LGB,T Youth Experiences of Bullying: Power, Intersectionality And Participation

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Abstract

The ensuing thesis is the result of an in-depth interrogation of the following research question: What are the school experiences of LGB,T youth?

Despite much research on homophobic bullying in school, little is known about how power intersects and prolongs a bullying event after the initial victimization is over. This study sheds a light on this issue, examining how LGB,T youth understand bullying, their capacity within individual events, while uncovering how power shapes a bullying incident.

The first part of the thesis forms the central argument demonstrating key principles underpinning challenges sexual minority youth face while at school. Interrogating political and neoliberal influences, this thesis introduces young people's stories through multiple lenses. This thesis uncovers schools ineffectual use of inclusion policy revealing policy and practice are failing young people. Furthermore, LGB,T young people's human rights are also largely overlooked in policy practice. Not treated as having the same rights as other students interferes with their education, and therefore, their human rights. The first two chapters are grounded in present literature as demonstrated in chapter three, which is followed by methodologies in chapter four, rounding out the first section.

Chapters five through seven establish the second part of this thesis. Here the reader is introduced to young people's accounts unpacking bullying incidents. Introducing critical incidents revealed through narrative inquiry, leads to an interrogation of bullying and how power punctuates, intersecting a single event.
While chapter eight concludes this thesis.

Up to thirty young people participated in sessions, ranging in ages from sixteen to nineteen. Eighteen filled out a questionnaire, while surveys ranged from eight to seventeen participants. Eighteen participated with the one-to-one interview lasting from 30 to 60 minutes. Interviews revealed all young people had experienced bullying at school while several were severely physically bullied and harmed. Girls reported experiencing and identifying bullying differently than boys, while boys reported struggling with homophobic bullying representing their lost male privilege suggesting girls and boys experienced, perceived and defined bullying and power differently.

Results revealed not everything defined as bullying, is understood as such. Additionally, power exerted onto the victim during a bullying incident came from multiple sources. First, it came rom the initial attacker then moved to the teacher attempting to resolve the incident, and then to the administration. How they interrogated bullying informed and prolonged a bullying incident long after the initial event ceased.

This thesis will reveal how bullying is understood and addressed in schools is ineffective due to its universal ideology considering all experience as the same, and is faulty.

KEY WORDS: Homophobic bullying, LGB,T, sexual minorities, youth, discrimination, intersectionality, power, human rights.

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'Elle' Hilke Dominski
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Abbreviations

CAT	Committee Against Torture
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
HRA	UK Human Rights Act
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
LGB,T	The LGB,T acronym serves as an umbrella term throughout this thesis for LGBTQQIAAP2-S that includes queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, ally, pansexual and two-spirit. Additionally, the use of a comma between the B and T underscores differences, as LGB are sexual orientations where T relates to gender.
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
PSHE	Personal, social and health education in the UK
SRE	Sex and relationship education in the UK
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, also known as CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WHO	World Health Organization

Glossary of Terms

Diversity and Social Justice

Ableism: Prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory actions based on differences in physical, mental, and/or emotional ability; usually that of able-bodied / minded persons against people with illness, disabilities, or less developed skills /talents.

Academies: Academies are state-maintained, independently run schools established with the assistance from outside sponsors. They have more independence over what they teach and are not subject to local authorities.

Accessibility: The extent to which a facility is readily approachable and usable by individuals with disabilities, particularly such areas as the personnel office, worksite and public areas.

Adultism: Prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory actions against young people, in favor of older person(s).

Advocate: Someone who speaks up for her/himself and members of his/her identity group; e.g., a woman who lobbies for equal pay for women.

Ageism: Prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory actions based on differences in age, usually that of younger persons against older.

Ally: A person of one social identity group who stands up in support of members of another group; typically member of dominant group standing beside member(s) of targeted group; e.g., a male arguing for equal pay for women.

Bias: Prejudice; an inclination or preference, especially one that interferes with impartial judgment.

Biphobia (biphobic): Dislike or prejudice against people whoa re bisexual.

Bisexual: attracted to members of either the male or female sex.

Butch: As defined by Urban dictionary: 'butch' an overtly/stereotypically masculine or masculine-acting woman. Can be used to denote an individual, or the dominant role in a lesbian relationship (http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=butch).

Cisgender: Someone whose gender and sex at birth match

Cis-normative: The assumption that all or most people are cisgender.

Coalition: A collection of different people or groups, working toward a common goal.

Color Blind: the belief in treating everyone "equally" by treating everyone the same; based in the presumption that differences are by definition bad or problematic, and therefore best ignored (i.e., " I don't see race, gender, etc.").

CRAE: Children's Rights Alliance protects the human rights of children by lobbying government and others who hold power, by bringing or supporting test cases and by using regional and international human rights mechanisms," http://www.crae.org.uk/about-us/

Dialogue: "Communication that creates and recreates multiple understandings" (Wink, 1997); it is bidirectional, not zero-sum and may or may not end in agreement; it can be emotional and uncomfortable, but is safe, respectful and has greater understanding as its goal.

Discrimination: Actions, based on conscious or unconscious prejudice, which favor one group over others in the provision of goods, services, or opportunities

Diversity: The wide variety of shared and different personal and group characteristics among human beings.

Dominant Culture: Cultural values, beliefs, and practices assumed to be the most common and influential within a given society.

FGM: Female genital mutilation

F to M/FTM/F2M: Female to male. Abbreviation used to specify the direction of sex or gender role change, usually used by those who identify as transsexual.

Gay: (1) A word describing a man or a woman who is emotionally, romantically, sexually, and relationally attracted to members of the same sex. (2) A man who is physically and emotionally attracted to another man or same sex desires.

Gender: The socially constructed concepts of masculinity and femininity; the 'appropriate' qualities accompanying biological sex.

Gendered: Having a denotative or connotative association with being either (traditionally) masculine or feminine.

Gender expressions: External appearance of one's gender identity, usually expressed through behavior, clothing, haircut or voice, and which may or may not conform to socially defined behaviors and characteristics typically associated with being either masculine or feminine.

Gender identity: One's innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither – how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.

Gender transition: The process by which some people strive to more closely align their internal knowledge of gender with its outward appearance. Some people socially transition, whereby they might begin dressing, using names and pronouns and/or be socially recognized as another gender. Others undergo physical transitions in which they modify their bodies through medical interventions.

Hate Crime: Hate crime legislation often defines a hate crime as a crime motivated by the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.

Heteronormative: Related to based on the attitude that heterosexuality is the normal and natural expression of sexuality, against which everything is judged.

Heterosexism: The presumption that everyone is, and should be, heterosexual.

Heterosexual (adj.): Attracted to members of other or the opposite sex

Homophobia (homophobic): The fear or hatred of homosexuality (and other non-heterosexual identities), and persons perceived to be gay or lesbian.

Homosexual: (adj.) attracted to members of the same sex. (Not a preferred term. See: Gay, Lesbian)

Hate crime: Hate crime legislation often defines a hate crime as a crime motivated by the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person.

-Ism: A social phenomenon and psychological state where prejudice is accompanied by the power to systemically enact it.

Lesbian: A woman who is attracted to other women.

LGB,T: The LGB,T acronym serves as an umbrella term throughout this thesis for LGBTQQIAAP2-S that includes queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, ally, pansexual and two-spirit. Additionally, the use of a comma between the B and T underscores differences, as LGB are sexual orientations where T relates to gender.

M to F/MTF/M2F: Male to Female. Abbreviation used to specify the direction of sex or gender role change, usually used by those who identify as transsexual.

Marginalized: Excluded, ignored, or relegated to the outer edge of a group/society/community.

Normative: Conforming to or based on norms or standards, especially rules of expected behavior.

Ofsted: Office of Standards in Education (UK)
Oppression: Results from the use of institutional power and privilege where one person or group benefits at the expense of another. Oppression is the use of power and the effects of domination.

Prejudice: A preconceived judgment about a person or group of people; usually indicating negative bias.

Privilege: a right, license, or exemption from duty or liability granted as a special benefit, advantage, or favor

Queer: An umbrella term that can refer to anyone who transgresses society's view of gender or sexuality. The definitional indeterminacy of the word Queer, its elasticity, is one of its constituent characteristics: "A zone of possibilities."

Questioning: A term used to refer to an individual who is uncertain of her/his sexual orientation or identity.

Racism: Prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory actions based on difference in race/ethnicity usually by white/European descent groups against persons of color.

Safe Space: Refers to an environment in which everyone feels comfortable in expressing themselves and participating fully, without fear of attack, ridicule or denial of experience.

Sex: biological classification of male or female (based on genetic or physiological features), as opposed to gender.

Sexism: Prejudiced thoughts and discriminatory actions based on difference in sex/gender usually by men against women.

Sexual identity: (1) Sexual identity, or orientation, may or may not be biological in nature, (2) also denotes self-identification of sexual orientation.

Sexual Orientation: one's natural preference in sexual partners; predilection for homosexuality, heterosexuality, or bisexuality.

Silencing: The conscious or unconscious processes by which the voice or participation of particular social identities is exclude or inhibited.

Social Identity: It involves the ways in which one characterizes oneself, the affinities one has with other people, the ways one has learned to behave in stereotyped social settings, the things one values in oneself and in the world, and the norms that one recognizes or accepts governing everyday behavior.

Social Identity Development: The stages or phases that a person's group identity follows as it matures or develops

Social Oppression: "Exist when one social group, whether knowingly or unconsciously, exploits another group for its own benefit" (Hardiman and Jackson, 1997)

Stereotype: Blanket beliefs and expectations about members of certain groups that present an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment. They go beyond necessary and useful categorizations and generalizations in that they are typically negative, are based on little information, and are highly generalized.

System of Oppression: Conscious and unconscious, non-random, and organized harassment, discrimination, exploitation, discrimination, prejudice and other forms of unequal treatment that impact different groups.

Tolerance (n): Acceptance and open-mindedness to different practices, attitudes, and cultures; does not necessarily mean agreement with the differences.

Transgender: Appearing as, wishing to be considered as, or having undergone surgery to become a member of the opposite sex. Transgendered people can include transsexuals, cross-dressers, drag kings/queens, masculine women, feminine men, and those who defy what society tells them is appropriate for their gender.

Transphobia (transphobic): The fear or hatred of homosexuality (and other non-heterosexual identities), and persons perceived to be transgender and/or transsexual.

Transsexual: One who identifies as a gender other that of their biological sex

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Here presented is an inventory of terms as relevant to this thesis, modified from several lists including a list created by the Office of Multicultural Affairs, University of Massachusetts. The full, original University of Massachusetts list is available at: https://www.uml.edu/docs/Glossary_tcm18-55041.pdf

Human Rights Campaign *Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Definitions* is available at: http://www.hrc.org/resources/sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-terminology-and-definitions.

Other terms were resourced from varying print and online sources, including Merriam-Webster.com and Vaccaro et al. (2012).

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Chapter One
Introduction

The Problem

Homophobia is like racism and anti-Semitism
and other forms of bigotry in that
it seeks to dehumanize a large group of people,
to deny their humanity,
their dignity and personhood.

Coretta Scott King

Until recently 'nationhood' seemed in itself a convenient truth as a degree of goodwill across borders secured cooperation between states in Europe; correspondingly, patriotic inspired, inward-looking arguments were mostly lacking in mainstream discourse. Yet the past several years has seen a rise of nationalistic rhetoric, demagogic leaders and anti-immigrant parties showing signs that neighborly relations and diversity are under strain as allegiance with 'one's own' and a narrow vision of identity, is gaining strength. Exacerbating things further, immigration surges to parts of Europe seemed to have coincided with an escalation in radical violence. Subsequently, equating one with the other supported a turn toward cultural identity politics as discontent toward pluralism increased (Green, 2011). As a consequence, restrictions on immigration became increasingly part of political debates in efforts to preserve (or reclaim) principles of nationhood (*ibid*).

Nationhood debates expanded to a critique of anyone not fitting a dominant image (Matless, 2016). As a result, (now past) tragedies not necessarily fitting an extremist violence debate were exploited justifying an anti-immigration argument drawing false parallels. For example, reactions in the United Kingdom over the June 2016 mass shooting at a gay nightclub in Orlando, FL, killing 49, and injuring another 53, many of whom were LGB,T individuals, supported assumptions of a terrorist attack. The shooter's motives were thought to have radical fundamentalist beliefs, underpinning particular migration related debates. News outlets deliberated the shooter's reasons and discussed extremist implications as a narrative framing terrorism and gun violence that overshadowed the LGB,T loss. As a result, politicizing the incident served to support 'nationhood' and terrorist threat rhetoric.

In addition to erasure, LGB,T lives remain politicized in terms of basic rights, such as whom they can marry (although same sex marriage is legal in 23 countries, social condemnation continues challenging marriage equality) and whether they can donate blood, keeping their discrimination visible in negative terms (Dart, 2015). In other words, LGB,T lives are critiqued in multiple ways supporting alternate narratives that continue to oppress. It became evident after the Orlando nightclub shooting an opportunity was missed by politicians to bring the LGB,T community to the forefront of politics and openly engage in discrimination and social struggles they continue to face. Instead, the LGB,T community remains one that is negotiated to suit dominant needs where homophobia persists, permeating everyday spaces (Hudson, 2015).

Not to negate the threat of terrorism, but spinning a tragedy to support a protectionist narrative only stokes more fear, while removing what is perceived by some, an inconvenient narrative. The nightclub incident and its aftermath illustrated how using 'useful' points supporting one narrative while erasing another, barely acknowledged the incident as a homophobic hate crime (Snowdon, 2016). The Orlando event subsequently aided in fueling an extremist narrative and energized anti-LGB,T initiatives, violence, and stochastic terrorism.

Consequently, the Orlando tragedy became fodder for populist policies befitting political motives, while simultaneously denying a collective identity. Such only accomplished overshadowing oppressions, violence, and discrimination sexual minorities continue to face. For example, England and Wales saw a 22 percent increase in homophobic attacks 2014 to 2015 (Corcoran et al., 2015), with 2016 seeing even higher rates according to Galop (2016), an LGBT anti-violence charity. Yet these increases remain largely unrecognized, suggesting individual identities occupy different levels of relevance.

Furthermore, while the UK was deciding to leave the Eurozone in 2016, what came to be known as Brexit, UKIP (United Kingdom Independent Party) campaigning to leave the single market of the EU, offered legal protections in their mini-manifesto to Christians who opposed same-sex marriage (UKIP Policies for Christians, 2016). Nationhood debates clearly became more than simply an issue over national identity and immigration, making identity political. Ibrahim Karagul, editor of a Turkish newspaper, declared: "We are going to return to our political genetics, our regional perception, and our historical wealth" as Turkey struggles with its own political shifts, seems a relevant quote as it reflects a shared discontent by

ultranationalists across multiple countries. Those taking up the nationalistic charge cast themselves as moral leaders at odds with those not sharing their values, succeed at politicizing difference. It is not only those in politics attempting to define nationalistic identities through arguments underpinned by their definition of morality, but companies have as well. Guido Barilla, chairman of the Barilla Group, a pasta manufacturer, for example declared he would never consider creating advertisements featuring "a homosexual family…" stating that "if the gays don't like it can go and eat another brand," (Day, 2013). In combination with political verbosity, such unfiltered messaging demonizes anyone not fitting a certain image, resulted in an increase in fear, isolation, and discrimination of LGB,T individuals ('EU LGBT Survey', 2016), illustrating the instability of social inclusion.

Shaping public opinion and making laws and policies can either create bonds, or build deeper divides underpinning discrimination (Engle, 2013). Schools are not immune to these trends. According to Egale, Canada Human Rights Trust (2017), the majority of reported homophobic hate crime was carried out by young people aged 12 to 17, both as perpetrators and as victims of homophobic bullying. Stonewall, a UK LGB,T rights charity, reported homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying is widespread and on the rise in UK schools. Stonewall's *The Teachers' Report 2014* assessed homophobic bullying in schools as reported by teachers, established that 45 percent of primary school students and 86 percent of secondary school students had experienced homophobic bullying.

Preoccupied, in part, by racism and homophobia, Brexit succeeded (Gusterson, 2017). Therefore, not surprisingly, homophobic attacks more than doubled shortly after the referendum passed (Galop, 2016). In fact, immediately following Brexit, there was a 41 per-cent increase in overall hate crime, with a higher spike in attacks on sexual minorities (UK Home Office, 2016). This same period saw a 54 per-cent increase in reported hate crime in schools with sexual minority young people particularly vulnerable, these numbers reflect an increase above what Stonewall determined several years earlier (ATL The Education Union, 2017). Brexit was ultimately concerned with the belief of losing privileges for some bringing to mind a quote by Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953): "A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both."

This is the backdrop against which this research was carried out.

Even so, the UK is advanced with human rights and inclusion efforts as is evident by the high production of laws and policies supporting inclusion schemes ('EU LGBT Survey', 2016). Correspondingly, local governments and school boards implement these anti-bullying policies. However, they may not be as effective as intended as young people like Abby, Sophie, Allen and Aiden (introduced in Chapter Five) (all names are pseudonyms) continue falling victim to school-based bullying placing their physical and psychological safety at risk.

This research introduces a particular group of LGB,T young people in the Midlands, England, who encountered negative school environments. Although they do not represent all LGB,T youth, they are a segment of the LGB,T community and it is important their experiences are understood. The narratives in the thesis introduce some of their circumstances as understood by them and interpreted by the researcher.

The site for this research was a youth organization chosen for its holistic approach to youth care, engagement and encouragement. It was selected after interviews with several facilities to determine research location. The young people at this site felt safe and welcome. Consequently, the bonds with the site organizers seemed easily formed and based in trust; this extended to me. As a result of their trust in, and ease with me, subsequent data gathering translated to in-depth stories, which revealed their vulnerabilities.

This first chapter is broken up into three sections. The first section presents the research question, defines the rationale for this research and introduces the researcher. The second section identifies key understandings and terms while the third section provides the context. Drawing from their stories, an interrogation is presented, first through a broad lens then narrowing in an effort to highlight the consequences when intent does not meet need.

Part I

As an increasingly diverse society emerges even against much resistance, principles of tolerance and respect become more important. The critiques mentioned in the first pages serve as reminders that inclusion cannot be assumed and although inclusion and anti-bullying policies exist, the behaviors they espouse remain less venerable in dominant values.

With the Brexit vote, social trends showed there has been a steady rise in economic and political dissatisfaction (Jackson, 2016). With those calling for a political turn inward, much of the social unrest stemming from economic effects of years of globalization and austerity measures produced widening economic inequalities, and saw politics swing to the right. This turn was partly bolstered by a fear of the outsider as the disenfranchised sought meaning for their circumstances. Exploiting these apprehensions, some political parties promoted polarizing views of homogeneity resulting in juxtaposition with those who support diversity, essentially creating two vocal camps. There were larger economic and political forces at-play not discussed at length here, but politics and voting seem now more influenced by beliefs and values (Schemer et al., 2012) creating a culture divide separating those who support 'patriotism' underpinning a suspicion of anyone perceived as different, with those who support cultural diversity (Lyons, 2017; Eger & Valdez, 2014; Jacoby, 2014).

Animosity toward another, however, is not necessarily without cause. The cause, though, may not always exist, rather is imagined because that 'cause' is fear (Hofmann, 2016). Attention is given a minority when it constitutes a threat to the majority, whether real or imaged. If that minority is somehow invisible, that which is feared is greater as it is less understood. Fear is created, manipulated and often emphasized for political gain as politicians promote particular policies supporting alternative narratives discrediting the establishment that supports inclusion initiatives thereby creating a 'cause'. This is evident when deeming same-sex marriage as a threat to straight marriage as understood by the right as the left's liberal inclusion agenda, seemingly as political maneuvering underpinning an inclusive agenda (Ball, 2016). However, the imagined fear lacks logic as one right (same-sex marriage) does not eliminate the other (straight marriage) and therefore, cannot logically threaten it.

Despite the presumption of increased levels of acceptance of sexual minorities due in part, to inclusion policy and law, a recently published report (RTI International, 2017) found there was little change in attitudes toward victimization. In other words, policy and law seemed to make minimal difference toward how certain minorities experienced their social spaces.

Thus, the politics of inclusion fail to resolve the contradiction between integration of theory and practice of inclusion schemes, including in school, and are missing their mark. Chakraborti and Hardy (2015) point to a heightened level of intolerance that remains disconnected from inclusion policy intentions, which continues marginalizing

and victimizing LGB,T people on a daily basis. They also found incidents were underreported, suggesting a miscalculation of the severity of victimization that sexual minorities actually endure. Additionally, the law addressing hate crime and incidents is uneven as LGB,T hate crime is treated with less harshness than other forms of hate crime (Equity and Human Rights Commission, 2009). Subsumed under general harassment, not only is LGB,T hate crime and bullying regarded differently from other types of harassment, is addressed with less importance, leaving many sexual minority victims suffering as their experiences lose relevance. Both as underreported and misunderstood, leaves anti-bullying policy and inclusion schemes ineffectual as neither address sexual minority based violence properly.

Many years ago, I witnessed and fell victim to power expressed in the form of a violent act against a member of the LGB,T community. Since then, inclusion discourse and theory underpinning how victimization experienced by LGB,T is understood, has increased. There have been calls for improving school spaces to become more inclusive of all students with intentions of transforming the recognition of minority statuses. However, in practice, not much has changed over the years. This, and shaped by that earlier experience and concerned with current events, became my reasons to pursue this research.

Although this study took place in England and the findings are UK based, how LGB,T experience victimization is not country specific and regionally unique. Even though this thesis is presented through a UK lens, the context of mistreatment extends far beyond UK borders. Such brings to light discriminatory acts as a result of sustained classifications are not random, rather present meaningful patterns underpinning a universalization of mistreatment.

This thesis investigated homophobic bullying episodes as interpreted through policy that downplays the non-normative experiences.

This research therefore, engaged with the following question:

What are the school-based bullying experiences of sexual minority youth?

Introducing the researcher

It is important I make my positioning and motivations for this research, as well as prior understandings shaping my perception of discrimination, clear at the onset. Although an experience in early adulthood became my impetus, it was probing several situations that took place over multiple critical periods of my social development that inspired this research.

My lineage, heritage, and country of birth are German. My family had immigrated to the USA, and as a fifteen-year-old high school sophomore, I was often called a Nazi and rocks thrown at me. I shrunk under the weight of the insult far more so than from the weight of the stones, as I had just begun to understand the history and the impact of such an insult. One day while in class, my teacher came to my defense as a boy had again called me a Nazi. He stood up for me and made it clear this boy's actions were unacceptable, and that this boy did not understand the implications or what he was doing as hurtful. I have never forgotten my teacher's generosity. I use the term 'generosity' as at the time, his standing up for me as no one else had, felt generous. He stood up to normative resistance through perception that had become a barrier to my realizing full inclusion. As a teacher, he had the ability to impact every student in that classroom, and he made it clear to the bully that it was not okay.

It was a few years later while living in university dormitories I continued to witness normative resistance, underpinning hierarchies that limited access. As this was before mobile phones and texting, affixed to each bedroom door were dry-erase boards intended for messages and notes. During this same time, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa was focused on amongst other issues, freeing Nelson Mandela imprisoned for standing up to his government for human rights abuses against black South Africans. Across many parts of the world a campaign for his release under the banner 'Free Nelson Mandela' had begun. I, too, joined this call for action with students of all races, staging demonstrations. And amongst other things, in my small voice of solidarity, I posted a 'Free Nelson Mandela' sticker on my board on my door. Returning from dinner one evening, I noticed someone had written something on my board. It read 'be careful what you ask for' with an arrow drawn pointing to my sticker. I knew what I was asking: ending discrimination based on arbitrary, socially constructed categories. I did not remove my sticker. The following day the sticker was marked out with an 'x', explicitly threatening racial equity and on a lesser scale, my solidarity and support for racial rights and freedom from discrimination.

Working in diversity, equity and inclusion, I came to understand that social rights - ensuring all people a fair standard of treatment - were not equally distributed, and defining 'fair' seemed challenging. I also become conscious that sexuality and gender as markers underpinning gendered discrimination and homophobia are closely linked. Expected to conform to normative expressions of gender, society becomes (unwittingly) complicit in gender oppression internalizing misogynistic underpinnings that continue to police, enforcing normative roles. Cottle (2016) points out that sexism is more socially acceptable than racism making it harder to challenge, thus preserving it as a tool to oppress. Although interrogated, gendered expectations and expressions remain, of which the homosexual community tends to be acutely aware. Sexism augments heterosexism, and as Herek (1990) argued, heterosexism is "analogous to sexism and racism, describing an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community" (n.p.), reinforcing hostility toward gays.

As a woman, I experienced gender-based discrimination; however, I benefited from fitting normative gender roles. I never had to think about my sexuality or whether my partner's gender would be accepted, and I did not have to worry whom I wanted to marry. I was also not concerned with having children or any negative repercussions due to not fitting a traditional role of parenthood. Our family did not face any stigma regarding our image and who we were perceived to be. Although subject to sexism, living in advantaged spaces makes avoiding the issue of discrimination relatively easy. Discrimination was always easier to believe it was someone else's problem, and what could I do, anyway?

Although I recognize my experiences as personally powerful, are small when considering what discrimination categorically means. I do not intend to trivialize the adverse power of institutionalized discrimination against sexual minorities, racial and ethnic minorities, and other acute forms of discrimination with my few experiences. Although I cannot step away from my sex and had a teacher not come to my defense, maybe the ethnic based bullying I experienced would have continued; and even though an early-adulthood experience changed me, I was able to re-assimilate and gain back only temporarily lost entitlements because I am white, cisgendered and straight. I have unearned privilege. Not every child is so well defended by a teacher, nor is everyone able to shed a bad experience and move on without further discriminatory effects. And that is precisely one of the main points; this project set out

to explore particular themes of childhood experiences specific to sexual orientation shedding a light onto the trivialization of diversity. I use my experiences to illustrate the power of someone who did something, a teacher who chose to do the right thing for example, and how institutionalized discriminatory norms shape opinions. I do not, however, assume aptitude of daily experiences I have not shared.

This thesis engages with LGB,T young people's experiences as interpreted by this researcher, juxtaposed with contemporary political discourse within the contradictory frameworks of neoliberalism and human rights.

Part II

Key understandings

The remainder of this chapter introduces key terminology and understandings followed by a discussion.

Terms usage & explanations

'Homosexual' as a term is often used as a powerful political connotation. Peters (2014) underscores that the word homosexual "has never been more loaded, more deliberately used, to the ears of many gays and lesbians, more pejorative," (para 2) as at present. However, how it is understood depends upon word phrasing and the audience. When used in a phrase as 'homosexual community' Peters points out the word seems far less loaded. On its own, however, it is often understood as, and identified with sexual activity, recognizing sexual minorities exclusively as sexual beings rather than as people with many interests and talents who happen to be attracted to the same sex. According to Peters, when defining an individual strictly by their sexuality, implies they are solely motivated or driven by sex resulting in generalizations associated with deviant behavior. This thesis, therefore, does use 'homosexual' in such phrases as 'homosexual community'. But when defining or referring to a person or people, uses 'non-normative identities' and 'sexual minorities', generally refraining from using 'homosexual' as a stand-alone term or reference (definitions are available in the Glossary of Terms).

Terms as ‘minority’ and ‘non-dominant’ are done so in a statistical sense to denote a group of people sharing a certain characteristic (as race, sexuality, etc.) who are not in the majority.

The LGB,T acronym used in this thesis serves as an umbrella term for LGBTQQIAAP2-S defined as and includes: queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, ally, pansexual and two-spirit. Additionally, the use of a comma between the B and T underscores differences, as LGB are sexual orientations where T relates to gender.

As a term ‘inclusion policy’ as used in this thesis presupposes anti-bullying policy; therefore, both terms are used interchangeably, unless specified.

‘Patriarchy’ is used in this thesis to describe unequal power relations where sexual minorities (along with women and other marginalized groups) are systematically disadvantaged. In feminism, patriarchy is characterized as unequal power relations between men and women. Patriarchy is used here to represent an imbalance of power between dominant and non-dominant groups. Homosexuality is feminized; therefore, the imbalance remains between straight male dominance and the inferiority through feminizing non-normative sexuality but is not used within a strict binary interrogation of oppression. Through critical theory, this thesis interrogates oppressions of one marginalized group. A feminist perspective interrogating injustices is also considered, arguing sexual minorities are oppressed (Chapter Four offers an in-depth analysis why and how I interacted with feminism as a researcher). This argument however, is not essentialist as members of a given group do not all share the same types of oppressions, even if all participants in this study identified as sexual minorities. Therefore, this argument rests in recognition and equitability, not one of sameness.

Dominant discourse: the in-out equation

Members of any given group are subject to follow written, spoken and behavioral expectations containing meanings and understandings as a specific way of engaging. The more dominant a group is, prevalence of its norms intensify. Along those lines dominant discourse is defined as a systemic process of norms underpinning ideological principles and acceptance as determined by the dominant group (Andreouli et al., 2016). Consequently, dominant discourse seldom includes

marginalized classifications or those who are ‘othered’, denying them full membership (Boyd, 2016); and as a point of privilege reminds us who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’. Although causes of discrimination have many origins, many of those discussions are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Non-normative identity formations challenge dominant principles and discourse (Parry & Johnson, 2016, pp. 23-42). Simultaneously empowering and disempowering, dominant discourse is dependent upon a shared background and worldview. A patriarchal power system as normative, for example, enables cisgender, straight men (although to varying degrees as benefitting from patriarchy exists at intersections with other systems of oppressions or power, as well). The same system disempowers women and gender non-conforming individuals (amongst other statuses). Non-conforming identities, whether as individual or group, therefore, strain to join common culture, which resists minority efforts as they lack ‘sameness’.

Marginalized groups and advocates rely upon free speech to articulate truths about oppression and assert their right to a voice addressing these inequalities. In contrast, however, dominant discourse continues policing individuals. Such policing may occur via micro-invalidations, which are seemingly small actions or comments that result in the invalidation of experiences (of all minorities or 'othered' individuals). As such, the types of critical speech as acceptable, is becoming increasingly difficult to articulate when defining victimhood (Mac Donald, 2000).

Although needing sensitization, ‘victimhood’ as a measure divides, suggests a neoliberal articulation that is silencing critical inquiry (Bawer, 2012). All actors as products of neoliberal ideology become tools to further a dominant cultural market-driven, universalizing agenda where most lose their voice, with already oppressed statuses losing even more. This is not an ‘all lives matter’ versus a Black Lives Matter argument, for instance. They all matter; however using an argument that universalizes experiences overlooks unique types of subjugations encountered by different groups. Thus, ignoring systemic oppressions of certain groups, fuels neoliberal agendas while deliberately overlooking the need for change.

Anti-discrimination has become a criterion of political morality. Although understood that discrimination is unacceptable, how 'unacceptable' is defined while general perceptions of discrimination shifts, is the challenge. If, for example, in economic terms, someone is paid a low salary, is in itself not regarded problematic in a neoliberal construct (even though according to Glassdoor Economic Research 2015,

comparing S&P 500 companies, the average pay-ratio between CEO and worker is 204-1, with other sources pointing to an even larger gap). If however, should someone receive less pay because of a specific status such as gender, race or sexuality, is then objectionable. It is not the lower salary that is unacceptable; rather, it is only unacceptable if due to an enumerated status. Therefor, how discrimination is defined is based on perception making it more difficult to reach a consensus. Social justice initiatives underpinning diversity and inclusion, therefore, are not about equalizing (Lopez, 2016).

Part of a democratic approach to society is income related and the work-to-income value ratio. Should wages remain low while not connected with overt forms of discrimination, raises no red flags while downplaying value maintaining power with a dominant elite group. As a result, inclusion politics continues to struggle because it too, functions under the premise of keeping power for some while appeasing others with dampened integration efforts veiled as a form of value. As long as diversity inclusion initiatives are sustainable by meeting enumerated status thresh-hold criteria, one can suggest neoliberalism has little room for discrimination. When performing at higher academic or economic levels, intersections between different constructions of inequality tend to be minimized as well, becoming less relevant within a neoliberal framework, which at the same time has little patience for inclusion when skills are lacking.

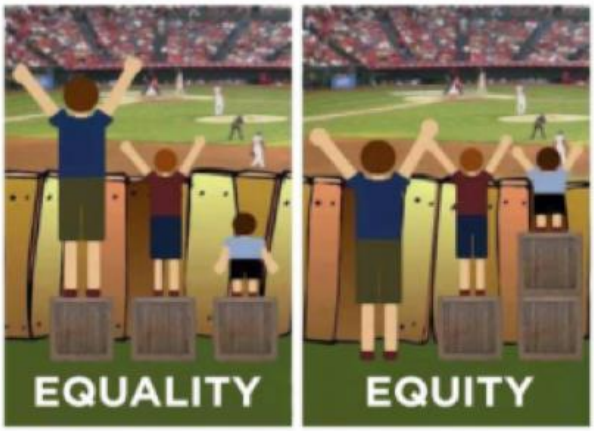
Equity and equality

This research is concerned with equity, equality, and inclusion, and is important at the outset to clarify how this terminology is understood throughout the thesis.

Although ‘equal’ and ‘equitable’ are similar terms often used interchangeably, there is a difference, and that difference is crucial. The illustration in Graphic 1.1 (which has made the rounds in many diversity and inclusion spaces) concisely depicts that 'equal' means everyone receives the same, whereas 'equitable' means fairness. Although equality aims to promote fairness, it can only do so when everyone shares the same background knowledge, assuming all needs are the same. “If equality depends on ‘sameness’, then the reoccurrence of difference undermines chances for equality,” (Minow 1990, p. 74). In other words, ‘equal’ assumes the same, whereas 'equitable' recognizes different experiences and backgrounds resulting in various start points, thus distributing resources in such a way where some might receive more

providing a means to reach a place of ‘equal’. Therefore, this thesis uses ‘equity’ as a term for fairness as a means to reach equality.

Graphic 1.1



Credit: United Way of Columbia-Willamette

Following is an interrogation of ‘equity’ and ‘equality’ and how they interlace as they relate to LGB,T young people’s experiences, shaping how inclusion is understood.

How sexual minorities express gender and gender identity differs from normative gender role expressions and expectations influenced by heteronormative values. As a result, LGB,T people are often denied either equitable or equal access in actual practice, even though policy and the law indicate otherwise. Affirmed by normative values underpinning gender binaries, sexual minorities continue facing resistance and are often denied full inclusion. As a matter of course, however, full inclusion is assumed due to existing policies, which ignores actual exclusion that continues empowering heteronormativity while disempowering non-normative identities. Such brings to light a question of where sexual minority young people fit in, especially within the school system as society and schools continue to diversify.

However, despite increasing diversity, schools maintain a binary view of gender and sexuality privileging heterosexuality and traditional understanding of feminine and masculine gender roles (Nielsen & Davies, 2017). As a consequence schools continue to manage and police gender and sexuality limiting real access. Expressed through normative discourse, institutionalized normative gender roles, therefore, remain broadly accepted defining power relationships through language and practice (Gray, 2016). The discourse of sexuality, then, tends to support heterosexual ideals

resisting non-normative identities that by definition, creates power structures underpinning heterosexuality while deemphasizing non-conforming identities.

Philosophy uses the adjective 'normative' as something based on values. Normative roles, therefore, portray things as they should be, which some argue are statements with no logical basis. Known as the "in/out problem, is that normative ('ought to' or value-based) claims do not have logical value, as they cannot be derived from positive…claims," ('David Hume {Philosophy Index}', n.d., para 7). Using that rationale, norms, therefore, may not necessarily make sense, however, does not lessen the reality of those excluded for non-conformity. Given the complexity of social identities challenges normative-ness, yet at the same time continues to experience historically placed compliance that maintains inequalities while underpinning sharp differences between how 'equal' and 'equitable' are understood and practiced.

Interrogating equality as a term and as an action considers whether equality is about achievement or access. Access requires a redistribution of goods or services entitling all to the same, drawing attention to what should be redistributed and who must give something up for this redistribution to occur. Achievement, on the other hand, can be tied to personal responsibility but may be difficult to define without access. In democratic terms, political equality, for example, is by definition, not equitable. Achieving equality in this sense is feasible through majority rule, 50 plus 1 out of 100, potentially leaving 49 without political equality, at least at some level. In other words, one group must lose for another to gain, thereby underpinning achievement as something for those who have access, while rendering the remaining 49 percent less significant.

Translating the economic example to one of social (in)equality, Dahl (2006) argued a gap between equality rhetoric and reality exists underpinning social inequality (p. 18). He points out "one of the most democratic countries in the world, Britain, have been concerned more passionately than any other Western European country with maintaining social inequalities in the form of differences in class and status," (p. 21). Beidelman (2012) proposed the English cultural ideals of subjugation with roots in historically placed colonialism persists, underpinning the us versus them binary cutting across constructed statuses such as class and sexuality. Such underscores Whitty's (2001) assertion that "uncritical use of the language of 'opportunity' in a deeply inegalitarian society can actually serve to legitimate rather than challenge

existing relations of domination," (p. 289), consistent with Crompton's (1998) argument that

> [e]quality of opportunity is a powerful justification for inequality. If all have an equal opportunity to be unequal, then the unequal outcome must be regarded as justified and fair, as a reflection of 'natural' inequalities of personal endowments, rather than of structural social processes (p. 7).

Inclusion programs, therefore, struggle as long as 'equality' defines initiatives through a neoliberal, economic lens.

Thomas Nagel's paradox of equality (1979) illuminates central issues in the moral applications of, and value for equality giving further support that initiatives underpinned by equality, are strained. He imagined two young siblings, one healthy and the other not able-bodied and requiring care. He speculated what a parent of such two children might face, offering the following scenario. Either the family moves to the city where the second child could receive much-needed treatment or move to a suburb where the first child would do well. Nagel wrote such as a test for the value of equality.

> I want to suppose that the case has the following feature: the gain to the first child of moving to the suburb is substantially greater than the gain to the second child of moving to the city…If one chose to move to the city, it would be an egalitarian decision. It is more urgent to benefit the second child, even though the benefit we can give him is less than the benefit we can give the first child. This urgency is not necessarily decisive. It may be outweighed by other considerations, for equality is not the only value. But it is a factor and it depends on the worse off position of the second child (pp. 123-4).

Nagel's paradox presents a valuable argument whether one child should receive a greater benefit even though the other child is worse off.

Temkin (1998) hypothesized that "lowering the best-off group to the level of the next best-off would clearly improve equality" although at the cost of the first group. For each (group) to be fair as possible "[e]quality is intrinsically valuable – that is, valuable when it promotes some valuable ideal" (pp. 128-9). However, he argued, should the first group lose more than the second group gains, can no longer be regarded as ideal as loss becomes greater than gain.

Greater equality is only desirable when it benefits the worse-off, not when it results in leveling down the better off as "equality is only extrinsically valuable, not intrinsically valuable," (*ibid*). Interrogating the concept of equality, Temkin used an

example of a half-blind population, those who can see versus those who cannot and how ‘equality’ can best be applied. He argued using the following example that to blind the seeing half of the population to ‘equal things out’ makes little sense as no one benefits, including those who are already blind as they have gained little by disadvantaging the privileged group. “The claim is not merely that the all-blind world is worse than a half-blind world, all things considered as if the value of equality in the all-blind world is outweighed by the greater disvalue of blinding the sighted,” underscoring that “equality has no intrinsic value” (p. 137). Equality, therefore, is not sustainable as a term or function, as it lacks fairness. What it does succeed at, is underpin a winner-or-loser scenario. Therefore, equal is not equitable and is a less effective intervention mechanism as structural impediments persist. Such illustrates inclusion schemes seen through this lens fail as equitability and a fair chance at access are denied.

Yet, ‘equality’ as an idea is not without support. Alexiadou (2002), for example, offers a different interpretation of the benefits of equality pointing to several arguments that suggest equality may lessen the significance of social classifications in student's achievement. Equality then, rather than a tool of oppression (Thrupp 1999, Gilborn & Youdell 2000) presents alternative ideas to sameness that warrants the same treatment. The argument suggests if treated the same, those who are marginalized will rise to the occasion and act the same thus reaching parity. Yet, such burdens only the disadvantaged group, keeping the advantaged groups hands clean. Still, everything being equal may not shift the deck enough, where the worse off group does not significantly change prospects (see the ‘Equality’ ‘Equity’ illustration above).

To reach a point where all persons have gained equal consideration, must first engage with equitable opportunities shifting the burden from the disadvantaged. Where equity as a position creates access to the tools needed to reach up and attain more, equality pulls the top down while not changing circumstances for the lower, suggesting few benefits. Therefore, ‘equality’ as a term and its underpinning value is not in itself, a solution; rather, equity underpinning fundamental rights is.

The critique presented in this thesis is not one against an equal application of rights, rather is one highlighting the challenges of equality versus priority that Hausman (n.d.) suggests is the equal distribution of access to well being. This thesis,

therefore, argues an equitable approach to inclusion enables without disadvantaging as a priority.

Gender

With the advent of the industrial age, came about the middle-class culture creating a two-sphere system. One was public and business oriented as the 'male' sphere, as 'empire building' and arenas of public discourse, while the second sphere, the 'private' sphere was the home, family, childbearing and rearing, belonging to women and domesticity (Mascia-Lees, 2016); both spheres existing with their political consequences. These spheres were also conceptualized as individual and the state, underpinned by the public and private domains. Such underscores the complexities of distinctions going beyond a division of social roles, rather that these roles were/are natural as they permeate and regulate multitude of social spaces. Feminists have challenged the public sphere as one of male represented as superior, and the normalized distribution of roles underpinning gender binaries as natural and universal (Dahl, n.d.). However, Butler (2011, 2004, 1990) contends critiquing gender as understood through such narrowly defined terms, is instead performative. As a word, 'gender' although once suggesting a linguistic distinction of a noun-class system as a grammatical category, has shifted in common English language becoming the essence of feminist theory, distinguishing between sex and gender as performance (Reilly-Cooper, 2016). Through gender as performance maintains normative gender binaries as a critique of women's ownership of her identity, and subsequently, how it is shaped (Applegate, 2013).

It is not modern feminists alone, though, that have critiqued these differences. In conflict with gender performances, the Enlightenment (18th and 19th centuries) valued equality and liberty, propelling feminism forward (Reilly, 2017). It was no surprise then, that Mary Wollstonecraft considered as one of the first outspoken feminists during the height of the Enlightenment, began interrogating the nature versus nurture debate underpinning gender roles. She particularity examined the lack of equal access to education between the sexes (Moore, 2016). Therefore, the concept of gender performativity juxtaposed with the Enlightenment's quest for equality, with its trajectory and history and its players along the way, is especially influential upon modern theories of gender and sex (Fraser, 1990). Butler (1990) for example, questioned to what extent our gendered acts are determined for us based on contexts

of language and social conventions (p. 270), arguing that objectivity of gender does not exist. While Adrienne Rich (1996) argued conforming roles support a hegemonic, patriarchal system of identity, calling it 'compulsory heterosexuality'.

Policing continues monitoring and reinforcing narrowly defined normative prescriptions of female and male roles as unambiguous divisions of two gendered categories. Such expectations complicate the lives of (perceived) non-conforming individuals, privileging those 'archetypally' gendered and whose (approved) gender expression and biological sex align[1]. Rather than defining through a narrow social and physical understanding of gender, interrogating gendered multidimensionality begins to appreciate gender as not fixed, complicating the static binary model ('Understanding Gender', 2016). Burr (2003) asserted "that whole categories of personhood, that is all the things it means to be a man or a woman have been built upon" (p. 3) fixed designations that are defined through sociocultural determinants, continue to regulate gender 'appropriate' features as historically positioned truths.

Compulsory heterosexuality.

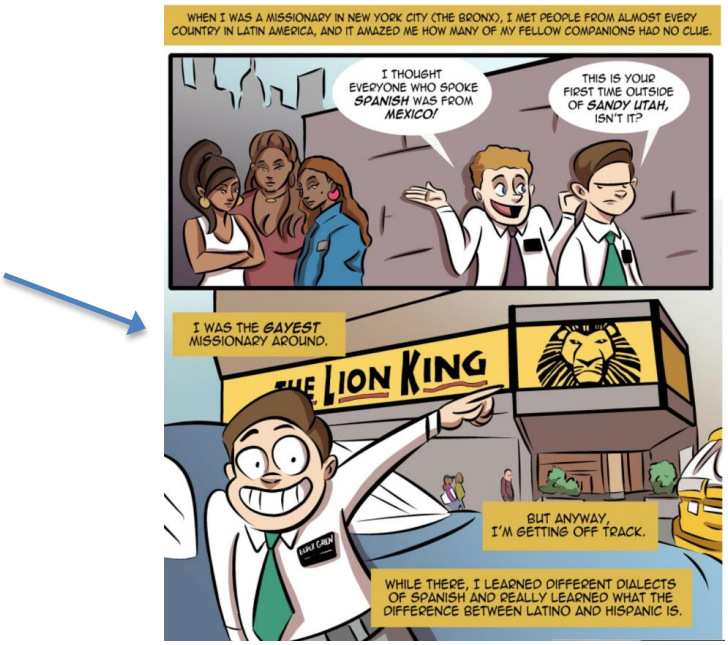
Heterosexuality as an institution and as default sexuality, suggests a deviation thereof is simply a rejection of the norm, rather than its own identity. This philosophy underscores sexuality oppression as it suggests heterosexuality as the starting point, that everyone is heterosexual and that some just choose to be queer. Such strict oppressions make non-normative sexuality difficult as it comes from the premise that questions if one can actually be gay.

Patriarchy supporting heterosexuality polices gender, belittling female or feminine traits grounding both gendered and sexuality norms in masculine-privileged hierarchies. These privileged hierarchies are replicated manifesting in sometimes less obvious forms, even embedded in illustrations meant to be constructive. For example, a cartoon strip (Blas, 2016) (Graphic 1.2) explaining the difference between Latino and Hispanic (although not specifically gendered) is an example of how underpinning existing hierarchies police how gender is expressed.

[1] ...aka cisgender

Graphic 1.2

'The Gayest'



See Appendix A for full cartoon strip

The illustrations draws the reader in with its energy, and the strip is overall, educational, yet the author used the term 'gayest' to describe a character's excitement about something. Unwittingly using one form of discrimination (homophobic epithet) to illustrate a different issue of diversity underscores how constructed gendered and sexual concepts are internalized, underpinning compulsory heterosexuality.

Adrienne Rich was one of the first to challenge the institutionalization of heterosexuality (1980), arguing that heterosexuality was not natural and was designed to preserve male privilege, and the idea of attraction is itself a construction. Unpacking this argument reveals her assumption that women by nature identify with other women and that heterosexuality's agenda to appear as natural maintains male dominance. She argued if not compulsory, women would reject heterosexuality due to its built-in inequalities. What is really at issue is homosexuality cannot be considered deviant, she argues, if heterosexuality is not natural.

Heterosexuality underpinned by an us versus them binary, politicizes queer.

> '[T]he apparently unequivocal distinction between *being* homosexual or *being* straight – the sense that you *are* one or the other, and the sense

> that *who you are* is defined by that distinction', lies at the heart of identity politics (Bennett and Royle, 221).

Consequently, normalizing different ways of knowing and recognizing the fluidity of gender identity and expression begins breaking down barriers that define such distinctions. It is not that differences exist as problematic, rather the use of these differences to discriminate, is. Therefore, deconstructing culturally and historically specific knowledge of how sexuality is experienced and understood begins to queer heteronormative subjectivities. Queer in the context of theory is "by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. There is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers...'Queer' then, demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative," (Halperin, 1995, p. 62). Halperin further stipulated that queer as positionality and not identity is, therefore, not restricted to LGB,T; where others, like Rotello, suggest queer represents LGB,T identities (Sullivan, 2003; p. 44). Such diverse understandings further confuse for some an already complicated argument, in particular through the creation of an 'other' with straight positioned in contrast.

Sexism reinforces constructed divisions between men and women, demonizing the feminine while placing increased value on certain men (cisgendered, straight, a certain class level, and in a Western context, white) and what they do, underpinning which identities merit recognition. Sexism, therefore, supports systemic, normative oppression. As sexism does not exist in isolation and interacts with multiple social institutions oppressing those not perceived as cisgendered, male, white and heterosexual, underscores differentiating role expectations. Therefore, sexism affects many groups differently, including sexual minorities. For example, homophobia linked with sexism polices gender non-conforming males feminizing them, while masculinizing non-conforming females (this can also apply to anyone who appears non-conforming, such as a straight man who does not like sports or a straight woman who is strong and not afraid to speak up, both seen as a threat to normative roles thus require policing reminding them they represent contradictions). This form of sexism may be different than sexism aimed at cisgendered woman; it is, therefore, important not to ignore nuances among the various experiences, as to do so contributes to erasure.

Challenges non-normative identities face

The following section addresses how personhood, individualism, identity and citizenship are understood within a neoliberal framing, challenging non-normative identities.

Dunn (2004) noted that successful adoption of a neoliberal market economy "requires changing the very foundation of what it means to be a person," (p. 6) suggesting the transformation of personhood as an inevitable outcome. Although lately, a contested concept in economic terms, neoliberalism as political ideology is shaping social life (Giroux, 2004) and cultural politics (Duggan, 2004) defining both within the parameters of laissez-faire. To succeed, the individual requires freedom from government restraints, such as universal entitlements, thought to stifle the human spirit. The individual cannot rest, instead, must participate in a perpetual reinvention of the self and their skills to suit changing market demands while driving normative realities in order to survive. Such suggests the individual is focused outward identifying forward-looking patterns and market trends to which they must conform, and as a result, becoming deeply entrenched in modern thought.

In the age of outward-looking individualism defined by social expectations, conflicts exist between defining 'individual' in terms of supporting the status-quo with neoliberalism. Expressing "singular uniqueness (that) is dependent upon its individualistic nature, hence upon something which is absolutely intrinsic to it and not at all a function of its relations with others," (Gilbert 2014, p. 31)(parenthesis mine) challenges existing conditions. Outward individualism looks to how the individual fits the ever-changing demands and dynamics of success within a neoliberal framework. The individual is therefore, fluid. Gilbert, however, suggests individuals are not products of social experiences; rather the social is what happens to them (p. 32). Therefore, it becomes a question how the individual is defined concerning the larger society in which they exist and co-exist. Although defined at the political level, there is no individual freedom except in the context of a set of social relationships (pp. 34-5). Consequently, social relationships as defined by a normative understanding of 'individual', places constraints on how 'individual' is expressed undermining individualism, otherwise defined as different. This is precisely the issue many young people that participated in this study faced because their identities did not fit dominant understanding.

The parameters in which 'individual' can exist are defined by normative sensibilities establishing guidelines of tolerance. Identity is thus, defined by external pressures that may conflict with internal expressions of the self. It was Gramsci that provided the concept of hegemonic ideology, which is now neoliberalism as hegemony that is shaping how we interact, think and define ourselves within a dominant context. Grosvenor (2015) reminds us that mechanisms as privatization and globalization are the means by which neoliberalism exists as the dominant ideology, is, however, not the end. Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990) in a 1981 interview with the Sunday Times, revealed what is: "Economics are the method; the object is to change the heart and soul." Therefore, promoting the market was not simply a fact of life; rather, it was a way of life (Verhaeghe, 2014) and a means with which to define 'individual' within a dominant context, as an end.

Neoliberalism maintains certain values as constructive while discarding those less likely to align, where competition and efficiency rein. Where profits dominate how spaces are structured, identity is constructed realizing Thatcher's comment that neoliberalism as a way of life and therefore, identity performs to suit. A neoliberal inspired performance of identity, thus, critiques individual freedom that interferes with efficiency. Verhaeghe (2014) argued then that identity formation will vary, as does society; ergo, we are what we create. I argue that although that may be the case, hegemony defines the very society we create as a reflection of a dominant context, commodifying humanity in which the marginalized struggle to create and express their identities that remain largely ignored.

Neoliberalism is the politics of inequalities when skill is lacking; as such, challenges citizenship as social rights under these parameters are stratified and based on identity. The less normative an identity, social rights continue to devalue as target policies, such as inclusion or anti-bullying, are adopted to identify not just a problem, but a problem group where civic participation hinges upon an identity's worthiness. Isolating problem groups through classification of enumerated statutes meant to create capabilities, instead, cripples access to cultural capital. In other words, "neoliberal policies…have resulted in (a) a loss of equity, economic and social justice, (b) a loss of democracy and democratic accountability, and (c) a loss of critical thought," (Hill 2007, p. 111).

As market-driven policies have exasperated inequalities, continue to undermine any real action toward equity. How school policy is thus used, underpins commodification as a neoliberal principle, where critical interrogation of inequalities is simply not occurring. LGB,T young people are identified by an enumerated status, and rather than being protected as policy indicates, are instead a challenge to the system as they are identified as different. Their needs deviate from the norm and undermine neoliberal efficiencies causing problems. Consequently, while inclusion ideals are turned to rhetoric exploiting inclusion as nothing more than a marketing tool, remain unchallenged.

LGB,T young people and school

We know LGB,T young people face barriers and bullying in school (Stonewall, 2014) as reported throughout this thesis. However, anti-bullying policy implementation effectiveness seems less understood. This uncertainty is partly due to various perspectives interpreting both need and implementation techniques undermining inclusion policy's effectiveness. With that in mind, this thesis will show the ineffective use of anti-bullying policy in several UK schools as understood by participant accounts. Using narratives from students who identified as LGB,T, this thesis uncovers a trajectory of school-based bullying controlled by multiple forms of power from policing identities, intimidation, heteronormative, cis-normative and adult-centric power structures shaping how policy is understood and used.

Such existing systemic barriers challenge inclusion when not identified, preventing young people from becoming active citizens. Consequently, active citizenry through an equitable definition of education underpinned by democratic principles and participation seems unfulfilled. However, the consequences of policy implementation informed by heteronormativity, cisgendered and adult-centered privileges continue supporting judgments undermining inclusion through a misuse of power. Kitzinger (2005) describes heteronormativity as “the myriad ways in which heterosexuality is produced as a natural, unproblematic, taken-for-granted phenomenon” (p. 478) leaving little room for anything else. As a result, while heteronormativity supports assumptions of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal' framing inclusion, non-normative sexualities remain marginalized.

