neutral as the teacher implies.

The participant appears to have conflicting conceptions about how they respond to diverse sexuality commenting they would make their own decision and '*put my own spin on things*' yet commenting that the public system '*has to remain neutral*'. Interestingly, this teacher's response draws mainly on the interpretation of the employer's memorandum of policies and procedures (MOPP) which, at the time, did not specifically mention diverse sexualities. Even when teachers are faced with organisational culture that doesn't necessarily support the inclusion of diverse sexualities, participants tend to rely on their own personal beliefs or personal interpretation of their role. Some teachers can and will include content in their teaching that is not part of the curriculum or necessarily part of institutional culture due to personal beliefs. Some participant's pedagogical responses to diverse sexualities were to embrace the concept, to be proactive in particular curriculum areas and others were not.

When teachers are trying to manage priorities with conflicting messages about roles and responsibilities, pedagogical decisions are impacted. This participant describes how an external provider supported the teacher to embrace the diverse sexualities as part of the programme:

> Um, I don't know, I think there's probably a whole lot of things that teachers should probably be trained in first before we worry about that. I mean, I know it's important that kids should know about it (sex education). I guess

that's why probably it's ok for nurses to come into schools that have the correct information, up to date information and are trained. That maybe it is better for them to come and do that job. Whereas we're sort of educators around literacy/numeracy, those things and I think some teachers need to get better at that first before they need to worry about sex education. (Int. D)

This participant describes their perceived expectations for teachers to focus on curriculum in areas of literacy and numeracy as opposed to teaching for health or social issues, in particular sex education. This pressure influences the teacher to value a certain education offering even though they acknowledge the importance of sex education. Some teachers describe their experiences as being worried about negative professional repercussions if they were to acknowledge diverse sexualities.

Teachers share experiences where school culture has promoted diverse sexualities as problematic. For example, the principal may have denied teachers the responsibility and role to implement sex education or denied the presence of students with diverse gender/sexuality identities. The teachers presented these scenarios with both positive and/or negative feelings about the level of support depending on their own personal values. This suggests a building tension between personal teacher beliefs and perceived role of the teacher within the school-based context. These types of responses indicate tension between personal beliefs of normalisation of diverse sexualities of the teacher, growing tension of school-based expectations and fear of wider social and cultural beliefs and expectations regarding the role of the teacher.

I think, for me as a professional, I have no issue if it is part of the curriculum, if it's part of the curriculum and it's part of what I'm supposed to be teaching them, then awesome, happy to, I'd do it straight away. But I don't want to have a casual conversation with a small group of students that can then be misinterpreted, go home and then the parent says, she said what and then I'm in strife in the office because of something that's been misconstrued. Um, I get it if it is part of the curriculum and it's documented, then I'm happy to do it… Yep and I'm certainly happy to talk to my boys about anything at home, but that's my role as a parent, not my role as a teacher. So um, but yeah I do think to a degree, I'm very much a controlled, I'm a helicopter mum, I hover, I do everything to try and help my boys reach

every potential they could ever possibly do so I think it's my job as a parent to talk them about sex but then there's a lot of kids out there who never get that talk so I guess it is a fuzzy area as to whose job it is. (Int. P)

This participant considered that there are potential problems with assigning sex education to parents in that some children may '*never get that talk*'.

Many participants expressed belief that it is not the role of the teacher to respond to diverse sexualities:

So, it's not just protective. But, it also hopefully allows the other children in the group um, affords them some understanding, because everybody is going to have people that they went to school with or people that they were friendly with, everybody is going to have exposure to people who um, who are homosexual… I see it as just part of life… But I think unfortunately the standard behaviour is still that put down mode and it's very much um, something, cause I've gone back to year five for the last couple of years you see that perhaps less than in year seven. You know, 'you're gay' or 'you're a fag' but they're things I very much talk about in the class… I think it (inclusive sex education) just needs to become part of what we're teaching these children and that we're teaching them safe behaviours, if we're making time to um have Queensland Rail come in and talk to the kids about crossing rail ways safely um, the safety house program you know um, drug ed. in terms of life education and it even needs to be more than that because these are big issues. (Int. B)

These excerpts reveal teachers' conceptions as embracing diverse sexualities as a part of everyday, formal and informal situations and as a part of what they believe curriculum should include. Because the curriculum and policy of the time was ambiguous and not aligned, national curriculum was in draft and localised curriculum was at the discretion of principals and communities, teachers are unsure what to do; they rely on their personal experiences and beliefs about sex education. The context in which the teachers were working contributes to the range of teachers' conceptions.

Discussion

Teachers respond in a variety of ways to address diverse sexualities as part of 'sex education'. The debate regarding 'who' is responsible for sexuality education in Australia has been occurring since the 1970s. In the 1950s and 60s formal sexuality education was non-existent in schools; it was thought of as a private matter [13, 39]. However, in more contemporary times the shift in responsibility has moved into the school arena. The debate over the responsibility for educating children about sex and sexuality and what should or shouldn't be included is one element in the history of the development of sex education in Australia [17]. There are other wider social and political trends both nationally and internationally that have influenced education curriculum and policy development such as religious, cultural and political perspectives [40, 41]. Some of the conceptions of teachers reveal that the parent community has expected to have a say and be informed about how schools implement sexuality education but there are exceptions. The boundaries of responsibility for sexuality education are being maintained by teachers and a range of perceived and or actual perceptions of parents and the wider community are driving some teachers' pedagogical decisions.

It has been established that some kids know about diverse sexualities because the teachers describe situations where students raise concepts about diverse sexualities, but are potentially being mis/informed by media, parents and peers [37]. Teachers of students in the early years tended to view the students as too young to know about sexuality and that it was the role of the parents to inform them at such a 'young age'. An interrogation of Western childhood development theories, such as the work of Jean Piaget [42], has impacted on concepts around appropriate ages for children to engage in sex education [13]. As teachers moved into being responsible for older students they were more likely to be open to 'appropriateness' of sex education. Recognising sex education as currently a predominantly heteronormative approach to sexuality education, if included at all, is related to concepts of childhood innocence [37]. Teachers define students as too innocent to know about sexuality without acknowledging, as Blaise [43] found, that they actually do know a lot about sexuality from a very young age. Some teachers don't acknowledge students' under-

standing about diverse sexualities because culturally and institutionally heteronormativity prevails [44].

Teachers are influenced by school and institutional culture and practices. Heteronormative messages are communicated through the formal curriculum and implementation of government and school policies [45]. Teachers in primary schools in Queensland were working in conditions where requirements to include diverse sexualities in the curriculum are non-existent. Homophobic bullying policies at the state level are non-existent. Training opportunities to educate teachers about social equity issues, such as homophobic bullying, were not available in Queensland. Heteronormativity within the wider community and Western cultural practices impacts on the non-inclusion of diverse sexualities and the institutional decisions not to include formal documentation, teacher training or resources to support teachers in responding to diverse sexualities.

A sense of heteronormativity conflicts with teachers' ideals about LGBTIQ+ equity. There is a culture of heteronormativity embedded in school culture with a rich history of normalising heterosexuality. For example, history in Australian educational contexts sees teachers of the late eighties being forbidden by the government to tell the 'truth' about sexuality [46]. There are teachers currently teaching in schools in Queensland who were teaching at that time and these concepts linger in teachers' minds and contribute to the ongoing culture of heteronormativity. Some teachers in this study feel that they should be supportive and value the individual but are uncertain about how they should respond and are unable to find supportive resources and/or training. In 2010, Carman, Mitchell, Schlichthorst and Smith [47] reported over half of the tertiary institutions in Australia that are providers of pre-service teacher education training include sexuality education but this is not necessarily compulsory. It is evident that teachers may be justified in their perceptions within this current research of a lack of pre-service training or in-service training and support from school and educational institutions. Heteronormativity and concepts of childhood innocence impede on tertiary education systems to embrace diverse sexualities as embedded in curricula for pre-service educators. Also influencing tertiary institutions are government policies and procedures and other institutions such as teacher registration bodies [47].

School based policies, national and school-based curriculum and institutional policies and procedures were and continue to be unclear regarding sexual diversities. Education Queensland had an Inclusive Education Statement previously published in 2006; however, prior to 9 July 2012 it did not specifically include 'sexual orientation' or similar as key words to clearly define 'sexuality'. The teachers interviewed for this study did not identify the Inclusive Education Statement as a known document nor were they able to identify specific curriculum or resources to support pedagogical decisions. The Queensland Government, in 2012, included specific definitions of terminology such as 'diversity' and 'inclusive curriculum' to encompass notions of sexual orientation. This allows a different reading of the Inclusive Education Statement [32] to be inclusive of diverse sexualities. However, given teachers weren't aware of the document and the lack of guidance on how to implement inclusive curriculum or pedagogical responses, change in teachers' pedagogical responses at the coal face are unlikely. Interestingly, some teachers referred to employers' code of conduct guidelines as a supposed directive about inclusive responses to diverse sexualities; however, the code of conduct from Education Queensland does not direct teachers' responsibilities regarding diverse sexualities. The recently developed (released in 2017) Queensland Government's policy on *Supporting Same Sex Attracted, Intersex or Transgender Students at School* [34] was not developed when the teachers were interviewed. Non-state employed participants did not refer to official documentation.

Concepts of heteronormativity permeate the systems in which teachers are working. Primary school students know about sexual diversities and raise questions, share ideas and engage in or are exposed to homophobic bullying in classrooms and playgrounds. The data reported here show that teachers respond in a variety of ways to sexual diversities influenced by concepts of childhood innocence and heteronormativity. These concepts are embedded in cultural and institutional practices and personal beliefs of teachers [48].

More recent trends towards equality for LGBTIQ + people from other Western countries and wider Australian government laws and policies have influenced education policy to be inclusive of diverse sexualities in school practices. This is reflected in some teachers' conceptions to include diverse sexuality education regardless of parental wishes and or school

or state institutional policy. This is similar to the findings from Milton's research [12] in which teachers acknowledge that children have the right to sexuality education as sometimes parents don't have the conversations about sexuality, although the teachers in Milton's research were involved in a project where parent input was a key element. Significantly, the current study reveals that there are teachers who are not concerned about parents' views about diverse sexualities education; rather, they believe students have the right to be informed about diverse sexualities and believe students should be taught to be respectful of sexual difference regardless of parental input.

The state employed participants didn't reveal awareness of their employer's policy or procedures regarding Inclusive Education yet some are responding in ways that their employer informs them to do so. Some teachers' decisions to embrace diverse sexualities align with the Queensland Government's 2012 addition to the policies and procedures register:

> Inclusive curriculum: acknowledge[s] sexuality, [teachers] use contexts for learning that develop attitudes, values, knowledge and skills for students to accept; value and respect others and preparing students for positive participation in work, family and civic life; provide a range of approaches, practices and procedures that contribute to better outcomes, competencies and academic achievements for all students and help create an inclusive society; and evaluate their effectiveness on a regular basis (Queensland. Government [33], p. 1)

This quote from the Queensland Government suggests that the teachers in this study should be responding to homophobic bullying, homophobia, heteronormativity and teaching for an equitable education and future for all, inclusive of diversity (diverse sexualities). This research reveals that there are some teachers who were fulfilling their employer's policy and procedures. However, the state education department has not adequately considered the impact these changes may have on schools, teachers and students. Clearly, state-employed teachers were not aware of their employer's stance on diverse sexualities or any formal documentation regarding diverse sexualities. Teachers were motivated to embrace diverse sexualities, to be inclusive because of personal beliefs, not because

of policy direction. Their responses are based on a range of historical, personal, school and culturally based beliefs and practices regardless of any known/unknown policy.

Gerouki [49] reveals that some Greek teachers responded to sexual minority issues by ignoring the issues, dismissing the issues as unimportant or recalling a humorous type response. Given the findings of her research, it is pertinent to draw comparisons with this research more specifically. Gerouki [49] refers to diverse sexuality as 'sexual minority issues' and revealed that Greek teachers were influenced by a generally conservative culture in which diverse sexuality was seen as taboo. The alignment of these findings with this research is evident in instances where teachers avoid diverse sexuality or respond with nonchalance. The influence of a conservative culture described by Gerouki is similar to this research confirming that cultural influences impact on teachers' pedagogical decisions. This research extends Gerouki's work with the finding of other pedagogical responses by Australian teachers in Queensland and the revelation of the impact of not only cultural influences but also institutional and personal beliefs of teachers. The key finding in relation to sex education is some teacher's willingness to include diverse sexualities in the formal curriculum regardless of what parents, the school and the wider community may think or expect. Teachers were not trained to deliver formal sex education learning experiences, inclusive of diverse sexualities, as there was no formal curriculum nor was training available in pre-service or in-service contexts in Queensland at the time.

Conclusions

Curriculum needs to have sex education both explicit and embedded. I must acknowledge that the inclusion of diverse sexualities in the curriculum or policy documentation does not necessarily ensure that sex education is inclusive; however, providing inclusive policy and curriculum documents which are aligned would support teachers to make a firm step [50–53]. What teachers do in relation to teaching sexuality education matters. What they include or don't include sends messages about what is normal and what is not. Teachers need support to feel comfortable, know

the content and have enough knowledge to respond to a range of scenarios. Initial teacher education programmes need to include the content within their curriculum also especially, to discuss why it is so important to include. Some teachers don't recognise the potential impacts on students and or aren't able to reconcile the context in which they are working. Evidence from this research shows that some teachers might enjoy including diverse sexualities themes if the curriculum directly includes the content to be taught. Some teachers reveal a desire to teach for social equity for diverse sexuality and enjoy opportunities to be explicit regardless of curriculum requirements. These data have implications for students' rights to equitable sex education, policy and curriculum development and further implications for how teachers understand and 'read' policy and curriculum within their local contexts.

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9

Re-Doing Research: Best Practices for Asking About Gender and Sexuality in Education Studies

Tiffany Jones

Introduction

Schools and other educational settings should be safe places where children and young people can learn and develop free from violence based on sexual orientation, gender identity and intersex (SOGIE) status; however data indicate SOGIE-based violence occurs in all global regions [1]. Many Ministers have signed a Call to Action to protect and ensure the rights of all children and young people to safe and quality education, regardless of SOGIE status [2]. This is particularly important for some lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) youth who face SOGIE-related violence adversely affecting their mental well-being, education and physical health [1]. Guidance on monitoring and evaluation of SOGIE-based violence has been repeatedly requested by policymakers, data collection experts and advocates from education sectors; including

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those managing routine data collection in national, regional and global studies [3–5]. In 2018, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) asked me as a past collaborator to consult with them in developing this guidance, and particularly to recommend key questions on gender, sexuality and intersex status which could be used in education studies around the world. Developing standard questions on SOGIE status for education studies such as student and staff surveys, interviews and focus groups supported UNESCO's aims to scale up the existence, amount and comparability of monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions; and strengthen education sector responses [1]. This chapter considers the background research around the best practice recommendations I made for UNESCO around SOGIE-based research in education. It takes an academic and historic perspective, where the guide only outlined the basics about the practices themselves in generalised terms for a largely government-based audience.

This chapter specifically provides a definition of SOGIE-based violence; describes links between SOGIE-based violence and other violence types; outlines evidence on the impacts of SOGIE-based violence and offers a rationale for strengthening routine monitoring of SOGIE-based violence and the evaluation of education sector responses. It includes an academic literature review offering an overview of existing indicators and questions in over 100 research reviews, reports and data collection instruments used to capture students' SOGIE status; monitor the nature, scope and consequences of SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions; or evaluate education sector responses. It discusses how and why the particular technical recommendations ultimately provided in the UNESCO document were drawn from the analysis of existing measurement tools, towards supporting a consistent approach to integrate the monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions in routine data collection on school violence and bullying, including in national, regional and international surveys. Finally, it offers a summary of key technical guidance which can be drawn from the past academic work reviewed, for early career academics and students studying gender and sexuality (G&S) in education contexts around the world.

SOGIE-Based Violence: Definitions, Interlinkages and Impacts

Violence based on SOGIE in educational settings—or SOGIE-based violence—targets students who are or are perceived to be lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) [1]; students whose gender expression does not fit into binary gender norms (masculine and feminine) such as boys perceived as 'effeminate' and girls perceived as 'masculine' [6]; and students with intersex variations [7]. It is grounded in the fear, discomfort, intolerance or hatred of:

- homosexuality and sexually diverse people (homophobia),
- and transgender, intersex and other people perceived to transgress gender and sex norms (transphobia and anti-intersex bias) [1].

It occurs in education-related environments such as classrooms, playgrounds, toilets, changing rooms, around schools, on the way to and from school, and online (Table 9.1). It can involve: physical violence; psychological violence, including verbal and emotional abuse; sexual violence, including rape, coercion and harassment; and bullying, including cyberbullying [1, 8].

SOGIE-based violence is related to other types of violence (Table 9.2). Research has repeatedly shown links between SOGIE-based violence (including homophobic and transphobic violence) in educational settings and both general school violence and bullying, and school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) since it is perpetrated as a result of existing gender norms and stereotypes [1, 8–10]. For example, a Viet Nam Ministry of Education and Training collaborative study of 3698 survey participants, 280 focus group participants and 85 interviews (with students including LGBT students, school staff and parents) showed SOGIE-related violence was high in Viet Nam schools; 71% of LGBT students were physically abused and 72.2% were verbally abused. Gay, bisexual and gender non-conforming male and male-to-female transgender (GBT) students faced highly significant increases in risk for all kinds of violence compared to lesbian, bisexual and gender non-conforming female and female-to-male transgender (LBT) students; and had suffered significantly more physi-

cal violence in the last six months (56.5% of GBT students compared to 36.3% of LBT students). Contributing factors included perpetrator motivations of punishing 'feminine' expressions on 'male' bodies, and an increased respect for 'masculine' expressions (even on 'female' bodies)—within a Confucian culture privileging masculinity [9]. This reflected relationships between increased physical school violence against people with 'male' bodies and the punishment of 'feminine' characteristics in studies of countries where females can be assigned lower passive status including Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal and Pakistan [11].

SOGIE-based violence affects students who are targeted by violence, perpetrators and bystanders. It negatively impacts LGBTI students' education [8, 12–24]; employment and lifestyle prospects [12, 25, 26]; health [27, 28]; and well-being [1, 7–9, 13, 21, 27, 29–37]. Studies from all key regions of the world have shown that LGBTI students who experience violence are more likely to:

- Feel unsafe at school [9–11, 19].
- Achieve lower grades [5, 12–15].
- Miss participation, classes or school days [4, 15–18].
- Drop out of school [4, 10, 20, 21].
- Have decreased employment and/or housing prospects [9, 19, 22, 23].
- Feel depressed [10, 18, 19, 26, 27].
- Adopt risky health behaviours [19, 24, 25].
- Think about or attempt suicide [4, 24, 28–34].

Rationale for Strengthening Routine Monitoring and Evaluation

Strengthening routine monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions and evaluation of education sector responses contributes to:

1. Ensuring data integrity—To maintain public trust in the accuracy of statistics and safeguard data integrity, bodies monitoring educational institutions or violence must accurately represent phenomena such as

identities (including SOGIE identities) and factors motivating violence (including SOGIE-related bias) [5, 38, 39].

2. Demonstrating the extent of SOGIE-based violence—ensuring it is less easily overlooked in education sectors [3, 9, 24]. Groups experiencing SOGIE-based violence cannot be identified in surveys without specific questions [5, 38]; these questions are easily included [5]. Data about SOGIE-based violence make visible the facts that people with diverse SOGIE status (including LGBTIs and culturally specific groups such as hijras in South Asia) exist in education institutional settings; and that they and others experience SOGIE-based violence.

3. Destigmatising people experiencing SOGIE-based violence—whether they fit LGBTI or culturally specific identities or are simply the victims of others' perceptions—by showing that their experiences matter [3, 9]. This fosters understanding and allows stakeholders to identify common and unique experiences for different groups.

4. Empowering people to report violence and seek help. Institutional ethics review boards can emphasise the position of children and young people as 'victims' of sensitive sexuality and violence research topics; when research can actually improve the feelings and prospects of participants dealing with these issues [31, 38, 40, 41]. Research can give participants a say in their experiences of education and violence; enhance resilience-based approaches to identities and disseminate helpful resources without compromising their anonymity [5].

5. Improving education sector responses—by identifying more effective responses to SOGIE-based violence and enabling representation of people who experience SOGIE-based violence in governments and educational institutions' decision-making and policy responses [3, 5, 38, 42]. Failing to account for these groups may lead to 'inaccurate scientific conclusions' about educational violence risk factors and interventions [5, 38, 39].

