Gay and Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review

Aims and scope

The Gay and Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review ('the Review') is a peer-reviewed publication that is available online through the Australian Psychological Society. Its remit is to encourage research that challenges the stereotypes and assumptions of pathology that have often inhered to research on lesbians, gay men, bisexual, trans and queer (LGBTQ) people. The aim of the Review is thus to facilitate discussion over the direction of LGBTQ psychology both within Australia and abroad, and to provide a forum within which academics, practitioners and lay people may publish.

The Review is open to a broad range of material, and especially welcomes research, commentary and reviews that critically evaluate the status quo in regards to LGBTQ issues. The Review also seeks papers that redress the imbalance that has thus far focused on the issues facing white lesbians and gay men, to the exclusion of other sexual, gender and racial groups. The Review encourages the elaboration of an expansive approach to psychological research on people of a diverse range of sexual and non-gender normative groups, and publishes articles from across a range of disciplines including (but not limited to) psychology, social work, cultural studies, sociology, gender studies, politics, history and legal studies.

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Gay and Lesbian Issues and Psychology Review

Contents

Articles

Book Reviews

Calls for Papers

Generational Sexualities Event

EDITORIAL: ACCESSING QUEER DATA IN A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY WORLD: WHERE DO WE GO FROM QUEER?

GARETH J. TREHARNE & CHRIS BRICKELL

> If I am always constituted by norms that are not of my making, then I have to understand the ways that constitution takes place (Butler, 2004, p. 15).

A Starting Point and its Eventuation

When we proposed this special issue, our opening question was this: "What are the challenges in accessing queer data faced by researchers and members of the communities with whom we carry out our research?" This broad question suggests a number of more specific ones: "What is queer?", "What is/are queer data?" and "How are those involved in creating and accessing queer data positioned in different ways?"

Plummer (2011, p. 201) has mapped out the terrain of "queer theory". While this mode of thought is infamously difficult to pin down, he suggests a number of general concerns. "Queer theorists", he suggests, question the stability of categories of sex, gender and sexuality, and scrutinise the constitutive impulses of texts and discourses. They (we/you?) challenge the tendency to normalise heteronormative social arrangements, and to close off new possibilities. Most importantly, perhaps, queer theoretical approaches encourage researchers to critically analyse the (heteronormative) centre as well as the (queer) margins. At the same time, the post-structuralist roots of queer theory don't completely crowd out the seedlings of emancipatory politics growing in the same garden. We can still try to make the world a safer, more open and more diverse place. There are tensions here nevertheless. Not everyone who might be embraced by the term "queer" embraces it, and when the fluid-ity of "queer" starts to morph into a subjectivity of its own, it begins to congeal like yesterday's gravy.

Could "queer data" be any more stable? Browne and Nash (2010) make the point this way: "If, as queer thinking argues, subjects and subjectivities are fluid, unstable and perpetually becoming, how can we gather 'data' from these tenuous and fleeting subjects [...] What meanings can we draw from, and what use can we make of, such data when it is only momentarily fixed and certain?" (p. 1). This concern gives rise to others. Several articles in this special issue ask who decides what and who might be considered "queer" (or any other label that might group non-heterosexuals in some way other than as a deficiency of cisgendery heterosexualness). Who holds the power of definition here? Does queer data come from queer individuals, from queer communities or from queer practices? We might also consider how queer research further expands upon earlier "lesbian and gay affirmative research". These studies challenged the pathologising research common in recent decades — studies whose heteronormativity usually goes unnoticed (Herek, 2010). The possibility also exists that non-queer ("square"?) researchers might conduct queer research, and join in the challenge to that heteronormativity. Surely we must embrace our "allies" as much as — if not more than — we forgive our "foes".

In our call for papers we also asked how queer communities and stakeholders might be defined. Are these groups, in effect, a mob of stake-waving participants who wish to slay neat research or sadistic researchers? Several contributors to this special issue question the notion of "data" and the primacy of gathering

data from (objectified) others. Still, their critiques are tempered by suggestions for ways to work creatively with people and the traces they leave behind once they are gone, as Brickell for one demonstrates.

How does positionality differ between and among researchers and research participants? Undoubtedly, participants' voices are always mediated by researchers. They are measured, quoted and reported about, often in peer-reviewed (that is, re-mediated) books and journal articles. None of our contributors write as participants, although Treharne includes some examples of participating as part of his argument. Many academics could write such reflections if they looked to their own experience instead of representing *only* the lives of others. We are all potential participants in someone's study, in the same way that health professionals are all potential patients. Sometimes, indeed, we researchers are troublesome participants because we do not passively accept the limits and limitations of what is presented to us.

Who sets the research agenda, and what limits apply in queer research? The matrix of inside/outside is an important consideration here. To paraphrase Gill (1998), can only married white Kiwi gay men do research with white gay men in New Zealand about getting married? How do we manage biculturalism in the form of "mixed" heritage individuals and "mixed" heritage relationships in this example? If we follow through the logic of this insider matrix then we might conclude that we can only research ourselves, or others with whom we have shared specific experiences. The objectivists shudder at this concept and attempt to re-instigate a crisis of introspection, a method that, to some, seems frozen in the late nineteenth century. Still, this concern has transmogrified — at least in part — into the method of autoethnography (e.g., Adams, 2011; Ellis, 2004); reflexive research practices; and the reflective practice required for professional practitioners of psychology and other caring professions (e.g., Finlay & Gough, 2003; Walby, 2010).

As the implications of the "crisis of representation" trickle through to the mainstream, the artificial distinction between researcher and participant is being broken down. Let us consider how researchers might work with communities and individuals in order to *really* engage them in research, instead of regarding participants as mere repositories of "data" to be plundered. Might we all possibly become co-researchers (or co-participants?), or is that an aim that can never quite be realised? How can we researchers manage our subjectivity in the face of the realisation that we too are composed of variables, constituted by discourses and existing through our embodied experiences, just like our participants? Perhaps the very structure of the researcher–participant distinction is a vestige of both objectivism and the prevailing focus on the individual in psychological research. Let us ask how researchers conceptualise "data" and "representation" in making knowledge claims about what might be involved in being a member of diverse queer communities. If membership is required, how can we get a discount from our annual queer fee? Is there a family package?

Readers might be surprised to find a few dashes of humour throughout this special issue, along with narratives that are more personal in nurture [sic] than is expected of (hard) science. Let us not forget that psychology sits on the fence between (social) science and humanity. For some, psychology is the science of heterosexist evolutionary explanations (map-reading skills and fridge-raiding behaviours of Homo Modernus, to name but two examples). For others, psychology is about the humanity of self-awareness, a humanity that can bridge gaps between the particular and the ever-tentative general, the known self and the barely-knowable other, the internal mind and the inescapable sociality of being.

Other disciplines offer up their own interventions in this respect. Our call for papers emphasised the "multidisciplinary" character of research into queer identities and subjectivities, and our contributors likewise use insights

from sociology, history and education studies as well as psychology. Among education scholars, "liberatory pedagogy" — most famously articulated in Friere's book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Friere, 1972) — advocates justice, open dialogue, a questioning of truth claims and a real attempt to make a positive difference to those on society's margins. Feminist, lesbian, gay and labour historians have documented patterns of social domination and popular resistance to oppression, while many sociologists similarly question the status of "privileged knowledge" in the construction of social reality. Scholars in each of these areas insist upon the contingency — and ultimate changeability — of current social arrangements, and the forms of knowledge that buttress them.

So how do we position ourselves as researchers, maybe even as "queer" researchers? What do we tell our participants, our ethics committees and our colleagues — some of whom seem convinced we are married to the (opposite-sex) friends with whom we go for lunch? What do we tell our readers? The labels we, as researchers, might choose to apply to our sexualities (and other facets of our identities) can never rise above the locations and moments in which we research. We are not higher beings observing mere mortals. There are, however, consequences of the never-ending outing that continues precisely because the assumptions of heteronormativity never end — and also because words committed to ear and to (web)pages are hard to erase. But, like those of our participants, our own identities are in fact ongoing projects. We engage in these projects through a barely conscious repetition of simple acts, within a nexus of coincidences and constraints, as we do research.

Many of the contributors to this special issue share their sexualities with their readers and/ or their participants. Some don't. Is it only fair that we share what we would request of our participants? How would we work with the assumptions this outing may instigate? (Why yes, we do like Kylie/interior design/tools/

soccer, but let's get back to talking about the research.) Identities, likings and relations are all more than a tick box, but there is also power in ticking a box — or crossing out the boxes and writing in your own box. Being a friend of Judy's is such fun.

A Table of Discontents

Our special issue opens with Brickell's tour of archived subjectivities. Records of male homo-erotic desire, he suggests, can be used to help us imagine the lives of these posthumous participants. The purpose of these records is not to shed light on who was "gay", for that is a relatively recent creation, a modern packaging of a way of being. History is no less fluid than the queer present. Instead, Brickell provides us with archival examples of particular subjectivities and suggests how we might read the traces of these individuals' lives. We learn of these men's exploits and enjoyments, understandings and protestations. Brickell echoes Plummer's (2011) contention that an analysis of everyday life tells us something revealing about feelings, actions and bodies within "the constraints of history and a material world of inequalities and exclusions" (p. 198).

Ayling and Mewse slip back to the not-so-long -ago (originally typed as "now", but it is already "then"). They work with an innovative method of data collection: the face-to-face interview for the online era. Using chat software, they reconfigure the classic semi-structured interview — here, emoticons and LOLs replace glances and chuckles. The topic of barebacking is a controversial one for gay men, about gay men; there is no straight equivalent of barebacking (Flowers & Langdridge, 2007). (Until recently, of course, "bareback" meant to ride without a saddle, not without a condom.) Ayling and Mewse's use of online interviews with their six HIV-negative participants who bareback provides readers with a novel interpretive analysis of a lived phenomenon: sex that the men desire, but sex accompanied by intrapsychic conflicts that can be seen to be managed in avoidant and active ways.

Rolfe takes us deeper into relational territory. She reflects on the process of finding lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer participants who were willing to be interviewed as a couple about *not* wanting a civil partnership. Her research is historically framed by the changes to British law that made such formalisation of romantic relationships possible. (The equivalents to civil partnerships are also big business in New York right now.) Rolfe discusses a typology of concerns that participants may have when invited to contribute to research on a sensitive topic. She expands this typology with the notions of ambivalence and contradiction. Couples may struggle with these notions when interviewed even more than they do in "real life". Maybe it's time for another non-honeymoon?

Cripps describes the context of notoriety that can be generated by studies seeking queer data. Cripps's data address discrimination against lesbians and gay men by Christians who, as a group, are stereotypically imagined to be "sexually prejudiced" towards a multitude of individuals who come under the queer umbrella. Cripps reflects on her role as a researcher called to manage the "context of notoriety" that arose around her study. This context is not merely an experimental confound that can be controlled for; researchers cannot decontextualise participants even when exposing these participants to experimental manipulations. Cripps discusses some observations of participants' reactions, along with qualitative data that are secondary to the study's primary experimental outcomes, but which contextualise those findings. Her analysis demonstrates how research may impose a homogeneity on "meaningful groups", and suggests that members may interpret this homogeneity as a form of prejudice in itself.

As categories, sex/gender and sexuality are often taken-for-granted in social research projects. Treharne troubles this taken-for-grantedness and discusses options for working with the dilemma of grouping. He suggests that we need to critically reconsider how we sample populations in ways that more accurately reflect sexual and gendered lives — and the changes in these lives over time. By rethinking the labels we use for categories and the order in which we use them, and by questioning the prevailing assumptions that there are two sexes/genders and that heterosexuality is primary, researchers can positively influence the terms of the debate. We can resist the casual [sic] reinscription of categories, challenge existing regimes of power and better meet the needs of those we involve in our (queer) research.

Allen picks up the question "Do you have to identify as 'queer' in order to conduct 'queer research'"? She reflects on her research in secondary schools, in which she attempts — through a photo-elicitation project and a survey with multiple answer options — to "queer" the heteronormative spaces of the school. While the structure of the classroom and the formal apparatus of ethics processes work against the queering of educational spaces both in this case and in general, Allen suggests that a degree of transgression can still take place. The possibility of subversion can never be entirely foreclosed. In a similar way, the fluidity and epistemological challenges of queer theory open a space for "straight" researchers.

Nic Giolla Easpaig and Fryer remind us to critique our research tools and our carefully, but almost invisibly, scaffolded disciplinary norms. Purportedly "comprehensive" contemporary research is critiqued as reasserting heterosexist realities of violence as gendered oppression (cf. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The authors raise three inter-related problems in research on violence: "psychologisation"; pathologising explanations; and the disconnection of power-knowledge from violence. They offer a joint perspective from post-structural feminism and community critical psychology that might be used to uncover, prevent and reduce violence or its (legal) defence. These authors also provide a welcome challenge to the reliance on "queer" and "data" in our call for papers in which we, in part, reasserted a singular multidisciplinary "world". Challenge lays the foundation for re-

flection, and we learnt much in the process of reviewing all these articles. We hope to hear more challenges to our "world" following the publication of this special issue. What's next for queer theory and queer data?

Vous n'êtes jamais seuls. Vous savez ce qu'il faut faire (Minogue, Chambers, & Williams, 2000)

Author Note

Gareth and Chris both work at the University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand, where Gareth lecturers in the Department of Psychology and Chris co-ordinates the Gender Studies Programme. Both contributed equally to the conception of this special issue and the writing of this guest editorial. Email: gtreharne@psy.otago.ac.nz (for Gareth) or chris.brickell@otago.ac.nz (for Chris).

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Appendix 1: Reviewers to Acknowledge

JEFF ADAMS, Centre for Social and Health Outcomes Research and Evaluation & Whariki Research Centre, School of Public Health, Massey University, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

JAMES BENNETT, School of Humanities and Social Science, University of Newcastle, Newcastle, Australia.

MELANIE BERES, Department of Sociology, Gender & Social Work, University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

ADAM BOURNE, Sigma Research, Department of Social & Environment Health Research London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London, UK.

JO SCHMIDT, Centre for Longitudinal Research, University of Auckland, Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

JUDITH COLLARD, Department of History & Art History, University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

ROSEMARY DU PLESSIS, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

SONJA ELLIS, Faculty of Development and Society, Sheffield Hallam University, Sheffield, UK.

DENA HASSOUNEH, School of Nursing, Oregon Health & Science University, Portland, Oregon, US.

BRIAN HEAPHY, Morgan Centre for the Study of Relationships and Personal Life, School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK.

PETER HEGARTY, Department of Psychology, University of Surrey, Guildford, UK.

ANTONIA LYONS, School of Psychology, Massey University, Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

JENNY (JELLY) MORGANS, Multi-Faith Chaplaincy Service, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK.

KATHLEEN QUINLIVAN, College of Education, Canterbury University, Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

HARRIET ROSENTHAL, Department of Psychology, Durham University, Durham, UK.

ESTHER ROTHBLUM, Department of Women's Studies, San Diego State University, San Diego, US.

SUSAN SANDRETTO, College of Education, University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

LIZ SHORT, School of Social Sciences and Psychology, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia.

HOMOEROTIC SUBJECTIVITIES AND THE HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

CHRIS BRICKELL

Abstract

The subjectivities of homoerotically-inclined men sometimes seem elusive, especially in an historical context. This article explores a range of life documents — court files, diaries, photographs and letters — and looks at the characteristics of each. Such sources have their own particular contributions to make to a history of homoerotic subjectivity. Their narratives also reveal something of the interactions between the social and the personal, and the article uses several men's lives to explore these connections. When we closely analyse life documents, we see that while understandings of past subjectivities are indeed complex, they are by no means beyond reach.

Keywords: Homosexuality; masculinity; history; identity; archives

Introduction: Imaginations

Eleven years ago I left a sociology department with a new PhD. I began a postdoctoral fellowship in a history department and, wide-eyed, tried to carve out a space in a somewhat different discipline. "How", I asked a new colleague, "do you find your way into the consciousness of people in the past? I mean, most of them are dead, and you can hardly go and ask them what they think". His response was this: "Well, obviously, you need to develop a historical imagination". So ended one of the first conversations in my new academic home.

I felt chastened by my colleague's tone. I had been "found out" for my lack of training in dealing with the lives of people past, even though I knew a fair amount about (post) modern society. But I was intrigued too. Only much later would I discover R. W. Colling-

wood's "historical imagination" from 1935: an incitement to construct a consistent, evidence-based picture of past events and conceptions (Collingwood, 1959[1]). In my existential moment 11 years ago, one question seemed especially salient: How does a researcher gain access to the ways people in history understood, and responded to, the world around them, and how they negotiated subjectivities within that world?

I soon became interested in the history of male homosexuality in New Zealand. Given my new location in a history department — and a gender studies programme soon after — it seemed a logical extension of my PhD research on the relationships between heterosexism and liberalism during the late twentieth century. I began to ask questions about the lives of same-sex attracted men in the past. Across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was much to consider. How did New Zealand men understand and classify their desires, I wondered, and how did they communicate them to others? In which ways did they work with or against the ideas and expectations of their social worlds? How did they engage with the cultural resources at their disposal (such as images, music, literature and newspapers)? In short — and as queer theorist Alexander Lambevski (2009) put it more recently — how did they "fashion" themselves?

These were big questions and, in the end, the answers filled a book (Brickell, 2008a). In this

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[1] Collingwood's essay appeared in print in 1946, but, on its first page, he notes the date of writing as 1935. See the discussion in Curthoys and Docker (2005, pp. 103-106).

article, however, I want to step back and consider the kinds of source materials that reveal something of homoerotic subjectivities in history. Sociologist Ken Plummer refers to these materials — diaries, personal correspondence, autobiographies, memoirs and photographs — as "documents of life" (Plummer, 2001). Therein people record their lives for their own reflection and, sometimes, for the eyes of others. Of course, they would not have expected the attention of subsequent researchers, but we can learn a lot from the images, postcards, journals, letters and scrappy notes that somebody thought to save from the dustbin or the backyard incinerator. Documents created in official settings offer more clues. Court records are the archives of the state, created when citizens are tried for criminal activity: until 1986, New Zealand men could be imprisoned for having sex with boys or other men.[2] The resulting paper files, with their statements from prisoners and witnesses, reveal a myriad of details about the lives of those involved (Brickell, 2008b).

In the following sections of this article, I explore a range of life documents and look at the characteristics of each, and the contributions they make to a history of homoerotic subjectivity. In the process I consider how these documents reveal something of the wider social and historical forces at work (cf. Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2008, p. 45).

When researchers focus on the lives of homosexually-inclined men we engage in a multidisciplinary exercise (Clarke & Peel, 2007, p. 12; Riggs & Walker, 2004, p. 8). While I check in with gay and lesbian psychology as I explore the "psychic processes" (Sandfort, 2000, p. 15) involved in the construction of subjectivity, other disciplines are useful too. My attempt to "recapture the way history felt" for these men, and to explore their "emotional investments" in wider cultural representations, draws from the increasingly influential history

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[2] From this date, an age of consent of 16 applied.

of emotions (Stearns & Lewis, 1998, p. 1; Roper, 2005, p. 59). Historians of sexuality sensitise us to the effects of time and place on communities and identities (Chauncey, 1995; Houlbrook, 2005; Katz, 2001). A sociological perspective highlights the ways social processes and scripts shape individual lives (Brickell, 2006; Plummer, 1995), while cultural geography draws our attention to the ways identities are enacted and realised in spatial contexts (Gorman-Murray, 2007; Hopkins & Noble, 2009).

In the following sections I explore these multiple foci by working my way through several types of sources: court records; personal diaries; photographs; and letters. Each of these sources affords us particular insights into the subjectivities of men in history, and suggests the confluence of the social and the individual. Along the way, we glimpse the lives of several New Zealanders: the occupants of a late-nineteenth century hotel room; an aesthete author abroad in the 1920s; a labourer, a sailor and two mid-twentieth century military men; and a beach-loving physical culturist and his pen friends.

Court Documents

Some male New Zealanders made it into the public record in sad, fleeting circumstances: they were arrested for consensual sex with another man. In the archives, their court files sit alongside the recorded misdemeanours of swindlers, murderers and other law-breakers. The earliest New Zealand court records date from the 1860s, and typically include police and witness statements, judges' notes, the reports of physicians and probation officers and, sometimes, confessions from those arrested (Brickell, 2008b).

The case of Beverly Pearson and Walter Lydiard is one of many. One summer's evening in 1895, the two men checked into the Falls Hotel in the small village of Henderson (later absorbed into greater Auckland). This was the men's sixth visit, and the hotel owner became suspicious. He settled police into the

room adjacent to Pearson and Lydiard's, and at five o'clock the next morning, when their bed could be heard shaking, the officers entered the room and drew back the bedclothes. Having discovered the couple "lying on their left side and facing the wall, Pearson's face to Lydiard's back, Pearson's two arms clasped round Lydiard's body", and the "persons" (penises) of both men erect, the officers charged the pair with an attempt to commit sodomy. Pearson retorted: "Do you for a moment believe I would commit such an abominable offence? I will prove there is no foundation to this charge". In his own defence, he continued, "I am fond of nice boys. We were only kissing each other after waking up. It was not such a serious thing against nature at all". Pearson turned to Lydiard and added: "I understand it all Walter, I am accused of using you as a woman" (Pearson & Lydiard, 1895). If Lydiard responded, his words went unrecorded.

This fragment of a situation tells us a little about the social and personal organisation of sexuality. In Pearson's explanation, a kiss meant one thing and an "unnatural" connection another. As he told it, his kiss signified an attachment to a "nice boy", but not a sexual interest — and certainly not a delineable sexual subjectivity. As Leonore Tiefer points out, the kiss is a highly context-dependent, meaning-laden act, always embedded in broader cultural practices (Tiefer, 1995, ch. 7). But what sort of act was it here, in this Henderson hotel room in 1895? Pearson's kiss affirmed a connection to Lydiard, another man, but Pearson disavowed any "serious thing against nature". He desexualised the kiss, separating it from the detective's accusation of sodomy. Ultimately, we cannot know whether or not Pearson's proclamation reflected (or contradicted) any closely-held understanding of same-sex intimacy, but these court documents hint at the kinds of rhetorical manoeuvres men might make in a given situation. Material circumstances, self-understanding and forced explanations all jostled for attention in this single moment.

During the early twentieth century, homoeroticism was increasingly named and medicalised. Some physicians embraced theories of nerve weakness as an explanation for "sexual perversion" or "homosexualism", and their theories filtered down to lay people through newspaper reports (Coleborne, 2010, p. 69). From there, men wove elements of professional discourse into their own self-understandings (Brickell, 2008a, ch. 2). Once again, court records afford us valuable insights into working class lives. Middle- and upper-class men were very rarely sent to court, so these sources tell us little about their experiences. A Dunedin labourer, arrested for having sex with a man down by the wharves in 1934, told police: "I cannot give any explanation for committing these acts other than that my nerves are bad. I do not abuse myself, nor am I in the habit of having intercourse with women. I now realize the seriousness of committing acts of this nature" (Polson, 1934). A retired public works foreman, meanwhile, attributed his transgression to his neuritis that flared up during the First World War (Smale, 1933).

Other working men stepped outside of the medical moment. They complained of a lack of willpower, and alluded to uncontrollable desires. In 1946, on a ship travelling from Peru to the New Zealand port of Lyttelton, a sailor was caught having sex with another seaman. "For some years past I have found that I had a very strong sexual nature", he claimed in a statement to the Christchurch court. "When I saw the Junior Ordinary Seaman, J____ M____, sleeping in the bunk next to me with only a towel around him my nature overcame me and I bent over and took his penis in my mouth" (Brown, 1946). Of a 20-year-old soldier accused in 1942 of a sexual act with a barracks mate, a probation officer wrote: "To all who know him so well this lapse is entirely inexplicable and it would appear to me that he has been caught in a weak moment" (Kettle, 1942). A year later, when another soldier was apprehended for his sexual activities with a man he met in a Christchurch restaurant, his probation officer concluded: "On the accused's own admission to me he feels that this habit

91

has got such a hold on him that he cannot fight against the temptation, and would welcome surgical treatment" (Alcoff, 1943).

In this last example, the language of temptation intersects with medical discourse. Lay and professional voices were just as tightly entangled. Men's accounts of their sexuality were sometimes recorded in their own words ("I had a very strong sexual nature"), although the spaces of their fashioning — police stations and courtrooms — interpellated those same men as criminals. In other moments, after a process of selection, refraction and rewording, probation officers relayed the information men provided to them ("this habit has got such a hold on him"; "he cannot fight against the temptation"). Either way, court documents provide some idea of the ways working class men engaged with wider, socially available discourses of homoeroticism, and how they stitched these discourses into their own accounts of self.

Personal Diaries

If court records consist of subjective accounts created and compiled for one particular reason — the establishment of guilt or innocence — personal diaries serve other purposes. If the court record is primarily a working-class one, most diaries are the creations of middle-class men. While courtroom testimony is a defensive move, diaries are commemorative and sometimes confessional. These are typically intended as private records, often prefaced like those of the novelist James Courage: "Diary: For MYSELF and no other". Courage was born into a well-to-do Canterbury sheep farming family in 1902. His literary interests coalesced early, and he began his private journal at the age of eighteen. The young man wrote the following year that "I must have originality, I must have individuality", and he set off for London (Courage, 1920). Over the years that followed, James Courage committed the details of his new life to a series of small bound volumes. Erotic encounters, enjoyed or imagined, coloured the pages:

> Directly I saw him approaching up the road something inside me 'switched on'. I tried not to look at him; surveyed the magnolias in the garden. Then, just as he passed, I looked into his face and met a confident (yes!) smile. My heart quivered like a hot light, and the blood rushed into my face. I felt lusty but intensely embarrassed. I don't even know his name (Courage, 1927a).

> Parted with C. today and felt sad and a bit hopeless over nothing at all. If I had not slept with him the parting wouldn't have given me a single pang. How damnably sex colours everything! (Courage, 1928a).

James Courage's emotional life leaps off the page. There are visceral reactions ("something switched on", "my heart quivered" and "felt a bit sad and hopeless"), raw and intense and conveyed onto paper. Then, a sentence or two later, Courage reviewed his feelings with sadness and embarrassment, showing us — an audience never intended — how his sexuality was simultaneously a source of pleasure and discomfort. Here is another example:

> [M]y sexual nature is compounded almost equally of sensuality and of acute fastidiousness. In consequence when I'm in a healthy state I am constantly seeking a sexual satisfaction from an ideal — an impossible state of affairs, productive of a terrible nervous asceticism (Courage, 1928b).

Elsewhere, James Courage's disquiet mingles with other tropes. To read his diaries is to see how cultural resources intersected with transgressive desires in a world that alternated between hostility to same-sex eroticism and incomprehension of its very possibility. While some New Zealand men drew upon the medical discourses of homosexuality, for Courage the exhibits inside the British Museum were significant:

> [I] purposefully avoided going into the room containing the Greek statues of young men. Perfection like that humiliates me, and the physical side of it wakes up a state of sensual libido that tortures me (Courage, 1927c).

On the one hand, the rooms full of antiquities legitimated Courage's desires — and those of countless other homoerotically-inclined men (Cook, 2003, pp. 125-126). At the same time, the exhibits stirred up troublesome feelings that could find little satisfaction in the context. On another occasion, in the same museum, Courage was aroused as he watched a young man in an adjacent room — "Fair hair, round head, brown eyes. Wanted to lie with him at once" — but again nothing came of it (Courage, 1928d). Sappho's poetry also sparked a response:

> At tea with H. L. I picked a book, containing fragments of Sappho, from the bookcase. Afterwards brought it home with me. Read some of it at once and was so profoundly stirred that I spent two hours writing an excessively erotic poem addressed to an unknown youth. I hadn't written a poem for six months, and had almost forgotten the intense intellectual excitement of it (Courage, 1927b).

Courage's diaries oscillate between upset and elation, disappointment and pleasure, convention and resistance. In a new set of social spaces, far from rural Canterbury, Courage described himself as an "invert":

> To society at large the individual invert is anathema — an unthinkable anomaly. To himself he is often a collection of half-understood but painful perceptions. More frequently he is aware of his state, and it is then that he understands his loneliness, his seemingly purposeless segregation in Nature (Courage, 1928c).

Courage's ambivalence surfaced again. While "unthinkable" and anomalous, the invert — a figure popularised by psychologist Havelock Ellis at the turn of the century — was worthy of a defence against his detractors: "Sexual intercourse between males — *where both are inverts* — has every scrap of right to be considered as normal as that between men and women" (Courage, 1929). It is worth considering whether Courage had read Ellis (1918), or the pamphlet *The Invert and His Social Adjustment* written by an author with the pseu-

donym "Anomaly" (1927). In the case of the latter, Courage's pairing of the words "invert" and "anomaly" provide the only hint.