Although society is tending toward intergroup practices, unchallenged biases continue underpinning binaries drawing attention to the tenuousness of inclusion (Van

Buren, 2016). How we communicate and the language used underpins biases that support normative heterosexist narratives coming as a cost for non-conforming individuals. Challenging language that excludes is problematized when upheld through dominant ideologies shaping how we communicate; accordingly, language can sustain social exclusion or facilitate change dependent upon dominant needs and interests.

Further emphasizing how diversity discourse serves particular interests, social inclusion and exclusion discourse has become significant in political debate. However, interest has failed to translate into effective action as terms and definitions are instead buzz words lacking substance becoming less a shift in consciousness, rather as sound bites meant to placate (Ball, 2008). Definitions have additionally neglected issues of power and competing interests between groups; thus, the effectiveness of terms is determined by their usage. Such also determines how concepts are understood, either as responsive underscoring cognitive diversity as a necessary element for cooperative settings (Smith, 2016) or contributing to an oppressive system. The difference is, understanding equity embraces identities benefiting society, or if only for compliance resulting in non-conforming identities reconciling dominant definitions (*ibid*).

Left with only suggestions and lax government guidelines (Department for Education, 2014), school administrations are compelled to interpret the value of schemes. Doing so stresses a potentially biased process of selective implementation resulting in continued polarization of LGB,T young people, denying them relevance, depriving them the same advantages as their heterosexual peers. Selective implementation implies policy is moderated adopting certain programs and not others, empowering one group while disempowering another leaving many LGB,T students facing ongoing discrimination.

Predominant understanding and interpretation of diversity are not about denying resources, rather about control. Dominant culture maintains power and controls dissent by silencing non-conforming individuals through ineffective policy implementation (Ostertag & Diaz, 2017; Gaddis, 2016). Yet human rights (see Chapter Two), from which inclusion mechanisms are interpreted, challenge power structures and are needed as barriers to authoritarian-type interpretations that support heteronormativity. Challenging authoritarian ideas underpinning present policy that segregates shifts the conversation toward action and ‘how to implement’, and away

from complacency and ‘why is it necessary’. Although there have been significant strides toward inclusion and equity, poor policy execution continues upholding the exclusion of many non-conforming young people.

I set out to explore the nature, extent, frequency, and consequences of bullying that continues isolating and excluding LGB,T students. Drawing on narrative methods guided by Lawrence-Lightfoot’s use of portraiture, examining their bullying experiences, illustrating the (in)effectiveness of policy implementation, through their eyes. Data revealed homophobic underpinnings of bullying incidents remained extraneous. Although the act of bullying was addressed, school administration over looked the reason, as reported by research participants. This thesis thus, argues treating homophobic bullying as any other type of bullying ignores the very reason the bullying occurred, as homophobic serving to police sexual minorities for their lack of normative compliance. Consequently, ignoring the homophobic aspect of a bullying incident erases an identity and perpetuates heteronormativity undermining inclusion policy efforts.

Anti-bullying policy

My research specifically interrogated anti-bullying and inclusion policies considering with several key elements as presented in the following section.

Recognizing how inclusion schemes in education are situated begins to understand UK’s policy objectives. Education framed by compulsory equality and equity initiatives supported by directives on successful implementation, presents one picture. On the other hand, although mandatory having a behavior policy in place, what it looks like at the point of implementation remains subjective due to a lack of government specificity, presents a less clear picture. The UK practices the latter. Supplemented with a list of recommended outside sources for direction on resolution techniques based on the involved student's enumerated status, renders policy as ambiguous and left to interpretation.

Although recognized as one of the most productive education anti-bullying policy creators in Europe, UK schools experience some of the highest levels of bullying (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Referring back to Beidelman (2012), such may persist because of historic ideals of subjugation and colonialism continuing to shape how different groups are understood. Additionally,

UK schools receive lower commitments of support from the government than other European countries (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013), even though so much policy is written. The application of equitable measures underpinning wellbeing is failing; therefore, an examination of social justice and inclusive education policies in British schools was undertaken.

Chapman and West-Burnham (2010) conceptualized society, and as an extension thereof, education, realizing well-being for all, and

> in very practical terms a society committed to social justice would ensure every child grows up experiencing the optimum levels of well-being…A socially just society ensures that every child, irrespective of…background…or any other variable, has an entitlement in terms of equality and equity to the benefits of growing up in a modern, democratic and affluent society (pp. 29 – 30).

Education's social function of developing civically minded and well rounded young people seemed to have given way to a competitive model driven by market demands less concerned with each child receiving optimum levels of well-being. Bowles and Gintis (1976) suggest, "the educational system operates to perpetuate the social relationship of economic life…Specifically, the relationship of authority and control between teachers and student…replicate the hierarchal division of labor which dominates the workplace," (pp. 11-12). Such underscores it is not in the classroom between teachers and students alone where hierarchal relationships influence how young people experience school.

Bell and Stevenson (2006) argued an unequal balance of power exists between interest groups promoting competition to "influence and shape policy" (p. 27). Maintenance of this imbalance shapes what the policy looks like, with generalizing features directed at less crucial initiatives shifting perceived importance while stressing compliance with classifications through a one-size-fits-all approach. Present cultural contexts of hierarchal student-teacher relationships and economic underpinnings for the success of education, suggests not only anti-bullying policy resolution techniques take on a one-size-fits-all, top-down approach, but education itself does also, preserving subjugation and a lack of equitability.

Because not all bullying circumstances are the same, is thus unreasonable a universal, one-size-fits-all resolution strategy will address all incidents equitably. Verloo (2006) argued different inequalities are framed differently; therefore a one-size-fits-all approach is "based on an incorrect assumption of sameness or equivalence

of the social categories connected to inequalities and of the mechanisms and processes that constitute them," (p. 212). Concentrating on similarities, according to Verloo, overlooks the underlying forces creating inequalities while maintaining norms.

School norms tend to reproduce gender and sexuality cultural norms. The relationship between policy creation and implementation is thus, shaped by education standards that continue to legitimize heteronormativity as a central influence. Further complicating matters, pedagogical practice is instrumental in implementing measures to resolve homophobic bullying incidents in a classroom; however may be underpinned by sexual orientation prejudices compromising the integrity of the inclusion scheme. As compulsory, schools have an anti-bullying policy in place, what it looks like and how it is implemented, however, varies, for reasons already mentioned. Schools may, therefore, skew policies to reflect and meet their interests, and not necessarily those of students (Sacks & Salem, 2009).

Comprehensive sexuality education

Although LGB,T rights such as same-sex marriage, anti-discrimination laws and anti-bullying policies, specifically listing sexuality as a vulnerable status have advanced, homosexuality remains largely stigmatized both within a broader social context and more specifically, in schools. It, therefore, stands to reason, approaches proven successful with inclusion and acceptance that are not directly part of inclusion policy, should be. Yet, they are not. One such approach is comprehensive sexuality education recognized as contributing to effective inclusion and anti-bullying policy (Weddle, 2012). "Bullying is an underground activity that thrives on silence to succeed;" silence is more apt to occur when failure to require a whole school process of inclusion and acceptance exists (p. 762).

Studies have found inclusive sexuality education as a method of decreasing if not almost preventing homophobic and gendered bullying (Stonewall, 2012). Although compulsory to have an anti-bullying policy in place, mechanisms supporting policies such as comprehensive, inclusive sexuality education, are not. The sex and relationship education (SRE) curriculum teaches emotional social and physical well-being and includes relationships, sex, sexuality and sexual health. Although the aim is to equip young people with the knowledge of healthy relationships and respect for others, may instead promote prejudice against non-conforming young people as the

curriculum lacks inclusion, instead emphasizing heterosexual experiences as LGB,T lives remain distinctly invisible (Neary, 2016).

Further troubling inclusion is a resurgence of Section 28-like language and whether sex education should include homosexuality (Vanderbeck & Johnson, 2016). The Section 28 amendment of the UK's Local Government Act 1988, stipulated local authorities "shall not intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality." Nor should anyone "promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship" (see Appendix B). Although repealed in 2003, much of Section 28 language and ideology remained and is experiencing a comeback as the language makes its way back into pedagogical practice. With present government guidance suggesting teachers who find it morally challenging are not required to teach comprehensive sexuality that includes relevant LGB,T issues (Equality Act 2010), is fuelling a culture war.

Moral duty alone was not the only reason teachers chose to avoid teaching comprehensive sexuality education. Reported by the Sex Education Forum's 2015, teachers lacked time in the curriculum as well as clarity on what to teach, while teachers also reported not having enough training opportunities available. Perhaps as a sign of the times, schools may see less tolerance as acceptable, thus making fewer efforts; when looking at a report by the Sex Education Forum over multiple years, saw a noticeable shift in its inclusion language becoming less inclusive. The 2008 report included more LGB,T terms and stated "good quality SRE" should include "different sexualities, including LGBT and straight." When reviewing the 2015 report, language shifted away from an inclusive approach of the 2008 report, to more generalized language emphasizing contraception, and promoting "core values." As a human rights framework, 'core values' without further definition, seems ambiguous and leaves much room for interpretation of what 'values' means, while emphasizing contraception that underpins heterosexual 'values'.

Comprehensive sexuality education is in itself, a loaded idea. Many resist it as part of school instruction citing multiple reasons including a parental responsibility or religion to name a few (Collins et al., 2002). However, the fact remains, where there is comprehensive sexuality education, not only do heterosexual young people benefit, so too, do non-normative identities (*ibid*). Teen pregnancy decreases, as does the prevalence of STI's (Chin et al., 2012). Equally important is a broader acceptance of

inclusion; consequently, equity and diversity initiatives are, thus, more successful (Gavin, et al., 2010). LGB,T young people benefit from a full school approach to inclusion that includes comprehensive sexuality education as it normalizes their experiences decreasing stigmatization (Cuyjet et al., 2012). When vulnerable students feel safe in school, they are more apt to have a fair chance at receiving a good education (Cohen et al., 2009; Cohen, 2006; Glew et al., 2005). As reported by the young people in this study, what sex education they did receive underpinned heterosexuality as it was about reproduction and contraception, including how to use a condom. A young lesbian asked how that was relevant to her.

Part III

The context of this research: English school policy & neoliberalism

Aligning education objectives with market-driven goals shifts curriculum and pedagogy away from student-centered principles emphasizing skills for future economic needs (Zajda, 2013). Funding education also turned to privatization and neoliberal principles creating more autonomy for schools while shifting responsibility away from governments (Ball, 2008).

Autonomy in itself, is a democratic principle promoting self-government with less dependence on a preeminent authority. However, 'autonomy' seems to mean different things to different people. To head teachers, it might suggest less bureaucracy, while for teachers it might mean more control over student learning and classroom management suiting their styles and teaching principles. To corporate entities, it might suggest a curriculum with more commitment to market driven demands underpinning competition (Smyth 2014, para. 4). Savage (2013) pointed out "while there is some evidence to suggest…greater efficiency and productivity, there is no solid evidence to suggest [these initiatives] will improve student outcomes," indicating schools who have more autonomy tend not to fair much different (or better) than their more regulated counterparts (para. 30 | 'verdict'). Such suggests any causal connection between achievement and school autonomy, is weak (Smyth, 2014). Autonomy, however, is not unregulated and has instead become a method to ensure a form of checks and balances. More administrative duties supporting accountability standards now exist, as schools are structured to become more entrepreneurial (para. 12), yet with flexibility to interpret policy intent. Consequently, oversight has shifted from educating for citizenship to administrative and standards accountability.

Following neoliberal principles of privatization and autonomy exposes individuals (in this case, schools) to more responsibility. Such forces them to bear as much risk with fewer protection measures against that risk, demonstrating governments crafting of entrepreneurial subjectivities underpinning the competitive principles of neoliberalism. Protecting liberty or assuring people equitable opportunities does not tend to align comfortably with neoliberalism's free-market mechanisms with the propensity to endorse competition that creates inequality. Such assumptions also affect neoliberal principles promoting competition affecting performance and ultimately growth in meeting or beating standards. However, not all students benefit because, in truth, some students need more in order to receive a high-quality education. Those students' who are further behind, tend to require more resources to catch up. However, within the growing competitive nature of education, equitability may struggle to gain importance as teachers have less time or understand how to provide access to resources for marginalized students. Instead, marginalized students are often regarded as a burden requiring extra attention, and therefore, are often dismissed (Banks, 2017).

This thesis though arguing against neoliberal principles in education, recognizes little has changed, thus is critical how these principles not benefitting all children, are instituted.

The evolution of neoliberal policies

From the 1930s through the 1960s saw social democracy's political and social directives of welfare state liberalism expand protection of vulnerable individuals and groups, eventually developing further upon a human rights framework that was created following WWII. Human rights underpinning policies moved increasingly toward socially inclusive programs (Dean, 2007). As political views in the latter half of the 20th century shifted, pro-business activism as a foundation for a laissez-faire approach to governance, began taking root. First gaining popularity in the 18th century as a principle that the natural world required natural regulation, laissez-faire supposed too much government involvement complicated the natural order. Preserving property and individual liberties believed as acceptable government responsibilities, and the responsibility monitoring corporations due to their propensity to disrupt order rested with citizens. However, re-engaging with this philosophy in the

20th century within a contemporary framework, politically emerging in the 1970s (with its modern intellectual origins from the 1930's (Hill, 2010)) exposed its modern nature, and that "the upper classes had to move decisively if they were to protect themselves from political and economic annihilation," (Harvey, 2005, p. 16). Because social policies of the 1960s saw the economic and knowledge gap between classes decrease, resulted in mounted attacks on welfare programs in the following decades (Duggan, 2003) as the few in power began seeing their majority ownership and wealth (knowledge and material) slip away. Such initiated a shift in social organization, including schools, back toward policies supporting unequal class structures (Bauman, 2000).

During the last decades of the 20th century into the 21st, corporations no longer monitored by citizens, instead became creatures of the state. The purpose of education as a state function was correspondingly fitted into an existing neoliberal view to provide a competitive workforce, which meant supporting the interests of the corporation and the state. The UK's New Labour government in the early 2000s exemplified this trend in their education policies. Emphasizing core competencies and classroom discipline as part of their overhaul of teacher education, New Labour heavily regulated schools with little emphasis on an egalitarian curriculum. However, New Labour recognized the burgeoning interest in social justice at the time, launched The Third Way initiative (Giddens, 2013). It favored economic growth, entrepreneurship and wealth creation while also looking toward greater social justice initiatives with increased state involvement. This was considered a "crude attempt (rather a successful one thus far) to construct a bogus coalition between the haves and the have-nots - bogus because it entices the haves by assuring them that the economy will be sound and their interests are not threatened, while promising the have-nots a world free from poverty and injustice." In other words, "Third Way sees the nation state as too big for small problems and too small for big ones," (News.bbc.co.uk, 1999). Therefore, the New Labour government underpinned the status quo continuing with neoliberal and neoconservative policies of the previous Conservative government while attempting to address social justice initiatives (Ball, 2015).

They modified and extended "[r]adical Rights principles and anti-egalitarianism. Its policy for more competitiveness (between schools, between parents, between pupils/students, and between teachers) and selection (by schools and by universities) are a continuation, indeed, an extension, of most of the structural aspects of the 1988

Conservative Education Reform Act, in terms of the macro-structure and organization of schooling," (Hill 2007, p. 114). Because not much changed, priority remained on increasing standards and control for improving education through market driven skills, with little emphasis upon cultural competencies. Fifteen+ years later, education and curriculum remain largely influenced by neoliberal principles of standardization and accountability, underpinned by exceptionalism.

Learning-as-practice stresses competition and a mechanized process based on transmission, rather than critically engaging with social ideals such as inclusion and acceptance, ideals indicative of a democratic, civically inspired approach to holistic education. "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat," (Freire, 1970, p. 53) leading to superficial, non-critical learning. In Freire's view calling it a banking system of education, mirrors oppressive society as a whole (p. 54). Bourdieu argued that

> [i]n any given social formation, the PA (pedagogical action) which the power relations between the groups or classes making up that social formation put into the dominant position within the system of PAs is the one which most fully, though always indirectly, corresponds to the objective interests (material, symbolic and, in the respect considered here, pedagogic) of the dominant groups or classes' (1977, p. 7)

Neoliberalism has less concern for individuality and rights of unique and protected members of a group. Instead emphasizes market preparedness that "through a veil of meritocracy" continues to support corporate "power at the expense of the most vulnerable in society – marginalized and disenfranchised groups," (Jones and Calafell, 2012, p. 958), which is especially visible in schools.

As people lose agency and become objects of other people's power, attacks democracy (Dugganm 2003). Policy underpinned by less (for the people) is more (for the State/wealthy) ultimately led to the inaugurating of politics of exclusion, replacing liberal ideas of the 1960s with broad social support, with those supporting a disproportionate few. Policy structured as such, is more about politics than the integrity of the policy itself. This cannot be more visible in how school funding is restructured, removing the burden from governments and directly onto schools as privatization gains in popularity.

Funding

Schools continue facing a funding deficit as governments either cut or maintain already subsidized budgets that fail to meet inflation. UK's National Union of Teacher's (NUT) reported a recent study (2016) found nearly 75 percent of surveyed school representatives were concerned with school finances, with 60 percent reporting teaching positions were or would become redundant. With declines in subsidies, governments increasingly turn to private companies to either supplement or oversee schools, as is evident with UK's more autonomous academies school scheme shifting school management to private enterprises.

According to NUT, schools already lacking enough funding for special services should not be "at the mercy of private companies" that may further erode already strained services. Not only cutting services, but also some estimates suggested one in five academies failed to meet academic progress benchmarks for an average of two-and-a-half years (Schools Week, 2016) as well. In addition to operational changes, UNISON, a UK-based public service union, found overall cuts in education services detrimental to students, especially vulnerable and already marginalized young people (UNISON National, 2016). Students with unique needs who benefit most from individualized methods, continue struggling with accessing resources needed for academic advancement suggests the need for broad structural changes are required for social justice initiatives to succeed. Instead, an oppressive social and political structure encouraging market-oriented development through privatization continues, dismissing required structural support for many marginalized and minority students, including LGB,T, ultimately maintaining dichotomies.

Part IV

The thesis

This thesis, which provides an analysis about experiences of a specific group of marginalized young people, is divided into several sections. The first three chapters of this thesis introduce the main argument through a policy and human rights discussion then situates this work in present literature, developing a general ontology of social facts and institutions. The middle chapters discuss the empirical research and findings, followed by discussion and concluding chapters.

While Chapter One introduced the research and context establishing key underpinning principles, definitions, and context for the research, Chapter Two

introduces human rights and responsibilities demonstrating a framework to engage school-based homophobic bullying, implications, and young people's rights. Chapter Three offers an analysis of past and current literature, grounding this exploration in present knowledge. Framed around identity and education, Chapter Three also offers an exploration of a broad introduction of sexual minority young people's general experiences with discrimination, then narrowing to concentrate on identity and school-based bullying specifically.

Chapter Four discusses chosen methodology and specific research methods. Chapter Five introduces the reader to several participants. Through narrative inquiry, the thesis explores personal bullying encounters that revealed sensitive accounts of homophobic-based bullying. Young people's narratives and their experiences with education anti-bullying policy implementation and adult-centered responses are also given.

Using critical incident analysis, Chapter Six uncovers significant consequences largely overlooked by schools affecting individuals. While Chapter Seven presents a re-examination of intersectional bullying. It addresses multiple contexts presented in Chapter's Five and Six, illustrating the progression of a single bullying incident reframing the encounter through a multi-experience approach introducing an extension to the present understanding of intersectionality. Chapter Eight considers implications for schools, introducing a re-assessment of present education policy and how it can be more effective while also giving a summary of findings, research limitations, and suggestions for policy reform actions.

Chapter Two
Human Rights

Diversity is the one true thing
we all have in common.

Author Unknown

Chapter Two turns its attention toward the rights of children. More specifically, it addresses several articles contained in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This thesis argues Articles 28 and 29 that set forth the right to a good quality education are enablers for other rights and should lead arguments for school-based inclusion initiatives.

This chapter is presented in three sections. The first section introduces a brief discussion about relevant political situations, first placing the research into a larger context before narrowing to present circumstances. The second section offers a discussion of negative and positive rights, then broadening to human rights mechanisms. A discussion of child human rights, the UNCRC, and Articles 28 and 29, is presented in the third section. The chapter then concludes with an interrogation of factors influencing implementation of mechanisms.

Although research and findings were distinct to regional England, several references to other countries are also made illustrating similar political and social environments in which inclusion and anti-bullying policies rest. Using multi-country examples demonstrates the complexity and the shared nature of issues surrounding inclusion and LGB,T rights.

Part I

The current context

Political movements at the time of writing, underpinned by nativism and populism shaped by in part, ideological philosophies, were inclined toward demographics representing dominant culture and interests, and challenged human rights. As previously mentioned in Chapter One, nativist manifestations as brash reflections of dissatisfaction with, and growing hostility toward anyone that seemed different than the majority, saw an increase in retaliation against minority groups. These same trends saw truths as subjective and ambiguous, defining relevance of social justice

topics as either significant or inconsequential, complicating human rights. However, in a post-truth[2] political society framed by emotional appeals, clearly communicating human rights principles remains important as ideological dogma may otherwise overshadow their importance.

The post-war era of optimism and universalistic values have given way to skepticism, austerity measures and since the 1960s, a slow progression toward mainstreaming right-wing populist ideas. However, neoliberal capitalism and the political establishment are not the only reasons for a rise in populism. An increase in multiculturalism as a result of, in part, globalization as a bi-product of a capitalistic trajectory and mass democracy (Rooduijn et al., 2014), has been used to influence right-wing populist views defining the 'other' as an enemy. As a reaction, at the time of writing, countries most affected by these numerous pressures have shown signs of leaning toward authoritarian governments, undercutting citizen participation in the political process (Liang, 2016; Rooduijn et al., 2014) and their human rights, as already discussed in Chapter One.

Civil and political rights underpin the right to freely participate in the political process; freedom of assembly and to associate with others, as well as freedom of expression also fall under this category of rights. Although certain civil and political rights, as for example the freedom of movement, can be suspended in times of war or natural disaster controlling access and such, where other rights such as the freedom of expression, are more closely tied with natural rights and less subject to government control. These rights although technically prohibited from state interference, are not immune to political authority. Freedom of speech and expression, for example, are currently under political pressure (see for example Erdoğan in Turkey which has become the "biggest prison for journalists," (King, 2016), and Trump in the USA and 'fake news'; while Britain "has accumulated laws which curtail freedom of expression," (Dimbleby, para 1, 2015)). As a result, human rights organizations as Amnesty International, United Nations and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) are becoming increasingly concerned for the legitimacy and maintenance of human rights, which are beginning to struggle under the normalization of authoritarian rhetoric. Whether the present populist surge reflects a correction that ultimately preserves democracy or results in a turn toward a form of fascism remains unclear.

[2] Post-truth defined by Oxforddictionaries.com: 'relating to or denouncing circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal beliefs'.

Nor is it clear what possible resulting implications upon human rights and inclusion policy, or the impact upon students' rights, will be, especially vulnerable students who already struggle with equitable and equal access (OECD, 2012).

Inclusion policies exist as measures supporting human rights, and in principle, suggest inclusion of everyone without discrimination. Generally, widely accepted in theory, such policies remain, however, less essential in actual practice. Thus, in practice, the scope of inclusion policy in education and thereby how human rights are exercised in schools,

has been less successful; that all are created equal no matter our differences is not yet realized. Furthermore, the present political mood problematizes already challenged initiatives. While there exists many obstacles to actualizing human rights, this thesis only considers particular developments as they relate to school inclusion policy.

This chapter, therefore, raises several questions relevant to children as rights holders, with attention given to LGB,T rights. First, how a right to an education is understood, and second, whether the level at which rights are applied is contingent on adult level controls.

Part II

What are Human Rights?

Human rights are those rights one has simply by virtue of being human, and are the "language of democratic empowerment," (Goodhart 2014, p. 69). Promoting human rights is a conceptualization of an egalitarian ideology accepting both natural and legal rights. Natural rights also defined by natural law, is "a body of unchanging moral principles regarded as a basis for all human conduct" (Oxford Dictionary). Therefore, 'true' law as objective, is derived from this premise, and not from the arbitrary power of an omnipotent State.

How can human rights exist?

Human rights exist through enacting national and international laws; however, such suggests they only exist because of a law and therefore, subject to the politics of the time. Another interpretation argues we are born with them as natural rights (also known as negative rights, which is discussed later in the chapter). This understanding suggests human rights exist independently of law, instead as a moral position. As a

result of two positions, two sets of rights exist. For example, morals consisting of certain norms (not to kill someone) and values (valuing human life) make up the right to life (Nickel, 2017). Although the right to life tends to be universal, not all norms and values are; therefore "human rights declarations and treaties are intended to change existing norms, not just describe the existing moral consensus," (Nickel 2017, para 6). Although somewhat imperialistic in nature, human rights are more about the distribution of advantages rather than codifying a singular moral norm. It does suggest, though, human rights as theory and a concept have their strengths and weaknesses.

Rights are understood through negative (or natural) rights, and positive (or legal) rights. The terms 'negative rights' and 'positive rights' are often used to express a distinction in the types of rights available. Nickel (2017) explains the difference as "[t]he holder of a negative right is entitled to non-interference, while the holder of a positive right is entitled to provision of some good or service," (n.p.). For example, a negative right is the right not to be assaulted while a right to welfare assistance is a classic positive right (Narveson 2001).

(1) Negative rights

UNICEF defines negative (or natural) human rights as those "inherent in the nature of people, and not contingent on human actions or beliefs." Rooted in the Enlightenment, natural rights imply people existed before the formation of governments and the social construction of categories, are, therefore, all equal, per Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as a state of nature.

A negative right manifests itself in such a way that suggests certain actions should not be interfered with, or should not be subject to constructed distinctions determining who does and does not have them. For example, another way to understand how these rights work, is, although a person has the right to purchase running shoes, does not suggest an obligation to buy them, nor is there an obligation not to purchase them. No more than is the store clerk under any obligation to give her those shoes, as she must pay for them, essentially making a trade; a reasonable assertion. Her right to getting the shoes is neither an obligation to get them nor to be given them. Her right to get the shoes means no one should stop her from making a trade (money for product) through which she can acquire them. Nor is the store under any obligation to provide the running shoes if she is unable to afford them. This right is only contingent upon the

ability to pay. Such an act of trade suggests equal partnership without the social construction of identities, as understood by reason. Consequently, her right to the running shoes is a negative right because nobody has the right to interfere with her making the trade, assuming she has the means.

Freedom of speech is another example of a negative right, where speaking out does not lead to an arrest. Students also have the right to freedom of speech, which underpins their freedom to express their identity without interference (as supported by the UNCRC Art. 12). These examples of negative rights might also be referred to as liberties.

Neoliberalism as interpreted through ideals of the Enlightenment, underpins the concept of 'negative liberty' or negative rights as the freedom from state intervention. It is the ability to function in one's natural state and is the action taken to control one's life. Neoliberalism underpins individual agency and questions "comprehensive social systems of social protection…as well as…assumptions about the importance of social equality and social justice," (Ellison 2016, pp. 65-66). Negative liberty is attributed to individuals where positive liberty is to the collective.

However, discontent over ideas of collective rights or even further (using an antagonistic term) that a 'welfare state' exists, interferes with individual rights as the rights of the group may supersede. Referring back to the shoes example, might then suggest everyone has a right to those shoes even if they lack the means with which to purchase them while obliging the clerk to provide shoes even if against their will. This can be interpreted as an infringement upon individual rights as the decision has now been made by the state (through majority consensus) that everyone (within a designated group) is to receive the same regardless of consequences (dominant values not withstanding), while taxes are levied on the whole to pay for the shoes for a certain group. Viewed this way, justifies that neoliberalism underpins conflict and challenges, rather than as a benefit for realizing collective rights.

(2) Positive rights

Positive rights (or legal rights) oblige action. According to Nickel (2017) "rights dominate modern understandings of what actions are permissible and which institutions are just" (n.p.) as determined by whom is so entitled, such as children or workers. Social welfare and policy as positive rights, seek similar outcomes to enhance the collective experience via measures (services) striving for egalitarian

existences through state duties. Positive rights as mechanisms create duties for others to act on someone else's behalf without a trade. A criminal suspect's right to an attorney is a positive right; an attorney will be provided regardless. Such an obligation is not connected with a trade of money for goods or services; therefore, positive rights impose a duty upon the state (the collective) to provide or act in a certain way, respected by compliance.

Positive rights, also called entitlements, require general consensus so as not to interfere with negative rights or individual liberties, and are therefore, contingent on social interpretation of need and may vary from one country to another. Created under the premise of positive rights, human rights mechanisms protect women (CEDAW), children (UNCRC) and other vulnerable groups as LGB,T through individual Articles within certain treaties (UDHR, Art 3 – claiming human rights; 25(2), and 26 – the right to an education; ICCPR, Art 6 & 9 - with Articles 2, 14, 18 & 23 referencing children's rights within larger contexts and Art 24 specifically devoted to children; ICESCR, Art 10 & 12; and the UNHCR, Art 33(1)[3] – first goal that girls and boys are safe where they live, learn and play) (Born Free and Equal: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in International Human Rights Law, 2012).

Some positive rights (such as inclusion initiatives) may infringe upon negative rights or liberties. For example, inclusion policies as positive rights require the state to provide services to support non-discrimination. Such efforts support potentially costly programs that increase expenditures paid for in the form of higher taxes. While placing a burden on the whole population, may therefore, not have full consensus. Infringement on a negative right (money taken away against one's will) then occurs for those who do not consent while still required paying higher taxes. Whether this creates a burden, however, is contingent upon the conditions that shape the understanding of these rights (see Berlin, 1958[4])('Negative vs. Positive Rights –

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[3] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), Art 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person; the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Right* (ICCPR), Art 6: Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life; Art 9: Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR), Art 33(1): No Contracting State shall expel or return (*refouler*) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, as indicated in *Born Free and Equal, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in International Human Rights Law,* United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner.

[4] Isaiah Berlin's 1958 lecture *Two Concepts of Liberty*: https://www.wiso.uni-hamburg.de/fileadmin/wiso_vwl/johannes/Ankuendigungen/Berlin_twoconceptsofliberty.pdf

Globalization101', 2017). A burden could suggest a conflict between negative and positive rights.

Although this researcher believes society will move (and is) beyond postmodernism into possibly progressive and new forms of thought, neoliberalism will continue maintaining a grip on the formation of social policy that could run counter to human rights initiatives, at least a while longer. For example, disparate interpretations have come to light in similar cases where private businesses citing religious objection[5] refused service to LGB,T people (believing serving LGB,T individuals created an undue burden upon their right to freedom of religion[6]). Such serves as reminders resistance toward that not perceived as 'traditional', continues.

The store clerks in these cases violated negative rights as customers had means to complete a valid trade. Only if the consumers did not have the means with which to purchase the goods, would the store clerks have had the right to deny service and not complete the trade. Such situations underpin debates between whether a business owner is obliged to offer services, or has the right not to partake in said trade, creating a conflict between negative rights (or liberties – to trade money for goods or services) and positive rights (obligations – not to discriminate). Religion as a private matter becomes ambiguous when intersecting with positive rights (non-discrimination), underpinning challenges when disagreements exists with the general consensus on the value of positive rights[7] (as another example of the conflict between negative and positive rights).

Such debates may also occur in schools where disagreements over inclusion initiatives exist (Moses, 2013). While freedom of speech is slowly curtailed (Spiked,

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5 See Decision in Ashers Bakery Appeal: https://www.courtsni.gov.uk/en-GB/Judicial%20Decisions/SummaryJudgments/Documents/Decision%20in%20Ashers%20Bakery%20Appeal/j_j_Summary%20of%20judgment%20-%20Lee%20v%20Ashers%20Baking%20Co%20Ltd%2024%20Oct%2016.htm. See also a Colorado court ruling: Court rules bakery illegally discriminated against gay couple: http://aclu-co.org/court-rules-bakery-illegally-discriminated-against-gay-couple/

6 See: http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/christian-bakers-gay-weddings-and-a-question-for-the-supreme-court?mbid=nl_170307_Daily&CNDID=48806835&spMailingID=10572625&spUserID=MTgwNjE3Mzc4ODc2S0&spJobID=1120576948&spReportId=MTEyMDU3Njk0OAS2

7 See Decision in Ashers Bakery Appeal: https://www.courtsni.gov.uk/en-GB/Judicial%20Decisions/SummaryJudgments/Documents/Decision%20in%20Ashers%20Bakery%20Appeal/j_j_Summary%20of%20judgment%20-%20Lee%20v%20Ashers%20Baking%20Co%20Ltd%2024%20Oct%2016.htm. See also a Colorado court ruling: Court rules bakery illegally discriminated against gay couple: http://aclu-co.org/court-rules-bakery-illegally-discriminated-against-gay-couple/

2017; see also footnote[8]), the ability to speak up is diminished minimizing the effects of democracy largely regarded as the bedrock to human rights. Such also leaves little space for minority groups to express their identities and participate as included members of their communities or schools.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

As the foundation of post-WWII human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) represents the first modern document addressing human rights. It sets out a range of freedoms and rights to which everyone everywhere has access, and where ratified, establishes state level obligations. These rights are "of the highest moral and political importance – those necessary for achieving emancipation, that is, for eliminating domination and oppression," (Goodhart 2014, p. 70). Emancipation in of itself, however, does not alone suggest a good life (Frede, 2013), rather as a baseline from which ideas how to define a 'good life' may be realized (Goodhart 2014, p. 70). Human rights are, therefore, considered universally applicable, as the UDHR has acted as a catalyst expanding the human rights network into other mechanisms that protect vulnerable groups such as indigenous people, women, children and LGB,T. Thus, defining 'good life' is not limited to an imperialistic mechanism, rather one that empowers through establishing a basic standard or level.

Yet, Brown (2007) argued that human rights as universal, undermines cultural differences not only between groups within one country but between countries and global regions. As human rights belonging to a Western context, "the question then arises of knowing if the narrowly circumscribed origin of this ideology does not implicitly contradict its pretensions to universality," (de Benoist 2011, p. 61). Thus, questioning whether human rights can serve a diverse global population, at least in their present form, even though the UDHR is meant to act as a baseline, as recognition of cultural differences and needs are important.

Although human rights are rights believed to belong to every person by virtue of being human, they are not without flaws. When to apply rights is based on criterion established against another point, thus functioning as an equalizing mechanism, but can only do so when inequality is determined. Therefore, as long as rights remain an equalizing mechanism, they serve to perpetuate inequalities. Such a mechanism

[8] See: http://turkeypurge.com/. See also: https://www.scmp.com/news/world/united-states-canada/article/2065184/censorship-trump-bans-us-agencies-updates-social

assumes an equal starting point; all deserve ‘equal' access (which they do); however, ignores varied background knowledge resulting in different ‘start-points’ (as discussed in Chapter One – equity and equality) creating challenges for students to gain equitable access.

Recognizing shortcomings, the American Anthropological Association (AAA) composed a Statement on Human Rights acknowledging the capacity for culture (Humanrights.amaericananthro.org, 1999). They emphasized human rights as concepts, which are not static, suggests mechanisms should be equipped to recognize differences. Bedi (2009) argued “rights fail to take seriously the value of democracy,” that there exists a “‘democratic deficit’ (as) inherent in the classical characterization of rights,” (p. 24) (parenthesis mine). Such however assumes a fine line between securing cultural rights and protecting minorities from harmful cultural practices (FGM for instance). Intended human rights further stretch the line when they infringe on negative rights.

While demonstrating a breadth of issues related to certain human rights, the scope of this thesis engages with the application of rights established for children and LGB,T specifically, through a Western lens within a Western context.

The UDHR along with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), establish government ‘promises’ that together create what is known as the International Bill of Rights, each right as a necessary condition for the securing of other rights (Shue, 1996). All three declarations establish rights for children, including the right to an education as a right of empowerment, and as such claims are not merely human aspirations, but imply empowerment as a manifesto for political change. When incorporated into law, states must interpret as best possible the law’s compatibility with a particular mechanism. Once ratified, becomes unlawful for a government to act incompatibly with said mechanism or human right(s) with courts able to declare a violation should a government’s action breach these rights.

However, some governments maintaining sovereignty may challenge enforcement. For example, the US Bill of Rights has entrenched rights where courts can strike down legislation that is incompatible with human rights maintaining a closer interpretation. Whereas the UK Human Rights Act preserves parliamentary

sovereignty placing the power to repeal or amend legislation that may or may not align with human rights intentions, with the government and not necessarily the courts. Instead, the UK practices through a 'dialogue model' where the courts are invited to indicate when something is incompatible ('How the Human Rights Act Works', n.d.), keeping more power with the government determining what is implemented and enforced, and what is not.

It is obvious challenges exist between how rights are understood and implemented, especially when moral interpretations of certain rights come into play. LGB,T rights rest both in negative rights (freedom of speech and expression) and positive rights (the right to a good education and freedom from discrimination as reached through consensus understood as something for the greater good). With this context in mind, aspects of and articles from multiple human rights mechanisms are relevant to this research addressing LGB,T young people's rights, as I now explain.

Human rights mechanisms and their relevance

Expressed through nine core international instruments ('Core International Instruments', n.d.), human rights are probably one of humanities greatest accomplishments (Talbot, 2010), yet violations remain widespread (Human Rights Watch, 2017). These core instruments, ratified by the majority of countries, address children and women's rights, disabilities rights, racial, political and economic rights, and the elimination of torture, amongst others, as previously mentioned. In the United Kingdom, presently there exist three separate human rights documents that underpin rights that support children. These three documents are UK Human Rights Act (HRA), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). The HRA was passed into law in 1998 and came into force in 2000, converting most of the rights expressed in the ECHR, which was signed in 1951, coming into force in 1953. While the UNCRC as an international convention unique to the rights of young people, was signed and ratified in 1991.

The UK was one of the first signatories to ratify the ECHR. However, claiming the ECHR threatened parliamentary sovereignty charging the Convention had too much power on social issues (Kern, 2014), returned some jurisdiction to the UK indicating British courts were not required to follow the ECHR rulings blindly. The HRA also recognized rights omitted in the ECHR such as those for sexual minorities, ensuring

rights across the population. However, maintaining government sovereignty has left the courts with little enforcement powers, resting hopes of fairness with the government to enforce human rights initiatives.

Although the law is interpreted where possible to uphold ratified human rights mechanisms, again, treaties cannot be directly enforced in the UK judicial system (CRAE, n.d.), including the UNCRC. Additionally, the UK did not ratify Optional Protocol 3 of the CRC (OP3) (Geneva: United Nations, 2011), a communications procedure that would have given children a complaint mechanism (a remedy) with which to challenge violations of their rights. Such a…

> "failure to incorporate the UNCRC into a domestic (UK) Bill of Rights means that children's rights are not justiciable as such in the domestic courts. Nor can children complain to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in relation to a breach of their rights" (Children's Rights Alliance for England, 2013).

Even though challenges exist, all three core documents, HRA, ECHR and UNCRC enshrine the right to an education. UNESCO's *Convention Against Discrimination in Education*, part of the 'Education for All Movement' (2015) as a standard-setting instrument, is also a valuable tool. Through universal agreements and benchmarks working toward peace and intercultural dialogue, these documents advocate for quality education in practice. Unpacking rights, specifics emerge to support different categories found within broader classifications. Sexuality rights for example, although without an official international human rights instrument[9], are protected through key human rights principles (UDHR, Art 3; ICCPR, Art 6 & 9; and the UNHCR, Art 33(1)[10], with additional support from CEDAW, CAT, ICESCR and CRC) ('Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Persons – Icelandic Human Rights Centre', n.d.)). Such human rights safeguards suggest all children, including LGB,T, have adequate levels of protection, assuming legislation underpins these rights.

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[9] The 2006 Yogyakarta Principles, however, outlined a set of beliefs as a universal guide setting international benchmarks affirming binding international legal standards in relation to sexual orientation. See: http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles-en/about-the-yogyakarta-principles/

[10] *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), Art 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person; the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Right* (ICCPR), Art 6: Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life; Art 9: Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR), Art 33(1): No Contracting State shall expel or return (*refouler*) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, as indicated in *Born Free and Equal, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in International Human Rights Law,* United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner.

Though many ratified instruments define the right for an inclusive education, marginalization of minority young people continues. Further complicating matters, at the time of writing, the UK had signaled quitting or replacing two of three leading human rights documents (the ECHR & HRA), which may prove troubling for young people's rights (Coram, 2017). Lacking government clarity on inclusion policy and whether ratified instruments will remain incorporated into domestic law after Brexit could prove damaging for present inclusion policies and initiatives. With the UK also turning toward a neoliberal framing of schools through the autonomy of academies, while signaling to leave key human rights mechanisms without indicating the specifics in the replacement bill, could increase discrimination proving challenging for inclusion.

Key policy shifts occurring in the UK inclined toward a neoliberal framing of education maintains inequities. Neoliberalism, thus, denies some their full rights to an inclusive education (Baltodano, 2012). As political principles turn toward the right while still underpinning neoliberalism, also suggests access to remedies is further complicated. A well-established saying says 'no right can exist without a remedy' (such as access to court for effective recourse to human rights violations). When access to remedies is difficult or not available, realizing rights becomes problematic (refer to UK's refusal to ratify OP3).

Expressing reservations about keeping EU human rights principles, human rights may become a negotiating tool for the UK's EU exit strategy (Holcroft-Emmess, 2016). Of concern is the UK's possible withdrawal from the ECHR, and whether such could change domestic legislation. A commitment to human rights serves as a prerequisite for ECHR membership; however, signalling to leave the treaty might indicate abandoning its commitment. With additional concern over the government's intentions to repeal the HRA, a recent report from the United Kingdom's Children Commissioners (2015) indicated the UK's "failure to protect (children)…especially disadvantaged groups, preventing the realization of their rights under (the)…UNCR," (p. 1) could prove problematic for future rights.

Furthermore, the government had not committed to ensuring the implementation of the UNCRC thus compromising Article 3 (Best Interest of the Child) (United Kingdom's Children Commissioners 2015, p. 10) (parenthesis mine), resulting in children as not fully protected in UK law from discrimination. Also "the realisation of children's Article 12 UNCRC rights (the Right to be Heard) in UK law and practice is

(also) highly variable" (p. 12) (parenthesis mine), will make it easier to ignore children's rights going forward. The report goes further, expressing concern over "systemic reductions to assistance and representation for children in important areas such as…education," (pp. 1-2). Breaking a formal link to human rights protections, the Commission fears children could suffer the most (pp. 1-2). In response, NASUWT, the largest UK teachers' union, expressed alarm that present legislative processes will continue to silence children's voices undermining their general human rights and the right to a quality education ('NASUWT – Children's rights under attack', 2017).

The best interest of children and children's views were neither central nor sought in the original development of UK policies supporting children, nor does it appear they will going forward, conveying a message that perhaps children's human rights are less important serving to underpin their fragility. Should human rights be used as part of Brexit negotiations, could see rights watered down with children's rights either re-envisioned or diminished as economic strategies take precedence during EU exit negotiations, ignoring the needs of children affecting the vulnerable most severely.

Children's rights

According to Amnesty International, children's rights focus on the protection of minors. These rights include physical protection, the rights to food and housing as well as an education free from discrimination based on a child's gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, race, national origin or other characteristics. The right to an inclusive education free from discrimination is fundamental and a critical component of becoming productive adults.

The UNCRC as the benchmark for children's rights and duties is the standard against which policies created for and on behalf of children, are judged. Therefore, the Convention took significant measures recognizing the importance of identity. International bodies have widely agreed that inclusion and freedom from discrimination as important aspects of an education, thus seven other treaties[11] address the rights of children, underpinning the right not be discriminated against and

[11] UN Convention in the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990), UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms if Racial Discrimination (1965), and UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960).

the right to an inclusive education. However, children rarely wield political power, recognition instead rests with the government and adults, suggests their ability to realize their human rights are complicated.

UNCRC

The UK accepted the precondition of protection of, and respect for children as a matter of binding law when it ratified the UNCRC in 1991. Although the UNCRC has not been implemented into UK domestic law as already mentioned, it has influenced regulations meant to protect children as a tool for assessing policy and legislation. However, the Equality and Human Rights Commission found the UK's commitment was neither sufficient nor adequate. Corroborated by the Children's Alliance for England (CRAE), also found the government was failing to meet its obligation to assess the impact its policies had on the rights of all children (2016). Both organizations found the inadequate efforts compromised children's fundamental rights, including freedom of speech.

Another instance of insufficient application, the UK government has framed anti-bullying and inclusion policies for schools as recommendations, with limited capacity to enforce human rights. Leaving inclusion policy as a human rights initiative, as guidelines rather than compulsory beyond a school's mission statement, only serves to undermine freedom of expression rather than supporting rights. Thus the right of being able to debate controversial topics and the ability for self-expression such as identity that may not align with norms falls short. Lest not forget that policy continues to allow teachers to avoid certain subjects such as sexuality, reminiscent of Section 28 from the Thatcher era. Such contradicts ECHR Article 10 (amongst other mechanisms supporting freedom of speech) protecting the rights to explore ideas. For many, therefore, freedom of expression remains (or is becoming) illusive.

This becomes especially important for those expressing ideas inconsistent with dominant thought concerning dichotomous gendered relationships and norms, could begin to see their rights eroding (Browne et al., 2014). As a result, an already limited conversation struggles to challenge cultural taboos. According to human rights Conventions, freedom of expression is a fundamental right and cannot be denied due to arbitrary classifications. Therefore, should an education not underpin freedom of expression, weakens Articles 28 and 29 serves only to promote~~s~~ exclusion (Art's 28 & 29 are discussed in detail later in this chapter). Such further entrenches

discrimination by overlooking difference, could leave direct and indirect articles supporting freedom of expression powerless.

The UNCRC takes freedom of speech and expression for children seriously both directly (see Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17), and indirectly (see Articles 2, 9, 10, 22, 23, 24 and 30). Freedom of speech is further enshrined in Article 10 of the ECHR, protects the right to 'hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas'. Both treaties consider freedom of speech fundamental to an inclusive education free from discrimination. Many subsequent Conventions also addressed unique statuses not initially covered, much like the UK's HRA, further enshrining fundamental rights through freedom of speech (of which rights of expression is a sub-category).

The UNCRC offers extensive protection for freedom of speech, namely Article 12, as one of the guiding principles[12] underpinning the entire framework, and is referred as 'respect for the views of the child'. The UNCRC further affirms children's rights to identity through multiple articles.

• Article 6 says: the child's right to life and maximum survival and development, of which identity is part.

• Article 8 says: the Right to Identity indicates children have the right to preserve their identity.

• Article 12 says: respect the views of the child, as another safeguard for children to express their identity.

• Article 13 says: right to freedom of expression underpinning a child's right to expressing their identity.

• Article 14 says: the right to freedom of thought, and

• Article 16 supports the right to privacy, and from arbitrary interference.

• Article 29 indicates education must be directed to the development of the child's fullest potential, which includes acknowledging their identity.

• Article 30 says children must not be denied their language or culture, which are part of identity formation.

A child is, however, less capable of understanding their rights without a quality education, thus are less empowered demonstrating how Articles 28 and 29 are the foundation of further rights. Although aiming for equitability, schools fail to meet the needs and rights of non-conforming identities, barring them from their right to an

[12] See Guiding principles: general requirements for all rights: https://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Guiding_Principles.pdf

education. As a consequence, non-conforming young people continue facing prejudice, discrimination and oppression complicating their access to education. Prejudices are internally held biases as preconceived opinions and often unconscious. Discrimination externalizes prejudice acting upon internal biases often described as 'differential treatment' as a result of constructed categories or classifications. While oppressions are a result of a system supporting prejudice and discrimination serving to uphold normative constructions of social power such as heteronormativity. Therefore, oppression reinforces biases as culturally situated.

Cultural meanings signify the importance of some human rights while rendering others irrelevant influencing how policy is understood. As a reflection of contemporary thinking, meanings as not static, evolve, and so too, do policies. As things change, could translate to exclusion for non-conforming identities as a reflection of the social climate. Bullying and harassment, and other forms of discriminations and oppressions targeting sexual orientation and gender identity increase, thus rejecting what was once accepted.

Relevance to this study

While recognized inclusive education free from discrimination as important, rights continue to fail. For example, although treaties support and laws protect, UK's LGB,T young peoples' rights to an education free from discrimination, remain unmet. "The tremendous faith in education, and its central place in the rhetoric of governments and agencies, is accompanied by negligence and narrow-minded thinking, and for most people the extraordinary possibilities of learning are not fulfilled," (McCowan 2013, p. 1).

Section 28-style language revival and inclusion policies often lacking effective implementation strategies, this thesis adds to relevant research. LGB,T young people reported experiencing bullying, harassment, victimization and oppression due to their sexual orientation. Rights neither known nor exercised by schools erased identities, suggests lack of knowledge around rights and applicability. This thesis underscores the lack of implementation of inclusion rights in schools, presenting a lens through which to interrogate the non-performance of rights and policies.

The role of schools

Underpinned by moral and value judgments, a context-based perception of relevance determines benefits, which advances some needs while diminishing others. In other words, what carries importance for one may not for another; for example, sexual minority inclusion rights lacks relevance for some and therefore, requires a perceived benefit. Although legal precedence advanced gender and sexuality equality and rights, heteronormativity persists maintaining an imbalance underpinning exclusion due to lack of relevance for the majority. Such is especially challenging for young people who lack agency demanding their rights are met. As a result, the role of schools in the UK, struggles.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the role of an education "should be a means to empower children and adults alike to become active participants in the transformation of societies. Learning should also focus on the values, attitudes and behaviors which enable individuals to learn to live together in a world characterized by diversity and pluralism" (Role of Educations, n.d.). However, the *Life in Scotland for LGBT Young People: Education* report found schools as the one location where LGB,T young people face the most discrimination, with schools rated as the worst experience of all institutions (Kris Kelly, 2016). Correspondingly, the UNCRC Committee concluding young people in the UK struggle to have their rights met, indicating schools were not fulfilling their obligations. Students are met with harassment, bullying and discrimination, disenfranchising and denying them their right to a quality education serves only to disempower and limit opportunities.

Articles 28 & 29

Article 28 states one has a right to an education, while Article 29 states the right to develop one's personality and respect of others' rights and the natural environment is through education. Education should develop young people's minds, bodies, and talents to their best levels possible while learning tolerance and respect as essential tools with which to prepare children for a responsible life.

Article 28: Bullying as the most pervasive form of aggression and human rights violation in schools, takes many forms. Despite all the research about bullying, efforts

by governments and schools through policy creation and program implementation continues to violate victim's human rights.

Bullying.gov defined bullying at school as an imbalance of power, as "unwanted, aggressive behavior among school aged children that involves a real or perceived power imbalance. The behavior is repeated, or has the potential to be repeated, over time. Both kids who are bullied and who bully others may have serious, lasting problems," (n.d.) The UK government adds that bullying is "often aimed at particular groups, eg because of race, religion, gender or sexual orientation." Therefore, it is important to recognize that although a school's first role is to educate, also plays a significant role in students' learning how to interact with others, creating a safe and productive learning environments. Article 28 helps build the foundation upon which an inclusive and productive learning environment can grow. The Article indicates all children and young people have a right to an education. Although it does not explicitly acknowledge, it does imply these rights regardless of race, gender or disability. Therefore, Article 28 should lead the rights of children as it is intended as an enabler for other rights, stating that education made available for all young people creates the foundation upon which other Articles rest.

Article 29 states said education should develop the minds, bodies and talents of young people while building respect for others and the world they occupy.
The aims of an education, as demonstrated by Article 29(1) underscores the core value of the Convention, linked with the recognition children have equal and inalienable rights. The aims are: the holistic development of the full potential of the child (29 (1) (a)), including development of respect for human rights (29 (1) (b)), an enhanced sense of identity and affiliation (29 (1) (c)), and his or her socialization and interaction with others (29 (1) (d)) and with the environment (29 (1) (e)) ('General comment no. 1: The Aims of Education (Art 29)(2001)).

Article 28 communicates the right to receive an education; Article 29 directs that education develop the child. Present UK inclusion and anti-bullying policies (in theory) underpinned by Articles 28 and 29, although meant to support enumerated statuses, tend to carry with them a caveat that much is left to the interpretation at school level. Participants of this study reported bullying of LGB,T (and other minority students) continues at pervasive levels, suggesting young people's rights are

violated and policy not necessarily a directive, rather is powered by interpretation influenced by biases guiding implementation, is therefore, flawed.

Agency versus need

Without a codified UK constitution, the right to education in the United Kingdom is provided for in Schedule 1, First Protocol, Article 2 of the Human Rights Act 1998, which provides as follows:

> No person shall be denied the right to education. In the exercise of any functions, which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.
> While the UK does not have a written constitution, it is often said that the UK has an unwritten constitution made up of important statutes, common law precedents, and unwritten conventions.
> The Human Rights Act 1998, which incorporates most of the substantive provisions of the European Convention on Human Rights into the domestic law of the UK, provides an informal codification of many of the rights typically contained in written constitutions[13].

However, the HRA does not explicitly condemn discrimination. Rather, the Equality Act 2010 does: "It is unlawful discrimination under the Equality Act 2010 if an education provider treats you unfairly because of, amongst other enumerated categories, sex and sexual orientation." Subsequently, discrimination is addressed through a variety of Acts. However, who has control of curriculum and anti-discrimination content is dependent on the type of school. Consequently, within such a socio-political context, power structures envisioned through a narrow critique of hierarchy (Overbeck & Park, 2004), undermines children's full rights.