The next section of the chapter considers the history of the literature on the monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in education settings, via a literature review of studies on the topic.

Literature Review

This literature review is based on consideration of over 100 research reviews, reports and data collection instruments. It provides an overview and analysis of the **existing methods, indicators and measures** currently used by governments, NGOs, university researchers and others to:

- capture the SOGIE-based identity of students in school-based surveys and other surveys;
- monitor SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions, and evaluate education sector responses.

The literature showed that the monitoring of SOGIE-based violence and evaluation of school-based responses can occur through a range of methods. Research review panels and researchers have pushed for legislation and requirements for SOGIE identity measures to be incorporated into international and federally supported benchmark surveys and other population-based databases, so that the consequences of inequities affecting LGBTI people can be more fully identified [3, 4, 22, 43]. However, monitoring of SOGIE-based violence has not yet occurred via existing comparative education and violence studies (e.g. the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), the Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) and the Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children Cross-national Survey (HBSC), or many governments and educational institutions' routine data collection efforts). Such studies could at minimum address this problem by capturing SOGIE status and applying indirect tests around violence, or by directly measuring SOGIE-based violence. Research review panels argue researchers should provide a safe, private and appropriate context for such research to aid in accurate data collection on SOGIE status; considering how survey goals and skip patterns influence validity [5]. Best-practice ideals include placing SOGIE-related questions in anonymous online surveys or on self-administered demographics portions of a survey within a private environment, as these methods can encourage respondents to answer sensitive questions related to SOGIE status more accurately [3–5, 24, 44]. Capturing SOGIE-status within the first page of demographics questions in paper-and-pencil sur-

veys administered to large groups is less ideal (as students fill out first pages roughly in unison so privacy can be compromised); using the second or other pages under such conditions may aid protection of participants' privacy—enhancing the accuracy of responses [3, 5, 43]. Interviews are also considered less ideal due to the diminished opportunity for privacy; interviewer training on SOGIE questions should clarify the reasons for the questions, language about response categories and privacy protection [3–5, 43, 44]. Experts state that SOGIE status questions should not be placed near sexual abuse questions; such positioning yields higher non-response rates as it suggests false assumptions of relationships between abuse and SOGIE status [4, 5, 44].

The UN, UNESCO, UNDP and UNAIDS have called for the recognition of SOGIE groups and specification of SOGIE-based violence within research on violence in educational institutions for almost a decade [1, 9, 21, 23, 45–50]. Regional bodies including the European Union, governments, research review panels and researchers promoted the inclusion of questions around SOGIE status in routine data collection, surveys and other studies [3, 4, 22, 39, 44, 51–54]. Including questions on students' SOGIE-based identities and intersex status ensures data accurately reflects crucially relevant real-world phenomena motivating violence in educational institutions [5, 39]. This section of the book chapter addresses the literature on aggregated vs. disaggregated questions for SOGIE status; sexual orientation measures; gender identity and expression measures; and intersex status measures.

SOGIE Status: Aggregated (Combined) Vs. Disaggregated (Separate) Samples

The American Psychological Association (APA) established standard practices for aggregating (combining) and disaggregating (separating out for discussion) participant groups in questions, data analyses and reporting [55]. It guides researchers to reduce bias by describing groups 'at the appropriate level of specificity' (p. 71). Research review panels call for SOGIE measures to be disaggregated in data collection, analysis and reporting because these phenomena impact real-world experiences and must be

acknowledged for data integrity; especially for studying violence in large-scale data collection for educational institutions [3, 4, 22, 39]. LGBTI students can feel more or less safe to their declare identities in different times and places depending on changes in social norms and legislative protections for SOGIE-related identities—recently trends towards disclosure have increased [5]. However, sampling frames and methods should be aimed at reducing under-representation of SOGIE groups due to discrimination and acculturation [3–5]. When the size of subgroups allows and where specificity is appropriate (e.g. in considering violence), research review panels argue that bisexual students should be analysed separately from lesbian and gay respondents, to show differences in experiences [5, 55]. Transgender students and students with intersex variations should also be disaggregated both from same-sex attracted groups [17, 39], and each other [7, 13]. The APA advises against calling groups normal or abnormal [55]. Gay, lesbian and bisexual students can be compared to 'heterosexual students'; transgender students to 'cisgender students' (those whose gender identities align with their assigned sex); students with intersex variations to 'students without intersex variations'. Some students belong to multiple LGBTI groups [4, 7]; showing any overlap amongst groups allows recognition of intersectional biases affecting violence.

Sexual Orientation: Single, Double and Multi-item Measures

Questions about participants' sexual orientation on large-scale and population surveys have varied widely over time, context and target participant groups. Single-item measures on sexual orientation—usually a single indicator or question on sexual behaviour in a survey such as '*Have you had sex with someone of the same sex*?'—were the earliest approach to researching sexual orientation for health purposes [4]. They were first included for American, Australian, Canadian and other students in large-scale health and education studies from the mid-1980s [44, 56–60]. However, the initial estimates of the incidence of young people with diverse sexual orientations were inconstant and conservative due to the variability of single-item measures [4], and how those based solely on sexual behaviour

likely excluded younger people who were not yet sexually active [5]. Further, forced sexual contact provides no indicator of an individual's sexual orientation; only voluntary behaviour is potentially relevant. Many countries built upon these early survey efforts with the advice and aid of either LGBT NGOs and/or large-scale educational or statistical data collection bodies since the 1990s. These included for example Belgium [32]; Britain [61, 62]; Chile, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru [63]; China [8, 64]; Japan [65]; New Zealand [66]; Northern Ireland [67]; South Africa [23]; Thailand [21]; Viet Nam [9] and others. Double-item measures—looking at two aspects of sexual orientation such as sexual behaviour and sexual identity—became more common over this time as researchers aimed to ensure a larger portion of SOGIE diversity was captured. However, research showed some discordance between individuals' behaviours and identities [68]. Measures based on identity could exclude younger populations who had yet to form or declare a sexual identity. They could also exclude those who were uncomfortable declaring it in the kinds of educational or monitored settings where some studies were administered; for example, requiring a student to declare their sexual orientation through the in-person return of a survey to a teacher, an answer in a face-to-face interview or response in a focus group setting may make a participant fear involuntarily public exposure. Further, homophobic bias indicated by the questions preceding an item on identity or the tone or wording choice of a single question itself (e.g. using homosexual without gay or affirming cultural terms) could influence students to hide their identity, whilst a punitive social or institutional environment might also make them hide their behaviours [5]. Scholarly reviews considering the best practice sexual orientation measures have since the late 1990s argued that sexual orientation has at least three major dimensions: attraction, identity and behaviour [4, 5, 24, 41, 44, 69, 70].

In best-practice research, sexual orientation is captured using a multi-item measure with a question on each dimension:

1. **Sexual Attraction/Fantasy**: the sex or gender of individuals that one feels attracted to or fantasises about (*e.g. a question or scale on whether participants feel mainly attracted to males, females, or both females and males?*). Since the 1800s sexual attraction has been the main construct

included in historic definitions of sexual orientation [44]. It is argued by some key theorists as the central relevant component of sexual orientation to developmental, psychological, public health and well-being studies [4, 57, 71]. It is crucial for studying children, who may lack sexual behaviours or identities [4, 5, 69]. Some people always knew their same-sex attraction; attractions may be discussed without 'experience' [24, 31, 72].

2. **Self-Identified Sexual Orientation**: how one identifies one's sexual orientation (*e.g. a question on whether participants identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual or another sexual orientation?*). The conventional responses used for this item (gay, lesbian, bisexual and straight/heterosexual) apply to most people in Western cultural settings [4, 5]. However some young people vary their identifications or prefer other labels (queer, questioning, pansexual) [31]; some have socio-cultural or ceremonial roles which overlap in imprecise ways such as American Indians and Aboriginal Canadians 'two-spirit' roles [5]; some only define receptive male partners as 'gay' in Latino or other cultures [5] or define key terms in diverse ways [73]. Including locally specific culturally appropriate response options for sexual orientation identities alongside Western terms, may make studies more relevant [4, 5, 9]. People may self-identify orientation by 10 years [72, 74–76].

3. **Sexual Behaviour**: the sex of sexual partners (*e.g. a question on whether participants have recently had sex with males, females, or males and females?*). Since earlier questions included in surveys used behaviour, experience with these questions is extensive [4]. It is now understood that people who feel same-sex attraction may not engage in sexual activity with partners of the same sex at all or exclusively [69, 77, 78], and conversely people who identify as heterosexual or bisexual for example may sometimes primarily or solely with people of the same sex. A sexual behaviour item can thus aid understanding of sexual risks, health issues and so on [4, 68]. For sexual orientation purposes, the question should consider voluntary sexual contact only and should consider how LGBTI students' sexual contact does not necessarily comprise 'intercourse' [22, 24].

These three dimensions may not align due to developmental change, partner selection opportunities, stigma, socio-cultural values and interpretations, legal or economic issues [4, 5]. Some people reporting only same-sex attraction and/or behaviour self-identify as heterosexual or bisexual, some who identify as gay report no same-sex sexual behaviours [4, 5, 68]. Shorter time spans are recommended for questions on past sexual behaviour to avoid longer recall; around two years capture fluidity [5]. Each dimension provides relevant information for SOGIE-based violence—students may be targeted due to their identities, behaviours or attractions [4, 5, 69, 77]. Marital status and cohabitation questions may be relevant to the violence experienced by those old enough to marry or co-habit [5].

Gender Identity and Expression: Single, Double and Multi-item Measures

Survey and interview questions about participants' gender identity and expression have had less time to become as widely used as those on sexual orientation. Single-item measures (one question) were used to identify participants' transgender status in surveys of adults from the late1990s [79, 80]. A US survey asked: '*Are you male, female, or transgender?*' [80], and a New Zealand census asked: '*Are you male, female, male-to-female transgender, female-to-male transgender, gender diverse, don't know?*' [79]. Such questions implied that transgender is a sex marker category in Western Societies; which it is not—although a 'third sex' (hijra) can be acknowledged in India or Nepal [3]. The US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) asked: '*Do you consider yourself to be transgender?*' [3]. Such questions assumed transgender participants knew or could clarify the term 'transgender' [66]; and identified as 'transgender' (not male, female, genderqueer, non-conforming, fluid or other cultural identities). A New Zealand/Aotearoa student survey helpfully included definitions and local cultural identities (*Do you think you are transgender? This is a girl who feels like she should have been a boy, or a boy who feels like he should have been a girl [e.g. Trans, Queen, Fa'afafine, Whakawahine, Tangata ira Tane, Genderqueer]?*) [81]. Large-scale surveys including transgender students were

increasingly conducted using double-item measures in early decades of the millennium; in the E.U [3]; Australia [17, 24, 51]; Argentina [23]; and the US [14, 20, 28, 43, 82]. The Australian Bureau of Statistics asked for assigned sex (*What is your sex? Male Female/Other-please specify*) and gender identity (*What is your gender? Male/Female/Other-please specify*) [51]. The *U.S. Youth Risk Behaviour Surveillance System Survey* asked about sex, and gender expression (*On average, how do you think other people at school would describe your appearance, style, dress, or mannerisms?* Options ranged from *Very feminine* to *Very masculine*) [43]. The latter question relied on youths' perceptions of others' perceptions; ignoring how youth behaviours are limited by laws, school or parents. Only chosen behaviours reveal gender expression. Multi-item measures were increasingly used in Australia [13, 19, 83]; Belgium [84]; Canada [52]; Brazil, the Netherlands, the U.K. and Uruguay [3]. They captured assigned sex, gender identity, expression, pronouns and gender affirmations. Best-practice guidelines offer three transgender status dimensions: gender expression incongruence (with assigned sex), gender identity incongruence (with assigned sex), self-identity [3, 4, 39, 43, 51, 52, 55]. In best-practice research, a multi-item measure includes questions on each dimension:

1. **Gender Expression Incongruence (with assigned sex)**: incongruence in one's assigned sex and current expression of gendered behaviours (*e.g. comparing answers to a question on the sex/sex-marker participants were assigned at birth/on their birth certificate, with data on participants' current gender expression* via *pronouns/clothing/behaviours?*). The APA clarified that pronouns (she, he, they) appropriate to participants' gender identity should be used [55]; whether directly requested or inferred (or else, left out). A question clarifying participants' pronouns is thus one measure for gender expression. However gender expression can also be measured by participants' reported desire for or engagement in gender affirmation processes including social processes (dress, haircut and behaviour); legal processes (changing identity documentation); institutional processes (changing gender of enrolment); or medical processes (hormonal or surgical interventions) [13, 19]. Peer bias against nonconforming gender expression (in play, toys, style) starts in infancy [85, 86].

2. **Gender Identity Incongruence (with assigned sex)**: incongruence in one's assigned sex and current gender role identification (*e.g. comparing answers to a question on the sex/sex-marker participants were assigned at birth, with answers to a question on participants' current identification with male, female or another social role?*). The APA research guidelines distinguished sex (an assigned biological categorisation) from gender (a social role) [55]; under-scoring the need for a double-item measure for gender identity. In 2014 the Gender Identity in US Surveillance (GenIUSS group) argued that double-item gender identity measures provide greater accuracy [43]. They proposed questions on assigned sex and current gender identity. Comparing the two responses enables researchers to identify those whose gender identity is different from their assigned sex. Canadian researchers recommended a multi-item model capturing assigned sex and gender identity [52]. Children may know their gender identities do not match their assigned sex by 5 years [17, 83, 86].

3. **Self-identified Transgender Status**: whether one considers oneself transgender, genderqueer or gender non-conforming (*e.g. a direct question on whether participants identify with a status under the transgender umbrella?*). The APA argued that study participants should be called 'what they prefer' [55]; and that researchers should understand that group terminologies can be disputed (pp. 72–73). The 2014 GenIUSS group review recommended proposed single-item transgender status measures. These included one question on whether participants considered themselves transgender: (*Do you consider yourself to be transgender? Yes, transgender, male to female/Yes, transgender, female to male/Yes, transgender, gender non-conforming/No*). Transgender status questions can provide definitions, and include locally specific concepts [3, 81]. Transgender status may be known earlier than sexual identity [17, 86], given exposure to key terms.

These three dimensions may not align due to non-binary or fluid identity, developmental change, stigma, socio-cultural values, legal or economic issues [3, 4, 13, 43, 52]. Transgender students in Australia more frequently have social gender affirmations than medical affirmations [13, 19] —whereas in Iran medical affirmations were promoted. Each dimen-

sion provides relevant information for how students may be targeted in SOGIE-based violence. Researchers consider gender expression incongruence most important due to its visibility to perpetrators, and how gender non-conforming children may not have a clear transgender status or gender identity [43]. Questions for children should use simple definitions [3, 4, 43, 52], and local terms like Australian Aboriginals' brotherboy/sistergirl, Iran's tarajensi/terans, Thailand's kathoey; the Pacific Islands' fa'afafines or others with local experts' aid [3, 9, 87].

Intersex Status: Medical, Social, and Socio-Medical Measures

A review of over sixty studies using intersex status measures considered recent clinical, textual and social studies from all regions: the American-Canadian region [88, 89]; Asia-Pacific [90]; Europe [91]: Africa [92]; and the Middle East [93]. Whilst historically the literature mainly focussed on how medical interventions could be used to 'correct' the bodies of infants, children and adolescents with intersex variations; newer sources cast early medical interventions as problematic for the recipients' long-term health and well-being and a violation of their bodily autonomy [22, 94, 95]. Early interventions are also associated with high early school drop-out rates for students with intersex variations [7]. Intersex status can be captured through medical, social and socio-medical measures. In surveys on SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions, intersex status is best captured using a single-item socio-medical measure:

1. **Medical Measures**: clinical measures of physical sex traits (*e.g. testing chromosomal, hormonal or anatomical features*). Studies applying traditional medical lenses to clinical work usually applied the phrase 'patients with disorders of sex development/DSD' to people with intersex variations, and measured intersex status through physical measures inappropriate to large-scale survey work (e.g. buccal swabs, chromosomal karyotyping, genitalia measures, urine tests, etc.). These studies largely framed the group as patients with specific sets of disorders 'confronting' to family or medical staff. Sometimes concepts consid-

ered offensive or inaccurate to community members were applied as sub-classifications where this DSD language was used, such as 'pseudohermaphroditism'/'true hermaphroditism' [96]; or 'abnormal' [97]. Several of the studies actually contrasted the group against what they termed 'normal' people [98]. These sources sought the cause of the group's 'abnormal' traits [98]; and ways of managing parents' shock or aiding their intervention choices for their child (not the child's choices) [91, 99]. The studies assume the value of early intervention [100]. Comparing marginalised groups to 'normal' groups no longer fits modern research standards [55], and study participants strongly prefer 'intersex' to DSD [7].

2. **Social Measures**: measures of group membership (*e.g. asking about LGBTI, Queer or intersex social identities*). Some studies applying Queer frames of intersex status described the group as disrupting the sex binary (male/female) or dominant gender discourse [101, 102]. Some of these studies used purely social (not socio-medical) measures of intersex status; assuming intersex people were automatically included in established social groups like 'LGBTI people' or 'Queer youth'. This cast intersex status as a social status unrelated to congenital physical characteristics. Such studies may inadvertently include people without official intersex diagnoses as 'intersex', such as some non-binary transgender people without intersex variations (rather than those with diagnosed intersex variations). It is important to distinguish people with intersex variations and non-binary transgender people or others without intersex variations, because their experiences of bodies, health, education and violence differ. Where transgender people may seek medical interventions to change their bodies to fit their gender identity as adults; people with intersex variations are often forced into interventions as children [22]. Forced interventions impact SOGIE-based violence and education drop out, in ways social measures do not capture [7].

3. **Socio-medical Measures**: social measures of established medical diagnoses (*e.g. asking participants to list or select from lists of any particular medical diagnoses or intersex variations*). Studies applying sociological and education frames usually applied the term 'intersex' to people with intersex variations, and participants generally self-identified their intersex status based on previous medical diagnoses in surveys or interviews

[7, 89, 103, 104]. Most people with intersex variations in an Australian study found out about their variation through conversations with doctors and parents about formal diagnoses, as a child (under 18 years) [7]. Therefore, asking a question about specific intersex diagnoses is an inoffensive way of distinguishing people with intersex variations from those with non-binary or non-conforming gender identities, whilst avoiding the physical tests used to capture intersex status in clinical studies (such tests are inappropriate to a violence study as some young people consider them violent). Studies using socio-medical measures largely framed the group as a marginalised group with specific service needs, atypical sex traits and a need for protection from unwanted discrimination [7, 103–106]. Socio-medical measures included write-in questions providing opportunities for participants to identify participants' specific variations or diagnoses, or list-based questions including responses based on diagnoses—e.g. 47XXY, Androgyn Insensitivity Syndrome/AIS, Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia/CAH and others [7]. Some studies discussed 'endocrinology-related features' [105, 106]. However a known diagnosis measure is easier for children to recall, and local terms can be added e.g. Dominican Republic's guevedoche or Iran's do-jensi/miyan-jensi [87].

Due to the rarity of any one variation, more people with intersex variations are captured by items which aggregate (include) all variations. An Australian survey used a multi-item measure to capture participants with intersex variations [22]. Participants were a question on whether they had an intersex variation (*Do you have biological/congenital differences in your sex characteristics? Yes/No/Unsure*); followed by a question allowing participants to select any specific diagnoses they were given from a list of over 30 options which included diagnoses for androgyn insensitivities, congenital adrenal hyperplasia and other variations (*Please select any variation/s that you were born with [tick any/all that apply]*: [the list of intersex variations followed]). Participants were also asked to describe the impacts of the variation/s. The researchers and advocates from intersex organisations behind the study argued that asking whether participants are intersex is problematic, as people without intersex variations (who were not included in the cleansed data) may supply a false positive answer. The most useful ques-

tion was the single-item about official variation/s (diagnoses). Therefore, the researchers and advocates argued it was more useful to ask '*Please list any intersex variations you have been diagnosed with* _____.' Those participants for whom that question is relevant can then select or describe their diagnoses. Participants can have (and report) multiple variations.

Exploring the Nature, Scope and Consequences of SOGIE-Based Violence

Table 9.1 addresses measures which have been used to capture the nature; scope; and consequences of SOGIE-based violence. These are largely categorised as indirect (measures which rely on the cross-analysis of demographic data on SOGIE status and data on violence) or direct (specific single-, double- or multi-item measures explicitly discussing SOGIE-based violence, providing direct statistics on SOGIE-based violence).

