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**LGBTQ Youth, Physical Education, and Sexuality Education:
Affect, Curriculum, and (New) Materialism**

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the affective experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth in physical and sexuality education. In so doing, I draw on curriculum and new materialist theories to explore the ways in which particular events influenced the lives of LGBTQ students and their senses of self. As part of a five-month ethnography with LGBTQ youth, I asked questions about their experiences in school-based health and physical education. I wanted to address the prime research question: *How do LGBTQ youth perceive that they are affected by physical and sexuality education, and how do they perceive to generate affect in physical and sexuality education?*

The above question was explored using a (new) materialist and critical ethnographic lens, with an LGBTQ support group named QueerTEENS. The majority of data used for this project was generated using ethnographic interviews with 60 LGBTQ youth between the ages of 13 and 25. The youth ranged in LGBTQ identities including, but not limited to, queer, gay, lesbian, transmasculine, transfeminine, and bisexual. In order to explore the experiences of the LGBTQ youth, I drew on curricular and new materialist theories.

The findings suggest that as an academic subject, health and physical education consistently oscillates between moments of stasis and change. In particular, the curricular aligned practices tend to striate practices to reproduce traditional notions of health, gender, and sexuality. These traditional practices may also limit the expressions of LGBTQ youth in schools. Despite this, LGBTQ students are constantly affecting the field of health and physical education by influencing teachers, curriculum, and practices to shift to be more inclusive. As a result, the field is forced to swing toward moments of transformation in order to stay relevant with youth culture. This thesis then, explores the complex potential of health and physical education to reinforce normative discourses while also affecting change in schools.

Dedication

Mom and Dad, you were the first who taught me to think for others. Dad, your work ethic is an inspiration. You dedicated your life to your children and we have undoubtedly benefitted from your love and tireless support. Mom, I am grateful to have inherited your wit, thoughtfulness, and trailblazing nature. You taught me that my words and actions produce affects in the world. You have always been a brazen advocate for those who are in need. Both of you have instilled values and qualities that have shaped me into the person I am today. I only hope that I make you as proud to be your son as I am to have you as parents. This is for you.

Acknowledgements

We are moved by things. And in being moved, we make things.

Ahmed, 2010, p. 33

This thesis simply would not exist if not for the individual guidance, immeasurable dedication, and brilliance of my supervisors.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Some bodies are in an instant judged as suspicious, or as dangerous, as objects to be feared, a judgement that is lethal. There can be nothing more dangerous to a body than the social agreement that that body is dangerous. We can simplify: it is dangerous to be perceived as dangerous. (Ahmed, 2017, p. 143)



Picture taken by Staff QueerTEENS

Every February in Auckland, “Pride Season” takes center stage. The season starts with a variety showcase called “The Auckland Pride Gala” that includes cabaret, theatre, and an assortment of arts-based and cultural performances. There is also an event called “The Big Gay Out” in which several business organizations “Come Out” to Coyle Park in Point Chevalier for a weekend to showcase their “rainbow pride” (and business products) to be consumed, purchased, or advertised. In addition, several health agencies attend to promote services and social awareness around mental and sexual health issues unique to the queer community. The headline event, however, is the Auckland Pride Parade, which shuts down Ponsonby Road as it is filled with rainbows, glitter, balloons, advertisements, logos, health products, floats, music, costumes, and queer bodies and subjects. For the three weeks of Pride Season, the abnormal becomes normal. The deviant transitions into the celebrated. The illicit and dangerous become courageous and audacious. Indeed, the event has an affective intensity that mobilizes passions, emotions, and sensations, which transform bodies, subjects, and

events across the city. For these three weeks, the dangerous subject of gender and sexual diversity is transformed into a murky space of celebration and affirmation.

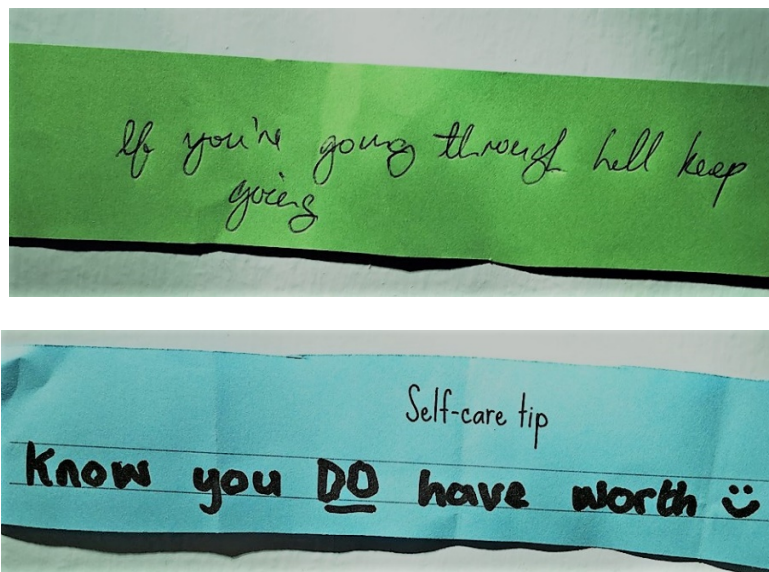
The overall message of pride season aims to work towards inclusiveness, wellness, and self-expression. The reality, however, is that these messages are juxtaposed with the daily realities of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth in local schools and communities. As shown in the picture below, during the ‘Big Gay Out,’ I volunteered at a booth sponsored by the group QueerTEENS¹. The picture used below (by QueerTEENS and effects added to it) is of me volunteering at the QueerTEENS booth. The booth was set up to attract and introduce LGBTQ youth to services that QueerTEENS provides to the community (discussed in chapter 4). To entice students to the booth, we offered multiple fun activities (e.g., ribbon making, coloring sheets). One of the activities the group promoted



Picture taken by QueerTEENS, Effects added by Dillon Landi

¹ *QueerTEENS (pseudonym) is a charitable organization that serves sex, gender, and sexuality diverse youth across New Zealand. It also served as the main setting for this research.*

involved participants taking and leaving small papers filled with self-care tips. For this activity, we set up large glass cookie jars at the booth. We asked youth who approached the booth to take a self-care tip from the jar a cookie jar and read it. After reading it, we asked that young person to write and leave a self-care tip for another person. I've included photographs below of two self-care tips that LGBTQ-identified youth wrote. They are simultaneously disturbing, encouraging, and sobering.



The first self-care tip shown above, “If you’re going through hell, keep going,” felt troubling to me. This quote has been attributed to Winston Churchill as a message to promote resilience and perseverance (Loftus, 2012). This sentence was written for the LGBTQ youth who face obstacles, oppression, and homophobia in their everyday lives. Despite the negativity and subjugation they endure in their schools, homes, and communities, the message this LGBTQ youth chose was simple: “keep going.” These words served as a sobering reminder that many LGBTQ youth do not “keep going” and are lost at premature ages because of the discriminatory environments that encapsulate their lives (Haas et al., 2010). The second self-care tip pictured above, on the other hand, felt like a symbol of hope: “Know you DO have worth.” This message, and the manner in which it was written (with DO underlined and written in capital letters), conveyed affective capacities that LGBTQ youth

have value and deserve happiness. The person who wrote this hopeful message spoke back to the negative experiences that position LGBTQ youth as worthless (Peter, Taylor, & Campbell, 2016). These messages stuck with me throughout my time working with the young participants. These young people's written words continue to remind me of the multiple dimensions of their lives and the many challenges they face every day.

The pull of these messages, the positive events of pride season, and the realities of everyday life for LGBTQ youth could not be forgotten as I moved towards and through writing this thesis. As such, in this thesis, I want to consider being LGBTQ as a *happening*. That is, being LGBTQ involves affect (affecting things and being affected by things). In particular, I am keen to explore how being LGBTQ in schools, and more specifically in health and physical education, direct youth toward certain lived experiences. Like Ahmed (2010a), I want to offer a method that conceptualizes “affect as ‘sticky.’ Affect is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and object” (p. 29). Given this, I will draw on the words of LGBTQ youth to explore what “stuck” with them from their health and physical education experiences, and I will examine how these events relate to broader cultural issues around gender and sexuality. To accomplish these goals, the research question that guided this inquiry was simple, yet complex, open, and porous:

How do LGBTQ youth perceive that they are affected by physical and sexuality education, and how do they perceive to generate affect in physical and sexuality education?

New Zealand: LGBTQ issues in education

New Zealand holds an international reputation for being a progressive and liberal panacea. U.S. Supreme Court Justice (and feminist liberal icon) Ruth Bader Ginsburg acknowledged this reputation in 2016 when asked about the possibility of Donald Trump becoming president and she responded, “Now it’s time for us to move to New Zealand” (Liptak, 2016). In fact, New Zealand is often celebrated for being the first country to grant

women the right to vote (History.com Editors, 2010). With the Human Rights Act of 1993, New Zealand also created one of the most advanced human rights legislations (Human Rights Act, 1993), which made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of gender and sexuality (Gunn & Smith, 2015). Furthermore, and perhaps most applicable to this research, the *Lonely Planet* travel guide ranked New Zealand the second most “gay friendly” place to visit in the world (Zeihner, 2014). Yet, when exploring the lived experiences of LGBTQ youth in New Zealand, the flattering liberal narrative gets a little sticky. Gunn and Smith (2015) called for a more nuanced view of LGBTQ experiences: “research suggests, however, that New Zealand’s relatively ‘inclusive’ social climate is not always reflected in our educational settings” (p. 9).

New Zealand has sexual history. Fitzpatrick (2015) noted, “Sexuality discourses that circulate in New Zealand society have their roots in our colonial history, and are invariably based in British epistemologies that were, and continue to be, underpinned by Christian discourses of the body, sex and gender” (p. 119). Like many Western cultures, New Zealand has a history of perceiving children as “at-risk” and in need of saving from “corrupting” forces like sex and sexuality (Gunn & Smith, 2015). Fears about how sexuality and corruption are connected led Allen (2007a) to contend that schools are invested in constructing students as non-sexual subjects. Furthermore, historical links to religious discourses have promoted heterosexuality as the normal and preferred sexual orientation (Foucault, 1978; Warner, 1993). New Zealand schools have often been characterized as heteronormative (Carpenter & Lee, 2010; Quinlivan, 1999), but evidence shows that such entrenched heteronormative beliefs oscillate between stasis and change (L. A. Smith, 2015). Thus, emerging research in education and health has explored LGBTQ youth’s experiences in schools.