Compulsory sexuality education, for instance, regarded as a human rights mechanism and necessary for successful inclusion, can, therefore, only come from the government, but may not necessarily apply to academies or free schools. In an academy, for example, the control on content largely rests with the head teacher, while the government maintains tighter control with a national curriculum for non-academies. However, the national curriculum stipulates teaching sexuality education is mandatory only in so far as reproduction with little emphasis on a comprehensive

[13] See 'Constitutional Right to an Education: England and Wales: https://www.loc.gov/law/help/constitutional-right-to-an-education/englandandwales.php#_ftn1

approach. Any suggestions of inclusive sexuality education come in the form of recommendations. Academies and free-schools designed for autonomy have even fewer restrictions on content, leaving curriculum content largely to the discretion of the head teacher, influenced by their biases. Restricting access to information controls the capacity at which an actor can exercise their rights. With the government recently recommending all schools convert to academies could lead to decreased efforts for inclusion programs aimed at minority students, begging the question what the purpose of a national curriculum to which more and more schools may no longer be subject, is.

The UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education advocates for a human rights based approach (HRBA) to sexuality education claiming it establishes a framework in which the rights-holder is able to claim a positive obligation (or right) creating a space more accepting of inclusive practice and pedagogy. However, in early 2016, the UK Minister of Education announced age-appropriate sex education would not be included in the curriculum and therefore not compulsory. This was upheld by a January 2017 vote in the UK parliament (Campbell, 2016 & 2817). With a renewed interest in diversifying schools to include academies that function with less government regulations leaves how (or if) sexuality education is included in the curriculum problematic and up in the air.

Adult control over children's rights

Human rights mechanisms promote freedom of thought and the right to an education, meant to be free from ideological indoctrination. The UNCRC asserts that should educational rights not be met "could endanger a child's ability to break away from his or her parents' narrow beliefs through receiving a liberal education," (Fortin 2009, p. 411). A limited education could also undermine identity formation, especially if an identity is non-conforming. Thus when laws favor parental and adult interventions, locates adults to exploit their own position as rights-holders, often infringing upon the child's rights (pp. 412-413). Therefore, challenging formations of power frees non-conforming individuals from normative patriarchal control (Fortin, 2009).

The fact that children are not adults and the low social status afforded them in most societies means they are often treated unfairly and left out of decision-making (Participation Works, 2010). Common areas of concern exist primarily around how to exercise children's rights while balancing parental rights, and how to facilitate

between children's rights and those of adults. In order to ensure rights for one group, rights are not withdrawn from another, although that is how it is often understood. A child having a right does not mean removing a right from an adult or parent. As such, a lack of implementation remains a barrier to realizing rights while supporting misconceptions and fear of losing something that will not be lost.

Control over LGB,T rights

The UNCRC centers upon non-discrimination, taking great measures to recognize the importance of identity. However, to benefit, one's identity must be recognized. Although inclusion discourse and policies supporting non-conforming identities is encouraged, controlled knowledge and values imposed upon students stifles individuality while subjugating, imposing a normative identity. Therefore, by imposing certain values underpinned by normativity, marginalizes non-conforming identities (Apple, 2014).

While hetero-patriarchy reinforces normative identities defining sexuality within gender binaries, leaves certain experiences misunderstood and open to victimization (DeLamater & Hyde, 2010). Such a denial also rejects human rights ideals of education as empowering, which can only succeed if inclusive. As such, LGB,T people tend to be at higher risk of victimization and discrimination at school, as theirs remain an often-misunderstood experience. While LGB,T, experience increased levels of victimization, "debate continues about how and the extent to which children's rights agenda is embraced within education," (Gillet-Swan & Coppock 2016, pp. 141-142), suggesting much inclusion 'talk' as rhetoric and unrealized.

Human rights mechanisms recognize the right to a child's identity formation, may not necessarily translate into public policy or law. Vulnerable young people require special protections that underpin, for example, conceptualization of LGB,T human rights. For students who identify as LGB,T or are understood as non-conforming, bullying and harassment are common occurrences in school (Connolly, 2012; Horn et al, 2008). Bullying is a tool to police those perceived as non-conforming controlling how victims exercise their rights. How schools address bullying also controls how LGB,T rights are understood (Swearer et al., 2008). When homophobic bullying is only interpreted as bullying and not understood as homophobic, silences LGB,T youth as their identities have not been recognized (see Chapters Six and Seven). Identities are, therefore, policed, denying unique experiences suggesting theirs does not carry

the same level of importance as heterosexual identities and experiences. Lack of identity recognition, therefore, places strain upon human rights intended to protect marginalized identities, rather policies identities and rights.

Part III

Summary

Many human rights mechanisms recognize not only the importance to the right for an education but also children have the right to attend school free of discrimination. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child recognizes children as full rights bearers. As such they have a right to voice their opinion, to develop an identity and have full access to a holistic approach to education that is intended to draw up a child developing their mind and beliefs to embrace individuality, diversity and respect for others. However, children, and more specifically minority young people such as LGB,T, continue to face challenges within educational systems. Homogenous school inclusion policy, although framed by human rights mechanisms, continues to discriminate and prejudice, as human rights ideals of non-discrimination may not be embodied in policy implementation schemes. Thus, young people are denied their full access to education, underpinning a continued struggle for many to realize their rights, either because they are not aware of them, or face barriers that prevent them from achieving them. Education is a human right as well as an enabler to other rights making education a right of empowerment. Yet, young people continue to face obstacles inhibiting access that challenge the duties as framed by the UNCRC, denying them emancipation.

Chapter Three presents relevant literature that underscore the main arguments presented in this thesis. The literature presented locates the research in what is generally understood about bullying, inclusion, identities and the designation of difference, and what constructs the LGB,T experience, creating a gap as well as providing a backdrop for this research.

Chapter Three
Literature Review
A State of Affairs

Prejudice is a burden that confuses the past,
threatens the future
and renders the present inaccessible.

Maya Angelou

This chapter is organized into four sections locating this study in the literature. The first section introduces the reader to how different stakeholders, including schools, understand bullying. While bringing together different approaches, ideologies and underpinnings influencing policy interpretation, the first section also brings together the key pillars of analysis used to structure this thesis: human rights, portraiture as narrative inquiry and critical incidents.

Part two as the largest section, provides insight into inclusion, what it is, and how modern thought defines inclusion considering postmodernism and neoliberalism. Additionally, realizing inclusive practice, an examination is presented whether students or institutions should change, followed with what the literature speaks to on inclusive pedagogy and curriculum, and how sexuality education plays a role. Part two also reviews what it means to have inclusion policy and its effectiveness.

Section three interrogates in part, dilemmas of difference through the lenses of identity and difference. While section four introduces the reader to a summary of issues impacting LGB,T experiences. Intersectionality more broadly, then narrowing to how gender plays a role followed with a discussion on bullying and interventions.

But first, I begin with a little context situating inclusion.

Diversity and inclusion challenges have been in the news recently of which some was referred to in Chapter One. Current (at the time of writing) political moves (such as in June 2017, PM Theresa May appointing an anti-LGBT justice secretary, David Lidington) could become worrying for LGB,T inclusion considering May's checkered past on sexual minority rights (Parkinson, 2017). With present political and social

pushback against inclusion and diversity, how schools should approach diversity and what school inclusion policy should look like, all remain relevant.

At the time of writing, Theresa May who lost a majority vote in Parliament, sought an alliance with a smaller conservative political party, the Northern Ireland's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), which may prove challenging for sexual minorities. The DUP opposes same-sex marriage while supporting a 'conscience clause' protecting those who discriminate against LGB,T on religious grounds. How such will influence May's Conservative party's LGB,T agenda is not yet known. Therefore, recognizing challenges for inclusion and how they relate to schools remains an important topic. This chapter, thus, serves to establish the parameters in which inclusion and anti-bullying policies exist, exploring three important aspects: (1) What is inclusion? (2) What inclusion means for LGB,T, and (3) how bullying is understood.

Shaped by different understandings of inclusion, LGB,T experiences remain politicized. Presented, therefore, is an assessment of key material and common issues outlining the wider context while identifying how the research and these issues have developed into their current state. Thus, the overall goals of this chapter are first, to establish how ideologies affecting perception, production and implementation shape inclusion policy, then with establishing how pedagogical practice, curriculum and policy understand inclusion. Succeeding the aforementioned, is a discussion how intersectionality and gender are implicit in the LGB,T experience, then the chapter concludes with interventions and a brief discussion on a gap in knowledge this thesis intends to fill.

But first, the literature review begins with considering the complexities of defining inclusion while examining the problematic nature of inclusion as recognition. After considering the multiplicity of inclusion, the literature examines identified challenges with human rights as guiding principles for inclusion measures. Human rights as a postmodern phenomena, considers a holistic approach to equity and inclusion, sitting in contrast with, and are challenged by neoliberalism, underscoring neoclassical economics underpinning competition and individualism. The chapter then continues with intersectionality, then an exploration of bullying.

Respect and diversity are cornerstones to human rights and societies more broadly. Bullying, however, violates these values. Taking forms as sexist and homophobic, as well as verbal and physical bullying, school bullying is widespread (Espelage &

Swearer 2003, 2008). Research has raised awareness of bullying prevalence (Jacobson, 2013), which supports comprehensive policy identifying strategies for inclusive schools. Yet, bullying of students continues amidst the flurry of inclusion and anti-bullying policy and initiatives, with LGB,T young people experiencing the most (Stonewall, 2014).

With this in mind, locating this research in what is broadly accepted about bullying considering the effects of intersectionality and the power structures that influence, this thesis contributes to an additional perspective of intersectionality, expanding knowledge of victimization and oppression.

Part I

Stakeholders

Conflicts exist between (a) key policy shifts toward a neoliberal framing of school structure, and (b) education with a holistic approach incorporating students' needs. As a result of said conflicts, prevents many LGB,T young people from actualizing their rights while groups in power grapple with implementation of inclusion initiatives. Such calls into question the role of schools, as policy makers and school administrators deal with how to implement inclusion schemes while many LGB,T young people remain marginalized.

Some estimates suggest up to 95% of all UK students have heard or have been subject to negative comments or actions because they are, or are perceived as LGB,T (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Additional estimates indicate up to 68% of sexual minority youth hide their sexual identity fearing for their safety (*ibid*). Given how widespread bullying remains, much research has focused on the causes of bullying, as well as the effectiveness of anti-bullying and inclusion policies (Porter, 2013). Policy interrogation by way of young people's accounts, however, has been relatively neglected as the majority of the literature on bullying and policy implementation effectiveness has focused on an adult-centric interpretation and understanding of events (Higgines, et al, 2006; Hoover & Stenhjem, 2003). Therefore, this thesis will show how bullying is experienced and understood by LGB,T students through their narratives, pealing away present, adult-centric understanding of young people's experiences.

Approaches: anti-bullying measures

Jacobson (2013) points out that understanding the dynamics of bullying is to move beyond a 'rehabilitation' model that considers a "number of facets: reprimand; reward aimed at applying pressure to change motivation; disciplinary training aimed at training behavior; and surveillance aimed at long term transformation through accountability and consequence," (p. 61). Teachers report having less time to address issues in the classroom (Winthrop et al., 2016; Stonewall, 2014), therefore, find themselves needing quick resolutions. As a consequence, a 'reprimand bad behavior and reward good' approach, a process that trains student behavior, is too often used to obtain desired behavioral outcomes without actually changing behavior (Winthrop et al., 2016).

Jacobson's theory of the 'rehabilitation' model as more of a Pavlov's type experiment rather than recognizing diversity is a relevant point as long as schools continue to abide by a 'misbehaviour results in equal reprimand' model. Consequently, variations to bullying incidents underpinned by identity remain largely ignored as each occurrence is regarded as the same. In so doing, silences victims by considering the bullying act itself but not the context, identity of victim, or underlying issues that may have lead to the victimization in the first place. Such underpins a behavior/reprimand model while overlooking the root cause.

As a consequence, biases could drive a response to a bullying incident, further victimizing the bullied child. However, a space where biases are not checked or if teachers lack training to identify biases may quite possibly, be better served – at least initially - by a 'reprimand' approach. At least then the incident was acknowledged and stopped. Although behavior manipulated by reward may decrease further bullying (Winthrop et al., 2016), even if only temporarily, ultimately does little for inclusion. The behavior at that moment may have stopped, but attitudes were not changed suggesting once the people involved in an incident leave the classroom or school, the bullying can be repeated (*ibid*). Such underscores the complicated nature of policy implementation when the policy itself lacks parameters in which to interrogate different types of bullying, or if training for proper implementation is inadequate. However, by using the reprimand model, schools, and by extension, education, become a tool shaping students and identities to suit a neoliberal future underpinned by efficiency leaving little individuality. This brings us back to Gilbert (2014) mentioned in Chapter One. There is no individual freedom except within the context

of socially defined relationships (pp. 34-35) that Thatcher articulated as an identity is performed to suit. Therefore, policy that does not identify identity outside that which is deemed 'suitable', serves only to subjugate assuring identities are those that fulfil neoliberal expectations (Thorsen, 2010), or they are ignored.

Therefore, to appreciate the effects of how policy is experienced, an examination of research addressing several key issues in this thesis are presented, and how homosexuality as an identity is understood within bullying events. These key issues presented here do not suggest as sole reasons for ineffective policy; they are instead used to highlight a specific area largely ignored: that of student voice in both policy creation and effectiveness. Having identified a gap in the research that seems to overlook nuances associated with identities in bullying incidents and the power used to control situations that continues to oppress, begins to expand how bullying is understood, where policy might change and whom to include for a more effective and holistic approach to policy.

Part II

What is inclusion?

Inclusive education is entrenched in the philosophies of equity and human rights as a moral position. Although meant as inclusive of all individuals and identities, inclusion within an educational context remains an approach that underscores students with special needs. Efforts toward addressing exclusion developed into statutory guidance as concerns arose over certain vulnerable students who remained disadvantaged by the system.

Inclusion and exclusion

The Cambridge English Dictionary defines inclusion (n.d.) as "the act of including someone or something as part of a group." Although underpinned by such a definition, the level of inclusion remains largely dependent upon which segment of the population the definition targets (Loughran, 2011). Although, there lacks a consensus how inclusion and inclusive schools are defined (Paliokosta & Blandford, 2010; Avramidis et al., 2000), the Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education maintains that an inclusive and comprehensive education involves "putting inclusive values into action…supporting everyone to feel that they belong", and "reducing

exclusion, discrimination, barriers to learning and participation" amongst other principles (CSIE 2017, n.p.).

While lacking a clear, universal definition of inclusion, Paliokosta and Blandford (2010) offer that inclusion is "a balance between individual needs and the needs of the majority…Therefore, inclusion can be conceptualized through an individual or collective lens viewing either participation or exclusion" (p. 179), underscoring the complexity. Mittler (2005) while recognizing the multiplicity, argued

> [i]nclusion is not about placing children in mainstream schools. It is about changing schools to make them more responsive to the needs of all children. It is about helping all teachers to accept responsibility for the learning of all children in their school and preparing them to teach those children who are currently excluded from their school, for whatever reason. (vii)

However, in order to properly visualize and understand 'inclusion', social exclusion requires a clear definition as it relates with inclusion.

Challenging conventional education models, inclusion awareness largely began in the United Kingdom with the SEN (Special Education Needs) initiative under the Warnock Report in 1978, which eventually became the Education Act of 1996 (Silas, 2014). Followed with amended legislation, a "revised CoP in 2001…strengthened the right to mainstream 'inclusion'," (para 3). The specific Code of Practice (CoP) stipulated the government's commitment to provide education creating equal opportunity for all children (Department for Education and Skills, 2001). Inclusion, however, did not emerge as a social practice until the Salamanca World Statement on Special Needs Education (UNESCO, 1994) advocating institutionalization of inclusion underpinned by rights mainstreaming vulnerable children, did a shift occur moving from theory into action.

Although how inclusion is understood today has broadened, the original premise remains – include those who are excluded. However, it is not inclusion alone that begins to reconsider how social exclusion is understood, but concerns over access as well. Winlow and Hall (2013) ask, "[w]hat is the power that drives exclusion, and what is the status of the excluded in the eyes of this power?" (p. 2). Keeping these questions in mind begins shaping what access to participation and an equitable share of what schools offer, means. Such becomes especially poignant when suggested "the norms, values…and beliefs that had once provided a crucial integrative function…were being dissolved or remodeled by political and ideological forces, or by the new economic realities," (p. 23).

Postmodernism & neoliberalism

As mentioned, Winlow and Hall (2013) argue the nature of inclusion does not exist without understanding exclusion and its implications.

> The social exclusion discourse begins with the claim that the end of Fordist industrialism and its relatively stable communities fundamentally altered the nature of…social marginality, generating a situation in which social bonding process that encouraged people to commit themselves to collective forms of identity was somehow failing in the new 'postmodern' period…That the state and civil society no longer appreciated the benefits of fully integrating marginalized populations into social mainstream p. 23.

Fordism stemming from the Ford Motor Company of the 1920s and 30s became a symbol of mass production. The original idea of mass production eventually combined with mass consumption produced sustained widespread economic growth from which many benefited. In the last decades of the twentieth century, however, growth slowed while inequalities increased. Although extending well beyond economic terms, how exclusion, and subsequently inclusion are defined begins within consumerism, neoliberalism, in a post-industrial (post-Ford) economic global order.

Postmodernism with its tendency toward reflexivity and as a theoretical approach, propelled the inclusion (and politics) of the 'other', perhaps as an opposite argument to exclusion resulting from neoliberalism. As exclusion increased, so did the recognition for inclusion measures that within a school context, initially identified vulnerable students who would benefit from special education, eventually extended to include all students equally. However, for inclusion to be successful according to Booth and Ainscow (2000), school culture, policies, and practice require restructuring to respond positively and comprehensively to diversity. They argued breaking down barriers to participation and access, "[v]iewing the difference between students as resources to support learning, rather than as problems to overcome" is imperative (n.p.). It is evident for inclusion and anti-bullying policy to be effective must first reach a consensus on a definition and desired outcomes.

Specific upcoming sections of this chapter on dilemmas of difference and identity provide a further overview of issues highlighting how nuanced the data for this research was, underpinning additional challenges between intent and experience of inclusion efforts.

Inclusion: changing schools or students?

Inclusion considered through the lens of accommodating difference, maintains the school as a service provider to save the children (Rigby, 2007). Consequently any child regarded as 'different' is a problem creating challenges for education. However, 'problem' is often understood through behavior, which must be therefore, managed. Armed with institutional measures used to control disruptive events in the classroom (*ibid*), teachers are at the frontlines of improving classroom behavior. Yet, many measures used are ineffective as they are aimed at behavior rather than identity (*ibid*).

Behavior management treats students differently in an attempt to define and handle disruptive classroom incidents. Formulating labels as markers for difference makes a distinction between students for the purpose of controlling the disruption. This creates adversaries with one student as a problem versus the group, which may result in the exclusion of non-normative identities. Therefore, through the practice of differentiating for the purpose of management, sends a message that some students are not like the rest. Pitting those who are less understood against the rest preserves discourse of difference while reinforcing a normative worldview not capable of accepting alternates (Minow, 1990). Therefore, as long as inclusion is defined by identifying difference as something to be fixed, it will not work.

Inclusive pedagogy beginning with the institution remains a challenge (Hick et al., 2009), yet some schools are successful with positive and inclusive practices (MvLeskey et al, 2014; Villa et al, 2005). While research has shown students' benefit from those teachers who engage positively with them (Brookfield, 2017), not all young people have the advantage of learning in inclusive classroom spaces (Sharma et al, 2012). As schools and teachers find themselves under increasing pressure to raise academic standards, some teachers "expressed increased reluctance" over recognizing unique identities as doing so "may have a negative effect on the attainments of other pupils,"(p. 2). Therefore, there are teachers who may find inclusion schemes places additional burden upon the institution and themselves. However, it is broadly understood that the role of teachers is vital to successful inclusion programs (Gal et al., 2010; Banks, 2006), yet should "perceived constraints in creating inclusive learning environments" exist, inclusive practice may fail (Shevlin et al 2013, p. 1119). That not all pupils are recognized as full members of the educational environment (Deschenes et al, 2013), challenges inclusive practice, thus

continues to struggle as long as present understanding of inclusion through difference guides institutional and pedagogical applications.

Vulnerable children have an equitable and equal place in school; however, a double standard exists that in practice, what is accepted for some is not for others. For those who do not fit a normative image are judged differently through regulatory measures of social exclusion, maintaining 'good' and 'bad' binaries establishing moral standards preserving ideas of non-normative students as bad. However, this does not go without consequence, as "socially victimized adolescents become more disruptive, depressed people," (Berkowitz et al 2008, p. 643). Therefore, even a minor bullying altercation, for example, can escalate and exaggerate for a vulnerable student. Not receiving the same response from a teacher as a student fitting a normative identity, reminds the vulnerable student they are neither safe nor equal. Such reinforces the vulnerable student as the problem, while ignoring a system that needs changing.

Policymakers motivated by school reform have over the last several decades put forth multiple plans to improve teacher practice and student achievement (for an extensive review of this literature, see Waldron & McLesky, 2010). However, research has found (*ibid*) instead of restructuring schools as suggested by policy plans, a "re-culturing" is required. "The outcomes of re-culturing are demonstrated through new forms of interaction and professionalism surrounding activities such as joint problem solving…shared decision making, and distributed leadership," (p. 59). Inclusion thus, becomes a holistic partnership between school and student where expectations are mapped out addressing needs of both student and school. Sindelar et al. (2006) found similar factors contributing to "sustainability of school-wide reform is school culture: Schools with shared vision and cultures of communication and shared decision-making…are more likely to sustain innovations," (p. 318). Carrington (1999) taking it a step further, suggested "that achievement of educational equity for a diverse group of learners will require a system that eliminates categorical special needs programmes and eliminate the historical distinction between regular and special education," (p. 258). A re-culturing therefore, requires removing labels that presently separate and divide, undermining inclusion efforts. Stigmatized and labeled, as reported by student research participants, young people were deprived of agency (see Chapter Five). These serve as valuable tools for understanding how present school

conventions continue perpetuating dichotomies underpinning a good versus bad culture underscoring the need for a re-evaluation.

However, re-culturing is not only reimagining policy as Waldron & McLesky (2010) argue, but a reframing of curriculum and pedagogy while re-conceptualizing how discipline is applied. Students of varying learning levels and experiences share the same diverse class. Some are above grade level while others are below. Some may have challenging home lives, while others struggle with English as a second language. A classroom may comprise of multiple races and ethnicities, sexualities and socio-economic classes presenting a challenging situation for the teacher (Falvey & Givner, 2005). Therefore, debates continue whether a social justice inspired inclusive classroom is possible where some contend it is not the schools' responsibility. "However, if inclusive education is not the schools' responsibility, then whose is it?" (p. 3). Falvey and Givner argue the key to an inclusive classroom is pedagogy that does not discriminate thus placing it squarely in a school's domain.

When an educator recognizes and is able to teach to varying abilities, students develop confidence and trust (Falvey & Givner, 2005). Cooperation and communication are the aspects framing positive and empowering spaces that are inclusive. Prior (2011) adds that to be inclusive requires "implementing a multilevel, multi-model curriculum" (p. 121) underpinning the statement on reframing all aspects of school functions. Yet, an increasing demand meeting different student needs due to diversity is challenging, creating apprehensions amongst educators (p. 122). However, that little research interrogating students' experiences asking them directly their concerns exists, what an inclusive classroom should look like remains within adult-centric interpretations. Chapter Five underscores this point, demonstrating through student accounts, a divide exists between teachers/schools and students, illustrating where policy fails with connecting to actual student experiences where their needs are not met.

Inclusive pedagogy

Inclusive practice engages pedagogy, curriculum and school ethos, and is directly linked with increased wellbeing amongst students (Falvey & Givner, 2005). However, how 'inclusion' in curriculum or school spaces is defined or placed into practice may not necessarily be as clear. Although little seems changed, a debate whether a universal approach to curriculum or specializing pedagogy meeting need, is on going,

much like the-one-size-fits-all approach to bullying which lacks a method to distinguish between incidents. Such suggests a universal approach remains convenient in schools as an ingrained way of thinking covering many aspects of schooling, not just bullying. The universal-approach philosophy requires unpacking in order to uncover individual elements for any change to occur. Driving this point home, Nind (2005) underscores "effective" teaching may not look the same from one group of students to the next as needs vary (p. 1). Although much around inclusion remains theoretical, inclusion language, according to Nind is slowly becoming sustainable suggesting cracks are forming in the universal-approach facade. "Campaigns for social justice, theorising about equality and action for civil rights have come together to bring about change," (p. 271) as evidenced in political discourse, has not yet, however, necessarily actualized in schools.

Such reiterates the difference between pedagogy underpinning equality within the universal procedures debate versus the specific-to-need equitable method. Assuming equal versus equitable arguments, illustrates a willingness to interrogate a different approach, and is positive. However, these debates remain challenged as how schools and curriculum are shaped and informed by, in part, neoliberalism, which sits in opposition to social justice initiatives, challenges opportunities for full participation of marginalized students.

Inclusive pedagogy is underpinned by a comprehensive curriculum incorporating research and method. Cullin (2009) acknowledged, however, "the complexities of bridging theory, practice and policy" (p. 17) are great, yet can succeed when grounding efforts in an inclusionary ethos. Yet ethos defined by heteronormativity sustains itself, while preserving a lack of diverse voices in classroom texts omitting, for example, LGB,T experiences (Epstein, 1994; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Epstein, O'Flynn & Telford, 2003; DePalma & Atkinson, 2008). Correspondingly, without interrogating binaries that maintain heteronormativeness, examining the needs of LGB,T young people remain insignificant against those who occupy normative identities. It is queer praxis that underpins interrogating normative ideas, yet, "involving queer pedagogies cannot exist in the current education climate," (Cullen 2009, p. 24) as long as things remain as either/or, complicating the ability to reject grand narratives (*ibid*) and challenging normativeness.

Pedagogical barriers are linked to first, the lack of teacher preparation how to address non-conforming identities during their own teacher education; secondly, a

curriculum that excludes non-dominant experiences representing "genders and sexualities," and third, the physical effects of bullying (Meyer 2011, p. 125) leaving dominant assumptions and personal biases unchallenged. As long as heteronormativity prevails, homosexuality remains an abnormality suggesting LGB,T young people's exclusion as inherent, creating dangerous spaces for non-conforming students. Recalling Butler (1990), van Dijk and van Driel (2007) argue

> gender and sexuality are purposefully enacted rather than passively experienced. These performances are public and communicative, and can reinforce inequalities around socially mediated understandings of desirability and power. This implies that reducing homophobic abuse is more likely to occur through systemic and proactive social change than through simply preventing or reducing particular acts of violence (p.20).

Therefore, as long as pedagogy is underpinned by personal beliefs, continues maintaining assumptions that homosexuality remains a taboo subject.

Inclusive curriculum

As communities diversify, local cultures are infused with new ideas. However, diversification may also result in tensions culminating in the marginalization of those who represent something different from the norm. Such requires an examination of attitudes that led to the marginalization, evaluating the very reasons which resist diversification. Because if discriminatory ideas lack critical interrogation, maintains the disenfranchisement of those who have been made powerless for not sharing a dominant narrative, will continue.

Schools also experience an increased level of diversity much as their communities; and much like their communities, may struggle with diversification. According to Ainscow (1999), there are three general types of responses to diversity and inclusion. First, "continue to maintain the status quo in the belief that those members of the class who do not respond has some problem that prevents their participation," essentially victim blaming. This idea asserts that the victim due to their difference is the problem, not the system (which includes bully, teacher or school) (referring back to the one-size-fits-all universal approach with little room for anyone 'different'). Secondly is to compromise, which Ainscow contends could involve lowering standards, and third, "seek to develop new teaching responses" that support integration (p.4). Ainscow argued the third approach as most effective bringing about improvement as it requires

interrogating the status quo. Integration, therefore, is an entire approach from implementing inclusion policy to teacher investment and preparedness. Again, affirming the idea of re-culturing for change. Policy itself should, therefore, include incentives for schools and teachers to institutionalize inclusion because without teacher and school buy-in, inclusion and diversity schemes remain un-ratified. This, of course, is not a simple task. "Deep changes are needed if we are to transform schools that were designed to serve a minority of the population in such a way that they can achieve excellence for all children and young people," (Ainscow 2005, p. 5) suggesting its possible that schools can indeed, serve all.

Sexuality education

Within the context of Ofsted and sexuality education in English schools, is fair to say that what pupils are learning does not support sexual diversity (Thorogood, 2000). Thorogood argued, in light of segregation and apparent lack of dissemination of sexuality information to pupils, "sex education is implicitly (and also, for the most part, explicitly) about producing 'normal' (hetero)masculinity and (hetero)femininity and that these are core categories in the regulation of the social world." Additionally, "any changes which might significantly disturb this 'balance' are, therefore, highly contentious and, in policy terms, unlikely to be forthcoming" (p. 426). Such underpins a moralistic and biased approach to sexuality curriculum (Bay-Cheng, 2003) while further underpinning institutionalized heteronormativity (Ferfolja, 2007).

Rather, the purpose of sexuality education is to present young people with tools to make informed decisions about their sexual choices and better understand the dynamics of sexuality (Robinson, 2002). Without a comprehensive sexuality education curriculum, leaves non-conforming individuals whose experiences are not addressed in the curriculum, marginalized (Piercy & Haynes, 2006). Such is further problematized when considering trans identities. Research suggests (O'Flynn, 2016) despite legal requirements and guidance on trans identity recognition, 'trans' remains largely misunderstood, and can trouble how femininity and masculinity are understood, threatening the status quo.

As schools attempt understanding unique needs, may inadvertently separate trans student to protect them from the broader school population, a process O'Flynn called internal exclusion (although trans students are not the only ones subjected to internal exclusion). The act of separating a student minimizing interactions with the school

population positions the trans student as 'other' and maintains a separation defining the difference. Through methods of separation, a trans student's gender can be ignored, limiting their "power to self-actualise," (pp. 437-438). However, just as much as the lack of comprehensive approach requires attention, so too do the arguments opposing comprehensive initiatives. Synthesizing what is thought of as a liberal argument (comprehensive approach) with a conservative one often advocating sexuality education is best left to the family, is as significant to equity as the nature of inclusion itself. Choosing one argument over the other maintains a divide that excludes someone, underpinning challenges to unite multiple belief systems. I think, therefore, it becomes not strictly an argument over a comprehensive approach, but one of choice. Such requires compulsory implementation of inclusion policy and methods that serve everyone's interests, has teacher support and full school involvement, while offering options to opt out without 'othering' those who do not participate. Such is, however, a tall order.

Hegemonic emphasis on sexuality education is to understand the hierarchy supporting the explicit and implicit collective conscious of institutionalized heterosexualization of gender. Such effectively ignores sexual minority and trans individuals. Therefore, much like 'colorblindness', sexual invisibility ignores different sexualities and gender identities acting as a cleansing by the dominant group, perpetuating heteronormativity, sexism and exclusion. Instead an inclusive approach to sexuality normalizes identities that are otherwise considered non-conforming and by extension, 'different'. Even though it is understood adolescents benefit from such knowledge of self (and of the other) (LeRoy & Simpson, 1996), sexual minorities are still generally excluded and do not benefit from the same level of relevant information. As a consequence, much like race was once disparaged (Banks, 2006), a lack of awareness and information of sexual minorities experiences continues to vilify (Marable & Mullings, 2011).

The present approach to sexuality education reproduces the performance of gender hierarchy by maintaining course content limited to a biology and reproductive perspective (as reported by participants of this research)(*Equality Act 2010: advice for schools – GOV.UK,* 2014). Engaging in reproduction-only type sexuality education underscores a gender binary underpinning heteronormativity and patriarchy, substantiates the current form of gender oppression by heterosexualizing sexuality through coding pupils' sex. Correspondingly, limiting sexuality education in schools

to only biology does not interrogate the performance of gender, rather perpetuates binaries, oppressions, and the politics of sexuality (Ferfolja, 2007), refusing interrogation.

Preserving gender-role norms maintains inequalities while politicizing gender as it continues supporting the heterosexual/homosexual dichotomy, schools perpetuate through a neoliberal, neoconservative worldview. As a result, an imperialistic view of knowledge influencing how we perform or 'do gender' and create our identity, confirms the perpetuation of binaries (Butler, 1990). Informed by beliefs, language therefore, constructs knowledge underpinning hierarchies, essentially completing a knowledge loop that preserves marginalization of anything that threatens the survival of normative gender expression.

According to Hearn (2004), sex expressed through gender as construct legitimizes a male dominated society, engendering the dominator (male as subject) and dominated (female as object). Successfully establishing an order transcending time via "power...construed...as a capacity (that has) the ability to dominate or influence others through reward or punishment" (p. 49). Thorogood (2000) further contends the moral conservative's approach limiting sexuality education restricting information setting "sex education…within a scientific discourse (e.g. biology, human development, health education, even physical education, etc.), is clearly about the transmission of social values. So 'traditional pragmatists' favor limited sex education with an explicitly normative function" (p. 431). In other words, the musts of sexual education have been seemingly relegated to a reproduction function, underpinning the infallible system of gender binaries essentializing all who do not 'fit' within the monolithic 'stability' of the heterosexual unit (p. 432).

A social system requiring an either-or, boy-or-girl identity, forms the basis upon which one is educated, informing behavior expectations and to whom one is attracted. For those who express their gender differently from the norm, or are not attracted to the opposite sex, challenge gender norms. Therefore, for those who live outside these given parameters, struggle when there are many aspects to a curriculum that continue underpinning compulsory heterosexuality. Through a "binary view of gender and sexuality, assumes and privileges those who" 'act' heterosexual, supporting "traditional masculine and feminine roles and expressions. It is the cultural and social 'management' of gender and sexuality and is promoted and maintained by individuals and institutions," (Bryan, 2012).

Compulsory heterosexuality institutionalizes inequality as traditional gender roles are assumed, maintaining all other forms of sexuality as deviant (Rich, 1980). Accordingly, although policy endorses anti-homophobic strategies, a binary between heterosexuality and homosexuality persists. Consequently, the idea of being 'different' is problematic and continues maintaining hierarchies and subsequently excludes (Pallotta-Chialolli, 2016) without challenging assumptions. Dankmeijer (2007) argues attitudes will be slow to shift as "the dominance of anti-homophobia model translates itself into a particular method of education," (p. 5). Consequently, education through a heterosexual lens shapes awareness of homosexuality and sexual minority experiences, serves only to perpetuate homophobia (pp. 3-18) fueled by heterosexist assumptions.

This is further manifested in the curriculum used to support testing for example, although intended as a learning growth assessment tool, also remains underpinned by heteronormativity (Ferfolja, 2007). School functions as an important space "for the formation of sexual (gendered) identities," (Epstein 1993, p. 277), therefore education (including tools that assess learning) is constructed in part, to create "heterosexual women and heterosexual men," (*ibid*), placing less burden on those who are heterosexual to perform accordingly; however, those who are non-conforming learn early

> the presumptions of unproblematic heterosexuality pervades every area of the school curriculum in the images on walls and in textbooks; in the situations of people represented in modern language texts; in texts read in English, and so on (p. 278).

Therefore, curriculum and by extension the tests that determine grade preparedness, are also heterosexist, suggesting Epstein's assessment remains relevant. Curricula underpinned by heterosexuality supporting inequality and marginalization suggests education itself is discriminatory (Smith, 2015). While the argument presented in this thesis is not on standardized testing, is worth noting that standardization as an implicit tool of discrimination is part of the larger environment that creates a school culture in which inclusion policy is either successful or fails.

As a result, discrimination is not only institutionalized via high stakes testing and the underpinning curriculum, but by the very nature of the school where marginalized students remain oppressed. Pairing this with the recent rise in LGB,T hate crime resulting from a populist movement amplifying right-wing ideologies (as discussed in

Chapter One), may validate discrimination against those who do not share native values, heteronormativity or background, that when enforced in schools, leaves students further disenfranchised.

Fausto-Sterling (1993) points to western Euro-American culture as deeply situated in the commitment of two sexes, suggesting limited linguistic options rendering language incapable of supporting the broad term of sexuality (pp. 20-21). The term 'homosexual', for example, was not created until the late 19th century[14], supporting that existing language is not fully equipped to expand definitions of sexuality. Therefore, through a lack of extensive linguistic choices, heterosexuality continues informing patterns of inequality finding its way into inclusion policy. With a limited lexicon results in a convenient truth supporting heterosexuality as a valid sexuality, invalidating anything else, is no less accidental.

The current debate produces a narrative around gender and sexuality and issues of human rights minority inclusion in education, unpacking multiple social implications of a system that continues supporting socially constructed dichotomies and identities in schools. There appears a continued misperception that to teach inclusive, comprehensive sexuality, for example, a recognized method of successful inclusion (Piercy & Haynes, 2006; Robinson, 2002; Thorogood, 2000), promotes homosexuality rather than acceptance (Athanases & Larrabee, 2002). Resistance thus continues against comprehensive form of education over concerns teaching about homosexuality may lead children to either explore same-sex relationships or become homosexual (Macgillivray, 2004).

Inclusion policy

Research has interrogated inclusion (Booth & Ainscow, 2011; Hick et al., 2009; Graham & Slee, 2007; Benjamin, 2002) informing how in part, it is understood. Predicated on the supposition that research is needed to inform practice as a means to identify and remove barriers to learning for marginalized students, pedagogy looks to research for best practice. However, inclusion intentions shaped by dominant discourse underpinned by adult understandings of student experiences, patriarchy, and heteronormativity, may not always represent the best interest of the child, and could bias research. Consequently, policy often neglected actual actor's experiences and

[14] http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/homosexuality/

needs, calling into question the relationship between research, policy creation, and practice (Eisner, 1984). This thesis was thus, informed by what was lacking in general discourse on inclusion research. It was further informed by how research failed to connect with on-the-ground applications as well as intersecting power relationships shaping policy application.

Though LGB,T recognition is increasing and policy inclusion initiatives have had some noteworthy success (Smith et al., 2004; Vaccaro et al., 2012; Meyer, 2009), non-conforming identities remain framed by heterosexuality, therefore struggle within a "neo-conservative discourse of performativity," (Slee et al., 2003 [1998], p. 2). Although equality as a theory is reaching saturation as legal and policy obligations are broadly acknowledging LGB,T individuals (Camicia 2016, pp. 1-3), remains largely ignored in the curriculum thus in practice (McGarry, 2013), where LGB,T students remain excluded and marginalized. "There is little doubt that LGBTQ students experience exclusion from school communities through a lack of representation or misrepresentation in the curriculum," (p. 70). Epstein et al. (2003) argue there remains "an official silence about all kinds of sexuality in the vast majority of mainstream schools," (p. 3) fracturing young people and fostering bullying (Jacobson, 2013). With Scott et al. (2016) reminding us "schools…are powerful agents of social exclusion," (p. 89).

Although school districts indicate their commitment to inclusive practice, not all inclusion policies are implemented successfully. Such has resulted in what Scott et al. (2016) argue: "policy measures for universal education have failed to produce equitable outcomes and have, also, enhanced the dominance of majority cultures," (p. 89). Bishop (2010) also recognizes that doing so, "maintains the status quo of educational disparities, because any innovation tends to focus on how it can benefit children of the majority culture," (p. 46).

It is thus, clear despite gaining considerable appeal and no longer considered a profound idea, inclusion 'speak' remains largely rhetoric doing little to confront dominant discourse. Graham and Slee (2007) argue, once where inclusion was a call for "radical change" is instead, used to support "status-quo" because "uninterrogated normative assumption" persist (pp. 277-278). Benjamin (2002) too, argues "the transition of 'inclusion' from radical margins towards the centre of debate," has seen "inclusive education's move (sometimes problematically) into the policy space dominated in the UK and elsewhere by the standards agenda" lending "a veneer of

social justice and moral authority," (p. 310). Thus having inclusion policy and "speaking as if we are already inclusive" without actually being inclusive, only personifies systemic "assumptions that shape and drive policy," (Graham & Slee 2007, pp. 277-278) rather than shaping action and driving implementation. After all, merely having policy suggesting inclusion is not in itself, inclusive practice.

The current disconnect is an extension of neoliberalism's and postmodernism's struggles to co-exist. Neoliberalism supports the rhetoric but may lack action for successful implementation, while post modernism supplies the impetus, yet falls short in its intentions as principles of competition supplant equity within how schools are structured (i.e., academies [UK] and charter schools [US]) with curriculum supporting market driven initiatives (i.e., high stakes tests). Although inclusion policy and language have become part of discourse, and in that sense has succeeded bringing attention to its importance, has yet to achieve full implementation due to systemic barriers (*ibid*).

Researchers have found where inclusion policy is effective, the outcome is positive for all students, not just for those who are marginalized (Jacobson, 2013; Camicia, 2016). Culturally responsive teachers and schools build collaborative environments creating an inclusive ethos (Smith et al., 1994). Schools that practice successful inclusion interrogate barriers to participation and learning, overcoming impediments by responding to unique needs of marginalized groups (Ainscow et al., 2002). Roffey (2011) points out schools become less student centered in older grades in high school as they may have been in earlier years, and instead become more subject-focused and teacher centered. During this time, "students perceive school as a less safe place to be," (p. 143). Such reminds us that adolescents "want to be valued for who they are, not what adults want them to be," (p. 145) creating both challenges and opportunities for schools to meet the needs of their students and maintain teaching standards and expectations.

A primary principle of inclusive education recognizes no two students are the same suggesting differential instruction as an element of inclusive pedagogy. Therefore, inclusive practice implements strategies based on determined needs. Inclusive practice creates opportunities engaging with students at different levels, experiences and knowledges as an equitable approach to learning while maintaining pedagogical rigor. Therefore, differential instruction may become either a challenge or an

opportunity dependent upon administration motivation and recognition of importance and need (Roffey, 2011).

Many theorists contend with some form of the construction of gender while interrogating concepts found embedded in feminist theory such as identity politics and intersectionalities. They bring into the discussion the notion of 'othering' through social constructs and subject positioning (Cole, 2000; Butler, 1990, 2008; Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2007; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Non-conforming identities, therefore, continue existing as subjects positioned in the margins. Stonewall UK (2012) and the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN)(2013) in the US found 55 percent and 55.5 percent respectively, of LGB,T students felt unsafe at school because of their sexual orientation ('The School Report 2012', p. 71). The report additionally points out that "more than eight in ten school teachers (86 per cent of primary school teachers and 80 per cent of secondary school teachers) have not received any specific training on how to tackle homophobic bulling," (pp. 2 & 16). Therefore, principles of inclusion are useful in so far as policy creation but seemingly far less successful with implementation and therefore, not sufficient. Such suggests inclusion initiatives have yet a long way to go within neoliberal framed schools, before favorable outcomes are reached.

Non-governmental privatization schemes for schools in the past few years brought about in part, by a demand for educational efficiency, has dramatically transformed the school system landscape (Adonis, 2012; Forrester and Garratt, 2012). While market driven demands transforms education, "schools are decreasingly concerned with developing thoughtful informed citizens," (Hursh & Martina 2003, p. 31). With negative effects on teachers and students alike, neoliberalism instead, challenges inclusive pedagogical practice through a neo-conservative, universalization approach to reform inclined toward the macro, ignoring micro needs (Nind, 2005). As a result, structures of inequality in a neoliberal context leave students navigating constructs of difference that continue defining performed and dichotomous gendered spaces (Ferguson, 2009).

Further magnifying challenges to inclusion, according to Minow (1990), any change in curriculum and practice requires dismantling the status quo. Yet to do so complicates a school's position (as a governmental entity) of neutrality meant to minimize biases. Instead "neutrality may freeze in place the past consequences of differences. Any departure from neutrality in governmental standards uses

governmental power to make those differences matter and thus symbolically reinforces them," (pp. 75-76). Therefore, considering how intentions are possibly political, "interpret(s) the consequences of how discourses of 'critical reflection', 'empowerment', 'student voice', and 'dialogue'" influence the "conceptualization of goals" by key normative assumptions (Ellsworth 1989, p. 303). By interrupting "institutional limits" that contradict outward deliberations do they become subject to analysis (p. 305); only then can practice underpinned by equity be inclusive. Yet, present policy and how schools are structured, lacks the capacity to engage critically, keeping effective inclusion policy in theoretical rather than practical terms.

Framing effective inclusion policy by a deliberative critique of assumptions can then address and meet marginalized students' needs, and secondly, assure access to participation with an equitable share, as already mentioned. However, as long as inclusion policy remains framed by one set of needs and measures (i.e., special needs), exposes a flaw in what at present, underpins inclusion policy.

Part III

Dilemmas of difference: identity

A dilemma exists between identifying individuals by their identity or by the status that can discriminate. Recognizing a status is to understand it exists, which does not alone create a difference in negative terms. Maintaining difference due to status recognition requires labeling said status, giving it a unique identification. It is the identification that can lead to differentiation and discrimination, implying labeling what is 'different' underpins inequalities. The act of labeling, 'others' (Skjeie, 1991) and highlights a difference in status. Yet such fixed categories only serves to colonize because the act of labeling is a social decision. Minow (1990) reminds us that when we identify someone alike or different from us "we are not merely classifying the world; we are inventing particular classifications with consequences and positioning ourselves in relation to those meanings," (p. 3).

The challenge remains that inclusive practice requires the ability to recognize difference without the rhetoric of labels that discriminate. Yet "[i]f the goal is to avoid identifying people by a trait of difference, but the institutions and practices make that trait matter, there seems to be no way to remedy the effects of difference without making difference matter," (p. 76). She argues that how we communicate is affected by privilege serving to underscore difference as determined by assumptions that

underpin ‘difference’. She goes on to list five unstated assumptions that influence:

1. Differences are assumed as intrinsic, “rather than viewing them as expressions of comparison between people on the basis of particular traits.” Assumptions assume dominant worldviews.
2. “We typically adopt an unstated point of reference when assessing others;” that a “norm need not be stated” as it is assumed it is universally understood.
3. “We treat the person doing the…judging as without a perspective,
4. and “we assume that the perspective of those being judged are either irrelevant or taken into account through the perspective of the judge.” In other words, dominant discourse prevails.
5. “Finally, there is an assumption that the existing social and economic arrangements are natural and neutral” and are therefore “inevitable. It follows, then, that differences…of particular individuals arise because of personal choice.” There are no competing theories and “the status quo is natural,” (pp. 50-74).

This brings the assertion back to why arguments for equality rather than equity, are misguided. How equality is understood and how equity is interrogated presents opposing arguments, one underpinning dominant discourse that assumes sameness while the other recognizes unique needs and diversity.

Difference as a term

‘Difference’ as a term, although meant to distinguish vulnerabilities, instead underpins ‘problem’ establishing binaries between those who require alternate strategies versus everyone else, creating dilemmas of difference. While her research considers teenage pregnancy, Vincent (2009) examined dilemmas of difference illustrating a connection between vulnerable individuals and how difference was interrogated. A relationship between marginalized identities is recognized as a vulnerable status that policy is meant to support, instead increased social exclusion while maintaining inequalities preserves the presumption of difference (*ibid*), again pointing to Minow (1990). The presumption that underscores discrimination as expressions of difference, from a

> point of reference of (an unstated) norm that we determine who is different and who is normal. The hearing-impaired student is different

> in the comparison to the norm of the hearing student – yet the hearing student differs from the hearing-impaired student as much as she differs from him, and the hearing student undoubtedly has other traits that distinguish him from other students. Unstated points of reference may express the experience of a majority or may express the perspective of those who have had greater access to the power used in naming and assessing others," (p. 51) (parenthesis mine).

And through the capacity of naming that which appears or seems different from the norm, maintains power imbalances "through the exclusion of socially constructed irrational Other" (Ellsworth 1989, p. 305) perpetuating discrimination, even if intentions were to the contrary. Minow's (1990) assessment suggests majority perspectives may deny that which is intrinsic and instead underpins identity variations as assumptions for "expressions of comparisons" (p. 50) as established by dominant normative culture. Although intentions may be for inclusion, are instead troubled by what is perceived as different rather than elemental as a basis for comparison, (*ibid*).

It is moving the argument both Minow and Vincent made, from the theoretical to the practical that actualizes change through recognizing the implications of labeling and othering. However, until politics is removed from the equation, not much may change because interpreting how victimization is experienced underpins the interests of the few, while serving capitalistic imperial power structures maintaining differences. These political motivations become fodder for theorists, yet in reality, binaries, hierarchal statuses, and difference continue, and will as long as power maintains its present arrangement. Therefore, synthesizing more research and voices (mine included) working against detrimental effects of discrimination underpinned by hierarchal power, may reach critical mass eventually shifting rhetoric into action operating against neoliberalism.

It is, however, not fair to suggest inclusion measures have strictly remained as oratory, as that would be inaccurate. Initiatives over the years have at one level or another, made a play for equitable solutions. For example, referring to the 1978 SEN initiative, the Warnick Report, mentioned earlier, stipulated regardless of need or disability, all vulnerable students should have equal access to appropriate age-level education within mainstream schools meeting the needs and rights of vulnerable students. As good as a start point, although rooted in special needs as previously mentioned, defining inclusion has since incorporated a wide range of groups identified as vulnerable. However, conceptualizing inclusion continues cycling back

to special needs, keeping inclusion locked in a single position making adding other categories as race, class, gender, and sexuality difficult in actual terms (MacBeath et al., n.d.). Complicating matters further, inclusion is often seen by teachers as too much of a challenge regardless of child and their specific needs. They, therefore, ignore, or, as revealed in this research, deal with everything as a one-off, at face value motivated only to stop the disruption, ignoring why bullying occurred.

Interrogating "oppressive social formations" of monoculturalism (MacBeath et al., n.d., pp. 298-299) underpinning normative assumptions about vulnerable statuses disrupts dominant understanding of oppressions that tends to define injustice through its own lens. Such moves the debate beyond what Ellsworth maintained as abstract ideas that are less inclined to "alter specific power relations outside or inside school," (p. 301). Lacking disruption, inclusion remains an abstract idea where universalizing institutional measures colonializes and disempowers, underpinning the "socially constructed irrational Others" (p. 304) as necessary to maintain normative deliberations. In so doing, not only labels, but also misses the point that different groups with different experiences have unique needs.

Part IV

Intersectionality

To understand intersectionality is to understand identity inequalities resulting in oppressions and social divisions. Crenshaw who termed 'intersectionality' as a method interrogating black women's oppressions (1989), points out the intricacies of multiple interacting identities. For example, black women may experience racial discrimination similar to black men. They may also experience sexism and discrimination similar to white women as they share a gender[15]. However, according to Crenshaw, black women often experience double discrimination due to the combined effects of gender and race, which black men and white women do not face. Therefore, one identity may not be axiomatic without supposing another. To consider another way, sexuality, for example, cannot be understood without the intersection of gender underpinning Scott and Jackson's (2006) argument that although gender and sexuality are distinct, they are interrelated.

[15] The terms 'race' and 'gender' are social constructs used to distinguish and oppress.

"When we label ourselves and others as heterosexual, lesbian, gay or bisexual, we define sexuality by the gender of those we desire. Masculinity and femininity are validated, in part, through conventional definitions of heterosexuality, hence the idea that lesbians are not 'real women' and gay men are not 'real men'," (p. 235) creating social divisions deriving from sexuality that oppresses. Gender, race, class and religion (amongst others) all have similar destabilizing effects when used as markers for oppression. Intersectionality arose, therefore, as a tool defining the phenomenon of how different identities play a role in identity perception. Not as individual identities such as female, black or lesbian alone, but how all three identities inter-relate, merging oppressions that further marginalize, underpinning raced, classed and gendered power systems. Intersectionality theory thus attempts to unpack how oppressions interrelate as "a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity of the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor" (Collins & Bilge 2016, p. 2). Varying intersecting experiences form identities (Crenshaw, 1989); yet, using intersectionality to interrogate power and how bullying is experienced seems less understood (Garnett et al., 2013; Daley et al., 2007). While identity intersectionality in peer victimization has also been interrogated (Garnett et al, 2014; Daley et al, 2007), what is less considered is the intersectionality of power itself and how the construction of power intersects with a bullying incident, which is discussed in-depth in Chapter Seven.

Power as knowledge is contingent upon its reproducibility and the historical contexts of oppressions. Intersectionality, as a postmodern indicator becomes "the powerful critique of existing knowledges and the hierarchal power relations they defend," (Collins 2014, p. 49). Intersectional theory came about as a way to unpack experiences "instead of merely summarizing the effects of one, two or three oppressive categories, adherents to the concept of intersectionality stress the interwoven nature of these categories and how they mutually strengthen or weaken each other," (Winker et all. 2011, p. 51).

Unpacking power hierarchies that underpin identity oppressions begins to interrogate why oppressions occur and necessitates expanding the definition of intersectionality. Kocięda (2013) therefore, argues intersectionality is inherently exclusionary as it considers all who are already precluded from normative spaces and "focus on how they're excluded, not why," (n.p.). And although intersectionality

assumes an augmented discourse unpacking multi levels of oppression, instead features how oppressions exist without dismantling them. Such is evident in present research that addresses causes of bullying and how individuals are victimized (Purdie-Varjas & Eibach, 2008), with less consideration given why the victimization occurred in the first place. When considering bullying, for instance, examining layers of institutionalized power and the route power travels as bullying incidents unfold, begins to assess why victims are excluded, moving beyond "chart[ing] how groups are currently oppressed," (*ibid*). Instead, interrogating power structures underpinning bullying incidents supporting the intersectional oppressions begins unpacking *why* certain groups are, and remain, oppressed.

Gender

Postmodernity and the gay identity direct me to Hélène Cixous who stated: "that terms such as feminist and lesbian are parasitic upon phallologocentric thought because they connote 'deviation from a norm instead of a free sexual option or a place of solidarity with women'," (Tong 2009, p. 217). I interpret Cixous as suggesting that to identify oneself and ones gender is not through the act of labeling remaining heteronormative, rather through an exploration of what one is and can be without constraints of a label. The artificiality of a gender label is questioned not only in actual terms but theoretical terms. Post-genderists argue labeling limits the human capacity (Hughes & Dvorsky 2008, abstract) as the two-sex dichotomy has placed social constraints on those who do not know how to interrogate the imperialistic models of masculinity and femininity.

Imperialist definition of gender established a relationship between women's rights and those of sexual minorities rights, as both are regarded as anti-family threatening normative arrangements. Within critical theory, feminist theory is a mechanism with which to interrogate inequalities based on arbitrary labels underpinned by patriarchy. Therefore, gender and sexuality identities continue to extend to a socio-political context as they challenge the normative understanding of gender and sexism. However, as long as economics, violence, and homophobia underpin sexism, sexism will prevail within the stability of heteronormativity undercutting equitable access and opportunities as hallmarks of inclusive measures.