Categorising Indicators and Questions on Education Sector Responses

UNESCO has facilitated high-level transnational networking to improve education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence for close to a decade [8, 9, 23]. Historically, education sectors privileged more punitive responses to violence generally—punishing perpetrators, victims and even bystanders through detentions, calling parents, suspensions, violence and expulsions. Increasingly education sectors are looking deeper into the social biases behind violence; moving away from concepts of 'blame' towards shared efforts at creating understanding, education and prevention. Responses include for example policy protections against SOGIE-based violence; curricula and programmes affirming SOGIE-based diversity; supporting student campaigns or GSAs; and offering counselling [8, 9, 13, 23]. Table 9.2 addresses how education sector responses can be evaluated indirectly or directly in research.

Table 9.1 Indirect and direct indicators for measuring SOGIE-based violence

1. Nature of SOGIE-based violence: *motivation, type and perpetrator*

Indirect measures: comparing data on nature of violence by victims' sexual orientation; gender identity and intersex status

Studies can indirectly measure the nature of SOGIE-based violence by including SOGIE status questions in the demographics section; and also questions on the nature of any violence perpetrated, experienced or witnessed. For example using comparative tests a New Zealand study showed transgender students were more likely to report being afraid of being hurt, being in a physical fight, and being hit or harmed than cisgender students [66]. A Viet Nam study compared many types of (physical, verbal, psycho-social, sexual and technology-related) violence for cisgender male heterosexuals, cisgender female heterosexuals and LGBT students [9]; LGBT students were more likely to have experienced violence of each type (particularly gay male and MtF transgender students). Broadly, males were more frequently perpetrators of sexual violence. Qualitative data were a rich source for information on SOGIE-based violence. Further, the European Commission's regional surveys (the European Social Survey/ESS and Eurobarometer) cover bias against LGBT people in European Union countries, including biases held by young people, which can potentially be contrasted against rates of school violence [54]

Direct measures: directly asking about the nature of SOGIE-based violence in single-, double- or multi-item measures

The nature of SOGIE-based violence has been directly discussed in school or online surveys in Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Japan, Mongolia, Thailand, The Netherlands, Norway, Republic of Korea, the UK, the US and Viet Nam [1, 8, 9, 54, 62]. In 2015 the US *National Crime Victimization Survey School Crime Supplement* directly included 'sexual orientation' and 'gender' as options for personal characteristics with a perceived motivating relationship to bullying [107]. An Australian survey directly measured the nature of SOGIE-based violence through a multi-item measure. It asked if participants experienced SOGIE-based violence (*Has anyone ever been abusive to you because of your sexuality? Yes verbally [e.g., called names]/Yes, physically [e.g., bashed up]/Yes, other types of homophobia/No*) [24, 31]. It asked for examples (*If you were physically abused, can you give an example of what happened?*). It asked about other forms of violence (*Have you experienced other forms of homophobia? Social exclusion [e.g., being 'left out']/Rumours spread about you/Graffiti/Cyber bullying/Written abuse [e.g., letters or notes]/Being humiliated/Tolerating homophobic language from friends/Other [please specify]*). It asked about perpetrators of the homophobic violence (*Who did it to you?*)

Table 9.1 (continued)

2. Scope of SOGIE-based violence: *frequency and location*

Indirect measures: comparing data on scope of violence by victims' sexual orientation; gender identity and intersex status Studies can indirectly measure the scope of SOGIE-based violence by including SOGIE status questions in the demographics section; and also questions on the scope of any violence perpetrated, experienced or witnessed. For example a Viet Nam study compared survey items on the frequency of violence for cisgender male heterosexuals, cisgender female heterosexuals and LGBT students [9]; LGBT students were more likely to have experienced violence in the last six months. Differences in qualitative data can also be noted; cisgender heterosexual interviewees in the Viet Nam study identified toilets as key sites for school violence due to being isolated; LGBT interviewees instead identified that toilets were dangerous due to being highly gendered (thus gender diversity was treated as 'threatening' in those locations; motivating SOGIE-based violence). A New Zealand study found transgender students were more likely to report being bullied at least weekly, than cisgender students [66]

Direct measures: directly asking about the scope of SOGIE-based violence in single-, double- or multi-item measures Studies can directly measure the scope of SOGIE-based violence through single-item, double-item and multi-item measures. An Australian study used a single-item measure on the scope of violence [24, 31]. It directly asked participants where their experiences of homophobic violence from a previous question, had occurred (*Where did this happen? At school/On the street/At home/At a social occasion [party etc.]/At a sporting event (e.g., Football/At work/Other [please specify])*

3. Consequences of SOGIE-based violence for perpetrators, victims and bystanders: *education, health and wellbeing*

Indirect measures: comparing data on violence impacts by victims' sexual orientation; gender identity and intersex status Studies can indirectly measure the consequences of SOGIE-based violence by including SOGIE status questions in the demographics section; and also questions on the consequences of any violence perpetrated, experienced or witnessed. By using comparative tests a Viet Nam study showed LGBT victims of violence were more likely to consume alcohol, consider self-harm or suicide and engage in self-harm or suicide attempts (compared to the remainder of the student victim group) [9]. Similarly, by using comparative tests a New Zealand study showed transgender students were more likely than cisgender students to have compromised health and well-being associated with school bullying, depressive symptoms and suicide attempts [66]. Comparative tests in surveys in the US, the Netherlands and other locations found associations between SOGIE status (especially non-conforming gender expressions), school safety concerns and violence and suicidality [4]

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

Direct measures: directly asking about the consequences of SOGIE-based violence in single-, double- or multi-item measures

Studies can directly measure the consequences of SOGIE-based violence through single-item, double-item and multi-item measures. The US School Health Policies and Practices Study (SHPPS) asks questions of school staff about violence, such as what happens when students were caught fighting [108]. It asks how often (*never, rarely, sometimes, almost always, N/A*) the students were responded to in various ways (*referred to a school counsellor/referred to a school administrator/required to participate in an assistance program/referred to legal authorities/placed in detention and several other options*). A direct comparable question could be used to consider what happens when students engage in SOGIE-based violence. An Australian youth survey used a multi-item measure for understanding the consequences of violence. It asked what young people did about the homophobic and transphobic abuse they experienced (*What, if anything, did you do about it?*) [24, 31]. It also asked a direct question on the educational impacts of SOGIE-based violence (*In what ways, if at all, has homophobia impacted on your schooling? I couldn't concentrate in class./My marks dropped./I moved schools./I left school altogether./I missed days./I hid at recess or lunch./I couldn't go to the toilet./I couldn't use the change-rooms./I dropped out of a sport/extra-curricular activity./I became involved in activism./It hasn't affected me at all. /Other [please specify]*). It also asked direct questions on the wellbeing impacts of SOGIE-based violence (*As a result of homophobia, have you ever…. Thought about self-harm?/Harmed yourself?/Thought about suicide?/Attempted suicide?/None of the above?*). This was followed by a write-in response on those wellbeing impacts (*Please tell us more about your answer____*)

Table 9.2 Indirect and direct indicators for measuring education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence

Education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence

Indirect evaluative measures: comparing evaluative data on education sector responses by victims' sexual orientation; gender identity and intersex status

Studies can indirectly evaluate education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence by including SOGIE status questions in the demographics section; and also questions on education sector responses to violence. For example, a Vietnam study found LGBT students were significantly less likely to use any education sector resources overall in response to experiences of violence compared to cisgender heterosexual students (although they were slightly more likely to call a help hotline). A Californian study disaggregated LGBT students from cisgender heterosexual students when it reported on the 'Preventing School Harassment Survey' used to explore school climates [109]. They found LGBT students experienced decreased levels of violence when various education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence were present (including harassment policies that mentioned sexual orientation, and being taught about LGBT issues).

Indirect evaluation of education sector responses can also be achieved by comparing the nature, scope or consequences of violence experienced by participants in educational institutions with a particular approach/resource, to the experience of violence for those in institutions without that approach/resource. For example, a British study found gay and lesbian participants felt better about their school if it responded to homophobic bullying using any approach [62]. Another US study found that a gay-straight-alliance club (GSA) was most strongly associated with gay and lesbian participants' positive assessment of their schools' climate and perceived safety [110]. An Australian study found that direct policy protections against SOGIE-based violence were associated with decreased SOGIE-based violence and decreased consequences (including self-harm and suicide attempts) [31]

Direct evaluative measures: directly asking for evaluation of education sector responses on SOGIE-based violence in single-, double- or multi-item measures

(continued)

Table 9.2 (continued)

Studies can directly evaluate education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence through single-item, double-item and multi-item evaluation measures. Items range from a simple question asking for a direct assessment rating of the usefulness of an education sector response to SOGIE-based violence; through to multiple questions evaluating different education sector responses in different ways. The Netherlands, the UK and the US have conducted relatively large-scale evaluations of programmes to prevent and address homophobic and transphobic violence in the education sector to measure the effectiveness and impact of these programmes [1]. In the UK, the Government Equalities Office commissioned independent research in 2014 to evaluate the most effective education sector responses to homophobic and transphobic bullying. Researchers reviewed existing legislation and policies, interviewed teachers and educational staff involved in the delivery of anti-bullying responses, and developed case studies based on four schools [111]. In other countries, evaluations of small-scale interventions have been conducted by NGOs or research institutions, but these have not provided sufficient robust data to inform scale up of these interventions. Opportunities for direct evaluation may be missed for contextually specific reasons. A 2016–2017 evaluation of the Australian Safe Schools program (a national education programme response to SOGIE-based violence which had government funding) was halted due to the sensitivity of politicking around the marriage equality debate [112]. The US School Health Policies and Practices Study (SHPPS) asks questions of school staff about responses to school violence and bullying, such as whether the school has a policy prohibiting bullying, peer mediation and bullying prevention programs, plans for actions to take when students attempt suicide and so on [108]. However, this could be adapted to include direct questions on policy lines on prevention of SOGIE-based violence and the existence, use or usefulness of other supports e.g. curricula and textbook coverage, GSAs, bathroom access provisions and other options. Qualitative research evaluating responses like GSAs may particularly offer information on more complex benefits from education sector responses not captured in statistics on frequency or length of use [113]

Discussion: What Is Best Practice?

Best practices are temporal and contextually specific construct. They are based on 'latest or currently accepted' thinking and approaches, which vary across place or time, and have a shelf-life limited to usefulness. Best practices in G&S education research currently encourage integration for routine monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in educational institutions in major international, regional and national surveys, as useful *for current policy conceptualisation work*. Governments, education sector leadership, managers of international surveys and local data collection, advocates and others should consistently support systematic monitoring of SOGIE-based violence in educational settings, including:

- using existing routine data collection mechanisms with questions on the school environment, including education sector surveys, violence reporting mechanisms, global/regional surveys (PISA, GSHS, and HBSC, etc.);
- ensuring these mechanisms include appropriate sensitive measures of SOGIE-based violence and that data are disaggregated by age, gender, sexual orientation, transgender and intersex status to identify LGBTI students;
- adapting terminology to the context, particularly in countries where same-sex relationships are illegal.

Questions capturing SOGIE status should sit in the participants' demographics section opening anonymous online or private in-person surveys, or next page for less private surveys; not after anti-LGBTI bias or sexual abuse questions.

Best Practice for Measuring Sexual Orientation

The literature shows a multi-item measure is best practice for measuring sexual orientation; capturing identity, behaviour and attraction [4, 5, 24, 44, 69]. Ideally all three 'recommended' questions should be used,

however when only one can be used the question on attraction is most relevant for all ages including younger groups. A question on marital and cohabitation status is 'suggested' for older students in relevant institutional/socio-cultural sites. The second item on self-identification can adapt to include local concepts/roles (e.g. two-spirit) (Table 9.3).

Best Practice for Measuring Gender Identity and Expression

The literature suggests a multi-item measure is best practice for gender identity, capturing transgender status, gender identity incongruence and gender expression incongruence [3, 4, 38, 39, 43, 52]. Ideally all three 'recommended' items (four questions) should be used, however when only one item can be used the two questions on gender expression incongruence are most relevant for all ages including younger groups. A question is 'suggested' on pronouns. The third item on transgender status can adapt to include local concepts (e.g. fa'afafine) (Table 9.4).

Best Practice for Measuring Intersex Status

The literature suggests a single-item measure is best practice for measuring intersex status, capturing relevant diagnoses [22, 39]. Ideally the 'recommended' question can add in local concepts (e.g. Guevedoche). A shorter option is 'suggested' (Table 9.5).

Best Practice in Sampling and Aggregation

When reporting and analysing results, consider how the survey was administered, question placement and surrounding questions, skip-patterns, and missing data and any effect that might have on responses. Screen data for respondent errors in the larger population yielding misclassification into SOGIE minorities. Analysis should consider differences:

Table 9.3 Sexual orientation multi-item measure

Dimension	Question
Recommended 1. Sexual attraction: *The individuals one feels attracted to*	People are different in their sexual attraction to other people. Which best describes your feelings of attraction? Are you attracted to: a. Females only b. Males only c. Both females and males d. Unsure
Recommended 2. Self-identified sexual orientation: *How one identifies one's sexual orientation*	Do you consider yourself to be: a. Heterosexual or straight b. Gay or lesbian (or [insert local terms]) c. Bisexual (or [insert local terms]) d. Queer e. Unsure or questioning f. Another option (____write in)
Recommended 3. Sexual behaviour: *The sex of sexual partners*	In the past two years who have you had voluntary sexual contact with (e.g. sexual kissing, sexual touching, oral or genital sex etc.)? a. Males only b. Females only c. Both males and females d. I have not had voluntary sexual contact in the past two years
(Suggested) Marital & co-habitation status: whether one has lived with partner	Have you **ever been** or are you (tick all that apply): a. Married to different sex partner b. Married to same sex partner c. Married outside local laws only d. Living with different sex partner e. Living with same sex partner f. Legally separated/divorced g. Widowed e. Never married/lived with partner

Table 9.4 Gender multi-item measure

Dimension	Question
Recommended 1. Gender Expression Incongruence: *Incongruence in one's assigned sex and current expression of gendered behaviours*	What sex/sex marker were you assigned at birth or on your birth certificate? a. Male/M b. Female/F c. Another option (_____ write in) When able, how do you choose to express your gender? a. Masculine presentation (style, clothing), mannerisms and behaviours b. Feminine presentation (style, clothing), mannerisms and behaviours c. Neutral/mixed presentation (style, clothing) and behaviours d. Another option (_____ write in)
Recommended 2. Gender Identity Incongruence: *Incongruence in one's assigned sex and current gender role identification*	[Note, include the question above on assigned sex] What gender do you see yourself as now? a. Male b. Female c. Another option (_____ write in)

(continued)

Table 9.4 (continued)

Dimension	Question
Recommended 3. Transgender Status: *Whether one considers oneself transgender, genderqueer or gender non-conforming*	Transgender people do not feel their gender 'fits' the sex they were assigned at birth; some girls feel more masculine/like a boy, some boys feel more feminine/like a girl, some do not fit any gender. Do you consider yourself to be transgender? a. Yes, transgender MTF, male-to-female (or [insert local terms]) b. Yes, transgender FTM, female-to-male (or [insert local terms]) c. Yes, transgender, gender non-conforming/genderqueer/gender fluid (or [insert local terms]) d. No
(Suggested) Pronouns: For direct quotes	Which pronouns do you prefer people use when referring to you? a. He/him b. She/her c. They/them d) Another option (____ write in)

Table 9.5 Intersex status single-item measure

Dimension	Question
Recommended 1. Intersex variations: *Intersex variations one has been diagnosed with*	Please select any variation/medical diagnosis that you were born with: • None • 5-alpha reductase deficiency (5-ARD) • 17-beta-hydroxysteroid dehydrogenase deficiency • Androgen Insensitivity Syndrome (CAIS or PAIS) • Aphallia • Bladder exstrophy • Clitoromegaly (large clitoris) • Classic Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia (Classic CAH) • Cryptorchidism (undescended teste/s) • De la Chapelle (XX Male syndrome) • Epispadias • Fraser syndrome • Gonadal dysgenesis • Hypospadias • Jacobs/XYY syndrome • Kallmann syndrome • Klinefelter's syndrome • Late ONSET Congenital Adrenal Hyperplasia (late onset CAH) • Leydig cell hypoplasia • Micropenis • Mosaicism (sex) • Mullerian agenesis (MRKH) • Mullerian (duct) aplasia

Table 9.5 (continued)

Dimension	Question
	• Ovo-testes • Persistent mullerian duct syndrome • Polycystic Ovary Syndrome (PCOS)/Hyperandrogenism • Progestin induced virilisation • Swyer's syndrome • Turner's syndrome • Triple-X syndrome • XXY/47 • XY/XO mosaics • XY-Turner's syndrome • Another variation (or [insert local terms])
(Suggested) *Short adaptation*	Please list any intersex variations you have been diagnosed with:_____

- between heterosexual, and (disaggregated) gay and lesbian students, and bisexual students;
- between cisgender and (all/aggregated) transgender students; and
- between students without intersex variations and students with (all/aggregated) intersex variations.

Differences across sex, age and racial/ethnic groups should be considered where sample sizes permit [5, 22, 44]. The differences should especially be considered for questions on experiences of violence (verbal, physical or otherwise) and its impacts; education achievement and attendance; school climate/safety; health, mental health and well-being.

Best Practice in Reporting

The *6th Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* [55] established standard practices for reducing bias in reporting through sensitivity to local community consultations and careful language use. The APA argues that bias against SOGIE populations in reporting is unacceptable, and suggest re-reading draft reports specifically for bias against such populations and asking 'people from targeted groups to read and comment on your material' (p. 71); this could be achieved via reference groups, NGO input or expert feedback from local scholars. Report information on SOGIE status in a separate section (e.g. demographics) to sexual abuse data. When reporting comparisons avoid casting minorities as outside of the 'normal' population; use the suggested disaggregated groups (e.g. compare transgender students to cisgender students). For direct participant quotes or narratives, researchers should talk about individual participants using the pronoun appropriate to their current gender identity. A question on pronouns has been suggested for inclusion, to help capture gender expression and to aid in wording for reports.

Best Practice in Measuring Violence

This section provides recommended topics for direct and indirect measures monitoring SOGIE-based violence and evaluating education sector responses in large-scale surveys and interview questions. For surveys with pre-existing violence questions, indirect measures of SOGIE-based violence can be created by adding in the recommended questions on SOGIE-status and then comparing the data on the violence perpetrated, experienced or witnessed against victims' sexual orientation (heterosexual students vs. bisexual students vs. gay and lesbian students); gender identity (transgender vs. cisgender students) and intersex status (students with intersex variations vs. students without intersex variations). Alternatively, new direct or indirect measures may be developed based on these recommendations. Survey questions on violence should appear alongside local LGBTI-friendly youth support organisation links and hotlines (Table 9.6).

Best Practice for Legal, Ethical and Methodological Issues

It is useful to understand any legal, ethical and methodological issues surrounding the study of SOGIE-based violence. These can differ according to context, although some general themes are discussed following.

- **Legal Issues**: Laws may prevent researchers from asking young people under the age of consent about their SOGIE status, criminalise LGBTI people's identities or behaviours, or require ensuring measures are in place to protect anonymity and confidentiality [1, 114]. Researchers should ensure their own and their participants' legal safety when conducting research; understanding and working within local legislative provisions. It may be possible to research some topics/words and not others; or retrospectively with adults rather than with current students. Recommended SOGIE status measures contain a question that is less contentious by many laws (a question on *sexual attraction* not identity; a question on *gender expression* not identity, a question on *diagnosis* not intersex status). Participants' anonymity and confidentiality should

Table 9.6 SOGIE-based violence measures

Dimension	Topic areas for indicators (indirect & direct measures)
Recommended 1. Nature of SOGIE-based violence: *The motivation behind violence, type of violence and category of perpetrator*	• Have the participants experienced SOGIE-based violence? • Have the participants witnessed SOGIE-based violence? Did they intervene? • Have the participants perpetrated SOGIE-based violence? Why? • Was the violence physical (e.g. being hit or kicked); verbal (e.g. being shouted at or called names); or of another type (cyberbullying, written abuse/graffiti, being humiliated, etc.)? • Were perpetrators school staff, students, parents or another person? • Were victims, perpetrators or intervening witnesses more frequently of particular age groups, gender, etc.?
Recommended 2. Scope of SOGIE-based violence: *The frequency and location of violence*	• Did the SOGIE-based violence (e.g. homophobic violence) occur in the school, street, home, online? • If at school, did the SOGIE-based violence (e.g. homophobic violence) occur in the classroom, hallways, toilets, change-rooms, playgrounds, dorms or another site? • Were particular types of SOGIE-based violence experienced or witnessed: yearly/monthly/fortnightly/weekly/daily?