This was a self-referential telling, for James Courage was his own/only audience, and his diaries remained embargoed by their donor — Courage's sister — until 2005. Nevertheless, as documents of Courage's life, these journals reveal both contemporary social processes and self-expression. The weight of public opinion is palpable, while the spaces and interactions of the city, and the recollections of antiquity, informed his construction of identity. Courage's diaries begin to show us — to borrow from Stearns and Lewis (1998, p. 2) — how "men and women give shape to their own lives, sometimes attempting to conform to the prevailing standards, sometimes internalizing them, sometimes resisting, but always negotiating between experience and precept, in the process giving history its distinctive, human contours".

Photographs

The diary does not always exist in isolation. Sometimes it speaks to a photographic record that accompanies it. Photographs, in turn, further reveal the embodied and spatialised elements of identity: they tell of their makers and their audiences, and reveal a range of themes and symbols with wider social application (Brickell, 2010). They are "culturally conditioned visual communication systems" that draw upon the structured "symbolic codes" circulating in their own time and place (Ruby, 2006, p. 67). "Private" photographs are "public" objects, for the worlds of meaning on which they draw are deeply social as well as profoundly personal (Holland, 1991, p. 3). In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the rapid diffusion of the autographic Kodak camera after the First World War led to a boom in informal, private photography (Callister, 2008, ch. 1).

Here, in Figure 1, are Courage and his sometime lover Frank Fleet. The writing on the back of this photograph, and others in the same series, tells us this picture was taken in

February 1931, when Courage and Fleet spent time together in the Argentinean city of Buenos Aires. This holiday snapshot evokes snatches of diary narrative. Courage's ballet shoes speak to the entry, from 12 March 1921, "I am effeminate, yes, it hurts me to write it but I am, for I love clothes and pretty things, and have great opinions on art" (Courage, 1921). In this image, Courage-the-aesthete presents himself as the man he says he is. Fleet, introduced in Courage's diary, takes shape too: "Frank; colour, dark; age, 25; father Argentine, mother Cornish. An athlete, and handsome; one of the sweetest creatures I've ever known, with something so touchingly lonely and child-like in him that it makes tears of gentleness start to the eyes" (Courage, 1930). Fleet is confident before the camera, facing it head on. Courage, meanwhile, turns slightly from the photographer and towards Fleet, his oblique bodily pose reinforcing a shy, somewhat ambivalent facial expression which echoes the ambivalences in his diaries.

Courage and Fleet are not openly intimate in this image, though they appear quietly comfortable in each other's company. Each man's clothing mirrors that of the other; the identical hats and similar singlets and baggy shorts hint at their affective connection. Keen to remem-

Figure 1 (above): James Courage (left) and Frank Fleet, near Buenos Aires, February 1931. S10-580a, Hocken Collections, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Figure 2 (below): David Wildey, Redcliffs and Waimairi Beach, Christchurch, 1950s. Author's collection.
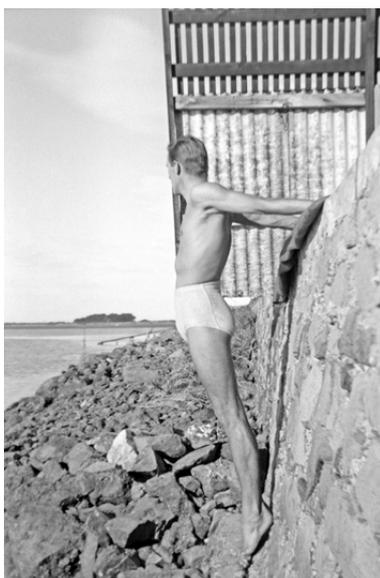
ber this moment, to hold on to who he and Frank were that day, James slid this photograph into his collection of papers and kept it for posterity.

As the image of James Courage and Frank Fleet demonstrates, we make — and (re)present — ourselves in time and place. Figure 2 shows David Wildey, photographed in about 1950. Wildey is a gay man now in his late 80s, born and raised in middle-class Christchurch. His extensive personal records reveal his past work as a teacher, Second World War medic, and artist's model. He arranges himself on a rock wall near his beach house in Redcliffs, and poses lithely on Waimairi Beach. Like Fleet, Wildey announces his physical presence before the camera. While seated, he accessorises with a packet of cigarettes and three imported magazines: *Music and Musicians*, *Courier*, and a barely-discernable dance title. Wildey performs an identity for himself and any friends who might be watching. He is handsome, fit, urbane, stylish, self-composed and cultured. Wildey taps into and rearticulates a range of tropes and influences: the physique movement and the artistic world, both with their cover of respectability and their coded homoerotic meanings and significances. He brings together the local and the global by shaping and revealing his body in ways particular to his time. As we look at his photographs, we can see the connections between everyday life and the wider society in which it takes place.

Photographs, like diary entries and court statements, reveal a little of the processes by which "cultural representations become part of subjective identity" (Roper, 2005, p. 57). David Wildey's photographs are expressions of his self and his embodied culture; his muscles and magazines tell us something of his identity in the early post-war years. They also speak of cultural capital: a knowledge of, and facility with, culturally-credentialised markers of taste and status (Skeggs, 2004). When Wildey sent copies to his pen friends, in the same envelopes as his letters — an interchange I will soon discuss in further detail —

he supplemented his textualised identity claims with visual "evidence". In David Wildey's archive, like James Courage's, the visual and the textual, the self and the other, constantly intersect.

Letters, Exchanges

Even though historians and literary scholars regard letters as an important source, they have been little used in the social sciences (Stanley, 2004). This is rather surprising, as correspondence is highly evocative of people, feelings and places. Matt Houlbrook's history of "queer London", for instance, begins with one man's — 22-year old Cyril's — 1934 letter to Billy, a would-be lover, and from there Houlbrook maps Cyril's encounter with the city and its queer life: the Caravan Club, mentioned in Cyril's correspondence, and the pavements and theatres of the West End. This letter, therefore, provides a launching point for Houlbrook's rich exploration of everyday gay life in that metropolis in the first half of the twentieth century (Houlbrook, 2005, pp. 1-3).

Letters are designed for exchange; they actively create and remake relationships through social interaction (Stanley, 2004, p. 212). In this dialogical process, letter writers put their selves in order and then perform those selves to their interlocutors. Houlbrook's Cyril had this to say in 1934: "I have only been queer since I came to London about two years ago, before then I knew nothing about it […] sometimes I wish I was still normal as queer people are very temperamental and dissatisfied […] I honestly hoped to have an affair with you Billy" (Houlbrook, 2005, p. 2). Cyril's letter is simultaneously a confession, an expression and a rehearsal of queer identity; it is a performance for the benefit of the man who seems reluctant to love him back.

James Courage published a number of novels, some set in Britain and others in New Zealand, and his *A Way of Love*, with its openly homoerotic attachments, generated a swag of fan mail. Men told Courage of their own desires,

and their attempts to make sense of them. One letter began with an evocative vegetable metaphor, and went on to describe thwarted longings:

> The feeling that you were holding up a mirror to a part of myself that I had never cared to analyse too closely was immensely strong — I felt like an onion from which successive layers were being relentlessly stripped — an almost indecent exposure. So real was the impact of the book (perhaps heightened by the fact that I began it while waiting for the start of a Bach concert in the Festival Hall, and spent most of the concert staring at a curly-haired violinist at the first desk) [...] Now what can I do about myself? I'm old enough to know that I find nothing erotic in women (I *have* tried): I have tried to immerse myself in my work — but that solved nothing. I know no-one whose inclinations (perhaps proclivities is the more honest word) are the same as mine, and I cannot bring myself to confess them to my friends — although one in whom I confided recently in a moment of despair (such moments are becoming all too frequent now) took it with a, to me, [sic] alarming equanimity, and said that he had known for a long time (how?). Nor am I going to stand on street corners and flutter my eyelids (although last week I walked from Covent Garden to Kensington after the ballet with God knows what nameless longings). [...] I am sorry to have burdened you with this outpouring, and you will have every right to ignore it, but if you could tell me what I want to know it would be an act of charity for which I will always be grateful. Yours sincerely, Bruce Smith[3].

> [PS] I have re-read this letter — it isn't at all what I wanted to say, but then my letters never are (only when I write about pictures can I really express myself), and it's even more brackety and incoherent than usual. I have given you my address, and you will gather from the letter-head where I work (I mess about with pictures and drawings): and since I seem to have put myself in the confessional you'd better know that I'm twenty-six (Smith, 1959).

Confessional indeed. Courage was only the second person Bruce Smith had told about his "inclinations", but *A Way of Love* prompted that retelling. Confronted by the book's mirror, Smith's innermost sexual self was exposed, much like the inner layers of an onion, and demanded acknowledgement. The letter tells a story of recognition, classification and a search for answers, and suggests that literature could be a powerful prompt in the construction and negotiation of homoerotic selfhood. As Richard Hornsey explains, "the modern homosexual has been [...] inextricable from experiences of reading and their attendant moments of personal enlightenment" (Hornsey, 2010, p. 166).

David Wildey was an avid letter writer too, and a Dunedin archive holds an extensive collection of his correspondence over several decades. Through the contacts pages in physique magazines — and, later, the gay media — Wildey forged connections with others like him. He and his new comrades discussed shared interests: music, physique culture and photography, and sometimes the correspondence led to meetings in person. "Guilio", an Italian man based in Britain, answered Wildey's advertisement in physique magazine *Man's World* in 1956, and the pair struck up a friendship:

> I am sending off to you by surface mail the latest issues of *Adonis* and *Body Beautiful*. Do let me know what you think of them. I find them very attractive and I think the photos are even better than in *Man's World*. These two magazines are frankly not 'muscle culture' ones — but merely — or again frankly — paeans of praise for the physique as a thing of beauty and elegance — not as a piece of beef-cake [...] When I visit New Zealand you'll have to take me out somewhere where we can indulge our love of naturism and whilst lolling or lazing in the sun — gabble away about opera and sandwiched in between all that — [I will] shoot at you with my camera! Is that okay by you? ("Guilio", 1956a).

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[3] Pseudonym.

This letter is full of reference points. *Man's World*, *Adonis* and *Body Beautiful* were visual translations of male same-sex desire, Guilio's dismissal of "beefcake" notwithstanding. Opera, naturism and body photography were "mainstream" preoccupations, and yet all had their queer meanings too (Borehan, 2007; Koestenbaum, 2001). These tropes repeated themselves over and over again in David Wildey's correspondence. When Wildey included photographs of himself with his letters, the visual and the textual intersected. Guilio again:

> Your wonderfully long and thoroughly delightful and extremely welcome letter arrived this morning [...] I'm quite crazy about all [the photos you sent]. You have just the clean and Grecian lines which I admire so much more than those revoltingly over-developed American muscle-men! ("Guilio", 1956b).

An American pen-friend conveyed his approval too:

> The beach shots [you sent me] revealed a rugged looking guy, certainly a pleasant chap, 'sexy looking' indeed. Is one of the swimsuits gold? The pose you assumed in it was most inviting — sort of a 'come hither pose' ("Blackie", 1961).

The body and its pleasures were central to these men's identities. The ancient world retained its appeal ("clean and Grecian lines"), and international magazines — *Man's World* and the others — were valuable conduits through which an embodied homoerotic subjectivity could circulate on a global scale. By the 1980s and '90s, a more public gay culture provided a new language, and enabled new descriptions of sexuality and selfhood. Here is a young man writing to David Wildey in 1994:

> Hi, I'm a straight-acting bi guy. I'm 28 years old. I'm always interested in seeing an older guy as I have no interest in guys my own age sexually or otherwise. I've 'tried' all age groups but I just prefer the conversation, company etc of older men. Even physically I find older guys a big turn on. I'm 5'7", slim muscular build, I've got some tattoos. I've dark brown hair, eyes. I'm averagely hung, I'm circumcised. I like sports, music etc ("David", 1994).

This letter adopts the language of the gay personals advertisement (Malcolm, 2004). Its self-presentation combines both physical descriptors ("5'7", slim muscular build [...] dark brown hair, eyes") and a statement of social and sexual preference ("I find older guys a big turn on"). When juxtaposed with the 1950s letters from Wildey's archive, this one reflects a profound change over four decades. Most noticeably, its language is less discreet and more explicit than the earlier examples: "I'm averagely hung, I'm circumcised". The linguistic specificity of the classification "straight-acting bi guy" contrasts with the more oblique descriptors of the 1940s and '50s: "he's so" or "he's that way" (Brickell, 2008a; Porter & Weeks, 1991). "Straight-acting bi guy" is a world away from Beverly Pearson and Walter Lydiard's fond kisses and nineteenth century language of "unnatural" sex.

David Wildey kept carbon copies of some of his own letters during the 1980s and '90s, and his two-way exchanges underscore the dialogical aspects of letter writing. One set of examples, between David and "Bill", began formally and with a degree of detachment. "Thank you for your pleasant friendly letter, and my apologies for the delay in replying", reads David's first letter (Wildey, 1981). As the correspondence continued, it became a vehicle of fantasy and desire. "I know that one day it will come true and that we will share some loving and tender experiences together", Bill wrote to David at the end of 1981, only to add: "I am having difficulty just at this moment with a bulge in the front of my shorts which, if there was anyone else around, would prove somewhat embarrassing" ("Bill", 1981). David could not resist, and replied: "two nights ago [...] admittedly a very hot night [...] I couldn't sleep for thinking about you [...] rather thrilled at your expression of reciprocal willingness" (Wildey, 1982).

To "Skip" — who asked for a passive lover — David Wildey wrote, "I'm all for genuinely warm and loving relationships. As for 'kissing and cuddles' I swoon! Sorry I'm not at all 'feminine acting when making love'. Like you, Skip, I'm reasonably masculine" (Wildey, 1994). This was as much a claim to a particular — masculine — gay identity as an expression of sexual interest. Not always, though, was Wildey so uncompromising. On another occasion, in a letter to "Grant", he suggested a degree of flexibility: "I don't usually turn on to hairy guys, but there's always a first time" (Wildey, 1993). David Wildey's sexual desires, like those of his fellow New Zealanders, were not wholly consistent: sometimes they were fixed, other times fluid.

The letters in the Courage and Wildey archives are thematically complex and multilayered. As researchers pore over these men's letters and photographs, we see how homoerotically-inclined New Zealanders located themselves in time and space, how their sexual desires and experiences reflected and inflected their subjectivity, and how the personal and the social informed one another.

Conclusion

I need not have worried too much, 11 years ago, about the "problem" of exploring identities historically. The more I learnt about source materials — the more I unearthed and pored over countless interesting examples — the more I realised what is possible. In court records, letters, diaries and photographs, men leave traces of their subjectivities.

Analysing these traces is hardly a smooth and uncomplicated matter, though, for these materials reveal constant tensions and contradictions. James Courage was both enthralled and disappointed by his desires for other men, while the sexual satisfactions of many of his countrymen ran up against discourses of weakness and moral failure. Enjoyable erotic adventures led to prison for some. Clearly, pleasure and suffering were not mutually exclusive. Guilio, David Wildey's pen friend, drew

a fine line between his aesthetic enjoyment of male bodies and (for him) the crass eroticism of "beefcake". Others treated correspondence as a confessional, projecting their embrace of, and reservations about, male same-sex desire.

Always social constraints and possibilities shaped individual lives. Some institutions — notably the police and court systems — forced some men to account for their actions and themselves. Others drew upon a range of resources: novels, Greek imagery, and physical culture. Men picked up, sorted through, and interpreted these cultural materials, and wove them into patterns partly — although not wholly — their own. Reflexivity is everywhere in these accounts. Men were one another's interlocutors, co-constructing identities as they wrote to one another and met in person.

Ideas and materiality, M. E. Bailey reminds us, always "intertwine in a spiral of mutually informed contingency" (Bailey, 1993, p. 104). Archival sources show us that men took their ideas about intimacy and eroticism into a range of spaces (the beachfront, the courtroom, the museum, the ship's cabin, the bedroom), and gave them form through their actions. These spaces, in turn, structured interactions and modes of self-understanding. David Wildey's seaside photographs, like the snapshot of James Courage and Frank Fleet in Argentina, anchored identity in time and place.

Different sources, then, show us different things about queer psychologies, identities and existences. Court files resonate with the control of the state, even as they reveal the languages and practices of identity. In diaries, men tell of their experiences, and those of others, in their own voice, while letters — episodes in a dialogical exchange — pull social interaction sharply into focus. Sometimes an archive includes photographs alongside letters and diaries, and these elucidate the themes present in the written sources. A photograph's setting, poses, and expressions all provide hints about erotic and intimate subjectivities.

Just as these sources suggest realms of individual experience, they also alert us to the social forces from which these experiences emerge. The epistolary form, to give one example, "frequently acts as a barometer of social changes" (Stanley, 2004, p. 223). This measure becomes clear when we trace a life over time as a thread that loops together periods in a history of sexuality. David Wildey's life, for instance, traverses wartime, the postwar queer cultures, and the politically ambivalent '60s. Later, in the '80s and '90s, Wildey involved himself with a more formally organised gay community. By looking at his life in letters, we learn something of the shifting social pattern in which he took his place.

I have examined several kinds of life documents here, but there are others too. Autobiographies, unpublished memoirs and stories, recorded interviews and other types of case records all offer useful insights. So too will emails and other digital forms of communication, if they can be saved for posterity (Rosenzweig, 2003; Sentilles, 2005). These kinds of sources provide opportunities for fine-grained analysis, and allow researchers to see how historically-situated subjects have worked with and against wider social themes in their own search for pleasure, meaning and identity. This is a rich research field, full of opportunities to further develop the "historical imagination" that so piqued my curiosity a decade ago.

Author Note

Chris Brickell co-ordinates the Gender Studies Programme at the University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand. He has published widely on the history and sociology of sexuality and masculinity, including the book *Mates & Lovers: A History of Gay New Zealand* (Random House, 2008). Email: chris.brickell@otago.ac.nz

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"IT KILLS ME TO BE TOO SAFE": GAY MEN'S EXPERIENCE OF INTERNET SEX-SEEKING AND BAREBACKING

RUSSEL AYLING AND AVRIL J. MEWSE

Abstract

Previous research findings suggest that gay men who find their partners on the Internet are more likely to engage in bareback sex than men who do not use the Internet in this way. The present study investigated feelings about risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among gay men who use the Internet to seek barebacking. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using secure Internet chat software to understand the experience of six single gay men living in the UK who believed themselves to be HIV-negative and had barebacked with at least one man whom they had found using the Internet. The data were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Two superordinate themes emerged from the analysis: conflict (physicality/emotionality and dominance/submission) and management (active engagement with risk management and avoidance of risk management). These themes are considered alongside existing theory and research, with particular focus on how gay men use the Internet to take care of themselves whilst engaging in a valued behaviour that carries significant risk. Implications and recommendations for research and sexual health care practice are explored.

Keywords: Gay men; HIV/AIDS; Internet; interpretive methods; sexual risk behaviors

Introduction

Barebacking is commonly defined as intended unprotected anal intercourse (UAI) outside of a "negotiated safety" relationship, and this is the definition used in the current research. Negotiated safety arrangements may include the open discussion of risk factors (such as HIV serostatus) prior to sex, the establishment of ground rules for sex both within and outside a regular sexual relationship, or agreement on indications for and frequency of repeat HIV testing. Previous authors have used the terms "barebacking", "UAI", and "risky sex" interchangeably. This confusion of terms is problematic and in this paper we argue that UAI is not "risky" per se, rather that the risk depends on the context in which it occurs, such as the HIV status of sexual partners, and individuals' knowledge and management of this context.

Barebacking is a phenomenon that cuts across demographics and serostatus (e.g., Halkitis, Parsons, & Wilton, 2003) and has been labelled as the riskiest of HIV transmission-related behaviours (Vittinghoff et al., 1999). In Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and North America, the annual rates of new HIV infections have been stable for at least the past five years. However, evidence is increasing of a resurgence of HIV in several high income countries among men who have sex with men (MSM) (UNAIDS, 2010). This rise is thought to parallel the growing popularity of barebacking, the use of club drugs and the use of the Internet to make sexual contacts, despite the development and implementation of numerous educational and psychoeducational efforts (Halkitis, Wilton, & Drescher, 2005). This article seeks to explore and challenge assumptions of a straightforward relationship between Internet use, barebacking and increased risk of HIV-infection, focusing on gay men as a principal subgroup within MSM.

Previous research has typically examined the role of factors located in the individual (for example personality, mental health, substance

use) in influencing decisions to bareback (e.g., Hurley & Prestage, 2009). Reviews of this literature (e.g., Stall, Waldo, Ekstrand & McFarland, 2000) provide a useful starting point for understanding why some men choose to engage in sexual activities that put them at risk for HIV and STIs. However, there have been relatively few qualitative studies in the area (although see Adam, Sears, & Schellenberg, 2000; Flowers et al., 1997), and whilst the Internet has sometimes been used as a data collection method (e.g., Adams & Neville, 2009), none examines the role of the Internet in barebacking. Halkitis, Wilton, and Drescher (2005) suggest that further research in this area is required to: inform the mismatch between professional and community understandings of sexual risk behaviour; further knowledge about transition points and risk/protective bases; and examine the relationship between identity and behaviour. This study is unique in its attempt to address these questions using an Internet-based Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methodology to examine gay men's experience of Internet sex-seeking and barebacking.

Context

Orange (2002) rejects traditional explanations of sexual behaviour that are divorced from their context, instead describing barebacking as "both a function of and a contributor to the various intersubjective systems, past, present and future, in which [the person] is involved" (p. 49). Shernoff (2005) notes that a complex combination of factors underlies barebacking, "some of which might be … understandable and adaptive for that particular individual" (p. 151). Bourne and Robson (2009), for example, found that "emotional safety" and "psychological safety" are often prized over STI risk reduction in the choice to have unprotected sex. These positions allow for greater depth and freedom in thinking about the needs of individuals and society that might explain reports that "some MSM are now more willing to engage in risky sexual practices than they were in the past" (Wolitski, 2005, p. 11).

Shernoff (2005) proposes that "engaging in high-risk sex often is symptomatic of intrapsychic, interpersonal or communal distress" (p. 164). While the term *distress* may be pathologising, this argument nevertheless suggests that barebacking is a multi-faceted, developmental and dynamic behaviour requiring analysis within a number of systems from the individual to the societal. While there is a growing literature from psychodynamic and post-modern perspectives examining the impact of developmental trajectories and societal discourses on the individual in context, these later theories largely await systematic application in research on barebacking.

Internet

There is some evidence to suggest that gay men who use the Internet to meet sexual partners have more sex partners and are more likely than men not finding their partners in this way to use methamphetamines, have unprotected anal sex, have sex with an HIV-positive partner, and to have had an STI in the prior year (e.g., Benotsch, Kalichman, & Cage, 2002). However, London-based research by Bolding et al. (2005) suggested a more complex relationship moderated by known or perceived serostatus: that HIV-positive gay men appear to meet casual UAI partners of the same status through the Internet (rather than casual UAI partners of known discordant HIV status or unknown HIV status).

Dawson, Ross, Henry, and Freeman (2005) suggest that the Internet has changed the rules of engagement in negotiating sexual interaction. For example, on some barebacking personals websites, users can anonymously find a match for their preferred sexual activities and HIV serostatus without having to leave the house (e.g., Halkitis & Parsons, 2003). Shernoff (2005) suggests that some of the factors that contribute to "cyber cruising" (looking on the Internet for a sexual partner) — such as loneliness, HIV-positive status, unmet intimacy needs and feeling alienated from the gay community — also make barebacking more likely.

103

Wolitski (2005) believes that the anonymity of the Internet reduces the risk of "in-person rejection or critical interpersonal feedback for attempting to violate safer sex recommendations" (p. 21). He also suggests that "private" behaviours such as barebacking have been made more public, perhaps weakening safer sex norms by providing "informal role models who embrace the pleasures and accept the risks of unprotected sex" (p. 21). He advises that "adapting existing intervention strategies and developing new approaches that can be effective in cyberspace" (p. 28) will be necessary to change social norms and personal attitudes toward safer sex. While there is developing evidence that Internet interventions for men who bareback are not only necessary and technologically possible but would also be well-received by workers and clients (e.g., Bull et al., 2001), development of Internet interventions has been slow, focusing almost exclusively on an outreach model in chat rooms, and would benefit from more refinement and formal evaluation (Benotsch et al., 2006).

Summary

Currently, the research literature suggests that gay men who use the Internet to find sexual partners are more likely to bareback with them, and are therefore at considerably higher risk of HIV and other STI infection, than men who do not. This literature on barebacking concentrates largely on American participants, is mostly quantitative, and more relational and social-discursive theories are underexplored. There is very little qualitative research to inform the association between Internet sex-seeking and UAI. The current study was a systematic qualitative investigation of Internet sex-seeking and barebacking that is person-centred yet also attentive to relational and societal-discursive factors. The aim was to (i) explore how a sample of UK based gay men make sense of barebacking; and (ii) examine the role the Internet plays in this, in order to assess how interventions, Internet and otherwise, might be useful and appropriate for men who actively plan to bareback.

Method

Overall Design

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six participants (plus one pilot participant, not analysed) using secure Internet chat software, which was then analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; see Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, for further details of this form of qualitative analysis). IPA provides a qualitative approach that allows both observation of the meanings that participants attach to their experiences and interpretation of the processes by which they do so. It does so by grounding itself both in phenomenology (the personal perception or account of an object of event) and symbolic interactionism (the meanings individuals ascribe to events obtained through a process of interpretation and social interactions) (Smith et al., 2009). IPA allows the researcher to engage in dialogue with both social cognitive concepts such as beliefs, attitudes and behaviours, and discursive concepts such as the use of context and language (Smith, 1996). IPA was chosen for its suitability in studying experiences and how people make sense of lived worlds, particularly in exploratory clinical health psychology research into under-explored populations and phenomena. Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the School of Psychology, University of Exeter, UK.

Participants

IPA requires a small, well-defined, homogenous sample whose data are analysed in detail (Smith et al., 2009). Claims made here, therefore, relate to that group only, and the researchers are cautious about generalising to the wider population. It was decided to target single gay men living in the UK who believed themselves to be HIV-negative, and who had barebacked with at least one casual partner they had found using the Internet. These criteria were chosen as they provided a sample of gay men who are at relatively high risk of

contracting HIV, whilst avoiding the potential ethical and legal difficulty of the researchers being aware of an HIV-positive man intentionally or recklessly transmitting HIV. It was important to recruit men who had barebacked with a casual partner they had found using the Internet as this experience was central to the research question. Whilst men in relationships may of course have sex with casual partners, single men were chosen to preserve sample homogeneity, and to avoid interviewing men using negotiated safety arrangements, for whom UAI within their relationship is a lower-risk activity.

Participants were recruited via advertisements in *Gay Times*, a lifestyle magazine targeted at gay men, and on three gay-oriented personals websites: outintheuk.com, thingbox.com and bareback.com. Interested participants were directed to a website hosting participant information, and invited to complete a web-based form collecting demographic details, available times for interview and informed consent.

During the two months of recruitment, 26 individuals registered and gave consent on the website. Of these, twelve did not meet the inclusion criteria (three had never barebacked; two were HIV-positive; five were in steady relationships and three lived outside the UK). Interviews were arranged with the remaining 14. Seven did not appear online at the allotted time and did not reply to follow-up e-mails. Of the seven remaining, one individual agreed to pilot the software and interview schedule (their interview was not analysed). Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with the remaining six participants. Participants all identified as white British and were between 22 and 40 years of age (mean 30.0, standard deviation 7.3). All six identified as gay and all believed they were HIV-negative based on their last HIV test. All participants had previously used the Internet to find partners for barebacking, and all considered themselves "versatile" in role, practicing both insertive and receptive anal intercourse. Participants reported barebacking on a median of 10 occasions (semi interquartile range (SIQR) =

14.9; range 4-100); six times with men found on the Internet (SIQR = 10.0; range 1-50); and with five different bareback partners (SIQR = 9.7; range 1-50). Median, range and semi interquartile range have been presented as the data were positively skewed.