As society continues to institute gender through a heterosexual lens, principally in the arrangement of gender relationships as an essential class of human behavior,

establishes categories of difference, much like race, ethnicity and socio-economic class punctuating our interactions and discourses (hooks, 1990). Categories as established hierarchies determine identity performativity to fit-in. Judith Butler (1990) agreeing, argued one can perform an identity by reproducing socially constructed image of the self. She thereby took the argument further interrogating the relationship between an internal and external definition of one's own identity. There is an association between the authentic self and the one that is constructed and performed. Thus Butler argues to be something is quite different to being something. Therefore, sexuality is the 'to be something', gender is the 'being something' (the performed), which emphasizes the constructed rather than biological nature of gender and approaches gender discourse as "regimes of power" (p. xxxii) perpetuating gender binaries. Through exploring the difference between subject and object (as already eluded to earlier in this chapter) as they relate to femininity and masculinity, makes possible the interrogation of gender normativeness. While those who critique hierarchy based on normative gender assignments (mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2007; Oakley, 1972; Spade, 2006) regardless of sexual orientation, continue re-constructing femininity and masculinity bending the gender dichotomy. Heteronormatively situated masculine hegemony will, therefore, continue pushing back maintaining gender order problematizing equity and inclusion programs.

Although language and patterns of interaction matter in classrooms, research also points to the role of language in gender bias specifically. Frawley (2005) believes that encouraging student ambitions, gender and sex biases must be considered from the teachers' perspective as well. He argues that "[t]eachers' biases, intentional or otherwise, send clear and harmful messages that are very influential as pupils form beliefs" (p. 221), while Bourdieu (1977) maintained such pedagogic authority as almost violent as "it brings out the contradictions between the objective truth and the agents' practice, which objectively manifests the misrecognition of that truth" (p. 12). Drawing out implications recognizes pedagogical authority that maintains codification of privilege.

Bullying

Bullying defined as intentionally causing physical or mental harm to another "involves a negative interaction in which a dominant individual ('a bully') repeatedly exhibits behavior intended to cause distress to a less dominant individual ('a

victim'),” (Reid et al. 2003, p. 241). Donoghue et al. (2014) go further arguing school based bullying can lead to physical and psychological issues and maladjustment. Research continues suggesting bullying and harassment remain pervasive in schools (Espelage et al., 2011; Meyer, 2009; Stein, 2003), indicating that sexism and homophobic bullying, often classed together or addressed similarly as forms of oppression underpinned by gender, “is any behavior, hidden or obvious, that reinforces negative attitudes toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual people” (Meyer 2009, p. 5). Society maintains its tendency toward devaluing female gender traits, which underpin heterosexual, patriarchal dominance. That homosexuality is often linked with feminine traits perpetuates sexism and homophobic bullying with less opportunity to unpack and queer the curriculum (Jacobson, 2013) that at present “maintains a pathway to status through dominance” (p. 101-102).

Even though bullying remains pervasive, Reid et al. (2003) argue teachers tend to underestimate the magnitude and the frequency of bullying and are unable to identify indirect bullying as name-calling, intimidation or social exclusion often experienced by sexual minorities (p. 243). While existing research expresses evidence that students perceived as a sexual minority experience frequent bullying (Hong & Espelage, 2012; Nadal et al. 2011; Birkett et al. 2009), teachers remain complacent. Despite attitudes changing about sexuality, deeply seeded perspectives about bullying and harassment therefore, continue perpetuating victimization.

Sexual minority students and those questioning their sexuality are often at higher risk for bullying which can range from verbal harassment through homophobic discourse (e.g. ‘that’s so gay’) to physical violence. Results of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2013) EU-wide survey on the experiences of LGB,T suggests how policy is interpreted may not mirror policy intent. The results of the survey found that LGB,T individuals continue experiencing “bias-motivated discrimination, violence, and harassment in different areas of life, including employment, education, healthcare, housing and other services.” The survey was critical revealing many admitted rarely reporting incidents for fear of retribution. Even though anti-bullying policy measures as set forth by government recommendations, advocate for the development of thoughtful anti-bullying policy (Smith et al., 2004), are missing their mark in part because real need does not meet perceived need.

Interventions

How young people in school experience discrimination and bullying may not differ significantly from the broader social experience. However, due to concentrated spaces of school, resolutions are more specific and target issues more easily. Such allows a variety of interventions. For example, as part of inclusion schemes, involving students as peers may establish an anti-bullying culture. Peer involvement in anti-bullying and inclusion policy schemes are advocated in for example, the Gay Straight Alliance (GSA), a youth organization found in many North American high schools, as well as peer support programs in the UK, and are seen as effective measures against bullying non-conforming young people (St. John et al., 2014; Cowie & Smith, 2010; Walls et al, 2013; Packman et al., 2005). Peer-led interventions are based on the notion of equality within the group (Strange et al., 2002). The effects of intergroup dialogue in efforts to reduce prejudice through planned mixed group interactions have also seen positive results (Dessel, 2010). However, others have found that although effective in reducing victimization, peer involvement schemes lack a transformative effect (Steck & Perry, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2007), suggesting peer involvement may not always work.

Additional ideas advocating unity as suggested by Roffey (2011), promotes positive relationships as an effective manner in changing behaviors; however, how 'positive' is defined is subjective, which could leave many interventions falling short (Vreeman & Carroll, 2007). Swearer et al. (2010) point out whole-school approaches are often used as school-based anti-bullying efforts and intervention schemes, addressing the entire student population with intentions of increasing awareness (p. 41). However, some researchers argue a whole-school, universal approach presents challenges, as such may not isolate distinct experiences thus overlooking unique situations, rather assumes a universal problem (Jacques, Richard & Schneider, 2011; Smith & Sharp, 1994). It is, therefore, evident challenges how to define 'best practice' exist. Such challenges represent a need for localized interpretations and efforts to suit the sensibilities of respective regions, destabilizing universal approaches.

Part V

Summary

Some contemporary market-driven perspectives on inclusion are part of a larger systemic resistance underpinning less than adequate inclusion for non-conforming

young people, and as a consequence, bullying persists. Bullying is not necessarily a result of personal hatred that led to victimizing a sexual minority youth, rather is used as a mechanism for social control of those who deviate from normative roles. Therefore, while considering inclusion initiatives, bullying and human rights, current research and literature, might support a recapitulation creating a partnership between the importance of a comprehensive, inclusive and holistic approach to equity, and a curriculum that supports market demands as one may not preclude the other.

This literature review therefore, presented an investigation of research on the many factors influencing or affecting bullying. In order to do so, the review pointed to multiple and intersecting elements, ranging from the workings of wider society to the enactment of disciplinary policies. This strategy is carried out through the thesis, starting from a wider approach then narrowing to the specific. My aim was to demonstrate that bullying does not exist in a vacuum, rather many factors contribute to how anti-bullying and inclusion policies are understood, as well as how bullying is interpreted and acted upon at the point of an incident.

The following Chapter Four introduces the methodological choices for this study and how they guided data collection and analysis. Data collection phases are detailed, consisting of seminars, surveys, questionnaire and an in-depth interview. The chapter concludes with demonstrating the analysis approach.

Chapter Four
Methodology

The art and science of
asking questions
is the true source of all knowledge.

Thomas Berger

The purpose of this this study was to examine the extent to which sexual minority youth experienced bullying. Restating, the research question: 'What are the school experiences of sexual minority youth?' from which an assumption was formed based on previous research suggesting sexual minority youth experience higher levels of bullying then their straight peers.

Through the use of observations, field notes, a semi-structured interview, a questionnaire and several surveys establishing trustworthiness and applicability, a comprehensive depiction of their experiences was created. Narratives were generated from gathered data of young people's accounts of bullying, created as a lens through which to explore their encounters.

The primary objectives of this chapter serve to (1) explain researcher motivations, followed by (2) theoretical underpinnings, (3) research design and strategies, and the conceptual framework as it connected with overall strategies for data collection, followed by (4) the analytic approach.

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An extensive and detailed account of methodological choices that guided data collection and analysis is presented in this chapter. First, however, a summary explanation why the research was designed as it was with a brief account highlighting how data was generated before expanding in more detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

The research question and data analysis were informed by critical theory, which aided in exposing causes and influences of bullying incidents. Theoretical insight was gained by applying a feminist lens that uncovered how participants experienced incidents that oppressed, while revealing how they interacted with the event. Critical theory also provided a framework in which to analyze data. While phenomenology

provided the ‘how’, guiding the exploration how LGB,T participant young people made sense of their bullying experiences, critical theory provided the ‘why’, explaining why things were as they were.

Beginning with a loose idea of my research design, development was primarily guided by the research question and participants. The research design evolved while on site informed by data collection stages and by the young people themselves. A flexible approach to design created relevance for research participants, assuring their involvement resulting in detailed accounts of their experiences.

Preliminary data analysis revealed narrative inquiry as a practical frame of reference for this study. Narrative analysis provided structure to young people’s stories that uncovered how they made sense of their experiences at school, laying bare their interpretations. How teachers and administrators used available policy to assess bullying incidents revealed a heteronormative, patriarchal point of view resulting in minimizing sexual minorities experiences. As a result, discrepancies between policy intention and execution preserved their marginalization as disclosed in young people’s stories. In doing narrative inquiry, I was able to present an examination of encounters as understood by young people in this study.

Narrative inquiry emerged in the mid 20th century primarily in the field of management science has since expanded into such fields as nursing and education (Boje, 2001). In education research, narrative inquiry sheds a light on the multiplicity of knowledge production (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1997). Using field notes, informal interviews and interactions, a formal interview and life experiences as analysis tools were used, creating a structure with which to interrogate young people’s meaning making. Although including an empowerment project using an element of action research, this study was determined by narrative inquiry.

Surveys supporting seminars and a questionnaire were used for acquiring information confirming initial baseline conclusions (I define the difference between the two in the forthcoming paragraph). According to Creswell (2003), social science research can be either qualitative or quantitative, with strategies and assumptions creating distinctions between the two. Hanson (2008) argued the two data collection approaches could combine establishing a comprehensive analysis opportunity. Although largely a qualitative study, this study instituted quantitative components through the use of surveys and a questionnaire, in combination with an action research element, established a unique perspective.

Seminars became the major jumping off point (see Table 4.1 for the order of data gathering mechanisms). Topics were chosen for relevance and comprehensive data collection opportunities; several seminars included surveys designed with research topic applicability in mind, meant to expose nuances in young people's attitudes about their experiences with bullying. Although a survey is largely accepted as a "process of gathering information for statistical analysis," (McKee, 2005, para 4) much like a questionnaire, this study uses the term 'survey' to specify an instrument used as part of seminars. As surveys and a questionnaire were used to gather data, surveys were short and specific to a given topic as human rights or sexism interrogating peripheral influences on bullying, the questionnaire was designed to draw out details of participants' bullying experiences specifically (detailed description of both tools available on pp 110-112). The interview was subsequently designed as an in-depth exploration to elicit meanings individuals attached to incidents. Table 4.4 provides an audit trail describing relevant details.

Table 4.1

Timeline of data gathering by method

Data gathering tool	**When used**
General observations, field notes	Observations and field notes began immediately, and continued through out my time at site.
Seminars & surveys	Seminars were the first organized data collection method. Surveys were part of seminars.
Empowerment project	The empowerment project began January 2014 and continued past the data collection stage as a stand-alone project.
Questionnaire	Administered near the end of data collection.
Interviews	Occurred in the last weeks of the data collection phase.

Disclaimer: The empowerment project is presented last in audit trail (see Table 4.4) because of its stand-alone element. It is included here in the middle, as this chart demonstrates the order in which methods started.

This chapter is structured into two main sections with multiple sub-sections. The first section takes the reader through a brief description of the study, key elements and

an account of how feminism interacts with critical theory, followed by critical theories in education. This is followed with establishing researcher positioning, including a brief discussion on a feminist approach to research.

The second section details the research design, beginning with determining a problem, choosing the site and who the participants were. Ethical considerations are also presented, interrogating research quality and reliability, followed by an audit trail and an analysis, and then ending with a conclusion.

Part I

Study

This study was based on the experiences of LGB,T young people in school, with the purpose to understand bullying in school from their point of view. Adopting an interpretivist philosophy in order to gain the "access to reality (given or socially constructed) (that) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments" (Meyers 2008, p. 39)(second parenthesis mine), to appreciate the difference between people (Saunders et al., 2012). Informing how data collection occurred, social interpretivist philosophy "is to understand the subjective world of human experience," (Cohen et al. 2011, p. 17) as the nature of reality is socially constructed rather than objectively determined (Carson et al., 2001). Seeking to understand events within specific contexts, this research sought to locate subjective truths as understood by participants as victims of oppression.

This thesis took the ontological position as something concerned with the nature of being; therefore how this researcher understands ontology, is to provide a detailed account of the reality of a given situation shaped by assumptions. As researcher, I entered a "natural setting" as much as a full participant as possible "with a recognized research role," (Stanley & Wise 2002, p. 151) producing "both a description of the natural setting and also a theoretical interpretation of what has occurred within it," (Stanley & Wise 2002, p. 151). Seeking in-depth knowledge how social spaces occupied by participants were understood through their experiences, this research thus adopted a naturalistic model. Epistemologically, this thesis was informed by theories suggesting dominant conceptions of gender disadvantage non-conforming identities, creating knowledge and knowing based on the beliefs and perspective the participants held within, and because of, particular situations. Data uncovered participants'

motivations and individual actions defining their realities. A combination of the young people's understanding of events and critical inquiry created knowledge that underpinned the interpretivist approach seeking subjective knowledge.

Reality is constructed, fluid and context-based relative to an individual or group's experiences and therefore not necessarily understood by another. This knowledge defines how one *is* in the world, which is affected by language prejudiced by dominant sensibilities used to define certain realities. Therefore, the connection between subjectivity and objectivity in the act of knowing, according to Freire (1972) is that reality is not only the "objective datum" but also the perception thereof (p. 31). With this in mind, I was interested in gaining insight to why young people who participated in this study, felt as they did. Seeking to understand victimization as a consequence of inclusive institutional procedures meant to stabilize, this research attempted to deconstruct events influenced by how certain identities were understood by multiple actors within given contexts, as understood through the eyes of the participants and my subsequent interpretation.

Although sharing certain background knowledge due to their mutual minority status, the young people's encounters also differed from each other based on the context in which events took place, shaping individual realities. For that reason, feminism was used as a critical argument interrogating oppressions and how they existed within given context, while employing intersectionality as a way to theorize identity and oppression as mutually exclusive yet with overlapping characteristics. Such maintained a critique of individual incidents while considering relationships with oppressions forming an exclusive and unique experience.

I now outline key elements.

Critical theory

Critical theory challenges constructed knowledge serving dominant interests, largely placing class as the crux of analysis, while also examining gender and sexuality. Feminist critical theory attempt dismantling power relations interrogating the oppression of women that remain underpinned by the "omnipresent patriarchal biases," (Felluga 2015, p. 112), with gender and sex as the essence of the investigation.

Critiquing historical discourse underpinning objectifying power structures, feminist critical theories deconstruct politically codified acts that narrowly define the self (Foucault, 1990). Sexuality is linked with sex and gender making it difficult to distinguish between the two, such that "many theorists consider the history of human sexuality… to be a product of nature in fact has cultural history," (p. 112). Also exploring constructed gendered inequalities, feminist theorists interrogate heterosexuality as a dominant interest used as the standard by which both homosexuality and heterosexuality are evaluated.

Interrogating the history and performativity of gender, influenced the work of such theorists as Judith Butler who examined whether certain gendered traits are natural, or influenced by speech acts as "performative is that discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names," (Butler 1993, p. 13). In other words, how gender is understood, while historically placed, has established normative expectations created over time, making them seem natural.

The social experiences that shape our identities and groups to which we belong inform our assumptions, beliefs and practices, many underpinned by dominant interests. Critical inquiry interrogates these assumptions through in part, a historical analysis of social hierarchal models that continue to inform, shaping beliefs reproducing historical arrangements. These models continue supporting, for example, heteronormativity marginalizing homosexuality, or the oppression of women through sexist exploitation as a belief that one group is better than another due to certain socially defined attributes. These beliefs, much like how gender is understood (and performed), when perceived as 'natural', create resistance overshadowing the inadequacies of these assumptions.

Deconstructing repressive labels is an opportunity to interrogate why these labels exist in the first place. Unpacking labels is, thus, a step toward understanding dominant ways of interpreting hierarchal structures, which continue underpinning binaries. Such binaries can range from a male-female binary, or racially as a white-brown/black, underpinning an us-versus-them dichotomy that might go so far as adding a value system preserving oppressions and dominant culture. Although not a radical revelation, these structural distinctions often intersect and continue marginalizing, preserving value systems amidst all the inclusion efforts that keep exclusion relevant.

Those who determine what language shapes knowledge are privileged framing how gender is understood (Gordon, 1980). Existing oppressions underpinned by social institutions enforce normative structures policing how identities are expressed, empowering some while disadvantaging others. My research was therefore, driven by examining existing hegemonic structures and power paradigms underpinning gender binaries. Informed by these principles, I drew on what is already known about bullying illustrating existing tensions within given environments. Bullying incidents experienced by participants of this study, shaped how they understood bullying as well as how homophobic bullying was defined by their schools and social spaces, contributed to these tensions.

Critical theory in education

Critical theory in education considers how an educational system can best serve all people, providing opportunities that recognize different perspectives of disadvantaged members of society through a socio-historical lens. Critical theory recognizes pupils come into school with varying advantages and disadvantages, while informing procedures meant to empower individuals to reach their potential, the premise that everyone has access to the same knowledge and an equitable education. Knowledge is emancipation, therefore essential for creating resistance against constraining structural and systemic controls (Dahms, 2008).

The notion of liberatory democratic ideals through equitable access guided my research, considering how schools and teachers could be inclusive of all types of students. This study consequently considered the injustices sitting in opposition with inclusion that disempowered LGB,T young people. As a result, critical theory through a feminist lens interrogating disempowering power structures, informed how I organized the data gathering around narrative inquiry creating a framework that sustained an original body of work.

While critical theory provided a foundation for analysis, it was narrative inquiry that organized the data that "offers no automatic starting or finishing points" (Squire et al. 2008(a), p. 1). Narrative inquiry, therefore enabled me to document incidents that had up to this point, seemed somewhat fragmented yet familiar. The stories were familiar, yet fragmentation existed, as they had not been strung together creating an inclusive view of personal experiences. By making the familiar strange (Mannay, 2010), narrative inquiry is a way to see multiple issues and possibly contradictory

nuances to meanings, learning about the individual and their social experiences and spaces they occupy beyond the recognizable (Squire et al. 2008(a), p. 1).

My stance as researcher

Although there are many approaches to feminist theory (Gunew, 2013; Adkins & Skeggs, 2012), this thesis takes an intersectional approach (see Chapter Seven). Principles of feminist critical theory recognize oppressions as race, class, gender, sexuality and gender identity (just to name a few) underpinning structural hierarchies. Yet, failure to recognize identities as race and sexuality, for example, intersecting and interdependent, weakens equality arguments.

As recognition of oppressions increase, identities become political. Although by politicizing identities has brought attention to unique experiences, feminism remains the preeminent perspective inclined toward interrogating gender oppression relevant to a dominant experience. Consequently, dominant knowledge informs how laws are crafted, which are meant as equalizers. Yet, having laws and policies do not in themselves suggest reaching parity, instead are mechanisms to appease political discourse instead of changing belief systems. Through this lens, this thesis is able to present a unique perspective changing how bullying is understood.

A feminist approach to research

As there does not appear to be a clear definition of a feminist methodology, Ramazanoglu (1992) suggests that what it is, is largely dependent upon which researcher one follows (p. 208). However, what seems agreed on, is questioning how knowledge is produced, who is producing it and how it is used to organize social spaces.

Feminist methodologies are rooted in recognizing the omission of women in the natural and physical science research protocols. Prompted by the exclusion, "[f]eminist philosophers…actively engaged with defining the relationship between feminism and epistemology" (Doucet et al., 2007, p. 37) confronting gendered assumptions in research relationships and social positioning. Feminist research thus, attempts deconstructing experiences omitted from conventional research models, interrogating whose experiences are included or excluded in creating normative knowledge. Deconstruction of experiences shaped by power hierarchies has moved beyond research protocols to decoding oppressions in the broader social context. As a

result, an increased level of attention to the multiplicity of oppressed identities led some feminist researchers to become more aware of diversity within shared experiences (see Crenshaw 1991, 1995; Butler, 2004). It was this approach to feminism that informed my research, thus framing how I interrogated power structures.

Part II

Research Design

While research design begins with certain assumptions about social interactions, designing research that interrogates highly contextualized human experiences that remains objective can be challenging. Therefore, a guiding premise in qualitative research design is "there is no single prescription for which data collection instruments to use; rather the issue here is of 'fitness for purpose'," (Cohen et al 2011, p. 235). Thus my design began by organizing my methodological approach as one 'fit for purpose' influenced by narrative inquiry, as I will explain.

I begin first, with a concise list of key elements before expanding with more detail.

Narrative inquiry as portraiture is an effective method uncovering meanings in people's accounts. Narrative inquiry as a means by which to gather and analyze people's stories as told by them captures experiences over time within given context as "active *participants* who jointly construct narrative and meaning," (Riessman 2008, p. 23). Portraiture refines that information and creates a representation of those life stories. Using narrative inquiry for this study revealed a rich source of data that was personal, emotional and contextualized. Through this way, I was able to connect and create a rapport with participants that culminated in them revealing sensitive experiences that presented a deeper understanding of their accounts.

Although informed by narrative, rich information and stories unfolding in their natural spaces also introduced an ethnographic element that interrogated the creation of social order through verbal interactions (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). Elliot (2005) argued narrative, as naturalist and ethnography as constructivist are both

> concerned primarily with individuals everyday lives and experiences. However, while the naturalist view is that the social world is in some

> sense ‘out there’, an external reality available to be observed and described by the researcher, the constructivist view is that the social world is constantly ‘in the making’ and therefore the emphasis is on understanding *production* of the social world (p. 18).

A naturalistic approach in narrative assumes ‘what’ questions, which according to Elliot, suggests an interest “in the temporal and meaningful aspects of the narrative form” (p. 19), while the constructionist prioritizes ‘why’ questions (*ibid*). Although this work is framed by a ‘what’ question, it does to a degree also examine why reported experiences, occurred. Creating a picture of the participant’s life reflected an element of life history; as a result, narrative inquiry informed by ethnography and life history provided rich descriptions of participant’s experiences.

At the outset, data collection tools maintained a sense of generality keeping in mind participant influences in data collection design. For example, the initial data collection-plan stipulated group interviews. However, once on site, it was determined that rather than a formal group interview, it was seminars that presented a more detailed level of data. Within the informal space of a seminar, young people responded naturally as pressures often associated with group interviews were absent, revealing raw and personal data not manipulated by a structured setting.

Site

A youth group site was selected to carry out this research. Youth groups tend to foster favorable youth development by creating positive environments (Fredericks et al, 2017; Mirra et al, 2015). According to UK Youth (2015), the community based youth club is able to focus on the needs of a specific group where young people are exposed to less peer pressure while encountering more inclusion and development opportunities (Poteat et al 2017). Likewise, LGB,T youth also feel safer at school when inclusion efforts are incorporated into the curriculum fostering a positive environment. However, when inclusion efforts are lacking or diversity is not represented, they tend to feel excluded and less safe (Toomey, 2012). Although I initially considered investigating both a school and youth group site, per their accounts, it was apparent that young people were more likely to feel safe in the youth group context. There was also a practical consideration: the research needed a cohort, which could not be guaranteed in a school context, even if I chose an inclusive school.

The chosen site located in city-center, was a youth facility that provided a range of services. The organization was a collaborative project with the city bringing together various support groups targeting different populations within the youth sector. One such sector was LGB.T youth, who met weekly at the site. The facility boasted a wide range of amenities - a professional sound studio, dance and fitness studios as well as health and counselling services. Services for LGB,T young people were specific to their needs, and included a self-harm support group, mental health and support for sexual exploitation and sex trafficking victims.

Once I had identified the research a site, a meeting was scheduled to discuss the research proposal with key stakeholders. Negotiating access was critical to this study; therefore, research objectives were clearly presented and as "valuable and relevant by those to be involved," (Lewis 2003, p. 63). It was important to determine how the proposal would fit the site's expectations. Two directors of the youth facility and the person who organized the LGB,T group attended. After the proposal, study information sheet (see Appendix F) and a memory stick of a few supporting documents such as the approved ethics clearance form (see Appendix C) and consent forms (see Appendices D & E) were presented, mutual benefits were discussed. As an ally, my participation would rest directly in the notion that there is support for non-conforming youth outside the sexual minority community; therefore the three leaders of the organization interrogated why this project was of importance to me both on a personal as well as professional level. After a very positive and productive consultation, they proposed additional involvement that included teaching and leading seminars considering my master's degree in curriculum and instruction.

Participants

"Selecting research…populations involves identifying those which, by virtue of their relationship with the research questions, are able to provide the most relevant, comprehensive and rich information," (Lewis 2003, p. 49). Therefore, collecting data at a youth site supporting LGB,T young people created that connection with my research population. All participants, ranging in ages from sixteen to nineteen, shared an attachment with the research identifying as a sexual minority and were members of the LGB,T youth group. All but two young people who attended chose to participate officially in the study. Of the two who declined, one was too young while the other simply did not want to be part of the study although still took part in activities. Both

enjoyed participating and filling out surveys, but their comments and forms were stricken and removed from data.

Although not all participants engaged in all events, all took part at one point in either seminars or activities related with the data gathering and research. Eighteen actively volunteered to fill out the questionnaire and partake with the one-to-one interview. Thirty-three overall participants engaged with activities and seminars, although not all at the same time. Up to seventeen young people participated in seminars in any one time, with up to sixteen filling out surveys per session. Table 4.2 provides the exact breakdown of participants with event, while Table 4.3 connects events from Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Participants by event

(1) Sexism: Attitudes toward women and men survey & 20 Questions: Gender Roles (see Appendix G)	8 – gender blind
(2) BEM Sex Role Inventory survey (see Appendix H)	17 – 8 girls, 9 boys
(3) Taking the Human Rights Temperature at Your School survey (incorporates school attitudes about bullying)	8 – 4 girls, 4 boys
(4) Buying your rights – game (to get a sense of which rights the young people considered important)	16 - gender blind
(5) For/Against debate: Include multiple forms of sexuality in Sex Ed class?	16 - gender blind
(6) Questionnaire "My life at school" (see Appendix I)	18 – 10 girls, 8 boys
(7) Interviews	18 young people Girls – 10, incl'd 1 M2F Boys – 8, incl'd 3 F2M
(8) General observations and/or sessions	33 - 17 girls, 15 boys

Table 4.3

Methods used to answer statement of problem

Statement of problem	Method (no.'s correspond w/ data 'events' table above)
How did these kids understand bullying?	1, 3, 4, 8, 9
Where and how often did they experience intersectional bullying?	1, 3, 4, 8
What is the level of support in/from school?	1, 4, 5, 8
How do these kids define their gender? (Struggles with defining their gender)	2, 3, 5, 8, 9
What is their level of awareness of (self-practiced) sexism?	2, 3, 5, 7, 8
How extensive was sexuality education in their schools?	7, 8

Although I started with ideas, which methods might work were ultimately shaped by the relationships that were built with the involved young people. For example, while the initial plan had not included teaching seminars, became an important part of the data gathering. The initial research proposal also included a creative project, instead became a social justice community based project that seemed more relevant to young people's lives, making informal communications important and influencing factors to project design.

With eager participants at the ready, consent was first sought. "In every discipline it is considered unethical to collect information without the knowledge of participants, and their expressed willingness and informed consent," (Kumar 2011, p. 244). Informed consent implies participants are aware of the research, intentions and the type of information the researcher is seeking (*ibid*). After an explanation of research project was presented to individuals offering full transparency, voluntary informed consent was sought with all participants who had the right to withdraw at any time, without recourse. Such is imperative, as the researcher must consider any potential ill effects upon participants. "Ethics has been defined as 'a matter of principled

sensitivity to the rights of others', and that 'while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better'," (Cohen et al 2011, p. 84, citing Cavan 1977, p. 810).

- *Informed consent*

As the young people became accustomed to my presence, forming relationships established trust. Transitioning from outsider to insider, I began incorporating my research.

As part of the ethics clearing process (see Appendix C), informed consent and willing cooperation from youth workers (see Appendix D) and participants (see Appendix E) was clearly required. The consent form consisting of three pages, served to protect young people's rights was, therefore, extensive and written in age appropriate language, and was accompanied with the study information sheet (see Appendix F). The first two pages detailed the project and participant rights regarding confidentiality, anonymity, right to withdraw without retribution at any time and their right to privacy, and why their consent was important; the third page was the consent form itself. To assure their understanding, time was taken with each participant individually explaining the entirety of the project, purpose of the research, my personal motivations and how the seminars fit in. I stressed their involvement with seminars could become part of my data gathering and therefore, what was said in those sessions could be included. I was gaining data and information, while the young people were gaining in learning opportunities and chances to discuss subjects relevant to them. Most agreed and signed the consent form confirming they understood what my data gathering might entail. More than once young people indicated they trusted me and were happy to contribute in any way they could.

Reflexivity: how I positioned myself as researcher

As Cohen et al (2011) suggest "highly reflexive researchers will be acutely aware of the ways in which their selectivity, perception, background and inductive processes and paradigms shape the research," (p. 225) in order to avoid reproducing biases. Therefore, as researcher, it was important I recognize and identify my own assumptions. For example, I took for granted that all sexual minorities experienced bullying, which was quickly challenged. I interrogated my own assumptions when one young woman who identified as lesbian, explained she had not experienced bullying, homophobic, gendered or otherwise. Later it revealed she did not recognize

certain actions as victimization and bullying. Regardless, I assumed the research participants would be able to clearly identify bullying. Initially creating one version of a truth, although transformed, my knowledge could have skewed how I understood the data presenting findings supporting certain assumptions.

Although guidelines exist in literature on researcher reflexivity (Cohen et al., 2011), there was no exact formula. I however, recognized I not only required assessing my own positioning based on my experiences to minimize my own biases, my intentions and research required transparency. An idea within feminist criticism "advocates reflexivity regarding the personal standpoints, the positionality through which the fieldworker perceives – gendered, classed, age-graded, and raced/ethnicized ways of seeing and feeling the world, especially as these are in part mutually constructed in the interaction that takes place between the observer and observed" (Erickson 2011, p. 50), suggests the "researcher sees both from within (and is also blinded by) the power relationship between her and those she studies," (*ibid*). Therefore, positioning and checking biases is crucial.

Everyone knew why I was there, what my research intentions were, and that I was also there as a member of their volunteer team. As such, I played two roles requiring full disclosure: one as outsider as researcher, and as an insider, as volunteer. Although Mac an Ghaill (2002) stressed that an insider positioning is challenging due to the possibility of getting too close to participants increasing the chance to influence data, it was even more difficult when in combination with other researcher roles. It was these dual roles however, that enabled me to better understand how the young people experienced bullying in school interrogating data through multiple lenses.

Much is written about researcher reflexivity and the importance of gaining participants trust (Erickson 2011). In order to gain their trust, I critically engaged with my own biases and assumptions. Critical reflexivity as a "philosophy-driven practice" (Cunliffe 2004, p. 408) and not just a technique, required certain sensibilities that according to Cunliffe, "means focusing on three issues: (1) Existentialism: Who I am…; (2) Relational: How do I relate to others…; and (3) Praxis: The need for self-conscious and ethical action based on critical questioning…" (*ibid*).

Guided by Cunliffe's three sensibilities, I found ways to relate with young people applying a participative approach to gain their confidence and partnership in the research process and thus, access to their sensitive and personal experiences with bullying. Once I had gained their trust, it was their involvement and stories that

guided the research process. Shaping this research through young people's eyes and how they understood their experiences, and away from a universal understanding of bullying, presented unique opportunities that uncovered how they experienced homophobic bullying and what mattered to them.

Additionally, positioning myself within a human rights ethos, I recognized strengths as well as implications between theory of human rights and actual practice. As outlined in Chapter Two, human rights emerged as a significant foundation of governance and political discourse during the second half of the twentieth century. Today, these rights are much like the ethical measuring tools used in judgement as important indicators of fair and ethical treatment, and as such, these rights represent a moral duty we owe each other. However, I found the young people in this study seemed unaware of their rights and therefore, were unable to realize them or to benefit from the moral obligation human rights advocate.

Furthermore, that many of the participants did not trust adults had to be taken into account. I was therefore, cognizant of my positioning as an adult wanting to gain their trust, while also aware how I positioned my sexuality. As a straight, cisgendered woman attempting to understand the experiences of sexual minority youth, required that I was very critical of my own biases and social norms to which I fit.

The facility had stationary bikes in their gym, which on occasion were moved down into the main room for competitions. The kids would race each other; sometimes it was who rode the fastest for a determined length of time, or how far. In order to build trust, I spent time with them on these bikes trying to keep up with the seventeen year old young man. Although leaving me winded and dizzy, I connected. The television in the room also had the option for interactive games and dance competitions. These were the type of games one followed the animated character on the screen, move for move. The dance competitions seemed most popular. "Oh, Elle, come dance with us," and so I did; and again, I struggled. Not possessing the grace of a dancer, it was more than awkward, yet humanized me revealing my flaws. I became the approachable adult. After these less than graceful moments, more young people participated in the seminars.

I also positioned myself with full transparency. I explained my presence and answered all questions to the best of my ability, regardless of topic. Questions ranged from the type of research I was doing, why their facility, why them and what my sexuality was, amongst other questions. No question they asked set me back and I felt

in order to gain their trust, I had to answer them with full disclosure, convincingly, truthfully and with sincerity.

Research timeline

(See table 4.1)

I included human rights in several seminars as an opportunity for them to learn what their rights are and how they can act upon and benefit from them. As the seminars were set-up as learning opportunities covering multiple different topics of interest and relevance to them, the human rights seminars became an additional opportunity to learn about empowerment. Human rights presented in these seminars therefore, interrogated the construction and imperialistic perspectives of rights, examining why they are needed and how to destabilize the colonizing assumptions often associated with rights.

Research quality

Qualitative research interrogates real world situations and is broadly defined, as "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification," (Golafshani 2003, p. 600). Such implies "an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality," (Denzin & Lincoln 2011, p. 9). Denzin and Lincoln go further arguing, "quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes," (p. 8), while quantitative reliability requires being able to measure the same thing twice. However, by definition, qualitative research that considers human experience, will never repeat in exactly the same way twice. Instead, rather than employing quantitative terms, the degree of confirmability or corroboration by other researchers of said phenomena, constitute qualitative reliability.

Trustworthiness

Therefore, to ensure reliability, measures taken for credibility and transferability were:

(1) seminars with a set curriculum and established surveys; and,

(2) questionnaire; and,
(3) through a fixed and repeated line of questioning used during the interview.

Credibility

Credibility was created using methods shared by both qualitative and quantitative research. Additionally, a set curriculum was used for each seminar for purposes of reproducibility. A questionnaire consisting of many yes/no, and questions using a Likert scale, as well as a set list of set talking points used in each interview established credibility, although the resulting conversations were unique.

For example, during the interview, participants were asked: "what was your experience with bullying…were you aware of anti-bullying policy in your school?...how was bullying addressed by teachers? Head teacher?...did your school have sexuality education?...was it comprehensive?" Although these types of questions tend to illicit simple yes/no answers, became the springboard to interactive questioning. The purposes of which were of probing "to elicit detailed" accounts through conversation. Consequently, I was able to raise matters previously known about the participant for more in-depth accounts or to address contradictions should they have arisen, thereby avoiding discrepancies (Shenton, 2004, p. 67). Although leading to unique and independent stories, each interview followed the same set of questions.

Additionally, using multiple methods as observations, field notes, seminars and interview with surveys and questionnaire contributed to credibility. "The use of different methods in concert compensates for their individual limitations and exploits their respective benefits," (p. 65).

Transferability and generalizability

Although this study was defined by its particular context, Torrance (2011), Stake (1994) and Descome (1998) (as noted in Shenton, 2004) argue each study, although unique, contributes to a larger body of knowledge within a respective field, thus creating transferability within a context of a broader field of research. This study, although conducted at a mezzo level with a small population sample limited to a single city, therefore, contributes to a growing body of work on a shared topic with multiple studies interrogating similar events or experiences contributing to greater generalizability (Cohen et al 2011). However, it must be noted such generalizability

may not account for the unique contexts that influenced results (Gomm et al., 2000). Nonetheless, Cohen et al. (2011) argue, "a comparison may be made with similar written sources" (p. 215) as a confirmation of validity that determines similarities between studies creating transferability (*ibid*).

Investigation

A flexible framework that was responsive to investigatory opportunities was created, which resulted in rich data and analysis. Therefore, though a preliminary research structure existed, the emergent design was tailored to fit the evolution of the data. Following, Table 4.4 maps out tools used.

Table 4.4

Audit trail

Method	Tool/s used	Number of participants
Seminars	Surveys, games, debate	(1) Survey: Sexism - Attitudes toward women and men: 8 participants, gender blind. (2) Survey: BEM Sex Role Inventory: 17 participants - 8 girls, 9 boys (3) Game: Buying Your Rights (to get a sense of which rights the young people considered important): 16 participants – gender blind (4) Taking the Human Rights Temperature at Your School survey (incorporated school attitudes about bullying): 8 participants - 4 girls, 4 boys (5) Debate: For/Against topic: Should there be an LGB,T & Ally school? 16 participants – gender blind

General observations, field notes	Sessions, conversations, general interactions	33 participants - 17 girls, 15 boys
Questionnaire "My life at school"	Questions ranged from yes/no, Likert scale to fill-in-the-blanks	18 participants – 10 girls, 8 boys
Interviews	Semi-structured with guiding questions	18 participants – Girls – 9 Boys – 5 Trans M to F – 1 F to M – 3 TOTAL girls – 10 TOTAL boys – 8
Empowerment project – action research	1. Website creation 2. Partnered with local police 3. Community activism	5 participants – All female identities: 3 lesbian, 1 F to M 1 M to F

Seminars

- Seminars were conducted over the course of eight months. Sessions lasted one to two hours.

Data phase

- General observations and field notes were on going for the duration of the eight-month study.
- Questionnaire was delivered one-to-one, beginning in the seventh month. Many young people at the youth site struggled with at-age level reading; therefore, I read each question to participants when needed. I did not guide, but offered neutral clarifications when asked. Questionnaires were filled out wherever the young person happened to be at the site when asked.
- Interview: Conducted in small room for privacy, away from the general social area of site. Questions were designed to engage the participant resulting in in-depth, personal accounts. Interviews lasted from 30 to 60 minutes.

Action project

- Empowerment project: Young people expressing female gender identities struggled with sexism and marginalization. The initial premise was to design a website and flyers of empowerment, to distribute in the community. I connected the project with a citywide on-going initiative on women's safety, resulting in partnering with the local city police. The girls were featured in a police service broadcast.

I now provide more details about the primary methods used in the study. These are discussed in the order in which they were used, as presented in the following table (4.5).

Table 4.5

Primary data collection strategies

Strategy	**Aim**	**Sample**	**Question strategy**	**Analysis method**
Observations and field notes	View and notate small details of events	Up to 33+ young people participants		Coding to identify patterns
Seminars and workshops	Seeking insight into key factors underpinning knowledge and understanding of bullying	Up to 20 young people participated in any given seminar or workshop	Open ended	• Analysis of recorded session through transcription • Participant review of analysis
Surveys and quantitative questionnaire	To quantifiably identify young people's perception and understanding of bullying	• 18 young people filled out the questionnaire • Multiple surveys filled out by 8 – 21 young people	Questions ranged from closed rating scales to open ended, fill-in answers	Coding to identify background knowledge, patterns and variants
Qualitative semi-structures interview	To ascertain the complexity of experiences presenting opportunities	18 young people participated in the interviews	Open-ended approach with several	Analysis of audio recording through transcription

	for them to open up		guiding questions	and textual data analysis
Action Project/ Empower-ment Project	Giving back to participants; building trust	During the life of the project, a total of six young women participated		Sorted data into categories, identifying community need and approach of participant as educator

Primary data collection strategies & tools

Following is a detailed account of tools and strategies applied to data gathering.

- Observations

Although at times staying on the margins as an observer listening and watching their interactions, my observations often included direct engagement with the young people, paying attention to groups and their moods. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) argue, "all observations involves participation in the world being studied," (p. 417). Indicating there is no detached observation, underpinning the importance that positive and supportive relationships were established, that the participants interacted naturally with each other in my presence, and that my participation was collaborative (*ibid*).

I spent the first several sessions without a notebook in hand. I wanted to understand the space, how the young people interacted and more importantly, my hope was to establish a trusting relationship in order for young people's interactions to remain as natural as possible. I did write extensive field notes after those first sessions. Around the fourth visit, I began keeping a notebook with me at all times. I took note of what seemed normal as well as the unique to create a full picture of how the youth group functioned.

Seminars were voice recorded with any additional notations occurring during the sessions with quick notes on the back of someone's survey, my notebook or on the brown craft paper used to cover the table for participants to draw on, work out strategies for debates, or to add notations and thoughts as they pleased.

Therefore, in sum, observations were recorded via my handwritten field notes during youth group, voice recordings of seminars and additional quick notes on anything accessible. I kept my note-taking during youth group to a minimum at first so as not to turn-off the young people. Eventually, once trusting relationships were established and they enjoyed contributing to seminars, etc., I was more open with my note taking. When anyone asked, I let him or her see my notes.

- Field notes

With pen and paper at all times from the fourth session onward, I preferred shifting off to the side to make notations when in the main room. As much as the young people knew I would be taking notes, doing so in their sight could disengage them. After seminars, I stayed in the room to take more extensive notes, while during seminars often jotting down a few notes. To keep things fresh in my mind, I jotted things down in abbreviated fashion as they happened, or shortly thereafter, then spending several hours after my visit, writing down specifics and detailed notes.

- Seminars

Using a Socratic method to engage, sessions were framed by semi-structured approaches around a set curriculum or activity. Young people were guided through activities by way of a dialogue format, able to share their opinions and experiences. Seminars became opportunities to engage with them directly on very specific and often sensitive topics. These sessions were spaces that either took on a more formal teaching approach with built in question-and-answer opportunities, or a group activity such as a workshop format, all underpinned by a democratic approach to their involvement. With additional formats as debates, creative projects and breakout sessions formed a total of fourteen seminars.

Topics addressed relevant LGB,T issues, as well as more broadly issues relevant to adolescents in general. A topic list was furnished to the Director who posted it onto the monthly calendar as well as on social media.

Topics titles included:

- Sexism and the homosexual community; 'That's So Gay!': challenging homophobia and sexism – what does this mean to LGB,T young people?[16]
- Sexism and gender;
- World-changing Women – BBC2 series
- Human rights: homophobic bullying and freedom of expression;
- The Story of Human Rights; define 'human rights' and explore what they mean in everyday life[17]
- Sexual Orientation and Human Rights;
- Prejudice and Stereotypes: Choose Your Apprentice[18];
- Religion and sexuality;
- Buying human rights: Which ones do you think are important?[19]
- Debate: Should there be an LGB,T & Ally school…for and against;
- Can girls be plumbers? (A lesson on gender);
- Stand up and speak out! – young people decide on an issue they felt required addressing in the community, developed an argument and presented;
- Dialogue approach/discussion session: What are Democratic Values? Define democracy, identify key principles that underpin democracy, and which rights are protected in democratic systems?
- Dialogue approach/discussion session: What is Oppression? What are some tools for action and social change? What is Equality?

Activities included:

- Aspects of Identity Continuum[20]
- Privilege Walk Activity [21]

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16 Modified from www.liveoutloud.info

17 From *Youth for Human Rights* education packet, youthforhumanrights.org

18 *The Apprentice* style game, Equality and Human Rights Commission; http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/private-and-public-sector-guidance/education-providers/secondary-education-resources/resource-toolkit/lesson-plan-ideas/lesson-5-prejudice-and-stereotypes

19 Human rights sessions were in part modified from several sources, including from the United Nations

20 2014 Anti-Defamation League, www.adl.org/education-outreach

21 Modified from http://www.albany.edu/ssw/efc/pdf/Module%205_1_Privilege%20Walk%20Activity.pdf to include sexuality, race and class, replacing *United States* with *United Kingdom.* Additionally resourcing http://www.apa.org/pi/ses/resources/publications/social-class-exercises.aspx

- Whispers Down the Alley[22]

- Survey

Surveys were short, and used to investigate peripheral influences that shaped bullying events. They did not interrogate bullying specifically, rather surveys (see Appendices G, H and I) were directly associated with seminar topics. Therefore, each one measured opinions and experiences specific to that subject matter.

Surveys were designed to uncover how participants understood sexism, for example, revealing their internalized, normative understanding that complicated their own non-conforming gender expressions. Surveys were additionally used as an opportunity to interrogate specific elements that contributed to their bullying experiences. The content and purpose of the surveys differed from the questionnaire. Surveys investigated peripheral conditions that contributed to ~~a~~ bullying event, whereas the questionnaire focused on the bullying itself.

- Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to investigate bullying specifically. It evolved and was created after several months and pre-testing to assess merits and whether it would achieve aims (McGuirk & O'Neill, 2016). The questionnaire's particular aim, unlike the surveys that focused on aspects contributing to bullying, focused specifically on bullying in school as an entire experience. Questions were designed to confirm nuances revealed during previous data gathering stages.

Questions were carefully crafted (see Table 4.6 for sample) to elicit responses as truthful as possible to young people's accounts with bullying. They were designed from previous data gathering stages including interactions I had with them, as well as from observations, field notes, seminars and surveys. Questions were written with reading ease and simplicity in mind. They included multiple-choice questions with attribute information, such as "less than once a week…to ...more than five times a week," (McGuirk & O'Neill 2016, p. 251). While other questions used a Likert scale, which built "in a degree of sensitivity and differentiation of response whilst still generating numbers," (Cohen et al 2011, p. 386). Open ended, fill-in-the-blank questions were also adopted. Recognizing subjectivity when answering open-ended

[22] Also known as Broken Telephone or Chinese Whispers (which has racist undertones).

and fill-in-the-blank, questions were formulated and designed for ease and understandability with intentions to elicit the highest level of honesty and truthfulness.

Table 4.6

Sampling of questionnaire (See Appendix I for full questionnaire):

***

Example of fill in the blank question:

If you were bullied, did you report it? (circle one) Yes No

Who did you tell?

***

Example of open-ended question:

Do you feel the problem was resolved in a way that supported you?

(circle one) Yes No Don't know

Why or why not?

***

Example of questions utilizing Likert scales:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Did you get angry when you saw someone get bullied?					
Were some pupils often bullied by other pupils?					
Was the bullying meant to be fun?					

***

As there was no way to know if respondents replied truthfully presented challenges with chosen question structure. People may interpret what was being asked differently from another, and open-ended questions minimized consistency as responses varied.

Additionally, researcher imposition may exist as the researcher chose and/or wrote the questions, making decisions that might support their own assumptions and biases.

- Interview

The interview was designed to investigate a topic that bridged young people's experiences with bullying and school exclusion. Each participant over the course of data gathering stages revealed their schools lacked mechanisms for successful inclusion efforts. What was missing, they believed, contributed to shaping school ethos and the severity of bullying participants experienced.

All participants shared two things: (1) they were homophobically bullied (even if at first unrecognized), and (2) none of their schools had comprehensive sexuality education. These considerations established the parameters for the interview to take shape. Intentions were to get interviewees involved as soon as possible, therefore, the interview began with familiarity and food. "It is crucial to keep uppermost in one's mind the fact that the interview is a social, interpersonal encounter, not merely a data collection exercise," (Cohen et al 2011, p. 421). I began each interview with some chatter to set a comfortable tone. Nothing more than 'how was your day?' and offered cookies and sweets. My format was very simple.

Questions were structured carefully with neutral language as not to influence their answers, rather create a space in which they could tell their stories. I then began with "I know you have mentioned…can you say some more about that" referring back to something they said about their experiences with bullying at school. I made efforts at reflecting upon their remarks, probing what they said (Kvale & Brinkmann 2000, p. 165). Allowing a little chatter for warm-up, I then used probing prompts where necessary, such as "You haven't mentioned X. Tell me a little about it" to maintain flow and ease.

I used this to connect with the questions surrounding sex education. Therefore, I followed the first round of question/conversation with "If you were designing a sex education course for your school, what would it look like?" and "What do you think is important for kids to learn?" This line of questioning was followed with a reference back to a specific bullying incident they experienced with "How do you think your X experience might have been different had there been comprehensive sex education in your school?" At this point, many personal and harrowing tales began revealing.

Probes were used when necessary:

- When did that happen?
- Who else was involved?
- How did it make you feel?
- Where did it happen?

Elaboration probes included:

- Would you elaborate on that?
- Could you say something more about that?
- I'm beginning to get the picture, but some more examples might help.

Clarification probes used:

- You mentioned X earlier. What did you mean by Y?
- What you're saying now is very important, and I want to make sure that I get it down exactly the way you mean it: please explain some more.[23]

Interested in both further detail as well as personal reflection, 'what' and 'how' questions were used to invite detail; and 'Did you/they…', 'Were you/they…' type questions invited reflection. The interview was thus structured with an initial set of questions designed to elicit personal accounts bridging the severity of their bullying experiences with a lack of comprehensive sexuality education. The premise was corroborating previous accounts while also ascertaining whether young people believed the intensity level of bullying they experienced increased when schools lacked comprehensive, inclusive education.

Respondents had opportunities to explore questions addressing each with their own stories and experiences. "Critically framed, persistent *how* questions remind us to bear in mind that the everyday realities of our lives…are realities we *do*," (Holstein and Gubrium 2011, p. 353). Therefore, questions used to reveal how experiences were understood within given contexts underpinned the 'doing'. To keep the interview active when necessary, probing prompts were used as follow-up, keeping to "short interviewer questions and longer interviewee answers," (Kvale & Brinkmann 2000, p. 165). I kept a prepared list of probing prompts both from list above and from their

[23] Probes from: http://oer.educ.cam.ac.uk/w/images/b/be/RECOUP_Semi-structured_interviews_prompts_and_probes.pdf

personal experiences to keep conversations rolling maintaining interviewee's motivation in the event the conversation stalled, while keeping boredom at bay (p.423).

As a synchronous event, each interview was a little different. Although arranged around a determined format, as already discussed, each interview was based on individual experiences with semi-structured questions tailored to allow for greater access to participant stories where interviewee and interviewer were able to directly react to what the other said. Although allowing for more spontaneous responses, left little time for reflection in the moment. As the researcher required formulating next questions or conversation prompts on the spot, may have led to ignoring or overlooking important information. Therefore, the interviews were recorded and some notes were taken during the interview. Although recorder malfunction during interviews did not occur, a limitation to using a recording device would be if the device had failed.

Transcribing: As transcribing is in part, an interpretive act, the aims of the project may have directed assumptions that influenced what might have been regarded as relevant data during the transcribing (Bailey, 2008).

Portraiture: As prior experiences may have a large influence shaping encounters with others, so too may these experiences shape researcher interpretation and portrayal of participants through portraiture. Additionally, the lens through which one views may lead to inferring meanings and interpretations. Describing the scene and participant experiences through portraiture requires recognition that participants have their own biases shaping their stories potentially changing actual events to suit their understanding.

- Empowerment project

Drawing on ideas of social and distributive justice and grounded in action research, the community based female empowerment project promoting tolerance and fighting sexism, homophobia and violence against girls and women, formed. "Community-and organization-based research activities, through which community residents and university-based researchers seek to analyze injustices," are positioned to clarify "the link between systemic inquiry and democratic participation,"(Lykes & Crosby2014, pp. 146-147, 148). Participants become co-researchers as full participants of the social

justice based project representing girls and women in all her identities. The project partnered with the local police and non-profits on safety for sexual minorities, women and girls.

Findings uncovered while at the youth site became the impetus for the empowerment project. Young women felt neither safe in school nor in their community, feeling constantly targeted by sexism. Judged and threatened because of the sex, they were confronted by heteronormative binaries underpinning sexism, while also subjected to homophobic language and bullying; therefore, the premise of the project was to support her in all her identities. The assembled team included two trans-gendered, and two lesbians who identified as cisgender. Although women occupy many more identities such as (but not limited to) ethnic and racial as well as class statuses, this project began from sexuality eventually broadening to include other identities.

Growing out of the sexism seminars where boys exercised their male privilege exhibited verbally hostile sexist language demeaning and belittling girls, the female empowerment project began. I first approached Bruce as the group's leader, who is introduced in Chapter Five, for his approval. After receiving his okay, began fielding the idea. Sophie (also introduced in Chapter Five), Channing, Rebecca (mentioned in Chapter Five) and Ellen were interested. Sophie was M2F; Channing was F2M, while Rebecca and Ellen were lesbians. We met several times starting January 2015 setting a business plan to determine objectives and benchmarks.

The name was chosen after an extensive search. Through several brainstorming sessions and association exercises like pairing favorite color with dessert, i.e.: red + cupcake = red cupcake, they came up with a list of names. Then we went to the public. We approached strangers asking for their opinion, only mentioning the name was for a girls youth group. Once we tallied votes from the public, we agreed to the results and had the name (Red Cupcake was not chosen). Although the project was premised by female empowerment, boys and girls alike from the youth group contributed. The eventual name formed an acronym that became the tag line for the project, which Justin came up with.

After reaching out to the wider community, the local city police joined in the efforts contributing a video message to the website. Following an ask-and-answer format, two female police officers (including a commanding officer) volunteered. One acted as the interviewer wearing street clothes as a reporter role, while the

commander answered and provided information on police community engagement and support, and what resources were available to LGB,T youth; their in-house videographer filmed the interview. Channing in particular felt very empowered and safer "I had no idea the police wanted to help."