(continued)

Table 9.6 (continued)

Dimension	Topic areas for indicators (indirect & direct measures)
Recommended 3. Consequences of SOGIE-based violence: *educational, safety, health & wellbeing, lifestyle & employment impacts*	• Did the SOGIE-based violence (e.g. homophobic violence) lead the victims to experience educational outcomes (miss or skip classes? miss or skip school days? miss or skip after school activities/outside hours events? drop grades? change schools? leave school altogether? engage in educational activism?)
	• Did SOGIE-based violence impact witnesses' educational outcomes? Did it impact perpetrators educational outcomes?
	• Did the SOGIE-based violence lead the victims to experience health and wellbeing outcomes (feel unsafe/anxious/depressed/ill? consider self-harm? engage in self-harm? consider suicide? engage in suicide? increase resilience/become stronger?)
	• Did the SOGIE-based violence impact health outcomes for witnesses? Did it impact health outcomes for perpetrators?
	• Did the SOGIE-based violence impact other areas for victims, witnesses or perpetrators (self-concept? self-esteem? social networks? motivation? ability to reach career goals? employment opportunities? response to others being abused?)

(continued)

Table 9.6 (continued)

Dimension	Topic areas for indicators (indirect & direct measures)
Recommended 4. Evaluation of responses to SOGIE-based violence: *The evaluation of the use, usefulness and impacts of education sector responses*	• Was the SOGIE-based violence reported? • Did reports of SOGIE-based violence lead to a response (e.g. punishment? corrective advice? counselling referrals? education on LGBTI diversity? change via a new policy, curricula, program or approach?) • Was SOGIE-based violence increased or decreased in educational institutions where a particular education response was in place (e.g. anti-homophobia policies, curricula or programs supporting diversity or tolerance, posters/flags/stickers on display supporting diversity, staff training on LGBTI diversity, GSAs, special support days, LGBTI-friendly counselling, library or other resources) • Did the education site's response to SOGIE-based violence lead to other outcomes for students or staff (e.g. feeling safer? producing better grades? rating the school climate more positively? having improved wellbeing? finding the response/s useful?) • Did the education site's response to SOGIE-based violence need improvement (e.g. training? wider application or availability of resource/s? more visibility/promotion? more coverage on particular theme/s? additional response/s?)

be protected in data collection, storage and destruction, and in reporting.

- **Ethical Issues**: SOGIE-based violence research can stimulate helpful policy and programme responses [3, 5, 38, 39, 42], and participants can find participation *directly* beneficial [22, 24, 40]. A Netherlands study of the effects of participation in sexuality research among 899 youth found that the negative effects of research participation reported by participants (their levels of distress and need for help) were limited, whilst the benefits (positive feelings from participating) were substantial [40]. Younger or lower educated participants experienced even more positive feelings, and should not be excluded. Since perpetrators of SOGIE-based violence against LGBTIs can include their parents/guardians, young people should not be made to seek parental permission for participation in SOGIE-based violence studies [13, 24, 31]. Girls and victims of sexual coercion experience comparably more need for help than males in sexuality-focussed research—studies should supply aid [40]. Institutional ethical review boards should be taught that SOGIE-based violence is harmful and best-practice research on it can reduce harm. Surveys and reports should avoid anti-LGBTI bias, and should aim at enhancing education sector responses to SOGIE-based violence. Studies of school climate with questions on SOGIE status should not exclude young people, and young people (and LGBTI students) should not be forced to seek parental permission for participation in studies on SOGIE-based violence which include age-appropriate measures and the appropriate support. Local support contacts/hotlines for LGBTI youth, victims of violence (including sexual violence) and/or youth well-being issues should instead be supplied near or at the end of key sections or prominently within the survey. Much of our work has focussed on the need in some policy-supported places like Australia where circumstance allows, to explore LGBTIs' activism, affirming experiences, pleasure and other uplifting topics which question negative or victimising tropes about LGBTI youth—this is an ethical issue to consider in terms of what is most helpful in a specific context.

- **Methodological Issues**: Some studies covering SOGIE-based violence can under-emphasise resilience, or have classification errors leading to

under- or over-representation of SOGIE groups [41, 70]. The literature suggests researchers could cover 2 years of sexual behaviours (for fluidity), pilot all survey items and pre-plan tests. Researchers should also cleanse mischievous or abusive responses. Lastly, when the study focusses on students' victimisation on the basis of LGBTI status, it is important to acknowledge students' activism and resilience to counterbalance this representation so as not to suggest LGBTI students are without hope or options for positive futures.

Conclusion

Systematic monitoring of the prevalence of SOGIE-based violence in educational settings may one day occur through existing routine data collection mechanisms that already include questions on the school environment and safety in future. These include international, regional, national and school-based surveys managed by the education sector and reporting mechanisms for incidents of violence—such as the Global School-based Student Health Survey and many others (the PISA, the TERCE, etc.). However, in the meantime early career researchers and research students in G&S may be quite well positioned in many contexts to do locally ground-breaking work in this area. This is especially due to the nature of student research—which is usually funded outside of traditional funding mechanisms, usually expected to expand current thinking in some key way, and usually given a long enough time period (sometimes many years) to take a more in-depth look at the complex cultural experiences around SOGIE status in educational settings. This book chapter supplies recommendations about capturing SOGIE status drawn from key literature, to be adapted to each study's context, laws and culture.

Overall, the literature suggested that questions on SOGIE status should be positioned close to the start of anonymous online or private in-person surveys/interview questionnaire write-in components, near demographics sections, or the next page for less private surveys. They should not appear after anti-LGBTI messaging, or questions on sexual abuse. A multi-item sexual orientation measure with items on attraction, identity & behaviour is mostly recommended for studies in education considering sexuality;

however, if laws or social tolerance for diversity is restricted researchers may choose to use only the question on attraction for example. A multi-Item gender identity & expression measure with items on gender expression incongruence, gender identity incongruence & transgender status is mostly recommended for education studies where inclusion of gender diversity is aimed at, however in restricted contexts or with younger age groups researchers may find it safer or easier to use only the gender expression incongruence item. A single-item socio-medical intersex status measure in which participants select from a list of diagnoses is appears most useful for education studies inclusive of the intersex status of participants, to avoid any confusion with transgender status or other mistakes seen in past studies. If space is restricted in the study, a shorter write-in option may be preferable. The data should ideally be disaggregated by age, gender, sexual orientation, and gender identity/expression and intersex status. Bias against SOGIE populations in reporting can be overcome through seeking the advice of LGBTI reference groups/experts and through employing careful language use.

When conducting research on G&S issues in education researchers should particularly aim to understand and work within local legislative provisions; protect participants' anonymity; aim at improving education sector responses and understand consent issues. They should also provide local supports/hotlines in the study; conduct piloting/pre-plan tests; avoid classification errors; and acknowledge LGBTI students' resilience to ensure that positive or forward-facing representation is mixed in with accurate coverage of past negative experiences for LGBTI youth groups. Whilst this chapter has mainly framed the value of questions on G&S in education in relation to violence and its prevention, these studies can be framed around and justified by issues of health, identity, sex education or many other themes. The dominance of violence and negativity in research (and in education contexts) around G&S issues still useful now to developing protections for youth; will likely give way to many other themes of their joys, pleasure and activism in the future. This will occur particularly as the new energies of early career researchers and students shape the field to have new foci over time, and as new more affirming cultural contexts start to affect the field in exciting ways and uplifting ways. It is likely that in the future, this will lead to constantly evolving standards for 'best

practice' which challenge some of the assumptions established researchers like myself once made. So take my recommendations as set in sand, and not in stone. I welcome the next generation of researchers re-doing research into our shared fields. I heartily encourage them to question and build on our existing ideas, and to understand that these are views and even strategic choices made 'of and for' current times wherein G&S education and research *are hotly contested*. The shelf life of best-practice ideals is and should be limited to their practical usefulness, and continually critiqued over time.

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Part III

Carving Out Careers in Gender & Sexuality Education Research

10

Carving Out Qualifications: Mastering Ph.D. Problems in Post-graduate Gender & Sexuality Study

Tiffany Jones, Alison Rahn, Lucille Kerr, Paulina Ezer, Mandy Henningham, Andrea del Pozo de Bolger, Chloe Parkinson and Jessica Ison

Introduction

The international research literature on people working in gender and sexualities, including literature on LGBTI people, addresses the key issues emerging education research, gender studies or sexualities studies aca-

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demics face in limited ways. This book chapter considers the difficulties of studying gender and sexualities as higher degree research (HDR) students—including honours, Masters and Ph.D. candidates for example. It first reviews the literature on working in this area and second provides a series of individuals' most difficult experiences of being an HDR in gender and sexuality (G&S) research, and how they creatively overcame key obstacles. The chapter concludes by drawing together key learning from the literature and the HDR learning experiences, which can be applied when studying G&S topics.

Literature Review: Problems Working in Gender & Sexuality Issues

The literature on problems for working around G&S issues mainly stems from America [1–7] and Europe [8–12], with occasional examples from elsewhere such as the Western Pacific and Middle East [13–16]. It mainly considers examples of discrimination [3–6, 8, 9, 11], the legal and financial status of marginalised LGB employees across particular countries in Western regions [1, 12, 13] and other regions [9]. There is an emphasis on research in nursing and policing over education research [6, 7]; and a focus on qualitative work. Studies mainly use a small number of focus groups and interviews with individuals from some key organisations [6, 8–11, 14], legal or policy analyses [1, 9, 13], and/or psychological frames for 'coping' with work discrimination [3, 4]. An especially wide-reaching international project funded by Norway and Sweden considered LGBT workers' experiences of discrimination in Argentina, Hungary, Thailand, Costa Rica, France, India, Indonesia, Montenegro and South Africa [9]. Interviews showed experiences of discrimination included exclusion from the workforce on the basis of non-normativity, harassment and invasive personal questions, and in a few extreme cases being bullied, mobbed and sexually or physically assaulted. Studies particularly on women's experi-

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ences hinted that discrimination against gender and sexual orientation could compound in particularly restrictive ways [5, 8, 11], however generally lesbians fared better than their heterosexual counterparts in purely financial analyses [12]. Indigeneity or being transgender could also be a factor which complicated an individuals' access to resources or research supports, particularly for higher degree research students, even when they were academically gifted [15, 16].

Overall, there was no recent or detailed work on the complications of research for women and LGBTI researchers, or education workers' own views of the problems in G&S research in education as a field specifically. There was also a problematic sense across the literature that discrimination was simply inevitable; something women and LGBTI people and other researchers must simply 'adjust' to—rather than any exploration of positive contributions of being a woman, or an LGBTI or alternately not belonging to such groups can make to research. The complication of all these issues particular to being an early career, or a student, in academic environments is also overlooked. This book chapter aims to overcome this gap and create greater networking in a local academic community in G&S studies in education and beyond, through a collaborative creative reflection exercise exploring:

- the greatest difficulties individuals experienced as higher degree researchers (HDRs) in their past or present student work;
- how they overcame the difficulties they faced as higher degree researchers; and
- how they can give advice which empowers others in the collaboration or in G&S research in education could overcome similarly problematic situations.

Methodology: Creative Collaborative Community Co-publishing

This book chapter draws on key tenants of the critical education paradigm, including feminist and queer work. It privileges empowerment through communal engagement with peers with the objective of empowerment

of the group through collaborative reflection work [17–20]. It is particularly informed by research on the value of de-constructive feminist group co-reflection on the barriers and biases within academic institutions for HDR students'—and particularly female HDR students'—progress [21, 22]. Specifically, we as eight early career G&S researchers (mainly HDR students) came together to reflect both informally and formally on, and improve our position within the academic work discipline and to contribute to improving the position of G&S researchers broadly. All of us are women; some of the group are members of LGBTI, indigenous, low socio-economic or other community sub-groups. As a collaborative community, we reflected on key issues by both email and the exchange of notes and phone calls. We agreed to communally create a publication (as publications are privileged in our workplace) reflecting on and empowering ourselves around key research problems we have faced in studying G&S issues in and beyond education. Publishing collaboratively was considered a primary goal, since publication collaborations and the building of informal support networks are essential particularly to the academic progress of female research students, who cannot rely on merit alone to progress in academia but must draw on their extended networking and collaboration skills and experience to be upraised [21, 22].

The reflective exchanges we shared as a group considered a range of difficult experiences we had undergone as female/LGBT/diverse HDRs, and took place over meetings and in group emails over a six month period. The following reflections in this chapter were samples of some of the key problems we faced and overcame, and then reflected on for a group solution and co-empowerment. Individuals in our group chose to name ourselves to give the reflections a narrative quality, however this collaborative approach could be used with anonymity if preferred in publications (in this case the group felt giving other G&S and education researchers a 'real world' figure who overcame a problem as an HDR would be more inspiring than anonymous reflections). We also chose, for this book chapter, to focus on problems that were more likely to be experienced by larger groups of people than problems, which stemmed only from the more unique specificities of our own projects.

Experience Review: How Gender & Sexuality HDRs Overcame Key Problems

TIFFANY JONES—Responding to Senior Bias

A senior staff member at the university where I once started a Ph.D. told me to change my thesis topic from exploring policy on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) students to something less controversial. They said I should change the topic, specifically, so people wouldn't assume I was '*lesbian*'. After failed conversations attempting to change the minds of my seniors, I changed universities instead. I did my Ph.D. project on policy on LGBTI students; got published (books, reports, articles); got grants (from the Australian Research Council and UNESCO for example); got jobs (at UNE, La Trobe, & Macquarie); and even promotions… not despite, but *because of* the unique focus of my research. Sometimes I missed certain promotions or job offers in contexts that may have been more homophobic or sexist—one can't always know. Like many younger women, LGBTIs and G&S experts I am also subject to increased unpaid labour demands by senior staff (including seniors *at my own senior level*) due to the perception that my own work is less important. Sometimes there is a special value in *not even engaging* in the additional unpaid and pointless labour of responding to disproportionate requests for additional unpaid and pointless labour. It is however worth doing the work to find and co-create contexts in which such discrimination will occur less and less—equity efforts have a long-term pay-off and 'point'.

The legal context for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) employees continually shifts. In 2012 the United Nations called for non-discrimination approaches to LGBTI employees through clarifying the application of international human rights legislation provisions reaching around the world [23], at a time when under one-fifth of all counties had some kind of protection in place for any LGBTI employee group [24]. In countries like Australia, governments introduced landscape-shifting federal legislative protection for LGBTIs and for gender expression broadly in employment [25]. Yet despite these significant steps, recent anecdotal Australian media coverage has suggested that some people might be remaining closeted at work regardless of any protections for their dis-

closures of LGBTI status, and questioned the potential of harmful mental health impacts that may stem from making—and also from not making—LGBTI identity disclosures [26]. This questioning has mimicked uncertainty in other industries on LGBTI employees' disclosures in protected contexts since the mid-nineties from Africa [27, 28], the Americas [29–31], the Eastern Mediterranean region [14], European [32], South-East Asia [33] and the Western Pacific [13]. This questioning also echoes more complex considerations in thinking about multinational academic and business contexts, travel and being deployed in transnational settings where rights recognition varies greatly [34].

Those HDRs dealing with senior staff or supervisor bias can for example:

- change supervisor,
- change qualification,
- change education context,
- advocate for change within their current situation,
- study less direct G&S topics,
- study G&S later in their career,
- or take many other options including choosing not to study G&S or other topics sometimes interpreted as indicating an LGBTI identity (…an unsupported but nonetheless prevalent assumption in some homophobic contexts).

Whilst the two very separate questions of either having LGBTI identities at work or the 'career-safety' of studying G&S education research will always have very contextually specific nuances considering local laws and research cultures, the myth that G&S issues can 'never' be studied or that LGBTI identities can 'never' be held anywhere or anytime in academic spaces… should themselves be 'fired'. They only serve to perpetuate their 'truths' through fear-mongering in contexts where some protections do exist. Increased policy protection in contexts lacking such statements, and regular equity training where protections do exist could aid both women and 'out' LGBTI academics as well as diverse researchers of G&S; across contexts.

ALISON RAHN—Negotiating Recruitment Resistance

Having embarked on a project addressing attitudes to sexually active couples at different ages including in residential aged care settings, the main challenge I faced was recruiting willing participants. As part of my work, I aimed to interview 25 informants with expert knowledge of intimate relationships in nursing homes but faced two significant hurdles, the first of which was obtaining potential participants' contact details. Being new to the field, I began with no industry contacts. Furthermore, my university's ethics committee had given approval for me to make contact with potential interviewees by email only.

However, obtaining email addresses was not always straightforward. Initially, this limited me to potential participants who had publicly listed email addresses. From this pool, suitable participants were selected and invitations were sent to industry experts who (a) were listed on government agency websites, aged care organisations and consumer advocacy groups; (b) had authored reports or academic publications; or [3] were listed on the social media site, LinkedIn. There were three main responses to this 'cold calling' approach—some responded enthusiastically, some declined and others simply did not respond. It seemed my topic was a politically charged one [35], a point reinforced during my attempts to recruit public servants and politicians. When undertaking sensitive research, 'privacy, confidentiality and a non-condemnatory attitude' are important for building trust [36]. Since older age sexuality is still largely a taboo topic [37], I attempted to be non-threatening with participants. Through trial and error, I discovered that people felt safer talking if they had already met me or if they had been recommended by someone they knew. Snowball sampling of participants using LinkedIn and word-of-mouth referrals worked much better than advertising in industry newsletters, for instance. To facilitate this response, I joined industry associations and attended conferences to gain networking opportunities.

During the interviews, I consciously focused on building rapport to facilitate participant disclosure [38]. This paid dividends. After completing the initial interviews, several participants became advocates for the study by providing me with referrals or discussing their interviews with industry

contacts. Through word-of-mouth recommendations, snowball sampling overtook purposive sampling.

This turn of events highlighted the second (larger) hurdle, the challenge of obtaining a balanced range of perspectives. Perhaps due to the sensitive nature of the data being sought, it became apparent that I had no perspectives from individuals who were opposed to sexual behaviours in nursing homes or who were uncomfortable discussing sexual subjects. In an effort to overcome this sample bias, I enlisted the support of interviewees, who made contact with resistant individuals on my behalf. However, attempts to interview people with divergent views were in the main unfruitful. By way of example, one interviewee contacted a colleague who was an advisor to a relevant political figure. She then contacted someone in the Department of Health and the Department subsequently allocated a staff member to be interviewed. However, that person had previously declined my invitation to participate so I was unsuccessful in penetrating this organisation. In order to prevent future students encountering similar difficulties, it would be helpful if government websites displayed their official policy in relation to being contacted for research purposes.

LUCY KERR—Researching in an Understudied Area

It is challenging starting research in an understudied or emerging field. Literature reviews, intended to provide inspiration for the direction of a study and identify gaps in the research area, are problematic when there is a paucity of papers to draw on. My fields are cancer and the trans and gender diverse community, and I am exploring how surgical and hormonal interventions affect risk. Cancer has an abundance of evidence from which guidance may be found, and research on the trans and gender diverse community is growing. However, the two fields rarely meet. The vast majority of data collection on cancer assumes that participants have normative gender experiences, and most of the studies conducted with the trans and gender diverse community focus on particular 'problem' areas (e.g. mental health and HIV/AIDS) [39]. It seems that researchers are under the illusion that trans and gender diverse people do not experience the common ailments of the general population, or that these are somehow

less important for this community. Whilst there is some excellent evidence on the various issues faced by cancer patients generally, trans and gender diverse individuals have a variety of unique characteristics that remain understudied, and thus knowledge and awareness is absent from practical cancer care.

A lack of data can be frustrating, particularly if the research that does exist is inadequate. The limited evidence that exists on cancer and the trans and gender diverse community is overwhelmingly biomedical in nature. It often fails to consider social aspects of what it means to be gender diverse. Added to this, biomedical literature uses biomedical language, which is potentially objectifying and commonly insulting to trans and gender diverse individuals (e.g. 'cross-sex hormones' which reinforces normative experiences of gender and sex) [40]. There are also articles that completely misgender the participants of their study—e.g. calling a trans woman a 'man' in the title of the paper [41]. It can be disheartening when researchers fail to understand the needs of the people they are studying, and it is important not to fall into a similar trap.