Procedure

Participants completing the webform and giving informed consent were contacted to arrange an interview time. Participants then downloaded the chat software (X-IM; www.x-im.net). For two participants, who either chose not to use the software or were unable to use it for compatibility reasons, non-encrypted software was used, for which the implications for data security were fully explained and participants gave informed consent. Consent was revisited at the beginning of the interviews, which were carried out by the first author, and followed a standard interview schedule comprising a small number of open-ended, non-directive questions and prompts. Questions included "what is bareback to you?", "why do you think you do it?", "who knows you bareback?"; "how do you use the Internet in sex?", "how do you think about HIV?", and "what other kinds of 'kinky sex' are you into?". Consistent with IPA methodology, the researcher took a reflective, probing approach to interviewing, concentrating on building rapport to allow participants to disclose their perspective. Interviews lasted approximately between one and three hours, and standard data protection procedures for electronic research data were followed (British Psychological Society, 2007).

Analytic Strategy

Data were transcribed automatically by the chat software and names of participants and people they identified were changed to protect anonymity. To preserve the authenticity of participants' responses, typographical errors and abbreviations made by the participants have been left uncorrected in the analysis. Occasional clarifications are noted within square brackets. Transcripts were analysed by

the first author at several different levels. Each interview was read a number of times, paying particular attention to semantic content and language use, key words, phrases and explanations. These were each coded with a key word or phrase, known as emergent themes. Emergent themes that were repeated by the same participant, or different participants, were flagged. These are known as recurrent themes and represent shared understandings. A file of extracts was generated containing all instances of each recurrent theme. Similar recurrent themes were grouped together into superordinate themes, each overarching more specific subthemes. For brevity, the most articulate or powerful quotes exemplifying each subtheme were chosen for purposes of illustration, with emphasis on similarity and consistency between participants. Instances of marked contradiction and polarity, however, were highlighted where they occurred. As a result, each subtheme provides a distinct representation of thoughts and feelings about an issue.

Consistent with IPA methodology (Smith et al., 2009), the first author attempted to suspend existing knowledge and experience, in order to see the world as experienced by participants for the phenomenological level of the analysis. It is important, however, to note that the first author is a clinical psychologist with specialist interest in relational psychoanalysis and HIV/sexual health. This interest contributed significantly to the interpretative level of the analysis, and allowed the consideration of interpersonal and individual-societal discourses, an engagement which is permitted, indeed encouraged, by IPA methodology (Smith, 1996). For purposes of validation, the second author read all scripts to check that emergent themes were grounded in the data; that recurrent themes were representative; and that superordinate themes and subthemes were constructed in a way that made intuitive sense. Three clinical health psychologists (one with specific expertise in IPA) provided further validation that the analysis was not only robust, but also consistent with their clinical experience. At the end of their interviews, several

participants asked for a copy of the analysis, and a draft copy was sent to them once it had been produced, although none chose to comment on it.

Smith (2004) describes moving between different levels of interpretation in IPA, such as a descriptive/empathic level (involving analysis of what participants say), an abstract/interrogative level (involving analysis about what the researcher feels about participants' comments) and a theoretical level (involving analysis of what others have said about these issues). The following results primarily involve interpretation at the former two levels; the higher theoretical level is reserved for the discussion.

Results

The analysis identified two superordinate themes: conflict and management (see Table 1, over page). For the former, two subthemes of physicality/emotionality and dominance/submission are presented. Most participants experience degrees of each quality, which often leads to dynamic *conflict* and uncertainty. The analysis then examines participants' *management* of this uncertainty and conflict; here, the subthemes of active engagement with risk management, and avoidance of risk management are presented.

Theme 1: Conflict

The subthemes for this theme are presented as opponent pairs, but participants may be conceptualized as each positioning themselves at some place along each continuum between the polar extremes. For physicality/emotionality, most participants tend to be either physically or emotionally governed, with a small number in a more balanced position between the two extremes, and little evidence of intrapsychic conflict. This pattern is also seen for dominance/submission, although much more conflict, both intrapsychic and interpersonal, emerges as the recurrent subthemes of life/death and self/other/society become apparent.

Table 1: Summary of themes identified in the analysis

Superordinate theme: Conflict	*Superordinate theme:* Management
Subtheme and issues: Physical/emotional New and exciting or old and boring sex Reality/artificiality Truth/pretence Fluid exchange Emotional enhancement and diminishment Emotional discussion in preparation for physical action Anonymity and confidence building	*Subtheme and issues:* Active engagement with risk management Sexual health checks Internet to communicate and assess trust Rationing of barebacking encounters and using Internet to screen for partner type; physical attributes; type of sex; HIV status Misconceptions of risk/questionable evidence Internet replacing risky/inconvenient methods Barebacking as "expertise" Barebacking as one of a risky repertoire of behaviours Considered acceptance of risk
Subtheme and issues: Domination/submission Life/death Self/partner/society	*Subtheme and issues:* Avoidance of risk management Avoidance of talking, thinking or testing Saying one thing and doing another Explicitly seeking HIV-positive contacts Inevitability/passivity/nihilism/fatalism Minimization and denial Decisions devolved to partner Comparison with the "average" barebacker Reassurance: medication/resistance to HIV/"I must be doing something right"

Subtheme 1.1: Physicality/emotionality

There was a strong tendency for participants to define barebacking through enhanced and intense physical sensations. They spoke about barebacking as "real sex" that they found "more satisfying … because there are no artificial items between his and my pleasure" and "you can feel more … total skin to skin." Some participants spoke of an enhanced emotional experience or connectedness, which was particularly salient when participants talked about the difference between relationships and one-night stands: "depends if this person is my bf [boyfriend] or not, if i was in a long term relationship and we went bareback then yes it would be emotional to … if it just is a fuck friend … then its just total physical, it is just sex".

Participants focusing more physically often spoke of the exchange of fluids as one of the most enhanced and enjoyed experiences —

for some, this has powerful emotional connotations: "I value their cum … I know there's an underlying equation in MY head that cum = strength, power, blah blah, so taking and exchanging cum is very important…. When I get a man to come, he gives me himself." Participants also use barebacking as a way of controlling emotions and participants compared it with using drugs, using both to escape stress and experience an enhanced high: "i like to be in control of my emotions … I just get wigged out sometimes, and having some guy do me rough clears it away, that and the endorphin rush help to keep me sane. I dont do drugs or drink regularly, because I dont need to, I just get high on life sometimes… having some guy take me on such a primal level, is a *major* high, for me sex is like dancing, and both get me totally buzzing".

Participants talked much about using the Internet for separating emotional discussion (online) from physical action (in person). Com-

AYLING & MEWSE: INTERNET SEX-SEEKING AND BAREBACKING

monly, participants use the Internet to discuss whether to bareback and talk about serostatus and sexual role preferences, so that on meeting the sex proceeds without further discussion. For one participant, the anonymity of the Internet also allowed him to explore and express his sexuality in a way that was not possible before, resulting in greater confidence and less anxiety about his identity as a gay man: "i was very shy about having sex and whether i would 'measure up' to more experienced guys, but the net has helped me improve my confidence with gay men and how to initate and improve a sex life …". For others, though, the Internet cannot completely replace real-life encounters, and, while it unarguably facilitates discussion, physical acts are less easily substituted: "… if i meet a guy then i flirt, make eye contact etc etc if you dirty dance, then they can grope the business end of things, u can def see the physical side of them which is often obscured on net".

Subtheme 1.2: Dominance/submission

The subtheme of emotional control also extends to the roles participants take in sex, commonly in a desire to be dominated: "I kinda enjoy being dominated, if its done properly … some guys try to be all dominant and shit, but they dont have the internal power to carry it off … they need to be able to command you because you want them to." This subtheme seems to extend into a conflict about life and death that was reflected by many participants. All were vehement that they do not want to become HIV-positive. For them, HIV is a hazard of an activity they enjoy and try to keep as safe as possible. This was illustrated most powerfully by one participant for whom the thrill lets him feel alive and gives him a reason to live: "I do this because it keeps me alive … it kills me to be too safe, its like the qoute from james bond. there's no point in living, if you can't feel alive". Without barebacking this participant believes he would be no better off than if he were dead, but paradoxically, HIV is worse than death: "it kinda scares me in a way… it represents being helpless, death is nothing, it can be dodged

but to be totally defenceless, brrrrrrrr … it would weaken me, it is something that can't be beaten only fought, you only ever get to a stalemate". The very activities that create the high can also result in illness and death, and even participants who relish giving up their power and being dominated by others demonstrate a very present drive for life. One participant spoke about his desire to be used and abused in sex but also about his need to be careful with this: "i want to wake up thenext day if thats what u mean".

Others were concerned that their ideas about barebacking were different from those valued in society. Participants were particularly aware of dominant societal discourses of UAI as immoral, irresponsible, promoting HIV as a gay disease and generally not permissible. This was particularly difficult for some, who felt that they were safer than their heterosexual counterparts who use fewer harm reduction methods, test less regularly for HIV and STIs, and seek to prevent pregnancy rather than HIV. It was also common for participants to distinguish themselves from those who are 'bug chasing' (actively seeking HIV infection): "I seek knowledge … I know that there is a lot of talk going around that if you bareback you are really bug chasing. I am not bug chasing and try to screen my contacts to prevent this." This notion of relationships with others and society is continued in the next section, as it is also evident in participants' responses to uncertainty and conflict.

Theme 2: Management

Subtheme 2.1: Active engagement with risk management

Participants described several strategies that they use in order to minimize the risk of contracting HIV. Having sexual health checks — and discussing these checks with prospective partners — were important for most participants, who spoke of testing regularly for HIV and STIs and expecting their partners to do the same. Some participants also use the

Internet to chat for a long period to see whether they can trust potential partners to be honest about their sexual health before barebacking. As one participant explained, "… i do not go get random guys to bareback i do have to know them some, and get to trust them … it might take a week or two of talking to comparing conversations in my brain to see if he is trustworthy".

Such conversations are not always easy, however, especially in the heat of the moment; moreover, responsibility is often placed with the other partner, so discussion may not occur at all. One participant said that "men do not want to hear about complex issues while they have a hardon, but most want good for themselves and others, so we muddle through." Given talk is not always possible, it was common for participants to describe the calculations they perform in trying to assess risk: "I bleieve that the risk is relatively much less for the fucker than the fuckee, less for top than bottom, less for man than woman, less for giver than receiver. Lotta math in there, but there is still risk."

While some of these strategies are recommended harm reduction practices, others may be based on questionable evidence. For example, one participant believes that married men are safer, explaining that "I have been doing this for 15 years and remain Hiv- ….. married guys probably do not have hiv or std's, don't want to screw up their marrage." He seems not to have considered that these men may also be having sex with men other than himself, and may not know if they have an infection. Another participant said "i do know, is if u get an sti, then dont have sex as that is much higher risk. and u soon know when u got one!", relying on a mistaken belief that all STIs are symptomatic. Another participant thinks he would be able to tell if he became HIV positive because he would probably get "conversion flu", and believes vitamins can boost his immune system, thereby reducing HIV risk after having sex with HIV positive men: "it doesnt stop me bb [bareback] tho i think about it after. and if i know, stuff myself

with vitamins after" in the (mis)understanding that this will enhance his "blood and immune system of course".

All participants spoke of the Internet replacing or supplementing other ways of meeting men for sex, such as "cruising" (looking in a public area, such as a park, for a sexual partner) and "cottaging" (looking for sexual partners in a public lavatory: a cottage), that they found more risky and inconvenient. The Internet appears to be truly integrated into participants' sex lives at multiple levels. One participant describes it is an alternative to bars and sex cinemas, allowing him to know who wants the same things as him and to facilitate a deeper contact, which in turn gives him access to particular types of sex: "Sure beats standing around a loud, expensive bar — I can put my best foot forward, talk to some interesting people, and stll get to the gym. Seriously. It has been a revelation in my twilight yrs."

The subtheme of integration goes beyond integration of the Internet. Some participants have assessed the risks of barebacking and (alongside attempts to reduce the likelihood of becoming HIV-positive) accept — almost embrace — the risks, integrating these into their persona. Some participants have integrated their barebacking into a repertoire of risky but thrilling activities "like racing … I love speed so, thats my Thrill, other than sex … light bondage, watersports, role playing. It is another sexual thrill." Similarly, another participant spoke about his delight in risk: "I do enjoy taking risks … I just get bored and restless, so I take chances to keep myself amused." Participants also spoke of a type of expertise that emerges as a means of managing uncertainty: "there is no absolute certainty. So there are many, many instinctive factors — its (crazily) like a sort of expertise. But I do not want to live as the embodiment of the safest sex — I make my choices."

These accounts of considered acceptance and integration may be interpreted by some as avoidance, but they actually represent examples of engagement with risk management as

they occur in the context of active attempts to reduce risk. Avoidance is further discussed in the following section, where examples are presented from participants for whom engagement with risk reduction is limited or absent.

Subtheme 2.2: Avoidance of risk management

Active management and integration of risk in some participants is matched by avoidance in others, who spoke of gay men "not being okay" with admitting that they bareback; that, in fact, for some this information is particularly sensitive and private: "i know the score… quite a lot will admit to only doing safe sex, but when it comes down to business, they prefer it raw." Some participants were clearly not used to talking or thinking about sexual decision-making: "..i dont really analyse myself really so its unusuall for someone to ask the questions in the way you are doing."

Some participants spoke of using men's online profiles to learn about their HIV status, although one participant relied heavily on his interpretation of their answers to the question on gaydar.co.uk profiles asking about safe sex: "needs discussion usually means poz, never means poz, no answer usually means neg or untested … and safe always means well, anything". This same participant spoke of his conscious, calculated decision to bareback and his unwillingness to change. At one level, this appears to be stable and well integrated, but on deeper reading a sense of inevitability, passivity, nihilism and fatalism emerges. This is particularly salient when considering the tension during the part of the interview in which he spoke about the risks of HIV as "something i have to accept cos i bb [bareback]. cant pretend to be innocent". This attitude could be interpreted as minimization or denial of the enormity of the life/death conflict, which perhaps removes the need, or the ability, to consider safer alternatives: "i'm not stupid; i choose to bb [bareback]. we all accept risk in our lives. we do risky thing because of the thrill".

Participants often found themselves conflicted with regard to their own personal desires and drives, and those they felt were imposed upon them by others. They commonly relied on others to initiate discussions around (not) using condoms and, if this did not happen, the participant's own wishes would usually predominate. However, there was a sense that some participants changed their condom use depending on their feelings for their partner: "I only use them when the person is more than a slampiece, if its a pack member for example. they are my closest friends, almost family really, and you never risk the health of a pack member, its not done … if I care about them then I will try to keep them around, but an outsider, well they can take care of themselves".

Participants regularly compared themselves to unnamed other barebackers, believing themselves to be less risky than the average barebacker. Some participants seemed to reassure themselves with the knowledge that nowadays HIV "doesn't kill you the first year … and new drugs are helping people make it 15-20 years. i would be upset if i got it but i know i have a better chance of living today than if i got it in 1986". Another participant talked about his "belief that some people (me) are more resistant — I had 4-5 fuck buddy — bfs [boyfriends] in late 70s early 80s eventually die of Aids, and Im still neg". It may be that participants' attempts at harm reduction have indeed kept them free of HIV. However, over and above this, their sense of immunity indicates that the comparisons that they make, reinforced by negative test results, decrease their perception of barebacking as risky. Another participant summed it up with: "I need to know that I haven't caught anything and that I could pass anything on to anyone else. so if I test negative, I know I'm doing something right".

Discussion

The aim of this research was to explore how gay men make sense of barebacking and examine the role the Internet plays in this. In

the analysis, we identified the superordinate themes of conflict and management. In terms of the research aims, two major findings have emerged. The first major finding is that these participants are not seeking HIV infection and death; rather, they are trying to take care of themselves whilst doing something they value that carries risk. This is, understandably, a source of anxiety, uncertainty and conflict for them. The second major finding is that the Internet provides a means not only for participants to manage this uncertainty but also to attempt to reduce the risk of HIV infection, although clearly some of the strategies employed by a small number of participants were of questionable efficacy in terms of minimizing risk. This discussion will focus on these two findings by integrating them with existing theory and research, and elucidating clinical and research implications.

In the literature, barebacking is associated with regaining (and relinquishing) power and control (e.g., Shernoff, 2005). Forstein (2002) observes that some people who bareback value longevity, fearing death, while others consider quality and intensity more important than putting off the inevitable and letting fear control them. Cheuvront (2002) believes that loss of pleasure and intimacy is as serious as HIV infection, and that by problematising either we may lose perspective on how decisions of risk are made, especially when the parameters of such decisions can vary a great deal between individuals. One of the few absolute commonalities between the participants in this study is that they all wanted to continue barebacking but avoid becoming HIV-positive. Crossley's (2004) idea of barebacking as enacting a death wish has been criticized by Barker, Hagger-Johnson, Hegarty, Hutchison, and Riggs (2007) as inaccurate and pejorative, and endorsing culturally dominant and stigmatizing stereotypes of gay men as hedonistic, promiscuous and morally irresponsible. This critique is somewhat supported by the current study, where it seems that barebackers are chasing libidinal life instinct, with the rider that death is an unwelcome, but accepted, potential side-effect. Forstein (2002)

mentions barebackers' intense feelings of being alive as a consequence of their activities. He wonders whether being afraid to take calculated risks is the true denial about the inevitability of death, and whether barebacking alone can attend to the needs inherent in such behaviour. This argument certainly mirrors the experience of some participants in the current study, for whom barebacking is only one in a repertoire of "risky" behaviours.

Individual differences in tolerance for risk may help explain the finding that some participants transfer management of risk to their sexual partners, often applying different rules to their own and their partner's health. This practice links to Shernoff's (2005) idea of a loss of autonomous self, suggesting that many people regard love as the organizing principle of their personality and self-concept, that sex and love become inextricably linked, and that they have unprotected sex to hold on to the illusion of, or the potential for, love. These ideas contribute to an understanding of participants' unwillingness to cease barebacking, and may help explain why interventions focusing solely on "virus-centered prevention", abstinence and monogamy have limited success in reducing UAI in gay men (Stall, 2005, p. xxi). Such interventions have been criticized as overly restrictive, and it has been suggested that excessive self-denial of sexual pleasure may in itself lead to impulsive risk-taking (e.g., Blechner, 2002).

Several participants in the current study spoke of medical advancement together with fatigue with safer sex interventions as factors in their decisions to bareback. This is consistent with research indicating that advances in treatment decrease the perceived severity and consequences of HIV transmission (e.g., Vanable, Ostrow, McKirnan, Taywaditep, & Hope, 2000) and that MSM scoring higher on a measure of safer sex fatigue were more likely to report UAI (Ostrow et al., 2002).

There is a growing literature reporting a number of behaviours that gay men believe will reduce the risk of transmitting HIV (e.g., Par-

sons, 2005). This evidence is consistent with the current study, in which participants attempt to reduce risk with a number of strategies. In the current study, the most common strategy reported was using the Internet to facilitate 'serosorting' (i.e., having sex only with partners who are believed to have the same serostatus as oneself; Mao et al., 2006). This is concordant with Dawson et al. (2005), who found that most advertisers for bareback sex appeared to practice seroconcordant behavior as a strategy to minimise HIV transmission risk.

Participants in the current study often compared themselves to other riskier barebackers, and concluded that they were therefore at less risk of HIV infection, some citing negative test results as proof of their reduced vulnerability to HIV. These findings are consistent with research by Gold and Aucote (2003) who found that 89% of gay men uninfected with HIV believed that they were less at risk of becoming infected than the average gay man. These results are examples of optimistic bias (Weinstein, 1999), whereby individuals believe that negative things are more likely to happen to others and positive things are more likely to happen to themselves. This is particularly concerning given that MacKellar et al. (2002) found that among young MSM, 77% of those who tested HIV-positive incorrectly believed that they were uninfected, having previously tested negative for HIV infection and assuming that they were at low risk.

Wolitski (2005) suggests that overly simplistic prevention messages that fail to take risk management strategies into account may in fact reduce the salience of HIV in the minds of some men, alienating them and contributing to the perception that programmes are not in touch with the current needs and concerns of MSM. Given the value placed on risk management strategies by participants in the current study, further research is urgently needed to clarify the effectiveness of risk management strategies, their use by men in reducing HIV transmission, and interventions designed to help men at risk of HIV to use these interventions.

Despite the risks involved, the current study has indicated that some gay men are selecting, communicating with, and arranging to meet bareback partners using the Internet. The Internet may make barebacking easier and more frequent, but it also allows individuals to discuss HIV status and establish trust in a way that is not otherwise possible, and hence obtain more informed choice about HIV risk. The finding that some gay men are using the Internet in ways they hope will *reduce* risk of HIV infection mitigates against the dominant belief that Internet sex-seeking directly *increases* the risk of HIV infection. HIV-prevention research and interventions need to devote additional energy to take into account the complexity of men's experience and capitalise on the ways that the Internet may be used for risk reduction. Similarly, clinicians must recognise that the Internet is integral to the sex lives of many gay men and it is important not to leave their virtual Internet identity out of the clinic room.

Implications for Practice

The current study strongly suggests that no universal model will explain barebacking among gay men. Rather, what is indicated is a person-centred approach to assessment, formulation, intervention and evaluation which considers the emergent themes of this study alongside those highlighted by other theorists and researchers. Such an approach equally permits insight-oriented and more behavioural interventions.

Shidlo and colleagues founded *TalkSafe* in 1995 to promote "the establishment of an HIV-negative identity" for gay and bisexual men in New York (Shidlow, Yi, & Dalit, 2005, p. 108). The concept of an HIV-negative identity was important to the participants in the current study, yet it appears that current sources of social identification fall into the camps of either abstinence from UAI or a barebacking identity where HIV-negative identity is ne-

glected. Evidence exists to suggest that optimistic bias may be reduced by reducing social distance (e.g., Harris, Middleton, & Joiner, 2000). This could involve providing risk information relevant to the individual from social comparison objects (i.e., role models) with whom the individual personally identifies. In a test of their own AIDS Risk Reduction Model, Catania, Coates, and Kegeles (1994) found that increasing supportive social norms is associated with increased labelling of sexual behaviour as risky. The Internet is well placed to assist in the provision of individually targeted risk information to men who bareback yet wish to remain HIV-negative. This may be achieved by developing social networks with which these men can identify, with the aim of facilitating discussion about the degree to which individuals negotiate the life-death conflict present for so many. Such a strategy might not only lead to the enhanced assessment of HIV risk, but also to consideration of methods to reduce this risk as an alternative to fatalism, denial and avoidance.

Clients of Shidlo et al. (2005) also reported that they had not discussed their feelings about being HIV-negative in previous psychotherapy "because their therapist had not raised the issue" (p. 121). This is consistent with feedback from participants in the current study, many of whom found the interview valuable, even though all felt they did not need therapy. It is a timely reminder that just because individuals do not ask to talk, does not mean that they do not want to, or would not benefit from doing so.

Limitations of the Current Study and Implications for Research

The current study's innovative use of IPA and Internet chat elicited rich dialogues, permitting new insights into gay men's experience of barebacking and Internet sex-seeking. The effect of this method of interviewing on participant and researcher discourses is largely unknown and needs investigating. The experience of being a participant (and a researcher) in the current study is discussed in more detail

in a methodological paper (Ayling & Mewse, 2009) but other accounts of transferential, technological and analytic issues within Internet qualitative methodologies are yet to appear.

IPA designs, characterised by their small, homogenous samples, are not aimed at extrapolation of findings to other populations. The findings of the current study are limited to a small group of single, white British gay men, aged 40 years or under, who believed themselves to be HIV-negative. Clearly, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the themes from the current study are present within the experience of other groups of MSM, and within environments other than Internet chat spaces.

The current study has provided evidence that qualitative research which adapts existing methods of recruitment, communication and analysis to the Internet can produce meaningful results. Given potential problems with social disapproval, Internet qualitative research is ideal for exploratory investigation into 'bug chasing' (actively seeking HIV infection; Grov & Parsons, 2006); barebacking in HIV-positive men, including 'gift giving' (seeking to infect others with HIV; Grov & Parsons, 2006); and other sexual behaviours that are mediated by Internet contact. Internet qualitative research would also be valuable in investigating barebacking and UAI among black MSM. Rates of HIV seroconversion and prevalence in black MSM are disproportionately high in the US (e.g., Mays, Cochran, & Zamudio, 2004) and this is similar in the UK (e.g., Dougan et al, 2005). There is very little research examining this further, but Wilton, Halkitis, English, and Robertson (2005) asserted that black men in the US are significantly more likely to be unaware of their HIV status, to identify as bisexual, and to feel invisible and disconnected from traditional programmes which focus on gay (white) men. The Internet might well be an effective way to engage this marginalised group in research and clinical interventions.

The current study also highlights the importance of using qualitative methods to question and complement dominant constructions of risk in barebacking. It reinforces the need to consider barebacking as an individual phenomenon situated within a multi-level social context. By understanding what "risk" actually means to individuals themselves, the conditions are created where risk reduction becomes possible. The Internet is integral to this process as a way for health promotion and treatment agencies, researchers, and individuals to negotiate and intervene with constructions of risk and barebacking.

Acknowledgements

Author Note

Russel Ayling, MA(Hons), DClinPsy, trained in clinical psychology at the University of Exeter, UK and at the time of writing, was principal clinical psychologist in HIV and sexual health at Barts and the London NHS Trust, in London, UK. He is now senior lecturer in counseling psychology at London Metropolitan University, UK and is training at The Site for Contemporary Psychoanalysis in London, UK. Email: russel.ayling@gmail.com

Avril J Mewse, BA(Hons), PhD, is a senior lecturer in Psychology at the University of Exeter, in Devon, UK. Email: a.j.mewse@exeter.ac.uk

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ON NOT HAVING A CIVIL PARTNERSHIP: SOME PERSONAL AND METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

ALISON ROLFE

Abstract

The introduction of civil partnerships in the UK, in late 2006, was generally greeted very positively by the LGBTQ community. However, civil partnerships are not without controversy. This brief commentary reflects on the process and challenges of collecting "queer data" on the views of same-sex couples who have not had and are not planning to have a civil partnership. I explore personal motivations for conducting the research and discuss some of the challenges of data collection. In particular, this research raises questions around the nature and conduct of research on sensitive topics. Lee (1993) described how research on sensitive topics presents threats of intrusion, sanction, and political difference or conflict, and it is argued that all of these are relevant to this research study. However, an additional challenge may be found in research that explores ambivalent or contradictory views. These may lead to inter- or intrapersonal conflict and participants may then feel the need to try to make sense of apparent contradictions in their narratives.

Key words: Civil partnership; same-sex marriage; reflexivity; researching sensitive topics

Introduction

This brief commentary provides a reflection on the process of conducting qualitative research on civil partnerships. The study on which it draws (Rolfe & Peel, 2011) was conducted in 2008, a little over 2 years after the first civil partnerships were registered in the UK. At that time, civil partnerships were still relatively novel, but had nevertheless become a real choice for same-sex couples. Contemporane-ous media accounts were largely couched within a liberal framework, seemingly adopted wholesale from a heterosexual discourse of "marriage" and "weddings" (Jowett & Peel, 2010). Meanwhile, feminist academics criticised the legislation for being both too "marriage-like" (Donovan, 2004; Lannutti, 2005) and at the same time, not marriage-like enough (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2004). Empirical research conducted around the time of their introduction similarly indicated that, whilst the Civil Partnership Act was welcomed and generally viewed very positively by the LGBTQ community (Peel, 2009), there were also mixed and more reserved responses (Village Citizens Advice Bureau, 2007; Harding, 2008; Mitchell, Dickens, & O'Connor, 2009; Peel, 2009). However, there has been limited exploration of these more ambivalent or critical perspectives from within the LGBTQ community.

This paper provides brief reflections on a small research study carried out to explore the views of people who choose not to have a civil partnership. Previous research suggested that the reasons for this would be a varied mix, reflecting the complexity and inherent contradictions in civil partnership legislation itself. Here, I reflect particularly on some of the personal motivations and methodological challenges in collecting "queer data" on civil partnerships.

Personal Reflection

The advent of civil partnerships felt, for me, liberating, affirming and potentially exciting. In the months following their introduction, now stretching into years, my partner and I intermittently considered what our civil part-

nership ceremony might look like. We have thought about where it might take place, what music we might play, and what we might eat afterwards – something special, yet nothing too pretentious. However, we have yet to have a civil partnership. There always seems to be something else to do with the time and money – a holiday, a new roof, a new boiler, another holiday. I also have to confess to some ambivalence about civil partnerships: I find them suspiciously marriage-like, when I had never seriously considered having a "wedding".