The Adolescent Health Research Group has conducted the most comprehensive quantitative research exploring LGBTQ youth experiences in New Zealand schools to date

(Lucassen, Clark, Moselen, Robinson, & The Adolescent Health Research Group, 2014). The Adolescent Health Research Group (2014) found that more than six percent of students over the age of 16 identify as attracted to the same sex or both sexes in New Zealand.

Furthermore, an additional three percent of students above the age of 16 claimed they were questioning who they were attracted to, or they claimed that they were not attracted to any gender (a-sexual) (ibid.). Given the above information, it is estimated that close to 10% of New Zealand students identify as LGBTQ or a-sexual. When we consider the above insights in relation to school culture, these statistics are important because schools become “environments that are challenging and discriminatory” (Lucassen et al., 2014, p. 5) for LGBTQ youth; this has the ability to affect their health and wellbeing. Thus, it is critical to explore students’ school experiences because sexuality is taught in New Zealand institutions through explicit formal curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b, 2015), LGBTQ groups (McGlashan & Fitzpatrick, 2017; Quinlivan, 2015), and implicitly through student interactions (Allen, 2014; Youdell, 2011). Health and physical education classes are one place in particular that acts as a *sticky* intersection between these three areas.

A sticky subject: Health and physical education

Health and physical education is a sticky subject. In New Zealand, health and physical education is compulsory for all students (Ministry of Education, 2007b) up until the age of about 14 (Fitzpatrick, 2013b). Therefore, students are stuck in health and physical education even if they do not want to be there. The subject is also sticky because it has retained, or been affected by, historical practices. Much like physical education practices in the United Kingdom and Australia (Kirk, 1998), physical education in New Zealand has historically focused on physical and militarized training of boys’ bodies in preparation for war (B. Stothart, 2000a). Women’s physical education, on the other hand, was framed by dance and

gymnastics systems to prepare the body for womanhood (and being mothers) (Burrows, 2000; B. Stothart, 2000a).

Notably, around the middle of the 20th century, physical education went through a massive shift to “the inclusion of *sport-techniques* into the core of the practice...” which “...was in its time a revolution for the subject” (Kirk, 2010a, p. 5). Kirk was critical of the decontextualized nature of the practice (as techniques) because these lack authentic experiences. Yet, the ethos (or what Kirk called “the idea of the idea of physical education”) is currently stuck in “*physical education-as-sport techniques*” practices. This ethos lingers within physical education despite the fact that it has been critiqued by several physical educators (Joy Butler, 2016; Joy Butler & McCahan, 2005; L. Griffin & Butler, 2005; Kirk, 2010a).

To make matters *stickier*, sport also has a gendered history. Nancy Theberge (1981) made perhaps the most poignant statement regarding the checkered history of gender and sport when she claimed sport was conceptualized “as a fundamentally sexist institution that is male dominated and masculine orientation” (p. 342). Indeed, most modern team sports developed within the male-dominated contexts of England’s public institutions in the 1800’s (Chandler, 1996). This is not to say, however, that sport was developed with the explicit aim to assert masculine dominance over feminine subjects. Rather, sport manifested in a period where such power relations affected the organization of sport (Pringle, 2007). As such, sport does work to assert gender differences (typically between boys and girls), and this tends to include power relations that are inherent within larger cultural discourses.

One need not look far to examine how sport (re-)produces cultural differences between genders. For example, starting at young ages, boys and girls are split into distinct leagues, sports, and teams based on gender (Messner, 2002). Sport uniforms have also historically been designed to disguise women’s bodies whilst propagating men’s physiques

(H. Lenskyj, 1986). Historically within New Zealand, young boys tended to be shuffled into rugby, whilst young girls were encouraged into netball (Nauright & Broomhall, 2007; Pringle & Markula, 2005). As such practices endure, Griffin (1998) has argued that modern sport functions to reinforce privileged forms of masculinities and heterosexuality in culture. Specific to New Zealand, Thompson (Thompson, 1999) argued that organized sport tends to relegate women to “support roles” (such as driving and cooking) that work to further entrench stereotypical views of gender in society.

Others have argued that sport is a more complex phenomenon, as are gendered discourses. For example, Cox and Pringle (2011) used a genealogical method to show that women were not passive subjects serving at the whims of men in sport. In Cox and Pringle’s (2011) New Zealand-based study, women soccer players were initially not given access to fields, referees, or soccer leagues. Yet, dedicating their service and time to roles like cooking and cleaning in soccer clubs earned women access to the fields. As these women played more often, they inspired community members to shift their views around women and soccer. Therefore, Cox and Pringle (2011) found that sport was not a simple chauvinistic space. Instead, it was a messy, complex, and contested field filled with the potential to entrench norms but also to transform them. I agree with Cox and Pringle’s assertion that topics in health and physical education are not simple and this is also true in the history of gender in physical education as well.

Historically, physical education has an ethos of differentiating curricula, students, and teachers (amongst other things) by gender (Scruton, 1992). There is a notable ‘dominant narrative’ (Oliver & Kirk, 2015b) that physical education is a ‘problem’ for young girls and women. In a reflection on curriculum and pedagogy in physical education, Dewar (1990) claimed, “Sport pedagogy may have changed how we teach but what is being taught remains essentially the same. Like it or not, most physical education programmes in schools still have

a strong white, bourgeois male bias” (p. 74). Yet, this ‘dominant narrative’ is not so straightforward. For example, Fletcher (1984) traced the historical legacy of women crafting and influencing physical education teacher education programs. As such, the dominant narrative that gets recycled does not actually represent the complex reality of women in physical education. One such example of this was when Vertinsky (1992) noted the flurry of legislation attempting to make things equal for boys and girls during the 1960s and 1970s. According to Vertinsky, however, equal access does not mean equality. As such, when physical education was integrated, researchers claimed the interaction actually led to marginalization of women and girls in different ways because they received less playing time, teacher attention, and focus (P. Griffin, 1989a). Indeed, young women and girls were blamed for such marginalization under the claim that they had the wrong attitude for physical education (Vertinsky, 1992). Again, such simple explanations do not take into countenance the complexity of the field. To address this complexity, I draw on (new) materialist theories (Fox & Alldred, 2017) and particularly Deleuze and Guattari’s (1983, 1987) work to explore the diverse affects that are produced in an ostensibly “stuck” subject: health and physical education.

Up to this point, much of my argument has surrounded topics related to sport and physical education. Yet, health education also has a significant history in New Zealand. Early formations of health education in New Zealand were concerned with public health issues (Fitzpatrick, 2013b). Furthermore, health education and physical education were historically distinct subjects. In 1999, however, the subjects merged to become health and physical education (Ministry of Education, 1999). Yet, much of what goes on in the name of health and physical education still retains normative practices established prior to the merge, and physical education certainly dominates (Fitzpatrick & Burrows, 2017). According to the Ministry of Education (2007b), health and physical education is expected to cover mental

health, sexuality education, food and nutrition, body care and physical safety, physical activity, sport studies, and outdoor education. Health and physical education then is a broad subject. Defining this subject with the participants in this study was difficult, so (as the methodology will later show) I kept the questions broad and allowed students' perceptions of the words "health and physical education" to guide the research.

When considering definitions, Kirk (1992a) argued, "The act of defining physical education is a social process, one which involves drawing on ideas in general circulation, and fixing these ideas in a meaningful configuration" (p. 25). I applied Kirk's last point in this excerpt as a focal point in my research. For my focus with LGBTQ youth, covering all of the topics included in health and physical education would not have been a meaningful configuration. Instead, through a social process, I worked with students to produce the boundaries of what we meant by health and physical education. In this research, when the LGBTQ youth discussed health and physical education with me, meant it included topics that occurred in the gymnasium or lessons in the health education classroom that were connected to movement concepts. I chose to examine health and physical education in this way because to date, there have not been any serious attempts to conduct in-depth investigations of current LGBTQ youth perceptions and experiences in physical education. It should be noted that despite being a merged subject, health education often suffers from disproportionate instructional time (Fitzpatrick & Burrows, 2017). Therefore, my thesis seeks to understand how LGBTQ youth perceived, and were affected by, their human movement experiences in physical education. In other words, instead of stating unequivocally what physical education is, I was interested in with what the subject does—what are its' affects with LGBTQ youth.

Despite the smaller time allocated to health education in schools, the LGBTQ youth in this study had a keen interest in discussing sexuality education, so they were also interested in health education (of which sexuality education is a part). I believe there are (at least) two

reasons for their focus on sexuality education. One, the students were heavily *affected* by their sexuality education classes in school. In many cases, I did not even bring up sexuality education as a topic for discussion. The students explicitly brought up how they felt disenfranchised, ill informed, or in some cases, rejuvenated because of their sexuality education experiences. Therefore, sexuality education had a “stickiness” to it that compelled students to speak out. Second, much of my study took place in a charitable organization called QueerTEENS (pseudonym). As an organization, QueerTEENS worked to sexually educate LGBTQ youth on safe and practical sexual health lessons in relation to sex, gender, sexuality, relationships, diversity, and identity. Therefore, the LGBTQ youth in my study were highly sexually educated individuals and were well positioned to critically evaluate their experiences in school-based sexuality education. Thus, the focus of the study broadened to include both physical education and sexuality education. Therefore, while I use the term health and physical education throughout this thesis, I acknowledge that it is not inclusive of the definition as provided by the Ministry of Education (2007b). Rather, in the context of this study, I am referring mainly to physical education and sexuality education.

My affective journey: Why me? Why now?