To supplement the lack of research, I turned to the media and found films, newspaper articles and other 'grey literature' [42]. Many of these are profoundly moving pieces, particularly the documentary film Southern Comfort which follows Robert Eads, a trans man with metastatic ovarian cancer, during his last days [43]. Other grey literature provides important examples of strong community advocacy (e.g. the Canadian website www. checkitoutguys.ca for cervical cancer screening in trans men). Exploring the grey literature has been helpful and inspiring; however, my hope is that more attention will be paid to this area of significance. On the flip side of the difficulties that arise from doing research in an understudied or emerging area is that you have the excitement of forging your own path, which means that this challenge is also a great privilege.

PAULINA EZER—Researching a Politically Controversial Topic

Sex education research comprises many varying topics ranging from more to less controversial. Of course, the level of controversy assigned to any

such topic depends on one's own political standpoint: a conservative individual may view any and all sexuality education research as controversial and inappropriate whilst a progressive individual may view some sexuality education research as 'vanilla' and others as more 'piquant.' My research— and you can judge for yourself how controversial it is—involves understanding what type(s) of sex education is included in the recently released and mandatory Australian Curriculum as well as understanding teachers' experiences with and thoughts on teaching sex education to their students in light of the release of this curriculum. In order to obtain teachers' opinions, I created and distributed a survey using various means, one of them being Facebook advertising.

My data collection took place at a time in which Australians had experienced and become involved in passionate debates over two main sexuality-related political discords: the Safe Schools programme and the national gay marriage plebiscite [44, 45]. Both topics had permeated Australian society with television, print and online media to the extent that it became sensationalised with many distorted facts. The Safe Schools media frenzy became so popular to discuss that it became associated with sex education as a whole. Anecdotally, when explaining my research topic in general terms to anyone outside of my research centre, reactions invariably consisted of questions focusing solely on my views of the Safe Schools programme and 'transgender issues' even though these were not topics that I had mentioned myself and were unrelated to my project.

In these ways, the salaciousness of these debates overshadowed the less sensationalised research that I was engaged in, which was also evident from comments on the Facebook advertisements that I used for survey participation. These advertisements made no mention of any other ongoing political conversation, such as the Safe Schools programme or the gay marriage plebiscite; however, they appeared in one of the most popular online media platforms in which these debates were taking place. Many commenters assumed that the survey advertisements were disguised as 'yes vote' propaganda or that the survey was actually regarding research on Safe Schools. Many negative comments were left for these advertisements, and this may have dissuaded some already wary teachers from completing the survey. It may have also done the reverse and fuelled passionate sex education teachers to have their say in the survey. Whilst we will never

know which types of teachers were most encouraged by such comments, the decision was made to hide any discriminatory comments and keep the remaining ones, to protect LGBTI communities and not link the survey unreasonably to irrelevant issues.

Data collection continued during and after the plebiscite occurred, and after gay marriage was clearly supported by the majority of Australians. Interestingly, once gay marriage had been legalised in Australia, all negative and discriminatory comments had stopped. Instead, tagging relevant Facebook friends and potential participants became increasingly common and enabled a snowball sampling effect to take place. In the end, the political tension over sex education that I had anticipated challenging survey participation became, unexpectedly, an advantage.

MANDY HENNINGHAM—Recruiting from Small Marginalised Populations

The 'I' in LGBTIQ research is often overlooked in broader studies and as such, there is a great need for intersex-specific research including in schools and other education settings. Given that intersex is an umbrella term for a number of divergences of sex characteristics, it is difficult to obtain the depth and breadth required to be an inclusive and comprehensive researcher in this field. Recruiting people with intersex variations, like any rare population in G&S, comes with its own challenges. Obtaining a large sample size may be difficult, and it is vital to consider terminology and community involvement when determining an estimated sample size. Obtaining a sufficient sample size for a mixed-method survey is also complex. The original aim for this study was to obtain a population sample based on the incidences of intersex variation within the general population. However, it would be extremely difficult to reach or even accurately calculate these values as there are inconsistencies regarding the incidences of intersex variations and the voluntary participation of participants. Further, there are discrepancies regarding the current incidence of intersex variations as some clinicians do not consider certain variations of sex development (such as those with 'typical' genitalia) to be intersex [46]. These inconsistencies add to the complications of finding the num-

ber required to obtain a true population sample figure. Additionally, some people with intersex variations may never have known about their intersex status if they received early interventions and were never given access to their medical records, or may never have been diagnosed.

If the population you are studying are often forced to live in secrecy and shame—like the intersex population I studied—then they may not be forthcoming with the details of their lived experiences, or even want to identify as a candidate for studies [47]. This apprehension to participate in research is furthered by the disconcerting historical relationship with researchers a population may have had; such as how intersex people have often been forced into research participation by medical researchers in times gone by [48]. Despite these factors, 81 participants self-selected for the study. Whilst far from a population sample figure, it is currently the second largest sample of this population conducted in the southern hemisphere [49]. As these participants were recruited via a snowball effect from support groups and networks, social media advertising, communications to relevant clinics and health services, diversifying recruitment avenues such as other media advertising, and schools or universities may be beneficial.

Terminology also plays a key role in recruitment strategies. For example, the term 'intersex' may carry stigma or misconceptions; some parents also find the term distressing, as it may imply a third gender or that their child is neither male or female and therefore not 'normal' [50]. Similarly, some support groups for specific intersex variations do not align themselves under the intersex umbrella and instead align with a medical condition. For example, one intersex variation specific support group that was approached for this study declined participation as they stated they were a condition support group and not an intersex support group, despite the condition exhibiting a divergence in typical sex characteristics. Therefore, broader terminology is recommended for research tools and communications. Researchers [51] who used the phrase 'congenital variation in sex characteristics' identified 40 intersex variations ($n = 272$) compared to the 16 variations identified in my own study ($n = 81$) which used intersex-specific language.

The development of the research tools themselves plays a role in the success of recruitment of the intersex population for research. Given

the historical conflict between researchers and the intersex community, there needs to be a greater inclusion of people with intersex variations involved in the research process. Involving community members to develop future projects regarding intersex variations is crucial to minimise insider/outsider dynamics and restore a sense of ownership over intersex research. Further, this inclusion ensures the research instruments are developed with the sensitivity and accuracy required to comprehensively explore the lived experiences of people with intersex variations [50, 52]. Conducting a reference group of community members and conducting a pilot study of a small group of intersex participants are examples of how this may be achieved [49, 51]. It is also vital to consider the degree of freedom and control participants would have interacting with the study [51]. Participants were able to opt out of the survey at any time and were not required to answer some questions they did not want to or that did not apply to their individual circumstances or variation. This, in addition to including open-ended questions allowed for the study to account for the diversity of intersex experiences without pigeonholing this diverse population into limited classifications or life experiences. For example, questions regarding specifics around surgical intervention, or transgender questions should be kept optional as this is not reflective of all intersex experiences. In summary, whilst there are difficulties in recruiting participants from small or sometimes hidden groups within the G&S area (such as intersex people, or perhaps sex workers or other groups who can be subjected to social shame or misuse by researchers) there are strategies that may be implemented, going forward. It is recommended that researchers consider diverse recruitment methods rather than only using one avenue (for example, only recruiting through clinics); involve the group in the research process to ensure the correct terminology and the sensitivity of research tools; and overall to aim at empowering this marginalised population through your recruitment rather than trying for more participants in any way that harms them and further disenfranchises them from engaging in research in future.

ANDREA DEL POZO dE BOLGER—Researching a Psychologically Sensitive Topic

I studied FtM transgender peoples' identities and education in my psychology Masters project and continued on to a Ph.D. [53, 54]. The challenges faced by researchers from the disciplines of education and psychology in transgender issues centre on the topic's many sensitivities. When recruiting 'transgender' participants for a study, the nature of the 'Transgender Umbrella' attracts a heterogeneous group of people whose identity greatly differs from others in the same sample. That is, some participants portray themselves as being born in the wrong body and have a strong desire to have this fixed, whilst others define themselves on a psychological continuum that changes with time and circumstances. This is also reflected in the labels participants choose (or resist) for themselves (e.g. transgender, transsexual, queer, male-to-female, female-to-male, etc.). Therefore, from a research perspective you may end up with a large but very diverse sample that for analyses purposes needs to be collapsed in a number of small categories. Whilst this may be a reflection of the nature of the field of study, quantitative research with small samples is not attractive to reputable psychology journals. Labels to refer to transgender people is a sensitive issue and participants sometimes express their dislike or even offence about the choice of words. Consequently, the wording of data collection tools (surveys or interviews) is subject to criticism from participants and sometimes complaints. Participants may feel sometimes understandably threatened or suspicious of the researchers' motivations, especially when the latter are not recognised within these groups. This leads to some defensiveness or animosity towards researchers. I overcame this with my supervisors by actively working with transgender people to ensure the sensitivity in the project, and by the ways we allowed participants' own feedback during the study (on the discussion-boards where we collected data, and in the survey) to shape the terminology we used directly. We listened and responded to the participants' preferences for words, and added these to the study's questions as the study progressed—this was a great way of turning what could be a negative or a complaint, into an inclusive feature of the study.

There will also be difficulties to ascertain the aetiology of emotional disorders in transgender people (e.g. depression and anxiety). That is, to what

extent these issues are the consequences of environmental factors specific to being part of this minority group (e.g. discrimination, misunderstanding, difficulties accessing specific professional services, legal recognition, social isolation in regional areas); hormonal treatment; dissatisfaction with physical appearance; or other issues unrelated to being transgender. Researchers should provide several options in structured questions on contributing factors to mental health issues, or should allow extended written responses or interview sessions which allow the complexity of these topics to be better explored. The process of submitting a manuscript on transgender issues to peer-reviewed journals in psychology or education is somewhat more intense than when the focus of research is on topics outside of G&S, due to the continued controversial nature of these topics especially in psychology circles. Whilst it could be argued that this situation applies to most fields of research, reviewers' comments tend to be more emotionally laden and the chances of publishing in the field largely depend on how much the manuscript aligns with the reviewer's position on the topic of transgender people. I worked with my supervisors to select the right publication opportunities where my work would likely align with the journals' overall approach to transgender themes; I did not submit to journals where we knew there was a bias against this topic.

CHLOE PARKINSON—Researching Marginalised Communities as Outsiders

Essentialising categories of 'insider' and 'outsider' may not convey the complexity of variables such as age, gender, class and colour that impact upon a research relationship, but the question remains: Who should conduct research with marginalised communities? [55]. As a non-Indigenous person undertaking research with an Indigenous community, navigating my 'outsider' position was central to my doctoral work and other work on Indigenous and gender issues in education [56]. Difficulties included undertaking culturally appropriate research, and how to best represent the perspectives of Indigenous community members (as informants).

A Community Reference Group, led by a Traditional Owner, was established to guide research at the site, and provide cultural advice before,

during and after data collection. This input was invaluable. The Traditional Owner in particular assisted with issues around the timing of data collection (which occurred during young men's initiation), consequent difficulties associated with informant availability and appropriate questioning. Following their guidance was imperative to ensuring the research was sensitive to the community's cultural context.

Narrative portraits [57] privileged informants' voices in the reporting of results. With this method, the researcher attempts as much as possible to allow the narrative portraits (extended thematic statements drawn from interview transcripts) to 'speak for themselves', balancing the voices of the informant with the researcher's [57]. Compromises are still made, as through interview and analysis processes there exist elements of co-construction where what is said and not said is mediated and negotiated [58]. Despite this, narrative portraits provide researchers with a method grounded in socially critical work, which advocates the representation of marginalised groups' lived experiences [57].

In the reporting of results, juxta-texts [59] destabilised my researcher voice, by offering a layered text which spoke to the complexity of my outsider position. Juxta-texts serve to disrupt traditional Western research design chapter format and formalised thinking. They were used to explain the research experience and how data collection in the community required particular ways of being and doing. I avoided an allegedly neutral and detached, comfortable narrative of the research process, instead presenting a 'messy' example of the uncomfortable reality of engaging in critical qualitative research [60].

I thus adopted a reflexivity of discomfort [60], extending reflexivity beyond its now common and comfortable usage in qualitative research, where it offers a means of exploring representation, and legitimising and validating research practices. Confronting one's positioning within research with Indigenous communities (and marginalised communities in general), and the ways in which they may exercise authority and contribute to Western hegemonic processes is critical, to counter that the traditionally exploitative nature of research with Indigenous Peoples [61].

Challenges cannot be avoided if an outsider chooses this research path. To undertake critical research as an outsider is complex, messy work. The researcher must be aware of the precarious ground on which they

are positioned, and continuously challenge their perceptions, biases and intentions. At the very least, there needs to be space for those at the centre of the research to overtly critique the outsider's work, if not lead it.

JESSICA ISON—Navigating Academia as Class-Based Outsiders

When I get dressed for teaching I obsess over my outfit. I iron my shirt compulsively, smoothing every little crease before putting it on, taking it off, ironing some more, putting it on again. I have invested in some really nice shirts, and as I iron them I marvel at their texture, at the good quality. Then I walk into my sessional job and stress over my low bank balance and my fears about never getting tenure as privileged academics look at me in a patronising way, expecting me to be grateful. My nicely ironed shirt feels crumpled and cheap in their gaze. I am a white queer, femme, who was socialised female. The academy is hard when you occupy various oppressed categories and whilst this is made incalculably easier by my skin colour, the key issue I face in the academy is class. I come from a poor family, where I am the most educated person and one of the first people to go to university. I had no way to navigate the system when I entered it, and I chose a degree at random, not knowing what a 'Bachelor of Arts' meant. Some five years of study later I somehow found myself doing a Ph.D. Doing a thesis for me has been a constant stress about not being good enough. People tell me I have imposter syndrome, which I just need to overcome. But the truth is, I am an imposter: I should not be at university. Sure, I worked my ass off but meritocracy—pulling yourselves up by your boot straps—is a lie. Working class people all work their asses off; doing the 'wrong type' of work. The only people who really believe in meritocracy are invested in reproducing their own privilege.

I am asked to speak on queer or women's issues, which is frustrating because I don't identify as a woman and I am sometimes just the token queer on the panel. Yet, I am rarely ever asked to speak about class; those platforms are taken by rich people. It is just something I am immediately judged for because no matter how neatly I iron my shirts. My accent immediately marks me as what Australians term a 'bogan' (of low socio-

economic background and cultural capital). Where I am from people don't go to university and as our teacher said to us in high school, 'why do you need to learn any of this when you'll just be working as a checkout chick', as though there is any shame in that job. I have dramatically tried to hide everything from my childhood, and even though I now eat kale and read Tolstoy, I stick out in the academy. My culture is not what the academy wants. I was from a family of readers, because yes poor people do read… I just wasn't reading the *right* books, and a lot of the *wrong* ones. There were no Marx or Foucault in the local library where I come from. Being working class in the academy means always trying to catch up on knowledge that middle-class people grew up with. I have learnt to hide my ignorance when I don't know what someone is talking about and to go home and look it up. Or now, with the aid of my phone, to go into the toilet and do a quick search. Being a bogan means you cannot show any weakness, because not knowing one important historical moment will shine a spotlight on how much else you don't know. One slip up and maybe you will be exposed. To alleviate these feelings I have searched for texts on being working class, white, queer, femme or Australian [16, 62–64], but rarely found academics inhabiting *the same* categories as me.

However, I do find people like me elsewhere, and I want to end on this. As Allan Bérubé [65] articulates, the 'rhetoric of hardship' when talking about being from a working-class background actually 'reinforces class hierarchies in the telling' of our stories (p. 154). To step away from giving a narrative of hardship, I want to end on the community that comes with being femme, working class and queer. Often a friend will call to talk a whilst and I will hear what they need in between their words. I will casually invite them for dinner because I can tell they are broke and need me to feed them, or they are lonely and need some company or they are just struggling. When we have grown up poor and queer and femme, we know we mask our pain and poverty in euphemisms and funny stories. We know how to hear each other's struggles. We know to come with food, a hug or a trashy film without ever acknowledging that this is what our friend needed. The academy rarely offers community; however, we do not need the academy for this and that is how I manage to keep going. I just take what I need from the academy; I *survive* because of my chosen working-class queer family. They are the family who sit in my lounge

room talking politics and respectfully not commenting as I compulsively iron my shirts. Sometimes, they iron them for me.

Conclusion

Drawing together points from the literature and the past and present HDR experiences, several useful processes can be applied by early career researchers and HDR students when studying G&S topics, to aid them in the difficulties they face. Firstly, we as a group believe we must not limit our research based purely on the support of existing senior staff or supervision teams; we must consider the possibility of doing groundbreaking work in the face of opposition. However, in making this consideration, we believe individuals should also consider taking small steps that can progress our field without risk to their own personal circumstances (dictated by laws, social support, financial opportunities and so on). Secondly, we argue that recruitment resistance in our studies should be negotiated using a variety of techniques (including using the snowballing effect and relying on contacts and networks rather than one's own immediate circles, as well as creating new contacts through direct means). Thirdly in approaching understudied areas we offer that one has to be realistic about what literature is available, and find alternate fields and sources upon which to draw. We must be willing to be pioneers; but we must also redefine the concept of pioneers beyond the old colonial notions…. pioneers can acknowledge when a territory does indeed have inhabitants, whose language and ideas are simply from a culture different to our own, no less worthy of consideration and likely more so.

   Fourthly we need to understand when controversial topics may engender critiques of our work that are mostly invalid and purely antagonistic. We need to also consider the use of reference groups and greater engagement with G&S issues declared by potential participants, and to be willing to be critiqued when the critique is indeed valid. Understanding whether a critique is fair or politically motivated antagonism can require working with a group or ethics committees in extreme cases, and letting others be the arbiters; this is a key place in which collaborative communities are particularly useful. Finally, whether one is 'inside' or 'outside' a community; it

is possible to encounter difficulties particular to that position. 'Outsiders' may face increased ethical issues or difficulties in accessing communities or resources which they need to plan to manage well in advance of actually engaging in their work; whilst insiders need to think of positive ways to re-construct the communities they are part of. The collaborative community in this book chapter has itself shown the resilience and creativity that can come from simply sharing strategies for overcoming obstacles with people in similar positions, as a means to overcoming our own 'rhetoric of hardship' (the hardship of being a G&S researcher). We encourage HDRs and other emerging researchers around the world to share in this practice, whether you are insiders or outsiders in academies, so that you can empower yourselves and others to mediate the complex barriers of academic life together.

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11

Carving Out Pathways: Dear Doctor Gender and Sexuality Researcher

Tiffany Jones, Raewyn Connell, Anne Mitchell, Victor Minichiello, Carolyn D'Cruz, Kerry Robinson and Yvette Taylor

Introduction

The new millennium has proven to be a complex time to start studying gender and sexuality (G&S) issues, especially in education, given the expansion of both protective policies around gender and sexual diversity and work, and policies against it in certain contexts. In this new era of

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backlash against work in G&S research, extremist opponents of the field have sometimes attacked researchers using their online social media profiles as sources for personal information about them, created challenges to their employment opportunities or tried to use complaints to human research ethics committees as a tactic to deter the production of research for example [1]. Many G&S researchers have questions about their work in this fraught context, however they do not have access to somebody who can answer their questions, and instead a common trend is that early career researchers and students approaching academics outside of gender and sexualities are told by them to avoid this field of study altogether and that finding work in it is impossible. This is simply not the case; evidenced in the strong careers of a range of prominent Professors and Readers in the field.

In this chapter, a panel of academic experts on G&S—including Professor Emeriti, Professors and Associate Professors with highly successful careers—answer key written-in questions about G&S careers in research and education. The experts have held or hold academic roles in research-only institutions and teaching faculty roles, professional research roles, related professional/corporate/government roles, and engaged in both theoretical and empirical studies. The experts answer eight questions. The questions were submitted by early career and student researchers and workers in sexuality and gender in education. The questioners use pseudonyms they have directly negotiated with the editor. Experts were advised to try for around 100–200 words or so per answer, or use variable amounts depending on the question so that their overall contribution was

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around 700–1000 words or so. The eight questions follow, with responses from several experts on their varying topics: considering online profiles, changing career directions, gaining employment, collaboration, handling complaints, teaching, dealing with media and career travel.

Questions & Answers

Q.1 Profile Preferences

Dear Doctor,

Do you keep an online presence (e.g. social media, academic webpage or blog) given you work in gender & sexuality? Why or why not?

Curious, Kenya.