Eventually expanding to include other relevant issues for women, the project encouraged deconstructing dominant discourse and identity politics shaping women's marginalization. Deconstructing heterosexuality framing the construction of gender, made way for a platform of identifying consequences of identity politics central to the young women's experiences. Emphasizing 'empowerment' began re-constructing their identities, and in so doing, recognized there were no absolute truths about gender and sexuality underpinning subjectivity.

The activity was initially intended to create an additional project with which to engage young people at the youth site while establishing trust and relevance. It quickly grew beyond the parameters of this research, but remained connected through interrogating vulnerabilities of marginalized groups. It became a tool of empowerment that moved into a community engagement project.

Part III

Data analysis

Because seminars became the guide for subsequent data collection tools, they required frequent analysis. A simple approach was taken after each session by asking 'what did the young people tell me today?' Seeking to uncover both the obvious and the ambiguous, I maintained detailed written accounts of the seminars, notating both what stood out as well as the mundane, everyday interactions and comments in order to answer that question. During the eight months on site, I progressed from not answering that question well, to doing so with depth as I began to understand the meanings behind their words specific to their understandings of situations. Recognizing significance in young people's accounts through in-depth analysis became the cornerstone to other data gathering activities.

I critically interrogated the data uncovering information beyond the obvious. As a result, the analysis of data presented in this thesis is my interpretation of young people's accounts as a compilation of information gathered from both my insider and outsider positioning as volunteer and researcher. For example, I interrogated their stories, registering if they were bullied for their gender or sexuality, or if they were

bullied for something else and mistakenly labelling it as homophobic. I also carefully considered if they were victims first as described in their stories, or if they were the bully first and then subsequently victimized in retribution. It was not the purpose to call their experiences into question. Rather, I illustrate the careful consideration taken to uncover meanings in their stories, locating what might otherwise have been overlooked had I not had insider knowledge of the young people's backgrounds experiences, biases and opinions.

Data interrogation

Once the research was completed, I began interrogating data with an initial sweep of surveys, questionnaire, interviews and their transcriptions, as well as seminars, observations and field notes to determine where patterns existed. Seeking to corroborate patterns, was followed with a thorough analysis across all data sets, from which the following overarching themes emerged:

i. what is recognized as bullying and how it is understood
ii. intersectional bullying
iii. uncertain gender identity

These were generated through the following procedures:

Drawing out patterns

Through a process of pre-coding during the data collection phase, revealed clear themes during the initial sweep. Once enough data had been collected, a subsequent sweep was conducted pulling out already identified quotes or phrases of significance, assigning preliminary coding that represented sub-themes. As they surfaced, they were then grouped together and a final code was assigned. For example, phrases and quotes how participants felt about bullying, were assigned preliminary codes such as 'friend bullied', 'homophobic bullying', 'no teacher support' and so on, which allowed multiple smaller themes to emerge that were then placed together under a universal, final code such as 'school-based bullying' and 'intersectional bullying'.

Emotional codes to establish sensitive states or reactions such as 'scared', 'angry', 'disappointed', happy' and so on were also employed during each data sweep, including inferences made of recorded nuances from interviews, while field notes documented emotions when witnessed or recalled immediately after a session at the youth site.

During the coding process, the following questions were considered:

- What are the young people doing?
- How did they talk about or understand what was happening?
- What do I see happening?
- What surprised me? (to track my assumptions)
- What intrigued me? (to track my positionality)
- What disturbed me? (to track the tensions within my values, attitude and belief system) (Saldaña, 2013 p. 20-22).

This process was conducted across all data.
Considering the investigation from multiple perspectives including numerous methods such as seminars, observations, surveys, a questionnaire, and interviews, confirmed initial interpretation through a comparison of multiple data sources.

Interviews

- Purpose: to describe a situation and to gain insight into particular situations.
- Understanding context: how socio-political factors influenced experiences.
- Understanding people: how the young people made sense of their experiences.

- Transcription

The interviews were, in part, shaped by the personalities of the young people. Some were very expressive and the conversations flowed, where others were more refrained. With pre-planned questions to maintain a certain direction, the interviews maintained fluidity regardless of interviewee. To account for the differences in interviews, it became important during transcription that as much detail as possible was included. In order to account for this, if a physical response such as a smile or shrug of the shoulder accentuated what the young person was saying, I would clear my throat for the recording, followed with a notation on a piece of paper listing what it was such, as ‘shoulder shrug’ or ‘rubbing hands together’. So if I cleared my throat three times during an interview, for example, I could refer back to the list and know the physical response. Then later listening to the interviews allowed me to assess the value of the physical response.

I listened to each interview several times. The first time, mostly listened and jotting down a few things that caught my attention. Physical cues were not connected during the first sweep, wanting only to hear the words to gain insight into the conversation and mood of the young person, and to get an overall feel of what was said. The second sweep was for the purpose of transcribing. Listened a third time connected the physical cues notated during the interview, while also affirming what had been transcribed. This process began constructing a truth that captured meanings through tone of voice and pauses as important aspect of language and expression. These were crucial in shaping a full representation and authentic interpretation of the interview meant to capture the mood. This level of detail facilitated in-depth analysis with a level of detail necessary to comprehend the complexity of the conversations, and provide accuracy.

Portraiture as narrative

Although discussed in detail in Chapter Five, I briefly touch upon it here: by using portraiture, individuals were represented through the use of details, "capturing the complexity and aesthetic of human experience," (Gordon-Lightfoot 1997, p. 4). The young people's experiences represented in the portraits as presented in Chapter Five, are my interpretations of their stories, as I integrate observations, interactions and the interview. Combined, they illustrated the uniqueness of the young people's lives, creating detailed narratives. According to Bruner (2002), we live in a narrative that creates who we are. Therefore, looking to Bruner's assertion, narrative as a method achieved portraying these young people's experiences in a meaningful way, while defining important points in the data. It created richly developed frameworks engaging with how young people connected moments of significance in their lives. Enhancing the awareness that narrative can bring, unique details of the individuals were included, such as personality traits, bits of conversation and related experiences. Further details as dress, gestures and how they interacted with the group also aided in creating a comprehensive picture. The themes that emerged from fieldwork contextualized these details underscoring young people's experiences, while portraying in-depth and rich descriptions of participants in narrative portraiture.

Critical incidents

Through analysis and the understandings gained by being both a volunteer and researcher, I was able to interrogate data that led to identifying critical events, which "are produced by the way we look at a situation: a critical incident is an interpretation of the significance of an event," (Tripp 1993, p. 8). They became key points of experience that were uncovered during the narrative inquiry phase. As profound moments, they illuminated issues that otherwise remained hidden. An in-depth discussion of critical incidents is presented in Chapter Six.

Part IV

Summary

As an empirical study, young people's accounts of school-based bullying were examined, utilizing multiple methods such as observations, field notes, and semi-structured interviews from which narratives of pupil's lives were created as a lens through which to explore their experiences. Quantitative methods utilizing surveys and questionnaires to create validity and a degree of reproducibility were also applied.

Young people identifying as LGB,T who attended a youth group were recruited for this study. The subjects were selected on the basis of a degree of homogeneity representing sexuality and age. In order to identify the level of homophobic bullying, the participants were asked to partake in several activities.

Seeking understanding through individual interpretations, meanings and experiences, critical theory was used as the theoretical framework. Through critical inquiry, feminism was applied as lenses through which to interrogate oppressive power structures as understood through social justice.

Methods were chosen underpinning an interpretivist understanding to research. Seeking individual meanings, methods that provided in-depth data gathering were preferred such as one-to-one interviews and open-ended questions in surveys and questionnaires. Through chosen methods allowed the complexity and contextual factors of bullying experiences to reveal. Data collection was time consuming and challenging to interpret, but resulted in clear patterns and knowledge expanding the understanding of identity based bullying and how victims understand their experience.

The forthcoming Chapter Five introduces the reader to detailed, personal accounts and insights of several of the young people involved in this study. Their stories illustrate their struggles with bullying in and out of school. Traumatic experiences

shaped how they perceived their world, which included how they experienced and understood school.

Chapter Five
Narrative

Portraits of Young People

Be yourself; everyone else is already taken.

Oscar Wilde

By way of participatory research, this chapter underscores the uniqueness of individual bullying experiences. Introducing several key research participants, establishes a broader picture of their experiences in and outside of school shaping how they understand bullying, inclusion and policy. Although powerful, not all narratives presented are specific to school bullying alone. Presenting non-school narratives along side narratives that recount school bullying experiences, establishes that a multitude of experiences shape how young people understand victimization.

Through narrative inquiry, the research design drew increasingly upon the young peoples stories. Emphasizing how experiences inform identity and how identities intersect experiences creating a circuit; this chapter serves to locate the personal stories that inform how young people understand the spaces they occupy. But first, a brief recounting of deliberations, negotiating the impact and importance of choosing portraiture through narrative inquiry as an analysis method to interrogate young people's stories.

Deliberations

An assortment of books and journal articles concerning portraiture lay about the room. Although completely against my nature as I prefer order in such things, I was forced to use the floor spreading everything out in attempts to organize not only the information but my thoughts around this whole business of portraiture. And this 'whole business' did not make me very happy. Why had we (my supervisor and I) decided this was a good idea? What was I thinking when I agreed?

After sorting through a mountain of information, how to apply portraiture was becoming clear. Locating underpinnings to a creative process using words rather then paints (speaking as an artist), the idea being for the reader to experience the young people as the data disclosed, seeing them for whom they were. However,

contemplating how words could be worthy of the young people I was to write about, felt overwhelming and a daunting task.

I initially attended university for art, although ultimately earning a BA in sociology. I long ago internalized the importance of creating an accurate picture through the use of my paints. Though in the context of art, paints were used to convey an image or scene, not words. My 'art' process was not, however, entirely conscious as it seemed to occur somewhat on its own requiring little forethought. Although my paintings were rarely planned in detail, a readable, understandable description of an image or scene resulted. While at times I dabbled in creative color choices, someone looking at my paintings was not left wondering what they were looking at, grappling with some hidden postmodern truth or meaning. The image simply portrayed a scene or person and in a way, I suppose was portraiture, though not with words. Converting paint to words, though, seemed daunting, as portraiture as analysis required reflection and awareness because as a method, became a tool with which to illustrate real and critical situations that my paintings did not.

A favorite of my own paintings is a room scene. A woman wearing a beautiful coat sliding off one shoulder glancing downward is sitting on the second step of an old, mahogany staircase with a sweeping rail moving the eye up the grand rotating structure. A timeworn fireplace with darkened bricks in the background and an unlit roomscape, suggests a sense of melancholy perhaps.

As a child, I owned a 'velvet' winter coat the color of burgundy wine and with an exaggerated collar worn high around the neck, felt opulent. The woman in the painting wore the adult version of that lovely ten-year-old girl's coat. It was getting the color just right toiling for hours, laying down layer upon layer of paint to get the depth of the velvet and that deep red wine color to match my memory.

However, for all my art, a creative soul I am not. I am pragmatic. The structure versus the creative as I understood it, became my challenge. However, I now know why we decided on portraiture as it humanized. Personal experiences gave pragmatism more teeth, at "the intersection of aesthetics and empiricism," (Lightfoot et al. 1997, p. 6). Portraiture lent a creative yet critical level of analysis so that words in a story act much like the layers of red paint used to get the color of the coat just right, with depth revealing nuances.

While grappling with the information strewn about the floor, it became clear I was apprehensive. My trepidation frustrated the process of critically engaging with

portraiture. My paintings although could shape an opinion, at least of that particular scene or image, were extensions of me as the artist. They were not conscious representations capturing experiences of others. These paintings fashioned from creative inspirations were less apt to shape an opinion like writing about these young people could. Writing about them was entirely different matter as they were not figments of my imagination.

Using portraiture has the power to impact the subject, either positively or negatively. Unwittingly stereotyping or even oversimplifying participants' experiences risked losing their individuality. Creating layers and layers of imagery with words attempting to capture the essence of a person felt far more daunting than getting the color of that coat just right. The painting represented inward thoughts and fictitious characters or scenes. Using portraiture instead required a critical assessment of real people and situations demanding different sensibilities.

This was a huge responsibility.

Drawing on Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot's use of portraiture as "a form of inquiry that…capture(s) the complexity and aesthetic of human experience," (1997, p. 4), this chapter serves as context for young people's personal experiences, setting the stage for a discussion of fieldwork in subsequent chapters. Pointing to William James, Lightfoot appreciated fluid boundaries and complexities of the "living world" (p. 6) underscoring nuances. The following stories became tools used to interrogate inclusion and anti-bullying schemes, as demonstrated in later chapters, presenting a richer analysis around how young people experienced policy. This chapter, therefore, introduces the reader to several participant young people describing their personalities and mannerisms. I chose these six young people as they seemed the least guarded and generous with what they revealed. But first, the youth space and their fearless leader, Bruce, are introduced.

This chapter is structured unlike other chapters in this thesis. It is not organized around distinct sections rather choosing instead to flow from one bit to the next, creating a scene through a whole chapter approach.

The youth organization

A ten-minute walk from the main square through narrow streets lined with Gothic Revival architecture of the Victorian era, this urban stretch of an English city had a forlorn air yet a distinct personality. Many buildings featured rundown towers, tall chimneys and turrets with protruding gargoyles, which left the passer-by feeling a little unsettled, yet difficult to overlook their former grandeur. The cobblestoned pavement was uneven juxtaposed with modern street lamps lighting the road with harsh neon bulbs.

The youth facility located at the end of the street in a once derelict historic building was separated from one of the elite, dignified neighborhoods by a hill. The city's prominent castle with its commanding position overlooking the city perched on top of this hill was a reminder of the striking class differences that created these neighborhoods. The youth facility was in a less dignified area. A mile and half away were several other prominent areas separated from city center by a river, serving as another clear divide that created distinct and separate spaces between privileged areas with the rest.

Along one of England's longest rivers with access to the North Sea, the city boasts a long history including as once a center of industry, having seen its prosperity go up and down. The city only recently, after decades of decline due in part to industries leaving the area, was experiencing a renaissance of sorts. Newly renovated landmark buildings revealed what was once considered progressive architecture, and their former grandeur served as reminders of this once dominant city of commerce. The city's recovery was seeing a more diverse population settle in-and-around its boundaries as well. Although almost 35% of the population was now non-white British, the young people who frequented the youth group tended not to represent this significant demographic shift reflecting the city's changing character. Instead, they were predominantly British white, while only a few young people were, or appeared as people of color. Although, the area saw unemployment figures decline as the economy slowly rebounded from a recent downturn, it lagged behind other regions continuing to experience hardships. Many people seemed to echo the city's slow recovery with the young people I got to know at the youth site as no different.

Many of the youth that frequented this facility seemed tough, as I qualify through several of the forthcoming participant descriptions. They came from the undignified, lower-economic neighborhoods and were often overlooked by society. Yet what was

equally striking to their toughness was their perseverance and how genuine they seemed. What was very unique was even though attendees lacked ethnic diversity, this group gained in class diversity as youth from those rich neighborhoods attended as well. The may have lacked the toughness of the 'inner-city' kids, but these young people shared experiences. It was not a typical group of adolescents as they came from very diverse socioeconomic backgrounds yet they did not seem to pass judgment for their class or educational differences. The privileged and those that lacked opportunity came together as equals in this space. Their experiences as sexual minority youth united them, and their friendships crossed many social divides.

Leadership

Always wearing jeans and a polo jersey with turned-up collar, Bruce was a gentle, caring man. Sporting a mustache, slightly portly and middle-aged, kept his hair short and wore a lanyard around his neck that held his glasses. Frequently smiling, his dress and personality all confirmed his approachability and calm manner. He was devoted to his youth group as he cared deeply about these kids, his kids, and everybody knew it. His eyes sparkled; he was happy and deeply dedicated to making that space as positive for his kids as possible.

For all his approachability, when called on, he also knew how to take control. After a young woman who attended the youth group, ran in visibly upset, Bruce took control. As she turned around, it was evident she had been hit, screaming that he was still outside. The boy she referred to also attended the youth site. Bruce firmly directed everyone away from the front entrance room, locked the doors and spoke calmly to the young woman to find out what had happened while the young man was standing outside in the rain in front of the locked door. Inside, young people were getting agitated and began murmuring, "He's locked us in," "o-m-g, what are we going to do?" Nervous laughter was heard. They looked afraid but visibly relieved with Bruce's presence.

Rebecca, a tall 16-year-old young woman, with short, pink-dyed hair and swept aside bangs that fell back onto her face, moved next to me. While again pushing her glasses up her nose, she whispered, "It's Michael."

Michael…my heart skipped a beat, and at that moment, I knew Bruce was struggling. Michael was a beautiful young man, but very troubled. He struggled with his bisexuality often acting out violently and was frequently in trouble with the law.

Things had never come easy for him, but Bruce had taken him under his wing as he saw Michael's potential, trying to steer him in a positive direction. But on that evening, all that seemed not to matter. Michael was pounding on the door. With a bloodied lip, he looked frantic and furious. I would never know what had actually happened, but it seemed based on what the girl had recounted, Bruce felt compelled to call the police. After, Michael's arrest, the group clearly shaken, left to unknown destinations once things had calmed down.

As shared by the staff, many of these kids were troubled and Bruce worked tirelessly to help them. He knew many of them had fallen victim to different levels of homophobic bullying with some young people struggling more than others as a result, leading some to act out in non-constructive ways. His full-time staff eased his workload. Two young men, Asher and Tom, and a young woman, Katie who proudly claimed her Irish heritage mimicking an Irish accent, were almost as devoted to the young people as Bruce. Although Bruce was gay, Katie was bisexual, and the two young men were straight. They had been brought in for their abilities working with troubled youth. A testament to their approach to inclusion and diversity, and what it meant to this space.

The office

Bruce occupied an office on the top floor accessible by a long narrow staircase. Painted an emerald green in an attempt to brighten the dark, narrow stairwell went up five floors. The carpeted stairs did not camouflage the creaks each step made under the pressure of someone walking up or down as a reminder of the building's age. A skylight in the ceiling allowed natural light to permeate the otherwise dark space. The green walls brightened the space when sunlight peaked through the clouds illuminating the top landing. A prominent security pad on the wall next to the door into the offices served as a reminder that access was restricted and security was required.

Before youth group started, we all met upstairs in Bruce's office going over that evening's agenda of activities and events and any issues that surfaced from the week. We needed to be aware of any issues the young people had faced, whether they needed extra support or the potential for disruption or challenges; we had to be aware of any possibility, whatever that meant.

The space

The main floor saw most of the activity. The small sofa covered in a cheap, shiny, stiff black fabric meant to resemble leather made a crunching noise when someone sat down. The top film was peeling back and with deep seats, made it uncomfortable to sit on, yet it was a favorite spot. The sofa tucked behind a small round table that had seen better days, often had five or six squeezing around that only sat three comfortably, completed the corner. Many art projects and conversations over coffee or tea took place there, as was dubbed the official crafting corner.

Three or four young people drawn to that corner, sat on each other's laps squeezing onto the little sofa chatting and laughing. Seeing them giggle and sharing secrets did not reveal the challenges they faced daily. They clearly enjoyed both the company of their friends and the safety of the youth site. Across the room from the crafting corner, was a straightforward little kitchen area that included a sink, dishwasher, and fridge, a coffee machine, with a small counter with buffet guard separating it from the rest of the room. A selection of sweets and cups set out on the counter. There were a few additional small, round tables in this space; one under a long narrow window next to the kitchen area and another next to an empty vending machine in the far left corner around from the crafting area.

As the room was broken up into two sections, a few steps down from the crafting corner brought one into the main space. Silent until the doors were unlocked, this section of the room welcomed a loud herd of young people as they crashed into the room. The former silence quickly forgotten, they streamed past a row of computers on a bar height counter with a few stools, seeking out their preferred locations with many enjoying the table tennis set up in the center of the room. Opposite the door was a television attached to a fuchsia painted wall, with a low, round table, some board games, and several puffs underneath and a few additional armchairs tucked into corners around the room.

The tall, narrow windows on the ground level allowed sounds from a few passing cars to filter into the room when they were open. The far-off echoes of wheezing buses were heard coming from the next streets. In the winter, when darkness fell early, the blue-white lights of the neon streetlamps flooded the room creating a strange contrast to the warm glow of the lighting inside, yet did not take away from the room's relaxed atmosphere. It was a space that created comfort and security for the young people and was rarely empty. They additionally had access to the basement

that housed a professional recording studio and sound stage. As many played instruments or sang, was a favorite place.

They looked forward to coming to youth group and relied on the other services as well. The facility also boasted counseling services and a gym.

Several participants are introduced in the following narratives. As noted earlier, the portraits are my interpretation; I made every effort to illustrate their lives as close to their portrayals as I understood them.

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"Jessica"

When I began at the youth site, Katie, the 'Irish' youth worker, filled me in about some of the young people while giving me a tour of the building. She felt I should have some background knowledge to better interact with them. That evening, there weren't many young people there yet, so the few that were Katie took her time telling me about them. Motioning toward Jessica, Katie mentioned she self-harmed and struggled with an abusive home life. Months later, Jessica revealed her mother's live-in boyfriend repeatedly beat her and her sister. Providing context helped to understand Jessica's view of the world.

Inclined to keep to herself, Jessica often sat quietly at the small round tables by the kitchen area under the long narrow window. Without any direct lighting overhead, she almost seemed to disappear appearing as unremarkable as the space itself. Her dishwater blond long, straight hair fell onto her oval face further hiding her away, underpinning how ordinary she seemed. While not immediately apparent, she was quite attractive with graceful features, and a soft smile that warmed her face. Although rarely smiling, when she did, her head tilted slightly to one side and her long, straight nose wrinkled just a bit at the tip. Her laugh was not loud rather was raspy, and she wore heavy, dark eyeliner and extended her lashes. Although not immediately obvious, the drama Jessica created with her eyes against her pale skin, her raspy laugh and subtle movements were striking. She seemed to have a sense about her that suggested there was a lot beneath the surface.

She was full figured and usually wore a large khaki, army-styled coat, which seemed to emphasize her larger frame. With her preference for skinny jeans and combat boots, her usual attire did not flatter. Rather she almost disappeared as though choosing to blend in rather than stand out, which her usual sullen mood and her soft-spoken personality supported. However, her steel grey eyes accented with black drama liner were quite remarkable and seemed to toss her experiences back out into the world, of which she had many. She was nineteen, but her eyes suggested a much older soul lurked inside.

Seldom moving about the room, she remained in the margins limiting her contact with others, instead observing others. Although attempting on several occasions to chat with her, I maintained a gentle approach letting her guide our interactions. Needing to establish trust first, Jessica was pleasant but difficult to engage. She was always cautious, tended to recede into herself and rarely let down her guard. Eventually, though, she grew bolder and felt more comfortable talking with me. I knew when the time was right she would invite me into her space.

She always came in early on the night the self-harm group met with a therapist before the official start time of the youth groups. Often, there were as many as six or seven youths in the self-harm group. Although sometimes they came out laughing after their support meeting, they usually walked out very quietly and gently underfoot, as though not to disturb. Jessica tended to move that way, gently and quietly. Her steely eyes, however, seemed to reveal an energy. I wondered if not a little insight as well.

Her voice was a little deeper and almost raspy, much like her laugh. She was very deliberate about what she said and with whom she spoke. She chose not to speak with many people, and it took several months to get to know her well enough where she began to trust me. By the time we sat down for our interview, I knew she was very aware of the world around her, more so than the other young people there. She seemed less concerned about her own inclusion (or exclusion) at school due to her sexuality; instead was more concerned with what happened to others. As we spoke during the interview, the topic turned to anti-bullying policies and what such policy looked like in her school. She talked about the impact of how teachers seemed to understand policies on bullying. She recalled…

> like, even just the school policy. If, like, say my high school, there, there would be like some policy somewhere saying you can't bully people on the

> terms of their sexuality, or that type of thing. And you can't discriminate against them. The teachers just, like, they don't realize this, they don't realize it might actually be legally backed-up, all these things. They need to know what's behind what they're doing…,they're just doing it for the sake of it…but the majority from what I see, like, they don't really get the impact it can have on somebody.

Probing further, she felt teachers did not seem to understand why certain policies existed, only that they did, and they lacked compassion. Jessica believed they responded to a bullying situation superficially, and therefore, nothing seemed to change. Teachers tended to "just say 'don't do that, don't do that'" to bullies.

> Like, you have to give them the education behind it as well as 'don't do it, don't do it'. They're not giving the young people the reason behind it. All they heard was they can't do something, but they don't know why.

It was not until further conversations with other young people at the youth site, and later with several teachers that I connected with what she said about teaching staff response to bullying and how teachers understood policy and implementation. It was then I realized there were many layers that made a bullying experience.

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"Allen"

We sat on the stools at the computer counter in the main room. Of shorter stature and overweight, Allen was portly. His ill-fitting jeans tended to sit a little lower on his hips and with an over-sized t-shirt, revealed little about the body underneath. He brushed his wavy auburn hair from his forehead; his deep-set brown eyes were warm and friendly. As we spoke, they twinkled with anxious energy as a nervous smile crossed his face.

Many of the other adolescents thought of Allen as a little too eager. He experienced difficulties with social interactions and tended to repeat behavior or comments. For example, over the months I was at the youth site, he repeatedly asked the same question. Intrigued by my accent, "Auh, I just, uh, love your accent. Where are you from?" as though forgetting he had already asked several times before.

Allen was autistic. Often feeling misunderstood, he moved through a crowd with uncertainty. Wanting to join in a group's conversation, might yell out irrelevant anecdotes, only to receive strange looks as his attempts to relate, failed. His facial

expressions highlighted his emotions, which tended to run the gambit from happy to sad quickly. As a sensitive boy, he often felt wounded over comments made by others, bringing him to tears and receding into a corner, leaving others baffled.

As a transsexual, Allen was navigating a new terrain acting how he believed to be male. Just beginning testosterone injections, transitioning from female to male with gender affirmation surgery planned, was learning how to be 'boy'. He seemed unsure how to act, challenging him as he learned to navigate masculine norms, as he understood them.

He liked Eminem the American rapper whose raw and often misogynistic lyrics personified what he believed defined accepted aggressive masculinity. He used offensive language berating others, then was sensitive and cried, his behavior overlapping combative with emotional. Seeking reassurance from others as verification of 'appropriate' male behavior bolstered his fragile self-esteem when receiving a positive response, which O'Flynn (2016), quoting Halberstam (1998), referred to as female masculinity. Halberstam interrogated this experience referring to the process of understanding masculinity represented through a "range of different cultural representations" as expressed by those born, and at one point socialized as female as they navigate multiple gender roles during the transition (p. 435).

Allen seemed to recognize he confused others who thought of him as a bit of a puzzle, complicating an already difficult situation. Feeling misunderstood may have added to his nervousness and vulnerability, and almost as a countermeasure to negative reactions from others was very eager and enthusiastic attempting to fit in. Yet he seemed to struggle with remembering what he had already said, which led to repeating himself, again and again, leaving many bewildered, aggravating already challenging conditions. He felt the strain of their reactions recounting that

> [n]obody likes me. People say they do but deep beneath the soul I know they don't. I'm a honest guy, people should respect me and appreciate me for it, instead of hating me, because at the end of the day you don't get many genuine honest people and if there wasn't any honest genuine people the world will tear apart.

Feeling apprehensive, occupied with not fitting in seemed to exaggerate already magnified mood swings. For example, wanting to die feeling deep remorse and sadness, followed by excitement over having found God proclaiming his love for life. It was clear he struggled to find an identity with which he could be comfortable.

He spoke about trying to come to terms with his past while figuring out the present, which led to contradictions influencing his social interactions. He admitted to bullying others even though he struggled as a victim of bullying. He tended to flip from friend to foe than to feelings of self-pity, professing nobody liked him as tears welled up in his eyes. He admitted to often feeling lonely and became self-destructive, yet what he admitted he wanted most, was respect. He wanted recognition, to feel appreciated and that he belonged; however, he often behaved selfishly and at times callously, creating barriers. He seemed to feel his needs were unmet and, therefore, became resentful, sad and lashed out at others.

He was difficult to get to know, however, after spending time with him, I found him to be affable, open and eager to please. As he started to share his experiences, I gained some insight to his jumpiness.

> I had a very bad life. Got beaten up and abused all the time. I got, tried, uh, nearly raped a few times.

I asked him about what happened, and whether a teacher intervened as his experiences occurred while at school.

> Nope. I um. didn't get, um, support, like…You should not let bullying happen. Should be there to support everyone in every way, and um, you're there to teach, uh, them about life and how to handle themselves.

Probing further, inquired whether he had been aware of anti-bullying policy in his school.

> Not really. I don't think so. I couldn't concentrate; they kept pulling me off my work. They kept bullying me; like for instance, like calling me horrible names, tripping me up, following me around.

He did not feel like he received any support from his school or teachers who seemed unconcerned about bullying in his opinion. I asked him what he might change so others would not be subject to victimization.

> "…I would say something about it and try to get the teacher to understand and to care more, and um, and not let anyone get bullied and like watch out for them (the bullied child), and to make them (the one doing the bullying) stop bullying and to punish them by putting them in isolation." (parenthesis mine)

Allen was sincere and longing for social connections. However, that others found him difficult to understand often left him feeling isolated. Subject to mood swings intensified his feeling of loneliness resulting in destructive behavior only serving to

push others further away. Although expressing frustration, also exhibited enthusiasm for a bright future, to which he looked forward.

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"Abby"

A young woman in her late teens, Abby personified 'tough-girl' through her appearance in direct contradiction with her people pleaser personality. She was one of the first young people to approach me when I started at the site, greeting me with a warm laugh and a thunderous 'hiya!'. Barrelling down upon me much like a truck without brakes, I had to take a step back to regain my composure. She stuck out her hand and loudly introduced herself. Who was this person in front of me? This was Abby.

Of a tall and robust stature and her abounding, good-natured big personality that bordered on unbridled exuberance, she did not go unnoticed. One was quick to recognize her cheerful, overly energetic personality seemed at odds with her appearance. Her strut embodied a swagger that more resembled a bear on the prowl then a person, while her face etched with a marauding expression, intimidated often looking fierce. She wore her coiffed glossy, dark-chocolate brown hair tightly cropped which emphasized her flat, low forehead. Dressed in a black woolen skullcap, highlighted her ruddy complexion. She squeezed her full figure into too tight skinny jeans, accentuating her rolling waist that her too-short tops did little to conceal. She wore a man's black quilted, faux shearling-lined jacket that came to her waist.

For all her effort at her tough appearance, could not hide her lively and expressive, gold-flecked, dark smoky eyes set far apart on her face. Her small turned up nose with a splattering of freckles, sat squarely in the middle of her round face, always transfixed with a smile showing a row of small white teeth.

With her considerable size, short hair and woolen hat gave off an image of someone one might fear. Instead, at least in this space, she gave the best bear hugs and lifted anyone she hugged off the ground. Her sincerity penetrated her otherwise guarded façade shielding scars, revealing a highly spirited person. As I got to know her, I began to understand her sincerity and authenticity. Not one to manufacture her actions, she was raw and emotionally open sharing her feelings freely at every

opportunity. However, for all her genuineness, she seemed to have created two personalities as though one were a proxy. As a walking contradiction, I was not sure which personality was her alternate, open, authentic Abby, or tough-chick Abby. In this space, she was friendly, doing as much as she could for others. But had one approached her on the street, she was someone one would have crossed the road to avoid. Away from this youth organization, she hid her smile and exuberant personality and seemed to morph fully into her tough-girl persona.

Yet on that first day, she took my hand and steered me to the small table in front of the little couch in the corner. She pulled up a chair for me motioning I sit down when I realized she had interrupted her drawing to get me. For a few hours once a week, this was the crafting corner. A woman organized crafts and art projects almost weekly for the young people. What struck me was, the projects were more primary school age appropriate, not for those in the latter half of high school. What seemed like a lack of age-appropriateness, however, did not keep them from enjoying themselves. On this particular day, they were coloring with markers. Abby, who had not let go of a bright pink marker when she had gathered me up, continued to color in her drawing. I began to understand only later why they enjoyed crafts, as it seemed as an escape from some of the challenges they admitted facing in their lives.

Many who walked into the room became a recipient of an Abby bear hug who always bounding over to a newcomer. She also enthusiastically joined my seminars. However, her energy would wean quickly. Eagerly partaking in initial conversations, as soon as I handed out a printed page, she would abruptly depart only for us to hear her loud, bubbly laughter as she found someone in the hallway.

I wondered if she could read. After a few sessions with similar behavior, I was curious and asked if perhaps I had done something to offend her. Although in her usual friendly manner, seemed to struggle with her thoughts, and eventually walked away sharing little, although finally she shared her concerns. She was dyslexic and found it daunting to read anything printed on white paper, finding it easier to read from green paper instead, which I gladly accommodated. Not wanting to highlight her reading challenges differentiating her from her peers, I began providing all material for everyone on green paper. Although her attention span remained a little short, she eagerly participated again and seemed grateful.

I still wondered, though if she could read at an age-appropriate level. Although she had just started certificate training in the hospitality industry, suggesting she could, I

continued to find her worksheets mostly left blank. A few doodles in the margins and an inappropriately placed ‘x’ in empty spaces led me to believe perhaps she was concealing her inability to read what was on the paper. I was speculating, of course; however, I sensed her struggle with the material implied more than just an issue of white versus green paper. During a seminar, I walked around the table interacting and assisting with questions. When I reached Abby, she asked that I read the questions aloud, which I did, resulting in her first completed worksheet.

For all her approachability, she remained guarded about certain things, including from her past. She did, however, want to open up when away from her peers. Although much of what she told me, she shared freely with others, some stories, though she claimed to confide in only me. She experienced much trouble while at secondary school, beaten up and called homophobic names, even before she admitted her sexuality to herself. She reported being purposely pushed down a flight of stairs by a group of boys resulting in several ruptured vertebrae and spinal cord injury that required a hospital stay and months of rehabilitation. She was not aware of any school actions against the boys who pushed her. Abby believed she had no one to turn to, no one she could confide in or find help from when she needed it the most, especially at school. Whether there was someone available she was not able to identify, I cannot say. It was, however, never clear to Abby

She also struggled with her home life. She was placed into the foster care system after it was determined her father had sexually abused her and her mother deemed unfit to parent, but not before being accused herself of sexually molesting her younger brother. She only later understood she transferred the sexual abuse experienced at the hands of her father onto her brother, not fully understanding the ramifications at the time as she was still young. After expressing remorse, she was eventually permitted supervised contact with her brother. I, she claimed, was the first person she felt comfortable telling believing I would not judge her. She trusted me. Weeks later, she excitedly mentioned she would be allowed to see her brother unsupervised because her visitation restrictions would soon be lifted as he was turning sixteen.

Learning from her experiences, Abby was determined to help others deciding to pursue a counseling certificate instead of finishing in the hospitality field. She wanted to make things better for others, make sure no one felt alone and that young people had someone to confide in. She seemed to have found a new purpose, appeared to be less angry which often seemed to lurk beneath the surface, even for all her energy and

bear hugs. She was learning to accept her past and embrace the person she was becoming.

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"Sophie"

While many wanted to disappear, Sophie wanted the world to see her. Where many of her peers were inclined to hide away as though to protect themselves against victimization – they cannot bully you if they do not see you – Sophie was quick whited, was loud and energetic. She was not a wallflower by any definition. People took notice of her.

She was of medium height with her limp, greasy, chestnut brown hair barely reaching her square shoulders, framing her pear-shaped face and her warm, dancing eyes. She had a big nose and heavy jaw, which narrowed into a round, red chin, underscoring the rose tone of her skin. Her nicotine stained teeth highlighted her dried, cracked lips reminding me of driftwood. She wore red and gold sequined hot pants and loose blouses. Her stockings emphasized the masculinity of her legs. But she did not always dress this way. When I first met her, she dressed in jeans and basic plaid shirts with canvas sneakers. Her personality was always boisterous, and over several months, so too, became her dress.

In her last year of secondary school, at sixteen, she gleefully approached the impending conclusion of one phase of her life, anxiously awaiting the start of a new life-phase. With one year left, and feeling her life was already in transition, she began to transition her identity as well. As transgender, born into a male body but feeling female, she was starting to learn how, quoting her, "to behave as the fairer sex lives."

She was original and the stories she created to shape her new identity supported the eccentricity. Those that knew her best probably knew what school she attended; for the rest of us, though, she attended Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry, underpinning her unique approach and outlook on life. She fiercely guarded her 'real' life and created events that formed her new self, carefully crafting a new character. She was enthusiastic but lost interest very quickly. She used many profanities and tended to yell to be sure she was heard. Her personality and energy dominated the room. That several other personalities at the youth center also fought for dominance, it became at times, quite loud, with Sophie in the center. Everyone took notice as she

entered a room. Jumpy and skipping around from one person to the next, she rested her head briefly on everyone's shoulder before moving on to the next person, usually smelling of the cigarette she had just smoked.

It was hard to settle her down long enough to have a conversation much less get to know her, but eventually, we found some time and space to do just that. Surprisingly, she was rather candid and what she shared seemed honest and not inspired by the J.K. Rowling book series. She had long realized she was a girl trapped in a boy's body, which she believed her parents understood. At first, it seemed she had a supportive and caring family upon whom she could rely.

She was thirteen when she first shared her true identity with her parents and wanted to start dressing as a girl. According to Sophie, their reaction was to protect her younger brothers who might not understand. After all, they argued, both younger siblings looked up to their older brother, and might be too traumatic that their older brother would suddenly become their older sister. Sophie yielded and let her parents set the pace of her transition. She waited. She explained she began to feel like an outsider to what was once a close-knit family. Her parents started treating her a little differently. At first, it was just a few things, like her father not taking her to cricket matches anymore or her mother not seeming to know what she could expect from her child anymore.

According to Sophie, her parents seemed confused; I believed she was giving them the benefit of the doubt rather than admitting her disappointment. She did eventually ask for her parents support again, but they continued to resist; for the sake of the younger brothers they maintained. Sophie started drinking alcohol and at fourteen, was an alcoholic.

She soon found things were not only changing at home, but at school as well.

> *Sophie*: I encountered a lot of bullying myself. The school I was at was terrible for bullying. There was quite a lot of people being bullied. There was quite a few bullies as well. I was especially bullied after I came out.
> *Me*: How did teachers handle that?
> *Sophie*: Not very well at my school. It was actually quite terrible.
> *Me*: So like in your case
> *Sophie*: yeah
> *Me*: Were you ever able to actually go talk with a teacher? Did they do something?
> *Sophie*: There was one teacher I was able to talk to that tried sorting things out and it just ended up happening again, so I left it.
> *Me*: So you don't feel there was a lot of support?
> *Sophie*: No, not at all.

> *Me*: How about from the head teacher?
> *Sophie*: None, no. Very rarely saw the head teacher at that school.
> *Me*: What was the worse type of bullying at your school, you think.
> *Sophie*: Homophobic, yeah, definitely homophobic. And then sexist bullying quite a lot because sexist remarks were made against my teachers, some of my teachers by some pupils. That kid got took out of class and put in detention and isolation. But they didn't really concentrate on the homophobic bullying or anything along those lines. They really just focused on racism, sexism and just normal bullying overall.

It was clear she had experienced multiple levels of bullying, and that the school culture, at least according to Sophie, was not supportive. She also received little support from friends when she decided to share her true identity recalling with tears welling up in her eyes how baffled and then later how angry her friends became.

Although she had shared her gender preference, her school and other students saw her as a boy. To the world, she was still Will. Two of her former friends began threatening her, where she feared for her safety while at school. Reporting the threats to a teacher, Sophie believed fell on deaf ears because 'Will" and the boys taunting her, were friends. She found the teacher believed they were merely irritated with each other as friends can, so did not investigate. Consequently, Sophie refrained from reporting further incidents as she felt previous bullying incidents had lacked proper resolutions. As Will, Sophie continued to be bullied at school often called a freak or queenie when walking down school corridors. Although only having shared with a few friends, she indicated to me it seemed far more people knew. She felt her two former friends had retaliated against her identity expression by spreading gossip resulting in increased bullying and severity. Not only struggling at school, but her parents also rejected her. Finally deciding they could not accept her female gender expression, suggested Sophie move in with an older cousin, that it might be better for her. Feeling unwanted, she ran away instead, eventually placed into the foster care system by her parents who did not want her back, at least not as Sophie.

She had just started attending a new school when I began at the youth facility, which looking back on the year, seemed to give her strength to express openly as female. A few months after I started, she began dressing like a girl; a glittery, colorful, flashy girl and she loved it. She seemed sensitive, liked anything pink and had chosen her name precisely to reflect femininity while creating an elaborate back-story of intrigue. Although she never did leave her fantasy world as I suspected it protected her from the harsh realities of the real one, she seemed more comfortable in

her skin as she appeared to gain confidence with her identity. I asked her if she was still bullied at school, to which she did not respond. I did not pursue it further.

Our conversation had turned to introspection.

> *Me*: You have worked through a lot of stuff, haven't you?
> *Sophie*: I had to.

As we ended our conversation, a seldom quiet and reflective Sophie switched back and bounded up and with all her flash and noise calling out to her friends as she left the room. My brief and quiet moment with her revealed what I interpreted as an injured person who was desperate for acceptance, and here at this youth facility she was Sophie in full bloom, bringing her temporary happiness.

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"Aiden"

When I first met Aiden, he was a jittery, skinny boy of seventeen, who gave off a nervousness that made most people uncomfortable. He chewed his lower lip and fidgeted a lot. He shook his hands and tapped his feet, often getting up out of his chair to walk around, all the while sighing. He was confrontational, questioned authority, cantankerous, episodic and often walked out of a room mid-conversation, which initially seemed to baffle many with his sudden departures. As notable as his presence was, his appearance was quite the opposite. He was shorter and almost delicate. His untidy, tawny straight hair, which he kept short, added to his unremarkable appearance. Standing at approximately 5'6", slouched curling his shoulders forward, made him seem shorter than he was. His bloodless-like complexion and narrow, straight nose emphasized his close-set squinty, haunting chestnut brown eyes. He had a long neck with a protruding Adam's apple and a few wiry whiskers growing from his chin on his otherwise beardless, baby-like face.

Every time I saw him, he wore the same type of clothes…jeans, a nondescript t-shirt and a zippered, khaki jacket torn on the right shoulder. His unremarkable appearance could easily disappear into the crowd, except for one thing. His eyes. He was not able to keep a steady gaze, in fact, his eyes always twitched, jerking around nervously. They maintained an almost rhythmic right to left spasm. He did not seem able to look anyone straight in the face and with his glasses sliding down his nose when he furrowed his brow, only emphasized his eye movements.

Many of the other young people were excited to meet someone new and were approachable; whereas Aiden, on the other hand, was reserved and difficult to get to know, seemingly untrusting of everyone. Easily offended, he maintained his guard. He was sullen and irritable. He tried to intimidate others with his understanding of the world by sharing random bits of information, almost as though as a defense tactic.

> I actually watched a video which has ruined my childhood, because, because, the video actually intentionally ruined childhoods by, by telling us about all these really horrible things about the things we, we love as children…and those horrible things actually turn out to be true. Like they told us stuff about the kid who played E.T….had no legs. And the kid who voiced Ducky in the Land Before Time became a mute because her father murdered her.

This flow of random information, rather than eliciting interest, was instead met with shaking heads. What struck me was not what Aiden said, rather his emphasis on seemingly irrelevant and untrue information. Maybe that was the point. To him, these arbitrary bits seemed to shape part of his reality and were, therefore, necessary; but that his comments were dismissed by others appeared to frustrate him. These events set in motion an almost endless stream of anecdotes perhaps representing his efforts to prove himself relevant. Attempted to engage with him during these factoid bursts, I hoped to show him enough interest to ease his anxieties. Every move I made was strategic to avoid offending him.

My first several months saw little change in Aiden's behavior. Every effort was made assuring seminars were safe spaces to explore topics that were relevant and of interest, and although Aiden participated in seminars, he was a challenge. He interrupted with bits of information with little or no bearing; calling out to me "did you know...," and would proceed to explain something about outer space or the conflict in the Middle East. I attempted to engage with him addressing whatever he had just mentioned. However, when I tried to circle him back to the session, he got up mid-sentence and briskly stomped out of the room. His famous abrupt departures were no longer disruptive as the other young people had grown quite accustomed to his behavior. My initial attempts to coax him back into the seminar were fruitless. I soon realized my efforts were counter-productive. He required time and space to digest whatever had triggered the abrupt departure.

I remained patient with him, and eventually, he did begin to open up. His was a long tale of severe bullying and sexual violence, false accusations, and feelings of

marginalization. Through his eyes and his stories, his school had done him a terrible disservice.

He spoke of how a group of girls, referring to them as the popular girls, had targeted him. He explained the library at his school was sectioned off to allow groups to come together and work gathering around larger tables. Off to the side within these sections were several smaller desks. He recalled how noisy they were as they gathered around a big table in the center of the room. He reported how they kept looking over at him while speaking in hushed tones. Eventually, all but one girl left as abruptly as they had arrived. Aiden explained how she continued looking over at him, making him feel uncomfortable. Not just once or twice, rather glancing at him many times. So often, in fact, he began to consider asking if she wanted something from him, but refrained, as she was, after all, part of the popular crowd and he was not. She eventually came over asking something of him and then departed abruptly. He recalled it seemed inconsequential, as he was not able to recollect what she had asked.

He stayed on in the library as he still had work to complete. Some time later two familiar adults, the headmaster, and a teacher approached him with concern and anger etched on their faces instructing him to collect his things and follow them to the office. Once there he explained to me how shocked he was at what happened next. The girl who had stayed on in the library who eventually said something to Aiden had gone to the head teacher's office after leaving the library, and reportedly accused him of sexual assault.

As he was retelling his story to me, I could see his already pale complexion had gone even more pallid, almost ashen. He was still clearly very distressed as he explained he had never done anything hurtful to this particular girl, or to any girl for that matter. He explained he was allowed to go back to class after several hours in the headmaster's office, unsure what was happening. In the meantime, however, rumors had spread he had molested that girl. The next several days, he recalled, were horrible. Not only did this particular group of girls proceed to torment him publically, but other pupils joined in as well. Several bigger boys started "getting up in my face" and physically threaten him. This-or-that would happen if they heard he ever touched a girl again.

Grabbed by several larger boys, dunked his head in the toilet while flushing. Others pushed him to the floor; he was kicked and beaten, resulting in a black eye, a broken nose, two fractured ribs and crushed fingers from when they stomped on his

hand. All of this occurring on school grounds. Aiden did say the girl who had accused him eventually recanted her story. Although, no longer considered a sexual predator by the school, pupils did not forget and found other ways to taunt and bully him. He said at one point, several older boys cornered him and simulated raping him. While we spoke, he revealed another situation occurring during his Year 9.

> *Aiden*: Some, some girls, um, in, in my class had bullied me for a while, and, and, and then smeared hair removal cream all, all, all over my scalp. In retaliation and, and in my defense, I was actually getting really tired of getting bullied, so I, so, so, I, so I, so I was getting close to my breaking point, em, I went, eh, I went to the printer, eh, opened it up. I took out, I took out the obnoxiously large, eh, ink cart, cart, ink, ink cartridge, loosened the lid a little and then, and then threw it at them.
> *Me*: …well, now I have to ask, what was the outcome? Uh, who got into trouble?
> *Aiden*: Me
> *Me*: And were you able to explain and defend yourself?
> *Aiden*: The, the teacher wouldn't even listen. The, the teacher just, just kept telling me to be quiet as I had supposedly damaged school property.
> *Me*: Do you know if the girls got into trouble for bullying you?
> *Aiden*: No, they, they didn't get into trouble.

It took him some time to begin healing emotionally as was evident the first several months I knew him. However, as awkward as he was when I first met him, he seemed happy and almost self-assured by the end of my time at the youth center. His factoid bursts had decreased, and now he made people laugh, and his attention span had increased. Something had dramatically changed in his life, and it brought forth a charming young man. Now his glasses slid down his nose because he laughed a lot. Rose-tinged ivory skin replaced his former pallor, and he now wore a stylish leather jacket. His eyes, though, still twitched with the same rhythmic spasm. By the time I left the site eight months on, it was clear something had changed for the better.

Shortly after the winter break, he had started to see someone. In fact, he and his boyfriend were engaged. He was almost eighteen and his boyfriend a year older, seemed jubilant, which probably explained why he started wearing that stylish leather jacket. Now out of secondary school, he had completed his first term of his certification program in the culinary arts and had begun playing the guitar. He even performed at several clubs that catered to young people.

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“Thomas”

Thomas acted as though he was in charge. His deep voice thundered across a room matching an equal physical presence. At over six feet tall and husky, he was a commanding figure. His dark brown hair, matted to the back, bristled on the top of his head with long bangs that draped in front of his eyes. His voice was nasally, and with a lisp would randomly stick out his tongue when he spoke. His t-shirt did not cover a paunchy midsection dropped down over his belt. I was not sure if acting as though he were in charge was sincere or meant to antagonize, but either way, he seemed to take advantage of his size to which people responded negatively.

He was nineteen, but his brown eyes seemed to reveal a much younger boy lurking around the corners of his brain, despite his adult physic. His oval face, protruding eyes and flat nose still personified the transition between adolescence and adulthood. He was a contradiction. He played on his stature for adult privileges then behaved like a little boy when he was displeased. He often sat in the corner on a chair, pushing back balancing on the two back legs, with one arm crossed over his ample chest and the other hand up to his face, sucking his fingers. After a while getting to know him, I began to think he was seeking attention rather than wanting to be in charge. However, his attention seeking resembled more a bull-in-a-china-shop approach, which others seemed to reject, only to fuel Thomas’ boisterous mannerisms and feelings of insecurity.

He was in his second calendar year of the first academic year of his certificate program studying food catering. He proudly explained to me what he was learning about food, declaring he would not eat anything that contained bovine gelatine, usually found in jelly type sweets. However, he would eat a large bag of licorice (which listed bovine gelatine as an ingredient) meant for everyone during seminars, ignoring his declared distaste for certain ingredients, or even that he was supposed to share. He tended to say and do things that suited him at the moment.

On occasion, he attempted a project in the crafting corner with others. As the table was small only seating three comfortably, did not stop others from squeezing around. Thomas did the same by pulling up a chair and physically shifting the person next to him, receiving a snarl for his efforts. His clumsy attempts at crafting reflected his less than gentle approach. On this particular day, they were cutting out paper snowflakes. Those with a sensitive touch produced beautiful cut outs that were then taped up on

the wall. Thomas and his thick fingers struggled. He became frustrated and knocked back his chair that crashed to the ground as he quickly stood up. The entire room fell silent as everyone's head turned momentarily in the direction of the noise. Once they realized it was Thomas and his chair, the hum of conversation quickly resumed. Lurching his large frame to one side, Thomas lumbered off out of the room, seemingly defeated. I later saw him sitting on a chair, leaning back on its hind legs, with one arm crossed over his chest and sucking his fingers.

During another of my visits, while preparing my seminar, I noticed Thomas feeling somewhat isolated, upon which I asked if he might be interested in assisting in setting things up. I had planned to show a clip from my laptop and needed it connected to the larger, drop down screen available in one of the conference rooms. He eagerly agreed with his mood quickly changing for the better. When given responsibility and encouragement, he responded positively changing his entire persona. During those brief moments encouraged by a positive influence where he might otherwise have leaned back in a chair sucking his fingers, he instead leaned forward and was more engaged with both people and the task at hand. Although often short-lived, influenced by a positive encounter his participation in seminars was productive, before his mood turned dark again.

Many young people participated in that seminar asking many questions. Thomas, at first pleasant attitude quickly turned negative, seemed to reject what other's said shouting offensive comments. “Women are stupid” followed with “why do women ask so many questions?” That he insulted many in the room resulted in several young people challenging him to which he replied with ‘shut-up’, apparently unable to defend his ideas. Feeling defeated, sat back, crossed his arms over his chest and sucked his fingers.

When I began at the youth facility, people seemed to like Thomas, despite his rowdy manner. However, over the next several months, his less than compromising personality began to rub others the wrong way, and slowly, they turned away from him. Thomas got angry and louder with each passing week wanting others to hear him, but they no longer listened. He became very disruptive resulting in several warnings from Bruce that he may no longer be welcome if he did not change his negative attitude. Thomas shut down instead. But before he had completely shut everyone out, I had an opportunity to speak with him one-to-one. His tales of

childhood were harrowing, which seemed to have enormous influences on the person he was becoming.

After a little chatter, he began. I sensed he felt unsure as he was looking down at the floor and fiddling with his fingers. I let him know he did not have to continue. I did not pry; this was too sensitive. I let him decide what he wanted to share. Without looking at me, he explained when he was younger, his older sister's boyfriend, Peter, moved in with his family. He mentioned he was happy at first, as it was much like having an older brother. Peter had taken him to a few football games, and his presence seemed to be a positive influence on Thomas. However, Thomas said his sister and Peter soon began arguing, with tensions filling the house. Thomas began spending less time at home instead staying out late, which for a boy of ten was peculiar. Eventually, Thomas began to explain Peter had begun entering his room late at night, removed his clothes and got into bed with him, raping him repeatedly over the course of several months. In those same months, Peter and his sister's relationship seemed to get better as their arguing stopped. Thomas, however, struggled to understand what was happening to him. It seemed he wanted to get this story off his chest, so I just to let him speak.

> I was sexually abused by my father when I was a child. When my sisters boyfriend starting doing the same thing, It was Christmas. The first time he entered my room he had no clothes on. I was petrified. The next thing I know, he was on top of me. All I kept saying was 'stop' and 'why'. All I was thinking was that I can't trust any man. He kept telling me it was my fault.
> This lasted for about 10 minutes. When it finally stopped I couldn't breathe and I didn't want to be around him anymore, but I was too scared to tell anyone.
> I went back to school in January, and I told my school nurse I couldn't live at home anymore, so she phoned children services and I told them over Christmas I was beaten up at home. I couldn't say I was sexually abused. The next day they moved me into the local residential care home.

He mentioned that while at the care facility, he did share his experience with his keyworker who called the police. However, that the police officer was male, and Thomas not trusting of men, could not share anything with him. His keyworker took his statement, which she claimed, was apparently enough for the police. Thomas was not sure what had happened to Peter.