I have previously stated that writing about myself is extremely personal and vulnerable (Landi, 2018). That has not changed. I consider this research project to be a massive responsibility. I take my obligation seriously and am committed to properly representing the words (gifts, really) that these LGBTQ youth have given me. I find that researching, writing, and reading about this topic continues to be unsettling, empowering, and, well, *sticky* for me. I vigorously care about this research because these issues have brought me to tears personally, but I have also shed tears from hearing or experiencing other people’s stories. There were nights during this project when I left QueerTEENS crying,

wondering, and worrying for some of these youth. Yet I always woke up the next morning ready to go again for another day, another night, another meeting.

This project is the culmination of a 32-year project of the self, which inevitably includes others. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) quipped, “Since each of us was several, there was already quite a crowd” (p. 3). I am several. There are parts of me that do not belong to me, yet they form who I am. My family members are included in such parts, and I continually try to make them proud. My supervisors comprise other parts—those who know Katie and Richard will be able to tell where they have affected me. The youth in this study are parts that make me realize I am an “Old man” (Oakley’s nickname for me) and inspire me to reconsider and revise my thoughts. Therefore, this research is yet another way for me to add to the long-standing project of working on my-(our)-self. Foucault (1988) said it best: “I worked like a dog my whole life...Do you think I have worked like that all those years to say the same thing and not to be changed?” (p. 131). This began as a project of the self, but since this issue affects most (if not all) LGBTQ children, youth, and adults, I also focused on others—because we are quite a crowd. Therefore, not only am I trying to change who I am and what I do, with this thesis I am attempting to change what happens in the name of health and physical education (Kirk, 2010a). As such, I used a critical ethnographic approach (J. Thomas, 1993) to investigate the lives of LGBTQ youth and asked questions and inquired about their experiences in health and physical education.

This thesis would not be the same if I had not come out of the closet at some point. So, here goes nothing: I loved sport and physical education. As a gay man, to claim I love sport is pretty difficult. I believe, however, it is important to discuss in order to provide some background about why this issue is critical to me: Growing up, I played multiple sports: wrestling, baseball, football, and swimming. As an athlete, however, there was an affective machine working within my body that I liken to a toy jack-in-the-box. A jack-in-the-box

works when a person cranks the attached handle; each time the handle completes a revolution, a spring coil inside gets wound tighter. At some point, the tension builds within the box until it forces the box open and shoots a toy (usually an animal) out of the top of the box. As a closeted gay youth, I felt there were many factors that cranked my handle and produced tensions and gut-wrenching events in my life. Sport and physical education, on the other hand, were places where I was rarely questioned about my sexuality, because of my contribution to the team. Therefore, for much of my upbringing, I used sport and physical education as a refuge because in those contexts I did not have to come to terms with sexuality, at least not publicly (Pronger, 1990).

Yet, as a senior in high school and early in University, I started to realize I could not continue to ignore the way I felt. In fact, by ignoring my sexuality I was cranking my own handle and producing greater tension and turmoil in my body. Once I did come out of the closet (pop goes the weasel!), I was treated differently by coaches, team members, and even by friends. This left me with what Niccolini (2016c) described as “residues of affect, remainders signaling we’ve been affected and have processed the affection” (Niccolini, 2016c, p. 66). I am still processing that affection to this day. Getting a Master of Education (EdM) from Columbia University, being a health and physical educator, and focusing on LGBTQ issues have helped me process that affect. Moving 14,000 kilometers from home to study these topics with the leading experts in the field is still helping me process that affect. This project is personal (and social) for me and has been part of a continual process as I work to produce and unfold affects. Therefore, this thesis is not just a project—it is a process of inquiry (L. Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). As an ongoing process, this thesis does not have an end, because it is meant to evoke affects. As such, the words that fill this manuscript are meant to stir emotions, arouse feelings, and trigger affects that hopefully connect with others and instigate change for LGBTQ youth in the field.

I am writing this thesis now because I recognize how physical and sexuality education impacted me as an athletic gay youth. As a former athlete, health teacher, and physical educator, I have worked for years to affect change and lessen the social and emotional burden for future LGBTQ youth. Despite my earnest efforts, society continues to generate new issues, especially for LGBTQ-identified youth in schools. We need to work *with* current LGBTQ youth to explore and experiment (Quinlivan, 2018) new ways of dismantling the prejudice and negative messages youth receive, particularly in physical and sexuality education. This thesis is a culmination of my vision to create social and educational change and inspiring the community to work together with emotion, vitality, and connectedness.

Thesis affects: What this thesis will do

In this thesis, I draw on the theoretical tools of (new) materialism (Fox & Alldred, 2017) and specifically the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987), to explore the perceived experiences of LGBTQ youth in health and physical education. One such theoretical tool that I use in depth in later chapters is affect. For now, I draw attention to how Thrift (2007) describes affect as a “constant war on frozen states” (p. 5). Therefore, affect tends to decenter the focus from description (what something is) towards a focus on what something does or how things are transformed. In so doing, when I use the term affect, I am referring to transformative processes, or movements, *and* the results of these processes (what are usually referred to as effects). The reason why affect is used in this way, understood as both a process *and* product, is to disrupt the binary posited between affects and effects. In other words, affects lead to effects, which in turn lead to additional affects (and then effects). By using affect in this way, an emphasis is placed on continuity (and... and... and...) rather than discontinuity. In this thesis I examine the affects, or transformations, experienced by LGBTQ youth in health and physical education. Thus, I focus on affective events that have

the ability to augment and/or diminish LGBTQ youth in relation to health and human movement.

When I first moved to New Zealand, I did not know many people, and I lived alone because my partner at the time had yet to move from New Jersey. Katie, my supervisor, was perceptive to my dip in affect. One week she was going out of town and asked if I wanted to watch her dog, Jethro. Katie knew I loved Jethro and staying with him would be a way to cheer me up. One morning, I was sleeping in bed with Jethro at my feet. I heard a loud snap that woke me up in a bit of a panic. I looked over at my furry friend and realized he was just snapping at the air. Jethro has an obsessive-compulsive behavior called “fly-snapping syndrome,” that inspires him to snap his jaw even when there are no flies. Whenever Jethro got happy, scared, excited, or sometimes just in random moments, he would fling his head upward and sporadically snap his jaws in the air. Jethro’s fly-snapping syndrome provides an appropriate example for affect theorizing. Affect is not a new concept in critical social theories (Blackman, 2013; Niccolini, 2016a, 2016c). The concept has a long-standing tradition in connection to power, emotions, and feelings (Ahmed, 2004; Grosz, 1995). If Jethro represents critical theories, his snaps embody the affective turn in cultural studies (Clough & Halley, 2007). The snaps represent those agitating and enlivening issues that have lingered, or *stuck* (Ahmed, 2010a) over time.

The stories and words that comprise this thesis then, are those jolts or ticks that produce affects in the body, like the self-care tips that students put in the cookie jar. Some of the events I discuss were produced through moments of happiness and others came out of fear. Affect then is a concept used to explore the intersection of feelings, events, and what they can do. In particular, I am looking at what these affects do to LGBTQ youth in health and physical education. I am also interested in exploring the ways that LGBTQ youth claim

they affect physical and sexuality education. By exploring these affects, or experiments (Quinlivan, 2018), I argue that we can transform the field to be more inclusive.

I am not claiming that what these students do to affect the field will produce a foolproof way to improve health and physical education. Like Lesko and Talburt (2012), I too am critical of “pan-optimistic” (p. 287) research that produces fairy-tale student-led solutions to the complex issues of education. Rather, I am interested in the messiness and complexity and the progressions and regressions that unfold when students take the reins to their health and physical education. Therefore, I am looking for those affects that “interrupt the flow of meaning that’s taking place...interactions that are happening and functions that are being fulfilled. Because of that, they are irruptions of something that doesn’t fit” (Massumi, 2015b, pp. 8-9). Fitting, however, is an important part of any culture and affect allows us to examine how things fit together, are affected by each other, but also how they differ. Thus, affect is an important tool to use in relation to LGBTQ youth in health and physical education because although these subjects appear antagonistic they are interconnected.

Quivering quilt: Where this thesis fits with previous work

and...and...and...

(Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 25)

A certain type of thinking emerged out of the Enlightenment that favors linearity, progression, and hierarchies. Such approaches have been labeled “positivism” within sociological studies in education (Apple, 2006; St. Pierre, 2000b; K. J. Strom & Martin, 2017). I am less concerned with what the logic is called, because I prefer to examine what such approaches of logic produce (its affects). As such, my concern is with how it works to segment, divide, and label varying parts to separate them from the whole. Perhaps the most famous example is Descartes (N. Smith & Taylor, 2005), who claimed the mind is separate

and superior to the body. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) labeled this binary logic as “the oldest and weariest kind of thought” (p. 5). They go on to contend:

Nature doesn’t work that way: in nature, roots are taproots with a more multiple, lateral, and circular system of ramification, rather than a dichotomous one. Thought lags behind nature. (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 25)

The Ph.D. thesis is an exercise in logic or thought. For example, a major requirement of completing the doctoral thesis is to make a *new* contribution to the field. Yet, the concept of *new* is itself, fundamentally, quite *sticky*. Indeed, it was Sir Isaac Newton (binary logician?) that emphatically claimed, “If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants” (Merton, 1993, p. 1). Yet, as I type these words onto this page, I do not feel like I am standing on top of anyone. Let me clarify—I do not feel that I am *above* anyone or have a *better* line of sight. Rather, I find myself lucky to be standing beside (Sedgwick, 2003) some of the amazing thinkers I reference in this thesis. Sedgwick maintained:

Beside permits a spacious agnosticism about several of the linear logics that enforce dualistic thinking: noncontradiction or the law of the excluded middle, cause versus effect, subject versus object. Its interest does not, however, depend on a fantasy of metonymically egalitarian or even pacific relations, as any child knows who’s shared a bed with siblings. Beside comprises a range of desiring, identifying, representing, repelling, paralleling, differentiating, rivaling, leaning, twisting, mimicking, withdrawing, attracting, aggressing, warping, and other relations. (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 8).