In the early days of thinking about having a civil partnership, I briefly searched for venues on the web. I was disappointed to find most to be publicity based on an assumption of heterosexuality, but with an image of a same-sex couple, dressed in wedding finery, apparently to show willing. I also explored more "alternative" venues, where it might be possible to create something with more personal meaning. This led me to conclude that we would have to travel to West Wales, a round trip of around 8 hours. It is a beautiful, wild place, where seals and dolphins can regularly be seen. Nonetheless, as a setting for our civil partnership, it would seem to mirror the marginalisation of same-sex ceremonies, positioned at the edge of the UK, virtually falling into the sea. Although far more beautiful than our hometown, it was not home for us. But were we not just placing unnecessary obstacles in the way? If we really wanted to do it, could we not just call up a few friends and family and "get hitched"? We considered this, but quickly concluded that a visit to the mildly depressing local Register Office, followed by a celebratory drink and bag of crisps[1] – even pretentious crisps – in the local pub would not feel like it was doing justice to our relationship.

Around the same time I was also aware of friends, and friends of friends, who seemed

quite opposed to the idea of civil partnerships. I wanted to explore this more, and chose this as the focus for a small-scale research project[2]. I told myself that this was out of social scientific interest and was an underresearched area, which indeed it was and is. Nonetheless, as with most research, I think I was also trying to resolve something more personal.

Given the numbers of people around me who were voicing critical views on civil partnerships, I envisaged that this would be not only very interesting but also a relatively straightforward process, of the kind that would be manageable within the tight timeframe available. In the event, I was right about how interesting it would be, but wrong about it being a straightforward process. I want to focus here on some of the challenges faced in recruitment and data collection, and on why these may have occurred.

The Process of Recruitment and Data Collection

In total, there were 20 expressions of interest in taking part in the research, from couples and individuals (see also Rolfe & Peel, 2011). Out of these, 12 participants took part in qualitative, semi-structured interviews, which were later analysed using discourse analysis. Nine were women and three men. Of these, four identified as lesbian, four as gay, three as queer, and one as bisexual/lesbian. Five interviews were conducted with couples and two with individuals.

These bald facts, however, mask the challenges of recruitment, rather like the traditional wedding ceremony that airbrushes out the complexities of a relationship. The initial aim of the research was to interview same-sex couples in a long-term, cohabiting relation-

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[1] Also known internationally as "potato chips".

[2] This research was carried out as part of a Graduate Diploma in Psychology at Aston University, Birmingham, UK.

ship. Flyers and posters invited participation from same-sex couples who "Don't want a civil partnership, who would be willing to take part in a research interview about their views on relationships, civil partnership and same-sex marriage". In the early stages, recruitment was carried out through social networks, snowball sampling, and through advertising in local LGBTQ bars and organisations. The use of social networks met with a fair degree of success. However, once the first two interviews had been carried out, with couples already known to me through my social network, recruitment seemed to grind to a halt. Posters and leaflets placed in local LGBTQ bars, and sent to regional LGBTQ organisations, met with very little response. At this point, recruitment strategies were reviewed, both in light of slow recruitment, and because further discussions and enquiries led us to conclude that the original criteria might be excluding some people whose perspectives on this issue might be important. Inclusion criteria were then expanded to include couples in non-cohabiting relationships, individuals who were in a relationship but where their partner did not wish to be interviewed, and people in polyamorous relationships.

Revised publicity material was disseminated through social networks and local LGBTQ email distribution lists. These sparked several enquiries, and this increased to a steady trickle of interviews after the net was widened to a national level. Matthews and Cramer (2008) and Meyer and Wilson (2009) argue that technological innovations may provide alternative approaches for recruiting "hidden" and hard-to-reach populations, and that members of LGBTQ communities may have particularly high usage of internet-based forms of communication (Kolko, 2003, cited in Matthews & Cramer, 2008). These views seem to be supported by our experience, as information was passed from one distribution list to another, via feminist and LGBTQ message boards. It would be a vast exaggeration to say that the recruitment information "went viral", but perhaps it did become slightly infectious, leading to enquiries from all over the UK. Of

the 20 expressions of interest from individuals or couples, five did not meet the criteria, and three did not respond to follow up emails or phone calls, leaving a sample of 12. Given the geographical spread of participants, two interviews were successfully conducted by phone, in addition to the majority of interviews being conducted face-to-face. The eventual sample, although small, was considered adequate given that this was a small-scale discourse analytic study. However, it had taken considerable time and effort to recruit, and the possible reasons for this merit further reflection.

The Challenges of Conducting Research on a Sensitive Topic

The potential for difficulties in recruitment in studies of LGBTQ lives has been previously documented. Fish (1999), for instance, lists the challenges of achieving a sufficient response rate as: the available budget and incentives; the topic; the time taken to complete the procedures; the nature of the sample; publicity; and issues related to anonymity and confidentiality. Auchmuty (2007) also argues that critical lesbian and gay voices, and particularly those of feminists have historically been muted. More recently, Clarke, Burgoyne, and Burns (2006) remarked on the specific challenges of recruiting from the relatively "hidden" population of same-sex couples. The use of the term "hidden" to describe same-sex couples and lesbian and gay participants more generally is, however, increasingly open to question, and some authors, including Matthews and Cramer (2008) and Yip (2008) have argued that it is not longer accurate. This increasing visibility may be partly due to the availability, in some countries, of forms of civil union or same-sex marriage. Nonetheless, while LGBTQ people continue to experience oppression, discrimination and violence in their everyday lives (Human Rights First, 2008) there are still clearly good reasons to be a "hard-to-reach" population. Furthermore, as Clarke et al. (2006) point out, the problem is compounded where there is a need to identify and recruit a subgroup from within this population – of couples in long-term relationships.

119

In the present study, there was an additional layer, or a subgroup within a subgroup; those who were in a long-term same-sex relationship, and who were choosing not to have a civil partnership. However, this is not just a matter of numbers, or of ever-decreasing circles of samples within samples. How could this be a "hard-to-reach" population when I seemed to know several people personally who fell into this category? Of course this could be something about me and my social circle, but I thought not.

I would argue that it is also a matter of the sensitive and complex nature of the topic under investigation. One factor may have been that, whilst the aim (and recruitment strategy) was to interview people who "did not want a civil partnership", the interview process revealed that even those who stated that they were generally "anti" civil partnerships were actually quite ambivalent about them and would not rule out the possibility of having one in the future. In addition to this ambivalence, research on a sensitive topic such as this may present a range of threat to participants. Lee (1993) describes three levels of threat: first, "intrusive threat", in encroaching upon areas deemed to be "private, stressful or sacred"; second, the "threat of sanction", where research covers areas that may be stigmatising or perceived as deviant; and third, "political threat", where research may stray into areas involving power and social conflict. Each of these is relevant to this research topic. However, an additional point of sensitivity is where a research topic highlights difference and conflict, both between and within people.

First, research on civil partnerships is about people's relationships. These are generally considered part of the private sphere (Duncombe & Marsden, 1996; Browne, 2005) and therefore research on this topic can be perceived as an "intrusive threat" (Lee, 1993). This seems particularly pertinent to this research topic, since one of the reasons commonly given for not wanting a civil partnership is that relationships are a private matter. For

example, one participant commented that "you don't need to tell people about your social … about your private life unless you're really forced to". So despite relationships being considered private and personal, rather than something for public display and consumption, participants were being asked to discuss them at length in a research interview. Thankfully they did so, in depth and detail, but for others, this potential for "threat of intrusion" could be a reason for not taking part.

Lee's (1993) second level of sensitivity relates to research covering areas that could be stigmatising and which therefore hold the "threat of sanction". In researching same-sex relationships, these dual threats of intrusion and of sanction are inter-linked. One obvious aspect of this is that research interviews require participants to be "out", at least to themselves and the researcher. Previous research suggests that some LGBTQ people have concerns that civil partnerships can lead to a kind of "forced outing" (Village Citizens Advice Bureau, 2007), and couples with these kinds of concerns are also likely to be less likely to agree to be interviewed. Despite this, the sample did include at least two participants who talked about not being fully "out", at work or to family. In addition, for one couple, the decision not to have a civil partnership was largely due to fear of public knowledge of their relationship, and the potential for violent reprisals. Obviously, the decision to take part in a research interview under such circumstances may take considerable courage.

There is also a history of research that has added to the stigma and pathologisation of the LGBTQ community (Meyer & Wilson, 2009). Asking why some people are not having a civil partnership could potentially be a pathologising question, if it was based on the assumption that marriage, or something approximating it, is the "normal" course of a relationship. At a more general level, the need for trust has previously been noted as important in research on sensitive topics (Moradi, Mohr, Worthington, & Fassinger, 2009; Yip, 2008) and, where commonalities exist be-

tween the researcher and researched, this may help in the establishment of a strong rapport (LaSala, 2003). This is one of the main advantages in the use of social networks and snowball sampling in research, since there is already some trust established. Where participants are recruited in a more anonymous way, there may be a need to establish the "insider" status of the researcher and their position on the research question. More than one participant, for instance, asked me about my own sexual orientation or relationship status, and this seemed an issue of trust and shared understanding. Nonetheless, things were not actually that clear-cut, since I was not always an "insider" – for example, in interviews with men I was an "outsider" in terms of gender. Heaphy, Weeks, and Donovan (1998) comment on the significant role of gender in the establishment of trust between researchers and their participants, and gender difference between researcher and researched could be one reason for low recruitment of gay men in this study. However, the gender imbalance in participation in the study could equally be a reflection of the greater popularity of civil partnerships amongst gay men (Office for National Statistics, 2009), and the tendency for lesbian women to have particular objections to marriage, based in feminist politics.

Another aspect of sensitivity emphasized by Lee (1993) is "political threat", where research may stray into areas involving power and social conflict. In this research, all participants began interviews by talking about the positive aspects of civil partnerships, and how they represented a major step forward, before expressing more critical views. For example, one participant, who had articulated a strong critique of civil partnership throughout the interview, also commented: "I'd like to stress for the tape that I'd be very happy to be invited to a friend's civil partnership and I would rejoice in the … their happiness and participate". This point highlights the tension of that appeared to be present for many, if not all participants, between expressing critical views of what they often saw as a "marriage-esque" institution, and still being supportive of the

LGBTQ community and of the decisions of others to have a ceremony. So one of the reasons for being reticent about taking part in an interview may stem from not wishing to create or reinforce fissures in the LGBTQ community, and not to be a "killjoy" in expressing negative or critical views of something that is also viewed as a sign of significant progress and validation for the community as a whole.

All three areas of sensitivity outlined by Lee (1993) were evident in this research. However, I also want to briefly consider another area of sensitivity – investigations of topics that bring to the fore interpersonal or intrapersonal difference, contradictions or conflict. In interviews with couples, where one partner may hold more negative views towards civil partnerships than the other, involvement could create anxiety or conflict within the relationship. It is therefore possible that couples agreeing to interview will tend towards consensual views on civil partnership. This was, to some extent, borne out by the interviews, in which couples tended to express very similar views to each other. However, there were exceptions. For example, in one case, an individual interview was conducted because the issue of civil partnerships was such a contentious issue for this couple that to be interviewed as a couple would have created conflict and distress within the relationship. In another interview, differences of opinion between the couple were hotly debated. While this appeared to be manageable for this particular couple, it could clearly consistute a "high risk" strategy for some couples, requiring a solid and secure relationship within which conflict or difference of opinion can be safely discussed.

For some individuals, there may also be discomfort in expressing contradictory or ambivalent views, since we are often expected, and expect ourselves, to produce logical and consistent accounts (Brown & Yule, 1983). In this research, participants needed to be able to stay with ambivalence, and to express it without necessarily being able to smooth over the contradictions. As Linde (1993) has argued,

we try to create coherent narratives of our lives, in order to express a coherent sense of self and of group membership. However, talking about an issue about which one feels ambivalent militates against being able to create coherence and, in fact, does the opposite, by exposing areas of contradiction. Staying with this uncertainty, ambivalence and not knowing can therefore be uncomfortable.

Conclusion

To summarise, this brief commentary has explored some of the challenges in researching views on civil partnership. Some of these challenges are common to research that seeks to collect "queer data". In particular, the difficulty posed by research with relatively "hidden" populations has previously been rehearsed and is a familiar one for researchers in this area. However, I have argued that perhaps a more important issue lies in the sensitivity of the topic. Sensitivity may relate to intrusive threats, threats of sanction, and political threat, but also to threat of interpersonal tension or conflict. Finally, I explored how a further threat may be posed by sitting with ambivalence. Where we are not able to create coherence and consistency within our accounts this can lead to dissonance and discomfort, particularly in a world in which stories are supposed to have a happy ending. Perhaps I was hoping to resolve my own ambivalence about civil partnerships by the time this research was completed, but this has not been the case. If only life was so neat, but in reality, civil partnerships are a whole mixture of things – sometimes exciting, but often messy and imperfect. And perhaps in this way, they are rather like research, which is often exciting, but usually also messy and imperfect.

Acknowledgements

Author Note

Alison Rolfe is senior lecturer in counselling at Newman University College, Birmingham, UK. Her interests span critical psychology and counselling/psychotherapy research. She has previous publications on gender and heavy drinking, self-harm, teenage motherhood, and civil partnership. Email: a.rolfe@newman.ac.uk

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RESEARCH IN CONTEXT: SEXUAL PREJUDICE AND THE THREATENED CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

HEIDI CRIPPS

Abstract

In this commentary I highlight some of the issues that I have faced researching sexual prejudice within a group seen as notorious for such discrimination. Although I have control over the experimental context in which participants complete my study, they also bring with them a social context. Researchers cannot control that social context, but it is important to consider how context also feeds into the study. Within the framework of social identity theory, self-categorisation theory and levels of identity threat, I contemplate the role of a "context of notoriety" in my research. I hope that my examination of context will help to inform other social psychological researchers of the importance of contextual considerations when studying meaningful groups.

Keywords: Christianity; identity threat; social identity; sexual prejudice

Introduction

Discrimination against people based on their sexual orientation is ingrained in laws that affect my ability to become a parent and to have my relationship legally recognised. An analysis of recent history suggests that many political moves against the rights of those in same-sex partnerships have been backed by Christian ideals. In 1985, New Zealand's Homosexual Law Reform Bill was opposed by the Coalition of Concerned Citizens, a New Zealand Christian conservative pressure group. More recently, in 2005, the Christian-dominated conservative party United Future voted against New Zealand's Civil Union Bill. Voting on this bill was preceded by rallies toward parliament by, amongst others, members of Destiny Church, who stated "enough is enough" in relation to the rights given to homosexual individuals by the state.

Many current anti-gay sites on the internet not only justify their claims through the Bible, but also openly express their Christian endorsement (e.g., Westboro Baptist Church, 2011). The political links that tie Christianity to discrimination against lesbians and gay men[1] and their intimate relationships have compelled me to research sexual prejudice within New Zealand Christian groups. I use the term "sexual prejudice" (discrimination against people due to their sexual orientation) because, unlike "homophobia", "sexual prejudice" conveys no assumptions about the motivations underlying negative attitudes. "Sexual prejudice" also locates the study of these attitudes within a broader context of social psychological research on prejudice (Herek, 1984).

The Psychological Study of Religion and Prejudice

The links between Christianity and sexual prejudice are not only clear in political history, but also have a history in the psychological study of discrimination. Gordon Allport (1954) observed the relationship between religion and discrimination, stating that, "the role of religion [in prejudice] is paradoxical. It makes

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[1] In this article, I use the term "lesbians and gay men", as opposed to "LGBT" or "Queer". This is because my research does not address the extensive issues of discrimination against various queer identities, including transgender people. When I refer to my own sexual orientation I use the term "non-heterosexual" as this is my personal preference.

prejudice, and it unmakes prejudice" (Allport, 1954, p. 444). Over 50 years of research, Allport revealed that the "paradoxical" relationship between religion and prejudice is reactive to what type of people are religious (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992); the degree to which they are religious (Batson, Shoenrade & Ventis, 1993); the ways people are religious (Allport & Ross, 1967; Altemeyer, 1988; Batson, 1976); and the targets of their discrimination (Batson et al., 1993). Thus far, however, psychological research has tried to explain the phenomena of religion and discrimination mainly in terms of individual level processes. This individual level of analysis ignores the fact that in real social situations, groups rather than individuals are the social actors.

Religion as Social Identity

The movement toward group level constructs in relation to prejudice has been a major focus of social psychological literature over the past three decades. This is one reason I consider the inclusion of social identity theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorisation theory (SCT, Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) to be the best approach in developing an understanding of religion and prejudice. There is every reason to believe that religion is a powerful source of social identity; that is, the level of identity derived from social group membership. Religious group membership is likely to serve a powerful and meaningful role in self-definition (Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). For these reasons, my on-going Masters research on Christian groups and sexual prejudice incorporates an analysis of group level and social identity constructs.

Social Identity and Context

A key component of both SIT and SCT is the role of context (Turner et al., 1987). These theories acknowledge that there will always be different levels of social identity within which an individual exists (e.g., resident of New Zealand, resident of a specific region of New Zealand). It is partly the nature of the context in which a person functions that will highlight which social identity will be salient. Context will contribute greatly to an individual's readiness to adopt a particular identity and the extent to which that identity fits as a meaningful self-definition (Simon, 2004). By appreciating the role of context, psychological researchers gain a greater understanding of why intergroup discrimination takes place at certain times and in certain ways.

I now depart from what has been a brief introduction to the empirical and theoretical basis from which I approach my research in order to move to a broader consideration of the impact of context. I believe that the influence of social identity on the way people see themselves and others can only be understood when we consider the wider social context in which they function. This commentary is written as a consideration of both the immediate and large scale social context of my participants. Although I have control over the experimental context in which participants complete my study, they also bring with them a social context. Researchers cannot control that social context, but it is important to consider how context also feeds into the study.

The Context of Notoriety

Although Christianity has often been implicated in efforts to resist gay rights across the world, more often than not the media portrayals of such resistance tend to focus on what I would consider "extremist" responses. Such a focus does not accurately represent Christian perspectives. Christianity is a diverse grouping, and Christians take on various subordinate denominational identities: Baptist, Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, Pentecostal etc (Bowden, 2005). Anti-gay websites that exhibit aggressive attitudes toward homosexual behaviour are most often linked to self-described "conservative Evangelical" or "Fundamentalist" Christianity. Furthermore, a basic Google search reveals that many Christian websites oppose discrimination against homosexual people (Religious Tolerance, 2004

125

–2010; The Gay Christian Network, 2010). These pro-gay sites are generally multi-denominational.

Some Christians follow the scriptural denigration of homosexuality, while others believe that such statements are culturally bound and no longer relevant[2]. In spite of this differentiation, I argue that there is a real threat to all Christians of being tarred with the extremist brush. In this context, "Christians" as a group are seen as sexually prejudiced. This "context of notoriety" may influence the attitudes of potential participants when they consider my research project and their potential involvement in it.

Recruitment

One of the first challenges I faced researching sexual prejudice and Christian group members involved how to recruit participants. After an immediately successful recruitment of eight participants it soon became apparent that interest in participation had become non-existent. My supervisor and I decided to change the recruitment strategy and started to schedule meetings with leaders of Christian groups in order to deliver a full explanation of the study. The aim of this strategy was to advocate for the study and its purpose, and I soon organised meetings with two group leaders to discuss the study.

It was during the first of these meetings that misinformation on my study was brought to my attention. I was told that some groups had been told that my study included pornographic imagery, and asked inappropriate questions about participants' sexuality (the study does

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[2] For the sake of simplicity, I have not incorporated a discussion of those who believe in the concept of "hate the sin, not the sinner" or those who view all "sin" as equal (that is, equate homosexuality with lies, murder, stealing etc.), and so believe that they discriminate against the "act" as opposed to the individual.

not involve either). I found the spread of these rumours truly disappointing. Moreover, I was fascinated that the degree of anxiety around my study could reach a level conducive to the spread of such misinformation.

Now aware of the misinformation about my study, it became apparent that my change in recruitment strategy could be more helpful than I initially thought. In talking frankly to a group leader about my study, I had an opportunity to dispel any myths over the content or the purpose of my research. This would — hopefully — mean that a leader who fully understood my study could then not only encourage their group members to participate, but also fend off any anxiety based on misunderstanding. I hoped that the likelihood of participants' involvement would be increased through their leader's advocacy for the study.

Those Who Do and Those Who Don't

Since I began to use the new strategy, I have spoken to two group leaders, each from a different Christian group. Of these two, one agreed to encourage their group to take part in the study, and one declined. The impact of the context of notoriety on our ability to access Christian group members became apparent as the group leader who declined to encourage participation went on to explain why they did not wish their group to be involved. This leader specified an incident on campus a couple of years earlier when their Christian group had been labelled as homophobic. For this reason the leader was "terrified" of any possibility of this kind of labelling happening again. Although I could assure the leader of anonymity of participation at both a group and individual level, it seemed the threat was great enough to discourage the group from being involved. This certainly suggests that the social history behind a group has an impact. Here, the context of notoriety has combined with my recruitment strategy to influence a self-selection bias which reduces my ability to access sections of the group I wish to study.

Participants' Apparent Discomfort

Since a shift in recruitment I have had access to 60 participants, all sourced from one Christian group. Although this group leader deemed my research of value and sufficiently non-threatening, there was no guarantee that participants from this group would not experience apprehension or disagreement in reaction to my study. In fact, I have often observed indications of discomfort and protest from some of my participants (usually around 2–3 participants per group of 9–18). Although these were indicated by a relative minority, the regularity of participants' apprehension in each group certainly caught my attention.

Prior to giving their informed consent participants were given a description of our study in general terms[3] (approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee). Having been recruited as Christians, asked to think of themselves as Christians, and having completed a series of questions relating to their religious beliefs, participants were then asked to distribute hypothetical money and white noise (unpleasant sound, Mummendy et al., 1992), and to rate hypothetical individuals on a number of positive and negative traits (after Platow, McClintock & Lierbrand, 1990). The only information participants were given about each individual was their group membership (Christian or homosexual). As participants completed their questionnaires, it is likely that they also attempted to make sense of the study using any available information. In a context of notoriety, it is likely that assumptions over the purpose of my research may have been informed by popular ideas of the "Christian homophobe".

At the end of each session, participants had

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[3] The general description of the study was: "engage in a series of written tasks relating to self-perception and decision making", and that we were interested in "the way people relate to themselves and others". Participants were also informed that

the opportunity to write down what they thought was the purpose of the study. A number of participants gave responses consistent with my concerns over the context of notoriety. For example, participants wrote that the study was "'proving' that Christians don't like gays" as well as "perhaps looking to focus negatively on Christians' relationships with homosexuals". In a context of notoriety, it is understandable that many participants may assume that my research is trying to "expose" their homophobia. These statements support my concern that a context of notoriety will potentially misinform participants of the purpose of my research.

Stereotype Threat: Exposing Homophobia

In addition to (mis)informing assumptions about the purpose of my research, the context of notoriety is likely to activate the stereotype of the "Christian homophobe". It has been shown that, when negative stereotypes are activated, people may experience what has been called "stereotype threat", that is, the apprehension experienced when group members fear they may confirm a negative stereotype about their group. Much research has revealed that stereotype threat affects academic performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995), wherein those stereotyped to do poorly are more likely to do poorly, but in response to an awareness of this stereotype as opposed to their (lack of) ability. The feedback I have received, such as "funny how we were expected to hate homosexuals" suggests that, at least for some, the stereotypical response of a Christian to homosexuality feels "expected".

Categorisation Threat: Contextual Shifts and Preferred Social Identities

Self-definition is dynamic and fluctuating (Deaux & Martin, 2003). As the context in which a person functions changes, each context significantly contributes both to an individual's readiness to adopt a particular identity and to the extent to which that identity fits as

a meaningful self-definition (Simon, 2004). Although participants begin my study thinking of themselves as Christian group members, I believe a contextual shift occurs as the participant reaches measures for discrimination against homosexual people. Here the context shifts from "Christian completing a social decision making task" to "Christian completing a social decision making task in relation to homosexual people". This contextual shift may completely change an individual's readiness to maintain the social identity of Christian as this social identity is notorious and seen negatively in this context. Moreover, it may also reduce the fit of this self-definition: "Christian" per se may not represent a participant well in this context, and he or she may therefore prefer to be seen as a "liberal Christian", "humanitarian", or some other social identity that may reflect more positively.

Categorisation threat occurs when people use a social category to define a person that contradicts that person's contextually preferred self-definition (Barreto, Ellemers, Scholten & Smith, 2010). Furthermore, SIT stipulates that people strive to evaluate themselves positively compared to others (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In a context where Christians are seen negatively (the context of notoriety), SIT and SCT suggests that an alternative social identity may be preferable. At the stage where there is a contextual shift in my study, the social identity of Christian group member may no longer seem appropriate, and may even feel enforced (Barreto et al., 2010). Hence, participants may experience categorisation threat.

Responses to categorisation threat include protest, anger and/or lower self-esteem (Ellemers & Barreto, 2006). These responses certainly fit with some of the reactions I have noticed — for example where refusal to complete parts of the study may be a form of protest. Uttering statements such as "this is not proper research" or laughing at the questions may be the result of anger, and apparent displeasure about completion of some of the tasks could relate to any of these responses. Some participants also stated that "I might

feel quite differently about what I think and what Xtians [Christians] think in general" and "you are presuming that someone only belongs to one group and that everyone in one group is the same". There is nothing in the study, however, that explicitly states Christians are the same. In fact, many of the questions are measuring ways of being Christian, and allow for participants to give the degree to which they agree or disagree with a statement. What these comments suggest, however, is that some participants felt that within the context, "Christian" did not necessarily fit, and that they were somehow being unfairly categorised.

Ideological Dilemmas

Many participants have felt motivated to explain why they made certain decisions during the study. A drive to explain has been a constant theme from the first group of participants to the most recent. No participants referred to the Bible in their explanations. Some participants state that they gave more hypothetical money to Christians than homosexuals because "I thought they [Christians] would use it more wisely to help others in need" and "I gave more money to Christians than homosexuals because they [Christians] are more likely to have children". The offering of such disclaimers is an attempt to justify actions as non-prejudicial by drawing on rational arguments. Hewitt and Stokes (1975) describe the use of this kind of disclaimer as "credentialing": the participant wishes to avoid being branded negatively, or as somebody who is unreasonable (such as the stereotypical Christian homophobe). In fact, one participant addresses the issue of impression in their statement that there was "no doubt" that their decision to give more money to Christians would be "considered politically incorrect". The drive to explain seems apparent in many participants' frustrated feedback that "you can't explain or qualify your answer" and "I felt backed into a corner […] I have strong beliefs but wanted to word them differently" as well as "the questions were too simple, and only allow for part of the story to be told".

128

The drive to explain relates to the context of notoriety which activates the stereotype of the "Christian homophobe" as an irrationally prejudiced person who expresses extreme views on the nature of homosexuality and Christianity. It makes sense that in a participant's attempt to distance their decisions from proving the homophobic stereotype they move toward justifying and rationalising decisions that may be seen by others as "politically incorrect" or even prejudiced.

The Researcher in Context

In embarking on this study as a non-heterosexual woman who has the ability to consume popular media as uncritically as the next person, I have had to consciously shift away from my own eagerness to "expose" sexual prejudice within the Christian groups I study. I am distinctly aware of the potential for my own relationship to sexual prejudice, together with my largely absent relationship with religion, to have an impact on my process as a researcher.

While entering my data I find myself experiencing a mixture of excitement and despair when I come across discrimination. I find myself getting angry, or rolling my eyes at participants' attempts to justify their discrimination. When participants chose not to complete measures within my study, I find myself making the assumption that they did so to hide their own prejudice. I find these experiences very powerful. Not only do the participants in my study react to the context of notoriety, but so do I.

Conclusion

I began researching sexual prejudice in Christian groups in 2008. During the following 3 years I have experienced the impact of what I call a context of notoriety. My research journey has been prolonged and disrupted, highlighting the challenges contextual factors can propagate. Through SIT, SCT and concepts of identity threat, I have examined the impact my "research in context" has on deterring po-

tential participants and (mis)informing both participants' assumptions about the purpose of my study and about how they are expected to perform. I have also considered how context may cause the Christian social identity to become undesirable. I conclude that my research, within the context of notoriety, might be threatening to a Christian social identity.

Given my greater consideration of the context of notoriety, I now insist on recruiting participants through a co-ordinating member of their particular group. I have found this strategy effective in two ways. Firstly, I have noticed greater numbers of participants willing to be involved. It seems that a request to participate from an in-group member is more effective than a request from a relative stranger. Secondly, groups recruited via an in-group member seem to include fewer participants displaying discomfort during the study, and far more neutral feedback. It seems that when in-group members facilitate the recruitment process, the context of notoriety is much reduced.