Although he seemed to yearn comradery and the safety of the youth site, his negative attitude permeated his entire life, which eventually lead to barring him from

returning to the youth group. It was not only the youth group that eventually did not allow his return as he was kicked off his course at school as well. His last day at the youth site was brief and although I sensed he was looking for the 'I'll miss you' from his peers, received none and lumbered out the door with his hands tucked in his pant pockets.

Summary

This chapter presented stories reported by young people, and how I made sense of them, drawing out experiences that represented how they interacted with their world. My objective was to convey events through stories, demonstrating young people's bullying experiences. The encounters presented here engaged with adults, with schools and their peers. Although most young people spoke of bullying incidents occurring at school, many also experienced victimization elsewhere, with far reaching consequences.

While schools cannot control what happens away from the school grounds, policy instituted at school level should weigh the potential impact of outside influences, examining their effects on students' school experiences. Interrogating the responsiveness of policy application and how it is understood and practiced may be best served when students' personal lives that penetrate school experiences are acknowledged. Ignoring the kinds of events described in this chapter may contribute to identity erasure when universal resolution mechanisms applied to bullying incidents overlook circumstances that both shaped the victim and the victimization. This chapter serves as a mechanism to illustrate the implications of bullying, the impact of which varied for different students that left many believing they had little recourse with, or support from, school officials.

Investigating these experiences highlighted critical incidents, confirming a gap exists between policy creation and implementation. Chapter Six introduces the reader to critical incidents demonstrating several situations uncovered during data analysis, reflecting upon conditions associated with given events. Using this framework and through a thorough examination of cases, underlying circumstances otherwise overlooked, revealed factors contributing to bullying incidents that influenced and undermined victim's identities.

Chapter Six
Critical Incidents

The incidents that shaped

What is truth?
Who is going to judge whether
my experience of an incident
is more valid than yours?

Tracy Emin

Critical incident analysis penetrates events uncovering significant moments within a given situation. It exposes how conditions are interpreted differently by involved participants each creating different meanings. A critical incident interrogation, therefore, becomes the opportunity unpacking how different people in the same event understand what happened, differently. Therefore, as a tool, critical incidents serve to highlight situations that impact participants.

In the pursuit for impartiality, a debate between equality and equity (as presented in Chapter One) has developed, interrogating the difference and importance of each. As reflected in legislation and education inclusion policy, more disenfranchised groups are protected while multiple identities are normalized. As such, strategies to empower and the implications of disempowerment upon student motivation and learning are recognized. However, according to Murray (2011), such debates are occurring within a well-established social, historical context continuing to shape educational policy through heterosexual biases, results in schools responses lacking urgency and are instead inclined toward reactionary responses when addressing non-conforming identities. Critical incidents, therefore, demonstrate an opportunity to move beyond dominant understanding and reactionary responses, pinpointing incidents that on the surface may seem trivial, yet have adverse consequences for non-normative identities. Critical incidents also present another window through which to interrogate how LGB,T young people experience bullying.

However, before introducing the incidents, the next pages synthesize elements influencing events. First how identity interacts with a system that controls is followed by a discussion framing equality extending the analysis introduced in Chapter One. This is preceded with a brief interrogation of aspects missing from policy. Presented

as context, these illustrate how bullying is understood differently by the system versus the victim. Drawing conclusions from data thus, establishes how young people understand bullying.

The combination of assessments of critical incidents, demonstrated how bullying was accepted by different actors, exposing the complexities of a single bullying incident. The developments presented here underpin wider misconceptions of the consequences of bullying as experienced by victims versus how bullying is understood and misunderstood by those in a dominant position.

This chapter is therefore structured to address and elaborate on issues relating to how critical incidents are understood and interrogated in this thesis. The first section expands on identity while presenting a recap of equality and policy from previous chapters as understood through critical incidents. The second section introduces critical incidents, while the third section presents an analysis of particular elements of identified incidents followed by the chapter conclusion.

Part I

Identity versus bureaucracy

Without a fixed end-point, identity is neither static nor linear, rather continues to inform and shape. It is, therefore, essential anti-bullying policy is flexible when responding to individual bullying incidents with resolution mechanisms and disciplinary procedures that match the situation. Instead, at-present measures are applied universally as a one-size-fits-all solution ignoring the relationship between the individual, their identity, and the bullying incident, calling into question a school's ability to assure the well being of its students.

How can bureaucracy interfere with identity?

Identity challenges bureaucracy because such requires differentiating between equity and equality. That equity recognizes unique identities and experiences, as a mechanism for access tends to support the interests of those who are marginalized. Bureaucracy, however, codifies values that represent dominant interests; therefore, identities only make sense in the context that underpins dominant values jeopardizing access for non-conforming, non-dominant identities (Waters 2012, p. 96-97). The relationship between equity and bureaucracy test the difference between gaining access to an institution (equity) and wanting to benefit from that institution (equality).

This unholy alliance also problematizes human rights. As such, although extensively interrogated in Chapter Two, brief human rights connections are presented here anchoring the argument.

For the individual, bureaucracy serves as a mechanism with which to gain access, yet itself remains a barrier as it maintains a universalizing effect, depriving individuality. Benefitting from an institution suggests an organization as a school, is capable of empowering. Schools, however, as bureaucratic organizations challenge the notion of privileging the individual. Thus, for anti-bullying and inclusion policies to succeed requires admitting to unique identities and experiences, essentially privileging the individual thereby emboldening equitability and access. Determining need though, becomes a multi-tiered question. First, what is anti-bullying policy meant to address, and secondly, what is missing?

Required by law, all state schools must have anti-bullying policy in place; yet remains at the discretion of the school the extent to which the policy is executed. Lacking the clear guidance from the government as previously mentioned, what anti-bullying policy should look like beyond requiring a few key elements, establishes scenarios for hegemony within schools that according to Chomsky (1989), fashions policy with imperial underpinnings. Thus to answer the above question what policy is meant to address, remains ambiguous outside imperialistic boundaries. Anti-bullying policy creation establishes the illusion of a democratic process that in reality alienates victims from inclusionary practice by not admitting individuality and equity. Through such a method, identity concedes to the bureaucracy shaping policy mechanisms. Which brings this back to the second part of the above question, and what is missing. Under strict jurisdictions, what is missing, however; is difficult to identify as long as policy represents hegemonic principles.

Bureaucracy within a democratic framework mainly exists to assure compatibility amongst people by defining roles; however, those roles assume ”predictability and constancy,” (Waters 2012, p. 97). That schools have certain levels of autonomy may not recognize democratic civic engagement as necessary, leaving students disenfranchised and lost within the system, as they do not fit within the ‘predictable’ framework. Although young people do have a human right to express preferences within a democratic space, they either do not take advantage or are not aware they have a voice, in part, due to the suppression of their rights. Their omission assures

policy remains unchanged serving the needs of the dominant culture, which becomes clear as participants in this study reported not knowing their rights.

A bureaucratic approach to education, therefore, lacks engagement with marginalized populations compromising their involvement, hindering student's rights for full realization and development. Therefore, bureaucracy itself becomes a barrier. Those students who are meant to benefit from the anti-bullying and inclusion policies are amongst those who suffer the most when policy is not used most equitably ignoring compatibility amongst individuals. Within these parameters, critical incidents become a tool with which to interrogate the passivity of bureaucracy toward equity, maintaining the status quo.

Framing equality

Although enumerated as a vulnerable status, an LGB,T identity often remains abstract in inclusion practice. For example, institutionalized measures used to address bullying are inclined to ignore minority identities subscribing instead to equal application of resolutions. The aforementioned is problematic when a sexual minority's identity was the incentive for the bullying, yet remains ignored. Such subscribes to the calcification of sexual minorities, classifying them as secondary because their identity was less important than ending the immediate effects of bullying.

The creation of anti-bullying policy represents an underpinning characteristic of civil society's principles of social responsibility and empowerment through mechanisms of citizenship. Equality and non-discrimination are core principles within a human rights framework ensuring individuals have equal opportunity, and that backgrounds or identities shall not be the basis for discrimination, which in a school context, should reduce exclusion of disaffected students. Committing to human rights principles, the Department for Education advocates 'advancing equality of opportunity' while also recommending all persons should have equal access to opportunity (Department for Education, 2014a). However, international treaties and government policy alike are only beginning to recognize that 'equality' continues to foster oppression and inaccessibility. Although 'equality' in itself is progressive, as access must apply equally, as long as it remains contingent upon all as the same, will fail (Minow 1990, p. 74). Thus, assuming the same misses the point of status protection.

The above-mentioned serves as a reminder for the reader, illustrating a gap between policy intention and on-the-ground application exists. Such lack of attention to equity results in weak mechanisms maintaining abstract definitions of identities. Policy creation, therefore, should not be considered as an end point, instead, as a beginning where policy application is flexible, concentrating on 'equity'. However, agreeing to what such a process should look like remains challenging, especially when government guidance lacks specificity between the two terms. The Equality Act 2010 report, although disclosing that different forms of bullying exist, again, does not present clear guidelines how to treat unique bullying circumstances. Failing to use language as 'necessary' and 'sustain' creating urgency, the report instead used terms as 'should' and 'could' lacking significance, while deferring to specialist organizations as recommended sources for assistance when addressing particular or unique bullying situations. Such is problematic as how 'unique' is defined, is subjective, leaving it to school's administration to determine whether there is a need to seek further guidance, largely negating the general understanding and significance of the policy itself.

With the absence of clear language, anti-bullying policy creation has become big business as schools resort to outside organizations for assistance with what their policy should look like. Although such suggested resources as Stonewall UK, the fact remains that anti-bullying policy out sourced to non-governmental entities, charities and private companies at a financial cost to the school suggests policy directives as economics, serving the interests of a few with implementation representing a selective ideology may neither be fully representational nor equitable.

Pointing out again, schools remain shielded by having an anti-bullying policy in place, and are, therefore, not called out for the lack of equitable application and execution, leaving it to school's discretion the extent they challenged homophobic bullying. Additionally, levels of staff preparedness across the education system seemed inconsistent based on student accounts, and therefore, the degree of engagement with homophobic bullying, remained ambiguous (Meyer, 2008). Although finding a school without anti-bullying policy seemed futile, the evidence did point to policy interpretation, and implementation varied considerably (*ibid*).

The Equality Act 2010 report also offered goal-oriented outcomes, such as "…involve pupils. All pupils understand the school's approach and are clear about the part they can play to prevent bullying" (p. 8), also without clear and practical methods

and guidelines to reach these goals. The report goes further indicating that although "[s]chools need to make sure that all gay, lesbian or bisexual pupils, or children of gay, lesbian or bi-sexual parents, are not singled out," and that a school should "check that there are no practices which could result in unfair…treatment" (p. 22) fails to make adhering to government guidelines statutory, further underscoring the divide between intent and actual implementation of anti-bullying policy specific to sexual orientation. Therefore, the theme of 'equality' is not necessarily equitable sustaining a concentration of influence that upholds oppressions. The extent to which policy is implemented, which includes resolution mechanisms, tends to express the will of the few increasing the concentration of power with those in authority. THUS the aforesaid tends to isolate queer youth, increasing prejudice and bullying further disempower.

Policy implementation often echoes the oppression it was meant to address. As another system of power, policy represents dominant culture's interests. How bullying is, therefore, understood and interrogated often epitomizes the same power imbalances. Equitability becomes the key to avoiding such shortcomings. Therefore, failing to identify situations requiring equitable resolutions further disenfranchises victims, essentially repudiating democratic efforts that produced inclusion and anti-bullying policy in the first place.

Inclusionary and anti-bullying policies are based on social justice principles of solidarity and caring for others, suggesting policy creation itself supports cohesion. However, for those who are not a member of a minority community may not share the same understanding how coherence is defined or valued, thus influencing implementation. Consequently, how anti-bullying policy is used becomes a gauge of solidarity within schools. Policy creation thus may be regarded as a strategic move to appear constructive when in reality, after considering actual implementation and resolution measures, begs the question what are the real tangible benefits for minorities.

Remembering that present policy production and implementation shifts the burden away from school administration and even the government instead places the burden onto those the policy is meant to protect. Anti-bullying initiatives exist, and can be quite good; the burden, however, rests with the victimized student assuring intended policy application. As a tactical maneuver, thus shifts the responsibility of implementation away from leadership. It cannot, therefore, be argued that intent was

lacking as policy exists, regardless of how ineffective the execution or resolution procedures are. Crediting those writing 'good' policy for progressive thought and action ignores how policy typifies oppressions benefitting a few and is therefore often myopic. Regardless of how 'good', policy implementation becomes a tick-the-box phenomenon rather than a mechanism for change against normalized aggressions. Thus, envisioning policy represents dominant culture's interests rather than those of a minority.

What is missing from policy?

Anti-bullying policies address all the 'hot-topic' categories that oppress. As interest and understanding grows for anti-discrimination and anti-bullying policy, intersectionality as a cause of bullying remains ambiguous. Such keeps bullying in a box with resolution mechanisms just as narrowly defined. It seems difficult then, to actualize inclusion when interrogating existing anti-bullying policy neglects the idea that a single bullying incident may victimize multiple identities. Policy should, therefore, not be limited to enumerated categories only to pacify critics, rather requires a broader application and scope of the definition, better serving victims. Subsequently, many LGB,T young people are not sufficiently protected by anti-bullying initiatives, and are denied the right to exercise free expression due to the homophobic climate in which they live and attend school. School administration may represent oligarchies, and methods used to implement policy and resolutions are not used to overcome divisions, rather are as tools used to maintain some degree of social power under which marginalized students struggle, and are often ignored. Critical incidents as introduced in the forthcoming section, becomes a litmus test signifying whether equity is applied in actual terms or is ignored leaving marginalized students without fair access.

Part II

Critical incidents

The critical incidents presented here are specific to the experiences of several young people attending this youth group. Even so, these incidents may have broader applications (see for example, issues discussed on pp. 60-62 and 83-84 of the Literature Review that examined inclusion, exclusion and bullying, linking these specific situations with broader discussions).

Critical incident analysis as a theory developed by Tripp (1993) "refers to some event or situation which marked a significant turning-point or change" for a person (p. 24). Uncovering these important moments presents opportunities of reflective teacher practice; instead, young people as reported by this thesis felt ignored as their teachers showed little interest in discovering what prompted the bullying.

Through the use of a critical incident reflection framework (Appendix J & K), patterns of ignored or overlooked aspects of bullying incidents by school officials within given incidents revealed. Using a critical reflection framework considered past events with the purpose to determine future remedies, interrogating what seemed not to work identifying vulnerabilities in present resolutions. While a critical reflection of incidents revealed patterns of identity erasure through the use of institutional measures used to address and resolve bullying situations. Combined, these served to identify incidents not immediately obvious. Although critical incidents can be apparent, many are less dramatic and wait to be uncovered (pp. 24-25). Following are presented several incidents, representing both what one might consider obvious as well as critical moments hidden within ordinary events.

Bullying situations as told by victimized students

Following are several bullying events identified as critical incidents by the level of attack on the individual's identity. Each incident is unique, although sharing the underpinning attack on identity, are recognized as different circumstances; therefore, each subsequent discussion slightly varies to suit the incident.

*Incident 1***:** *Michael*

Conversation between two boys, with intentions for Michael to hear what was being said:

Michael: *…and at one point, he turned around and told his friend who was sitting next to me 'I think Hitler had the right idea by getting rid of gypsies, gays and Jews.'*

Michael emphasizing 'gays' as the boy had, believing to assure he would hear.

Michael: *And at that, I felt, sort of, just scared. Because I was thinking, why would someone say that? And I didn't really have the courage at the time to tell anyone. I couldn't even tell the teacher. I ended up telling a friend and they went and told the deputy head.*

	The deputy head called me into the office and I had to explain what was going on. And then what happened is…well, not much happened actually. The other boy got told off and then after that, they never spoke to me again….But I think it was written down in the report…
Me:	*So they were reprimanded and they recognized what they did was wrong?*
Michael:	*Yeah*
Me:	*So you were okay with how your school handled it? Once it finally got to someone?*
Michael:	*In a way, like, geez, all I just felt like, he had been told off and something had been put in his school report that he had said a comment like that. But at the same time, with comments like that still leaves the, sort of emotional, mental…*he pauses
Me:	*Anguish…*
Michael:	*Yeah* *Like something should have been more done not just telling off, and then never speak, and never actually saying anything to me again.*

Analysis

Through policy production, schools set out to illustrate progressive inclusionary ideologies. However, unless practice includes a critical reflection of anti-bullying policy, assessing how useful applications are, is limited to reinforcing existing attitudes supporting implicit, and maybe explicit marginalization and bullying.

Reactionary responses to problems suggest many marginalized youths' identities as inferior, which tends to preclude a positive approach to inclusive school spaces, highlighting the multiplicity of the levels of resistance. A reactionary response suggests an identity may lack endorsement not being important enough to shift school ethos to one that prevents the marginalization or bullying in the first place. Should an ethos foster comprehensive inclusion, limits the need for a response post factum. Munoz-Plaza et al. (2002) identified the classroom "as the most homophobic of all social institutions" (p. 83), which suggests how ineffective school anti-bullying policy can be. Having an anti-bullying policy in place does not necessarily measure the level of support available, rather execution and follow-through are stronger indicators.

As was in Michael's case, the fundamental cause remained unaddressed, leaving the incident unsettled and lacking proper follow-through. The school seemed to use established institutional measures, regardless of effectiveness and applicability. A 'do not do that' approach (see Chapter Five, 'Jessica') is neither equal nor equitable. Michael's well being beyond the actual incident was not taken into account, nor did the administration seem to recognize an opportunity to assess their anti-bullying

policy. With a post factum approach, resolved little of the actual incident, serving instead as reminders of Michael's inferiority.

The situation left Michael feeling lonely, threatened and afraid. He indicated the young man who bullied him no longer spoke with him after the incident. Perhaps reporting him left the boy feeling angry, or his intentions were misunderstood and instead meant as ribbing between friends. Although the deputy head did reprimand, there were several missed opportunities for reflexive practice. One, following-up with Michael to ensure he was okay; and secondly, a missed opportunity to interrogate in-class practices.

The systemic practices used lacked follow-through with all participants and seemed to address what appeared needed only on the surface, which was to restore order. In this case, it was retroactive, therefore may have also lacked urgency and importance of diversity and inclusion. Buston and Hart (2001) point out that although recognizing social exclusion and adverse effects upon the well being of students as necessary, LGB,T students do not necessarily benefit from the same levels of concern as other marginalized groups.

Michael's identity

Identity construction influenced by life's experiences is fluid and not static. Should one's identity lack recognition, sends a negative message as in Michael's case, affecting how an identity progresses. However, Michael does not stand alone in his overall experience, as his homophobic victimization was not unique. Some figures suggest almost 30% of students in any given classroom may be affected by sexual orientation either themselves as gender non-conforming or have a family member who is a sexual minority, (Murray, 2011). Addressing sexuality as an identity is, therefore, important. "[D]espite this prevalence it is widely accepted that schools, and the policies and politics that govern them, fail to adequately address issues that concern queer youth" and their families (p. 215).

These numbers should not be ignored. Many schools and anti-bullying and inclusion policies maintain gender hegemony underpinning institutionalized homophobia, ignoring reform efforts for inclusion. It is, however, important to recognize there have been many positive legal changes for inclusion (Stonewall, 2014). These changes demonstrate that discrimination is not acceptable, while creating positive spaces for teachers and administration, as well as for students.

However, the stories presented here illustrate there is much work yet to be done as these positive changes have yet to permeate all school spaces. Michael, for example, experienced bullying that monitored gender norms. Scrutinized by harmful scripts and ineffective school measures serving only to police his identity, left Michael powerless. It was evident his status lacked recognition in dominant discourse, thus disadvantaging him.

Identity versus bureaucracy

The unambiguous discrimination of those who do not mirror dominant culture's socially constructed identities underpins the lack of privilege. The Hitler statement acted as a clear reminder Michael lacked certain social advantages. Just as concerning, the administration largely ignored the Hitler comment used as a tactic of homophobic bullying, tolerates the erosion of rights through exclusionary social discourse. Negotiating Michael's identity through enforced stigmatization, prejudice, and intolerance supported cultural norms problematizing inclusion efforts and non-conforming identity recognition.

The school may have believed they had done more than could have been expected, because Michael never took power within the situation. He did not report the incident rather a friend did several days after the fact, which may have expressed a lack of agency. It was, however, the way in which policy was executed, placing less emphasis on the event. Even though the school might have considered their methods pro-active as they did something, were bound by rigid procedures and policies that ultimately delineated from any form of equity. Simply having an anti-bullying policy does not protect potential victims as Michael's situation illustrated. Furthermore, if implementation lacks recognition of unique individuals and events, is an out-dated philosophy lacking conviction. Such continues to serve dominant culture and does not protect already marginalized students, instead, may intensify the isolation felt by those who are bullied.

In Michael's situation as he understood it, although addressing the case at some level, the school did not recognize the social reality of gender policing to which the bullying related. The intimidation and lack of urgency on the school's part was a push back against Michael's rights as a member of the LGB,T community. Michael was the problem. He remained victimized even after the situation gained attention from the school administration, as disregarding his sexual orientation as the driving force

behind the negative comments stripped Michael of his human right to respect (UDHR, Art. 8). If the school understood gender and sexuality beyond what is written in anti-bullying policy, might move them to reassess their approach away from Michael as the obstacle and depriving him of his rights.

The immediate problem was a lack of recognition of an attack upon identity. Although over the last years, anti-discrimination legislation has extended to anti-bullying policies in schools presenting opportunities to transform heteronormative assumptions, continues to lack clear support for disenfranchised students in some schools. Undermining the aims of anti-bullying policy, institutionalized knowledge of gender resulted in measures that did not account for specifics within a bullying incident, as Michael's experience illustrated.

Incident 2: James

James felt he was being punished for something he did not do.

Me: *Did you ever experience bullying yourself?*

James: *Not really, but in the last year when I came out, I lost quite a few friends because they always thought I would hit on them. So there was this one moment in class a person who was very homophobic. I was sitting next to him in English class. He turns to me and asks, 'So are you gay?'*
So this one boy kept making fun of me in class after that, and the teacher got mad. She moved me to a table in the back of the room. I was glad, but felt a little, you know, awkward because everyone was looking at me and some were laughing.
But you know, that didn't really resolve it. He did stop in the classroom, but outside, you know, in the hall or outside, he kept bullying me.

Me: *Uh ha*

James: *When it comes to teachers, teachers don't really notice much in the classroom because they are always with one student or another trying to work out like you know the simplest maths equation like 2 + 2 = 4, we all know that.*
<chuckles>
So they don't care about what is going on.

Me: *So correct me if I'm wrong, but you're saying the support wasn't really there in school and that emotional connections were lacking…*

James: *Yup*

Me: *…to not feel so vulnerable*

James: *Its just the thing that teachers don't know what's going on so they see only one thing and don't care about finding out what happened. Detention for you, one hour after school. Its like giving detention is not going to do it, do anything worthy. They need to just figure out what*

> *exactly the reason is behind why these people, these kids who are being bullied.*
> *Student wise (pauses) its (pauses), they have trust in the system, but at the same time, that trust sometimes goes. When I was a pupil, I had trust in the system, the whole school thing. But like after the whole bullying thing my last year, I sort of lost faith. The bullying continued and never really dealt with after, you know, never really dealt with.*

Analysis

"Students reportedly note that their teachers do little to stop bullying, thus participating in the normalizing practices embedded in bullying," (Schmidt 2013, p. 141). However, where teacher and student relationships are more engaged and have connectedness are associated with lower levels of bullying and victimization at school (Espelage et al., 2014). School environment and norms, therefore, correlate with policy influencing how pupils consider bullying (*ibid*, pp. 287-288). Prejudiced by school directives, teacher's classroom practices are, thus affected by school norms.

Initially indicating he was "not really bullied" at school, James changed his perspective as he shared an experience. That might suggest not everyone considered bullying under the same terms. Or he was reluctant to share his experience because many school norms support sanitized gender binaries where students who are non-binary, lack relevance. Snyder and Broadway (2004) suggest many students may not feel safe disclosing their non-conforming status, as heterosexuality remains broadly enforced in school settings, which might explain why James seemed a little reluctant.

James retold a bullying situation he felt was not properly resolved as it failed to address a deeper, systemic approach to bullying. He trivialized the indifference from the teacher as though to camouflage his disappointment of losing faith in the school system. When students do not trust teachers, they put forth less effort in the classroom losing learning opportunities (Espelage et al., 2014). James' account that "teachers don't know what's going on, they see only one thing and don't care about finding out what happened," is supported by comments made by educators[24]. Teachers argued they lacked time to "find out what is really happening" as "they already have enough to do," addressing only the immediate. The aforementioned implies either a lack of competence, desire or time to examine further, resulting in missed opportunities for critical reflection and incident interrogation.

[24] Information from teacher testaments presented at a summit.

Institutional measures addressing bullying & classroom management

A struggle between school bureaucracy and teacher performance exists, which can interrupt the classroom, further disenfranchising already marginalized students. With a trend toward a neoliberal influenced education system of standardized tests and accountability, has shifted teacher's priorities emphasizing academic testing and student achievement over a holistic, democratic approach engaging students. Therefore, teachers may find themselves participating in strategies aimed at a few to assure appropriate testing results. Left relatively unsupervised could leave the rest of the class fending for themselves and open to bullying.

Allen (2010) argued too many teachers "are often unprepared to function successfully in today's classrooms with regard to managing administrative tasks, curriculum, and behavior problems," (p. 1). With less focus on the entire class and fewer teachers able to identify bullying incidents, are less apt to intervene. Mayer (2002) concluded that amongst several other factors, lack of student involvement and a teachers' lack of appropriate response to student differences contributed to anti-social behavior in the classroom (p. 85). Allen (2010) concluded disconnected school environments "permit[ted] the existence of antisocial and bullying cultures," (p. 2). According to Austin et al. (2014), "[i]t can be rightly argued that the teacher is the biggest influence on how well students behave in a classroom. This means that it is not the quality of the students, the involvement of the parents, or the administration that make the most impact, but the teacher's attitude," (p. 310).

Identifying issues

Referring to Incident 2, James made several relevant points. The first issue raised in this scenario was James feeling singled out and targeted. Because he was the one moved becoming the center of attention, dividing him from the class singling him out as though he misbehaved. Although the teacher separated James in an attempt to control the situation through behavioral management strategies, he felt the teacher only cared about classroom order rather than helping him.

Focusing on classroom management made an example of James creating an embarrassing situation where everyone looked at him, and the boy who bullied seemed forgotten, as James felt his actions were neither addressed directly by the teacher nor received negative feedback from other students. Failure to punish the one

doing the bullying, and not enforcing inclusionary conduct rewards the bully creating incentives to continue the victimization. Leaving the actions of the bully unchecked, underpinned his heteronormative positioning as a point of power because the bullying was homophobic.

The second point revealed James believed the teacher spent too much time with individual students assuring basic understanding, thus losing sight of the entire class. Teacher practices could foster positive student peer relationships through cooperative learning as a whole class experience. However, isolating instruction to a few individuals rather than engaging with the entire class supports a dysfunctional system. James' third point signaled his lack of faith or trust in the school system. Points one and two suggest evidence of ineffective classroom management, while the third issue points to a broader, systemic problem indicating a failed whole-school approach to inclusion, leaving students like James, losing faith. All of James' concerns were consequences of unsuccessful diversity integration, subjugating non-conforming identities.

Separating the two boys was somewhat successful in the immediate as it preserved classroom order. It was however, ineffective as the teacher's response blamed the victim by moving James rather than the boy doing the bullying with James seen as the one interrupting. The victim was oppressed and a teachable moment about bullying was missed, suggesting chosen classroom management strategies were, therefore, less effective than intended. Additionally, James reported the boy continued to taunt him in other school spaces maintaining an unbalance of power, intimating the bullying was not adequately addressed in the classroom. There did not seem to be an effective intervention program, which points to the school should consider reframing their response to bullying situations. The institutional measures taken reflect an organizational context that although 'deals' with bullying, may not however, properly address bullying.

Implications of isolation and embarrassment may have kept James from socializing within other areas of school, as well. The effects of bullying can lead to poor academics, and according to Adams et al. (2011) may result in adverse psychological outcomes including suicide if the bullying is left unchecked. The capacity to interact with others "enable(s) a person to be judged as socially competent," (McFall 1998, p. 12, cited in Fox et al 2005, p. 316). Should the ability to interact be removed either by the teacher or through social measures disenfranchises an already marginalized

student. Rigby (2007) argued there are both long-term as well as short-term consequences on victim's well being when the social structure becomes inaccessible. Merrell et al. (1998) argue should one not have sufficient opportunity to learn these skills in school due to marginalization, may have detrimental effects that could last a lifetime (p. 17).

Education is part of a process influencing identity formation in the context of a life-long progression could has a powerful impact on behavior and practice. "[T]he power to learn from experience means the formation of habits. Habits give control over the environment…," (Dewey 1916, 2012, p. 59). Teachers, therefore, are key players in defining inclusion, able to constitute habits that support diversity with opportunities to construct spaces of respect and acceptance in their classrooms.

Following are several highlighted portions of the overall incident as they represent different implications worth referencing.

Matter 2, incidence 2 'James'

James: *When it comes to teachers, teachers don't really notice much in the classroom because they are always with one student or another trying to work out like you know the simplest maths equation like 2 + 2 = 4, we all know that.*
<chuckles>
So they don't care about what is going on.

This particular point underscores challenges with teaching, which in this case, resulted in selective engagement. Such suggests further implications of ineffective classroom management through teacher disengagement, whereas effective classroom management includes a high level of involvement from the teacher with the entire class. Here James reported a lack of cooperation between teacher and students where the foundation supporting clear behavior expectations, learning goals and employing equitable and inclusive positive interactions and feedback, were missing. It is important to note, James' sentiments referring to teachers in the plural, might suggest ineffective measures school wide.

Matter 3, incident 2 'James'

'So they don't care about what is going on'

James: *Student wise (pauses) its (pauses), they have trust in the system, but at the same time, that trust sometimes goes. When I was a pupil, I had trust in the system, the whole school thing. But like after the whole bullying thing my last year, I sort of lost faith. The bullying continued and never really dealt with after, you know, never really dealt with.*

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this comment:

(1) Lack of trust in the teacher and the school

(2) Lack of support from the school community

(3) Students do not learn (at least not very well) when there is no (or little) trust.

Revisiting Espelage et al. (2014) serves as a reminder that when trust declines, students are less likely to invest in the learning process. Virtually every learning transaction has an element of trust. When a child enters a school, we trust they will learn or will be taught. The student trusts their teachers to deliver a learning space for all, with a level of good faith. Therefore, a lack of confidence in teaching staff, classroom stability, or the system has significant implications for the future of a child's learning and academic careers.

Every Child Matters, a government policy paper (2003) targeted organizations providing services to young people, including schools and education. Stressing a holistic approach, their 'Safe to Learn' initiative as reported by the National Union of Teachers (NUT), includes strategies for inclusion (The National Union of Teachers, n.d.(a)). Although making particular reference to LGB,T and homophobic bullying, NUT underscored pupils did not necessarily have to be LGB,T to experience homophobic victimization. Therefore, should schools not fully recognize the full scope of homophobic victimization, may lead to a lack of trust in the system by far more students than those already identifying as sexual minorities. Losing confidence 'in the system', read 'teachers', indicates teachers may not respect their students (or so the students may believe), breaking down the learning relationship. Should bullying or homophobic bullying not be taken seriously, in the student's opinion further underscores distrust and illustrates a lack of communication between students and teachers in general.

Good leaders have the trust of those they lead. It is no different with teachers and students, as well as between administration and teachers. According to Tschannen-Moran (2004), in any hierarchal relationship such as with teachers and pupils, those in power - the teachers - are responsible for building that trust. Supporting students by

recognizing different types of bullying such as homophobic, while addressing through inclusive practices creates a platform upon which trust can be built establishing safer spaces to learn. However, without interrogating existing anti-bullying policies and practice may not highlight weaknesses in present intervention methods inferring that school is failing in pastoral care and child protection.

Incident 3: *Sophie*

Talking about inclusive sexuality education:

Me: *If you were designing a sexuality education course, what would it include?*

Sophie: *I'ld include quite a lot compared to what's included at the moment…the whole thing; most importantly, LGBT have real sex and how to keep them safe 'cause obviously its even easier to transmit diseases as LGBT. And I'ld concentrate on normal sex, obviously.*

Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this comment:

What Sophie said…

1. Sexuality education lacks comprehensive inclusive information; and
2. "normal" sex as a reference/term for heterosexual sex.

Analysis

Point 1

Sophie as a transgender young person, born male expressing as female, was not represented in the sexuality education curriculum. A restrictive approach to sex education does a disservice not just to those omitted from the curriculum, but to the general student population. The National Union of Teachers' 2014 annual conference report indicated a lack of inclusion "poses a real threat' to LGBT young people and their rights and a lack knowledge posing a threat to progressive equality in schools," (pp. 40-41).

With the absence of inclusion as reported by students, illustrated violations of their rights. According to the Human Rights Campaign (2016) "LGBTQ youth need and deserve to learn in settings that are inclusive of their experiences" and for LGB,T young people "to experience comparable health benefits to their non-LGBTQ peers, sex education programs must be LGBTQ-inclusive" (n.p.). UNESCO additionally promotes health through education encouraging an inclusive and sustainable approach to education, arguing that education improves the overall well-being and health of all

students, including in the area of sexuality (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2014). Moreover, "The Human Rights Act 1998 (the Act or the HRA) sets fundamental rights and freedoms that everyone in the UK is entitled to" (n.p.) and protects from discrimination. The Act specifies that discrimination occurs when an individual or a group of people are treated less positively than others in similar circumstances that cannot be reasonably warranted. Young people participants in this study repeatedly reported being treated less favorably or excluded all together, underpinning the need for an inclusive approach to the curriculum.

Sex and relationship education

The National Union of Teachers called upon the government to make it compulsory to teach about same-sex relationships in SRE/PSHE classes as a statutory requirement. "Schools should be places that allow students and staff to be free from homophobia, biphobia and transphobia, to enjoy a positive educational experience," (2014, n.p.). However, at present most sexuality education/sex and relationship classes do not provide relevant information to all its students.

Often, LGB,T information is excluded from the curriculum, underpinning a heteronormative and patriarchal approach to sexuality education. Although government standards should be more widely adopted by schools, the teacher's union indicated some schools had reintroduced the wording of Section 28 about "the prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material" ("Local Government Act 1988," n.d.) into their policies. This included a disproportionate number of academies posing a real threat to LGB,T rights and any progressive equality policy in school (The National Union of Teachers 2014, pp. 40-42).

Although the government made available guidelines in The Equality Act 2010 (updated in 2014) on inclusive policy, is dysfunctional as it tolerates interpretation that permits discriminatory language. The Equality Act states "[n]o school, or individual teacher, is under a duty to support, promote or endorse marriage of same sex couples," (p. 22). Despite declaring teachers have an obligation to meet human rights law (pp. 30-40), indicating the language used is arbitrary. Although noted an effort to respect personal sensibilities (pp. 7-8), does not overlook the Act creates a space for schools and teachers to choose moral objection as a reason to exclude.

How does this create problems?

While little research has been done specifically with LGB,T youth directly, comments made by youth involved in this study on SRE indicate they feel excluded, pointing to the need for their involvement and voice in research. According to the Human Rights Campaign (2015), "[w]hether legally barred or simply ignored, LGBTQ-inclusive sex education is not available for most youth," (n.p.). Further to that point, as reported by the HRC, Ontario, Canada's Schulich School of Medicine found implementing inclusive policy changes that assist in reducing social stigma may curb rates of suicide amongst those bullied, especially LGB,T youth (*ibid*).

Sex Education Forum surveyed UK teenagers in 2013, and found that only a quarter of respondents indicated their SRE was 'good' or 'very good'; the remainder either said it was either 'bad' or 'very bad' (27%) and 48% with a neutral response. The government has published their response on SRE and PSHE, committing to further improvements through *The Equality Act 2010* presenting recommendations and suggestions to inclusive school communities, promoting a school-based cultural shift that embraces an inclusive and sustainable approach to education. However, due to ambiguous language the government presenting an all-inclusive ideology must take further steps.

Point 2

The word *normal* presupposes something is first judged as normal; indicating something else must be abnormal. 'Normal' sex as Sophie is using to identify certain sexual behavior, suggests sex that is not heterosexual is abnormal. Her comment underpins how heteronormativity is normalized, against which everything else is judged. Martin (2009) reminds us it is not only heterosexism and homophobia as problems, but heteronormativity as well. Heteronormativity is "the mundane, everyday ways that heterosexuality is privileged as normal and natural," (p. 190). The normativeness of heterosexuality against all other sexualities are judged, interferes with inclusion as well as identity confirmation and formation. Sophie's comment about 'normal' sex underpins the existing binary that 'others' non-conforming individuals, categorically identifying non-normative identities as less important. When sexual minority youth reproduce heteronormativity, would seem to undermine their own identity, therefore expressing not only their identities with less conviction, but problematizes inclusion arguments.

Part III

How bullying is experienced is predetermined by how it is understood

Critical incidents presented in the previous section illustrated the complexity of bullying incidents, underscoring identity erasure. The forthcoming section presents conclusions stressing how LGB,T young people experience bullying. In combination, this and the previous section display the complexities of bullying as an episode and as ubiquitous.

Following are summaries presented in bullet point formats with expressed analysis of particular elements as a concise method delivering conclusions drawn from data.

Teachers, schools and homophobic bullying

- Institutional measures used to address a bullying incident as universal resolution mechanisms, are ineffective.
- Girls and boys alike felt they had very little support at school.
- Young people reported feeling targeted by other students because of their actual or perceived sexuality.
- Young people subsequently reported about their teachers:
    - Young people felt their teachers disregarded their complaints.
    - Homophobic bullying was only addressed as bullying, ignoring homophobic.
    - Young people reported getting into trouble for actions they took to protect themselves (i.e.: coming to school late to avoid the bully)
- Young people reported bullying incidents were all addressed alike regardless of the underpinning reason for the bullying.

Institutional measures used to address bullying as presented in this thesis, did not recognize the history of an event, thus ignoring nuances within bullying influenced by a victim's gender or sexuality. Applying resolution mechanisms to incidents from the point of punishment rather than aiming for a solution, addressed circumstances as in the moment and at face value ignoring the cause. Resolutions applied universally, held all bullying to the same policy benchmark judging them equally.

Through out this chapter, examples feature first hand accounts demonstrating young people believed to have little voice and often felt unheard. This was further supported by comments made by teachers. These same concerns expressed by the young people, were legitimized by a teacher leading a break out session at critical education summit, Nottinghamshire - A Voice for Education, Nov. 2015 - suggested the following:

- The teacher did not seem to recognize social structures that oppressed, minimizing student voice.
- To the teacher, student voice was not about empowerment, rather "it's a stick to hit the teacher."
- Listening to student voice meant more work for the teacher, "I have enough accountability issues to address." The educational system is channelling how to deliver a curriculum, and in this particular teacher's opinion, with little or no space, felt a student voice could be disruptive.
  (Perhaps a reaction to the neoliberal, top-down measure of education with universal principles of care no longer as relevant, which underpins the conflict between (minority) human rights approach to full inclusion versus the system).

Not designed as a process for locating equitable methods responding to adversity, schools considered resolution measures as 'fixed', applied universally, which is not equitable. Additionally, non-conforming youth believed sexual minorities as a group, were not considered at-risk of exclusion at the same rate as other minority groups. This denial left them feeling excluded and discriminated against both by other pupils as well as (often) teachers. According to UNESCO, equality, inclusion and non-discrimination in education is a human right, which is denied when identities receive varied treatment and are left to feel less important (Art 26 – Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

While the young people reported experiencing restrictions to their freedom of expression at school, felt differently about the youth organization.

At youth site:

- Young person's voice was not marginalized.

    - Opportunities for expression through workshops, organized activities and social spaces within facility.
- Link with community and non-formal learning.
- Bullying addressed at the source. Adequate support and learning opportunities provided for all involved.
- Programs offered through workshops and community awareness raising projects supported by the youth site on empowerment and challenging stereotypes.
- Provided safe environment to challenged prejudices.
- The youth site made it easy for LGBT young people to find like-minded friends and support.
- Youth facility offered health and social services to LGB,T young people when needed.
- The youth site served all young people from the community, including LGB,T; therefore, was very clear on inclusion policy for all marginalized groups, not emphasizing one over the other.
- Staff and volunteers understood policies and procedures of inclusion, and support was available for staff/volunteers when questions arouse how to implement safe, productive and healthy spaces.
- Supported advocacy.
- Sexual minority young people felt less isolated, and were better able to share experiences/reactions from schools, families and communities as they came out.
- Youth facility recognized the above average drug and alcohol use of LGBT young people, with support and advocacy in place.
- The youth site supported rights to free development of young people's personalities, recognizing human diversity.
- Building a coalition for young people's voice, unifying and moving toward a democratic approach to (informal) learning/education.

The youth facility presented opportunities for developing alternatives to resisting oppression through empowerment. The youth organization explicitly supported several marginalized groups in the community, including LGB,T, and was, therefore,

equipped to address issues relating to unique identities where a school is less equipped to do so. Todd (2007) suggested a partnership between community and schools, creating a proverbial wall where each brick as scaffolding represents a critical component to good inclusion, which included student voice while developing an extended school environment consulting with outside sources as youth groups (pp. 2-3). Referring to a youth organization serving as an example of what providing an inclusive and respectful safe space can do for marginalized young people becomes an essential 'brick' in what Todd referred to as "building a solid foundation," (p. 2). There was a reported difference in the young people's school experiences indicating varying levels of safety, yet the same group reported consistently they were made to feel safe at the youth site. The youth facility provided the young people the power to exercise their human rights where the schools seemed to fail, as suggested through their stories. This suggests youth groups practice what schools only preach.

Part IV

Summary

Critical incidents as opportunities for reflection are detailed accounts of situations featuring particular events that can go almost unnoticed. Through analysis of events, revelations become opportunities to interrogate classroom practice. Here inclusion and anti-bullying policy effectiveness were cross-examined through events reported by students. Participants revealed circumstances feeling excluded and teachers lacked scrutiny failing to unpack events that left students struggling with what seemed like to the young people, unresolved bullying situations.

This chapter presented evidence institutional measures with universal underpinnings were unable to distinguish between unique events. Additionally, it was reported young people felt they had little if any support at school.

LGB,T rights struggle against a larger systemic resistance underpinned by violence and marginalization. Denied their basic civil, social, and political rights through social practices, many queer young people were therefore, not adequately protected by anti-bullying initiatives, perpetuating social exclusion.

Identifying critical incidents presented windows of opportunity unpacking exclusionary settings. Students reported feeling oppressed and lacking relevance, leaving them feeling vulnerable and disenfranchised. 'Jessica' (refer to Chapter Five), and Michael and James (refer to Chapter Six) all claim teachers provided little if any

background knowledge explaining why certain behaviors that resulted in bullying were unacceptable instead resorted to demands, stating simply not to do something. Participants voiced their concern that without a reason, students who bullied did not learn why it was bad often continuing the aggressive behavior out of teachers sight.

Teachers missed opportunities to create an inclusionary ethos in their classrooms, and school curricula that lacked compulsory sexuality education left many students ill informed. An inclusive approach to classroom discourse demands culpability by interrogating potentially complex situations rather than instituting less challenging mechanisms that ignore diversity. Both ethos and compulsory sex education are mechanisms with which to bolster inclusionary efforts. Critical incidents, thus, provided a lens through which to interrogate what was unsuccessful, analyzing all the points located within a situation.

Young people reported experiencing harsh criticism from their peers for what they believed was their sexuality and non-conforming identities. Teachers and administrators involved in their incidents ignored homophobic underpinnings in bullying experiences, leaving non-conforming students isolated within maintained heteronormativity. Identifying critical incidents presented opportunities to interrogate how inclusion is expressed lending criticality to improve teaching and classroom management that benefit all, not just a few. Furthermore, the additional data outcomes presented at the end of this chapter emphasized the complexities of bullying. How an event unfolds both influenced actors and how individual participants understood bullying, resulting in multiple bullying definitions. These various interpretations complicated how those in power used anti-bullying mechanisms. Additionally, considering these findings with those of Chapter Five, illustrate how non-normative identities repeatedly experience identity erasure and victim blaming.

In the next chapter, the reader will find a presentation of intersectionality and how as a theory of identity oppression, connects with students accounts and bullying incidents experienced by participants as presented in Chapter's Five and Six. Elamé (2013) defined discriminatory bullying as a form of direct or indirect victimization linked to a certain status such as sexual orientation or ethnicity. Further along that vein, intersectional bullying is defined as being victimized for several discriminatory statuses (see Garnett, et al. 2014; Daley, et al, 2008). For example, a child being homophobically bullied may also be bullied for their ethnicity. Intersectional bullying can therefore, be considered layers of victimization. Chapter Seven interrogates

intersectionality and presents the argument that a sequence of power events, or layering within a single bullying paradigm as another form of intersectional bullying. Power intersecting an event further underpins normative erasure of non-dominant identities. Previous chapters illustrated the implications of erasure upon the individual; the next chapter demonstrates methods as power used by dominant players to enact the erasure indicating oppression is not a single event, rather a prolonged experience perpetuating victimization.

Chapter Seven
Intersectional Bullying

There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle
because we do not live single-issue lives.

Audre Lorde

This chapter considers how power is situated and how intersectionality is understood in a bullying incident. Anchored in critical theory, my argument is presented through a feminist lens interrogating multiple dominant social structures underpinning inequalities and discriminatory practices. I will argue that power applied by different actors at different points throughout a bullying incident shapes how bullying is experienced and understood.

Intersecting identities that oppress are often exploited to justify bullying, yet it is not only identities that intersect. Power coming from multiple sources, like from a bully or teacher, also shapes a behavioral incident. This power used to police and control, intersects events representing how different forms of power cross at various points during and after a bullying incident, maintaining marginalization long after the actual bullying incident is over.

The following discussion will introduce how different forms of stratified power as exercised by various individuals, are exerted onto, and travel through a single bullying episode. The approach advocated here presents a unique perspective creating a new course for exploring how bullying is understood and intervention mechanisms are applied. Each consideration offered in this chapter reflects how different forms of power inform bullying experiences. Therefore, each factor here, although introduced as individual components are instead cogs in the machine. In other words, individual events are but one minor part in a larger power mechanism that oppresses.

Interrogating a single incident, such as a classroom-bullying episode, without interrogating the entire mechanism, merely interrupts that incident doing little to change the whole environment. Such begins recognizing how different levels of authority amplify power that regulates and maintains marginalizations. Pulling from multiple incidents as presented here, will show that varying forms of power intersect creating multifaceted experiences underpinning the identity intersections used as rationale for the bullying in the first place.

This chapter, separated into six parts, begins by summarizing results revealing bullying incidents and implications for young people's lives as reported in previous chapters. These situations illustrate different forms of power and the subsequent marginalization felt by victims. This is followed with how schools manage the act of bullying as reported by participants. Recognizing multiple levels at which bullying may occur, the second section considers implications of intersectional bullying and argues intersecting power structures underpin and maintain intersecting identities that oppress, with far reaching consequences. A subsequent discussion in parts four and five introduce various power influences on how identity is realized, exploring why certain identities are marginalized. The intention is to build a picture of the entire bullying experience, underpinning how the use of power varies, and how victims understand power differently. Examining power structures that underpin continued oppressions, unpacking how bullying occurs, and also why it occurs, while section six offers policy direction and implications, ending with a chapter conclusion.

Part I

The previous two chapters showed that:

- Teachers and administration tended to acknowledge one aspect of a bullying incident, while avoiding other aspects that contributed to the bullying episode.
- Classroom management and policy meant to deter bullying were not inclined to address unique aspects of a bullying incident.

Students reported schools tackled what they referred to as 'obvious' forms of bullying such as teasing or name-calling, but failed to recognize intersecting identities or intersecting power structures underpinning marginalization. The previous chapters highlighted several situations, for example if a homophobic bullying incident disrupted the class the disruption was addressed ignoring the homophobic aspects of a bullying event. A boy arriving to school late avoiding bullies, who were homophobically taunting him, was reprimanded for coming late ignoring reports of harassment. After a gay boy was victimized by a group of girls accusing him of sexual assault, implicating him while neglecting his victimization. He felt ignored, as the harassment he experienced from the girls and later from other students, he believed was never addressed, neither was the schools victim-blaming approach.

These scenarios revealed several things. First, bullying remains narrowly defined

through a heteronormative lens. Secondly, non-normative experiences lack relevance in actual practice. In other words, policy too often is rhetoric as the on-the-ground application ignores what is not heteronormatively understood. They additionally reveal the use of privilege intersecting an incident, influencing how a victim experiences and understands bullying, reminding them of their constructed labels (as an enumerated status) and corresponding oppressions. These incidents further reveal the dangers of labeling.

Summary of key points

As shown in previous chapters, teachers and at times administrators became involved in bullying incidents. The young people in this study, however, reported situations that were not fully addressed or that homophobic bullying was poorly acknowledged, if at all. Thus, already bullied and victimized students, were oppressed by schools (the system) as (1) they felt they were blamed for the incident, (2) they felt they were invisible to administration, and (3) teachers seemed uninterested in them personally. Such exposes the complexity of power and its progression as a sequence of events within incidents aggravating the bullying as experienced by victims.

Power took on a linear form, originating first within the actual bullying incident, through (1) peer-victimization, with (2) power then progressing to the teacher and measures used to address the bullying incident, followed by (3) the level of relevance, acknowledgement and voice a teacher did or did not give the victimized student. Conversations with teachers revealed the following sentiments:

- Teacher: a student voice is "a stick to hit the teacher."
- The teacher responded to bullying as a one-off situation, as they lacked time and interest 'to get to the bottom' of a bullying incident.

The institutional models meant to support students, instead, victimized. The young people reported believing teachers considered straight students as 'normal' and 'good', while sexual minority youth as 'different' and 'not-good'. This view underscores Minow's (1990) point that non-normative identities are highlighted as different where normative identities are assumed, ignoring the effects of assumptions on LGB,T young people. Findings presented here also suggest normative authority defines identities as 'good' versus 'bad', reinforcing power structures affirming

principles of intersecting identity oppressions. This insight begins to unpack not only how oppressions occur, but also why.

Data revealed not everything defined as bullying was recognized as such. Table 7.1 and corresponding Summary Detail, as well as the following points reveal gender may also play a role in bullying recognition and the effects of intersectionality, changing perception of an incident. Girls, for instance, seemed less apt to identify bullying when aimed at either themselves, or even at others, suggesting gender may play a role in the awareness of bullying.

- Boys' normative gender roles were more strictly defined and enforced than girls' gender roles.
- Male roles were enforced by other boys as reported by male participants, which may have also played a part in defining the severity of bullying. Roles were additionally enforced through identity policing.
- Boys tended to struggle more than girls with normative gender expectations.
- Girls were more resigned to accepting homophobic bullying, and unless overtly hostile or violent, tended to brush off the experience; whereas boys seemed less able to cope with being subjected to homophobia believing their gender identity was called into question.
- Girls seemed to have internalized traditional weaker feminine positioning underpinning their attitudes toward bullying and seemed more resigned to accepting oppression.
- Male youths in this study seemed to promote heteronormative male ideals, regardless of their gender expressions. Stricter male gender role definitions seemed to place more pressure upon performance and maintaining male privilege. They reported feeling threatened if they did not 'act' like a straight boy. If they did not *act* straight, they lost male privilege and experienced more bullying.
- Homophobic bullying aimed at boys seemed to have a different impact than what girls experienced creating additional conflict for those deprived of traditional male power. Whereas cisgendered girls as sexual minorities seemed less bullied for and threatened by their gender performativity.

Table 7.1:

Bullying as reported illustrated in the following chart:

Boys	Type of Bullying	Girls
less	Homophobic bullying (sexist bullying)	more
less	Sexist bullying	more
more	'Regular' bullying (gendered bullying)	less
more	'Extreme' bullying (sexist and gendered bullying)	less

Table 7.1 Summary Detail:

- Questionnaire revealed boys tended to understand bullying incidents through a gendered, masculine lens of performativity, where girls understood bullying though a sexuality lens, seemingly less influenced by performance.

- Girls reported feeling more often victimized by homophobic and sexist bullying than boys. These types of bullying are generally understood as based on a victim's actual or perceived sexuality.

- Boys reported experiencing 'regular' bullying (defined as non-homophobic). They also reported bullying others. These experiences are conditions of normative performativity of gender expressions with little to do with sexuality.

- Those boys seen as weaker were feminized, experienced both sexist and gendered type bullying intensifying their experience. Findings suggested it was not necessarily gender non-conforming, rather gender role non-conforming that was rejected, as not all victims were openly gay underpinning how society continues to police gendered bodies.

These results revealed, for example, particular types of bullying were not regarded the same as interpretation was dependent on who was experiencing the bullying. Bullying was considered most severe when the victim was someone they did not know. Although still serious, considered less critical when aimed at someone they knew but were not friends with, and even less when directed at a friend. Interestingly, when

they experienced the same type of bullying, was considered least like bullying and often dismissed for banter. Girls reported feeling they were homophobically bullied most of the time (even though they dismissed it), whereas boys reported experiencing less overall victimization than girls.

Additionally, these findings exposed the complexity of gender identity, pointing to deeper implications of being a target of homophobic bullying. Only addressing the immediate, teachers denied what led to the bullying incident in the first place, ignoring how power moved from one participant to another of a given incident. They, therefore, did not recognize the multiple oppressions experienced by a victim. Furthermore, intersections of gender oppression and homophobic victimization were also not acknowledged, further complicating the premise under which bullying is understood. Girls internalized an already weaker position were less apt to report bullying and believed such behavior as normative, whereas gay boys struggled with being feminized and denied normative male privilege. Layers of victimization intersected, yet were not acknowledged. Data suggested the more misunderstood the identity, the more ignored it was as a point of victimization. It is therefore clear, a universal approach to either conceptualizing bullying or resolution mechanisms to resolve, fail, as they are not equipped to interrogate bullying at all its levels.