Besides serves as a better illustration of where this thesis sits in relation to other theorizing in the field. Growing up, my best friend’s younger sister Amina struggled with many different fears. For example, she would twinge at the loud clap of thunder, or her legs would tremor when she attempted to jump off the diving board at the pool. Her mother recognized these

affectively charged moments and made her a quilt, which I called the quivering quilt. Every time Amina experienced an affectively loaded event (major hurricane, new diving board, sleeping over a friend's house), her mother would sew an additional patch *beside* those that had come before. These patches varied in patterns, colors, and materials, but the quilt did not vertically overpower Amina. Instead, the patches were attached horizontally *beside* the others, and each patch was comprised of people, places, feelings, and experiences. As the quilt aggregated more patches, it served to comfort Amina and the others who laid or sat beside her.

I carefully consider this thesis to be a single patch in the ever-growing quivering quilt of health and physical education and of LGBTQ awareness. This study has been affected by, and is connected to (with varying levels of proximities) much of the (patch-)work that has come before it. So, while I use the theoretical frame of “new” materialism, I do not mean to suggest that this theory rivals work that lays beside it. Rather, it is interconnected to and affected by previous work and thus creates a patchwork that continually forms an assemblage of diverse studies to increase epistemological diversity (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013). I also do not mean to suggest that this work is the next wave of research. I readily admit that many of the propositions I make in this thesis have been asserted, albeit differently (and probably in much more sophisticated ways) and in varying locations, across the world. Therefore, my purpose is not to build on the previous literature but to situate this thesis beside such insights and highlight their interconnected nature. Below, I outline how the rest of this thesis unfolds.

Outline of Thesis

In this thesis, I intend to examine the perceived affects that occur at the intersection of health and physical education and LGBTQ youth. The next three chapters will outline the literature, theoretical tools, and methods that informed this paper:

- Chapter 2 provides background and previous literature at the intersection of new materialist theory, LGBTQ research, physical education, and sexuality education.
- Chapter 3 outlines a (new) materialist theoretical lens in health and physical education. I will draw on concepts from the philosophies of Deleuze and Guattari (1987).
- Chapter 4 outlines a (new) materialist and critical (Carspecken, 1996; J. Thomas, 1993) ethnography. I will draw on Fox and Alldred's (2015a, 2015b, 2017, 2018) conceptualization of research methods using (new) materialist theories.

Chapters 5-9 are the results chapters. In these chapters, I explore particular affective events or instances where health and physical education and LGBTQ youth were affected. More specifically, the topics I cover include:

- Chapter 5 examines specific pedagogical events in physical education that produce affects that limit queer youth from being physically active.
- Chapter 6 explores the role queer men's desire plays in physical education and how it is shaped by, and reciprocally affects, the field.
- Chapter 7 examines LGBTQ women's perspectives of fitness testing and the ways in which these young women disrupted fitness testing in physical education.
- Chapter 8 looks at how sexuality education within schools uses curricular assemblages to limit the types of subjectivities and desires students can express.
- Chapter 9 highlights how queer youth "spoke back" to normative sexuality education programs through micro- and macro-politics to shift the normative assemblages of sexuality education.
- Chapter 10 summarizes what this thesis does, but I do not provide a clean ending. Rather, I use this opportunity to offer some ways to shift the health and physical education assemblage toward being more LGBTQ-inclusive.

Each of the above chapters examines complex events comprised of human, curricular, non-human, and abstract bodies. The next chapter covers some of the background literature that informed the original project design.

Chapter 2: Health and physical education matters

One of the most problematic views of curriculum in health and physical education is the simplistic assumption that curriculum is comprised of fixed content, knowledge, or skills to be taught to students (Kirk, 1988). Indeed, curricula are more than facts or content on a page. In other words, the education system “no longer sees the problems of curriculum and teaching as ‘technical’ problems, that is problems of ‘how to.’ The contemporary field of education regards the problems of curriculum and teaching as ‘why’ problems” (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995, p. 8). When the focus shifts from technical aspects (how?) to critical questions (why?), curriculum shifts from being a noun (or a stable thing) and becomes a verb: *currere* (Kincheloe, 1998; Pinar, 1992; Pinar et al., 1995) and is an active process (Slattery, 1995). As an active process, curriculum contains norms, social inequities, and hierarchies of values (Ennis & Chen, 1995; Kirk, 1992b). This thesis, therefore, is grounded in previous theorizing that views curriculum as an active process that is never politically neutral (Pinar, 1992). I argue that it is not enough to merely develop curriculum in a chronological and technocratic fashion (Jewett & Bain, 1985), because focus should be placed on *understanding curriculum* (Pinar et al., 1995).

Ways to understand curriculum in health and physical education have been explored in other theoretical approaches using poststructural (Kirk, 1988, 2014a), psychoanalytical and queer (Sykes, 1996, 1998b, 2011), and post-colonial (Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Hokowhitu, 2003; Simon & Azzarito, 2018; Wright, 2006) theories. With the above explorations, curriculum theorizing moved beyond a technocratic view (Apple, 1982; Aronitz & Giroux, 1986; Kirk, 1988) from a sequence of learning content to be transmitted to students (curriculum as a noun). Instead, curriculum became theorized as an active process operating in multiple ways. For example, Eisner (1985) claimed that curriculum can act in explicit, implicit (hidden), and nulled fashions (Eisner, 1985). Eisner used the term ‘explicit curriculum’ to reference the

specific learning behaviors/objectives students were meant to undertake (Kirk, 1988). Eisner (1985) referred to the ‘implicit curriculum’ as hidden lessons that are taught during the pedagogical process. ‘Null curriculum’ (Flinders, Noddings, & Thornton, 1986) often refers to those topics that are omitted, forgotten, or barred from the classroom. Importantly, Eisner (1985) argues that what teachers exclude from the curriculum speaks immense volumes about the values of the field.

In this thesis, I explore all three of the aforementioned concepts (explicit, hidden, and null curricula). For example, in chapter four, I argue the explicit curriculum in physical education is to teach sport skills and fitness. Given that curriculum should be an active process, however, some of the learning in physical education may also be “hidden” (Dodds, 1985; Fernández-Balboa, 1993; Kirk, 1992b). In chapter five, I explore hidden messages and how these messages shaped the way students conceptualized sexuality, health, and desire. Last, in chapter six I explore the null curriculum. I argue that traditional forms of sexuality education nullify and omit LGBTQ issues, bodies, and subjectivities from its space. Importantly, I follow this chapter by examining in chapter nine how LGBTQ youth “spoke back” to this normative practice.

In this thesis, I draw on the above critically informed curriculum theories in conjunction with (new) materialist theories, specifically the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987), and Fox and Alldred (2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2017), because these works in particular question the anthropocentric and humanist concepts of a bounded subject (e.g., whether human subject or academic subject). Thus, I argue that health and physical education is a contested and precarious space (Clarke, 1996; Kirk, 1992a, 2017; McGlashan & Fitzpatrick, 2017; Rasmussen, 2014) produced through material, cultural, psychological, and political forces. So while particular values related to gender and sexuality are nullified, hidden, or explicit because diverse genders and sexualities are present within health and

physical education spaces, they are also prime sites to inquire about the vibrant affects these subjects produce.

Health and physical education in New Zealand: A critical legacy

Health and physical education in New Zealand, like Australia (Cliff, 2012), holds a unique position in the world because of its critical orientation. In 1999, the separate subjects of health education and physical education merged into a single academic subject area in the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999). Health and physical education is one of eight overarching learning areas (e.g., Science, Social Sciences, English) that schools are mandated to deliver to New Zealand youth. Each learning area has its own aims, yet all eight learning areas are aligned with the overall vision of the New Zealand Curriculum: “Young people who will be confident, connected, actively involved, lifelong learners” (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 7). The curriculum is also underpinned by guiding principles like cultural diversity, innovation, and student identities. By drawing on terms like diversity, social justice, and student identities, the curriculum document openly recognizes that “School knowledge is not politically and culturally neutral, but on the contrary embodies and communicates the interests and values” (Kirk, 1992a, p. 2) of key curriculum framers. Therefore, the New Zealand curriculum holds a special place in the world because of its alignment with social progress and justice, which is a very unique attribute in the global education field.

New Zealand’s health and physical education curriculum is specifically underpinned by four foundational concepts: (a) attitudes and values, (b) Hauora, (c) health promotion, and (d) socio-ecological perspective. According to the health and physical education curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b), attitudes and values include developing “a positive, responsible attitude on the part of students to their own well-being; respect, care, and concern for other people and the environment; and a sense of social justice” (p. 22). With the focus on

developing positive attitudes and values, the curriculum calls for critically questioning one's own values in relation to how they influence others. Furthermore, students are expected to develop relationships with others in order to work toward social equity. The second concept is Hauora, a Māori philosophy of well-being that illustrates the interconnected nature of health. The concept was adapted from Mason Durie's (1994) concept of "Te Whare Tapa Whā," that likened well-being to a house with four interconnected walls (or health constructs) identified as social well-being, mental well-being, physical well-being, and spiritual well-being. The house analogy effectively illustrates that if one area (or wall) is not tended to, the entire house is in jeopardy. The use of a Māori concept furthers the curricular goals of being inclusive and promoting diverse ethnicities and identities. The third concept, health promotion, has been defined as "a process that helps to develop and maintain supportive physical and emotional environments and that involves students in personal and collective actions" (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 22). The focus on collective actions in the document is particularly important. As Fitzpatrick (2018) noted, "Health promotion in these curricula is thus re-imagined, not as individualistic, but as an opportunity for young people to forward social justice aims, and to advocate and campaign for more equitable schools and communities" (p. 606). The last concept, the socioecological model, represents a view of "understanding the interrelationships that exist between the individual, others, and society" (Ministry of Education, 2007b, p. 22). In New Zealand, this means that health issues are not viewed as individual issues but as interconnected social issues. Furthermore, the focus on social connectedness posits knowledge as socially constructed and therefore takes a critical lens.