Dear Curious, I have always thought it was the responsibility of intellectual workers to share what they know, as widely as possible. That sounds a bit pompous, but it is important. Organised knowledge is a great social asset, but depends on communication. I'm appalled at the attempts to conceal knowledge behind walls, whether the walling-off is done by security police or profit-making corporations. Therefore, I've always tried to spread the good word, by writing for newspapers (when they were still a real forum) and magazines, speaking on radio, giving talks at union meetings and public forums, and so forth. The Web seemed to me another way to do this, and of course it has become increasingly important. I don't have Web skills (that's generational I'm afraid) so I asked younger colleagues for help. Together we designed and set up my website, www.raewynconnell.net, and then my Twitter account @raewynconnell. I use both to circulate texts, announcements, and information of other kinds, including passing on information I get from other people—the Web at work… I would like to be more systematic about it, the website especially, as I'm sure it can be improved. But of course, that competes with other work such as writing papers and books. When they are working well, the social media combine with print and other online media. My aim is to create a resource that's open to all and that people will feel comfortable about using. I am particularly proud of the downloadable booklet Writing for Research which is

available free on my website at http://www.raewynconnell.net/ [2]—Dr. Connell.

Dear Curious, Yes, I do. Here is my online website: http://victorminichiello.com.au/. It clearly states that sexual health is one of my areas of research expertise, and throughout the site, you can find Information about studies on sexualities across the lifespan. Why is this important? The topic of gender and sexualities is of critical relevance and interest to all sort of people and organisations in our contemporary society. Policy makers, service providers, the media, academia, for example, are interested in your knowledge and expertise in this field. I use social media to promote my work. One of my academic career goals and personal belief is that through research you can inform and change public opinion and attitudes (see recent opinions poll on same sex marriage in Australia, for example). Without a doubt, research has made a difference in reducing the stigma around gender and sexualities [3]. Technology also offers us the opportunity to be creative in how we disseminate our research beyond the academic or research audiences. Using Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn allows us to reach larger audiences for our work. For example, to further promote the decriminalisation of sex work and empower male escorts to access information relevant to their work, we created a blog on male escorting [4]. This website received positive and mainstream media coverage, see article published in The Huffington Post, 'New website wants to make the world a better place for male sex workers' [5]. As did our book about male sex work [6], see *The Sydney Morning Herald's* 'World of male sex workers explored in new book' [7]. One of our blogs was viewed by over 25,000 potential readers. Like all things, it is never that easy. There were technical difficulties that had to be overcome. Like getting advice on how to comply with University policy requirements on the use of censored words or content (male escorting, prostitution), or servers, like Telstra, that block content material related to using certain sex words, images and so on. The important lesson here is to be true to your beliefs!—Dr. Minichiello.

Dear Curious, Having grown up doing my assignments on typewriters, I'm afraid I have been a little slow on maximising the benefits of the digital age for work and research. I do have an online presence and would encourage curious folk like yourself to develop your profile as you go. I wish I was disciplined enough to keep a blog, as it is a good way of keeping your

thoughts on the page and showing the world how you organise your work. You can also create a following, which is handy for showing prospective employers and publishing agents your currency (if that is something you want to do). Academia.edu can work like an online CV and people do find you—bundles of work on G&S come through and you can form great networks from this. Twitter is a great platform for standing on your soapbox and saying what you think. It is also good practice for learning to speak in sound bites. G&S tweeters can get trolled, so beware and grow a thick skin. Tweeters need to also beware that universities have been known to discipline and sack academics who have allegedly damaged the workplace brand by using expletives or displaying contentious political allegiances. For G&S scholars, whose personal lives are entangled in their professional and political lives, navigating the public/private divide in social media is a minefield. While many of us think of Facebook as a more personal and social platform, there was a very public case in 2016, where a university staff member was suspended from her job for posting a remark about wanting to raise the red flag on top of the state of Victoria's parliament [8, 9]. Keeping that lengthy saga aside, the take home lesson is that social posts can easily find themselves in the public domain of culture wars. That ghastly incident, however, has not stopped most of us from using Facebook as a platform for airing personal and political 'rants' about G&S issues to our virtual community of friends. The informal online presence of Facebook has the liberating effect of testing one's hypotheses with friends before formalising thoughts in publications. So, dear curious, be cautious but not censorious of the slippage between the private, social, professional and public worlds that collide in virtual space as you navigate your online presence. My advice is to learn how to sharpen distinctions between the private and public, social and virtual, rather than collapse them into one another.—Dr. Cruz.

Dear Curious, I separate my online profiles for 'Dr Jones the researcher' from the offline realities of 'myself the private individual'. I work in highly contested international policy issues for LGBTI students: people can have extreme emotions for or against *the topic* easily confused for feelings for or against *me*. It may be useful for you too to carefully plan an online profile when working in a context like Kenya which can have strong social back- lash for particular topics (like LGBTI themes); enhancing your employa-

bility and safety in such contexts. It is doubly a protective strategy during periods when our fields cyclically attract media beat-ups, discriminatory backlash, and internet stalking from extremist fans or trolling from opponents—this can happen anywhere in the world. I find professional pages which afford strong content control and security provisions most useful for the particular style of career I have: university profile pages, academic profile pages (e.g. academia.edu) or securely monitored websites with disabled comment sections. I use my public internet presence only as a CV or for work purposes; keeping offline anything excluded from CVs (private photos, social connections, weekend activities). My sites don't afford a relationship with me, just with my work.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Curious, I now mostly use my institutional profile, updating and linking to twitter and blog postings etc. But if and when you move institutions be mindful of the work needed to transfer or re-enter this information—this can be quite time-consuming and it might be that you keep this information 'banked' in another website too. In a previous institution I had a Centre website that became very busy with bios, blogs, visiting fellow, seminar series, community info etc.—it took an enormous amount of work to sustain this. Now I try to be (more) mindful of this as labour rather than additional or outside of the 'real work'… The different institutions that I've worked for have varied in how much control they give staff to update their personal websites/upload publications etc. It's always worth seeing what people in and across institutions do in terms of format and content, borrowing or adapting from the best. I think my institutional website 'outs' me as a certain kind of academic; this feels important internally and externally where, for example, interviewees and community groups have been able to 'check out' my profile in advance of meeting or fieldwork.—Dr. Taylor.

Q.2 Career Change

Dear Doctor,

What jobs can I do with my Masters Qualification, which included a project on gender & sexuality in schools?

Master of None, Germany.

Dear Master of None, This depends very much on whether or not you are a qualified teacher and so can work in a school. Any subject area in which you are an expert will benefit from a gender spin but the obvious teaching area would be in health education. If you are not a teacher but have some psychology in your background you would be an asset in the student welfare area. Outside a school it is much harder, there may be some public service roles administering relevant programs in schools but these will be rare. There are also academic jobs in this area but they too are rare and require a PhD. Try and think of the education you have had by doing a Master's degree as preparing you more broadly for jobs outside the content area. G&S intersect with almost any role that involves other human beings and you will always have something really important to offer wherever you work.—Dr. Mitchell.

Dear Master of None, Well it depends on your undergraduate degree. Here are a few ideas. If you are a qualified science teacher, you can now focus on teaching in the social science or social inclusion areas. If you are a family therapist, you can extend your practice to providing counselling services to young LGTBI clients, teachers and parents. Or work as a private consultant offering curriculum advice on the topic of gender, identity and sexualities to educational providers or government social service agencies. There are also a range of organisations that may be interested in employing you as a consultant to support their equity or social inclusion workplace offices. Within the higher education sector, you could be employed as a research fellow or assistant on a funded Australian Research Council or NHRMC project on the topic of gender or sexualities. There could also be casual or part time teaching job opportunities at universities or private colleges that offer units with content on this topic. Of course, pursuing a PhD creates further opportunities for more permanent and full time jobs and a career in academia.—Dr. Minichiello.

Dear Master of None, a Masters Qualification enhances your qualifications in the professional field in which you were enrolled; whether in education, psychology or gender studies for example. So, you could have enhanced (any existing) qualifications now in teaching, counselling, gender clinic work or other professions. Gaining a Masters can, depending on your grade point average, also open the doors to further academic studies—PhD programs, PhD scholarships and academic work like research

assistance and lecturing could be open to you. There are also plenty of other relevant jobs besides academic work in universities; there are research administration and service roles for example serving higher degree research students or supporting the development of grant applications. There are also professional research roles, government and project management roles which may be of interest. A key point here is to see yourself in terms of having a set of transferable skills:

- learning skills,
- literature review skills,
- project management skills,
- education knowledge,
- knowledge of G&S,
- quantitative or qualitative research skills,
- data management skills,
- writing/reporting skills and others…

…rather than as being fit for only one job or career.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Master of None, With a Masters that looks at G&S in schools, you can do almost anything! Who does not need to think about how kids are educated about such matters? In fact, we all need lifelong education around this stuff. So be bold and go for anything you want to, making it a selling point that every work place needs to think about how G&S operates in schools. Seriously, workplaces need people like you—make a gift or your work to wherever you think you would like to earn some money.—Dr. Cruz.

Q.3 Resume Reservations

Dear Doctor,

Should I take the detailed description of my PhD thesis project (a strongly feminist project on sexuality topics) off of my CV…is it scaring employers off?

Dr. Unemployed, Israel.

Dear Dr. Unemployed, Unfortunately I've heard this question many times—and across the career course too, when academics have been seeking promotion or mobility. I have also been on the 'other side' of defending and arguing for a broader conceptualisation and acknowledgement of the variation in feminism, gender studies, sexuality research, queer theory, as beyond 'niche'. This feels immediately uneasy, of course, but I've also seen staff come round and eventually reconsider their own initial instincts—sometimes we have to explain. The great thing about many feminist projects on sexuality topics is that they're likely to have an interdisciplinary orientation or knowledge base: I'm a Sociologist and have found myself working across disciplinary divides (as well as feeling them poking in my ribs), including in Geography, Social Policy and, most recently in Education. There are ways you can fit, and even extend, disciplines by also attending different inter-disciplinary conferences, showing the breadth of your knowledge and networks.—Dr. Taylor.

Dear Dr. Unemployed, I might respond immediately with the suggestion that any employer put off by your thesis description isn't worth working for, but that's hardly a practical solution. I think it's fair to say that it is standard practice to put a bit of 'spin' on your CV according to the particular job you are applying for and generally speaking a detailed description of your PhD would not be expected unless it was for an academic job in the area. My advice is to run with the title only and decide at an interview how interested or not prospective employers may be before going into more detail. Once you secure a job your feminist approach and the learnings from your PhD will be of great benefit in any work you do, but employers don't always see that in prospect.—Dr. Mitchell.

Dear Dr. Unemployed, You have several options. Firstly, you could work only at organisations that embrace your topic. Secondly, you could remove your thesis topic from your CV and only describe its methods, and then work at a company that doesn't embrace your topic (there's no shame in paying the bills briefly, or long-term). Thirdly, you could use the same approach and work at a company that may or may not support your work; and then experiment with moving more openly into your preferred field over time. Finally, perhaps your thesis project topic was never the problem? It may simply be hard to get work in your current location in

Israel… If you suspect this is so you can then focus on otherwise building your CV. For academic work, try increasing your:

- casual teaching experience;
- research assistant experience;
- and publications.

You can also move for work, as I have done several times. Or if you are actually looking for teaching, government or corporate work, try for work experience or casual hours in those areas to expand your opportunities.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Dr. Unemployed, Heavens, No! Would you want to work for an organisation that was scared off by feminism and people who research sexuality? Having said that, these are desperate times for finding stable work and sometimes we have to earn money any way we can to put food on the table. So, if you know that your admirable politics and exceptional research is going to stop you from getting money when you really need it, curtailing your CV may be the answer. Or, you may want to reword your thesis blurb to make it more digestible to a prospective employer. It would suck to have to remove all traces of your research in your CV, so my advice is to do so only if you need to work for an anti-feminist queer phobic organisation.—Dr. Cruz.

Dr. Unemployed, No, I would leave it on your CV and perhaps craft your expertise to fit the purpose. CVs are not fixed or static documents. For example, if you are applying for an academic position in gender studies at the University this is critical information as both theory and research experience are essential criteria for employment. If you are applying for a teaching position at a private school, you could craft your expertise to highlight your knowledge about social inclusion laws in the state and how you can contribute to their social science teaching. If you are applying for a government job with their domestic violence department, you could emphasis your expertise in understanding the social context of domestic violence and gender. I hope you get my point here. It is all about fit for purpose while maintaining the integrity of your knowledge and expertise.—Dr. Minichiello.

Q.4 People Power

Dear Doctor,

I'm under pressure from the faculty higher-ups to collaborate with big stars in G&S research: how do I even meet one, let alone convince them to co-write papers and grant applications?

Stands Solo, Norway.

Dear Stands Solo, by 'big stars' your supervisors meant academics who are highly cited, frequently funded, policy influencers, publication editors or event organisers. Show them you bring much to collaborations. Strategies include:

- Host an event and apply for internal funding from your organisation to pay for them to give a keynote or talk about their new book at your workplace, so that you offer opportunities for them too before expecting any back.
- Draft some ideas first. If potential collaborators can see you are already hard-working and full of plans and new concepts, they will consider collaboration more valuable.
- Invite them to collaborate on a publication on which you have already done the initial labour. You will need shared publications before you get shared grants, and you must share first (as they contribute significantly greater track records).

The bigger the star, the more likely they will be to offer management, conceptual, networking and problem-solving aid rather than other contribution types. Therefore, prepare teams combining big stars with earlier career academics, who like yourself, handle other tasks. Long-term, you will considerably benefit from the collaboration; so doing humbler labour in the short-term is often worth it.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Stands Solo, There is a saying that goes, 'stretching your hand to reach the stars, you too often forget the flowers at your feet'. Ask yourself first, why? If there is a big star whose research fits well with yours and you think you want to make passionate work together, try emailing them. It is a bit like online dating. They can politely ignore, test the water with a few

messages to and fro, and then maybe you meet for a coffee to see if there is a spark. If nothing comes from it, nothing is lost. Meanwhile you will always have many flowers at your feet and there is much to be enjoyed in standing solo.—Dr. Cruz

Dear Stands Solo, You will absolutely need to get yourself to some conferences in the area. This is the way most young researchers meet potential collaborators and also identify those whose work is most relevant. If you can get some of your current work accepted for presentation at these conferences then there is a chance one of the 'stars' might notice it. Go up to someone whose presentation impresses you and compliment them, also asking for their card. You can then begin an email relationship with them and you are on your way.—Dr. Mitchell.

Dear Stands Solo,

I have much sympathy—and scepticism—for the question about 'big stars'. The 'big stars' in academia, as far as I'm concerned, are the people who do the heavy lifting often without recognition. I've certainly benefited from low-key everyday generosity: ranging from significant academics writing me letters of references; to kind unknown referees who have fedback in great detail, recommending sources, offering tips. I think we are ever encouraged to 'think big' and 'reach far' but sometimes I feel that detracts from closer or more immediate connections and conversations. Which is perhaps to say, think about who you want to be in conversation with, and why? The 'big star' might be great at publishing but not so great at reference writing… Do you have a good working relationship already? If not, what might be smaller, longer-term ways to develop a conversation? Seminars and invitations are great starting points. Don't be afraid to task the 'big stars' with work—and work that translates and matters locally— if you do invite them. Think, for example, who might also benefit from emerging connections such as postgraduate and undergraduate students (get them to do a guest lecture for undergraduates, often missed out, I feel, in 'starry' moments). And maybe ask your 'faculty higher ups' about their connections and how they can extend these more widely to include you and others. You might be interested in a 2018 *Gender and Education* piece that I co-authored with Dr. Maddie Breeze, also at Strathclyde, in which we talk about cross-career collaborations: 'Feminist collaborations in higher education: stretched across career stages'.—Dr. Taylor.

Dear Stands Solo, Academia is about being part of a collective community. There are many structural moments to meet your peers and form meaningful collegial partnerships: conferences, meetings at the university, dialogues via social media, email exchanges, joining your professional associations etc. Having said this, some people find it easier to approach people than others. So, you need to develop your own style of how you approach colleagues while always being honest, respectful and realistic in what you are seeking from the relationship. Here are a few things that worked for me. First, I have always worked with peers in my field as opposed to within my University. When I think of who are my current collaborators, the numbers reveal that sometimes these colleagues are employed within my university, but often not. These days there is so much pressure to promote the organisation, locate grants within your university, and champion the flag of your organisation above all else. I understand that game, but who I decide to work with is dictated by the 'meeting of the mind' and genuine trust and sense of purpose between myself and the person I write a paper or conduct a piece of research. I give this value high priority. Second, I have used the policy of going to conferences where some of my senior colleagues have presented their work and then tried to initiative a dialogue with them. Often that is all what occurs. In some situations, the dialogue moves to the development of a friendship or a work partnership on some commonly developed project. Third, in a few cases, I was approached by senior colleagues who took an interest in my work and invited me to join their team. Here I was always aware and respectful that I joined their team and used the opportunity as my lifelong learning journey. I did not engage in the politics of what order my name appeared on the paper or grant. There would be other opportunities to put my name first with the development of my career. These days I seldom put my name first as I have reached the peak of my academic career and do not need or particularly find these aspects of human behaviour all that meaningful or rewarding. I get more satisfaction in the art of mentoring or facilitating the career aspirations of emerging researchers.—Dr. Minichiello.

Q.5 Creepy Complaints

Dear Doctor,

What do I do if someone makes a formal antagonistic (disingenuous) ethics complaint about my work in G&S research?

Ethically Dubious, Taiwan.

Dear Ethically Dubious, I would write a formal sincere ethical response back.—Dr. Cruz

Ethically Dubious, First, do not panic and overreact. It is everyone's right to lodge complaints as per your own information statement to participants. Of course, complaints need to be respectfully and constructively lodged and usually ethics committees understand this basic principles. So placing some trust in the personnel running ethics committee is important to remember, although I appreciate it could be a hard thing to do. Second, the topic of G&S will evoke a wide range of opinions, some complementary and empowering, others damning and moralistic in tone. As long as your research followed the protocol outlined in your approved ethics committee, I would simply acknowledge their concern and provide my justification and rationale for the research, findings or recommendations. Regarding dealing with personally abusive comments, I would seek advice from the ethics committee, equity office or other appropriate justice bodies on how I should respond.—Dr. Minichiello.

Dear Ethically Dubious, Thanks for raising this important question. G&S research can be plagued by controversy due to a range of differing values in this area. There are a number of general foundational points pertinent to addressing this question. It is always important to be prepared and have appropriate research ethical protocols in place. Before beginning to undertake research in this area (or in any research more generally) it is always wise to organise an advisory group who can support the project and researcher(s), including in the development of appropriate ethical protocols, and providing expert advice where necessary, in making important decisions about issues that may arise. Not only is it critical to build ethical research protocols to protect the integrity of the research and the safety and confidentiality of participants, but it is also crucial to develop protocols to protect the safety and wellbeing of researchers. It is also judicious to

build mutual respect and trust with institutional Human Research Ethics Committees (HREC). Many HRECs often do not have specific expertise in G&S issues, which may result in queries about applications that may best be resolved through talking directly to committee members. Taking the time to attend a meeting or discussing the queries with the chair of the committee can be more effective time-wise and in fostering understandings of the issues in the committee. It is not always a smooth process and sometimes involves compromises, however it is worth the time and effort committed to this process. Having these foundations in place gives researchers more confidence in addressing complaints if/when they arise. In terms of this specific question, the initial step would be to reflect on and be reflexive about the nature of the complaint, making sure that the research protocols were followed appropriately by all those involved in the research. Including the advisory group in this process is critical. Speaking with the chair of the HREC, providing the researcher version of the event/situation and to get advice about options from the committee's perspective is the next significant step. Working with the chair / HREC committee to resolve the issue is essential. The researcher/s will require professional and personal support to work it through.—Dr. Robinson.

Dear Ethically Dubious, If there is a complaint made in an academic institution it will be handled by the ethics committee and resolved by them, so the onus is not on you to deal with it. If you have had ethics approval for your work (which you must have of course) and if you have stuck to what the committee has agreed that you can do then you should not have a problem. The committee must defend their original decision and support you. Nevertheless it's a distressing eventuality and you need support ideally from those that supervise you. Go to them immediately and put your side of the case with as much evidence as you can muster. They should support you. It can be a controversial area to work in and so taking care to work within your ethics approval and document that you have done so is the best way to be confident complaints won't stick.—Dr. Mitchell.

Q.6 Teaching Target

Dear Doctor,

I want to introduce G&S topics into my teaching course… do I need to negotiate that with my boss or can I just do it?

Excited, Ireland.