This chapter discusses these findings, arguing the theory of intersectionality helps to explain them further.

Drawing on work by Minow (1990), points out there are those who believe placing people in categories as a necessary step toward equality as categorizing may, therefore, identify where unique needs exist. Interrogating the dilemmas of difference troubles that relationship between identifying vulnerable populations with the benefits of policies meant to mitigate inequalities. Minow argued that doing so, instead serves to highlight special requirements for those that differ from the norm, underscoring a contrast creating dilemmas of difference. For example, if homosexuality is different, then heterosexuality must be the norm emphasizing a difference between non-normative and normative identities.

Guided by multiple directives both raising academic standards while promoting inclusion, creates different discourses for schools around how to organize access. Therefore, the consequences of inclusion policies inability to recognize colonial

effects of normativeness, serve only to reproduce hierarchies maintaining disempowerment and exclusion. Such helps neither academic standards nor inclusion schemes. Therefore, policies created with the intention to improve access are instead ineffective as the very act of labeling that policies promote, create the problem. Additionally, dilemmas of difference also serve to interrogate intersectional bullying, examining how identities intersect supported by multiple power paradigms. Intersecting power underpins how non-conforming identities experience the multiplicity of victimization. The bully exerts power oppressing their victim, while the teacher, for example, exerts power that renders the victim as the wrongdoer by moving him away from the situation focusing negative attention on the already marginalized child, maintaining heteronormativity.

According to Minow, societies operate under assumed norms. A norm, otherwise defined as a natural expression of something such as heterosexuality, requires no additional attention to function and simply *is.* Such suggests the only role that requires attention is the non-normative function or identity. She contends to assume a norm ignores the effect of normative behavior, placing the burden on the non-normative identity to dismantle the negative connotation of difference. Namely, she argues the responsibility rests with the young people in this study to remind their schools they are victimized.

Although measures appeal to inclusion, disparities remain across groups as a result of a mixture of structural factors. These factors include access (such as to a good, quality education), explicit biases (as sexism and homophobia) and implicit biases (such as stereotyping) (Lombrozo, 2016). These factors underpin how a bullying event is understood. Not only identities that intersect as a result of these factors, but additionally each power element also intersecting an incident.

Even though existing inclusion policies are meant as a positive force, do not seem to fully realize the complexity of an incident. Mallon (2016) argues that an accumulative effect of small implicit biases, whose individual measurable effects are relatively small, combined over time result in larger advantages or disadvantages. If not interrogated as aggregate, maintains inequalities. For example, if someone experienced a single act of homophobic sexism (explicit biases) yesterday, may not necessarily feel the effect today. Should, however, another small sexist act occur every other day, again, in themselves less meaningful, combined over time create disadvantages reinforcing stereotypes (implicit biases), complicating access while

defining an inferior identity. Mallon refers to this effect as an accumulation mechanism. This could in part explain why teachers and administration seem not to take homophobic bullying as seriously. First, policy exists suggesting social acceptance, and second, one event does not create a crisis. Herein lies the problem, that each incident is addressed in isolation and not regarded as one part of a whole with accumulative effects.

Part II

Intersectionality

Intersectionality has gained attention because as a theory, not only addresses how different marginalized identities intersect but also stands as a mechanism interrogating how groups are oppressed. What distinguishes intersectionality as a concept of discrimination is that it considers inseparable identities as means with which to discriminate as was explained in Chapter Four. Therefore, reminding the reader, analyzing these identities separately and as unique factors for discrimination misunderstands intersectional discrimination, as inclusion policy models addressing discrimination tend to do.

Inclusion policy addresses each identity separately as enumerated statuses. Intersectionality challenges this fragmentation of identities interrogating how intersectional discrimination functions, presenting a more complicated understanding of the relationship between identity and discrimination. Intersectionality, however, struggles to address why oppression of intersecting identities exists. This thesis, therefore, attempts to address this gap by adding that power paradigms as preconditions to identity construction, underpins the oppression of intersecting identities reinforced by powers function within a single bullying incident.

Critical Incidents presented in Chapter Six demonstrated how positions of power were used to shape bullying episodes, underscoring intersectionality recognition missing in policy, and its effect on bullying. Therefore, appreciating the complexities of critical incidents presented in the last chapter requires interrogating the ill effects of power defining an identity intersecting with an incident. Questioning structures of authority, therefore, highlight why power requires oppressed identities to function while examining why intersectional oppressions occur in the first place.

Maintaining power minimizes certain discriminations treating them with less urgency. Such became evident during the narrative analysis stage, revealing young

people believed certain aspects of a bullying incident received less attention, if at all, from schools. Largely ignored were the underlying conditions as the impetus for the bullying, trivializing homophobic actions while leveraging heteronormativity. Ignoring a fundamental condition of the bullying continued to separate groups or individuals by differences sustaining present forms of power while disadvantaging certain groups.

Differences amongst people further underscored maintaining a system of stratification stressing prejudices, in part, supported by institutional measures utilized in the classroom. The following diagram (Table 7.2) illustrates how identities were experienced, and the essence of shifting power underpinning the oppressive nature of socially constructed differences resulting in marginalized intersectional identities, maintaining inequalities.

Table 7.2:

How power flows and perpetuates victimization during a bullying incident in a school setting.

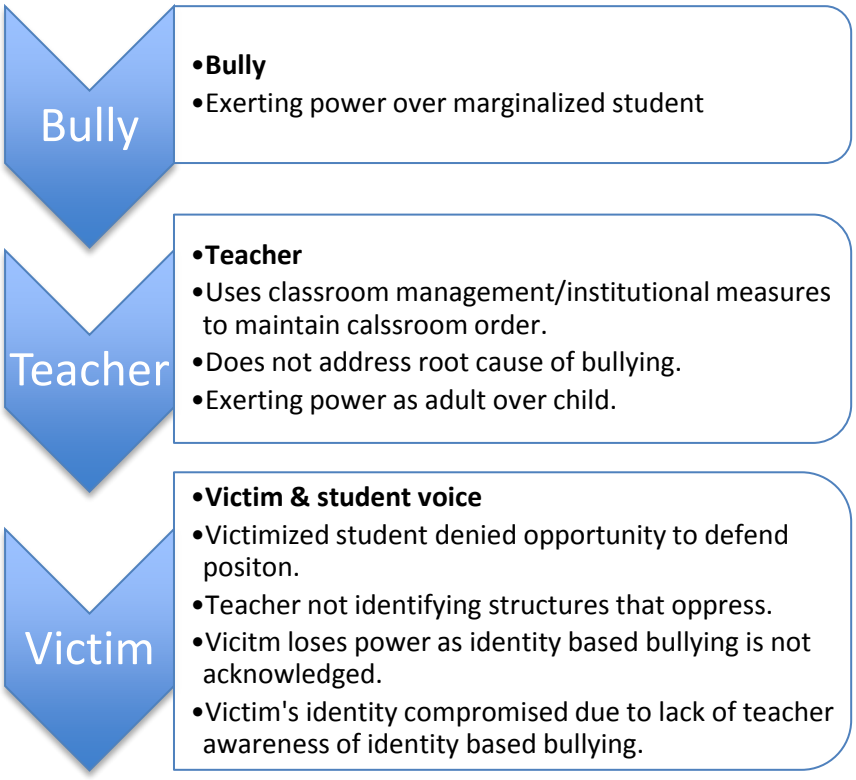


Table 7.2 illustrates how power moves, resting in multiple locations in individual bullying incidents underpinned by structural factors. First, a student exercises power

over another through a form of bullying. This power is exerted through explicit biases as homophobic, and stereotyping as implicit. As is often the case, bullying occurs first before the teacher is aware and can mediate. Restoring order, the teacher intervenes with their form of influence (power) exerted upon both bully and victim. The teacher's reaction underpins access and how they reacted underpins explicit (homophobic) and implicit (stereotyping) biases (Mallon, 2016). How the teacher used their authority sets the direction power flowed as it intersected the incident, underpinning who had capital and who did not, leaving those with less power invalidated.

1. If for example, teachers' used institutional mechanisms to control a disruption in class without unpacking the situation, as was reported by participants in this study, erased a non-normative identity while validating the bully's underlying discriminatory intent. Table 7.2 demonstrated this flow of power intersecting a bullying incident.
2. Alternatively, should a teacher unpack the bullying incident uncovering homophobic underpinnings, shifts the attention away from the disruption and onto the discrimination (not part of the table).

Both points demonstrate that power rests with teachers. Point one underpins continued marginalization of particular realities creating social divisions, while the second moves power away from marginalization toward inclusion through the act of recognition.

How bullying was managed in school per student accounts

Schools face challenges assuring their students are safe and able to realize their rights to a good education. Part of that challenge, as mentioned through out this thesis, comes as issued guidance from the government rather than as directives with clearly stated expectations beyond merely having a policy in place listing enumerated statuses. Lack of specificity positioned schools to interpret and implement policies suited to their knowledge, biases and perceived levels of importance, as already mentioned in this thesis. While schools have anti-bullying initiatives in place, 'guidance' may have reduced policy effectiveness. Per student accounts, how identities informed a bullying incident was not understood, underpinning that although policy can be well written, may lack urgency to improve in effectiveness.

Narrative analysis uncovered young people's awareness how schools managed bullying revealing that school interventions failed to recognize why bullying occurred, not just how, underpinning a lack of leadership.

Policies and resolution mechanisms intend to safeguard, enable and empower students, may instead disappoint. Chapter Five demonstrated the complexities through personal accounts of bullying experiences, especially when schools, teachers or policies were not equipped to focus on what caused the bullying; instead, focused on just that it happened. Referring to student accounts, Jessica mentioned teachers furnished little or no explanation why certain student behaviors were unacceptable. She argued if students did not understand why their actions were wrong, would only repeat them again later. Allen reported being picked on and almost raped in school and felt he had little protection or regard from his teachers. While Abby never knew if the boys who pushed her down the stairs that resulted in a severe back injury, were reprimanded, left her feeling vulnerable and resentful. Sophie's pleas for assistance ignored, reporting teachers thought it was a tiff between friends, only frustrated her situation. While Aiden felt teachers ignored the essence of his victimization, and his non-conforming identity. For these young people, policy was clearly not safeguarding, rather was denying them access.

Giddens (1986) theory of structuration suggests one cannot understand social life's micro-set of activities (unique bullying incidents) by only considering macro-level (policy and law) explanations. He argued recognition of power and relevance of both social structures and individual agency is necessary to disrupt prevailing, normative thinking. Schools, however, remain heteronormative and require decolonizing and shifting from preaching to practice, as at-present identity-based bullying persists, suggests inclusion and anti-bullying policies are not yet fully realized.

It was reported teachers did not consider why bullying occurred, seemingly more concerned with a quick resolution, even if the punishment was ill placed. Motivated by classroom management rather than unpacking individual events, left many feeling their identities as irrelevant. While referring to Chapter Six, through the use of critical incidents interrogating bullying episodes further underpinned identity erasure by methods used by teachers to manage situations underscoring how power influenced a situation enabling power-privileges.

These stories point to something missing in how policy is understood and implemented. Policies, for example, do not take teacher and administration biases into

account, rather assume some degree of preparedness and training leaving teacher readiness to the school. However, many schools either lack funding or capability to educate and prepare their teachers (ATL, 2016). Without such training, biases may impede needed recognition of different levels of bullying. Should a school fail to address intersecting identities defining a bullying incident, places the burden of proof upon the victim verifying the type of bullying they experienced. Such diminishes the severity of the attack itself and the victimization experienced by a marginalized student.

Anti-bullying policy identifies vulnerable demographics; however, it is the lack of recognition that vulnerable statuses require different types of attention and resolutions that is striking. Schools and teachers are not required to recognize nuances making it difficult to identify that a bullying event is experienced differently by non-normative identities or genders. It is how policy is used that underpins oppression and highlights a question of whose experience is valued. Such colonialism is ideological censorship, is oppressive and underpins identity-loss. As a consequence, policy meant to end discrimination instead, fails, redesigning discrimination.

Part III

Identity

Social divisions between groups support inequalities as accepted and normative. That we align ourselves and become members of a group is unremarkable, rather the groups to which we do not belong have significance. Payne (2006) points out we define ourselves by who we are not (p. 8). For example, dominant culture defines itself as not being a member of a particular minority group, such as sexual minorities. It is these differences between 'us' and 'them' that underpin "constraints, inequalities and power" (p. 9) that create the social structures from which we define our identity and social rules by which we live.

By accepting such infrastructures underpins social divisions and determines power and inequalities. "Inequalities create the conditions within which social relations of vulnerability and power arise, but it is only when someone takes advantage of these inequalities in order to bring about partial distribution of resources (widely defined) that an act of injustice can be said to occur," (Bufacchi [2012]2015, p. 11). Such perpetuates a gate-keeping mentality of what is 'normal' and what is not, as power structures continue to support institutional heterosexuality. Identities are thus,

informed by a gender dichotomy of female and male with assumed mannerisms and characteristics, closely linked to the historical perpetuation of male dominance and female weakness. To step outside or seen as a contradiction to traditional gender roles (as homosexuality might), suggests gender incongruity and is punished further complicating already vulnerable identities.

This thesis interacts with identity through out, interrogating many aspects that inform. Chapter Three, for instance, presented an in-depth interrogation of identity and the effect of social influences upon its formation. Chapter Six introduced the struggle of identity versus bureaucracy illustrating how identity and inclusion are understood informing not only inclusion but exclusion as well. Inclusion initiatives are comprehensive in their intent, casting a wide net. Exclusion, on the other hand, segregates normative from non-normative undermining any 'net' inclusion efforts may have cast. Exclusion may also occur through inclusive intentions defining a child as different based on certain characteristics and identity distinctions to identify needs, underpinning the dilemmas of difference argument (Minow 1990). Such disadvantages rather than enables, serving to distort a sense of self for non-normative young people.

The disenfranchised shape their existence against a normative view that denies their identity. As gay, born into a world where almost everyone is or appears straight, they recognize themselves as different. 'Straight' therefore, is a metaphor for power. The making of homosexuality as a unique identity, for instance, is separated from the heterosexual mainstream and beliefs held by the wider public on ideas governing sexuality. Such is the extent that hetero-centric myopia shapes opinion maintaining a divide between majority and minority experiences limiting identity awareness.

According to Lichtenstein (1997), one's identity and being able to realize it, is a fundamental human need and is, therefore, a primary motive underlying human behavior. Yet as Michaels (2006) argues, appreciating identity does not address how inequality continues. Social reinforcements determine which 'group' deserves attention, underscoring what 'equality' and 'equity' might mean regarding identity, and the power an identity does or does not have.

Further illustrating the manner in which power shapes identities, Sophie (see Chapter Six) demonstrated how 'straight' defined what was normal when we discussed her ideas of what an inclusive, comprehensive approach to sexuality education should look like during our interview. She suggested the course include

information on LGB,T sex as well as ‘normal’ sex. Her use of ‘normal’ indicates she internalized ‘straight’ as power, unintentionally conceding her identity as lesser. Therefore, efforts to label served only to affirm her non-normative identity denying participation, serving as a reminder of her inferiority against the norm.

Inclusion is a balance between the needs of the individual with those of the group (Paliokosta and Blandford 2010, p. 179). However, considering how balance is assumed, as Chapter One pointed out, becomes a question of defining social justice as either achievement or access, each with distinct consequences on identity. As such, involving different populations and putting inclusion policy into practice remains challenging, especially if considering non-normative identities as the problem rather than interrogating teacher and school practices.

Drawing attention to the importance of an equitable approach signals that inclusive pedagogy recognizes unique identities and abilities that are neither fixed nor neutral (Hart et al., 2004). In other words, student ability and potential is contextual and cannot be defined within strict parameters. Yet, a deterministic view of knowledge maintains a narrow characterization of identities, undermining a commitment toward all learners underpinning inclusion as something applied to most, rather than everyone. Thus, deciding which identity is normal and which is abnormal underpins the adverse effect of sameness upon difference, and the concept of self within social and sexual politics.

Many young people participants reported feeling ignored, rejected or erased by how administration or teachers addressed incidents in which they were victims. Chapter Five introduced the reader to several students’ stories where their concerns and victimizations were overlooked or ignored. For example, Sophie reported experiencing bullying and felt abandoned. She feared for her safety, yet teachers ignored her concerns. As a basic human need, Bracher (2006) points out identity also affects learning in multiple ways suggesting without identity realization, other life functions become problematic. He argues for learning to occur; identity support must exist in the classroom. However, should what students experience threaten their identity, they may instead resist learning (p.5).

The UK’s Equality Act 2010 brought together many individual pieces of legislation into a single Act, providing a legal framework to protect rights of all persons, as was discussed in Chapter Two. Included in this Act is legislation on protection against sex and racial discrimination and hate crime. Hate crime is defined

as acts motivated by aspects of someone's identity. Since the UK voted to leave the EU in June 2016, news agencies have, however, reported a 49% rise in hate crime (with some estimates even higher). In this context, the Act seems useless in the face of public sentiment underpinning abusive actions. Michaels (2006) refers to the experience of identity recognition while inequality continues to be ignored, as systemic discriminatory ideas that remain regardless of laws enacted to erase inequality. The historicity of systemic discrimination continues undermining anyone seen as different and 'othered', and who continue to be victims of bias (p. 60). Therefore, self-determination requires an appeal to social opinion, and not just to policy and law doctrine. These appeals continue as young people who do not share a dominant identity struggle to find a place.

Accounts from many of the young people in this study provided insight into how systemic discrimination through maintenance of dominant ideas is experienced on a day-to-day basis, as they struggled to gain recognition for their non-normative identities. Michael, whose story was introduced in Chapter Six, was victimized by hate crime even though the existing policy was meant to protect him, experienced systemic discrimination. He was not only subjected to the Hitler comment as a direct attack on his identity, the manner in which the teacher restored order underpinned systemic discrimination drawing attention to Michael as the problem. His identity lacked recognition thus relevance as dominant power was used to minimize his experience. This is also another example of a teacher addressing the act of bullying and not the discrimination that fuelled the bullying. Therefore, much like the Equality Act, inclusion and anti-bullying policy remain relatively ineffective, maintaining a divide between majority and minority experiences.

These aspects all play a role on how power is understood. A government act guides how inclusion policy is written. While government guidance shapes inclusion policy, implementation and informing teacher practice, are illustrations of how forms of power interacts with the individual incident. Thus the power that intersects a bullying incident, traveling from one participant to another discrediting the non-normative experience, its use is qualified by the order of succession from the top down, affirms practices that remain discriminatory.

Identity politics

Identity politics defines individual characteristics along social categories and divisions, moving away from broad-based group politics to the unique. Members of certain groups may align themselves with others seen or perceived as sharing similar attributes and experiences. For example, a woman voting for a female candidate regardless of policies, does so under the assumption the female candidate might support women's interests. Voting influenced by gender identity may, therefore, seem rational. Identifying with identity politics, though, is not only aligning with another who shares similar identities but also serves as a movement of empowering the individual through group association. The individual benefits from a partnership creating a social community, although still may emphasize social divisions, leaves the individual less vulnerable and better able to support a political foundation. For example, there are fewer women than men in politics, leaves issues facing women with few advocates; alternatively, should there be more women, could result in more recognition.

Young people in this study, for instance, felt isolated, lacked capacity and power in their school spaces, as those with whom they shared experiences were few. However, when they met at the youth center, were empowered and emboldened. Where before the youth group, they were singled out; with friends made from the youth group, now came and left together. They reported not only feeling less concerned about harassment, as a group experienced less as well. They found unity in their identities and shared experiences.

Therefore, the advancement of gay rights benefits the individual through group identification in much the same way as the example above of women uniting. Individuals with shared identities forming groups create a more powerful political presence and eventually may increase rights through group effort changing dominant discourse. Accordingly, the young people involved in the empowerment project, for example, felt legitimized. Feeling more secure in a group enabled them to connect with city organizations voicing concerns of identity erasure and missing community support. The project argued simply having policy in place was not the same as acting upon it creating a space in which sexual minority's experiences were understood. Such interactions began dismantling assumptions held by both groups.

Different groups of people see things differently based on different sets of experiences. Women, for example, have different experiences than men, therefore

may have different perceptions of the same situation. This can be applied to minority groups whom each have unique experiences relative to their identities, and differ from the dominant group's experiences. Therefore, it is illogical to assume that one group lacking the experience of another, can fully appreciate with which a group identifying as a minority, grapples.

Although injustices can be intellectualized, without understanding the underlying nuances and implications, can never fully be recognized unless the experience is personal – walk in another's shoes. For example, it may be difficult for heterosexuals to appreciate the once illegality of same-sex marriage (at the time of writing, only 23 countries have legalized same-sex marriage). And although legalized in England and Wales in 2015, and Scotland in 2014 (and not yet legal in N. Ireland), still often carries with it social backlash and implications such as ideas of sexual perversion, as portions of dominant culture continues to struggle with full inclusion.

Power: why oppressions continue

Heterosexuality exists by enforcing the exclusion of homosexuality, and according to Butler (1997), the presupposition of such exclusion "presumes the heterosexualization of desire" (p. 135) and its power. Such assumes gender as fixed and supports ideas of homosexual women becoming too masculine but not quite a man, while feminizing gay men, thus diminishing many ways in which gender can be experienced. Butler further argues that heterosexuality is framed by prohibitions with homosexuality 'panicking' heterosexual ideals of gender. Therefore, maintaining heterosexuality is to sustain power over gender and identity formation, and to uphold conformity. "Heterosexuality naturalizes itself by insisting on the radical otherness of homosexuality" (p. 139). As a perceived naturalized essence, challenging, and becomes problematic.

Therefore, policy exists as defined by those in control. "Principle architects of policy are the people who own society" (Adam Smith, [1776], 2015), as affirmed by Chomsky et al. (2002), who also argue policy that is pursued, benefits the beliefs of those in power. In other words, inclusion policy shall be created under the idea of pluralism, but ultimately the implementation supports dominant assumptions. Additionally, that UK inclusion policy is left somewhat to interpretation allows implementation of policy to benefit those in power. While those in power are protected by having inclusion policy in place continues, however, to marginalize non-

conforming identities by what seems as unfair applications. Social justice inspired policy was written to satisfy demands from minority groups as they became more involved in decision-making processes as the passive begin to organize. Although resulting in progressive policy, a gap remains in the implementation resting in the hands of the few.

How policy oppression intersected with bullying incidents, underpinning majority beliefs, was evident in several events as retold by young people in this study. Introduced in Chapter Six, James' experience illustrated the homophobic aspect, while the principle element of the bullying was not addressed. The reason for the bullying seemed to carry little relevance therefore suggesting its lack of importance. How the teacher handled the situation reflected dominant needs. Moving James restored order serving her needs. Although inclusion and anti-bullying policies existed in their school, at that moment did not serve the teachers needs, therefore, policy was not considered as part of a resolution that might benefit James.

The culture of education continues to sustain this 'natural order of things' through its use of heterosexual power, rather than troubling the status quo. Instead, present systems intellectualize a theory of inclusion rather than effective implementation that would create a shift away from cultural deprivation and exclusion, serves only to maintain power. It becomes an argument not of equality, rather one that questions how much inequality a society is willing to accept. On one side what is prioritized as fundamental to society, or what is not, and how much power dominant society is willing to use to continue to normalize systemic differences. While on the other side of the argument, is whether power can be shared. This dilemma suggests addressing *why* intersectionality exists is met with challenges, whereas *how* it functions is easier to deal with. *Why* begins to unpack what underpins the *how*, and that capitalistic neoliberal power continues interfering with democratic efforts that attempt to destabilize identity intersections that oppress.

Policy

How power is situated and relates to social exclusion is framed largely by neoliberal social consequences. Neoliberalism values competition and efficiency while dismantling the welfare state, promoting individualization. Neoliberalism, in part, encourages self-interest and individualistic goals suggesting we are, therefore, responsible for our own destinies. Such overshadows inclusive philosophies, ideas for

public good, and community (What is Neoliberalism, 2016). While neoliberalism has become an accepted worldview as production and competition based, challenges policies underpinned by social justice and human rights.

Social divisions underpin an imbalance of power as was reported again and again by young people, the imbalance consisting between an adult figure often a teacher or school administrator, and themselves. Biases are deeply imbedded into social frameworks guiding behavior and expectations, perpetuating these imbalances. Therefore, anti-bullying policy calling for the absence of overt discrimination does not suffice. Abby, Sophie and Aiden (Chapter Five) described direct struggles with how policy was implemented in their schools, reporting feeling subjugated as their identities were ignored. Such reflects that although policy was in place, was not acted upon, underpinning language that alone does not suffice

Biases and discrimination must be interrogated with a certain level of consciousness for policies to be successful; however, policies do not tend to address different types of microaggressions, and that matters. Several girls had reported falling victim to sexist bullying, but that it had been normalized and seemed relatively inconsequential, they neither reported to teachers nor were themselves too concerned, shrugging off the incidents. Although the law indicates equality, and policy underpins this right, social response and tolerance is different. Anti-bullying policy addresses the law that sanctions it use, does not however, break down socially constructed normative inequalities often underpinned by actions not necessarily seen as bullying.

Dictionary.com defines microaggressions as "a subtle but offensive comment or action directed at a minority or other non-dominant group that is often unintentional or unconsciously reinforces a stereotype", and was coined by psychiatrist Chester M Pierce in 1970. Sue et al. (2007) subsequently defined it as "the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostility, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, and sexual orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group" (p. 271). Such statements rarely reflect malicious intent, yet are hurtful where the intent often does not mirror the impact. Michael's experience (see Chapter Six) with the Hitler comment might have seemed less relevant than the actual bullying, and was treated as a microaggression. The insult was subsequently dismissed, overlooking the impact. This has particular meaning in a learning environment.

Under present policies and social justice initiatives, schools are charged with providing a safe and welcoming space for all. Yet those who do not meet normative identity constructions continue to face microaggressions that invalidate their experiences and identities resulting in spaces that are alienating for some preserving power for others, regardless of policy intentions. Anti-bullying policies do not necessarily address the cultural differences that result in microaggressions that continue to highlight difference and non-conformity, resulting in those students feeling insecure and 'stereotype threat'. According to Steel, Aronson and Spencer (2004, 2003, 2002, 1999, 1997, 1995), negative stereotyping raised inhibiting doubts and anxieties in students, causing them to perform at lower levels academically. Students internalized a group's inferior stereotype, ultimately performed accordingly, referring to the phenomenon as stereotype threat.

Policy is missing the opportunity to establish a structure in which social justice and human rights become part of everyday social interactions. Instead, a space where microaggressions and stereotype-threat prevails and often go unnoticed continue undermining and excluding vulnerable populations. Policy therefore, is not yet equipped to engage with the nuances and multiple bands of diversity. Although in both the UK and the US, microaggressions are being identified, and are important to recognize, it is worth noting it can also be taken to extremes (as potentially counter productive) as the conversation attempts to find its place in common culture. Ultimately the importance lies with the recognition that not necessarily words or phrases are offensive, rather whether the words offended the individual. In other words, the individual becomes part of defining what diversity means, and present policy does not allow for such a space.

Policy tends to address the bullying act itself, and the victim. It also addresses how schools should handle bullying and the types of policies to be implemented, and even whom to resource for guidance on implementation. However, it does not present a framework in which to properly identify bullying in its many forms, and therefore, many forms of bullying may be ignored because they either lack the ability to recognize, or lack information on how to address. This lack of space to identify multiple forms serves to strengthen the grip intersectionality has on an incident.

Part IV

Double-consciousness

I add double consciousness, although originating from black American's experiences with white dominant culture, echoes challenges faced by sexual minorities. Especially relevant to school spaces where principles of inclusion are woven into many policies, yet lack in practice. Young people are therefore, required to consider their identities through multiple lenses, and the implications when they chose authenticity of self over dominant principles, as was evident in many stories reported in this thesis.

W. E. B. Du Bois first engaged with 'life behind a veil' as a metaphor to explain black lives were/are separate from others. Carrying symbolic importance described the separation between black and white populations in the US at the beginning of the twentieth century. The veil represented oppression, and while it was possible for a black person to understand life both behind and outside the veil, it was not possible for a white person to fully understand the oppression felt by black Americans. This metaphor continues to carry relevance.

Double consciousness emerged from this initial idea. "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others…One ever feels his twoness…two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in…one body," (Du Bois 1903). The individual sensation as though one's identity is divided into several parts, one as a black person and another as a member of broader society, makes it difficult if not impossible to have one unified identity.

The conflict was the sense of looking at oneself through the eyes of another and their experience and expectations of the dominant culture, in this case, white culture. The feeling of being ensnared in the expectations of another, feeling obligated to conform and fit in, denying the uniqueness of the self and that of being black. And although its crux was the African-American experience, double consciousness carries with it relevance across minority statuses, serving a similar purpose when applied to the homosexual community.

The psychological challenges of reconciling one's identity, such as a sexual minority, for example, with that of a heteronormative and patriarchal centric society and education, leaves non-conforming individuals struggling with multi-faceted conceptions of self. They may find themselves continuously reconciling several

identities that make one person. According to Du Bois, complicates the development of self.

Double consciousness suggests minorities view themselves from their unique culture perspective as well as how they might be perceived by the dominant culture, regarding themselves through the eyes of another. For LGB,T individuals, the internalization of prevailing anti-homosexual sentiment informs their experiences influenced by stereotypes perpetuated by the dominant culture. These metaphors not only influence, but also regulate realities. Double consciousness suggests that both as a homosexual as well as a member of broader society, one must decide which identity works where, challenging the self. As a result, a self-image may be shaped by predominant perceptions, and according to Du Bois creates self-doubt and inhibits, which he identified as warring ideals in one body. Always looking at oneself through the limited capacity of the eyes of another reinforces harmful, limited or even false perceptions and begins to internalize the negative views society has created leaving multiple identities unreconciled and at the mercy of prevailing opinions. Du Bois' theory has universal appeal for its capacity for broad applications across minority groups transcending race, as any member of society seen as 'other' must regard everything from various perspectives at the intersection of multiple discriminatory identities as defined by dominant culture.

The implications of 'life behind the veil' are vast and current. Young people participants felt irrelevant, threatened and diminished, finding to be accepted meant acting and behaving as dominant culture, at times compromising their identities. Sophie expressed the internalization of anti-homosexual sentiment through her assessment of what was the LGB,T sexual experience against 'normal' experiences. With many sources of power that begin with a societal understanding of 'normal', underpins other forms of power compromising anyone that is seen as different. When the young people, for example, chose to identify openly with their homosexuality, compromised their standings within dominant culture, diminishing their power.

What is education in relation to the double consciousness?

Homosexuals are aware of their own identities and those of the dominant, heterosexual cultural identities imposed upon them, underpinned by heterosexual institutions. This was evident in reported findings that boys struggled from sexist bullying as a result of their sexual identity as they believed it feminized, as to be

feminized suggested weakness. Policed by their peers who through their actions, imposed heterosexual cultural identities on the sexual minority boys, underpinned normative understanding of gender. Furthermore, all participants reported the lack of inclusive sexuality in sexuality education as well as the limited understanding from teachers about non-normative identities. There is thus, a prevailing misunderstanding of what education is, that what is learned in schools are heterosexual values perceived as capital. The heterosexual'ness of education, therefore, is failing homosexual students as it maintains biases that support institutionalized heteronormative principles.

The omission of LGB,T voices in the curriculum or the omission of an inclusive approach to sexuality education, for example, underpins these principles, again, as was reported. Thus, not only difficult to distinguish between types of bullying unique to a homosexual experiences because homosexuality is less understood, also leaves non-gender conforming individuals to negotiate their identities even though homosexuality as an enumerated status is included in anti-bullying and inclusion policy. Educational institutions were created by heterosexuals for heterosexuals, and with historical positioning continues to undermine minorities enforcing a culture of oppression as though it were intrinsic. The drive to possess cultural capital undermines addressing structural factors that continue to oppress compromising anyone who chooses to express their authentic self.

Policy

If left to the majority to initiate reform, the system may not necessarily produce the needed change. Should 'change' not warrant enough benefits for those in charge, a revolution is less likely to occur. Thus, minorities continue to be controlled by a system of oppression. A narrative written und underpinned by dominant culture is not one of inclusion even though it is called for by policy, as it continues to separate while leaving students to negotiate their identities in terms of dominant narratives defining minorities' experiences.

As a democratic theory, inclusive education, or the construct of inclusion has critical dimensions that require consideration in order for 'inclusion' to become an actuality and move beyond theory. A democratic theory cannot succeed without democratic practice and involvement. According to Knight (1999), in order for a democratically inspired theory, such as inclusion theory, to succeed, several

constructs must first be met. These are: (1) the nature of educational authority; (2) the ordering and inclusiveness of membership; (3) the determination of important knowledge; (4) the definition of availability of rights; (5) the nature of participation in decisions that affect one's life; (6) the creation of an optimum environment for learning, and (7) equality.

When considering these points, it begins to form clarity why inclusion is difficult to realize. Therefore, for policy to succeed, these points require integration and incorporation into the nature of policy itself. In its present form, inclusion and anti-bullying policies do not acknowledge the trouble with intersecting identities, nor how minority identities intermingle with other identities, and who may feel over looked or ignored. Even when individual prejudices decrease inequality may persist through larger social structures like schools underpinning normative power that continues to inform.

Authority therefore, considering the first point, plays an instrumental part in authentic inclusive practice. However, it is how authority is exercised that makes the difference. To "engage in educational practices that link democracy, teaching, and practical learning" (*ibid*), Giroux (1997) suggests *emancipatory authority*, which "empowers students to be critical and active citizens" (p 101). Knight (1999) refers back to what Giroux means "that teachers are bearers of critical knowledge, rules, and values through which they consciously articulate and 'problematize' their relationship to each other, to students, to subject matter, and to the wider community," (1997, p. 103). As reported, teachers expressed their views and values through their chosen means used to control bullying incidents. Not one participant reported a teacher or member of a school administration had put inclusion ideals into practice. What was reported suggested school inclusion practice remained as rhetoric rather than action.

To Knight's second point, all students share equal value in the classroom, which supports a more critical and interactive relationship. To attain this requires educating teachers either within teacher education programs, or at school level as professional development with accountability schemes in place. Although the extent of teacher preparation was unknown based on participant accounts, how teachers reacted to bullying incidents as reported by participants, suggested they either were not properly prepared for inclusive practice or did not find it important. Thirdly, membership hinges on a democratic curriculum that moves beyond utilitarian purposes. However, at which level and by whom knowledge deemed as important or engaging is decided,

becomes problematic as such may support biases that discriminate. James reported teachers seemed mainly focused on those students requiring extra academic support, leaving the rest of the class to fend for themselves. As was suggested in his recounting, was neither a productive environment nor in his case (due to lack of teacher awareness) a safe space.

At present, the curriculum and what is considered important knowledge engages less with democratic, holistic knowledge practices, rather supports market driven needs and tends to exclude emancipatory and inclusive education practices. Gutmann (1987) argues a democratic education is therefore both a political and educational ideal (p. 3). Until both aspects are equally realized, inclusive policies may not be fully realized.

Fourth, 'rights' as such, although identified and incorporated into policy's language, are often not yet defended in practice within a school environment. Conflicts persist between groups as actions perceived as incompatible inclined to deny rights, challenge the idea of peaceful relationships required for a democratic curriculum and classroom to succeed, as was reported by participants. Although they did not refer directly to rights, failing to understand them, no one seemed to report a constructive classroom environment. That, and their lack of human rights knowledge underpin the challenge that point four makes. Without said knowledge, teachers, administrators and policy makers are less likely to be held accountable. This brings to the next point as the nature of participation.

The previous points scaffold; to remove or ignore one, others may fail. For students to participate in decisions that affect them highlights the importance of their involvement. Their voice is as instrumental in policy formation as are those of adults. This thesis emphasizes exactly that point that democratic and emancipatory practice lead to inclusive spaces that are both equitable and equal for all participants. For emancipatory and democratic participation to succeed requires all other aspects to be realized. Participation and the following point regarding optimum learning environments tend to align and are about creating capabilities. However, without scaffolding as described above, participation struggles

Nussbaum (2011) proposed the capabilities approach as an instrumental theoretical approach in policy development. It poses the following question: "What are people actually able to do and to be?" (pp. 18-19). It is the principle to treat each person as an end rather than an average, emphasizing choice or freedom rather than achievements;

to take a pluralist approach recognizing different capabilities and be sincerely concerned with inequalities and social injustices, and "ascribes an urgent task to government and public policy" to improve quality of life (*ibid*). Within such a framework, optimum learning environments promote creativity and ownership of learning. Such encourages students and establishes meaning and a sense of competence (Knight, 1999). And lastly, a democratic classroom is equitable and creates equal spaces without neglecting different competencies. Within this framework that weaves Nussbaum, Gutmann and Knight together with Du Bois, begins to eliminate socially constructed boundaries that continue to constrain. It was clear through student accounts, the classroom and school spaces they occupied had a long way to go to meet such ideals.

Part V

Policy direction

Considering what may influence policy and how successful it is, remains as diverse as the population policy is meant to serve. However, policy itself isn't diverse. Although policy does recognize enumerated statuses, only tends to present ideas from limited points of view. Even though policy makers seem to take multiple resources into account, a democratic education underpinned by inclusive polices can only be effective when involving students, parents, and schools along side legislators. At present, policy remains politically motivated and as Goodson (2016) argues, inclusion policy is exclusive and therefore, 'an absurd proposition,' at least in present form, as it lacks inclusion.

In light of continued antipathy toward LGB,T individuals, the aim of this research was to engage with student's experiences from their point of view whether anti-bullying policy was or was not functioning. Thus, the overarching aim was to determine:

1) What are the school-based experiences of sexual minority youth?

During data collection and analysis, a follow-up question was determined:

2) How do different levels of power underpin homophobic bullying?

Which led to (3) the discovery of how power intersects, prolonging a single bullying event.

I realized the omission of young people's voices in political decisions have until now, been made without young people's input and therefore, inclusion policy continues to miss the mark. Young people's experiences indicate the lack of inclusive policy application, biases that may influence teacher responses to bullying incidents in the classroom, and resolutions used by schools tended not to address intersecting identities that produced layers of bullying, maintaining a one-size-fits-all approach.

Young people reported feeling left out, ignored or dismissed when schools attended to bullying incidents. They described incidents where they felt further victimized after a bullying incident because the root cause of the bullying which they felt was homophobic, was rarely addressed. They felt teachers were less interested in their students, rather were focused upon 'getting through the day' without much incident. They felt classrooms were negative, anti-social spaces and lacked opportunities for engagement and agency.

These aspects all represent layers of power that intersect bullying incidents defining dominant understanding thereof.

Despite increased levels of anti-bullying policies are introduced into schools with intentions of redefining equitable spaces and inclusion for all students, bullying continues to remain widespread even amidst growing awareness (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2015). An *EU LGBT Survey* (2013) conducted by the European Union Agency of Fundamental Rights, examined broader national models as well as school spaces and student experiences finding a disconnect exists between inclusion and anti-bullying policies and on-the-ground applications. As obligated by the UK government, schools require a behavioral policy in place; however, much like the 2013 survey, young people participants reported a less than inclusionary ethos, feeling excluded as a result of peer bullying and lacking recognition from teachers.

According to Stonewall, homophobic, biphobic and transphobic bullying remains wide spread and on the rise in UK schools with teachers reporting 45 percent of primary school students and 86 percent of secondary school students have experienced homophobic bullying (Guasp, Ellison, & Satara, 2014). It seems apparent something is missing between intent and implementation that continues underpinning ineffective anti-bullying and inclusion policy applications, leaving many LGB,T

young people oppressed. Therefore, this thesis recommends not only a broader study circumscribing multiple regions or countrywide, also recommends a shift in policy strategies for increased effectiveness.

Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) reported teachers are already struggling under too much pressure, and are required to do more with less. Class sizes continue to grow as administrative duties continue to increase. Many have asked if teachers are not already responsible for enough. As a consequence, teachers often find themselves focusing on those students lagging behind, leaving the class otherwise unattended. James pointed to his own experience suggesting without teacher attention, classroom behavior suffered making him an easier target of homophobic bullying. James admitted under those circumstances, not only did he feel persecuted, no one was learning.

Additionally, inclusion sits in opposition when schools mirror fundamental neoliberal ideologies. Underpinned by economic directives, those who create policy under estimate needs of those the policy represents, instead emphasize efficiency. Not only are needs underestimated, meeting those needs are as well, as guidelines are based on what is 'thought' is needed, rather than actual need. As long as 'need' for one group is determined by another without input from the first group, maintains present power structures. Karlberg (2005) argues within Western-liberal imperial politics and culture of conflict "our discourses of power are almost exclusively conflictual or adversarial. Power tends to be associated with competition at best, coercion or domination at worst," (p. 1), not leaving much space for discourse of inclusion.

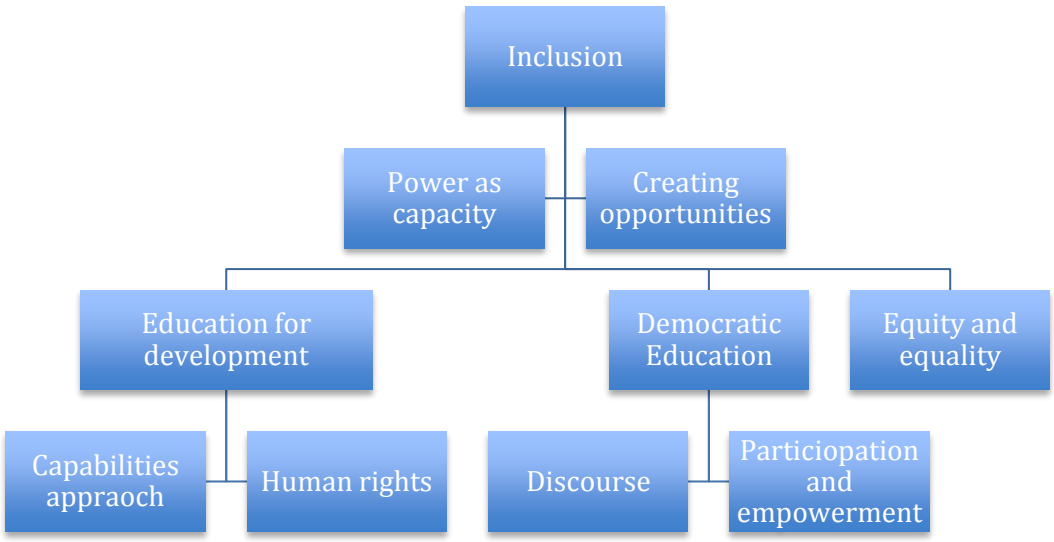
Student accounts revealed:

- Not all bullying was addressed, and if so, not addressed equally.
- Intersecting identities were not considered in bullying incidents or in resolutions mechanisms.
  - Homophobia was rarely acknowledged in bullying incidents.
- Teachers and administrators they encountered tended to perpetuate the victimization of the oppressed youth through less equitable institutional measures used to address bullying incidents.
- Inclusion was not realized – policy was ineffective.
- Student voice minimized.

- Human rights implications.

For successful inclusion integration, multiple systemic modifications are suggested. Power structures, special interests and even funding present potential barriers to successful inclusion policy application. While important, these issues are not the only ones to take into account when considering inclusion policy misses. The following diagram (Table 7.3) proposes and demonstrates a model representing methods that contribute to inclusionary realization. Integration into the entire curriculum and not simply an aspect thereof is suggested.

Table 7.3 - Inclusion: A unified scheme



Inclusion

Power as capacity in Table 7.3; detailed in Table 7.4: when framed by cooperation and mutualism, facilitates holistic collaborative learning and engagement, and empowers. According to Halbert and Kaser (2013) argue a holistic approach to education benefitting all learners requires inclusion of all voices and experiences. They argue without the following key three aspects, a positive and productive learning environment cannot happen. These three aspects are a strong evidence-informed practice, innovative methods and creative approaches. For learners to excel, Halbert and Kaiser's premise that teacher's should practice equitable participation, empowering their students through access. Teachers and students require a space in

which to critique epistemic habits creating opportunities for open expression and dialogue for all, and most importantly, that all students see themselves in the curriculum.

Inclusion is a philosophy guided by principles of respect and empowerment. Power as capacity when realized as power with cooperation (*ibid*) begins to understand the collaborative nature of teaching and learning. Todd (2007) argued "real partnership" requires "participation based on mutuality and respect," (p. 1). Instead, when power is underpinned by competition and neoliberalism, it tends to oppress many, empowering only a few.

Table 7.4 - Power relations

POWER AS CAPACITY			
ADVERSARIALIASM Unbalanced power underpinned by competition (Neoliberalism)		MUTUALISM Balanced power underpinned by cooperation	
INEQUALITY 'power over' -oppression -banking system of education -standardized assessments	EQUALITY 'assisted power' -compromise -concession -accepted rather than wanted	INEQUITY 'assisted empowerment' -educate -assist -guided decision making -assisted assertiveness	EQUITY 'mutual empowerment' -democratic -access -equitable participation empowerment -participatory -human rights
one wins, one loses	both lose	one 'sort of' wins, one wins	both win

Modified from Karlberg (2005)

Creating opportunities (Refer to Table 7.3)

Denied opportunities for participation, young people reported their experiences were withheld when decisions informing disciplinary tactics to which they were subject, were made. Identifying opportunities to express themselves in different ways is

difficult when teachers do not present spaces in which to do so. Therefore, inclusion must inform pedagogical practices rather than the other way around. Additionally, diverse instructional strategies form opportunities creating connections across content areas with opportunities for all students to express themselves.

Education *is* development as much as it is *for* development. Development is therefore human capacity defined by what 'is' and how much 'can be', drives capabilities (Nusssbaum, 2011). However, limiting the scope of curriculum design instead leads to an oppressive educational system and policies, ignoring competency while denying access. Defining pedagogy and curriculum by efficiency with neoliberal economic underpinnings pre-determines a path of student tracking and standardized assessments, and refuses full capabilities.

Nussbaum (2011) uses a capabilities approach as a theory of social justice underpinned by pluralism and concern for social injustices. Social identities are created influencing intergroup relations, which then swings back to social identity formation. When this loop is influenced by inequities and social injustices, effects one's own self-worth and what one is capable of as it sets in motion a perception of level of value (either higher or lower). Inclusion therefore, becomes contentious as Goodson (2016) argues, neoliberalism, as global-orthodoxy as monolithic, imposes a limited definition of human rights. Although underpinning inclusion initiatives, yet when restricted by a narrow, yet grand narrative leaving little space for individuality, human rights are largely ignored. Under these terms, social justice struggles.

A democratic education model suggests students are not passive recipients of information, rather are participants and co-creators of learning and knowledge. Drawing on Freirean pedagogy, radical pedagogy redefines the teacher-student relationship, one that co-creates knowledge and where students learn about, understand and counter their oppressions and participate in social change. A democratic education recognizes individual uniqueness to enhance learning, and is committed to human rights. A democratic approach to education frames the debate around the well-being of teachers and students alike, as a teacher's working environment is a pupil's learning space, therefore, making critical connections between administration, teachers and students with participation and empowerment becomes crucial. Such an approach begins to blur the present distinct lines of power that cut across minority young people's experiences.

Part VI

Implications

Policy development benefits from the inclusion of diverse identities and voices. However, a diversity of backgrounds remains missing at the point of policy creation, including young people's perspectives, all of which were not part of the discussion around the creation or implementation of the very policy that most affected them.

Sexuality education

- Data revealed: As reported by young people, SRE did not include comprehensive sexuality. They reported sex education emphasized biology and reproduction, and how to use a condom.

One solution to successful inclusion is a comprehensive approach to sexuality education. When paired with inclusive policy and an ethos that underpins acceptance, comprehensive sexuality education becomes a valuable asset to an all-inclusive school. However, at present sexuality education standards vary widely leaving many young people ill informed, as material assuming heterosexuality further disenfranchising LGB,T young people. However, simply learning about homosexuality to dispel homophobia essentializes sexual minorities. Because learning about 'them' as a group, ignores homosexuality as an overarching term representing many identities, and serves only as a counter to heterosexuality. Sexuality understood under such terms, essentializes all homosexuals, or for that matter, all heterosexuals, categorizing people as respective members of a 'group' and are therefore, the same. Such characterization diminishes the multiplicity of identity, intersecting identities and the power they have to shape experiences.

As presently seems the case, sexuality is taught that a group in its entirety experiences sexuality the same way. Ignoring differences within a single group, for example, disregards that not all heterosexuals experience sexualities in the same way, nor do homosexuals. Such suggests the only differences in sexuality are those between heterosexuality and homosexuality. Young people in this study might beg to differ. Sophie's experience as a transgender individual M2F differs from Jessica's as a lesbian. Theirs differ from James' as gay or Michael's as bisexual. While Allen, transgender F2M, also experiences sexuality differently. Suggesting limiting information to 'sameness' essentializes sexuality for everybody. While all young

people benefit from learning about reproduction, advocating a patriarchal view, as was reported, restricts the type of information while supporting a dominant world-view, rendering sexual minorities irrelevant. As Rebecca reported, the young woman with pink hair, "I'm a lesbian, what do I need to know about how to put on a condom?" Teaching a limited, heteronormative view about sexuality additionally supported an in-group, out-group mentality, underpinning erasure, only serves to marginalize those who do not conform. However, the more oppressed a group is, the easier they are dominated and relegated to the margins (Freire 1970, p. 55) suggesting within present parameters, not much will change.

Part VII

Summary

Intersectional bullying is defined as being victimized for several oppressed statuses (Garnett, et al. 2014; Daley, et al., 2008). For example, a child who is experiencing homophobic bullying may also encounter ethnic based bullying. Intersectional bullying, therefore, is layers of victimization. I add that a sequence of events, or layering of events within a single bullying paradigm as another form of intersectional bullying. That intersectionality is not only about multiple identities, but also multiple experiences as a series of connecting events as bullying instances. Therefore, intersectional bullying may not only occur because of the construction of classifications but also based on the construction of power paradigms creating the incidents that support the classifications (Dominski, 2016). Power created from a governing source migrating down through policy and implementation efforts influenced by a multitude of social pressures and expectations, eventually locates with actors on-the-ground. They express and exercise power as understood through normalized efforts, policing and restricting those who do not fit. Further negating difference, is the lack of recognition of what 'difference' means. Gender, sexuality and a multiplicity of experience shape each event as unique, therefore an all-purpose approach essentializes, underpinning stereotyping and discrimination.

Analysis of several student experiences with bulling in school and institutional measures utilized as methods of resolution illustrates the ineffectiveness of a universalizing approach of present anti-bullying policy. Through tracing young people's experiences unpacking their stories through narrative inquiry, identified critical incidents and intersectional bullying as presented in the previous three

chapters. A pattern of unsuccessful responses from teachers and administration emerged underpinning the ineffectiveness of present policy that has lead to seemingly inadequate mechanisms of resolution.

The Conclusion Chapter that follows provides a summary of key findings and themes emerging from data. The chapter answers the research question, while inferring further questions revealed in data. Additionally, a contribution is identified while implications are addressed.

Chapter Eight
Conclusion

I think... if it is true that
there are as many minds as there
are heads, then there are as many
kinds of love as there are hearts.

Leo Tolstoy, 'Anna Karenina'

This concluding chapter presents a summary of main findings, contribution and presents suggestions for future research.

This chapter is divided into three parts; it begins with a summary. The second section presents a discussion followed by the contribution to knowledge. A subsequent section addresses directions for future work.

Part I:

Summary

The literature on bullying and inclusion measures to combat bullying presented a complex understanding of factors influencing students' experiences at school. The literature also demonstrated an adult-centric understanding of young people's experiences, suggesting student voice was missing. Correspondingly, the findings presented in this thesis illustrate how marginalized young people felt disconnected from school administrations and inclusion policies meant to protect them.

The thesis presented stories of bullying and victimization reported by a specific group of young people, as they understood their environments. Findings are the result of my analysis and interpretations. The findings strongly suggest that these participants believed school anti-bullying practices showed little interest in them or their identities, leaving students feeling marginalized and irrelevant.

This thesis revealed different types of victimizations and LGB,T youth's experiences with bullying that when stitched together presented an under-researched perspective how bullying is understood and experienced. I now expand on this highlighting the most important insights and my argument.

Aim of research

The aim of this research was to examine individual bullying experiences from the perspectives of LGB,T youth. My objectives were first to recognize the individual student in the broader context of anti-bullying policy, and secondly, critique inclusive institutional measures used by schools when addressing bullying incidents. The research focused on young peoples own stories and perceptions, lending a voice to their experiences. With that in mind, this thesis posed an overarching question, (a) what were the school-based experiences of sexual minority youth? From which a subsequent question identified as, (b) how do different levels of power underpin bullying?

The intentions of a broad hypothesis were to disentangle young people's experiences. In so doing, neither I as researcher, nor were participants constrained by a too narrow research question. Experiences are unique reflections of a given situation; therefore, the research question had to allow for an interrogation of different scenarios, unpacking how these young people both understood and experienced bullying.

Narrative method and analysis, with supporting questionnaire and surveys, revealed bullying is understood differently dependent upon location, participants, intersecting identities and background knowledge of victimization. Findings indicated that addressing bullying events with a universal approach failed because victimizations and how incidents were understood were not universal. Narrative analysis, therefore, became a useful tool establishing a link with lived experiences and policy underpinned by a universal approach to inclusion and bullying.

While interrogating young people's accounts of bullying, three main themes emerged from data. The first theme was how young people understood bullying. The second identified theme was the impact that teachers and schools universal institutional responses to bullying had on victims. And finally, underpinning the first two themes, how power moves through an incident, intersecting at multiple locations interjected by different actors involved with the victimization.