New Zealand's application of the above concepts has created a unique environment for health and physical education because it is aligned with social goals and community-based instruction (Culpan & Bruce, 2007). Yet, in actual classrooms, health and physical

education tends not to reflect the vision of the curriculum document (Petrie, 2016). Due to lowered academic status (Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Ovens, 2010; Pope, 2014), lack/redistribution of funding (Powell, 2015; B. Stothart, 2005), trends in political policy-making (Dyson, Landi, & Gordon, 2018), and lack of time for the subject (Gordon, Dyson, Cowan, McKenzie, & Shulruf, 2016; Pope, 2014), much of what the curriculum document intends to achieve gets lost. This is not to say that critical approaches to health and physical education are not done well in New Zealand (Fitzpatrick, 2013b), but these examples tend to be the exception and not the rule. New Zealand serves as an opportune place to investigate LGBTQ students' experiences in health and physical education classes because of this policy/practice fracture. Because LGBTQ youth are supported in policy documents (Ministry of Education, 2007b, 2015), antiquated heteronormative practices are constantly under construction from a variety of directions (e.g., students, administrators, policies, parents). As such, this thesis focuses on LGBTQ students' perspectives and affects within health and physical education.

LGBTQ research in physical education

In 1970, Larry Locke collaborated with his graduate student Mary Jensen to research the heterosexuality of women in physical education teacher education programs. Locke and Jensen (1970) published the results of their quantitative survey exploring the percentage of female physical educators that displayed heterosexual behaviors, observed heterosexual behaviors, and ways in which women in physical education majors were stereotyped. An important finding was that women who were described as “not preferring to marry” were conceptualized as “negative.” While Locke and Jensen did not label these physical educators as lesbians, that was the implicit assumption.

Twelve years later, under a pseudonym, Linn Cobhan (1982) wrote the first publication that explicitly addressed homosexuality in physical education, which was published as a chapter in a Lesbian Studies collection. Cobhan was a secretary in an United

States tertiary physical education department and noted that many lesbian professors stayed in the closet and avoided homosexual topics. Cobhan (1982) boldly challenged the homophobic culture of PE when she stated, “To date, there has been no serious feminist analysis of the place of lesbianism—either actually or philosophically—in sport and physical education” (p. 180). In her chapter, Cobhan voiced concern that the homophobic environment forced women into the closet and concomitantly limited feminist research in the field of sport and physical education.

It took seven years after Cobhan’s groundbreaking chapter before another published article (P. Griffin, 1989b) specifically addressing homophobia in physical education. Griffin (1989) called for specific steps to support LGBTQ students and teachers in classrooms and gymnasias across the country. In 1992, two publications (Woods, 1992; Woods & Harbeck, 1992) explored the lives of lesbian physical educators, marking the first empirical manuscripts to explore LGBTQ issues in physical education. Recently, lisahunter (2019) reasserted Cobhan’s initial revelation, noting the amount of LGBTQ-identified persons within physical education juxtaposed with a lack of LGBTQ scholarship. In this section, I outline the empirical research on LGBTQ issues in physical education. I argue there have been four streams of LGBTQ research in physical education: (a) research on attitudes, perceptions, and climate (b) research on (mostly lesbian) teachers experiences, (c) research on physical education teacher education programs, and (d) research on the reflective experiences of adults. Notably, the only empirical study that involved LGBTQ youth was a large-scale survey where only 3% of the participants were between the ages of 15 and 17 (Denison & Kitchen, 2015).

Research on attitudes, perceptions, and climate. Researchers have investigated the attitudes, perceptions, and climate of physical education from a variety of different perspectives. Research across the world has documented heterosexist, homophobic, and

derogatory remarks and behaviors in physical education (Gill, Morrow, Collins, Lucey, & Schultz, 2010; Morrow & Gill, 2003; Piedra, Ramírez-Macías, Ries, & Rodríguez-Sánchez, 2014; Piedra, Ramírez-Macías, Ries, Rodríguez-Sánchez, & Phipps, 2016; Sykes, 2004). In a variety of settings, between 79% (Piedra et al., 2014) and 91% (Morrow & Gill, 2003) of students and teachers have reported witnessing these behaviors in physical education classes with a frequency ranging from “sometimes” to “often.” Furthermore, while teachers think they are addressing these issues, data indicates that students in the USA, Spain, and Canada believe teachers are not doing enough to help LGBTQ students (Morrow & Gill, 2003; Piedra et al., 2014, 2016; Sykes, 2011). This is extremely problematic because many LGBTQ persons find physical education to be an exclusive place (Denison & Kitchen, 2015).

One of the major problems that has been documented in previous research is that men tend to have increased rates of homophobic attitudes/prejudices compared to women (Gill et al., 2010; Piedra et al., 2014; Saraç, 2012). Given the negative attitudes towards LGBTQ persons in physical education, research has explored physical education teacher candidates’ (university physical education majors) attitudes on the same issue. Several studies illustrated that physical education majors were more likely to be homophobic compared to other university students in the U.S. (Gill et al., 2010; White, Oswalt, Wyatt, & Peterson, 2010), Turkey (Saraç, 2012), and New Zealand (O’Brien, Shovelton, & Latner, 2013). Specific to New Zealand, homophobia toward men was greater than anti-lesbian sentiment (O’Brien et al., 2013). More optimistically, findings in Turkey have shown that if physical education majors had LGBTQ friends, they were more likely to have less prejudicial attitudes toward LGBTQ persons (Saraç, 2012). Additionally, LGBTQ men and women have cited that their experiences in physical education acted as major deterrents against participating in physical activity or sport later in life (Denison & Kitchen, 2015). Given the prevalence of homophobia present throughout the world, and particularly in physical education contexts, it is crucial that

LGBTQ youth have supportive teachers to help develop positive affects toward physical activity. One potential way to increase support from teachers is to have more LGBTQ educators in the field.

Lesbian and gay educators in physical education. The majority of the previous research on LGBTQ issues in physical education has explored the lived experiences of lesbian teachers. Sykes (1996) claimed that previous research on lesbian physical educators had many limitations, but insights from previous research have proven to be valuable in understanding the homophobic and heterosexist discourses that circulate in physical education. To date, the only research exploring gay men's experiences teaching physical education have been Sparkes' fictional autoethnographies (Sparkes, 1996, 1997) and my autoethnography (Landi, 2018). In the 1990s, Clarke found lesbians were discriminated against in schools. More specifically, they often were verbally abused, physically harassed, and their personal belongings (e.g., car, office) were vandalized (Clarke, 1995, 2002). Clarke (1998a) found that many lesbian physical educators remained silent about their sexuality out of fear of being called a lesbian. Educators feared the term because "lesbian" also implied that the teacher was a pedophile or an outcast (Clarke, 1998a; Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Khayatt, 1992)

Given cultural stigmas and incorrect perceptions about lesbian physical educators, lesbian teachers often concealed their sexuality from their students (Clarke, 1997) and other staff members (Clarke, 1995). Sparkes (1994) argued that educators actively concealing their sexuality led to the repression of LGBTQ topics and discussions about LGBTQ rights in physical education. Sykes (1998a) countered Sparkes' (1994) assertion and claimed that concealment and silence can never be fully achieved and further argued that lesbian physical educators often challenged homophobia and heterosexism (Sykes, 2004). What is considered effective physical education practices, however, can be extremely "risky" for lesbians

because of physical education's focus on the body (Paechter, 2000). For example, lesbian physical educators who were out about their sexuality were often questioned when they physically maneuvered students' bodies (Clarke, 1997) or when supervising locker rooms or showers (Clarke, 2002). These "risky situations" inherent to physical and sexuality education meant that lesbian physical educators had to take precautions to protect themselves in schools.

The easiest and most common way lesbian educators protected themselves was by distancing themselves from their students, colleagues, and LGBTQ discussions (Woods, 1992; Woods & Harbeck, 1992). In other words, these teachers built barriers between their personal and professional lives (Clarke, 1997), which is so common it has been referred to as a public-private divide (Sparkes, 1994), living in two worlds (Woods & Harbeck, 1992), and living a double life (Clarke, 1997). Research has also shown, however, that some lesbian physical educators blurred the boundaries between their personal and professional lives by addressing homophobia explicitly in schools (Sykes, 2004) and even sometimes being out of the closet to others in schools (Woods, 1992). In so doing, lesbian physical educators challenged many discourses around sexuality—especially those rooted in masculinities and femininities (Clarke, 1998a; H. Lenskyj, 1991; H. J. Lenskyj, 1997).

Over the last few decades, conditions have certainly improved in schools for LGBTQ educators (Ferfolja & Hopkins, 2013; Harris & Gray, 2014) and physical educators (Edwards, Brown, & Smith, 2016). Despite the notable progress, there are still examples of homophobic and heterosexist practices that gay and lesbian physical educators—and students—must negotiate (Attrino, 2016; Landi, 2018). Yet, there has only been one study (Denison & Kitchen, 2015) that included LGBTQ youth as participants (only 3%), which researched primarily sport, but also physical education experiences. The other primary area of research

on LGBTQ topics in the field has focused on physical education teacher education (PETE) programs.

LGBTQ issues and PETE programs. Physical education teacher education programs (PETE) have been examined in previous research for their role in the reproduction and/or disruption of homophobia and heteronormativity. Flintoff (2000), for example, conducted an ethnography at two universities in the United Kingdom to explore gender and sexuality in PETE. Flintoff (2000) found that men hyper-performed heterosexual and dominant forms of masculinities by using homophobic slurs and using (hetero)sexual innuendos towards women. The over-performance of masculinities actively distanced these men from femininities. According to Flintoff (2000), women who raised feminist objections to sexist behavior or acted in traditionally masculine ways were treated as outcasts. It is crucial that studies examine the heteronormative dynamic because it creates a hostile environment for LGBTQ persons. For example, Saraç and McCullick (2017) used a case study with a gay male PETE student in Turkey and found he was highly conflicted about whether he wanted his classmates to know about his sexuality. In the study, Saraç and McCullick (2017) revealed that their participant had difficulty communicating with others, was stereotyped as a sexual deviant, and did not feel comfortable taking male-dominated classes such as team sports. This is problematic given that many PETE programs do not address gender, sexuality, or sociocultural issues more broadly (Flintoff, 2000; Flory, 2016).