When researching prejudice within a group seen as notorious for the type of discrimination in question, methodological decisions should be sensitive to the contextually driven experiences of potential participants. Clearly, certain strategies of recruitment and measures may cause undesirable reactions in the research participants. While planning my research I considered using Herek's (1987) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale — a direct self-report measure. Upon consideration, I felt as though the questionnaire itself may be too aggravating in its overt statements about sexual prejudice (in items such as "Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes", Herek, 1987, p. 42). Although there was always an opportunity for participants to strongly disagree with any item on the scale, in a context of notoriety such direct statements could intensify "Christian homophobe" stereotype activation. I consider trait allocations and resource distribution as less overt measures of prejudice

than the ATLG. Future research may consider implicit measures to reduce issues involved with a context of notoriety (e.g., Steffens, 2005); such covert measures have effectively been used to reduce social desirability concerns in previous research (for a review see Batson et al., 1993).

Russell Spears (2001) stated that "the role of context remains somewhat under-theorised, especially in terms of the motivations it can elicit and the strategic opportunities it affords" (p. 174). Well theorised or not, the impact of the broader social context seems apparent, and is a necessary consideration for the future of the social psychological study of meaningful groups. An early consideration of the impact of context is crucial to informing how researchers should approach their investigation. Context will help inform methodology, choice of measures and how to encourage participation in the research. As the wider social context changes, the need to re-consider context follows.

Author Note

Heidi Cripps is currently completing her Masters degree in Psychology at the University of Otago, New Zealand. Heidi's research focuses on a social identity account of sexual prejudice amongst Christian group members. She hopes to complete her thesis in December. Email: heidicripps@hotmail.com

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QUESTIONING SEX/GENDER AND SEXUALITY: REFLECTIONS ON RECRUITMENT AND STRATIFICATION

GARETH J. TREHARNE

Abstract

The notion of "recruitment" of participants for psychological research exists within discursive structures of academic subculture, which include standpoints on sampling, representation and generalisation. In the present article I discuss recruitment in light of some queries surrounding the conceptualisation of the sex/gender and sexuality of participants in psychological research. Participants' sex/gender is almost universally reported in research, but the hegemonic binary is not without limits of inclusivity. Routinely requesting participants' sexuality also creates a dilemma of labelling: it is necessary in order to be able to describe that aspect of a sample, but preconceived groupings can be reinscribed both by requesting participants' sexuality and by attempts to stratify recruitment. Moreover, the requesting of any grouping tacitly substantiates positivist epistemology through the seeking of (quantified) group differences. I illustrate these issues using experiential examples and insights from a series of studies into beliefs about chronic illnesses (including HIV/AIDS) that demonstrate some difficulties of attempting to be inclusive by sexuality. In an endeavour to work with the dilemma of labelling I raise a series of questions to pose when planning a study. I present some pragmatic ideas for going about stratification by sex/gender and sexuality (nested within any targeted elements of sampling). I outline how these considerations add to ongoing methodological reflections on recruitment of participants for psychological research that is inclusive of individuals with diverse sexualities.

Keywords: Sampling; representation; surveys; qualitative research

There are two kinds of social psychologists: those who believe you can group people, and those who don't (paraphrasing of a post-modernist joke; original source unknown).

[T]he greater visibility of some marginalised groups means that they are more readily identifiable [than LGBT-QTFI individuals] (Ellis, 2009, p. 724).

[R]ealities to which we thought we were confined are not written in stone (Butler, 2004, p. 29).

Introduction: Requesting, Grouping and Representation

I open with three quotes that frame the purpose of this article and ground my standpoint. The first quote is a retelling of joke that creates humour by highlighting a hegemony within psychological research: even in saying there is diversity, a normative category is emphasised; the assumed utility of norms subjugates consideration of how such norms sustain themselves and how alternatives are overlooked.

The second quote emphasises the relative invisibility of what I term LGBT-QTFI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, takatāpui[1], queer, trans, fa'afafine[2] or intersex) issues/individuals in psychological research. I use this expansive abbreviation in this article as an inclusive con-

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[1] Takatāpui is a word equivalent to lesbian/gay in Te Reo Māori, the Māori language (see e.g., Murray, 2004).
[2] Fa'afafine is a word for male-to-female transgender identity in the Samoan language (see e.g., Worth, 2008).

glomeration of identity labels that is some-what specific to my location in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The abbreviation will probably never be used again as it does not roll easily off the tongue, an allegory in itself for the ongoing need to continually locate and rethink such groupings rather than trying to find one moni-ker (such as LGBTQ) that will never quite de-note all non-normativity in relation to sex/gender or sexuality. To be "out" is an active and ongoing process of being visible for LGBT-QTFI individuals; to be inclusive of LGBT-QTFI individuals in research requires an active and arduous process of recruitment to challenge the convenience of being non-inclusive. As a psychology-trained, university-employed, Eng-lish-speaking, White-British/European, ex-patriot, single, male, gay individual, I write from a specific standpoint that is informed by that list of attributes, but which is much more than an incomplete listing of labels can achieve. My methodological biography as a user and teacher of both quantitative and qualitative approaches is also of note. The studies, considerations and critiques presented in this article are more directed at quantitative research methods, but I make reference to qualitative research in order to highlight some common issues of stratification. At the same time, I acknowledge that there are many po-tential differences in the nature of recruit-ment, level of involvement of participants and type of knowledge claims produced.

The third quote encapsulates what can be (re) done under post-structuralist epistemologies; concepts, categories and labels can be seen as actively constructed through the research process as part of wider social practices. There are consequences of treating such con-structs as fixed in efforts to "record" them, yet all are amenable to being actively rewritten (albeit slowly, and perhaps requiring the use of a hammer and chisel). Even the term "record" sets up a model of the panoptical researcher. Feeling unthreatened by requests for one's sex/gender and sexuality and seeing these concepts as straight-forward are cisgen-der heterosexual privileges (also intersecting with privileges of class, ethnicity etc.; see

Clarke, Ellis, Peel, & Riggs, 2010; Riggs & Choi, 2006).

If participants' sex/gender and sexuality is not requested then it cannot be described and prevalence is assumed or discriminatory norms of research pass relatively unnoticed. It is therefore important to further the discussion of the routine identification and inclusion of LGBT-QTFI individuals within psychological research using either quantitative or qualita-tive approaches. This inclusivity is required not just in research on "obviously" LGBT-QTFI-related issues (Warner, 2004), if such limits could even be set. This article charts a learn-ing curve through my own attempts to request participants' sex/gender and sexuality, and through my attempts to stratify samples across the resulting groupings as a way of enhancing inclusivity of LGBT-QTFI partici-pants in my research. I do this by providing some reflective analysis of my own research practice (after Finlay, 2002; Parker, 2005), along with a discussion of ideas for planning recruitment. Stratification always creates and is created by a tension between plans for in-clusion against realisation of the potentially limited and (in the worst case) exclusionary implications for the sample, including those relating to diversity by sex/gender and sexual-ity.

I touch on (and define) both sex/gender and sexuality, and always in that order for consis-tency. These two concepts are inextricable. Sex/gender is a concept that may seem more essential, knowable and immutable, but is challenged by voices of diversity such as those of intersex, transsexual or transgender indi-viduals (Butler, 1990, 2004; Clarke et al., 2010). Sexuality follows from the patterns of desiring that sex/gender in its simplest form provides, and sex/gender is performed in part by desiring (Butler, 1990, 2004). This concep-tual opening is followed by discussion of three experiential examples and a series of studies into beliefs about chronic illnesses. I use these sources to highlight broad critiques of the positivist approach to the categorising of sex/gender and sexuality, an approach which uses

simplified groupings in the pursuit of universal generalisations about members of those different groupings, thus overlooking diversity within categories. I end with a series of practical questions about recruitment. The main ethos of these questions is to raise discussion around some core issues of sampling: Who is sought, who is excluded, and how is representation approached?

Questioning "Standard" Questions for Requesting Sex/Gender and Sexuality

At this point it is helpful (if not without problems; Warner, 2004) to define the core concepts: sex/gender and sexuality. I use the combined term "sex/gender" for consistency in describing the literature in which the terms "sex" and "gender" are used interchangeably to some extent. The difference between these terms is problematic if a social constructionist perspective is taken on the nature of "biological/chromosomal sex" as well as on "social/cultural gender" (see Brickell, 2006; Butler, 1990, 2004; Clarke et al., 2010). To borrow from Butler (1990): "the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all" (p. 11) because social constructionist arguments can be used to deconstruct the notion that sex is the "raw material" (p. 47) of biology that is expressed as gender after being "cooked" (p. 47) by cultural practices (such as home economics lessons engaging the allegedly baking-oriented female brain). Whilst my use of this combined term "sex/gender" is rather unsatisfactory, I hope to provide some expansion on the over-simplified dealing with sex/gender in psychology (see Clarke et al., 2010).

I originally intended for this article to cover stratification by sexuality alone and not stratification by sex/gender, but this joint consideration became inevitable because sexuality cannot be theorised without reference to sex/gender (Butler, 1990, 2004). The research included in this article relates to sampling issues that touch on the inclusive representa-tion by both sex/gender and sexuality. I use the term "sexuality" in this article to refer to groupings of individuals with what might be called "orientations" or "self-identities", including individuals with "same-sex/gender attraction" (after Butler, 2004, p. 33; see also Almazan et al., 2009; Sell, 2007). In the most simplified binary, "homosexuality" is contrasted against the subsequently defined term "heterosexuality" (Herek, 2010). These two broad concepts – sex/gender and sexuality – are not simple, and nor are they taken-for-granted ways of categorising people into groups in research and also in daily living. If these groupings function comfortably as part of identitarian normativity then research that challenges the simplicity of the groupings will open up inclusion of individuals who could otherwise be excluded or metaphorically mis-filed by inappropriately defined groupings. (I am working with the assumption that such groupings have some function and should not be thrown out completely.)

Questioning the Rationale of Grouping

The core notion of a "group" is also pertinent for this article. Returning to the introductory quote about the nature of belief in grouping, a fundamental practice of social psychology is to model perceived group membership as "in-groups" that exist within a broader population. This leaves a residual non-group: the remainder of the population, commonly referred to as the "out-group" (Tajfel, 1970; see also Hegarty & Massey, 2006). The operationalisation of groupings based on sex/gender and sexuality are criticised for their reliance on a basic ideal of binaries: woman–man, gay–straight (Butler, 1990, 2004; Clarke et al., 2010). A whole host of other binaries can be seen as circulating in parallel, such as single–coupled, homemaker–worker, femme–butch, bottom–top, out–closeted. All of these distinctions are only as simple as the core concepts in question, only as fixed we allow them to be, and only work if shades of grey are ignored. To put it in more explicit terms: "The existence

of groups as essential entities is no longer taken for granted" (Stein & Plummer, 1994, p. 184). It is, however, implicit in many pro-diversity discussions of sexuality that group membership is passive, factual and unquestioned, as in the following examples: "Assume that a population contains sets of individuals similar to each other on some variable" (Binson, Blair, Huebner, & Woods, 2007, p. 384); "people who possess a particular characteristic or belong to a particular group or category." (Herek, 2009, p. 66). The problem, as Gill (1998) put it, is that concepts such as "'race', gender and sexuality are treated as unproblematic independent variables" (p. 28). Only "race" gets "warning marks" in her text, but I would contend that "sex/gender" and "sexuality" are deserving of the same denotation and discussion (see also Riggs & Choi, 2006).

Why does this process of simplified groupings matter? It is arguably as simple as the requirement of clear-cut groups as the basic premise of statistical tests of difference, as formalised by Student (1908): Is one group's mean on the normal(-ish) distribution of some (continuous) variable significantly higher or lower than that of the other group? The most statistically "powerful" actualisation of this premise is a sample with a 50:50 split across a binary (Cohen, 1988). Such a split hence links with getting equal numbers of people from the two groups, regardless of whether those groups are equal in number or recognition in the wider population. Promoting this disproportional scenario may sound like naïve tokenism, but the alternative is treating a relatively small proportion of participants in one category as fully representative (e.g., a subsample of 20 lesbian participants within a survey of 1, 000 women; see Clarke et al., 2010, pp. 70-72). It is not paranoia to suggest that when one is part of a majority category that exists comfortably as a barely spoken norm then the reliance on statistical arguments is very easy to rationalise as just-the-way-it-is rather than engaging in reflective critique of who benefits from that state of play.

Before I present the insights from the approaches to sampling that I have used in my research, I will share some examples from my own experience as a participant and from social networking technology to pave the way. Engagement with insights from experiences can provide a useful way into complex psychological/social phenomena (e.g., Ellis, 1998; Riggs, 2005; Sparkes, 2007) and, in this case, provide more in-roads into my arguments about sex/gender and sexuality.

Experiential Examples of Requesting Sex/Gender and Sexuality

The following examples illustrate some concerns about common ways of requesting sex/gender and sexuality, drawing on experiences that many readers might find familiar. As participants we are doing more than, as Butler (2004) put it: "*stating* our gender, *disclosing* our sexuality" (p. 16, emphases added); as researchers we are actually often limiting genders and reinscribing sexualities. These experiential examples act as a precursor to consideration of how stratification might proceed despite such concerns.

My first example: I was recently invited to complete an online survey that started by asking for my sex/gender, perhaps the most commonly asked opening question on surveys (see Clarke et al., 2010, for more on the distinction between surveys and questionnaires). Two tick-box options were presented: "Female" or "Male", and a free-text box was also included next to the label "Other", but no tick-box was included for this option. I typed "I'd rather not say," in order to assert my right to only answer questions that I wanted to answer (and also partially out of curiosity). I was halted by an automated response telling me the question "requires an answer" before I could continue: I had to choose "Female" or "Male"; my sex/gender was not only insisted upon but also corralled into the binary, and so I reverted to anatomy. Whether purposeful structuring of the survey or a glitch in the technology, this example serves to show some of the

135

ways that individuals who do not conform to the hegemonic sex/gender binary are either excluded or constrained. Sexuality was not enquired about in the survey, although the intricacies of my share of various elements of my presumed nuclear family life were enumerated (e.g., I generally do 100% of the washing up), and overall it left me with an uneasy sense of dissatisfaction with participation.

My second example: Facebook. Holder of lots of data about you ("Not mine!" cry the non-users). At the time of writing this article, Facebook operationalised sex/gender as a binary with no option to opt-out (see Figure 1: "Female" and "Male", in that order for both questions; cf. my labelling described later in this article and also Almazan et al., 2009, pp. 33-34). There is no "Other". No option exists to identify as intersex, nor transgender, nor both genders, nor anything of the user's choosing. Anyone who identifies as transsexual could quite literally change their sex/gender here; a potential realm of blurring "fantasy" and "reality" that is much easier than some legal changes (Butler, 2004). And so things are kept simple: women and men, or girls and boys. Facebook's binary conceptualisation of gender is an important precursor to their operationalisation of (what I presume is) sexuality: Are you "interested" in women and/or men? Were they afraid to add the adjective "sexually" or perhaps "romantically" (if boiling it down to sex is seen as too blunt)? Am I entirely misreading an innocent question? I wonder how many parents have had the conversation about what being "interested" means with their child who is setting up their own Facebook profile (allowed from the age of 13 years or whenever they develop the insight that one can easily give a false year of birth). I am not problematising such parental conversations, but the vague phrasing of the operationalisation is a problem, especially if it inadvertently

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[3] I use the age-related nouns rather than "females" and "males", which lack species specificity (see also American Psychological Association, 2010, p. 76).

or maliciously leads to homophobic (cyber-) bullying (see Chan, 2010). So, what are the resultant options for sexuality? A quadrilogy:

1) completely disinterested in women and men (equivalent to asexual, celibate etc.);
2) same-sex/gender interested (equivalent to homosexual, lesbian, gay, takatāpui etc.);
3) other-sex/gender interested (equivalent to heterosexual, straight etc.);
4) interested in both sexes/genders (equivalent to bisexual etc.).

I have left this passive request for sexuality unanswered. The case of Facebook, whilst popularist in nature, exemplifies how the method of questioning can define the diversity and inclusivity of a sample and how this would carry through to stratified sampling of people from the resultant groups created by the intersection of sex/gender and sexuality (eight in the case of Facebook).

Figure 1: The format of demographic "profile" information on Facebook (March 2011).

My third example: another survey I was recently asked to complete; I met the inclusion criteria (adult men) and was intrigued by how I would be asked about the topic of the study (sexual fantasies). As I progressed with completing the online survey I found myself incapable of answering questions about masculinities, particularly ones from the Hypermasculinity Inventory (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). This questionnaire involves fixed selection from pairs of items including choosing which of the following statements is agreed with to a greater extent: "I only want to have sex with women who are in total agreement" or "I

136

never feel bad about my tactics when I have sex" (p. 155). Whilst neutral pronouns could go some way to solving the problem, their use would not remove the underlying assumptions of heteronormativity. It is interesting to consider reversing the pronouns with straight-identifying male participants (e.g., asking their agreement with the statement: "I only want to have sex with men who are in total agreement"; cf. Clarke et al., 2010, pp. 36-37). These experiential examples briefly demonstrate some of the ways sex/gender and sexuality are treated as essential and how normative assumptions are made. But what happens when stratification is attempted using the groupings that can be defined by sex/gender and sexuality?

Working Towards Stratification by Sex/Gender and Sexuality

Six years ago I started a line of research into the beliefs about chronic illnesses held by "illness-free" individuals. My approach to sampling in relation to sex/gender and sexuality has grown over these years, as has my understanding of the associated methods and politics. My starting hypothesis was that people who do not have a specific chronic illness underestimate the impact of such illness, especially ones with which they are relatively unfamiliar. The main purpose of my hypothesis was to "ground" the illness perceptions held by participants in my studies of people living with rheumatoid arthritis (RA; e.g., Hale, Treharne, & Kitas, 2007a; Treharne, Kitas, Lyons, & Booth, 2005; Treharne et al., 2008). Participants' sexuality was not the primary issue, but is certainly of relevance as the two immune-related illnesses I set out to compare were RA and HIV/AIDS (the abbreviation that sadly needs no introduction since the mid 1980s; Treichler, 1999). The initial idea grew into a between-participants experimental design after musing on how to describe the two illnesses. I decided to provide two experimental groups with subtly different ("true"[4]) information about the two illnesses to model the variations in what people might come across

in media reports describing research findings, healthcare policy or individual cases (e.g., Lawrence, Kearns, Park, Bryder, & Worth, 2008) and to examine Weiner's (1985) theory of causal attributions. The research has more recently expanded to include qualitative exploration of the core ideas of "causes" of chronic illness, which includes scope for participants' reflections on participation and groupings. The main function of using this series of studies as an example is to inform considerations for requesting and stratifying by sex/gender and sexuality via reflection on the grouping and labels I have applied in this research.

At the time of preparing the questionnaire for the initial study, only age, "sex" and "race/ethnicity" were considered fundamental demographics in the manual of the American Psychological Association (2001, p. 18); "sexual orientation" was one of several listed grouping variables that might be considered "where possible and appropriate" (p. 18). The more recent version of the manual combines all

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[4] For HIV/AIDS the "cause" was highlighted as either "through unsafe (heterosexual or homosexual) sex or sharing needles for drug use" or "through their mother (in the womb, during birth or from breastfeeding) or in blood transfusions"; for RA either "lifestyle factors like smoking or drinking coffee that the body reacts badly to, setting off autoimmunity" or "an infection like the 'flu that the body reacts badly to, setting off autoimmunity". Participants either received the information about both of the more personally controllable "causes" or both of the less personally controllable "causes". Ethical approval was granted for all of the studies and participants received a full debriefing information sheet about research evidence on the range of potential causes and local healthcare resources. I chose to present information that is not specific to real or hypothetical cases because the use of case vignettes necessitates limiting characteristics of the cases or generating a complicated between-participants design (e.g., comparing hypothetical gay cases with hypothetical straight cases, women with men, and so on, together with the resulting intersections of these variables; see also Hegarty & Massey, 2006).

Figure 2. The questions for requesting sex/gender and sexuality in the initial study (questionnaires in the UK).

grouping variables into one list that includes "gender identity" (in addition to "sex") and "sexual orientation" as recommend characteristics to request (American Psychological Association, 2010, p. 29). The manual does not contain explicit advice on how these variables might be requested, but subsequent sections on reducing bias in terminology make the categories within sex/gender and sexuality fairly clear (sex/gender: "female-to-male transgender person", "male-to-female transgender person", "female-to-male transsexual", "male-to-female transsexual", "[cisgender] woman" and "[cisgender] man"; sexuality as intersectional with sex/gender: "lesbians, gay men, bisexual men, and bisexual women [and heterosexual women and men]", p. 74). The American Psychological Association (2001, 2010) manual is just one source of guidelines on how to consider sex/gender and sexuality in psychological research, which serves to be both prescriptive and non-specific in its efforts to foster inclusivity.

I decided to use questions that reflect simplified splits of sex/gender and sexuality in my initial questionnaire. I share the exact wording and layout of these questions (Figure 2) for transparency and in order to further discussion on how one might go about structuring these questions. I also do the same for two subsequent studies (Figures 3 and 4) so that my development of these questions is evident. There are two points of note: the labels for the categories and the ordering of these cate-

gories. For sex/gender I stuck to the binary and I misogynistically put "Male" first. Even as I write this article I continue to struggle with my habitual ordering of "men and women", which I have purposefully switched throughout this article. For sexuality I opened with the option "I'd rather not say" to remove pressure to answer. I have since noted that having sexuality as the only question stating participants' right to not answer is not recommended (Almazan et al., 2009). This right to non-response (of an active form in this case) is a general ethical principle that is ideally made clear prior to participation. I would, however, argue that reiterating this right for specific questions that participants might not want to answer may improve their sense of comfort and may thus improve the response rate, even if only limiting this to knowing how common it is for participants to prefer not to answer. The meaning of answering "I'd rather not say" is complicated and adds a category that cannot be merged with any other. The first specific answer option I listed was "Heterosexual", an ordering that colleagues and I have since critiqued as heedlessly reasserting the norm (Treharne, Brickell, & Chinn, 2011), but which continues to be recommended (Almazan et al., 2009). Next I listed "Homosexual", a label that I am not personally uncomfortable with, but which I have since learnt directly represents the history of pathologisation (Herek, 2010; Stein & Plummer, 1994), and which may therefore evoke notions of pathology to participants.

138

Moreover, it might be visually mistaken for heterosexual. The final specific option I listed was "Bisexual", again in somewhat of an implicit order, followed finally by the ability to state an "Other" sexuality.

Recruitment for the initial sample was carried out whilst I was a research fellow at the University of Birmingham in the UK. Two honours students and three research assistants recruited participants from a departmental participation scheme (wherein participation during fresher and sophomore years is exchanged for recruitment for one's own honours study in the senior year) as well as from within their social circles and around the campus (although no reimbursement was offered). Recruitment was driven by the plan to include an equal number of female and male participants and include as much diversity in sexuality (and ethnicity) as possible. Overall the sample consisted of 101 women (50.8%) and 98 men (49.2%), and they were evenly spread across the between-participants variable using quotas. Unsurprisingly, recruitment was not as balanced for sexuality: five participants identified as homosexual (2.5%; one woman, four men), seven identified as bisexual (3.5%; four women, three men), 186 identified as heterosexual (93.5%; 96 women and 90 men) and one (man) declined to respond (0.5%). Nobody stated any other sexualities. Whilst, these figures for sexualities were dis-

appointing to me, they are fairly similar to other samples in university contexts (e.g., Hegarty, 2010; Seacat, Hirschman, & Mickelson, 2007). Comparative analyses (of acceptable statistical power) are precluded, especially given that the majority of homosexual and bisexual participants ended up in one of the between-participants condition (a particular concern of experimental designs). I am, nevertheless, able to describe something of the sexuality of my sample.

Recruitment for the second sample followed a shift in my location to the University of Otago in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where I work as a lecturer. An almost identical questionnaire was employed, but with a few changes to the labels in the options for sexuality (Figure 3). Firstly, I added "straight" (with warning marks) and "gay or lesbian" as clarification terms for "Heterosexual" and "Homosexual", respectively. Secondly, I added "/bicurious" following "Bisexual" as an expansive term (after Morgan & Thompson, 2006) that I intended to be more inclusive for people who might be in the process of exploring their sexuality who may feel that experience is a necessary element of identity. Thirdly, I added "Transgender/transsexual" as a conjoint grouping that is similar to options in previous categorisation questions (Ellis, 2009; Marshall et al., 2011), even though it arguably confounds the binary question for sex/gender.

Figure 3. The questions for requesting sex/gender and sexuality in the second study (questionnaires in Aotearoa/New Zealand).

Recruitment was facilitated by two honours student and two research assistants. Exactly equal numbers of women and men were included based on dogged determination: good for statistical power, but not good for respect for broader diversity in sex/gender. Again, efforts were made to be inclusive by sexuality and ethnicity, including contacting diverse groups of potential participants by email lists (with the support of the university's queer support organisation, UniQ, and Māori Centre), posting on a Facebook group (The Gay Republic of Dunedin) and writing a piece on the ethos of inclusion for the local LGBT-QFTI newspaper, the *Otago Gaily Times*, including a request for participants. These efforts to be inclusive were somewhat offset by the ease of recruiting psychology students (who are able to participate in studies as an extra-credit learning experience). In the break between university semesters, recruitment continued via an odd-jobs service (Student Job Search) through which participants who identified as "queer" or Māori (and either women or men depending on how balanced recruitment was going) were invited (and paid NZ$10). Ironically, our advert caught the eye of a journalist who compared the study to job adverts for shooing seagulls or (women) washing cars wearing a bikini (Sunday Star Times, 2008). Sadly the article did not appear to boost recruitment for my study. In this sample, 15 participants identified as lesbian/gay (2.7%; nine women, six men), 25 identified as bisexual/bicurious (4.4%; 16 women, nine men), 516 identified as straight (91.5%; 252 women, 264 men), two selected "other" but provided no further details of their sexuality (0.4%; both women) and six declined to respond (1.1%, five of whom ticked "I'd rather not say"; three women, three men). Nobody selected "Transgender/transsexual" but one participant pointed out the confounding with sex/gender. The allocation to the between-participant conditions was acceptably dispersed across these sexuality categories, but the sample still lacks the numbers for credible comparisons. In retrospect, I feel I should have done much more to stratify by sexuality, mainly by encouraging restraint in the recruitment of straight participants, but also by directly proscribing ways of actively recruiting others.

The final, and most recent, study involved focus groups with participants from within the main sample recruited in Aotearoa/New Zealand. After completing the questionnaire study, participants were asked to provide their email address if they were willing to be contacted about further studies. The aim of the focus group study was to investigate participants' enduring understanding of the "causes" of RA and HIV/AIDS and add to the inclusivity by sexuality (rather than looking for thematic differences). The invitation email indicated dates for focus groups that would be for people of specific sex/gender (women or men) and sexuality (lesbian/gay/bisexual or straight) and noted the universal incentive for participation (two cinema vouchers). Participants thus self-selected into the (most) relevant group, with a confirmation email reiterating the nature of the group they wished to attend. The focus groups consisted of eight straight women (median age 21.5 years old; range 19-26); nine straight men (median age 20.0; range 18-29); three gay men and one bisexual man (median age 24.0; range 24-48, one declined to provide age); and one lesbian woman and one bisexual woman (aged 19 and 40, in no particular order to preserve confidentiality).

These details were requested through a version of the demographic questions with further changes to the labels in the options for sex/gender and sexuality (Figure 4, over page). Firstly, "Female" now comes first (alphabetically). Secondly, I moved "Transgender" and "Transsexual" to a revised

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[5] I used the label queer as this is UniQ's preferred umbrella term – a reclaimed term that is intended to signal inclusion of various identities. I did not add this label to the categorisation question, although other researchers have used a merged term "Gay/lesbian or queer" (Deogracias, et al., 2007).

Figure 4. The questions for requesting sex/gender and sexuality in the third study (focus groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand).

"gender identity" question, with an option for "Other identity" and a request for details. I would argue that unused categories are better than unanswered questions, and that the potential transphobic reactions will fade when people get used to more than the binary. It is not easy to incorporate notions of "fluidity", and I am unsure what the borderline of trans might be (to me and to others). I am also unsure what might be done with the distinction between sex/gender assigned at birth, chromosomal pattern, genital anatomy, and sex/gender lived as in childhood, adolescence and throughout adulthood, which cannot easily be disentangled from pathological labelling and coercive surgeries and therapies (Butler, 1990; Drescher, 2010). Thirdly, I did not reordered the categories of sexuality, but I added "takatāpui" (as a locally specific identity; Murray, 2004) within "Homosexual", removed the warning marks from "straight" and removed "/bicurious" from adjoining "Bisexual". I also added "Asexual" in recognition of the common absence of such a category (Treharne et al., 2011), which is receiving increasing theoretical and pragmatic attention (Chasin, 2011) but which overlaps with the recent construction of medicalised disorders of sexual dysfunction (Tiefer, 2006). I am still not convinced that this grouping is optimal or

ever could be made so, but I find it preferable to attempts to obtain more "continuous" score-card approach to sexuality that constructs a hyper-heterosexual category (e.g., the use of a 0-100 scale that resulted in Yen et al., 2007, comparing the 55% of participants who identified as 0 = "absolutely heterosexual" with the 45% who ranged from 100 = "absolutely homosexual" to 1 = almost "absolutely heterosexual").