Excited, If you are teaching a subject on sexuality, sexual health or gender studies it is only expected that the content will cover the topic of sex related material. I personally would not seek approval from my supervisor as this goes against the principle of academic freedom and what is allowed in a democracy. It is that simple. If I am teaching a subject on population ageing and I wanted to include content on G&S, that might not be seen to be obvious to others, I would discuss it with my team colleagues who teach in the course. I recall using a conference to discuss the relevance of teaching homophobia in gerontology courses in the 1980s when people held different views about same sex relationship rights as today. It was a good forum to open up the dialogue and seek peer and discipline support from gerontologists for my ideas.—Dr. Minichiello.

Dear Excited,

Great to hear this! I've been in the lucky position of carving out new Masters programmes in Gender Studies across different institutional contexts and what's been useful is to construct a bit of a 'business case' to address any doubts upfront. For me, this has included information on the popularity of G&S courses, and teaching content, as well as taking a broader look around other institutions at what courses, and degrees, they are providing—you might call this 'market research'. Different institutions differ, of course, and subjects fall in and out of academic fashions but you may be able to link such provisioning to Equality and Diversity directives; in the UK context in which I work this includes the Athena Swan Award. Whatever we might think of such directives, they can afford us space to make claims on what we could and should be teaching as part of a diverse curriculum. I set up the Strathclyde Feminist Research Network using this exact logic, and I then argued for financial resources to support this, also now attracting and sustaining undergraduate and postgraduate teach-

ing presences. Here's the website if of interest: http://sufeministnetwork.blogspot.com/p/front-page.html.—Dr. Taylor.

Dear Excited, This depends largely on your institutional context in your organisation in Ireland, so I would run it by a direct supervisor. I recommend you carefully prepare your case first by researching how the work would tie in to the established education policies, institutional policies, program outline and curricula for your teaching course. There may be local G&S education and research networks and bodies who can help you make those links or provide other resources (in Ireland, this can include organisations like the National Women's Council of Ireland, BelongTo, Transgender Equality Network Ireland and others). There will also potentially be regional and global resources (from the EU, UN and UNESCO for example). If you can find legitimacy for this work in these national, regional or international resources then your supervisor is much more likely to feel comfortable supporting the idea.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Excited, Whether you teach in a school or a University there will be an approved curriculum for the course and you need to stay within the broad edges of its prescription. If you need to alter the curriculum then you will need your boss's support and it might be a long process. However, many curricula have areas where these topics might constitute a legitimate inclusion. Terms such as 'social factors', 'diversity' and 'personal decision making' are examples of the kind of gateways in which could legitimately allow you to get into this territory and justify your decision to do so. You are probably the best judge of whether this is likely to cause trouble and, if you feel that it may, then bite the bullet and negotiate before you teach. It might save you some heartache in the future.—Dr. Mitchell.

Dear Excited, Just. Do. It. (but make sure you comply with all legal and workplace policies first).—Dr. Cruz.

Q.7 Media Mess

Dear Doctor,

How do I know whether a reporter or media outlet (proposing to interview me on G&S topics) genuinely supports my work or is setting me up for negative press?

Smelling the Covfefe, USA.

Dear Smelling the Covfefe, With media there are never any guarantees and if you want media publicity for your work (and that can be a really good thing) you always take some risks. Never get lured into an interview with a journalist when they ring you. Say you are busy and will ring back in half an hour. Then get on Google and do your homework. It should be easy to find some of their previous work and see who is publishing or using it. The second indication as to where they stand is the nature of the questions they ask. These will give you a very clear idea of where the interview is going and what 'spin' is being put on it. If you don't feel comfortable with the questions end the interview at once and request that none of the material you have given the journalist be used. If you can put this request in an email then do that too. The first encounter with the media might be scary but developing a partnership with journalists who support you will really help in getting your work known and used.—Dr. Mitchell.

Dear Smelling the Covfefe, There are always risks when dealing with the media on any topic. Ask any politician or person who believes they have been misquoted… I am reading Hillary Clinton's book, *What Happened* [10], and she has a lot to say about the media. There are some safeguards that I use as part of my practice with the media. First, do some research on the journalist, reporter and/or media outlet that is contacting you. This will give you clues on what they have written or published in the past on the topic or related topics. Second, try to strike a deal that in exchange for doing the interview you would like to see the draft story. Remember you cannot censor what is written but you can engage in a dialogue if there are serious errors that need correcting. Third, if appropriate and acceptable to all parties, ask that the interview or conversation be taped so that officially there is a record that parties can turn to if a dispute occurs. Fourth, keep your message simple and to the point. Usually the media focuses on two or three points to a story. Set your story points and stick to them. Fifth, you are an educator, so do a training program on working with the media if you lack skills in this area. Finally, ultimately it is your decision if you want to make a comment to the media or be interviewed. If you do not feel comfortable, don't do it. For good tips about how to prepare for the media, see the Brain Awareness Week online guide [11].—Dr. Minichiello.

Dear Smelling the Covfefe, If they are working for a shock jock, it's always a set up. Otherwise, ask them a few preliminary questions to test the water. You'll know within a minute whether they genuinely want to learn about your work or want to lift their ratings through ridiculing the G&S scholar.—Dr. Cruz

Dear Smelling the Covfefe, some types of media are reliable and some are fickle—attacking research for the purposes of creating scandals growing their readerships. Researchers and workers in G&S globally—especially in education—have been strategically attacked by extremist conservative media as Marxists, biased pro-LGBT feminists or paedophilia pushers [12]. This is also true in your context in the USA, where evangelical and alt-right media backlash are significant. Whilst hack journalists can intentionally misinterpret your work even without your aid, it is helpful to not feed their efforts:

- Ensure YOU decide when you talk to the media, not the reverse. Issue press releases only when you launch reports or programs, with pre-determined accurate quotes; avoid unsolicited press engagements on random issues.
- Resist commenting on data you yourself have not directly collected or explored; and then discuss only that which you explored (to maintain 'expert' legitimacy, prevent inaccuracies and prevent falsely decrying others in your field).
- Disengage from media during periods of backlash against G&S work; starving those who do not genuinely engage with the research itself of the legitimacy your involvement offers—show to engage with you, is to engage with research.
- Avoid media and journalists previously attacking your field without basis, those linked to extremist groups or corrupt governments, and radio shock jocks. Get familiar over time with the media you may work with, and the individual journalists and their level of ability to engage with research objectively and accurately.
- Engage lawyers over legal breeches.—Dr. Jones.

Dear Smelling the Covfefe,

I think pausing and taking stock is good advice here—especially in the context of social media presences urging us to go faster and be ever-visible, sometimes sitting with the contradictory fact that findings can take a long time to find! Research findings are also complex and messy and can be resistant to neat one-liners. I've spent several hours talking to journalists who've used such brief snippets of what I've said and/or not included anything, which seems like unpaid labour, so be cautious about the terms of the conversation and what it might become or appear as. Remember too that there are different types of media outlets and you might find it more productive to engage with, for example, LGBTQ + media than mainstream media.—Dr. Taylor.

Q.8 Worldly Wage-Earner

Dear Doctor,

Which countries are best for working in G&S issues?

Will Travel4Work, Nepal.

Dear Will Travel4Work, Any country needs people to work in G&S issues in education and research. However local nuances (like variable legislative and policy protections for the work, cultural factors and the availability of direct vs. indirect roles in the area) mean the work done in one country or region can be quite different to the work done in others [1, 13, 14]. The best contexts for you include those where you have or can access the appropriate work permits and language proficiency/ies; and those where you can achieve the sorts of contributions you would prefer to make… you can achieve a very open contribution in places like Canada, Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, the Netherlands or Finland which are generally quite supportive of G&S diversity in education. However perhaps the issues there will differ to those in some other nations where you may initially work more covertly or under enabling organisations, and you may feel more necessary to the work of some nations where less is currently being done in your field. It is easy to be captured by the melancholia of working in contested landscapes, forgetting that great creative diamonds

can be forged given some pressure and purposefulness. Projects in Africa, Asia and the Pacific enriched my work with troves of G&S concepts that differed from European and American ideas. There is also work with civil society and rights organisations at the international, regional, national and state levels too. Weigh all possibilities by the ideals you most value: safety, ease, money, job security, challenge, the problems you hope to work on most, your own relative competitiveness by country, new networks and ideas or familiar ones? The question has no right answer; just a best answer for you personally.—Dr. Jones.

Conclusion

The questions proffered to our expert panel suggested that key anxieties for those starting out might include the extent to which the internet can expand or restrict one's opportunities, the vast range of employment opportunities available and how to navigate and succeed in employment, how to create noteworthy collaborations, ethical concerns in research and teaching, dealing with media and geography. The expert panel recommended a range of strategies for dealing with common academic problems in careers around G&S. Sometimes our Doctors showed evidence of taking quite different approaches, based on their contexts, experiences and personalities. Advice is not given in a vacuum, and so neither should it be received in one. The answers should be read in combination with understanding the way local issues may complicate their application in any given context. This range of answers shows early career researchers and students the importance of both seeking multiple sources of advice when making a key decision, and also of then assessing that advice according to which piece best addresses one's primary concerns, context or location, topic area and personality traits. Ultimately, the path to becoming a master or doctor of philosophy, is to get lots of second (third, fourth etc.) opinions but to make the final prescription of the proverbial medicine for one's own career.

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12

Memoirs and Manifestos for Early Career Researchers in Gender and Sexuality Education Research

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Introduction

Constitutions of gender and sexuality (G&S) studies in education and research as 'risky', 'difficult' and 'dangerous' are pervasive and enduring [1–7]. A number of established scholars have outlined the negative repercussions of these labels and engaged in persistent efforts to deconstruct this labelling [8–10]. Contributions such as these have engaged with and interrogated the discursive and material constraints which are often idiosyncratic to G&S educational research [2, 11], including institutional forms of risk management and ethical obstacles to getting research off the ground [12, 13]; the methodological politics of researching G&S in schools [14, 15]; and the precarious nature of doing G&S differently in education [16, 17].

The negative impact that this 'difficult terrain' can have on career development, identities and practices in academia is well documented [2, 7, 18–22]. This body of literature includes stories of isolation and the emotional labour of navigating the denial of and assault on one's work [23–26]. Most recently, Professor Jessica Ringrose [27] shares her experiences of being trolled and lambasted online for her research on young people's experience of gender diversity and the forms of public pedagogies that are central to becoming a feminist academic. Ringrose issues an important reminder that the 'dynamics of mediated misogyny, racism and hate also travel back in and through our teaching and learning as feminists in the material spaces of work and home' (654). Scholars have also offered strategies of resistance and have alerted early career researchers to various challenges so that they may prepare for them [28–32]. While these stories depict a troubling and difficult terrain, there remains a certain determinacy and vibrancy from scholars to keep G&S firmly on educational

and research agendas. As Allen and colleagues [2] suggest 'the regulatory effects of school-based sexualities research may be stifling, but they are hard pressed to extinguish creativity in this field' [33].

Our experiences as early career academics and co-conveners of the Gender, Sexualities and Cultural Studies Special Interest Group (GS & CS SIG) of the Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE) form the impetus for this chapter. Co-convening the SIG together has offered us invaluable opportunities to work with scholars (both early and established) whose work we admire, and to discuss, debate and reflect on career trajectories in the area of G&S educational research. Above all, we would agree that our relationship as co-convenors has been a necessary opening in our academic journeys. Our engagements as collaborators, colleagues, confidants and friends have been significant sources of support, patience and kindness as we navigate our professional identities within and beyond the university.

In 2017, with the support of funding from the AARE, we organised a one-day GS & CS SIG mini summer school event in Canberra. The focus of the event was capacity building and support for professionals/academics, at various stages of their career trajectories, in the fields of gender, sexualities and cultural studies in education. Through workshops and panel discussions we aimed to provide strategies to enable SIG members to respond critically, creatively and constructively to the demands and requirements of academia. This included workshops and panels on developing partnerships with relevant community members and organisations to reconsider the role of impact and engagement; grant and funding pathways and writing successful grant pitches. One of the most interesting, inspiring and useful aspects of the day was a session in which established academics shared their 'tips and tricks' for early career researchers. The sharing of experiences, navigating political and contextual circumstances, personal and professional challenges and strategies for overcoming obstacles were valuable aspects of the day for all. Hence, the inspiration for this chapter.

Despite the volume of research devoted to the many ills that beset the field, insufficient attention has been given to stories of success and appreciative forms of inquiry [34, 35]. In response, this chapter offers a collection of career memoirs and manifestos written by established G&S scholars for early career researchers. These memoirs and manifestos highlight some

of the creative strategies, defining moments, inspirations, unique turning points and positive stories that have kept this necessary research in motion. Part of the function of this chapter, then, is to look beyond what is broken and to diversify the stories we hear about academic lives in G&S studies in research and education. We hope by shifting the focus towards a 'queer thrival' we might captivate readers to consider the possibilities of what might be [36].

As will be seen from the range of contributions in this chapter, we have given creative license to established scholars in how they interpret our call for 'memoirs and manifestos'. We have been overwhelmed by the positive response and generosity of each of our contributors. The task of sharing 'memoirs and manifestos' seemed to resonate. As the contributions started coming in, we were heartened by how differently the invitation was taken up. Scholars described how their lives exceed the very discourses that tried to contain them. They wrote about how their experiences of encountering complexities and uncertainties provided openings for what their research might be/become. They focused on the textures of the everyday, material and familiar, suggesting that in uncertainty there is room to manoeuvre and act.

They made explicit the relationships and bonds that often go unseen; the important intimacies of the communities, communications and practices in which their academic work is embedded and enmeshed. Accounts were shared from scholars who have had, at one point and possibly many points, to rethink everything but who have nonetheless persisted. A shared feeling that something was amiss in how their work was recognised and feelings that their way of being/becoming academic was at odds with dominant discourses of risk, danger and difficulty. They shared candidly the strategic forms of visibility and care that they engaged in for professional (and personal) survival. Some also shared and recognised the failures of their own practices, and the productive potential of the ambivalence, contradiction and perpetual displacement that their work entailed.

Collectively these contributions blur the lines between the personal and the professional through recounted moments of success, frustration, disturbance, tragedy and triumph. A call for early career scholars to value the everyday encounters with colleagues, research participants, community members, young people and students as potential points of 'queer thrival'

[36]. These memoirs and manifestos raise interesting broader questions about what activism, engagement and community means for this important field of research and education. Most interestingly, a question of what to learn from these experiences provides an opportunity for early career academics to consider their own pathway through G&S related studies in education.

Memoirs and Manifestos

We present the contributions below in no particular order. We anticipate that this collection will inspire different ways of being, becoming and encountering. We hope the stories shared provoke early career academics to consider the critical and creative capacities of established scholars who have carved possibilities for future inquiry in the field.

PROFESSOR JESSICA FIELDS, San Francisco State University, San Francisco, USA

As part of my dissertation research, I observed a semester's worth of sex education classes at Southern Middle School. I sat at the back of the classroom near a white, big-boned, sixth-grade girl I call "Cassie." In my last week of fieldwork, Cassie stopped me as I walked into class to ask to speak to me in the hallway. Once the hallway was quiet, Cassie explained some grade-six girls were making fun of her body and clothes and shunning her. She and I brainstormed some resources at school, and I talked briefly about my girlhood experiences of conflict. After a few minutes, Cassie turned to enter the classroom. The room erupted: "Surprise!" Charged with keeping me out of the room so the class could finish decorating for a surprise party in my honour, this grade-six girl told me a story of suffering in mean girl culture. She rightly trusted I would be transfixed.

Another afternoon, I met Tammy Reynolds, a white conservative Christian mother, at her single-family Southern County home on a cul de sac littered with bicycles, balls, and other children's toys. Once we were seated with glasses of lemonade, Reynolds and I began talking about abstinence-

only education. She alluded to a group of young people destined to irresponsible, promiscuous sexual behaviour. "They're gonna do it no matter what you tell 'em. And that's true. I mean, <u>you</u> know those kids. <u>I</u> know those kids." In a racialised setting like Southern County, "those kids" are usually understood to be low-income and African American. Middle-class whiteness allowed Reynolds to trust that she and I could talk easily about the sexual fates of "those kids."

We learn as qualitative researchers to connect with our participants, to become trustworthy in their eyes, to lay the ground for them to share intimate stories with us. I learned in these exchanges that I could not establish rapport without also engaging feminist fantasies of connection, categories of difference, and racialised inequalities. The stories of adolescent girls' struggles that compelled my research became the grounds of connection. My analysis may have focused on racialised discourses of youth and sexuality, but in the field my whiteness suggested I would be a sympathetic ear for racist and classist ideas. The troubling experiences of the world that I wanted most to challenge also eased my efforts toward rapport.

PROFESSOR KERRY ROBINSON, University of Western Sydney, Sydney, Australia

It was never really my intention to become an academic. In fact, it feels a bit like I fell into this position out of a passion for social justice and for doing research that had equity at its core. As a secondary teacher, a crisis worker in a young women's refuge, and a researcher in schools in an earlier lifetime, I experienced first-hand the social, economic and health and wellbeing impact of systemic and individual discriminatory practices on young people (and adults) who were different, especially in terms of being gender and sexuality diverse.

As an early career academic, I was taken aside by a well-meaning professor who gave me some 'friendly advice' informing me that I wouldn't go anywhere in academia if I focused too much on LGBTQ issues and that it was a career 'stopper'! I have reflexively considered this advice throughout my career and, ironically, it has been an impetus, among many, to continue working in the field despite the obvious and numerous ups and

downs. Has it been a career stopper? Quite the contrary. I have had a successful academic career, with some recent highlights including: leading a flourishing research team, Sexualities and Genders Research (SaGR), supported by the university; receiving, along with several colleagues, a Vice Chancellor's Research Excellence Award for the 'Growing Up Queer' research; was invited to present on LGBT equity issues to Federal Parliament; advising on LGBT issues as part of the University's Respect Now Always committee; contributed to national inquiries; receiving state and university teaching awards based on addressing difference, homophobia and transphobia; and supervising numerous Higher Degree Research students from around the world who strive to make a difference in their academics careers, addressing social justice issues in the fields of sexuality and gender.

So, as a professor, what 'friendly advice' would I give an early career academic wishing to pursue research in gender and sexuality: follow your passion; seek out mentors throughout your career—choose wisely; and surround yourself with a supportive community of gender and sexuality scholars—for both the good times and the difficult.

PROFESSOR JANE KENWAY, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia

My book shelves are an archive of me. The rows and piles of books are rows and piles of memories. They are the stuff of my lives, my loves, my family. My mother breathed through her books—poetry, literary fiction and criticism, history. She cherished their company and conversed with them in her journals. She often read aloud for she also relished the sound of books—their dialogues, rhythms and tones. As children, we too breathed books. And, as adults, when we wept and packed up our mother's library, we kept what books we could. It felt like keeping her with us—re-animating her through reading.

Parts of her archive are now a part of mine. They have joined my daughter's childhood books, the school and university texts I soaked up and tried to elegantly restate in exams, those captivating paperbacks I took to bed, or the beach, and which I could not relinquish when shifting

homes. Each book offers an intimate memory of a room, a desk, a place, a teacher, a relationship—a moment, a mood. Many remind me of the bookshop they came from and the person who shared, with me, the tactile pleasures of leisurely browsing. As I glance at a cover or reread a paragraph I relive these miniature histories. Then and now are united in a breath of time.

My library is an intellectual as well as an emotional archive. It holds Special Collections dedicated to particular research quests. Each includes the fascinating and infuriating thinkers who helped me to get under the skin of my questions. Each contains books I laboured to understand, those I struggled to put down and those I did not, in the end, decide to read. Each conjures memories of voluptuous conversations amongst different research teams. And the traces of each Collection, can be found in our writing.

But not all my Special Collections revolve around my research. Some consist of books by people who I follow—those whose thinking always seems to oblige me to rearrange my own. Their books invariably enchant, provoke and enliven me. They make me wonder. And then there are my favourite Collections. One consists of all the fiction of Australian novelist Gail Jones. Her exquisite poetic prose and probing intelligence leave me breathless with delight and envy. The other consists of the story-telling and agitating of Arundhati Roy. She stands out because of her fierce and unrelenting opposition to injustice and tyranny in India, and beyond, and because of her tender recognition of those who suffer but who persist and insist on making meaningful lives. Roy contends "Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing."