Since PETE spaces have been shown to be homophobic and heterosexist, some researchers have explored ways to transform PETE courses into more inclusive spaces. In Canada, Chapman, Sykes, and Swedberg (2003) created a play based on Sykes' previous research on lesbian desire in physical education, and they required PETE students to attend. The play highlighted ethical issues that arose in previous research. The main ethical dilemma that the play addressed was a situation where a student confessed her erotic desire for the

lesbian physical educator. The artistic outlet illustrated the convoluted position lesbian physical educators experience when they need to balance the welfare for LGBTQ students, but also protect themselves as educators. According to Chapman and colleagues, the majority of PETE students that attended the play felt it was too “in-your-face” (p. 36) and did not respond well (Chapman et al., 2003).

Another example of an attempt to transform PETE culture occurred in Spain. Pérez-Samaniego and colleagues (2016) developed a fictional narrative describing how a transgender student may feel in physical education class. As they engaged with the narrative, many of the PETE students in this study claimed that transgender persons were aliens or body deviants. Not all PETE students totally dismissed the narrative, however, and some actually engaged with the conversation. This led Pérez-Samaniego and colleagues (2016) to argue that, while transbodies are positioned as “abject” within the field, some students shifted toward alterity, seeing trans persons as different but not ailments. Notably, in both studies, PETE students were highly resistant to these inclusive lessons. Given these results, it comes as no surprise that many LGBTQ adults reflect back on physical education as a bad experience (Sykes, 2011). Even as scholars worked in these instances to transform PETE culture towards more inclusivity for LGBTQ persons, future physical educators resisted involvement/awareness of sexuality-related topics.

LGBTQ adults’ reflective experiences. Very little research has explored the reflective experiences of LGBTQ adults in physical education. Perhaps the most notable contribution to the field was Sykes’ (2011) book *Queer Bodies*. In her book, she interviewed 26 self-identified non-heterosexual adults (as well as 9 straight adults) from Canada and the Northern United States, and they provided self-reflexive data about their experiences and identities in physical education. It could be argued she summed up the entire ethos of her book in one sentence: “Lesbian, bi and gay sexualities were rarely constructed as legitimate,

valued or positive in physical education settings” (Sykes, 2011, p. 20). Throughout the book, Sykes discussed how LGBTQ students sat out of physical education, did not take the class, or avoided the gym. She also noted that body size had a lot to do with how LGBTQ students were treated. While skinny gay bodies were a way to disrupt masculine discourses in the queer community, these same bodies were considered weak or shameful in physical education. Because of the visual economy of physical education, Sykes (2011) concluded LGBTQ students were robbed of enjoyment, which had negative consequences.

McGlashan’s (2013) research in New Zealand produced similar results to Sykes. McGlashan interviewed three gay men between the ages of 21 and 24 and asked them about their reflective experiences in physical education. The men in her study reported being called faggots, being picked last for teams, and facing abuse from their physical education teachers. Notably, the students in her study also reported that the physical education teachers were apathetic because they ignored the harassment that LGBTQ students experienced. In some cases, the students’ reported the teachers actually propagated the harassment. Indeed, Sykes (2011) also found in her study that students reported physical education teachers rarely helped or advocated for LGBTQ students in schools. McGlashan (2013) revealed a particularly important finding in that LGBTQ students often said their friends helped them or stood up for them in physical education, or they eventually just gave in and adapted to the abuse they received (McGlashan, 2013).

Another insight from previous research involves the role of changing rooms or locker rooms. According to McGlashan (2013), locker rooms were traumatic places where gay students remembered harassment, discomfort, and homophobia. Many schools have strict changing policies (e.g., points deducted for not changing) in physical education. These policies, however, place LGBTQ students in precarious positions because they can either change and be harassed or avoid changing and fail physical education. Sykes (2011) found

that desire was another reason LGBTQ students reported changing rooms to be discriminatory spaces. Carless (2012) for example, reflected on his experiences in changing rooms as a game of desire with other men.

One particularly important finding from previous research about adults' reflective experiences in physical education is the exposition of how binaries shape gender and sexuality in physical education (McGlashan, 2013). Sykes (2011) argued that gender binaries reinscribe normal and abject bodies through the curriculum, skill performance, and the built environment. In so doing, Sykes (2011) argued that intersex or transgender bodies are constructed as unintelligible in PE. Upon reviewing the preceding research in physical education, I was left feeling restricted or bound by the dominant narratives in which LGBTQ youth are enmeshed every day. First, there was very little research that included current LGBTQ youth in health and physical education settings. This is something I intend to address in this thesis. Second, I was left wondering about the positive potential that LGBTQ youth may have on health and physical education settings. Indeed, dominant narratives of at-risk LGBTQ youth are what restrict young people's capacities to transform their social and physical settings (Kehily, 2002; Mayo, 2004, 2014; Youdell, 2011). As such, I wanted to consider how binaries shape the field of health and physical education.

The role of binaries in health and physical education

The role of health and physical education in schools has evolved, shifted, and oscillated across the world in multiple configurations (e.g., Kirk, 1998, 2010a, 2014b; Lawson, 2018; Phillips & Roper, 2006; Smithells, 1974; Tinning, 2010). In different times and places, health and physical education has been conceptualized as a subject that can help address issues of health (Kirk, 2018; Sallis & McKenzie, 1991; Sargent, 1906), discipline (Kirk, 1998), science and skill acquisition (Munrow, 1972; Smithells, 1974), ethics and social reform (W. D. Smith, 1974), and more recently social justice (Fernández-Balboa, 1997;

Fitzpatrick, 2018; Walton-Fisette et al., 2018). Indeed, Kirk (2010a) provided an erudite historical overview and argued that modern physical education has an intense focus on sport and, more specifically, on sport technique. Smithells (1974) however, was highly critical of sport defining the field of physical education and argued, “Sport tends to get organized on a hierarchical basis in which the main aim is the excellence of the top individual or group performance with, sometimes, as series of goals, each at a slightly diminished level of competence” (Smithells, 1974, p. 56). In other words, Smithells recognized the inequitable structures by which sport operates and forewarned that if physical education were to be defined by sport, the subject would run the risk of ostracizing many students.

Previous research has provided evidence about how modern physical education has ostracized multiple groups of people including, but not limited to women (Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Flintoff & Scraton, 2006; Oliver & Kirk, 2015b), people of color (Fitzpatrick, 2013a; Harrison Jr. & Belcher, 2006; Hokowhitu, 2003; Simon & Azzarito, 2018), LGBTQ persons (Clarke, 2002, 2006; Landi, 2018; Sykes, 2011), and persons with diverse abilities (Fitzgerald, 2005; Haegele & Sutherland, 2015; van Amsterdam, 2014). These patterns, however, are not limited to physical education. Indeed, Fernández-Balboa (1997) conceptualized health and physical education as a subject that operates ideologically “to promote capitalism and exclusive, elitist notions of culture” (Fernández-Balboa, 1997, p. 122). Difference (Deleuze, 1994) and the production of binaries (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) are at the crux of such discriminatory practices. According to Giddens (1990), exclusivity and hierarchies are produced through the inscription of binary structuring systems. When it comes to health and physical education (and concomitantly sport), the ostensible educational environment is structured through binaries like male/female, able/disabled, and mind/body. Because society is structured by various categories like gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, and age (Hall, 1996), health and physical education can, at times, reinscribe

these binaries onto students and reproduce a vicious cycle of an inequitable system that judges and ranks bodies.

Foucault (1977) referred to binary divisions as a “branding” (p. 199) to impose discipline on our lives. When a label is ascribed to a body (e.g., woman, man, gay, disabled), the label comes with particular facilitators and limitations unique to each culture. The branding then places restrictions on people’s lives and shapes the ways they live. Given this, (new) materialist theories (Coole & Frost, 2010; Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2017) and, more specifically, the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987), are skeptical of “identity” approaches because such investments involve concomitant limitations that shape our capacity to affect others (or be affected). The field of health and physical education is actually an example of such limitations because health and physical education is highly focused on the physical characteristics of the body. Physical education, for example, has been labeled a “body subject” (Paechter, 2000). Allen (2018) described health education and, more specifically, sexuality education, as managing “student bodies and the messiness of their sexuality” (Allen, 2018, p. 1). Given the lasting legacy of Cartesian thinking (Paechter, 2004; Schmaltz, 2004; N. Smith & Taylor, 2005), the mind is often conceptualized as the ghost within the machine that controls the body.

Cartesian dualism has produced rather inequitable outcomes for health and physical education because academic subjects are in the purview of the mind and are therefore considered worthy academic pursuits. Health and physical education, on the other hand, has been relegated to the body and therefore has not been considered as valuable (Allen, 2014, 2018; Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Hokowhitu, 2003; Kirk, 2004; Paechter, 2004). It would be foolish, however, to think that the field of education is a totalizing structure that relegates health and physical education to a low place in academic hierarchies. Instead, this thesis intends to recognize that health and physical educators may resonate with the emphasis on the physical,

and therefore, reinscribe Cartesian dualisms through their own practices. In other words, health and physical education may be unconsciously re-producing and reinforcing the binaries that the field claims to be suffering from. This binary is evident in the name of the subject itself. Smithells (1974) pointed out the subject name physical education aids in the reinscription of such binaries because “it implies a body-mind division, as if there were a *mental* education and *physical* education” (p. 4). Health and physical education then, are not simply structured through binaries but are integral in the inscription of such binaries as well.