The upshot of these further details about requesting sex/gender and sexuality is threefold. Firstly, the group composition was defined a priori. Bisexual individuals were conglomerated with lesbian/gay individuals even though some individuals who identify as bisexual or lesbian/gay may feel they have more in common with, or are more comfortable discussing sex with, straight individuals. Transgender individuals, transsexual individuals or individuals with other sex/gender identities may remain hidden by the formation of the focus groups. Secondly, the groups' characteristics varied across the sexuality split. The straight participants were numerous (with almost complete turnout) and the LGB participants distinctly less so (when even just a few participants not turning out has more of a notable impact on the groups' structure and the dy-

141

namic of the discussion). Moreover, the straight participants had less age variation and less life experience than the LGB participants, which varies the homogeneity of the groups. Thirdly, sexuality (of self or others) was relatively unspoken in the groups, barring a few mentions of "[sexual] activities" and "[gay] communities". We covered quite a lot of ground about illness and healthcare, but did not quite get to the heart of the subsidiary issues around the "causes" of RA and HIV/AIDS: what participants like to do sexually, what they fear for their health as they age, and what they would like from research. The answer, as many researchers concur, is to collect more (useful) data that builds on these initial forays.

In summary, this section illustrates the ways I have requested sex/gender and sexuality in questionnaires for a series of studies using quantitative and qualitative methods. The nuances of the questions and labels teeter on the border of trivial and crucial. The resultant process of attempting inclusivity is limited by the operationalisation of sex/gender and sexuality. Ways of recruitment directly constrain what can be found from the studies. The aim of this discussion is to raise awareness of the need to attend to ways of requesting, labelling and grouping what might be taken as essential concepts that underpin how researchers include or exclude participants. Based on these considerations I see a number of questions for ongoing research that I pose in reference to my samples and other literature.

Tentative Recommendations: A Series of Questions and Alternative Potential Answers

One pertinent opening consideration is how do sex/gender and sexuality fit with the research questions and methods? Becoming sensitised to these concepts may add an extra layer of social conscience to your study by revealing presumptions in intended research questions. This sensitisation might be worked with by revising the primary concern (the way of at-

tempting to answer the research questions) or at least can be held as a secondary concern (always re-considering what is going on in light of sex/gender and sexuality). As Stein and Plummer (1994) conclude: "sexuality [should be treated as more than] something that can be conveniently tacked onto course syllabi or research designs without considering how it reshapes the questions that are being asked." (p. 186). The aim of the following questions is to add some substance to this sensitising.

Question 1: What is Your Take on Randomisation and Representation?

A key decision when planning the method for a psychological study is how to go about recruiting participants. At this point of the research process, researchers often idolise randomisation as the primary drive behind sampling (Binson et al., 2007; Clarke et al., 2010): allowing everyone in the population an equally small probability of being invited to participate in the study, or perhaps better thought of as imparting everyone in the population with an equally large probability of *not* being invited to participate in the study. Furthermore, the unit of access for randomisation is often the "household" (Binson et al., 2007), which assumes a certain way of living that incorporates stability of location by excluding individuals who have recently had a change of address or who do not get included in registers of people with a permanent address. Moreover, the notion of "household" may conceptually and pragmatically reify the nuclear family as the norm of who lives with whom (see Treharne et al., 2011). Another assumption of the randomised approach to sampling is, having randomly invited individuals to participate, that refusal to participate is also random. Put in reverse, that is equivalent to requiring that there is no systematic predictor of agreement to participate. This is the great unknown of research: things that cannot be known about non-participants. Clarke et al. (2010, pp. 66-67) review some of the potentially systematic reasons that LGBT-QTFI individuals may have

for not participating in research. For instance, the type of sampling may be pertinent (e.g., cold calling versus a personal network recommendation), as may the way the research is explained (e.g., whether or how the researchers' angle on recruiting LGBT-QTFI individuals is mentioned, whether the researchers "out" themselves, whatever their sexuality).

The alternative to randomised sampling is usually referred to diminutively as "convenience sampling" (Binson et al., 2007; Clarke et al., 2010). Participants recruited by convenience sampling are sometimes referred to as "volunteers" (Binson et al., 2007) because they are seen as having to come forward to participate (often in response to some form of advertisement), when in fact random and convenient samples are both sought and both volunteer (except perhaps in the instance of covert observation). The more evident volunteering of convenience sampling might feel untidy to some as there is an unknown number of non-participants who knew about the study (e.g., those who read the advertisement) but did not volunteer. Perhaps this boils down to fearing participants' motivations for participating: might people who are motivated enough to participate have something to prove (and does this differ from anything that the researcher wants to prove)? I am not suggesting that it would be desirable or possible to screen participants (or researchers) to ensure they have no "biased" position (if such a thing like jury selection could ever be possible in research), but I would contend that whatever participants (and researchers) want to be found from research does come into play during the decision to participate and the procedures of participating, and should be acknowledged and investigated in more meta-research.

The somewhat false binary distinction between randomised sampling and convenience sampling can be mapped onto two ways of recruiting representative subsamples of certain groupings: stratified sampling (random sampling within each pre-defined strata) or quota sampling (sampling up to a set number

for each pre-defined strata). Because the primary concern of both approaches is representation of strata I refer to them collectively as "stratification", whilst acknowledging that there are differences in the assumptions and protocols that underlie these approaches (e.g., Binson et al., 2007). Furthermore, randomised sampling is inherently more aligned with quantitative research whereas the various approaches to convenience sampling are more aligned with qualitative research. All of these differences are overshadowed by the common but disputable goal of proportionality in forming samples: matching the population prevalence in the subsampling. It is useful to think of representation here as the pragmatics of overcoming concerns that your sampling is flawed. A sample that is in some way different to the underlying population might be seen as flawed, even though it can be adjusted for using statistical weighting or thematic consideration. Idolisation of randomisation arises from the belief that probabilistic selection should minimise the chance of such differences occurring. All samples are, of course, different from the population unless the population is a very small pool (e.g., a class of students) and the recruitment rate is 100%. The use of proportionality in stratification allows researchers, reviewers, editors and readers to feel that a minority grouping is not over-represented in the sample. For example, a sample composed mainly of heterosexual participants seems representative, but only if representation means matching what is known about the population rather than having an internally diverse representative subsample. This knowledge of the population is typically informed by census-type data on the whole population, but those kinds of data are limited (and dwarfed) by broader socio-political practices around who gets included as a citizen in the census. Moreover, it is not (yet) typical for census protocols to include requests for information about sexuality other than circuitously via marital/household status (see Almazan et al., 2009). As Clarke et al. (2010) point out "There isn't a register of LGBTQ people" (p. 71), which would be referred to as a "sampling frame": a list of known members of

a population, required for random sampling from that population (Binson et al., 2007).

The population may, of course, be defined more specifically than the "general population" of all adults (usually not including those who are incarcerated or institutionalised though; Warner, 2004). The same arguments about proportionality can be made about any sub-groupings within a population that is more specifically defined by an inclusion criterion (e.g., within a sample specifically of an LGB population, is there a substantive representation of bisexual individuals? Within a sample of bisexual individuals is there substantive representation of middle class individuals? Within a sample of middle class bisexual individuals is there substantive representation of people of White origins? And so on). At this point it is worth noting that all of these arguments assume that a clear, universal definition of the concept (e.g., sexuality as a self-proclaimed sexual orientation identity; class as something that can be segmented) and resulting categories (e.g., lesbian/gay, bisexual, queer, asexual, heterosexual; working class, middle class, very middle class, aristocracy/celebrities). There is an evident tension between using such identity categories as a grouping variable as opposed to investigating how categories are constituted, lived, performed, constrained (Butler, 1990, 2004; Clarke et al., 2010; Warner, 2004).

How has LGBT-QTFI inclusivity been applied in previous studies? One of the most renowned examples is Hooker's (1957) study of 30 American "overt" homosexuals (with no heterosexual experiences or desires) and 30 heterosexuals (with no homosexual experiences or desires) that grew from personal friendship with gay men and a desire to demonstrate their normality (Minton, 2002). The study's design is an example of what has become known as a "case–control" approach (Edwardes, 2001) as the participants were matched for age, educational level and IQ. Hooker (1957) found that experts who rated participants' results on projective tests such as the Rorschach inkblots could not distinguish the homosexual from the heterosexual participants, thus disconfirming the previous pathologising hypothesis that homosexual men are de facto "neurotic" (Warner, 2004). It took Hooker (1957) more than 2 years to recruit the participants, but reportedly due to difficulty recruiting the appropriate heterosexual men (Minton, 2002). This is contrary to my experience with recruiting unmatched heterosexual participants, which is more typical of the relative challenges of recruiting gay participants (see also Clarke et al., 2010). Hooker's (1957) study design was more precise than unselected quota sampling, amounting to something of an internally defined stratification process across age, educational level and IQ. As well as serving as a landmark step towards the removal of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder (Drescher, 2010), the study has been read as a construction of the "normal" homosexual at a time when gay culture as it is known today was only just beginning to emerge (Warner, 2004). The same kind of contextual reading of how research proceeds in relation to socio-political climate, freedoms and restrictions is possible of current research.

Similar quota methods have been applied in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the UK, amongst other locations. Ross (1975) found that sex/gender roles do not appear to differ in a comparison of 20 homosexual men and 20 heterosexual men from Aotearoa/New Zealand, also using a case–control approach. The 20 overt homosexual participants were recruited at a national conference of homosexual organisations and were matched by age, education level and socio-economic status with cases from a sample of 120 heterosexual undergraduates, distinctly different approaches for recruiting the two groups. The debate continues, however, about the pathologisation of sex/gender and sexuality in the form of Gender Identity Disorder (Butler, 2004; Drescher, 2010), which is being retained in the next edition of Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Drescher, 2010).

Meyer, Blissett, and Oldfield (2001) recruited a sample that was to some extent stratified by both sex/gender and sexuality from the same British university as my initial study. Twenty lesbian participants and 20 gay male participants were recruited from a university LGB organisation, and 30 straight female participants and 30 straight male participants from around campus. Their method of recruitment has some similarities to the approach I used in my studies, and it is worth considering whether it might have had any bearing on the findings and, more importantly, how identical recruitment methods might be of benefit and might need to purposefully circumvent any heterosexist connotations or emphasis on minority status. These studies briefly serve to show what can be done to be inclusive by sex/gender and sexuality in their most simplified groupings, which then leads us on to a question about expanding those groupings.

Question 2: Will You Request Participants' Sex/Gender and Sexuality? If So, How?

Deciding to request participants' sex/gender and sexuality is an obvious but necessary precursor to being able to stratify across the resulting groupings. This decision is central to a dilemma that is interspersed throughout this article: If you do not request this information, you will not be able to describe this aspect of your sample nor will you know how inclusive your sample is as you generate it or after it is finalised. That said, if you do request this information, you will most likely impose a grouping on your participants and you reassert the potential for inferential tests of difference across the categories (even if defined post-hoc from an open-ended question). It has been suggested that participants might ask "Why do you need to know that?" when details of their sexuality are requested (Almazan et al., 2009, p. 20). My counter-question is this: Why aren't you asking me my sexuality when your study seems to assume I'm heterosexual? Indeed, survey participants are more likely to answer requests for their

sexuality than for their income (Almazan et al., 2009). The key to this dilemma might lie in foresight of what will be done with the information, what hypotheses will be tested, how the groups will be depicted. These concerns reflect the lingering history of pathologising research, which is perhaps less a history than an ongoing subtlety (see e.g., Treharne et al., 2011).

Despite concerns about grouping and depiction, my recommendation is that all (human) psychological research includes a request for participants' sex/gender and sexuality for description of the sample at a bare minimum. As Almazan et al. (2009) highlight: "Adding sexual orientation questions is simply one more adaptation to the changing world that surveys are designed to study, in this case a world with an increasingly visible LGB population." (p. 1). In contrast, it can also be argued that "From a queer position […] none of these terms [for sexuality] has a clear, unambiguous referent." (Warner, 2004, p. 325). This is the tension between positivism and post-structuralism in the form of queer theory: How do you do inclusion without redoing marginalisation? These approaches might appear so at odds that they require different schools of research. But that tension in itself can lead to a cross-pollination which stimulates the diversification of both approaches, and the queering done by queer theory can continue challenging assimilation of queer insights. Perhaps most important is striking a balance in the dissemination, the pedagogical incorporation and, thus, the popularisation of both.

What I feel I can conclude from my own studies and the extant literature is that there is no single best way of requesting participants' sex/gender and sexuality, and that if you feel you have found the best way in one study it may well need to be changed for the next study you carry out. Whilst this may raise concerns about comparison across studies, international comparisons have shown Clintonesque distinctions in what is considered "sexual intercourse" (Hill, Rahman, Bright, & Sanders, 2010), and there are important cul-

tural considerations in constituents of sexuality, including terminology in various languages (see Almazan et al., 2009; Garnets, 2002). The following questions may help when musing on the best way to request participants' sex/gender and sexuality in a particular study:

- Is the female–male distinction an adequate coverage of sex/gender for your study? How will you respond to a participant who indicates that this distinction is not adequate for them?
- What other categories of sex/gender might you want to add? How do these fit with your stem question? Is an "Other" option useful? Do you subscribe to any more specific options (e.g., "Both male and female"; see Garofalo, Deleon, Osmer, Doll, & Harper, 2006)? How do you define the edges of these options?
- Will you request that participants write in more details about their sex/gender? What will you do with these details? How specific do you want participants to be if they identify as "Transgender" or "Transsexual"?
- Is there any benefit of using a role-based inventory (e.g., Ross, 1975)?
- Do you define sexuality by sexual attraction, sexual history, romantic attachment or self-identification (see Almazan et al., 2009; Clarke et al., 2010; Savin-Williams, 2009; Sell, 2007)?
- Is the lesbian/gay–bisexual–straight distinction an adequate coverage of sexuality for your study? Or will you use a (more) continuous version of this trifecta (e.g., Herek, Norton, Allen, & Sims, 2010; Seacat et al., 2007; Yen et al., 2007)?
- What other categories of sexuality might you want to add? How do these fit with your stem question? Is an "Unlabelled" option useful? What about "Questioning" or "Unsure" (see Deogracias et al., 2007)? Will you add clarifications to any labels (e.g., adding "Takatāpui" or "Two-spirit" to lesbian/gay; see Almazan et al., 2009; Garnets, 2002)? Will you use the labels "Homosexual" and "Heterosexual"? What about "Queer"? Do you want to include any more specific options (e.g., "Asexual"; see Chasin, 2011)?

- Is there any benefit in allowing participants to write in more details about their sexuality?
- Will you include an option for "I'd rather not say" for sex/gender and sexuality? What about "I object to being grouped"?
- Are sex/gender and sexuality core variables for your study? Will you exclude participants with missing data (including any difficult to categorise options)?

Let us not forget my combination moniker LGBT-QTFI, which incorporates non-normative sex/gender identities and sexualities. My use of this abbreviation is intended to jar the process of becoming comfortable with such shorthand and link to the implied issues for inclusivity and representation: What labels are appropriate? Who gets excluded from research? How can researchers represent the internal diversity of LGBT-QTFI communities? The answer is always more research, better research, more engagement and better dissemination of findings. One emerging line of research will involve asking LGBT-QTFI individuals/communities more about what they understand by and do to be their sexuality, as highlighted by Savin-Williams (2009): "Most striking about both the national and international literatures is the failure of investigators to ask participants what they believe constitutes sexual orientation." (p. 10). Such research may involve both directly investigating participants' understanding of "standard" questions (e.g., Austin, Conron, Patel, & Freedner, 2007) along with more reflective approaches (e.g., Perry, Thurston, & Green, 2004), which are already happening.

My main suggestion for forming the questions and labels that will be used to request sex/gender and sexuality is to directly ask local LGBT-QTFI communities for their input. Such requests do not have to form into an entire study, but may well do so. Whilst the kind of consultation questions that might be asked could follow all of the preceding questions, they could also involve a very specific and more direct set of questions, having planned a way of requesting sex/gender and sexuality:

- Is this stem question appropriate? Could it be clarified?
- Are any of these labels confusing or dated? Could they be simplified?
- Are any of these labels offensive? Could they be made acceptable?
- Can you think of anyone locally who might have trouble answering this question? Why might that be? Is anyone excluded by this question?
- How do you think we should group participants? What are your thoughts about group comparisons?

Question 3: Are You Targeting any Specific Group by Sex/Gender and Sexuality? How Will You Approach Diversity or Homogeneity within That Population?

Once you have a settled on some way of requesting sex/gender and sexuality, the aim of your study may well involve targeting one specific group, as defined by their sex/gender and sexuality (e.g., men who identify as asexual on Facebook by indicating they are not "interested" in women or men). This targeted group then becomes your population, and the considerations of diversity and stratification can be reworked for that population. The term "target" implies that recruitment is something like hunting, movie casting or product marketing, but communicates something that can become convoluted by phrasing like "working with", with its implications of a fully participatory approach (see e.g., Khanlou & Peter, 2005). That imperfection aside, you will probably have already developed a rationale for targeting the specific group (e.g., asexuality being an interesting twist on adult masculine identities), and you may well have formalised who you are looking to recruit as a set of inclusion criteria (e.g., male Facebook users who would be classified as asexual) and/or exclusion criteria (e.g., men whose classification as asexual is accidental, people who have English as a second language, "people" that are actually organisations, or politicians).

Your inclusion and/or exclusion criteria may change in reaction to your initial success at recruitment, and you would thus form a narrative of how your sampling was amended. It is possible that you may remove some of the criteria, particularly the more stringent exclusion criteria set to attempt to compose a "pure" sample (e.g., allowing any man to participate if classified as a Facebook asexual). The notion of "pure" is typically operationalised as seeking homogeneity, which is aligned with phenomenological methods (Hale, Treharne, & Kitas, 2007b). However, given that it is you who sets the characteristics that define your sample's homogeneity, it is you who acts to demarcate your population. It is possible to exclude participants if you realise after the fact that they do not meet your criteria, but it is not possible to unlearn what you pick up from interacting with those participants. Alternatively, your sampling might involve more of a maximum variation approach around the same kind of characteristic(s) (e.g., Facebook asexuals who use a variety of the languages that Facebook is available in). How much variation will you seek and how will you know when to turn down a participant who you might consider is not adding enough to your sample's variation? The main point I would like to make is that however small or large your sample is, however specific or broad your population is, however you are going about sampling, whether you are using a broadly quantitative or qualitative approach, it will always be useful to pay heed to inclusivity and diversity.

"Site-based" sampling is specific way of approaching convenience sampling that might be seen as a way of circumventing the need to define sex/gender or sexuality, but Savin-Williams (2009) point out a caveat in relation to diversity: "Sometimes homosexuality is not defined and inclusion is based on such criteria as who shows up – volunteers from gay organizations or parades – or those who self ascribe a gay label. Such individuals are indeed likely to be gay, but they are also clearly not exhaustive and not necessarily representative of those with a same-sex orientation." p.

147

7). Binson et al. (2007) take this argument further: "If for example, the site is one gay bar that happens to be accessible, for whatever reason, to the researcher, the sample represents only patrons of that bar. It does not represent all bar patrons and certainly not all gays in a city" (p. 393). Of course, these issues are only of concern under the assumptions of positivism and randomisation. Binson et al. (2007) add that "Although qualitative studies cannot be generalized to the larger population, they allow researchers to explore the depth and richness of the LGB experience in ways that surveys often cannot." (p. 408). Regardless of the specific method, how might diversity be approached using something along the lines of stratification?

Question 4: Are You Stratifying across Sex/Gender and Sexuality? What is Your Take on Proportionality?

This final question is most applicable for a research scenario in which your population is a "general population" from whom you would like to recruit a sample that is inclusive of LGBT-QTFI individuals for quantitative or qualitative studies. There are two issues that I will cover: first, how to use screening and/or quotas; second, whether you attempt to make your inclusion of LGBT-QTFI individuals proportional or disproportional to the population "prevalence". These two issues are the core of stratification both in terms of its strengths and weaknesses.

The notion of screening participants is inherently linked to use of at least a two-stage research process. The second stages of such an approach would involve running protocols with participants who are perfect for your sample after confirming this status during screening. The first stage involves directly approaching individuals, and when you are hell-bent on randomisation, this must occur through a process such as random-digit dialling (e.g., Herek, Capitanio, & Widaman, 2002; Smith, Rissel, Richters, Grulich, & de Visser, 2003),

random postcode selection (e.g., Gerressu, Mercer, Graham, Wellings, & Johnson, 2008) or selection based on census data (e.g., Štulhofer, Graham, Božičević, Kufrin, & Ajduković, 2009), or through randomly selected organisations such as schools (e.g., Agius, Pitts, Smith, & Mitchell, 2010). When seeking unselected participants, there is no distinction between the first and second stages as the first stage includes the entire protocol for the study (after ensuring participants fit any inclusion and exclusion criteria that define them as population members). When selecting participants in order to stratify based on a characteristic such as sexuality, information about this characteristic would need to be requested in the first stage of the study even if it is known in advance. This latter option might be possible for sex/gender based on census records or similar public records (e.g., telephone directories, open profiles on Facebook) and is also possible for researchers to access large-scale participant pools co-ordinated by commercial providers such as Knowledge Networks Inc. (if they can afford any associated costs). For example, Herek et al. (2010) accessed a sample of 662 US individuals who had previously self-identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual via Knowledge Networks Inc., who provide free internet access to around 40,000 homes in exchange for ongoing consideration of requests to participate in various studies (see Herek et al., 2010). Of the 902 people invited, 85.9% completed the survey (see also Reece et al., 2009, for figures on unselected participants from the same pool). Participants were excluded for one of three reasons: firstly, six participants (0.8%) declined to confirm their sexuality; secondly, 50 participants (6.5%) changed their identification to "heterosexual or straight"; thirdly, 57 eligible participants (7.4%) lived in the same household as one of 56 other participants (and only one household member was retained at random). Although the aim of Herek et al.'s (2010) study was not to stratify, they did compare their findings to known census data, demonstrating for example that the lesbian and gay participants were more likely to hold a college degree than the average US citizen.

Recruitment success figures and estimates of population prevalence of the various strata for the grouping variable of interest can be used to calculate how many participants might need to be screened for stratification. For a randomised approach to stratification into the second stage of a two-stage study you would include a smaller proportion of more prevalent stratum at random (e.g., 10% of heterosexual participants) and a larger proportion of less prevalent/accessible stratum at random (e.g., 50% of lesbian, gay, bisexual participants, or more specific proportions for each, or perhaps 100% of them) after first-stage screening. Use of the increased latter proportion is known as over-sampling (Herek et al., 2010). The time commitment for screening depends on the rate of success of the method of accessing participants, together with the prevalences and inclusion proportions. And remember to keep detailed records if you want to make the statisticians happy! For a quota approach into the second stage of a two-stage study you would include 100% of participants regardless of their category on the grouping variable, and you would most likely fill the quota of the more prevalent strata in less time. Concerns about systematically excluding participants who do not respond very quickly could be overcoming by setting the quotas within smaller units of time (e.g., on a weekly basis), all depending on the time and resources available to the researcher. For a very time-limited project you might decide to recruit only LGBT-QFTI participants at first and then later include an equal number of the more accessible cisgender heterosexual participants. Similarly, some researchers advocate a large scale approach to the first stage by doing a mass screening to form a sampling frame from whom to stratify using repeated subsampling (Binson et al., 2007).

My final point about stratification relates to the distinction between aiming for proportionality by matching the population or aiming for disproportionality by having equal numbers of participants for the categories of sex/gender and/or sexuality. The samples from my studies described in this article might be considered successful for including lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals in numbers approximately proportional to estimated population prevalence figures. However, those very prevalence figures are debated because they too depend on the composition and motivation of the sources (Almazan et al., 2009; Savin-Williams, 2009; Sell, 2007). The term "prevalence" itself is problematic as it reasserts essentialist groupings or at least requires clear conceptual definition and criteria for the categories. Setting aside those concerns, it is possible to vary the inclusion proportions or quotas set for stratification in order to aim either for proportionality or for disproportionality in relation to the population "prevalence". I would like to see more psychological studies using disproportional over-inclusion of LGBT-QTFI participants in order to redress the balance of studies in which such individuals are invisible, under-represented or specifically excluded, all of which have happened to some extent with my samples described in this article. This wish is not without caveats – not least that the categories and the very notion of grouping are questionable. I would also like to see more debate about the kind of hypotheses that are posed about differences between the groups of individuals formed by sex/gender and sexuality. Turning this question back to my own research: What would I do if I found differences in beliefs about RA or HIV/AIDS by sexuality? What would that really tell us? What could be done with that kind of finding?

Conclusion

I have written this article as a health psychology researcher with a research interest in sexuality, and my discussion of inclusivity has been rather broad in its coverage of the "general population", yet limited in scope, with more focus on critiquing recruitment for quantitative studies. I have provided some comparison to qualitative approaches, which often take a more intricate and unfolding approach to representation and/or homogeneity. I have also outlined how some of the issues of representation and inclusivity might be applied to

more specifically defined populations. I hope I have provided some ideas that stimulate reflection, discussion and debate around the many intersections of sexuality, psychology and other sociocultural disciplines.

There is an inherent risk in essentialist assumptions that commonly applied grouping, such as the currently dominant sex/gender binary and the resulting categorisation of sexuality (lesbian/gay, bisexual, straight), become taken for granted and routinely exclude some individuals from both research and intelligibility (Butler, 1990, 2004). There is thus a need for continuing discussion of how researchers sample individuals from the broad communities that terms such as LGBT-QTFI cover. To be more specific: How can researchers motivate members of LGBT-QTFI communities to participate in research? How can researchers remove participants' ambivalence about research or fears about participating when it entails revealing our sex/gender and sexuality and information that might be used to depict groups in certain ways? How can research be inclusive without replicating social divisions and reproducing marginality (Stein & Plummer, 1994, pp. 178-179)?

In concluding I would like to summarise some of the evident vacillations within this article: Can we compose pertinent groupings by sex/gender and sexuality without reverting to oversimplified attempts at forming universal categories and seeking differences? Should recruitment be thought of in terms of targeting or stratification (or neither)? Should recruitment aim for proportionality or disproportionality? Should we shelve positivism in favour of post-structuralism (or shelve epistemologising)? Are qualitative methods more fruitful and respectful than quantitative methods for psychological studies of sexualities (and which has more impact)? Should psychological research generate knowledge for its own sake or for informing socio-political change? My answer to all of these questions is yes/no/don't know. My resolution is to continue to attempt inclusivity in any samples I recruit and to continue consulting the individuals and communities who contribute to my research, our research.

Author Note

Gareth Treharne is a lecturer in the Department of Psychology at the University of Otago, Dunedin, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Having completed a PhD using quantitative methods to investigate psychological adaptation to chronic illness, he is developing an expanded interest in the application of the multitude of research methods in psychological studies of health/illnesses and sexualities. Email: gtreharne@psy.otago.ac.nz

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BENDING THE RULES: ATTEMPTING QUEER RESEARCH ON SEXUALITY IN SCHOOLS

LOUISA ALLEN

Abstract

Can queer research occur in schools? What might such research look like and who is able to conduct it? This paper engages with these questions in order to tease out some of the challenges and possibilities for undertaking queer research in this setting. Answers to these questions are explored by drawing on insights from two studies undertaken in secondary schools in New Zealand. This research analyses how these projects were conceptualised as "queer" and the extent to which this "queerness" was realised. It might be argued that to "successfully" conduct queer research, a researcher must identify as queer — a debate which has particular pertinence to the current research because the researcher here identifies as "straight". Employing theoretical ideas from Butler and Warner, I delineate how — as a straight person — I account for attempting queer research in schools. The paper argues that although the heteronormative regulatory practices of schooling make queer research particularly difficult, it is not impossible. The nature of queer research in these settings however means that its contours are often ambiguous and unpredictable and its effects largely unknowable.