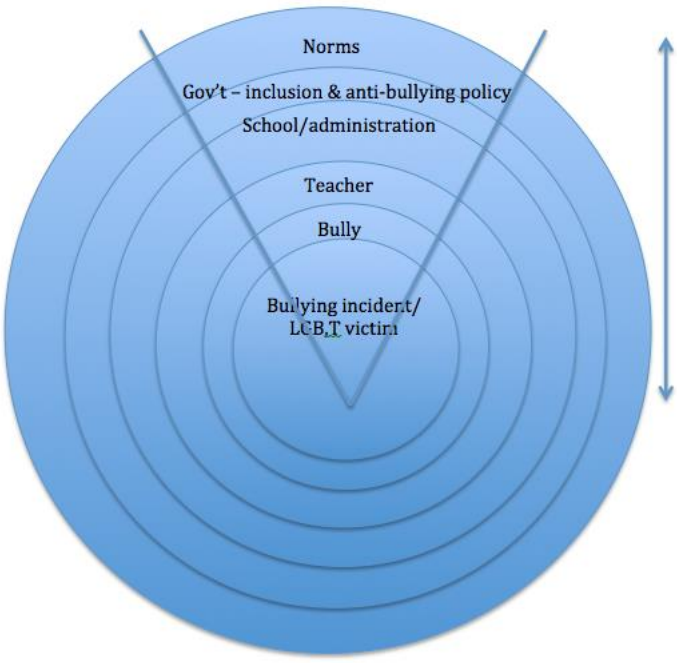
Additionally, two strategies emerged as measures of inclusivity. The first supports previous research that an inclusive, comprehensive approach to sexuality education has positive effects on an inclusive ethos yet was lacking in all young people's accounts as presented in this thesis. The second strategy as recommendation is scaling

the positive and empowering influence of a youth group environment, into a school space.

Key results

Synthesizing key findings, Table 8.1 illustrates rings of power placing pressure on a single bullying event. The table demonstrates how power moves from one influencing source to another, beginning with norms driven by social assumptions, narrowing down to an individual bully. Referring back to Table 7.2, illustrated how power moved within an individual event, Table 8.1 underpins what made that scenario possible. Each ring in Table 8.1 influences the next as normative understandings (power) deepen and intensify moving toward a victim. As each actor intersects an event, applies a certain level of power. The scenario I suggest, however, also works back out as a form of confirmation as a binding measure (refer back to Sophie's comment about 'normal sex', Chapter Five). Victims shaped by events internalize norms that inform how they think about their own identity. Through submitting to norms, they either diminished or invalidated their identity; or by rejecting norms, they validated their difference. In either direction, this process intensified victimization because their identity was either ignored or invalidated.

Table 8.1 – Rings of power



Norms and policy inform, while schools, teachers and bullies act and insert power at given moments affirming norms. How the victim understands and responds to bullying is subsequently a result of all layers, as each layer of power intersects the bullying incident. When the bully, teacher and school administration validate norms through actions taken, the victim feels shame when norms suggest their irrelevance. As Giddens (1986) argued, without recognizing the macro-level is difficult to interrogate the micro-level at the point of an individual incident. Therefore, how power intersects a bullying incident is multi-fold. First, wider social norms establish gender performance expectations. Those broadly held expectations inform biases shaping policy intent, while applying policy acts as power affecting events. Second, individual bullying incidents confirm norms acting as policing, exerting individual power. Table 8.1 demonstrates what informed the on-the-ground use of power through multi-level effects of oppression. As such, how power intersects an event should not be overlooked.

Although mandated schools have a behavioral policy in place, how policy is executed is discretionary. Therefore, as somewhat arbitrary, executing policy varies as appraisal of need and extent is again, in part, shaped by biases (that are informed by norms). These come together to shape what policy ultimately looks like in a school setting as an on-the-ground application by teacher and administration. All those involved (bully, teacher, administration) are informed by norms shaping biases influencing the life cycle of a bullying incident. While the bully's actions epitomize norms, teachers and administrators are additionally confined by policy guiding their reactions. Therefore, lacking strict application protocol, act upon their interpretations regulating the level of intervention. This thesis argues intersectional power as part of a bullying incident, so without acknowledging what influenced how power formed to begin with, misses an important consequence of a bullying development.

The two results chapters provided details of the particularities of bullying policy. Chapter Five exposed the consequences of the cumulative, multi-level effects of oppression, demonstrating the level of bullying experienced by participants. As reported by young people they believed school responses suggested administration supported flawed reasoning that if the victims weren't sexual minorities, they would not have experienced bullying; ergo, that the sexual minority was bullied was their fault. Consequently, behavioral mechanisms used maintained schools innocence,

placing responsibility for both bullying and proving victimization on the marginalized young person.

Chapter Six further supported the premise that the victim was responsible for proving their victimization, while also identifying how bullying was understood differently by different participants. Critical incidents were used to delve deeply into unique events, revealing ambiguous moments with distinctive adverse significance. Otherwise inconspicuous, these moments shaped experiences upholding normative functions.

Behavioral mechanisms and anti-bullying policy used to control bullying, demonstrated a universal approach, as argued. Although enumerated in policy, how identities were acknowledged lacked specificity resulting in a failure to identify unique experiences. Identity differences were made irrelevant in a bullying incident when the teacher ignored the underpinning cause of the bullying incident exerting their own form of power to restore order. Bullying resolution mechanisms are therefore not about empowerment, rather about maintaining control.

Policy implementation inclined to a heteronormative, patriarchal, adult-centric, universal approach, did not differentiate between experiences of actual on-the-ground incidents. Instead, institutional measures underscored efficiency and quick resolution techniques quickly returning to the business of teaching. Rather than unpacking incidents investigating why an incident happened, victimized students were left with little faith in the system meant to protect them. Additionally, the significance of this research illustrated a general purpose approach must be stripped from how bullying is defined and interrogated, as well as from the institutional measures used to control bullying incidents.

I then developed a theorization based on these results. Chapter Seven synthesized findings illustrating institutional measures either ignored homophobic underpinnings of bullying, or indirectly, victim-blamed. Data illustrated how power used by actors in dominant positions punctuating an incident intersecting at multiple points, perpetuated a bullying incident after the initial event leaving the victim experiencing a lack of worth.

Evidence from Chapter's Five through Seven established multiple data points demonstrating how power was used by an actor of a dominant position over a less dominant identity. Each chapter revealed aspects of the expanding effects of power maintaining LGB,T oppressions. It became clear the universalizing effects maintained

normative authority disregarding how different identities and genders interpreted and understood power and bullying. Therefore, the power used to intersect at different moments of a bullying incident perpetuated normative reminders preserving the disadvantaging of non-normative identities while hiding behind the veil of inclusion policy.

This thesis confirmed the impact of intersectional bullying. However, more significant was an expansion of the existing intersectionality model of bullying to include power paradigms intersecting the incident along a continuum, perpetuating victimization. Thus, this thesis contributes how unique perspectives interpret and explain bullying events differently, shaping how bullying and power are understood through multiple different lenses by:

1. Expanding on intersectional bullying model to include power used through institutional measures that intersect an incident, perpetuating victimization.
2. Institutional measures used to control bullying incidents were universalized addressing all incidents the same, erasing identities by not addressing why bullying occurred in the first place.
3. Present policy maintains child as the problem, not the institution.
4. How bullying was understood and experienced varied by gender and whether victims were feminized (boys and girls). When feminized, they experienced sexist, homophobic and gendered bullying.

Part II:

Discussion of results

Inclusion policy aimed at protecting marginalized students has broad appeal, as suggested through mainstreaming social justice language. Indeed, important measures used to combat bullying of non-conforming and marginalized students has gained visibility. However, how power underpins and maintains oppressed identities intersects as a mechanism to sustain marginalization, regardless of inclusion and anti-bullying policies, and remains largely ignored.

These findings suggest in part, inclusion and anti-bullying policy and the institutional measures used to resolve bullying incidents underpinned exclusion of non-conforming identities. Data revealed how power intersected bullying events troubled inclusion measures affecting how young people experience oppressive systems at school.

Institutional factors influenced teacher praxis and student experiences; correspondingly, this thesis uncovered specific and complex issues through contextualized analysis of events and their relationships. Grounded in narrative inquiry provided a framework in which to interrogate perspectives and experiences of non-conforming students.

This research was particular and situated, conducted in a specific place. Although young people may be more comfortable and therefore more open in a youth group setting (Poteat et al 2017) offering many benefits to participants (as previously discussed), there were disadvantages isolating the research to only a youth group environment. Although data obtained from the youth site was rich in detail, not including schools presented drawbacks. The school environment could have offered a different perspective on bullying including participation of students of all sexualities. This may have presented an additional perspective how minority students understood homophobic bullying as juxtaposition with dominant discourse in their schools. However, while not generalizable to all sites, the interrogation of a particular group of LGB,T young people's experience, relying on their depictions of school experiences, has value.

Evidence

The evidence from this research strongly suggests that how power is understood has not been thoroughly interrogated by policy creators, and by extension by schools. The limited mechanisms used to control bullying events underscored not all features shaping a bullying incident were treated equally. Results also showed that the use of intersecting power during a bullying incident lacked recognition as a fundamental aspect of bullying itself. Data corroborated how intersectionality influenced situations; yet, in practice, awareness of intersecting identities was absent when teachers and school administration addressed bullying. Such highlighted not only the lack of recognition of identity intersections but how power intersects individual bullying incidents, exaggerating victimization.

Results further suggested measures used tended to a one-size-fits-all approach, applying universal resolutions to all bullying incidents, regardless of uniqueness, as was reported by participants. Therefore, data uncovered during this research underpins the need to further interrogate the nature of bullying and interplay with

power, considering not only how bullying occurs, but also why it happens in the first place.

Institutional measures used to address and resolve bullying inclined toward a top-down philosophy, with anti-bullying policy not addressing unique circumstances associated with enumerated characteristics, silenced and erased already marginalized identities. Data also revealed how bullying was understood, differed by gender. Girls reported feeling victimized due to their gender, where boys felt victimized for their sexuality. Again, underscoring that anti-bullying policy, although highlighting enumerated statuses, was not created with the flexibility to adjust resolution techniques to suit unique situations.

How power is used to underpin inequalities due to constructed identities is largely ignored when defining the impact of intersectionality. Therefore, the findings presented here offer a lens through which to consider how multi-faceted bullying is, underscoring the impact not only of intersectionality but how power underpins bullying and intersecting oppressions. Considering power intersections begins to interrogate why bullying occurs, and not just how. How bullying occurs may take place in several ways as verbal or physical bullying. Although why bullying occurs may be attested to a victim regarded as vulnerable or perceived as different, does not, however, interrogate systemic measures that perpetuate marginalization. Without understanding how power flows, inclusion and anti-bullying policies and initiatives remain largely as empty promises failing to interrogate the 'why'.

Part III:

Contribution to knowledge

This exploration contributes to research and literature on bullying (see for example Swearer et al., 2010; Espelage et al., 2003; Ross, 2002), and how inclusion is understood (Florian, 2008). It contributes by presenting an additional platform upon which to interrogate a bullying incident, considering how power used by institutions and others involved in the marginalization, further marginalizes a bullying victim.

This research supported the general view of researchers (see for example Kochenderfer-Ladd, et al., 2008; Meyer, 2008; Mishna et al., 2005) that teachers and schools largely ignored structural aspects of bullying. Findings additionally identified bullying as a complex, interdependent constructs connecting multiple intersecting events influencing bullying incidents.

Further, the research showed that nuances shaped by identities creating the intersections in bullying incidents were either unknown or overlooked by schools. Identities as gender, sexuality, masculinity, and femininity (amongst others) intersect informing an experience (Crenshaw, 2016, 1991). Extenuating factors also influenced individual incidents that a universal approach to bullying ignored. These findings can inform and have an impact on the future of policy. How bullying is experienced is not universal, and with power paradigms largely ignored in bullying incidents that prolong victimization, opportunities exist to re-evaluate present policy.

The research adds to the literature on intersectionality and intersectional bullying (see for example Garnett, et al., 2014; Pritchard, 2013; Crenshaw, 1991). Findings presented by this research added a sequence of events occurring within a bullying incident as another form of intersectional bullying. "Intersectional bullying may not only occur because of the construction of social identities as classifications but also because of the construction of power paradigms creating the incidents that support the classifications,"(Dominski 2016, p. 3229). This project, therefore, presents a significant opportunity to advance the understanding of bullying and how intersectionality is understood.

The significance of this research underscores a critical missing piece of understanding that may transform how bullying is recognized. By adding to present knowledge of the overall negative impact of bullying (see for example Ttofi, et al., 2016; Pritchard, 2013; Rodwell, et al., 2013), may broaden solutions to include interrogation of systemic power paradigms disguised as resolution measures adversely influencing bullying incidents. Without examining the use of power, misses an opportunity to re-evaluate how bullying is addressed.

While investigating existing literature addressing bullying of LGB,T young people in school, a gap emerged underscoring young peoples' accounts that their experiences were largely missing from policy analysis. Consequently, literature on young people's experiences as they understood them, was to a great extent, missing. Thus, the results were also significant in advancing the importance of young people's participation in policy creation influencing them directly. It suggests an adult only perspective misses opportunities to a comprehensive understanding of student's experiences. This result contributes to the literature in pupil voice (see for example Hajisoteriou, et al., 2017; Fleming, 2015; Todd, 2007). Furthermore, with little research available considering a narrative analysis of young peoples' perceptions of anti-bullying and inclusion policy

(Fields et al., n.d.), links were missing between personal experience with policy intent and implementation.

This thesis provides a framework for understanding anti-bullying policy's impact upon students. My work on the associations between intent and impact has, therefore, produced knowledge considering the evolution of bullying incidents through the use of power. Through narrative analysis, this work adds to a limited amount of research available, interrogating policy that through incidents presented in this thesis, determined the ineffectiveness of inclusion and anti-bullying measures.

Dependent upon how schools framed bullying, victimization and resolution techniques may perpetuate the oppression of already victimized young people, leaving many feeling unsafe in school (Fisher, et al., 2017; Olsen, et al., 2014). Therefore, choosing a youth organization as a site for research rather than a school, presented different parameters for the research. As a space of safety and respect, participants did not feel threatened or afraid to share their thoughts and experiences, while reported school encounters demonstrated the opposite. The youth site was a place of inclusion, underpinned by human rights and a democratic approach to participation. The young people felt valued, safe and happy there, contrasted with feeling undervalued, threatened and unsafe at school. Further research might consider interrogating a juxtaposition of the school with youth site, considering how marginalized young people experience the two different spaces.

Implications for policy and practice

This research aimed to understand the relationship between bullying and student school-based experiences with behavioral policy creation. The resulting thesis is a significant influence on what to include in policy and how inclusion and behavior policy is rolled out to schools. How bullying is understood, is important. Therefore, any new knowledge that can contribute to developing the present understanding of bullying, unpacking systemic oppression, carries with it a level of value.

Additionally, interrogating structures of power begins to recognize quick interventions used to resolve bullying incidents exposes the exploitative nature of institutionalized measures used to police and control. Unpacking how power thus, intersects with bullying incidents, becomes an additional layer of knowledge with which to deconstruct bullying incidents while contributing to educational research.

What this research says to policy practice

Policy practice follows a rather predictable trajectory. Research informs policy makers who create a policy that is rolled out to schools. Once in schools, new research is conducted interrogating policy implementation and success that in turn, informs policy makers, and so on. However, within that cycle, student's voice as important when interrogating policy effectiveness remains overlooked. How policy is informed then, is, by and large, an exercise driven by and for adult. Yet, how students experience policy differs significantly from adult intentions. Increasingly recognized as important, student participation informing anti-bullying policy creates a shared commitment. Through facilitating student voice, policy makers and schools can draw on student experience who become co-constructors of policy, and as a result, take more responsibility for their actions, learning environments, and gain confidence (Palmer, 2013).

Implications

Although a relatively small study, it has strong potential for further and broader examination. LGB,T marginalization is not isolated to a single geographic area, rather crosses borders and countries, as children everywhere experience bullying.

Anti-bullying initiatives implemented in the UK remain largely ineffective, suggesting room for further study uncovering the reasons. Socio-normative power as a feature underpins systemic oppressions, hence it stands to reason normative power also influences how bullying is understood. Therefore, by expanding observations into multiple youth site locations broadening the parameters imply larger-scale transferability and theoretical generalizability.

The ultimate goal of this study was to interrogate bullying experiences as understood by the victim and to develop a model to examine bullying not yet otherwise considered. The recommendations presented here are not intended to be exclusive, rather as part of an entire shift that interrogates the environment in which students and teachers find themselves that too often, lacks inclusion as an overarching philosophy, instead remains a stand-alone concept.

Part IV:

Conclusion

Intersectional bullying theory identifies how multiple identities interact and overlap, each as an oppressive categorization, when combined, deepens the discrimination. Participant's stories shared underpinning characteristics, that some form of power was used that ignored or erased their identity. Additionally, young people believed measures used addressing bullying in school rarely supported victims. Per participant reports, teachers or administration rarely considered situations that led to a bullying incident, rather reacted to misbehavior as an at-the-moment situation. For example, being reprimanded for arriving late to school, rather than investigating the reasons that led to the tardiness, was not considered. When a student was bullied by a group of young people and eventually retaliated in self-defence, was blamed for the retaliation, while the school ignored the perpetrators and the victimization that prompted the retaliation.

Understanding deeply rooted power structures that inform institutional measures presents an opportunity looking at bullying a different way. Researching the causes of bullying in school is not new. It persists because bullying continues, suggesting something remains overlooked. Considering how many layers of power interconnect and shape bullying presents a different way to interrogate a negative situation. Nothing occurs in a vacuum; therefore, not a single action alone causes bullying nor can a single action resolve it. Institutional power, political power, administration and teacher power all underpinned by biases informing stereotyping, influence the trajectory of a bullying incident. This thesis considered one marginalized population; however, these results suggest broad base applicability from which many minority and marginalized groups could benefit.

There are not more than five musical notes, yet the combinations of these five give rise to more melodies than can ever be heard.

There are not more than five primary colors, yet in combination they produce more hues than can ever been seen.

There are not more than five cardinal tastes, yet combinations of them yield more flavors than can ever be tasted.

Sun Tzu, The Art of War

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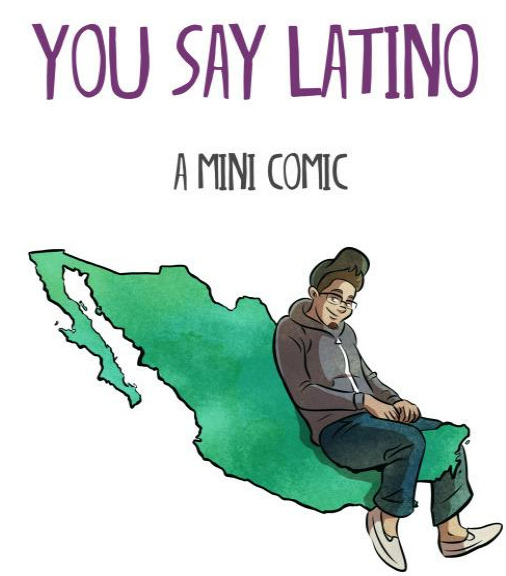
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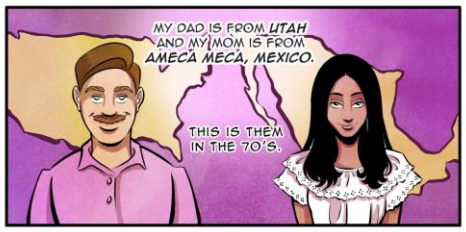
Appendices

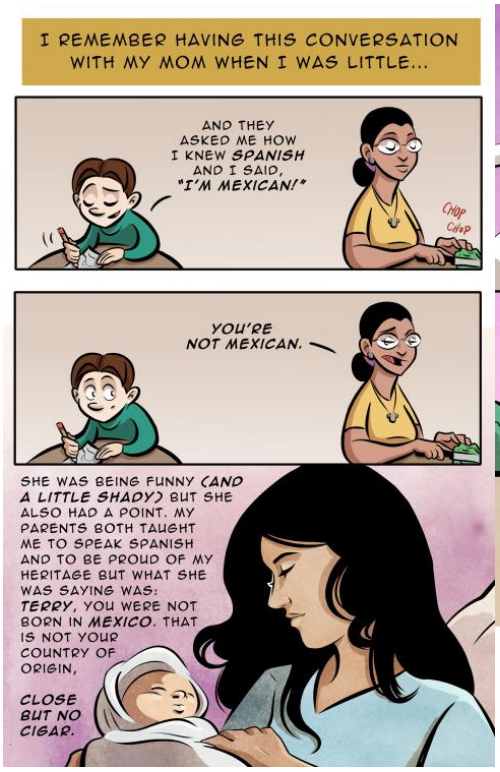
A. You Say Latino – a mini comic by Terry Blas
B. Section 28 of the UK's Local Government Act 1988
C. Research Ethics Approval Form
D. Consent Form for Youth Workers
E. Teen – Study Information & Consent Form
F. Study Information Sheet
G. SEXISM: Attitudes toward women and men & 20 Questions: Gender Roles
H. BEM Sex Role Inventory
I. Questionnaire "My life at school"
J. Critical Incident Analysis Framework worksheet
K. Sample completed Critical Incident Analysis Framework worksheet

Appendix A


YOU SAY LATINO
A MINI COMIC
BY TERRY BLAS


HELLO!
I'M COMIC ARTIST
TERRY BLAS
IT'S RECENTLY COME TO MY ATTENTION THAT MANY PEOPLE DON'T KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TERMS:
LATINO AND HISPANIC
THEY'RE ACTUALLY NOT INTERCHANGEABLE.
DON'T WORRY. THERE'S NO SHAME. I'VE GOT YOU.
LOOK, I'LL ADMIT. IT WAS A BIT CONFUSING, EVEN FOR ME.
I GREW UP IN A BICULTURAL HOUSEHOLD.
Portland Oregon
OLD TOWN


MY DAD IS FROM UTAH AND MY MOM IS FROM AMECA MECA, MEXICO.
THIS IS THEM IN THE 70'S.


I REMEMBER HAVING THIS CONVERSATION WITH MY MOM WHEN I WAS LITTLE...
AND THEY ASKED ME HOW I KNEW SPANISH AND I SAID, "I'M MEXICAN!"
CHOP CHOP
YOU'RE NOT MEXICAN.
SHE WAS BEING FUNNY (AND A LITTLE SHADY) BUT SHE ALSO HAD A POINT. MY PARENTS BOTH TAUGHT ME TO SPEAK SPANISH AND TO BE PROUD OF MY HERITAGE BUT WHAT SHE WAS SAYING WAS: TERRY, YOU WERE NOT BORN IN MEXICO. THAT IS NOT YOUR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN,
CLOSE BUT NO CIGAR.


BUT MEXICO AND BEING MEXICAN FEELS LIKE A PART OF MY IDENTITY. I SPEAK SPANISH, I'VE VISITED AND LIVED IN MORE CITIES IN MEXICO THAN I HAVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
GROWING UP I WAS CLOSER AND MORE FAMILIAR WITH MY MOM'S SIDE OF THE FAMILY.
HERETARO
TAPA
CA MECA
REY
SO I STARTED SAYING, "I'M HISPANIC" OR "I'M LATINO" AND USING THEM BOTH INTERCHANGEABLY.
GRANDPA BLAS
MAMA LUPE



Available online at: http://terryblas.tumblr.com/post/125297258394/apologies-i-dont-know-how-to-put-something-under

Status: This is the original version (as it was originally enacted).



28

Local Government Act 1988

1988 CHAPTER 9

PART IV

MISCELLANEOUS AND GENERAL

Miscellaneous

Prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material

(1) The following section shall be inserted after section 2 of the Local Government Act 1986 (prohibition of political publicity)—

"2A

Prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material

. (1) A local authority shall not—

. (a) intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality;

. (b) promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship.

. (2) Nothing in subsection (1) above shall be taken to prohibit the doing of anything for the purpose of treating or preventing the spread of disease.

. (3) In any proceedings in connection with the application of this section a court shall draw such inferences as to the intention of the local authority as may reasonably be drawn from the evidence before it.

. (4) In subsection (1)(b) above "maintained school" means,—

. (a) in England and Wales, a county school, voluntary school, nursery school or special school, within the meaning of the Education Act 1944; and

. (b) in Scotland, a public school, nursery school or special school, within the meaning of the Education (Scotland) Act 1980."

(2) This section shall come into force at the end of the period of two months beginning with the day on which this Act is passed.

Appendix C

2014/20/JG

School of Education – Research Ethics Approval Form

The University of Nottingham

Name Hilke (Elle) Dominksi
Main Supervisor Pat Thomson
Course of Study PhD
Title of Research Project: Student sexuality, education policy and child human rights
Is this a resubmission? Yes **Date statement of research ethics received by PGR Office:** 28/08/14

Research Ethics Coordinator Comments:

The information provided meets the criteria for ethical approval of this research.

I consider this research to be above minimum risk ☐

Final responsibility for ethical conduct of your research rests with you and your supervisor. The Codes of Practice setting out these responsibilities have been published by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) and the University Research Ethics Committee.
http://www/educationstudentintranet/researchethics/index.aspx http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/Ethical%20Guidelines *If you have any concerns during the conduct of your research then you should consult those Codes of Practice and refer again to the School of Education's Research Ethics Committee.*

Independently of the Ethics Committee procedures, supervisors also have responsibilities for the risk assessment of projects as detailed in the safety pages of the University web site. Ethics Committee approval does not alter, replace, or remove those responsibilities, nor does it certify that they have been met.

Outcome:
Approved ☑ Revise and Resubmit ☐
Signed: W. J Morgan Name: Prof W.J. Morgan Date 25/9/14
(Chair of Research Ethics Committee)

Appendix D

School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG8 1BB

Consent Form

Researcher: Elle Hilke Dominski, BA MA
PhD student
Email: ttxhd9@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Professor P. Thomson, PSM PhD
Professor of Education
Director for the Centre for Advanced Studies
Director of the Centre for Research in the Arts, Creativity and Literacy (CRACL)
Email: patricia.thomson@nottingham.ac.uk
Phone: 0115 846 7248

Ethics Coordinator, University of Nottingham, School of Education: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Telling Stories: Experiences of Sexual Minority Youth

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Study Information Sheet dated XXXX for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the researcher. ☐

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations and will remain anonymous. ☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study as outlined to me in the Study Information Sheet. ☐

_____	_____	_____
Printed Name of Participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Printed Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

When completed, please return in the envelope provided (if applicable). One copy will be given to the participant and the original to be kept in the file at the University of Nottingham, School of Education

Appendix E

The University of Nottingham
UNITED KINGDOM · CHINA · MALAYSIA

School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG8 1BB

Project Information Sheet – Telling Stories: Experiences of Sexual Minority Youth

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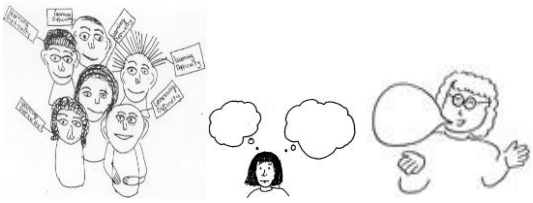
Researcher: Elle Hilke Dominski, BA MA
PhD student
Email: ttxhd9@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Professor P. Thomson, PSM PhD
Professor of Education
Director for the Centre for Advanced Studies
Director of the Centre for Research in the Arts, Creativity and Literacy (CRACL)
Email: patricia.thomson@nottingham.ac.uk
Phone: 0115 846 7248

Ethics Coordinator, University of Nottingham, School of Education:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

My name is Elle Dominski and I am studying to be a researcher in the field of education, and I am doing a project for my course.

I would really like to hear about your experiences in school as a gay or lesbian teen, what you think about how your school is doing teaching sexuality education, some of your accomplishments and struggles, and how you see yourself and how people might see you.



Our talk would be private. I will not tell anyone what you say, including your family if you do not want them to know (*this applies to those 16 years of age or above, thus this statement will be modified based on age of potential participant*). Your name will not be made known and what you share is anonymous. I may use this information in reports, publications or meetings; but remember you will stay anonymous.

There are several parts that you will be asked to participate in. The first is a group discussion type interview where you will be talking with me in a group format with your friends at this centre.
The second part is a one-to-one discussion with me. This will be your chance to tell me a little more about yourself and if you want, expand on anything that was said in the group format.

Each should take no longer than one hour.
When we are talking, you can ask for the interview to stop at any time.

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School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG8 1BB

After the interviews, there will be a short questionnaire and then the most fun part will be a group project. One of the things we will do with the group is decide on a project you want to do to be a way to express yourselves. This will give you a chance to be involved in what the project will look like. This will be your chance to have a say in how your ideas can be expressed and how to share them.

Just know, you can say yes or no. It is up to you whether you take part in this research project.





Also, if you change your mind once you have started with the project and want to stop participating, you can at any time. Its okay. You don't have to explain why.

Some of the questions asked may be upsetting, or you may feel uncomfortable answering them. If you do not want to answer a question, you do not have to. Some of the questions asked may make you upset or stressed out now or at a later time. If this happens, you can contact the following person for help: *_Name & Contact_* (I will seek this information from the youth facility – this line to be removed from official form)

I will be in the facility also as a volunteer and general helper in addition to being a researcher.

If you would like to talk to me, I would be very grateful if you could sign the attached form and return it to me, or to *__name__* at the youth centre.

If you would like to know more about the project, you can contact me anytime; my contact information is listed at the beginning of this form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Elle H. Dominski

The University of Nottingham
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School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG8 1BB

Consent Form – page 1

Researcher: Elle Hilke Dominski, BA MA
PhD student
Email: ttxhd9@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Professor P. Thomson, PSM PhD
Professor of Education
Director for the Centre for Advanced Studies
Director of the Centre for Research in the Arts, Creativity and Literacy (CRACL)
Email: patricia.thomson@nottingham.ac.uk
Phone: 0115 846 7248

Ethics Coordinator, University of Nottingham, School of Education:
educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

- I understand that the interview will be recorded and that this information may end up in reports, publications or at meetings.



- I understand that the interview will be private and that I am anonymous.
- I understand that I can stop the interview at any time.



- I also understand that if I want to stop participating at any time for any reason, I can, and I don't have to explain why.

- I understand I can contact the researcher, Elle Dominski, her supervisor or the Ethics Coordinator anytime with questions (contact information at the top of this form).

If you understand the statements above, you now need to decide whether you would like to take part in the project.

Please let me know by filling out the next page.

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Nottingham NG8 1BB

Consent Form – page 2

I have decided that I would like to talk to Elle about her project "Telling Stories."

Please circle either No or Yes.



No



Yes

Signed……

Please print your

Name……Date……..

Please return both pages of the consent form to Elle Dominski

You may not participate until this form is returned

Thank you!

One copy will be given to the participant and the original to be kept in the file at the University of Nottingham, School of Education

Appendix F



School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG8 1BB

Study Information Sheet

Title of Project:	Telling Stories: Experiences of Sexual Minority Youth	**Research Ethics Coordinator:**	educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk
Investigator:	Elle Hilke Dominski (PhD student researcher) Professor P. Thomson (supervisor)	**Researcher Email:** **Supervisor Email:**	ttxhd9@nottingham.ac.uk patricia.thomson@nottingham.ac.uk

Aims of the Study: To assess sexual minority youth's experiences of marginalization in a school setting, understanding their story through narrative, then to analyse present sexuality education policy through the narrative lens, addressing child human rights.

What you will need to do and time commitment: You will be asked to participate in a few activities, which includes a group interview (taking approximately an hour), a one-to-one interview (about an hour) and a questionnaire (which should take less then a half-an-hour). Additionally, you may be asked to participate in a group creative project (which may take several sittings).

As a youth worker, you will be asked to participate in a one-to-one interview only, lasting no longer then a half an hour. You will not be asked to participate in any other way.

Benefits involved in participating: Participants will have the opportunity to share their stories, be heard, be involved in a group activity, and participate in action research as co-researcher, addressing questions and issues important to the participant. Also, they may benefit by contributing to this research sharing their stories, which could influence education policy in the future.

Potential risks involved in participating: As this study may involve asking sensitive questions relating to sexual orientation, may make participants feel uncomfortable.

Confidentiality of your data: Information, data and any further material gathered during this study, including names and any personal information of participants will be held confidentially and not disclosed without prior written consent.

Remember that participation in this research study is completely voluntary. Even after you agree to participate and begin the study, you are still free to withdraw at any time and for any reason.

Anything that may make you feel uncomfortable need not be answered.

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Nottingham NG8 1BB

Some of the questions asked may make participants angry, emotionally upset or stressed out now or at a later time. If this occurs, they can contact the following person for help: _*Name & Contact*_ (I will seek this information from the youth facility – this line to be removed from official form)

You will receive a separate Consent Form.

Also, I will be in the facility as a volunteer and general helper in addition to being a researcher.

If you would like a copy of this consent form to keep, please ask the researcher. If you have any complaints or concerns about this research, you can direct these, via email, to: Research Ethics Coordinator educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk.

Appendix G

SEXISM: Attitudes toward women and men

What is sexism?

How do I know what it is?

Where do I experience it?

What are some of the attitudes?

Toward women?

Toward men?

Is it different for LGBT?

Why?

20 Questions: Gender Roles

(Administered at the same time as SEXISM: Attitudes toward women and men, presented as one, therefore, part of Appendix G)



1. Define gender roles.
2. Do gender roles exist in your country?
3. Do you see yourself as a typical man or woman?
4. What are the responsibilities of a father?
5. What are the responsibilities of a mother?
6. What do you think about stay at home mothers?
7. What do you think about stay at home fathers?
8. Do parents expect different things from sons than from daughters?
9. Are there any professions that have more men than women in your country?
10. Are there any professions that have more women than men in your country?
11. Is it typical for women to join the military in your country?
12. Is it typical for men to be teachers in your country?
13. Should boys and girls be brought up differently?
14. Who has an easier life, boys or girls?
15. Someone is talking about their doctor. Do you think their doctor is male or female?
16. Someone is talking about a nurse. Do you think the nurse is male or female?
17. If all of the men in the world disappeared, what would it be like?
18. If all of the women of the world disappeared, what would it be like?
19. Are men and women equal in their intelligence?
20. Are men and women equal in their physical ability?

http://esl-educate-school-learn.blogspot.co.uk/2012/02/20-questions-gender-roles.html

Appendix H

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

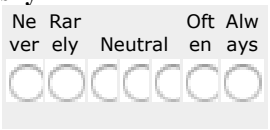
The Bem Sex Role Inventory was developed in 1971 by Dr. Sandra Lipsitz Bem. It characterizes your personality as masculine, feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated. The BSRI is based on gender stereotypes, so what it's actually measuring is how well you fit into your traditional sex role. Thus, your score may say as much about how our cultural expectations have changed over the last 35 years as it does about your personality.

Rate yourself on each item, on a scale from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (almost always true), then press the button.

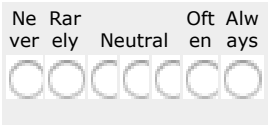
1. **self reliant**
2. **yielding**
3. **helpful**
4. **defends own beliefs**
5. **cheerful**
6. **moody**
7. **independent**
21. **reliable**
22. **analytical**
23. **sympathetic**
24. **jealous**
25. **leadership ability**
26. **sensitive to other's needs**
27. **truthful**
41. **warm**
42. **solemn**
43. **willing to take a stand**
44. **tender**
45. **friendly**
46. **aggressive**
47. **gullible**

Never or almost never — Rarely — Neutral — Often — Always

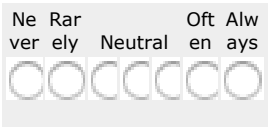
8. **shy**



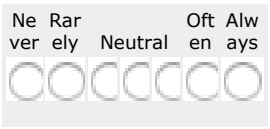
9. **conscientious**



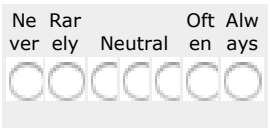
10. **athletic**



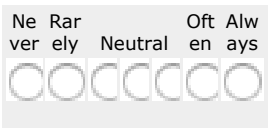
11. **affectionate**



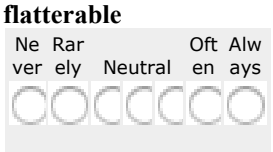
12. **theatrical**



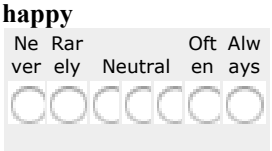
13. **assertive**



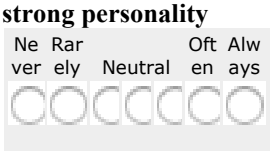
14. **flatterable**



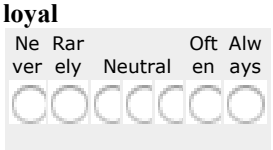
15. **happy**



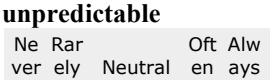
16. **strong personality**



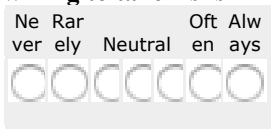
17. **loyal**



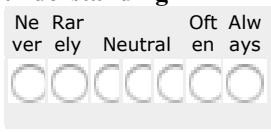
18. **unpredictable**



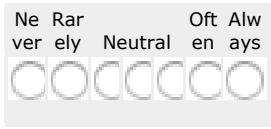
28. **willing to take risks**



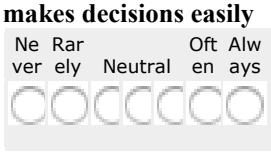
29. **understanding**



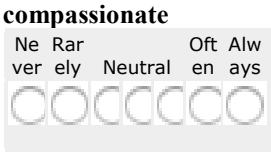
30. **secretive**



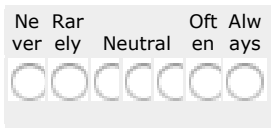
31. **makes decisions easily**



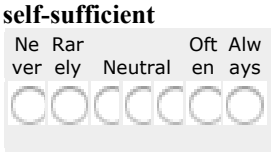
32. **compassionate**



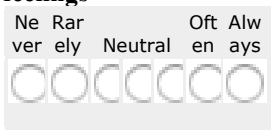
33. **sincere**



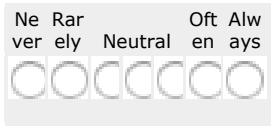
34. **self-sufficient**



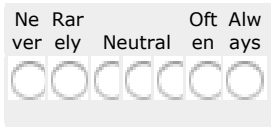
35. **eager to soothe hurt feelings**



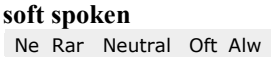
36. **conceited**



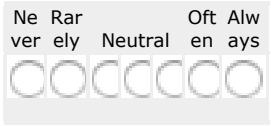
37. **dominant**



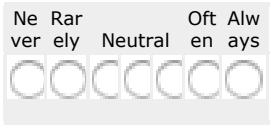
38. **soft spoken**



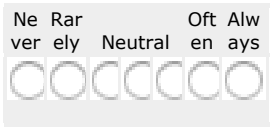
48. **inefficient**



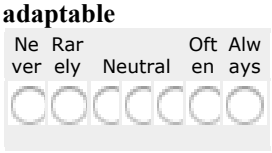
49. **acts as a leader**



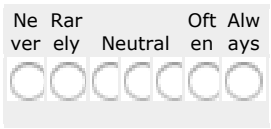
50. **childlike**



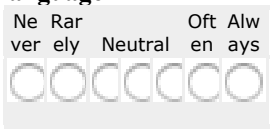
51. **adaptable**



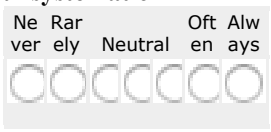
52. **individualistic**



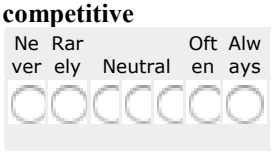
53. **does not use harsh language**



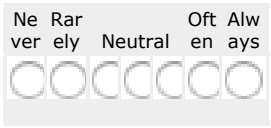
54. **unsystematic**



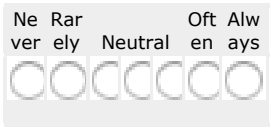
55. **competitive**



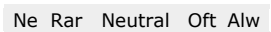
56. **loves children**



57. **tactful**



58. **ambitious**





ver ely en ays

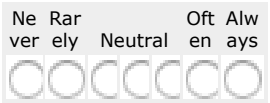


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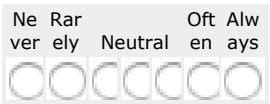
19. forceful

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



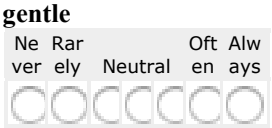
39. likable

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



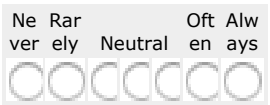
59. gentle

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



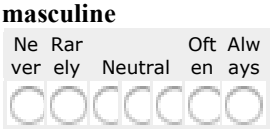
20. feminine

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



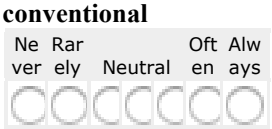
40. masculine

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



60. conventional

Ne ver | Rar ely | Neutral | Oft en | Alw ays



Appendix I

My life at school:

How old are you? _____

What is your gender? _____

How do you define your sexuality? (Please circle one)

1. homosexual
2. heterosexual
3. bisexual
4. asexual (without sexual feelings)
5. pansexual (or "gender blind")
6. trans-sexual

In any given month at school...	Never	Once	More than once	How many times each month?
1. Has/Did someone called you names?				
2. Has/Did someone make fun of you because of your appearance?				
3. Has/Did someone make fun of you for any reason?				
4. Was someone nice to you?				
5. Has/Did someone frighten you?				
6. Has/Did someone laugh at you?				
7. Has/Did someone tell a lie about you?				
8. Has/Did someone spread a mean rumor about you?				
9. Were you physically bullied in school?				
10. Have you seen homophobic bullying directed at another pupil?				
11. Have you ever joined a group to bully or hurt another pupil?				
12. Have you ever stuck-up for another pupil who was being hurt or bullied by another pupil?				

My life at school:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Did you get angry when you saw someone get bullied?					
Were some pupils often bullied by other pupils?					
Was the bullying meant to be fun?					

Some kids call each other names. How many times in any given week at school did things get said to:

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	Don't know
A friend					
Someone I did not like					
Someone I knew					
Me					

	Never	1-2 times	3-5 times	6+ times	Not sure
Have you cheered up another pupil who was upset?					
In a group, I teased another pupil.					
Were other pupils often teased?					
I was teased by a group of pupils.					
How often have you been subject to homophobic bullying?					
How often did someone call you gay or lesbian?					
How often were you bullied?					

If you were bullied, who bullied you most often? (check all that apply)

___ older boys ___ older girls

___ younger boys ___ younger girls

___ boys in my year ___ girls in my year

___ someone who is strong ___ someone who is an adult

___ someone I did not know ___ someone who is popular

___ no one bullied me ___ other _____

If you were bullied, did you report it? (circle one) Yes No

My life at school:

Who did you tell?

_____

Do you feel the problem was resolved in a way that supported you?

(circle one) Yes No Don't know

Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

If you did not report it, do you think teachers knew you were being bullied?	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	Don't know
	Frequently	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Were you able to defend yourself from the bullying?					
How often did you hear the expression 'That's so gay' or 'You're so gay' in school?					
How often did you homophobic remarks such as 'faggot', 'dyke' and 'queer'?					
How often did you hear these remarks from other pupils?					
How often did you hear these remarks come from teachers/staff?					
When homophobic remarks are made and a teacher is present, how often did they intervene?					
How often have you heard comments about students not acting 'masculine' enough?					
How often have you heard comments about students not acting 'feminine' enough?					
How often are these remarks directed at you?					
How often do you hear these remarks made by teachers/staff at any students, including yourself?					
Did/Do you feel safe at school?					
Have you ever felt alone while at school?					

My life at school:

How often were you physically harassed (shoved, pushed, hit, etc) at school because of.... (please circle all those that apply)

1. your sexual orientation?
2. your gender?
3. how you express your gender?

What type of secondary school did you attend?

___ Community school

___ Foundation school

___ Grammar school

___ Faith school

___ Free school

___ Academy

___ Private school

Did your school teach sex education?

(circle one) Yes No

Were you required to attend sex education class in your school?

(circle one) Yes No

Do you think you were provided with enough information about sexuality?

(circle one) Yes No

Please explain.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix J

A critical incident reflection framework & worksheet

Informed by the critical incident reflection framework from the Department of Education, Victoria Australia (presented in the first grid), the following worksheet (second grid – Worksheet A) was created to aid in unpacking situations identifying critical incidents.

The what? A description of the incident/experience with just enough detail to support doing your "So what?" section.	For example, description about who, what, why, when, where.
So what? This is the sense-making section that asks you to surface general meaning, significance, your position / view point; actions; emotions (pre-during-post).	**Now what?** This section makes connections from the experience/incident to further actions. For example, what would you do differently/the same next time? How come? What are key points, lessons learnt to share with your colleagues, network and/or group outside the network? (eg. idea, product, process, concept)? How will you do this?

As located on http://www.education.vic.gov.au/childhood/professionals/support/Pages/reflectframework.aspx
Worksheet A was further influenced by several additional online anonymous or unnamed sources.

Worksheet (see next page)

The worksheet provided a framework as a guide for reflection and learning from significant events. See Appendix K (p. 277) for a sample of a filled-in worksheet.

Critical incident reflection framework worksheet

Account of the Incident The who, what, where, when & why 1. What happened, where and when? 2. Who was involved? 3. What was the purpose of his/her role/involvement in the incident? 4. What was the context of the incident – eg. previous involvement?	*Notes*	*Critical Reflection* So what? Now what?
Initial response to the incident 1. What were his/her thoughts? 2. What were his/her feelings and emotions at the time of the incident? 3. What were the responses of other key individuals? 4. If not known, what does he/she think they might have been	*Notes*	*Critical Reflection* So what? Now what?
Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident 1. What practice dilemmas were	*Notes*	*Critical Reflection* So what? Now what?

identified as a result of the incident? 2. What were the value and ethical issues highlighted by this incident? 3. Have implications to classroom/school practices been identified?		
Learning What did he/she learn about: (a) themselves? (b) relationships with others? (c) organizational policies, school procedures? 1. What theories have helped to understand this incident? 2. What research has assisted understanding about this incident? 3. What intervention skills might have been helpful? 4. How might school organizational contexts explain some aspect with this incident? 5. What future learning needs has the researcher identified? 6. The participant	*Notes*	*Critical Reflection* So what? Now what?

identified?		
Outcomes 1. What were the outcomes of this incident for the various participants? 2. Are there ways this incident might have changed practice in similar incidents?	*Notes*	*Critical Reflection* So what? Now what?

Appendix K

Sample of a filled in Critical Incident Reflection Framework worksheet

This worksheet became a space where I was able to organize my thoughts. Notes presented here are transcribed from my handwritten forms; they reflect how I thought through an incident. Some points in the worksheet were less relevant or did not apply, were therefore left blank. Not all comments were relevant to this thesis, but assisted in identifying incidents of significance.

JAMES		
Account of the Incident The who, what, where, when & why	***Notes***	***Critical Reflection*** **So what?** **Now what?**
1. What happened, where and when?	*James was moved to the back of the class.*	***So what?*** *Why was James moved and not bully? James' concerns not met. He was made to feel bad. All eyes on him.* *Why he was bullied was not addressed*
2. Who was involved?	*James, the bully and teacher*	*James – victim* *Boy – bully* *Teacher – also bully?*
3. What was the purpose of his/her role/involvement in the incident?	*It seemed the purpose of moving James was to create order in the classroom; stop bullying.*	*What are the implications w/ teacher using power to quiet down situation rather than resolve?*
4. What was the context of the incident – eg. previous involvement?	*Immed. context: classroom event.* *Previous? Maybe this was not the first time James was bullied by this boy.* *James*	*Teacher not interested? (As James understood things)* ***Now what?*** *Teacher could have shown more concern for the reason the bullying took place in the first place. Maybe s/he had too many admin things to do – result of neoliberal expectations. S/he lacks time (and maybe interest?)* *This would be a good place for a school to consider its holistic perspective re. its pastoral care.*

		It would be really good if James were to have been afforded the opportunity to discuss his side of the experience. *There's something up w/ making the victim feel bad about being victimized.*
Initial response to the incident 1. What were his/her thoughts? 2. What were his/her feelings and emotions at the time of the incident? 3. What were the responses of other key individuals? 4. If not known, what does he/she think they might have been?	***Notes*** *James felt vulnerable.* *J doesn't trust the system – he lost faith.* *James felt embarrassed.* *He felt threatened reporting further bullying occurring outside of class.* *He seemed resentful – of teacher? Of school? Of bully?* *The teacher placed attention onto James. Per J., teach did not really address the bully. J felt irrelevant.* *Kids in class laughed at James. Teacher focused on James.* *James was too afraid to stand up to the teacher or the bully. The environment J experiences were not conducive to his equity. He seemed to count less.*	***Critical Reflection*** **So what?** **Now what?** ***So what?*** *Bullying never really stopped.* *How does this one situation reflect on why bullying persisted? Emotional implications on victim? Bully?* *Why did J talk about the teachers having no interest?* *Teacher feels overwhelmed? hmmm…* *Is it the system? Or the teacher?* *Teacher uses power to silence – another form of bullying?* *Why was the bully relatively ignored in incident?* ***Now what?*** *Key points?* *Boy bullies James. Teacher uses institutional mechanisms to gain order. Teacher moves James; does nothing (or little) to the bully. Bully not reprimanded. James feels like he is blamed for the incident occurring.*
Issues and dilemmas highlighted by this incident 1. What practice dilemmas were identified as a result of the incident?	***Notes*** *Multiple actors using different forms of power – James had none (or little).*	***Critical Reflection*** **So what?** **Now what?** ***So what?*** *J was victimized and then marginalized for the actual victimization.*

2. What were the value and ethical issues highlighted by this incident? 3. Have implications to classroom/school practices been identified?	*Issues of inclusion/equity not met.* *Sure – although this is a one-sided account, suggests classroom practice lacked inclusion/respect*	
Learning What did he/she learn about: (a) themselves? (b) relationships with others? (c) organizational policies, school procedures? 1. What theories have helped to understand this incident? 2. What research has assisted understanding about this incident? 3. What intervention skills might have been helpful? 4. How might school organizational contexts explain some aspect with this incident?	***Notes*** *James learned not to trust school/policy* *His relationship with others sounded strained.* *He felt vulnerable after coming out.* *Human rights stuff; inclusion* *Theories about inclusion, acceptance…maybe dominance?* *Look at research on bullying, classroom management, neoliberal classroom practices, high stakes pressures on teach/students.* *I don't know if or how teacher was prepared to practice an inclusive classroom, but addressing biases in these preps might be helpful.* *To his version of events, it would benefit all if school equitable approaches to victimization addressed root causes. Maybe they did and James just did not understand it that way – also an issue – lost in*	***Critical Reflection*** **So what?** **Now what?** ***Now what?*** *All involved in this incident (J., boy, teacher) played a part.* *James however, didn't have power. The bully had power; the teacher had power.* *Bully used dominant thought as a policing mechanism – power.* *He bullied James for his identity – power* *Teacher intervened – power* *Teacher moved James - power*

5. What future learning needs has the researcher identified? 6. ~~The participant identified?~~	*translation?* *Without proper inclusion (deal w/ biases and power), learning struggles. James' situation suggests he was neither addressed w/ inclusion and his learning was interrupted more than other kids in the class*	
Outcomes 1. What were the outcomes of this incident for the various participants? 2. Are there ways this incident might have changed practice in similar incidents?	***Notes*** *James maintained his victimization.* *Bully kept his power.* *Teacher kept power.* *Power seemed transferred from one actor to the next.* ➔	***Critical Reflection*** **So what?** **Now what?** ***So what?*** *The bully 'withdrew' power from James, taking it, than using it against James. The power moved to teacher.* *Intersectional power?* *Power wielded against vulnerable identities to keep them vulnerable, and those in power keep power?*

VITA

'Elle' Hilke G. Dominski

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, School of Education at University of Nottingham,
2013 – present.
Dissertation title: *LGB,T Youth Experiences of Bullying: Power, Intersectionality, and Participation*

Master of Arts, School of Education at University of Colorado Boulder.
May 2012
Thesis title: *Race Performativity in the Classroom*

EXPERIENCE & EMPLOYMENT

'Empowerment Project', City, UK 2014-2016
Director
Promoting gender social justice initiatives partnering with city leaders, increasing recognition and responsiveness to gender and minority exclusion through community development.

The University of Colorado Boulder, Boulder CO, USA 2011-2012
Director of Diversity
Served in a leadership role in a student organization as the point person across the group. With additional teaching responsibilities, led diversity and inclusion sessions. Mentored a peer-educator program. Authored a race sensitivity training program.

RHD Partners LLC/RHD Associates LLC, Boulder CO, USA 2006-2011
Director of Learning & Development, D&I
Through excellent L&D, project management, stakeholder analysis, strategic research & planning and delivery skills, I identified, developed and delivered D&I learning strategies, influencing workforce equity and productivity.

PUBLICATIONS & PRESENTATIONS

2017 Under peer-review: "Intersectional Bullying & LGBT Students: Victim, perpetrator, and school and the construction of power."

Under peer-review: Un-Queering Gender Roles: Examining the de-masculinization of young gay males through their self-policing of gender identity

2016 Elle Dominski, "Intersectional Bullying, LGBT Youth and the Construction of Power." *International Journal of Social, Behavioral, Educational, Economic, Business and Industrial Engineering 10*(9)

Presented at professional conferences:

2016
WASET Intersectional Bullying, LGBT Youth and the Construction of Power

ECER/EERA Intersectional Bullying & LGBT Students: Victim, perpetrator, school and the construction of power

2015
GEA The de-masculinization of the young gay male - he's angry

ECER/EERA The de-masculinization of the young gay male

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE SAFER FOR WOMEN SYMPOSIUM
Served as Steering Committee Member and Session Facilitator, "Street harassment & women's safety."

AWARDS and HONORS

2013-2016 Supported by graduate funding from the University of Nottingham Vice-Chancellor's Scholarship for Research Excellence; competitively accepted.

2016 European Education Research Association Best Paper Award finalist

2014 International Human Rights Law Residential Course, Human Rights Law Centre, University of Nottingham.
Competitively accepted as participant.
Successfully completed five LLM courses.

Professional Development Award
School of Education, University of Nottingham
Attended Rights of the Child, Human Rights Law Centre summer school, University of Nottingham.

Notes