It is important to note that producing binaries are not value-free practices. There are steep moral implications for structuring the world based on binaries. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated that binary relations establish “what is accepted on first choice and what is only tolerated on second, third choice, etc.” (p. 177). In other words, binaries are produced within material networks that ascribe value judgments on to bodies. The issue is not simply a matter of the male/female binary but, rather, labels like male and female are produced within an assemblage (or arrangement) (DeLanda, 2016; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) of things that are inextricably linked to the binary. In chapter three, I discuss the concept of assemblage in greater depth, but I will provide an example here to illustrate the interconnected nature of binaries with values, culture, and objects. Let us start with the proposed binary:

Mind–Body

The aforementioned binary is ostensibly straightforward: Every human has a mind and a body. Nevertheless, upon expanding the assemblage to include other interconnected elements, we find there is greater meaning to the dichotomy:

Brain–Mind–Body–Machine

After we pull apart two additional things that are part of the Cartesian dualism assemblage (or arrangement), we recognize the binary contains additional meaning and objects. If we pull this apart even further, one could end up with this assemblage:

Director–Thinking–Brain–Mind–Body–Machine–Doing–Labor

In the above example, the mind and body seem to be a simple binary. Nevertheless, when the binary is contextualized within larger networks in our society, value judgments are interconnected to the body and mind. The result is the mind being perceived as a valuable component that directs the body in particular machinations of labor. The process I illustrated above is called dredging (Fox, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2015a, 2017), in which the assemblage is literally pulled apart to highlight different components comprising an assemblage. I will go into greater depth about dredging in chapter four, but for now, I used dredging to show how binaries are not merely comprised of simple isolated dichotomies. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated, “Dualist organization never stands on its own in this kind of society” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 210). In health and physical education, this means binaries are often produced through matrices (Sykes, 2011) or constellations (Youdell, 2005, 2011) of multiple discourses including race, gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, and ability (amongst many others). What results is a hierarchical system that has the ability to marginalize bodies based on sequences of binaries. Sexuality education research, however, have been actively working to disrupt such binaries by drawing on (new) materialist theories. Such previous work in the field of sexuality education inspired me to use similar theoretical concepts to frame this thesis.

(New) materialism, affects, and sexuality education

I am rather fond of the new in (new) materialism being in parentheses. Manaforte (2018) argued that it is “unclear how and why new materialism (NM) is *new* and, thereby, it provokes suspicion” (p. 378). The new for me is paradoxical because from a Deleuzian standpoint, the creation of something new (or experimental) should be a central part of thinking (Deleuze, 1990, 1994, Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, 1987). Despite the inclusion of the word new in (new) materialism, there is never anything completely new because everything

is assembled in relation to previous systems. I therefore agree with Davies (2018) and her statement that the use of this theory should produce “new concepts and new ways of thinking-doing our research, which do not run against poststructuralist philosophy, but with it, at the same time bringing new emphases and new priorities” (p. 125).

I am keen to produce something new, so I found the way (new) materialism was being used in sexuality education inspiring. The creation of something new is imperative for sexuality education because, according to Allen (2018), research on sexuality education has stagnated. In Allen’s words, “It is caught in a cycle of habitual questions, addressed with a predictable set of tools, leading to an equally predictable set of ‘answers’” (Allen, 2018, p. 2). One attempt to advance the field involved critiquing sexuality education for neglecting the role of pleasure and desire (Allen, Rasmussen, & Quinlivan, 2014; M. Fine, 1988). Yet again, Allen (2018) argued that the necessity to include desire, however, has not pushed the needle enough because of the continual cycle mentioned earlier. Thus, several authors have started to explore ways to transform sexuality education to be more student-centered.

I am not the only person exploring ways health and physical education (which includes sexuality education) can transverse the normative practices of schooling and produce new ways of learning about desire and bodies. Specific to sexuality education, Macleod and Vincent (2014) argued for a critical sexual and reproductive citizenship pedagogy that calls on young people to exert agency and become activists within their communities. Quinlivan and Town (1999b, 1999a) have proposed a queer pedagogy that blurs binaries and boundaries between male/female and hetero/homo. Fine’s work, on the other hand, argues for a focus on (thick) desire in sexuality education (M. Fine, 1988; M. Fine & McClelland, 2006). More recently, I have been drawn to Quinlivan’s (2018) experimental approach to sexuality education. It is within this (new) materialist informed literature that I found a focus on affect to be crucial.

Affects and education. According to Clough and Haley (2007), there has been an “affective turn” in the field of cultural studies. In health and physical education, the term affect is historically linked to the social and emotional development of youth (Hellison, 1987). In cultural studies, the term affect is at the intersection of concepts such as emotions, feelings, and senses (Shouse 2011; Blackman, 2012). Strict (new) materialists argue that emotion and affect are distinctly different because emotion is the “capture” of affect (Nicolini, 2016c). For example, Blackman (2013) defined affect as the relation to “all those processes that are separate from meaning, belief or cognition and that occur at the level of autonomic, preconscious bodily reactions, responses, and resonances” (p. xi). I disagree with demarcating affect from emotion because I think it posits an unnecessary binary between the two that is linked to Cartesian thinking (where emotion is relegated to the body). Instead, my work is aligned to feminist strands of affect that posit emotion as intertwined with and the capture of affect (Ahmed, 2010b). Affect then, is a concept aligned to the poststructuralist project of disrupting dualist thinking (Sedgwick 2003). For example, in education, more broadly poststructuralist theorists have explored the role of affective characteristics in classrooms by examining resistance (Britzman, 1991, 1998; Gilbert, 2010), pleasure (McWilliam, 1999), eroticism (Gilbert, 2014; T. S. Johnson, 2008), and how feeling and emotion play vital roles in the production of knowledge (Zembylas, 2007). For me, affect is not something that can or should be defined; instead, it should be explored for what it can do (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Given this, affect is conceptualized in this thesis as both a process (or verb) and their concomitant effects (or nouns). This conceptualization is just another way to disrupt binary thinking and to promote continuity rather demarcation.

In sexuality education studies, affect has served as a sort of a charge, or electric buzz, with the ability to reproduce normative systems and also transform them. For example, Ringrose and Renold (2014) illustrated how the word “slut” is employed to limit young

women's bodies through patriarchal and normative systems. The women in Ringrose and Renold's (2014) UK-based study, however, also reclaimed the term slut and created a "Slut Walk" to advocate for women's rights. So despite feminism being constructed as obsolete or outdated (McRobbie, 2008), the young women in Ringrose and Renold's (2014) study used the affective term slut to revitalize an agenda while also inspiring people's minds, hearts, and bodies to support such causes. In this thesis, I looked for similar affects or jolts of intensity that mobilized passions and people to transform LGBTQ experiences at the intersection of sexuality and health and physical education.

Affect also has the ability to produce new movements that shake the foundations of binary thinking. Indeed, gender diversity and non-binary genders have existed throughout history and in multiple cultures geographically (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). Despite this, gender binaries tend to limit the expressions of women and men and confine them to stylized and congealed performances (Judith Butler, 1990). Affect, however, has the ability to transform such structured and rigid systems while working inside those systems. Ahmed (2010a) defined affects as "the messiness of the experiential, the unfolding of bodies into worlds" (Ahmed, 2010a, p. 30). Ahmed (2010a) highlighted the ability of objects and things to become assembled with, and imbued by, negative and/or positive affective relations. In other words, affect has a characteristic of "stickiness" that may compel people to feel, move, or act in particular ways, which can produce shifts, or movements, that oscillate between stasis and change (Adkins, 2015). This thesis maps the unfolding oscillations of stasis and change in the health and physical education assemblage and pays particular attention to the ways in which the field may be transformed.

One issue I address in this thesis is the need to make health and physical education more LGBTQ inclusive. Specific to sexuality education, I explore how sexuality education produces normative affects (chapter seven), but I am also interested in those ruptures, or

affective jolts, that disrupt such entrenched systems. Given this, I draw on previous (new) materialist work (Fox & Alldred, 2017) and particularly the concepts of assemblage and affect (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) that were used in sexuality education scholarship, and I applied them to health and physical education more broadly. I will explore (new) materialist and Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in greater depth in chapter three, but first I want to highlight the affective intensities of sexuality and especially its interconnection with health and physical education.

Sexuality education and (new) materialism

Historically, sexuality education programs have been concerned with producing healthy and morally sound citizens (Alldred & David, 2007; Lesko, 2010; McClelland & Fine, 2014; Quinlivan, Rasmussen, Aspin, Allen, & Sanjakdar, 2014; Sears, 1992). This historical orientation has been justified through a discourse that views young students as bodies at risk of becoming unhealthy moral failures (Bay-Cheng, 2003; Leahy, 2014), which is why many sexuality education (and health and physical education) programs have been constructed through a medical lens that pathologizes bodies as either healthy or unhealthy (Quinlivan & Town, 1999b). Therefore, the goal of traditional sexuality education was to discipline “unruly bodies” (I. Thomas, 2017, p. 676), which Quinlivan (2017) referred to as a “getting it right” style of sexuality education.

The “getting it right” (Quinlivan, 2017) sexuality education program, however, produces (at least) two concomitant affects of concern. First, by medicalizing the field of sexuality education, curricula naturalize and reinforce heteronormativity and homophobia (Kehily, 2002). Because science has become the lynchpin for education about sexual activity, it has created a message that the act of sex appears to have only one proper result: reproduction. Given that most LGBTQ persons have sex that cannot lead to reproduction, this message results in creating a hierarchy of bodies where non-cisgendered or non-heterosexual

persons are relegated toward the bottom rung (Fields, 2008; Kendall, 2013). The other affect that raises concern is the focus on the individual. By pathologizing the body, sexuality is framed as an individual problem bound to its own skin (Braidotti, 2013) where the individual learner is responsible for their own behaviors and responsibilities (McClelland & Fine, 2014; Walkerdine, 2004). In chapter eight, I explore the specific ways in which the normative or “getting it right approach” reproduces inequities that devalue LGBTQ persons. In chapter nine, however, I illustrate that it is impossible to bound the learner to a single subject, but rather the field produces oscillations towards stasis and change. Thus, the complicated answer for improving health and physical education is that there is no single way to get it right, but rather there are multiple ways to get it right.