Keywords: Education research; queer theory; sexuality education

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the possibilities and constraints of undertaking queer research on sexuality in schools. It explores what queer research might look like in this highly institutional context, and subsequently whether it is possible to mobilise "a queer method".

Schools are intensely regulatory places, explicitly and implicitly focused on managing and training the student body (both as a population and as a literal corporeality) (Middleton, 1998). This situation ironically renders schools ripe for queer research, while simultaneously serving to stifle these efforts. While an abundance of regulatory practices offers multiple opportunities for subversion/inversion, their prevalence also increases heteronormativity's operation. To examine what queer research might look like in schools, I draw on episodes from two New Zealand studies, "unpacking" the ways in which these projects were conceptualised as queer and the extent to which this was realised. Queer research is possible in schools, I argue, but the "ontology" of queer means its manifestation can be unpredictable, and its effects ambiguous and largely unfathomable.

To determine what queer research might look like empirically, we must first delineate what "queer" means. This article, therefore, begins with a theoretical discussion of "queer theory" and its application to research in education. I then address the question: to conduct queer research, must one be queer? This question's pertinence lies (for some) in the fact that while I do not claim a queer identity, I am nevertheless deeply committed to queer projects. My research is underpinned by what I acknowledge as an impossible desire (both in its achievement and conceptualisation) for social/sexual justice within my disciplinary field of education (Kumashiro, 2002). I name myself as "straight", drawing on a descriptor employed by lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) researchers to reference heterosexuals (Rodriguez & Pinar, 2007) — a politics of naming by the so-called "margins" that attracts

me. This paper addresses how, as a straight person, I account for attempting queer research in schools.

Queer Theory, Education and Methodology

> Those who use queer theory often try to find a name for it, but the language is vague; we try to find a boundary for it, but it is about questioning boundaries; we try to understand it, to know it, but it is about questioning what we know. And with each new position that utilizes it, each new researcher who finds innovative application of it in her work, those words, boundaries, and understandings change, just as what is considered queer changes as the abnormal becomes known, understood and accepted (Dilley, 1999, p. 470)

Here, Dilley captures the dilemma of defining queer theory given its aim of dismantling classifications. It is partly this work of challenging foundational tropes used to make meaning of, and structure, our language and society which makes queer theory elusive. Drawing from post-structuralism, queer theory poses questions that seek to invert and deconstruct meanings and boundaries used to create knowledge. For example, instead of asking "*who* is queer" (how might we define them as queer), queer theory asks "*how* is queer" (by what discursive means do we come to know these people as queer)? Pinar (2007) characterises this theoretical shift as one from *identities* to *identifications*, a move by which identity's essence is repudiated. Queer theory seeks to "disrupt the discrete, fixed locations of identity by understanding sexuality and its meanings not as a priori or given but as constructed, contingent, fashioned and refashioned, and relational" (Talburt, 2000, p. 3).

When deconstruction is applied to queer theory itself, the notion of "queer data" or a "queer method" is similarly contingent and relational. In one sense, from this perspective there can be no such thing as "queer research" because as Britzman posits, "Queer theory occupies a different space between the

signifier and the signified, where something queer happens to the signified — to history and to bodies — and something queer happens to the signifier — to language and representation" (Britzman, 1995, p. 153). So, what is that something? Again, in one sense, it is always mutable and contextualised, and subsequently indefinable/unnameable as representative of what "queer is". For instance, an act constituted as queer at one time in one context may be decidedly "un-queer" at another time in other circumstances. For Talburt (2000), it is precisely this "quality" of queer which is appealing; "the most provocative aspects of queer lie in its uncertainty, its strangely relational and contextual nature, and its inability or refusal to offer final or complete knowledges" (p. 10).

In accordance with understanding "*how* is queer", rather than "*what* is queer", queer's deconstructive work has a particular operationalisation. Following Derrida and relational understandings of meaning, queer theorists have argued that identity is always implicated in its apparent opposite. Heterosexuality for instance, is only fathomable in relation to homosexuality, where the "coherence of the former idea is predicated on the exclusion, repression, and repudiation of the latter. The two concepts comprise an interdependent and of course hierarchical relation to signification" (Pinar, 1998, p. 9). In revealing the binary construction of identities, queer theory seeks to "reveal the arbitrary and mediated nature of … [an] otherwise apparently unquestionable logic" (Honeychurch, 1996, p. 344) that heterosexuality is "normal" and homosexuality is "deviant". In this way, "Queer theory insists on posing the production of normalization as a problem of culture and of thought" (Britzman, 1995, p. 154). It seeks to disrupt conventional notions of "normal" and "deviant" by "showing the 'queer' in what is thought of as 'normal', and the 'normal' in the queer" (Pinar, 1998, p.14). From this perspective, heterosexuality is not normal, it is "queer", in the sense that it is a discursively mediated identity that does not precede the subject, but instead constitutes it (Butler,

156

1990). Put another way, heterosexual identity takes effort, as it is comprised of a set of iterative performances congealing to form the straight subject. There is nothing natural/normal about desiring the opposite gender, it is rather as Britzman reminds us above, "a problem of culture and of thought".

A queer methodology mobilises these concerns in the research field. Historically, sexualities research has focused on the experiences of LGB subjects. Fuelled by the lesbian and gay liberation movements, this work has sought to redress the invisibility — and subsequent denigration — of LGB identities by centring and documenting their experiences. This research played an important role in highlighting homophobia and discriminatory practices based on sexual orientation. It also had a number of unintended consequences. For instance, it generated a notion of lesbian and gay identities as recognisable, stable and without diversity, sometimes underestimating the complexity of lived sexualities (Jagose, 1996). An emphasis on discriminatory experiences also constituted LGB subjects as "victims" and "wounded identities" (Rasmussen, 2004b), a positioning offering minimal agency or recourse to change. Outlining how queer research builds on this earlier important work Britzman (1995) explains:

> Queer research however is an attempt to move away from psychological explanations like homophobia, which individualizes heterosexual fear of and loathing toward gay and lesbian subjects at the expense of examining how heterosexuality becomes normalized as normal. (p. 153)

Queer research methodology seeks to problematise the normal, choosing to concentrate on the centre rather than the margins to disrupt the status quo (Quinlivan, 2004). Attention is refocused from LGB subjects as "victims", to practices and processes which scaffold sexual/social injustices. A central concept in this analysis has been "heteronormativity", a concept and term used by Warner (1993), which describes "organizing all patterns of thought, awareness, and belief around the presumption of a universal heterosexual desire, behaviour and identity" (pp. xxi-xxv). This concept helps to explain how heterosexuality becomes normalised without presenting LGB individuals as victims of discriminatory power. It also makes it possible to conduct queer research in which heterosexuality and its associated practices are the object of investigation (see Ingraham, 2005).

The emergence of queer theories and methodologies in education is recent comparative to other disciplinary fields, such as language and literary studies (Renn, 2010). Pinar (1998) believes this slow uptake is attributable to the fact education is a "highly conservative and often reactionary field" (p. 2). Despite this apparent conservatism, some educational researchers do employ queer theoretical insights (e.g., Allen, 2008; Blaise, 2005; Britzman, 1997, 1995; DePalma & Atkinson, 2009; Kumashiro, 2002; Letts & Sears, 1999; Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2010; Pinar, 1998; Quinlivan, 2004; Rasmussen, 2006; Rodriguez & Pinar, 2007; Rofes, 2005; Talburt, 2000; Youdell, 2006). Surveying the landscape of queer educational research, Mayo (2007) indicates a movement echoed in the queer theory field as a whole. Early queer work in education attended to the invisibility of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) teachers, parents and families by offering their own accounts of educational experience. Newer work critiques foundational ideas of LGBT politics by employing queer theory to "point out the limits of a politics of visibility that implicitly demands intelligibility and to caution against the exclusionary tendencies of identity categories" (Mayo, 2007, p. 80). Queer theory in education also now transcends LGBT to queer heterosexuality (Rodriguez & Pinar, 2007), "gender identity, gender formation and sex assignment, processes of racial identification and community formation and maintenance, as well as a variety of other issues that intersectionally form the diversity of sexualities" (Mayo, 2007, p. 80).

One way queer theory has found application in educational research is through explorations of heteronormativity. Schools have been identified as heteronormative spaces (Epstein & Johnson, 1998) through a myriad of practices which (re)produce and sustain heterosexuality as normal. A recent example is the *No Outsiders* project, which sought to explore heteronormativity's operation in 15 primary schools in England. In their recently published book about this study, De Palma and Atkinson (2009) reveal some of the tensions between "the destabilisation of norms offered by queer theory and the consciousness-raising and potential emancipation offered by identity politics and related practice" (p. 1). Their work highlights the difficulties of operationalizing queer insights in this specific institutional context, where these insights appear unintelligible compared to essentialized notions of lesbian and gay role-models. This study reveals some of the challenges of queering classroom pedagogy in an institution whose very function is to make "impossible bodies" (Youdell, 2006) compliant, and the "unintelligible" subject intelligible.

Other queer research in education has sought, as Mayo (2007) describes above, to queer foundational ideas of LGBT politics. Rasmussen's (2004a) discussion of "the problem of coming out" in the classroom is an example of such work. Her discussion draws into question the presumed positive utility of an action which has traditionally been described as a hallmark of empowerment and self-acceptance. There exists, Rasmussen (2004a) argues, a "coming out imperative" which privileges this discourse so that "the act of not coming out may be read as an abdication of responsibility, or, the act of somebody who is disempowered or somehow ashamed of their inherent gayness" (p. 146). While Rasmussen (2004a) suggests "coming out" is not inherently "good" or "bad" pedagogically, it may nevertheless fail to deliver the agency it promises. For instance, coming out may have the effect of "freezing" identity, implying that individuals develop a sense of identity that then stagnates rather than being fluid and subject to change (see McLean, 2009, for an example of fluid sexual identity). Similarly, instead of disrupting heteronormativity by making LGB identities positively visible, "coming out" may reinforce the heterosexual/homosexual binary. Finally, in the absence of an equivalent action from heterosexuals, the necessity to come out once again reinscribes LGB identities as "abnormal". In support of Rasmussen's (2004a) points, I argue elsewhere that a "queer-er" action might be for heterosexual educators to come out in a way that "undoes" heterosexual identity and exposes it as an iterative performance (Allen, 2011). By employing a queer reading of a core concept in LGBT politics, Rasmussen inverts our recognition of "coming out" and encourages us to re-learn it.

Do you have to be Queer to Conduct Queer Research?

To some, being straight and immersing myself in queer projects is an anomaly. In trying to make me comprehensible people ask, "Do you have any gay relatives"? Their "logic" is that my desire for such research must be derived from personal experience of sexual discrimination. When I answer "not that I know of" I watch as some wonder (though they rarely articulate) whether I *really* am lesbian or bisexual and just haven't admitted it to myself yet. What interests me about this kind of exchange is its discursive constitution of heterosexual identity as inherently uninterested in disrupting heteronormativity and only interested in itself. Effectively, such constructions allow an essentializing of heterosexual identity which not only reinforces a homosexual/heterosexual binary but renders it *always* homophobic.

Caution about straight researchers engaging with queer subjects (both people and issues) stems from a history of research which conceptualizes LGB attractions negatively as "deviance" (Seidman, 2000). Because these studies have typically denigrated and marginalised LGB identities, thus contributing to heteronormativity, it has been argued that LGB researchers produce "better" accounts of

158

these groups' experiences because they share an affinity with their plight (Griffin, 1996). Outlining other advantages of "insider" status, researchers Herdt and Boxer (1993) maintain that "being gay made it possible for us, both by social identity and sensitivity to the issues, to gain entry into the gay and lesbian community" (pp. xvii-xviii). Being LGB, apparently, not only facilitated easier access to participants, but also greater empathy and understanding of their experiences, engendering "better" data.

While there are important political and ethical reasons why researchers should be "insiders", to exclusively demand this may negate the complexity and fluidity of identity categories. "Insider status" is not a static positioning but rather, given the intersectional character of identity, a mutable and shifting phenomenon (Bolak, 1997). This fluctuation is illustrated by LGB researchers who indicate that shared sexual identity does not guarantee similar understandings and empathies to participants. In their study of the Buffalo lesbian community, for example, Kennedy and Davis (1996) indicate that "the common bond of lesbianism and familiarity with the social context did not make positioning ourselves in relation to the complex and powerful forces of class, race and gender oppression — not to mention homophobia — easy" (p.173). As a consequence of these powerful social structures, insider status may be fractured and fleeting as well as perpetually negotiated (Best, 2003). Shared empathies are posited as integral to LGB identity and therefore by implication are absent from heterosexuality; however, diversity within the categories lesbian, gay, bisexual *and* heterosexual are effaced by such understandings that constitute these identities in constraining ways. For instance, they may minimize opportunities for achieving social/sexual justice by constituting heterosexuality and a pro-gay stance as antithetical.

For others, however, there is no linear or predictable relationship between a researcher's identity and their ability or propensity to conduct queer research. Warner (1993, p. xxvi)

considers this a consequence of the way "queer" defines itself "against the normal rather than the heterosexual". That is, instead of signalling any particular sexual identity, the concept of queer indicates that which is not normal and may be as varied as practices, texts and modes of embodiment (Warner, 1993, p. xxvi). Britzman (1995) concurs that there is no necessary relation between identity and queer: "the 'queer', like the 'theory', in Queer Theory does not depend on the identity of the theorist or the one who engages with it. Rather the queer in Queer Theory anticipates the precariousness of the signified" (p. 153). Queer has no single signified, because queer does not capture the essence of something, rather it connotes the indelible potential for inversion/subversion. Arguing for the same de-coupling of sexual identity and queer on different grounds, Butler (1990) makes a distinction between regulatory institutions such as the "heterosexual matrix" and heterosexuality as an identity. In this way, she uncouples the perceived necessary relation between heteronormativity and heterosexual identity. This theoretical framing refuses the tethering of critically queer activities to particular sexual identities, paving the way for straight participation in queer projects.

Dilley (1999) suggests that "anyone can find a queered position (although some might have a better vantage point than others) […] such a position is not dependent upon one's sexual orientation or predilections, but rather one's ability to utilize the (dis)advantages of such a position" (p. 469). Although I refuse a "queer straight" identity for myself (see Allen, 2010, for details) I do utilize the (dis)advantages of a straight position (i.e. its marginalisation of LGBT identities) as a reason to engage in queer research. It is from this (dis)advantage point that I premise my engagement with queer projects.

Attempt 1: The 'Queer' Questionnaire

My foray into queer research was a modest subversion involving a survey distributed to 15

secondary schools nationally. This project entailed designing a sexuality education resource for students aged 16-18 years. To enable young people to shape the resource, a questionnaire about what they had learned from sexuality education, and what they would like to know more about was designed. This questionnaire formed part of a series of methods including in-depth interviews and focus groups involving 1180 volunteers (see Allen, 2005, for more details). Participating schools were socio-economically diverse according to the Ministry of Education's decile ratings, which denote the extent to which a school draws students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools have the highest proportion of students from these communities and Decile 10 the lowest (Ministry of Education, 2009). Two schools were comprised of private fee-paying students and another two faith-based, while three schools were single sex (two girls' and one boys' school). The research was conducted as part of a post-doctoral fellowship from *The Foundation for Research Science and Technology* and took place between 2001 and 2003.

"Queering" questionnaires is uncommon given this method's reputation as conventional and derived from positivist traditions. To do so can be perceived as diluting the questionnaire's status as academically rigorous and a vehicle by which to collect valid and reliable data. However, I wanted to experiment with the political potential of questionnaires to trouble normative understandings of gender. Questionnaires, therefore, offered a queer pedagogic opportunity in the vein described by Meyer (2007):

> A liberatory and queer pedagogy empowers educators to explore traditionally silenced discourses and create spaces for students to examine and challenge the hierarchy of binary identities that is created and supported by schools, such as jock-nerd, sciences-arts, male-female, white-black, rich-poor, and gay-straight. In order to move past this, teachers must learn to see schooling as a place to question, explore, and seek alternative explanations rather than a place where knowl-

edge means 'certainty, authority and stability' (p. 27).

This attempt to "examine and challenge" the hierarchy of binary identities occurred in a question asking participants to indicate their gender. In addition to the usual categories of "male" and "female" the option of identifying as "something else" was provided. If the "something else" category was selected, participants were requested to "Please Specify". Example descriptors were supplied to help clarify this task: e.g. "both male and female", "neither male nor female", "transgender", "transsexual". Supplying descriptors was not meant to be restrictive as participants could reject them and employ their own terminology, for example, "intersex". Options could also be reconfigured by, for example, combining "male" and "transgendered". The question was designed in consultation with members of New Zealand's transgender community, who were excited by the opportunity to acknowledge transgendered youth. I knew in advance that the question was unlikely to generate accurate statistics about numbers of transgendered young people: some would prefer not to "out" themselves, while others might react by selecting "something else" when they weren't. The question's reliability and validity were less interesting to me than its queer potential. I hoped it might disrupt taken-for-granted understandings of gender and provide the opportunity to acknowledge a usually invisible population.

One occasion of questionnaire distribution elucidates some complexities in conducting queer research in schools. In this instance I entered a year 13 maths classroom taught by Miss Daniels[1], who signalled my visit was fortuitous because today's lesson was on statistics and students would learn how the survey's answers yielded particular forms of statistical data. While students completed the questionnaire I watched as Miss Daniels prepared for

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[1] This name is a pseudonym.

the lesson by copying the gender question onto the board. After writing "male" and "female" as possible answer options, I saw her hesitate, re-examine the questionnaire, and proceed to write up the next question. My heart sank. Miss Daniels had not transferred the "something else" option and subsequently avoided discussion about binary notions of gender and acknowledgement of transgendered youth. Students would be attuned to this omission having already completed the questionnaire. Miss Daniels' act signalled to students the third choice was not worthy of discussion or, perhaps worse, "too weird" or unintelligible to dignify with acknowledgement.

While this particular class had answered the questionnaire in silence, in other classrooms students enquired about the "something else" option. Sometimes this question was met with raucous laughter or sniggers (particularly from boys). Mostly, though, students displayed a genuine curiosity about how someone could be "both or neither gender". These moments represented a fracture in the heteronormativity of classroom practice by providing an opportunity for queer pedagogic transaction upon which I seized. My explanations, usually involving the word "transgender", were invariably met with further questions like, "is that like transvestites?" as students attempted to absorb my description. Enquiries and conversations generated by this question provided moments of rupture to normative gender assumptions, opening space for articulations of the usually unacknowledged and unsanctioned transgendered subject.

How was this a queer research act? Returning to Talburt's (2000) assertion above that queer is always "contingent and relational", this act is queer given the highly heteronormative context of schooling. This heteronormativity inheres in official spaces such as school policy and the curriculum when, for example, students only ever learn about male and female physiology in biology (Letts, 1999) or boys are prohibited from wearing dresses to the school ball (Best, 2005). It is also prevalent in unoffi-

cial school spaces such as the gender regulatory practices of peer groups when effeminate males are bullied for being "a girl" (Pascoe, 2007). To suggest gender is not a binary in this environment is in itself decidedly "queer", as Miss Daniels' reaction attests. Was it a successful queer method? At one level, Miss Daniels' actions can be read as thwarting the method by dismissing the possibility of acknowledging transgendered youth and discussion about gender as a binary. On another, Miss Daniels' enthusiastic embrace of the questionnaire's sexual content in a statistics lesson is itself a "queer" undertaking. Sexuality is not only habitually denied and curbed at school, but considered irrelevant in a subject like maths. Miss Daniels sanctioned her students' engagement with a questionnaire seeking to disrupt gender binaries — she just preferred not to give public voice to such alternative discourses. Who knows whether a class discussion would have proved productive in dismantling heteronormative notions of gender? To suggest the mere articulation that gender is not a binary will dismantle this idea, clearly underestimates the power of heteronormativity. Queer research may not amount to a cataclysmic revelation or positive change; it might simply amount to the unpredictable potential of thinking about something (like gender) differently.

Attempt 2: Sex, Bodies and Cameras at School

My second attempt at queer research was a project examining schooling "sexual cultures". The sexual cultures of school refer to the way meanings about sexuality and sexual identities are constituted through a plethora of material and discursive practices (see Allen, 2009b). My aim here was to concentrate on the "unofficial" ways young people learn about sexuality at school. I wanted to "queer" how learning about sexualities has traditionally been conceptualised — that is, through the curriculum and pedagogy — and consider how these meanings are constituted in unacknowledged spaces and places. Dilley (1999) indicates "queer theory opens more 'texts' for

study […] mobilizing a radically wide range of knowledge — modes of understanding from science to gossip" (p. 461). In this instance my "texts" were unofficial, embodied, spatial and material. For instance, I set out to investigate how apparently mundane spatial material schooling arrangements constitute particular sexual meanings and identities for students (see Allen, 2011). I was also interested to mobilise Britzman's (1995) assertion that "queer theory […] is a particular articulation that returns us to practices of bodies and bodies of practices" (p. 156). My aim was to make student sexual corporeality a focus in order to decipher its implications for how sexual meanings/identities are constituted in this context.

Spotlighting the *sexualised flesh* of students is a decidedly queer undertaking in school-based research. Paecheter (2004) reveals the way student bodies are marginalised in these contexts and seen as a distraction from the real work of schooling — training the mind. Not only did I want to centre the body, often considered peripheral to school work, but also to acknowledge *student bodies as sexual*. Such a concentration can be considered irrelevant in the face of what are perceived more pressing research concerns such as increasing literacy. These foci are also decidedly "risky" for researchers because of the risk-adverse context of schooling (Jones, 2001). They might even be considered "suspect" given the sexually predatory role in which adults are often cast in relation to young people (Cavanagh, 2007). Through these foci my aim was to invert the "normal" scene of schooling: that space is something that students simply move through, that students are appropriately non-sexual, and that their sexual corporeality should be hidden. In queer theoretical terms I sought to "invert the players, or the scene, and see how the normal can become abnormal" (Dilley, 1999, p. 467). By treating young people as sexual subjects and schools as sexualised spaces, I endeavoured to demonstrate how the de-eroticised (hetero)normativity of this context is abnormal.

To operationalise this queer examination necessitated unconventional research methods. A visual methodology was employed with 22 students in years 12 and 13 at two schools in the North Island of New Zealand. This methodology was framed by a critical youth studies perspective (Kehily, 2007) seeking to prioritise and centre young people's views. Photo-diaries and photo-elicitation were utilised in order to capture spatial and embodied aspects of schooling. Cameras reveal how objects and bodies are materially positioned in relation to each other and "convey real, flesh and blood life" (Becker, 2002, as cited in Rose, 2007, p. 238). They also record material features of the schooling landscape, allowing analysis of how these constitute sexual meanings and identities which students in turn negotiate. For the photo-diary, students were issued a 24-exposure disposable camera to take photos of how they learned about sexuality over 7 days. Taken together, these moments were seen to reveal something about the sexual cultures of schooling and way sexual meanings and identities are manifest. Once cameras were returned, films were developed, and diarists participated in a photo-elicitation interview of approximately 1 hour in which they selected a handful of photos they liked best to discuss.

The project faced numerous challenges at its inception, one of which was recruiting schools to participate. At the time of the fieldwork there had been a spate of media stories inciting anxiety over student use of camera-phones at school (Netsafe, 2005), and in one case a young woman had allowed "inappropriate" photos to be published of her on the Internet. This incident was deemed embarrassing to the school involved, tarnishing its reputation. As a consequence, tensions around young people's use of cameras at school were high and may have contributed to schools' reluctance to support the research. One school that had participated in previous studies initially accepted the invitation to take part, only to later retract it when, as a consequence of the ethics approval process, the research methodology underwent changes which made the consent form the Principal

had already signed defunct. Asked to re-sign the revised consent form, the Principal questioned the necessity of cameras and refused to agree to participation if they were used. A general climate of marketization and strong competition for students means that schools are cautious of anything which might sully their reputations (Gewirtz, Ball, & Bowe, 1995). For some schools, a focus on sexuality and student use of cameras to collect data was just too "queer".

Another challenge the project faced was securing ethics approval, which took 7 months (see Allen, 2009a, for details). The ethics committee was particularly concerned about the use of photo-methods to study sexuality, and consequently, the ethics application was returned several times for methodological revisions. One of these revisions centred on students taking photos and securing consent from those photographed. The list of stipulations around this process reached a length and complexity where it was necessary to provide photo-diarists with a prompt card to ensure they did not forget any of them. Other regulations pertained to who, and what, could be photographed and included "only those who were 16 years and older" and "in places where normal access is granted, with identifiable people". This requirement effectively limited certain places/spaces where photos could be taken and served to ensure no naked body parts featured. These prescriptions structured picture content and curtailed participants' agency to take photos which legitimately captured the sexual cultures of schooling. I have argued elsewhere that these regulations ironically produced "unethical" practice in terms of enabling participant agency in accordance with a critical youth studies perspective (Allen, 2009b).

While these rules meant young people's images took on a particular character — there were, for example, no pictures of naked body parts — participants engaged in their own means of subversion (see Allen, 2008). For instance, in order to capture the boys' locker room as a space in which young people learn

about sexuality (but which infringed ethics regulations on several grounds) one participant waited until this location was vacated. While his image reveals an eerily empty and disembodied space (the antithesis of the research's aims), his photo provided an opportunity to discuss student sexual embodiment during the interview. Similarly, participants engaged in a range of innovative camera techniques in order to comply with ethical regulations while continuing to convey their own message. One young woman achieved this by photographing shadows reflected on the schoolyard pavement to anonymize friends engaged in prohibited sexual touching. While what I hoped would signify "queer" in this research was radically curtailed by the requirements of attaining ethical approval, the method remained queer in the unpredictable ways participants engaged with the photo-diary and negotiated ethical stipulations. My imagining of queer as an image of student sexual embodiment was in practice replaced by its antithesis: literally, the corporeal absence of sexuality in the empty gym locker room — *but* the result was still queer.

Somewhere to End

The title of this paper, "bending the rules", is a play on the word "bent" both as a colloquialism for same-gender desire and for the idea of usurping school regulations. Queer research is, however, more than a "bending" of existing knowledge. It is about dismantling and reconfiguring this knowledge in ways that are sometimes playful and/or surprising. In reflecting on both my attempts at queer methodology I experience a niggle of disappointment that they did not engender the kind of disruption to heteronormativity I had imagined. This is not, however, a consequence of the failure of queer methods. I suggest it has more to do with my conceptualisation of success as a discernable, predictable difference — for instance, that deconstructing gender binaries somehow reconfigures heteronormative discourses of the classroom. Such an expectation not only underestimates heteronormativity's power, but also misjudges the facility of

163

queer as something that can be put to work for future directed action. In the context of discussing "queer conceptualisations of pleasure", Talburt (2009) writes: "Queer conceptualisations of pleasure place it outside the realm of the political, as a force that we mistakenly tether to purposes, however liberatory our purposes" (p. 89). This observation also stands for queer research as something that cannot be tethered to liberatory concerns because of the impossibility of "queer futurity". Purely conceived, queer methodologies cannot be political because this suggests a (future) temporality which queer theory endeavours to deconstruct.

Perhaps to conceive the products of queer research it is necessary to reconceptualise our notion of agency. It is this theoretical contribution to queer research which I hope the current reflection on queer methods offers. The work of Jagose (2010) is useful here in thinking "queerly" about our hopes for queer methods. Jagose (2010) examined the phenomenon of "fake orgasm" as a site to reconceptualise the relationship between sex and politics. In her "queering" of fake orgasm, she asks us to reconsider it not as an apolitical act but, rather, a counter-disciplinary practice in which pleasure does not need to be pleasurable. As a counter-disciplinary practice, "fake orgasm intervenes in the presumption that to register as political sexual practices must be keyed to productive action, must move things along and make stuff happen" (p. 532). Fake orgasm, therefore, does not serve to change future life circumstances but "indexes a future lived strenuously as a disappointing repetition in the present" (p. 532). With this observation, Jagose (2010) suggests "agency" might look quite different from conventionally conceived notions of "productive action" and "future directed change" and instead manifest (in the case of fake orgasm) as a "mundane", yet no less potent repetition, *now*. She writes, "fake orgasm affords the valuable recognition that action might be ineffectually repetitive, that agency might be, as Kathleen Stewart [2007] writes, 'strange, twisted, caught up in things, passive, or exhausted'. Not the way we like to

think about it. Not usually a simple projection toward a future [...] agency is frustrated and unstable and attracted to the potential in things" (p. 534).