On a quiet day I can hear my books breathing.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR NELSON RODRIGUEZ, The College of New Jersey, New Jersey, USA

A turning point in my academic career occurred in 2004. It was then that I made a conscious decision to focus on LGBTQ+ studies in my teaching and scholarship. I sometimes describe this moment to myself as "making a sharp queer turn." Part of the broader sociocultural context for

this turning point was the marriage equality debate that had picked up steam at the time, especially in the US. I knew this issue was important in terms of its history-making possibilities, and the debates that it tapped into—debates that certainly would matter to those of us in the field of gender and sexuality studies and that I knew would impact my teaching and scholarship. In short, the marriage equality fight grounded my own decision to make that sharp queer turn in my career and seemed to provide a rationale and sense of urgency to myself and to others for focusing on LGBTQ studies.

As for my teaching, the process of taking up queer content in my courses started out gradually, incorporating such content at first into other courses (e.g., as a unit in a course on the cultural foundations of education). From there, I eventually journeyed to teaching primarily queer studies courses and now I find myself happily creating new LGBTQ+ studies courses as well as creating new curricula. This journey of course was not without its detractors, including some well-intentioned liberal faculty and administrators. But on this point, I have learned two things: if the historical time is ripe, take advantage of it, and if the students you teach are interested, you will be supported institutionally. In terms of scholarship: I was at first worried about how my work would be understood and received by my colleagues, but ironically, I have found that doing queer theory/studies work in the academy provides a certain level of cultural capital.

Akin to my teaching, my scholarship has been a journey from one queer studies article in graduate school to becoming an editor for one of the first queer studies and education series. I share this brief memoir not to celebrate my accomplishments but rather to remind upcoming generations of academics in gender and sexuality studies in education of this: be respectful and mindful of others, toe the line when you need to, but stay the course, because in a heteronormative academic environment you have to be strategically and visibly fierce.

PROFESSOR HELEN SAUNTSON, York St John University, York, UK

> Be strong, be brave, be loving, but most of all, believe in and be true to yourself. (Susan Beech, 1947–1999)

My mum wrote these words in a book given to me for my 18th birthday, and they have inspired me in every aspect of my life, including my academic career. There have been times when I have been explicitly advised not to research gender and sexuality, and times when I have been denigrated for pursuing social justice research. I have experienced environments characterised by hyper-competitiveness, aggression and fear. Rather than seeing these experiences as damaging, my mum's words have encouraged me to use them as a turning point and model for the kind of academic I don't want to be. And this has been a good starting point for figuring out who I do want to be. My mum's words have reminded me that what I do is right and good. For anyone who works for social justice against a backdrop of oppression and discrimination, please use these words to inspire you.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR GEORGIANN DAVIS, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA

If you told me 15 years ago that I would someday be writing and speaking around the world about intersex people and the way we are inhumanely treated by medical professionals, I would not have believed you.

I first found out I was intersex in a parking lot outside of my gynecologist's office. It was the year 2000 and I was 19-years-old. I had just picked up a copy of my medical records because I was transferring my medical care to a provider closer to my new home. More than 50 pages of my lab results, surgical reports, and other medical information was neatly stuffed in a sealed manila envelope that contained the truth about my body—I was born with a vagina, but inside, instead of XX chromosomes, ovaries, a uterus, and fallopian tubes, I had XY chromosomes and testes. For years, doctors lied to me about my body and encouraged my parents to do the

same. When I was 17-years-old, I even had a medically unnecessary surgery to remove what doctors told me were premalignant ovaries. But what the doctors really did was remove two healthy testes, and, in the process, they filled my mind with their lies. I remember being in disbelief as I read my medical records. I also felt ashamed, angry, and confused—complicated emotions I would alternate through for years.

In the fall of 2007, my relationship with my intersex body would forever be changed. I was a sociology doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and I was taking a feminist theory class. One of the topics we studied was intersex. I learned more about intersex in that feminist theory class than I did from the doctors who surgically altered my body. I felt so empowered in that feminist classroom that I openly shared my experience with intersex. A huge weight was lifted.

Later, on the heels of that liberatory experience, I made a commitment to bridge my personal experience with intersex with my professional passion in understanding inequalities so that we can dismantle them. I will forever be a proud and unapologetic feminist scholar-activist.

PROFESSOR BECKY FRANCIS, Director of the UCL Institute of Education, London, UK

There are two observations I want to mention in relation to my work and career.

The first is the ontological challenge that has galvanised all my work on gender—the incredible, problematic and wonderful complexity of human behaviour. On the one hand, in spite of the very rapid social change of gender roles in the last half century, gender still strongly predicts and characterises our life experiences and outcomes. Nowhere is this more evident than in my own sector/discipline of education, where, in spite of women comprising a significant majority of the workforce, top jobs and positions of influence remain largely populated by men. A feminist motivation to document and analyse such patterns (in order to better understand and challenge them) has motivated my work.

Yet, at a micro level, human interaction is characterised by diversity, disruption and contradiction, as well as by patterns, habits and compliance.

The ways in which we all exhibit behaviours which could be characterised as masculine or feminine fascinated me, and I realised that if feminist researchers *only* document the gender-typical patterns and behaviours, we risk reifying and cementing these. Hence an energising challenge for me has been to analyse and theorise gender disruption in everyday behaviour, as well as the ongoing traditional patterns.

And the second observation is a brief reflection. My academic career has been driven by my feminism. Yet when head-hunters approached me about my present role, I laughed, and deleted the email. I had to be approached several times, and (when I finally spoke to a recruiter on the phone) told how many people had suggested my name, before I finally became convinced it might not be too ludicrous to submit an application. Then I was surprised when told my application had been enthusiastically taken to the second round. And so on. My point is, in spite of my politics and knowledge, I too was an unknowing sufferer of imposter syndrome.

So, my conclusion is, we need to maintain our rich research and analysis, to enable us to challenge taken-for-granted gendered assumptions—to challenge ourselves, as well as others.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR SUSAN STRYKER, University of Arizona, Arizona, USA

While I take great satisfaction in the career I've actually managed to have, I always remember that the only reason I've had it in the first place is that because of my transness I was denied the career I initially set out to have. Back when I was finishing my dissertation in US religious history and coming out as trans in the early 90s, I was not coming out into an identity that was considered viable for academic employment in that field. So, I threw myself into using the only skill-set I had—researching, thinking, writing, talking, teaching—to tackle the only topics on which I could get taken seriously: transgender topics. It worked out for me. I had a wonderful career in community-based archives, documentary filmmaking, and popular nonfiction writing, with just enough scholarship on the side to keep my hand in the game, until the kind of knowledge I'd been making became, decades later, something the academy valued enough to finally

let me in. I'm pleased with whatever success I've enjoyed, but I never lose sight of the fact that it was built on the denial of opportunity. That's why as a person who now works in higher education, I feel such a strong commitment to supporting all student to pursue whatever subject inflames their intellectual curiosity and passion, and to making higher education available to anyone who desires it.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR LYNNE HILLIER, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia

My research with same sex attracted and gender diverse young Australians spanned almost two decades [33, 37–42]. It has charted changes in Australian school (and wider) culture, specifically shifts in the production of knowledge around gender and sexuality for young people. It emphasised the ways young people take up these shifts and use them to position themselves in more positive ways.

The first lesson I would offer is about hope and persistence. For me and my colleagues, the beginnings of data collection took place in the context of a conservative federal government that would last for many years. We quickly learned that when facing a rock of resistance, there is always a crack in the surface that can be used to generate the seeds of change. We fought hard for the inclusion of the same sex attracted question in all national research regardless and this produced data that justified funding for our research. We were politic, navigating how and when we to 'be quiet' or 'outspoken' about our research.

The second lesson I would share centres on the importance of translating research into practice. Sharing our findings with teachers and school leaders helped them to justify and lead policy changes in their own schools and value added our research many times over. Taking the research back to young people was another important step—students could relate to the findings and used other student's stories to rethink their own experiences and recreate care of themselves.

The third lesson would be to emphasise how research with stigmatised groups becomes stigmatised. Researchers who carry out research with stigmatised groups also become stigmatised. The emotional wellbeing of

researchers in this field will be tested. We received a great deal of hate mail over the time and pressure was put on our heads of departments to stop the research. Through this experience we learned the importance of trusted allies and colleagues who watch your back and believe in the work. These forms of collective solidarity are important both personally and professionally.

Finally, and perhaps unexpectedly—I have learned the importance of passion and persistence in long term work. Passion maintains and replenishes researchers and gives social justice research its special edge.

PROFESSOR YVETTE TAYLOR, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK

When I took the train from Glasgow to Edinburgh to go to University, it was the first time I'd been there—with a less than 50-mile distance between cities, it still seemed a long way to go. Other students had travelled much further and I became acquainted with the jokes and comments—from tutors—about the 'wee quiet Scottish lassies' in seminar groups. From a working-class background, and the first person in my family to go to University, I've never had the automatic sense of Higher Education as an entitlement; this may be felt as problematic when feminism insists on our presences and entitlements (but where Beverly Skeggs' has nicely captured the problematic 'entitlement cultures' within gender studies: 'Women's Studies in Britain in the 1990s: Entitlement Cultures and Institutional Constraints', *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 18 [4]: 475–485).

I have felt like an 'imposter' and 'fraud' in moving through University, often felt in interpersonal exchanges and intersecting class, gender and age—and as someone who was promoted to Professor at the age of 32 years (when I was still being mistaken for a student!). In occupying management positions I've wondered about what constitutes 'feminist leadership' or 'feminist success' when inhabiting such roles—how the emotional labour and expectations may be heightened when done in, by, for 'feminism'. Like Prof. Kerry Robinson, I didn't expect to 'become' an academic: we now exist in a time where 'becoming' is perhaps always rendered out of reach— once the permanent contract is received, promotion must be pursued, one

the Professorship is attained, questions will be asked about what kind of professor you are, and what kind of institution you inhabit, and whether, for example, you've arrived 'too soon', or whether, with maternity leave, you're now 'out of time'.

In these questions, I've learned to be sceptical about career recognition, recognising its material rewards, and instead framing the resourcing of academic becoming and belonging around other questions such as 'what research and teaching do I want to do?', 'who am I accountable to?', 'what can I do?', 'how do I take a break?!'. The story of becoming academic is never a singular story; I have good networks and colleague who connect and sustain me as I hope to do for them.

RINGOLD, E. J. (The Collaboration of Professor Emma Renold, Cardiff University, Cardiff, Wales; and Professor Jessica Ringrose, UCL Institute of Education, London, UK)

For over 10 years RINGOLD has been experimenting with crafting research-activist assemblages as feminist and queer qualitative researchers. With each assemblage we continue to learn that the ways our research-activisms take shape and come to matter are never known in advance. Indeed, research practices, at their most promising, are speculative, inventive and always 'on the turn' (Seventeenth Century definition of 'jar') (Fig. 12.1).

This realisation came to force both painfully and productively in a recent project (see [43]) where our research 'findings' on how gender matters to young people became troubling to the point of being buried [44, 45] and we became troublesome in our refusal for this research to be ignored, silenced and contained. It was during this project that our evolving jar(ring) methodology became 'more-than' [46]. It re-oriented us and others as we became entangled with a becoming-JAR assemblage across different research and engagement projects and events.

Fig. 12.1 Jar/ring

Making Jars

In the 'How gender matters' project, we developed a participatory creative method using glass jars, sticky-notes and sharpies. We invited young people to consider, in any way they wanted, how "gender jars". We experimented with how jar as a discursive expressive verb (e.g., jar as unsettling, vibrating and jolting) intra-acted with the physical object of a small glass jar (e.g., as a vessel that historically has played its part as a carrier of difficult to control, difficult to contain substances and objects, see [47]). The task took off and over 100 jars were created in the jar/jarring's initial inception as socially engaged arts based research methodology [48, 49] (Fig. 12.2).

Engaged with in multiple ways, at its most urgent, we noticed the jarring method's power for enabling private and unspeakable expressions to materialise in written or symbolic form, especially from minority and marginalised young people. For instance, in one research site in an inner-city school in area of high deprivation a Black Caribbean young women, Monique (age 14) spoke very little during a paired friendship interview on gender issues in schools, although she hinted that she struggled with her

Fig. 12.2 Gender Jars

body shape and size, her anger and rage, her depression, her on–off tortuous relationship with social media (where she bounced between extremes of disconnection and total immersion). When we introduced the jar activity she spent the full 15 minutes engrossed, furiously scribbling on her pad, stuffing her jar with over 20 messages, addressing gang violence and racism, longing to and refusing to fit in and belong, not wanting to be defined by success or failure, her battle with mental health, and girls' experiences of sexual objectification and sexual violence. In another setting, a youth-centre this time, one young person (age 16) chose not to insert any messages in the jar, decorating only the outside. They talked about wanting to communicate the importance of not being categorised through gender binaries, and their resentment at being labelled, consumed or contained. During this project, we quickly became attuned to the expressive affective haptic-material-discursive qualities of jarring as creative method—and its potential 'thing power' to affect and be affected [50].

Jar Gifting

Six months later our Jar/ring practices morphed into an explicitly activist mode (see Fig. 12.3), inside the AGENDA resource (see http://agenda. wales)—an interactive tool-kit designed to support young people to raise awareness on issues relating to gender-based and sexual violence. Over 40 young people participated in this activity during the launch of the resource and over 80 jars were decorated and crammed with personalised change-making messages that were gifted, collectively (see Fig. 12.3) to the policy

Fig. 12.3 What Jars Us

makers and practitioners arriving that afternoon on what they should be focusing on to better support these issues in schools and communities. Indeed, because the conference delegates knew that the jars had been created that morning for them by the young people who were still in the room, their connection to felt experience (i.e., their affective quality) seemed to take on an extra-charge in their 'extra-beingness' (see [16]). 'Politicality' argues Massumi ([51], p. 173), 'is always on its leading edge, affective'.

Making Jar(ring) Matter

A 1520s definition of jar is "bird-screeching". This resonates with our private and public experiences of becoming-jar. Sometimes our research-beaks peck quietly away at the status quo in a slow and steady rhythm.

Fig. 12.4   What Jars You?

Sometimes, they become Sara Ahmed's (see [19]) feminist hammer—beaks wide open, sirens in full voice, shrill and piercing. All too frequently however, in calling out the problem, we become the problem—and sometimes we reach snapping point (see also Ahmed's 'feminist snap'). But over the last few years, our jarring methodology, inside the wider onto-epistemological jar assemblage of what it means to engage in feminist and queer research-activism, is one apparatus [52] beginning to enable us to productively work with becoming more-than the problem.

As the chapters in this volume evidence, when it comes to gender and sexuality research where participatory methods and youth voice are foregrounded there will always be trouble. This research will always JAR.

We hope that by briefly sharing some salient moments from our journey, the potentially generative affordances of JAR's discursive-affective-materiality as creative method and/or process (Fig. 12.4) might support your own research process/practices, if, as and when your research JARS and you need to find a way to stay with the trouble.

An Open Ending[1]

For us, this collection of memoirs and manifestos emphasises how complex, arduous, necessary and possible G&S education research is. The moments shared provide an important rupture and reformation of dominant narratives and tropes of our work as being 'dangerous', 'risky' and 'difficult'. An affective vibrancy supersedes the collection, which we have found particularly inspiring as early career academic readers. We take pause at the emotions evoked, the humility, humour, intimacy, hope, passion, urgency, creativity and vulnerability; all aspects of academia that are too often ignored or sidelined from conversations of what might be possible. These affective resonances are an important reminder that we care about our work and are invested in what we do. The memoirs and manifestos shared are also suggestions for how we might strategically navigate academia and be strategically 'visible and fierce' as academics so that we become 'more than the problem'. We take comfort in the various calls to embrace the speculative and inventive aspects of our work.

We are encouraged by what established scholars make and continue to make possible. Equally heartening has been the resonance between our own entry points, hesitations and conflicts when things don't proceed along anticipated lines. As academics, we too can accept ways of being and working that silence, denigrate and limit. We too are fallible to re-establishing certain hierarchies even as we seek to undo them, and must work hard to queer, question and trouble even our most well-intentioned endeavours. We are reminded that we can never know in advance how our research-activisms-teaching comes to matter. Most importantly, for us, these contributions and the shift in focus towards a 'queer thrival' have reminded us how the process of becoming an academic isn't just about getting by or getting on. It is also an informed choice about what kind of scholar we want to be.

Note

1. Heading inspired by [53].

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Glossary & Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome; chronic potentially life-threatening condition/s which occur when the body's immune system is less able to fight off opportunistic infections and illnesses.
APA	American Psychological Association.
APS	Australian Psychological Society.
Asexual	An umbrella term for some level of disinterest in some or all sexual contact and experience/s.
BBV	Blood Born Viruses.
Bisexual	An umbrella term for a person who is attracted to more than one sex to any degree (not necessary at the same time, equally or reflecting relationship patterns). The term is sometimes used as a

	sexual identity; some people use broader terms like omnisexual and pansexual (for attraction to more or all sexes or to dispute that sex is binary) or more limited terms like bi-romantic, bi-curious (setting some parameters in sexual attraction or experience).
Cisgender	A person who has a gender identity which aligns with their assigned sex at birth; people who are not transgender or gender non-conforming.
Gay	Same-sex sexual attraction, behaviour and cultural identity in general. Often used for men who experience sexual attraction to, and capacity for an intimate relationship primarily with, other men.
G&S Education	Gender and Sexuality Education.
Gender	The socially constructed, culturally specific learned associations of roles, attributes and opportunities considered masculine, feminine, or some combination thereof.
Gender Expression	How a person expresses their own gender through manners, dress, social roles, naming and pronouns, how they walk, speak, communicate, mannerisms and behavior when not coerced.
Gender Identity	A person's deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned to them at birth.
Gender Variance Non-conformity, Gender Diversity or Genderqueer	How person identifies as being a masculine, feminine, neither, or some combination, which may or may not correspond to the sex assigned to them at birth; including people whose identity or expression

	do not align with binary male or female gender, or whose gender expression differs from gender norms. Individuals can be perceived as gender non-conforming regardless of their own perception of their gender identity or expression; different groups have different social constructions of gender. These terms thus relate to both individual and social perceptions of masculinity and femininity.
GSA	Gay Straight Alliance; a social support or advocacy group for LGBTI and ally students in educational settings most common in America. It may be run by staff or students.
Heteronormativity	The belief that heterosexuality is the normal or default sexual orientation.
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus; a retrovirus which can be acquired via the blood for example in-utero, via breastfeeding or contact during birthing; through sharing drug injecting equipment; or unprotected sexual activities. It can cause AIDS, particularly if left untreated. It can be managed by daily medication.
Homophobia	The fear, discomfort, intolerance or hatred of homosexuality and sexually diverse people.
Homosexual/ homosexuality	A person who is sexually attracted to people of the same sex.
Intersex	Intersex is an umbrella term used to describe a wide range of natural anatomical, hormonal and/ or chromosomal bodily variations. Intersex variations may be visible at birth, apparent around puberty or not visible at all. Intersex variations are

	distinct from sexual orientation, gender identity or expression.
Lesbian	A woman who experiences sexual attraction to, and capacity for intimate relationships primarily with, other women.
LGBTI	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex.
Measures	Questions or indicators in a study (such as a scale on which participants select a position) used to measure phenomena, such as sexual orientation, gender identity, or violence.
MP	Member of Parliament.
MSM	Men who have sex with men—regardless of whether or not they also have sex with women or have a personal or social gay or bisexual identity (some MSM self-identify as heterosexual).
Queer	An anti-identity position, or an acknowledgement of gender or sexual identity as fluid, episodic, unpredictable or in some way non-normative (something beyond being a traditional heterosexual cisgender male or female identity).
Questioning	A person who is interrogating their sexual orientation or gender identity.
Sex	Classification of people as male, female or otherwise, assigned at or some point after birth, based on a range of traits related to anatomy and biology.
Sexual Orientation	A person's capacity for profound emotional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender, the same gender or more than one gender.

SOGIE	Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity or Expression; a broad phrasing used in UN and certain nations policy formations around issues of anti-LGBTIQ discrimination and violence; which acknowledges identity variances beyond Western notions of LGBTIQ identities.
Transgender	A person whose gender identity differs from their sex at birth. Transgender people may be male-to-female (female identity and appearance); female-to-male (male identity and appearance); genderqueer (non-binary, fluid or variable gender expression and appearance); transvestites (people who regularly but not always wear clothes not associate with their allocated sex) and so on. They may be heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual. They may or may not engage in a range of legal, medical or social affirmations of their gender.
Transphobia	Fear, rejection or aversion—often in the form of stigmatizing attitudes or discriminatory behaviour—towards transgender people, including transsexuals and transvestites.
STD/ STI	Sexually Transmissible Diseases, Sexually Transmissible Infections.
UN	United Nations. Related acronyms include: UNDP United Nations Development Programme; UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.
WHO	World Health Organization.

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