These insights help to make sense of both my disappointment at the outcomes of a queer methodology/method and a sense of what they might actually "do". Distributing a questionnaire which refused binary notions of gender was both a queer act and simultaneously a mundane repetition of heteronormative understandings — for example, when Miss Daniels failed to engage students in discussion. Instead of a revelatory moment, students' curiosity around the possibility of transgendered subjects slid easily back into classroom practice where it was "business as usual". Similarly, the queerly conceived notion of students using cameras to capture student sexual embodiment was tempered by institutional (i.e. school management and ethics committee) governing practices. The result was images that were sometimes completely devoid of embodied subjectivity, yet nevertheless rich with sexual meaning. Not only was the "queer result" of these methods largely unpredictable, but it was, in some cases, decidedly "mundane". It may also to some extent be unfathomable, in the sense that the effects of students answering the questionnaire were unknowable. It is precisely this potential in queer methods that I would argue makes them most effectively "queer".

Author note

Louisa Allen is an Associate Professor in the School of Critical Studies in Education, in the Faculty of Education at the University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. Her latest book, *Young People and Sexuality Education: Rethinking Key Debates* (Palgrave, 2011), centres on her research interests in the areas of youth, sexualities and schooling. Email: le.allen@auckland.ac.nz

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DISMANTLING DOMINANT SEXUAL VIOLENCE RESEARCH WITHOUT USING THE MASTER'S TOOLS

BRÓNA NIC GIOLLA EASPAIG AND DAVID FRYER

Abstract

In this brief commentary we argue that currently dominant "mainstream" sexual violence research reproduces heterosexism and cisgenderism and "others" community members of diverse sexual and gendered identities by positioning them as exotic. We suggest that the hegemonic research apparatus, manifested through discourses, definitions, practices, methodologies, methods, technical procedures, educational practices and debate in this area, is problematically flawed. We argue that, through interconnected processes of, firstly, "psychologisation" (the construction of the psychological subject); secondly, pathologising explanations; and thirdly, disconnection of power-knowledge from violence, the theoretical resources for working progressively within communities to address sexual violence are severely compromised.

Key words: Heterosexism; cisgenderism; feminism; sexual violence; psychologisation

Introduction

This paper is concerned with the way in which a "mainstream" version of sexual violence research has been constructed and maintained which serves the interests of heterosexism and cisgenderism. This dominant version of research both excludes and makes exotic community members of diverse sexual and gendered identities, effectively constituting them as "other". Contemporary research in this area has been depoliticised: it is not framed within a political struggle; lacks theoretical resources for critique; and fails to engage with power, privileges, subjectivity and intersections between gender and sexual identities. This shift towards depoliticisation is underpinned by processes of "psychologisation" which construct individuals as self-managing units embodying measurable characteristics, attributes, attitudes and behaviours (Parker, 2007; Rose, 1999). More specifically, psychologisation, in tandem with pathologising explanations and the disconnection of power-knowledge from violence, operates to deplete the theoretical resources for tackling sexual violence. Through these shifts and turns, the construction of mainstream sexual violence research is left unchallenged and a problematic "normal" / "queer" binary inscribed. Heterosexist privilege, therefore, is left intact.

This paper is written from a post-structural feminist and community critical psychology standpoint. It draws upon our experiences in working with community experts to address sexual violence and gendered oppression in higher education, and, alongside this, attending to and critiquing the literature. Firstly, by a "post-structural feminist standpoint" we mean a standpoint within which gender is considered as performativity (Butler, 1990). From this, we consider gendered exploitation to be constituted through continuing systematic and unreciprocated transfer of power from subjugated groups to dominant groups (Young, 1988) — that is, a manifestation of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998). By extrapolation, gendered violence can be seen as a last resort exercised in the face of resistance to patriarchal oppression (Millet, 2005). If, as Foucault (1977) argues, gendered subjectification can become a means of achieving governmentality, this process involves gendered transformation of subjectivity, reconstituting the subject as heteronormatively self-governing in line with the interests of the status quo.

Secondly, by a "community critical psychology standpoint" we mean a standpoint from which we seek to enact a version of critical psychology with community praxis. From this standpoint we seek to do three things: firstly, to understand and contest how societal constructions (such as heterosexist patriarchy) immiserate, destroy and obliterate; secondly, to understand and challenge oppressive forms of psychology; and thirdly to de-construct, de-legitimise and de-ideologise the socio-political processes through which "psy" claims are given the status of "knowledge" or "truth". Alongside this, we also aim to examine points of change. Firstly, we aim to render transparent and accountable the subjective, material, institutional, societal, political and ideological "psy" interests served by what is — and what is not — thought, said and done by all relevant parties. We also engage in praxis — progressive social action alongside, and connected with, constructions of emancipatory power and knowledge, legitimation, and profound radical reflexivity. Finally, we explore how emancipatory processes and outcomes can be facilitated through progressive redistribution of social power.

We reject the modernist assumption that knowledge is fundamentally a representation of "what is the case" in the "real world" — an assumption drawn from mainstream research and legitimated through reference to rationality and empiricism. Rather, we operate on the post-modern assumption that there are a variety of "realities", each of which promotes the interests of some (as opposed to other) interest groups, and that each "reality" is socially manufactured through legitimation practices into "knowledges". The dominant version of "knowledge" is, generally and understandably, the "reality" that serves the interests of the most powerful groups. From this standpoint, the notion of "accessing queer data in a multi-disciplinary world" — deployed through the call for papers to which this article is a response — is problematic. Given this position, our aim is not to "access data" but rather to uncover and contest processes through which certain problematic claims are constructed as

warranted by "data", and thus subsequently "truthed" into problematic "knowledges" (or "realities") about sexual violence. From our post-structural feminist and community critical psychology standpoints we seek to engage critically with research as a set of social practices and to grapple with power issues in process and outcome. We also aim to contest the disempowerment of people implicated in these processes, together with the collusion of social scientists in its construction and maintenance. Most importantly, we look to go beyond documenting the distress associated with or caused by societal oppression to prevent or reduce it.

Depoliticisation

Second-Wave Feminist Theoretical Resources

Second-wave feminism re-conceptualises the construction of violence towards women. From one position it was argued that violence was a form of social control (Brownmiller, 1975); that male sexuality was patriarchally structured and thus inherently violent (MacKinnon, 1987); and that the institution of compulsory heterosexuality forced heterosexuality upon women. Such reconceptualisations marginalised a range of women's sexualities: for example, women in lesbian relationships who identified with "butch" identities and practiced S&M were — by default — seen as reproducing gendered oppression (Levy, 2005). In contrast, an alternative position, often described as "pro-sex feminism", advocated that sexual liberation was concerned with the ways in which women's sexual subjectivities were being governed (Califia, 2003; Rubin, 1992, 1998). The former position at least has been critiqued as proposing an essentialised feminine/masculine dichotomy in which women's agency has not been fully realised (Brownmiller, 1975; MacKinnon 1987). In terms of both positions, the emergence of third-wave feminism and post-structural thinking has seen new theoretical resources for framing sexual violence which re-theorise power as fluid, exercised and embedded in

discourse and practice (Foucault, 1977); gender and sexuality as socially constructed binaries, as intersecting and as performed (Butler, 1990); and violence as naturalised and seamlessly perpetuated (Bourdieu, 1998).

Contemporary Research

The focus of inquiry in what is constructed as the "mainstream" of sexual violence prevention research is, for the most part, devoid of discussion of diverse identities. For example, in their chapter titled 'Understanding and Preventing Rape', Ahrens, Dean, Rozee, and McKenzie (2008) "comprehensively" summarise the current rape prevention and intervention literature and research. In this chapter, they identify five areas in which rape avoidance would benefit from an increased focus: risk reduction; identifying and repelling sexually aggressive men; predicting behaviours of aggressive men; predators' selection and approaches toward potential victims who "present themselves as vulnerable"; and known rape tactics which may alert women to danger. In these five areas overall, a dichotomy is constructed of potential assailants and potential victims, where men occupy the former category and women the latter — which in itself frames a notion of heterosexual violence. The authors go on to suggest a further addition to these five areas: self-defence training. The following two excerpts of text are given to support the promotion of self defence training: firstly, "The problem is that most women have been taught that to physically resist a rapist is both futile and foolish (Rozee, 2003). One common myth is that because of men's greater size and strength, it is unlikely that a women can successfully defend herself" (Ahrens et al., 2008, p. 537), and secondly, "A recent multivariate analysis found that woman with self-defence [training], compared to women without such training, were more likely to say that fighting back stopped the offender or made him less aggressive (Brecklin & Ullman, 2005)" (Ahrens et al., 2008, p. 538). While these excerpts reinforce our specific concerns about absence of diversity, more broadly speaking, they also rein-

force the fact that reviews or meta-analyses in this area commonly position heterosexual violence as the norm or mainstream.

Perhaps more problematically, research in general commonly has heterosexist assumptions so entrenched that authors of research reports rarely explicitly state that their focus is upon heterosexual violence and sexual assault. For example, research which accepts that many forms of sexual violence occur in romantic or intimate relationships, and which evaluates educational interventions concerned with femme or female-identifying people to protect themselves from male perpetrators, only suggests this particular manifestation of sexual violence in concluding remarks (Gidycz, Rich, Orchowski, King, & Miller, 2006). Heterosexist assumptions are also manifest in other ways, such as in research concerned with correlations between femme or female-identifying women's sexual activity and risk of violence — which nevertheless requires information about previous sexual encounters with men (Testa & Derman, 1999).

In more general terms, mainstream literature commonly incorporates cisgender assumptions about what constitutes sexual violence towards femme-identifying people. For example, Flack et al. (2007) adopt a definition of unwanted sexual intercourse for femme or female-identifying participants which includes not only "unwanted sexual intercourse involving vaginal, anal, or genital-oral contact, but also fondling (non-penetrating) behaviour" (p. 140). They hypothesize on the basis of previous literature that "women were expected to report more experiences of unwanted intercourse (vaginal, anal, and oral) and unwanted fondling as compared with men" (Flack et al., 2007, p. 142). In the discussion section of the paper they consider the impact of sexual violence and potential for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD): "Whether such experiences are or become sufficiently severe to warrant the identification of PTSD symptoms probably depends on a combination of factors, including the individual's previous history of stressful events, the degree of violation (e.g., un-

170

wanted fondling versus unwanted vaginal intercourse), and the availability of adequate social support" (Flack et al., 2007, p. 155). Not only does this phrase appears to imply that "unwanted fondling" occurs on a continuum towards "vaginal intercourse", but these excerpts overall explicitly refer to the violation of what is constructed as "female" genitalia — and thus require participants to participate on the basis of these assumptions.

Similarly, in providing sexual assault prevention education, the literature often discusses the potential benefits of such education for "single-sex" or "mixed-sex" groups (Banyard, Moynihan & Plante, 2007; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; Gidycz et al., 2006). Although increasingly this research categorizes potential recipients of the educational preventions as single-gender or mixed gender-groups, like the construct of sex itself, this categorization is again dichotomous: for example, single gender refers to a group constituted (solely) of "women" or "men", while a mixed gender group refers to "women" and "men" (Anderson & Whiston, 2005; Bradley, Yeater, & O'Donohue, 2009; Howard, Griffin, & Boekeloo, 2008). These examples are not given to criticise individual researchers, but rather to indicate underlying assumptions which in turn shape definitions, methods, educational practices and debate in this area.

In the Australian context, there has been an increased focus upon researching violence in the LGBT community (Farrell, Cerise, ACON & the Same Sex Domestic Violence Working Group, 2006; Hillier, Turner, & Mitchell, 2005) and violence against members of the trans community (Couch et al., 2007; Cummings, 2005; Moran & Sharpe, 2004). Mainstream research, however, has remained either oblivious or reluctant (or both) to engage with the host of forms of power and privileges which ensure that sexuality is simultaneously invisible and governed (Carmody, 2003, 2006; Carmody & Carrington, 2000; Kitzinger & Frith, 1999; Tolman, 2002). This lack of engagement in addressing violence against members

of the trans community is surprising given disturbingly high levels of violence over the course of trans, intersex, sex and/or gender diverse people's lifetimes both globally (Lombardi, Wilchins, Priesing, & Malouf, 2001; Witten & Whittle, 2004) and in the Australian context (Couch et al., 2007; Moran & Sharpe, 2004). It can be argued, moreover, that often transphobic violence is ignored, or made invisible in judicial systems, which in itself serves to silently sanction such actions (Witten & Whittle, 2004). Some of the aforementioned research operates from a traditional frame of reference in terms of what constitutes violence: that is, interpersonal and physically manifested violence. Research carried out by Couch et al. (2007), however, found participants reported modifying their behaviours and gendered presentation in private/public and or going part-time/full- time in order to "pass" as a particular gender category and thus avoid derogatory treatments. This particular research begins to engage with the ways in which cisprivilege is bound up with perpetuating violence (see the Cisgender Privilege Checklist; T-Vox, 2007). In this sense, the invisibility of inclusion and the othering of exclusion is another manifestation of implicit heteronormativity in the domain of psychological research.

Psychologisation

The process of depoliticisation which we outline above serves heterosexist interests and is accomplished through the "psychologisation" of the research domain. Nikolas Rose (1999) regards the domain of psychology as a constituted "psy-complex", or "the heterogeneous knowledges, forms of authority and practical techniques that constitute psychological expertise" (p. vii). In relation to sexual violence, accounts of expert knowledge have been crucial in shaping and restricting our subjectivities and the resources available to us for understanding our ways of being. Here, we examine three key features of psychologisation: the construction of the psychological subject; the pathology "line"; and the disconnection of violence from power-knowledge.

The Psychological Subject

Psychologisation is invested in the construction of the "individual" as a self-managing unit; as an embodiment of characteristics, attributes, attitude and behaviours. Some interconnections of these characteristics, attributes, attitudes, and behaviours are positioned as "normal" and legitimated as "real" through psychological research (Parker, 2007). Socially constructed, dominant norms of sexual and gendered identities are therefore positioned as "natural", whilst identities which deviate from the norm become "othered". In the aforementioned research we have already seen the ways in which there is little room for diverse and shifting sexual and gendered identities — which clearly adheres to the notion of the unitary subject. The construction of such a subject is a necessary precondition for research to construct, through examination, "external" effects upon this subject. For instance, measurements of attitudes before and after an educational intervention may position the answers given to pre-set questionnaires as objectively accessing the internal state of the subject — thus "truthing" them as "reliable" and "valid" measurements relating to the effectiveness of the intervention — but are they?

This is not to say that the psychological subject is considered without agency in this research: in fact, there are many ways in which interventions encourage and define appropriate forms of agency in relation to resisting sexual violence. Popular intervention strategies include teaching women self defence in order to physically resist sexual violence (Gidycz, et al., 2001, 2006; Rozee & Koss, 2001); managing and minimising women's "at risk" behaviour (such as alcohol consumption); changing attitudes towards sexual activity; establishing boundaries in their peer group (Gross, Winslett, Roberts, & Gohn, 2006); and examining participation in a "hooking up culture" (Flack et al., 2007). The focus here is on requiring people to change and act: a reconstruction of agency aimed at achieving personal governmentality through how agency is constituted and reconstituted. While many of

these ideas may link in with images of the "be a good girl" cliché, the notion of the subject as a self-managing unit remains at the heart of them. As noted elsewhere (Carmody, 2006; Kitzinger & Frith, 1999), there are political implications of asking people to take responsibility for managing their risk of violence from others. For example, Kitzinger and Frith (1999) used conversational analysis to develop a feminist perspective on sexual refusal, while other programs strongly advocate a "Just Say No" approach. Some research has indicated that miscommunication operates when femme-identifying people demonstrate a lack of assertiveness and clarity in declining sex; this, as well as men's interpretations, can be contributing factors to sexual violence. Kitzinger and Frith (1999), for example, cite Ehrlich (1998), who demonstrates the way in which theories of miscommunication are useful as a resource for defendants in sexual assault tribunals. Kitzinger and Frith (1999) also provide a critique of the way in which femme-identifying people are made responsible for the way in which others interpret them.

Disconnecting Violence from Power through Pathologising Explanations

Within the domain of psychology there is an ever-present line of pathology which offers a set of explanations for behaviours and conditions constructed as "abnormal". As we are all too well aware, these classifications may be oppressive in relation to diverse sexual and gender identities. Recently renewed calls came for the (pending) fifth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-5) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA) to include a disorder "Paraphilic Coercive Disorder" to classify people who may be distressed by urges to force sex upon others (Sexual and Gender Identity Disorders Work Group, APA, 2010). Our concern is that such a diagnosis could function as a legal defence for people who use (sexual) violence.

If we do not problematise preconceived notions of violence as socially constructed and as serving particular interests, we overlook or

172

dismiss significant problems. We must interrogate how our own practices may, in actuality, be complicit with heterosexism and gendered power, but, rather than engaging in new ways of thinking, mainstream research instead positions the key task as narrowing, categorising and defining violence in more manageable ways. Many scholars have challenged the traditional conceptions of what constitutes violence (e.g., Bourdieu, 1998; Muehelenhard & Kimes, 1999). Kate Millet writes "When a system of power is thoroughly in command, it has scarcely need to speak itself aloud" (2005, p. 55). In other words, unchallenged forms of violence which appear natural to the status quo in a particular socio-political context may remain unproblematised. As we have demonstrated, there is a need to understand how power is exercised in relation to violence, whether it is through privileges, authorities or silencing mechanisms. Sexual violence research should be at the helm of this process.

Conclusion

From the standpoint of this paper's authors, the question has not been whether disempowerment and oppression — constituting heterosexist privilege — characterise all groups, organizations, institutions and dominant research paradigms in contemporary Western societies. Rather, we have questioned through which subtle and seamless interconnections of knowledges, practices, procedures, and discourses are gendered disempowerment and oppressive renderings of people governable through processes of subjectification achieved in particular domains? Here, we have addressed that question specifically in relation to the domain of dominant sexual violence research. From our standpoint, the notions of "agency/structure", particularly in the form of the individual/context binary, are superseded by the notion of the social constitution of the individual subject through inexorable forces of re-subjectification in the service of governmentality, together with unrelenting resistance to those forces. The processes of depoliticisation and psychologisation discussed in this article are indicative of the ways in which

power is inextricably bound with knowledge. In light of this, existing literature must be critiqued as manifesting dominant, problematic knowledges. From our standpoint, radical reflexive engagement, alongside de-ideologisation and resistance to the ways research apparatuses construct and maintain problematic knowledges, are essential.

Our title pays homage to the work of Audre Lorde, in particular her address to the Second Sex Conference in New York in 1979 titled "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house". Here, Lorde asks, "[w]hat does it mean when the tools of a racist patriarchy are used to examine the fruits of that same patriarchy? It means that only the most narrow perimeters of change are possible and allowable" (1984, pp. 110-111). Likewise, we are (rhetorically) asking what it means when the tools of heterosexist patriarchy are used within a "mainstream" version of sexual violence research to examine the fruits of that same heterosexist patriarchy? We answer that it means only the narrowest parameters of change are possible and allowable.

Author Note

Bróna Nic Giolla Easpaig is at Charles Sturt University, Australia. She works collaboratively with community members to find ways to challenge gendered power and sexual violence in higher education. She is inspired and sustained by the amazing contributions of the community members she works with. Email: bnicgiollaeaspaig@csu.edu.au

David Fryer teaches and does research at Charles Sturt University, Australia. He works at the intersection of community and critical psychology in an attempt to understand and resist oppression. He is also Professor Extraordinarius at the University of South Africa. Email: dafryer@csu.edu.au

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BOOK REVIEW

RHYS ASTON

Harding, R. (2010). Regulating sexuality: Legal consciousness in lesbian and gay lives. Oxon: Routledge. ISBN 978-0-415-57438-9.

Regulating Sexuality is a timely investigation of the role of law in the everyday lives of lesbians and gay men. Over the last decade there has been a raft of law reform and legislative changes (at least in some jurisdictions) which have sought to increase legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships and family structures. In this book Harding seeks to explore the impact of these changes from the ground up, examining the attitudes and experiences of lesbians and gay men to these new legal measures and to the legal system more generally. What she discovers is that their relationship to law is complex and often contradictory with a real tension existing between legal recognition and legal regulation. While on one hand there is clearly a desire for increased recognition (and the protection this brings), there is also genuine wariness of the potential risks associated with increased regulation and surveillance by an institution which has traditionally excluded and marginalised them.

Harding devotes the first three chapters to setting out and developing her theoretical framework. She relies heavily upon legal consciousness studies, an approach developed within the American law and society movement which explores the ways in which meanings of law are formed, employed, and contested by ordinary people in their everyday lives. However, Harding extends this approach in two novel ways. Firstly, by explicitly placing it within a context of legal pluralism, a theory which emphasises the deep interdependence between state law and the diverse range of

'unofficial' or 'informal' normative codes that exist in all societies (for e.g. heteronormativity). Secondly, and by integrating a Foucauldian analysis of power and resistance, Harding is able to overcome the simplistic picture of "...a powerful/powerless dyadic relationship between 'the state' and 'lesbians and gay men'... [and] gain a deeper insight into how relations of power and resistance operate in lesbian and gay legal consciousness." (p. 9)

Harding's research is extensive and the following chapters explore data collected from a diverse range of sources and texts. The first of these is an online survey of lesbians and gay men about their attitudes to relationship recognition. These surveys reveal an overwhelming support for increased legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships. Interestingly, most participants in justifying their position employ discourses of rights, citizenship and formal equality. As Harding notes, "in discourses around the introduction of same-sex marriage and civil partnership, formal equality is prioritised and reified by lesbians and gay men" (p. 59). On face value, this suggests an understanding of the relationship between law and society in which law is privileged. In effect, law is viewed as powerful, unbiased, and able to deliver justice and social change. However, Harding also draws attention to the fact that many of the participants demonstrate an appreciation of law's limitations and failure to live up to these ideals. Here we begin to see some of the complexity in the way law is understood, employed, and experienced by lesbians and gay men.

The next two chapters – one an analysis of published accounts of lesbian and gay parenting, the other an analysis of semi-structured

interviews conducted by Harding herself – continue these themes, but focus more strongly on the resistant practices employed by lesbians and gay men as they negotiate the tension between recognition and regulation. Again, the data obtained by Harding reveals a strong desire for formal equality; however, in telling their stories and personal experiences she is also able to identify key moments of resistance. From lying to government agencies about relationships in order to protect benefits, to choosing not to disclose their sexuality in adoption or fostering applications, many lesbians and gay men seek to avoid the increased regulation and surveillance that can come with greater legal recognition.

In the final substantive chapter Harding takes a somewhat different approach and provides an analysis of two fictional utopias – one depicted in Marge Piercy's novel *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1987), the other in Thomas Bezucha's film *Big Eden* (2000). She conducts a reading of these texts in light of her previous findings, arguing that they provide an alternative and radical conception of the role of law in everyday life. While acknowledging the substantial differences between the two utopian communities, she notes that they both share one fundamental aspect – they lack obvious legal systems and overt legal regulation (at least in a formal sense). For Harding these utopian texts offer inspiration for changing the way relationships and parenting are regulated. She asserts that "[i]nstead of accepting that marriage is the way that the state regulates relationships, or that people should live in nuclear family units, or that parenting necessarily needs to be linked to genetic ties, both of these utopian societies place their emphasis on community, friendship and explicitly valuing all relationships." (p. 173)

Legal scholarship, even in its critical manifestations, often loses sight of the fact that law has a life and an impact outside of its formal sites and sources. Harding's theoretical and methodological approach in *Regulating Sexuality* brings this other side of law firmly into view. In doing this she has provided a detailed and nuanced account of the multiple ways law is understood, employed and contested in the everyday lives of lesbians and gay men. Further, this book makes a valuable contribution to broader debates around the relationship between law and social change and is a clear demonstration of both the opportunities and risks inherent in law reform and legislative change.

Author Note

Rhys Aston is a PhD candidate and part time tutor in the School of Law at Flinders University. His research interests include legal theory, social theory, and legal pluralism. His current research project is an investigation of the ways in which people appropriate and use law and legal ideas outside of state-based frameworks.

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Invitation to Participate
'Generational Sexualities' - A one-day event to bring different generations of Sexualities researchers into dialogue

Date: 27th September 2011 (Tuesday)
Venue: St. Antony's College, University of Oxford

Population ageing brings both challenges and opportunities to individuals, communities and societies. At the same time, it has brought into focus issues around ageing, life course and intergenerational relationships. However, it has been argued that only until relatively recently have 'age' and 'generations' been given explicit attention in the contemporary study of sexualities (Plummer 2010).

This workshop themed 'Generational Sexualities' aims to bring different generations of sexualities researchers into dialogue, to share their experience of conducting research in the respective historical and cultural contexts. It discusses the socialization and research environments that different generations of sexualities researchers find themselves in, and how these may have impacted their research agenda, methodologies and outcomes.

Speakers: Professor Ken Plummer, Professor Jeffrey Weeks, Professor Diane Richardson, Professor Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, Dr. Jon Binnie, Professor Stephen Whittle OBE

This event is FREE for British Sociological Association members and members of St. Antony's College, University of Oxford. It only costs £25 for non-BSA members to attend. A light lunch is provided for the participants. Places are limited for the event to facilitate discussions. Please make your booking as soon as possible, via the British Sociological Association website:

http://bsas.esithosting.co.uk/public/event/events.aspx

Please contact Tung Suen, University of Oxford, at yiu.suen@sociology.ox.ac.uk for any further information or visit

http://www.britsoc.co.uk/NR/rdonlyres/AEA06C25-F594-477E-BB27-6B60E7E6D8BE/0/
BSAPGOxford_20110622.pdf

Preparation, submission and publication guidelines

Types of articles that we typically consider:

A)

Empirical articles (6000 word max)	Research in brief: Reviews of a favourite or trouble-
Theoretical pieces	some article/book chapter that you have read
Commentary on LGBTI issues and psychology	and would like to comment on

B)

Conference reports/conference abstracts	Book reviews (please contact the Editor for a list
Practitioner's reports/field notes	of books available & review guidelines)
Political/media style reports of relevant issues	Promotional material for LGBT relevant issues

The Review also welcomes proposals for special issues and guest Editors.

Each submission in section A should be prepared for blind peer-review if the author wishes. If not, submissions will still be reviewed, but the identity of the author may be known to the reviewer. Submissions for blind review should contain a title page that has all of the author(s) information, along with the title of the submission, a short author note (50 words or less), a word count and up to 5 key words. The remainder of the submission should not identify the author in any way, and should start on a new page with the submission title followed by an abstract and then the body of the text. Authors who do not require blind review should submit papers as per the above instructions, the difference being that the body text may start directly after the key words.

Each submission in section B should contain the author(s) information, title of submission (if relevant), a short author note (50 words or less) and a word count, but need not be prepared for blind review.

All submissions must adhere to the rules set out in the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (fifth edition), and contributors are encouraged to contact the Editor should they have any concerns with this format as it relates to their submission. Spelling should be Australian (e.g., 'ise') rather than American ('ize'), and submissions should be accompanied with a letter stating any conflicts of interest in regards to publication or competing interests. Footnotes should be kept to a minimum. References should be listed alphabetically by author at the end of the paper. For example:

Journal Articles: Riggs, D.W. (2004). The politics of scientific knowledge: Constructions of sexuality and ethics in the conversion therapy literature. *Lesbian & Gay Psychology Review*, 5, 16-24.
Books: Kitzinger, C. (1987). *The social construction of lesbianism.* London: Sage.
Edited Books: Coyle, A. & Kitzinger, C. (Eds.) (2002). *Lesbian & gay psychology*. Oxford: BPS Blackwell.
Book Chapters: MacBride-Stewart, S. (2004). Dental dams: A parody of straight expectations in the promotion of 'safer' lesbian sex. In D.W. Riggs & G.A. Walker (Eds.), *Out in the antipodes: Australian and New Zealand perspectives on gay and lesbian issue in psychology* (pp.393-416). Perth: Brightfire Press.

References within the text should be listed in alphabetical order separated by a semi-colon, page numbers following year. For example:

(Clarke, 2001; Peel, 2001; Riggs & Walker, 2004)
(Clarke, 2002a; b) (MacBride-Stewart, 2004, p. 398)

Authors should avoid the use of *sexist, racist* and *heterosexist language.* Authors should follow the guidelines for the use of non-sexist language provided by the American Psychological Society.

Papers should be submitted in Word format: title bold 14 points all caps left aligned, author 12 points all caps left aligned, abstract 10 points italics justified , article text 10 points justified, footnotes 9 points justified.

All submissions should be sent to the Editor, either via email (preferred): damien.riggs@adelaide.edu.au, or via post: School of Psychology, The University of Adelaide, South Australia, 5005.