Bounding students to an individual subject (Walkerdine, 2004) in conjunction with a heteronormative environment (Kehily, 2002) may reproduce normative structures in sexuality education. Such normative programs, however, diminish or negate the affective potential of students in the class (Albury, 2015). Quinlivan (2017), on the other hand, argued we need to shift away from traditional approaches in favor of experimental methods. Experimentation is a cornerstone of (new) materialist thinking, and as such, is connected to affect. In other words, by conceptualizing sexuality education as a place to experiment, students are conceptualized as affective intensities who have the ability to both entrench and transform educational systems (Ahmed, 2010a; Allen, 2005; Youdell, 2011).

Students, sexualities, and education. Previous sexuality education scholars have argued that sexuality education must be relevant to the students if it is to be effective (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000). Allen (2001) argued that educators should start by working with students, and possibly even go as far as to allow students to take the lead in school-based sexuality education (Allen, 2005). While I wholeheartedly agree with Allen’s (2005) suggestion, I even more support the idea that sexuality is not bound to the student but is

produced beyond the subject (whether a person or an academic subject) (Fox & Alldred, 2013). In this vein, I view sexual desire as outside of the body and unbounded by any anthropocentric view of sexuality (Alldred & Fox, 2017). In other words, I agree with Allen's recent argument that desire is everywhere, and it is productive (Allen, 2018). Current empirical research further confirms the notion of (sexual) desire being outside the body. For example, researchers have found that sexualities are produced through cell phones (Albury, 2015; Allen, 2015; Dobson & Ringrose, 2016), social media (Mendes, Ringrose, & Keller, 2018; Retallack, Ringrose, & Lawrence, 2016), or gay support groups (Mayo, 2014; McGlashan & Fitzpatrick, 2017; Quinlivan, 2015).

In this thesis, I aim to move away from viewing individual students as bounded subjects produced through discourses. Instead, I explore how students, health and physical education, and sexualities are unbounded and interconnected to different assemblages within the field. I work within the view that desire is everywhere (Allen, 2018) and unbounded (Alldred & Fox, 2017; Fox & Alldred, 2013), and learning is more than a human activity (Ivinson & Renold, 2013; Rautio, 2013). Therefore, I pay particular attention to the interconnected nature of heteronormative discourses (Ferfolja, 2007) and also how new policies (Fitzpatrick, 2018; Ministry of Education, 2015) in conjunction with LGBTQ students produce new experimentations in shifting the landscape of physical and sexuality education in New Zealand.

Why health and physical education in New Zealand?

New Zealand is an ideal setting to explore the role of health and physical education in LGBTQ students' lives because the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum and its supporting documents have a social justice tilt (Fitzpatrick, 2018; Ministry of Education, 2007b, 2015). For example, one of the Ministry of Education's (2007) achievement objectives asserted that students should be able to "Critically evaluate societal

attitudes, values, and expectations that affect people's awareness of their personal identity and sense of self-worth in a range of life situations" (Ministry of Education, 2007b, Level 7, Objective A4). New Zealand's Ministry of Education sexuality education policy is explicit when it comes specifically to LGBTQ issues:

Schools are encouraged to question gender stereotypes, and assumptions about sexuality. There are opportunities within school programmes and their wider school environment to acknowledge sexual diversity of New Zealand communities and recognise the rights of those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and other sexual and gender identities. (Ministry of Education, 2015, p.11)

Unlike many other countries, the explicit curriculum (Eisner, 1985) in New Zealand addresses issues of equity and diversity, including issues of gender and sexuality. Therefore, the policies that guide sexuality education also guide the practices in health and physical education more broadly. This is extremely important because, in New Zealand, all students are required to take health and physical education until at least year ten (when students are about 14 years old) (Fitzpatrick, 2013b). Therefore, LGBTQ students are required to participate in health and physical education, which is important to consider because if LGBTQ students hold a place in the health and physical education setting, there is a greater chance of them producing affects within the subject matter.

Despite the advancement in policy, however, in-classroom (or in-gymnasia) practices still tend to reflect socio-historical discourses over time (Kirk, 2010a). Therefore, New Zealand is an exceptional place to examine LGBTQ experiences because it is a space that is currently undergoing critical transformation spurred on by policy mandates. Yet, such transformations are not linear. Instead, they are murky processes that consistently unfold through oscillations of stasis and change. LGBTQ students are important to consider during

this unfolding process, and the field of health and physical education can learn from their affective experiences.

Chapter 3: Materialist Theory

To investigate the affective experiences of LGBTQ youth in schools, I found it useful to draw on the theoretical insights of (new) materialism (Coole & Frost, 2010; Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2017) and specifically the work of Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, 1987). Coole and Frost (2010) made several important claims about new materialism:

New materialists are rediscovering a materiality that materializes, evincing immanent modes of self-transformation that compel us to think of causation in far more complex terms; to recognize that phenomena are caught in a multitude of interlocking systems and forces and to consider anew the location and nature of capacities for agency.

(p. 9)

Coole and Frost noted that matter is not a stable thing, but rather an active process of materializing. Furthermore, they pointed out that the materializing process is not only shaped by outside forces, it has immanent properties as well. Given this, we cannot assume there is one cause that leads to one effect; rather, the world is constantly unfolding and being produced through a complex network of interactions that question assumed boundaries between internal and external.

According to Fox and Alldred (2017), new materialism is underpinned by six foundations:

- (1) A focus upon matter.
- (2) Explore what matter does, not what it is.
- (3) Human agency is not privileged.
- (4) Thoughts, memories, desires and emotions have material effects.
- (5) Material forces act locally.
- (6) The materiality of sociology.

(Fox & Alldred, 2017, pp. 23-27)

Fox and Alldred (2017) draw on four voices to illustrate how materialism has been used across several fields. These voices are Bruno Latour, Deleuze and Guattari, Karen Barad, and Rosi Braidotti. In this thesis, I draw primarily on the works of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1983, 1987). I will also draw selectively from other theorists who have shaped my own thinking around health and physical education and sexuality, including the work of Grosz (1994), Foucault (1978, 2002), Braidotti (2011, 2013), and Ahmed (2004, 2010a, 2017). In this section, I explain the above foundations of materialism and how they relate to sexuality and gender in health and physical education. I then outline the Deleuzo-Guattarian (1983, 1987) concepts I used to explore LGBTQ issues within health and physical education.

Exploring Fox and Alldred in relation to health and physical education

In this sub-section, I explicate the foundations Fox and Alldred (2017) proffer for a new materialist sociology. Like Fox and Alldred, I am keen to lose the “new” prefix and will continue with the terms materialist/materialism. My goal here is to make connections between the philosophies that have produced materialist thinking and how they relate to the fields of health and physical education. It is important to note that I will use the term body often in this section, but the term is not isolated to indicate only the physical human body. In materialism, a body can be anything: a body of knowledge, a pencil, a word, or the human body. One of the reasons why the term body is used in this way is because materialism focuses on the materiality of all bodies whether they are human bodies or not.

Principle 1: Focus on matter. As Fox and Alldred (2017) claimed, “Materialist sociology’s concern is with social production rather than social construction” (p. 23). Social constructivism has placed an emphasis on the construction of social worlds through language, discourse, and institutions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Materialism seeks to build on this work by illustrating the self-organizing nature of matter but also in relation to social and

natural environments (Coole & Frost, 2010). This is not to say that post-structuralists have neglected matter. Indeed, Bourdieu's (1984) insights were filled with materiality such as artwork, wine tasting, and embodied movements. As such was the work of Foucault (1977, 1978) who radicalized bodies in relation to sexuality, sadomasochism, and punishment through bodily functions (e.g., eating, writing, moving). Yet, many post-structuralists had a specific agenda of exposing how social institutions (e.g., economics, prisons, psychiatry) affect the world. Materialism inherits many of the residual characteristics of post-structuralism, but materialist theory also aligns to an empiricist perspective of matter as self-organizing (Braidotti, 2011). If we consider matter as self-organizing or accept that matter organizes immanently, we would assume that all things (biological, psychological, social) are on the same plane. Materialism is, therefore, aligned with monism where matter is not oppositional to other things (soul, mind, language), but rather the forming of matter is a "complex process of differing which is framed by both internal and external forces and is based on the centrality of the relation to multiple others" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 56).

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated that "PLURALISM = MONISM" (p. 20). Deleuze and Guattari were expressing that matter "is not a monotonous sameness, but that everything exists in the exactly the same way" (Adkins, 2015, p. 31), which is a crucial point. Instead of monism implying that all things derive from the same material, Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) monism implies that everything (biological, psychological, social, political) exists in exactly the same way: through diverse relationships. Therefore, whether a body is material, psychological, or social, it is empirically produced through interacting relationships between multiple bodies (whether they are abstract, material, social, or anything really). The shift to monism completes two objectives: (a) it rejects binaries/dualisms and (b) it focuses on how *new* things are produced. In essence, even things as abstract as language or gender are empirically produced through complex systems of multiple interconnected bodies (be they

corporeal, lingual, psychological) and are therefore constantly producing new languages (or new genders).

The notion that the material world is produced and self-organizing created a radical change in research on sexuality in physical education. I have argued elsewhere (Landi, 2018) that LGBTQ persons in physical education have either been theorized as socially constructed (nurture) or essential subjects (born that way). This view originated because previous research in physical education focused on the ways in which LGBTQ identities have been constructed as “abject” or deviant in the field (Clarke, 1998b; Pérez-Samaniego et al., 2016; Sykes, 1996). Such research has examined homophobic practices that work to silence LGBTQ identities (Squires & Sparkes, 1996), the ways in which lesbian desire is socially constructed (Sykes, 2003), and how certain physical education practices normalize heterosexualities at the expense of LGBTQ sexualities (Clarke, 2004; Fitzpatrick & McGlashan, 2016). Similar approaches have also been used in relation to investigations of gender in physical education (e.g., Brown, 2005; Gorely, Holroyd, & Kirk, 2003; van Amsterdam, 2014). For example, Kirk (2016) illustrated how the “academicisation” of physical education (in relation to other social forces) worked to minimize the influence of women in the Carnegie school. Likewise, Azzarito (2009) explored how physical education worked to construct the ideal girl’s body as slender, thin, and feminine, while the ideal boy’s body was constructed in opposite fashion (muscular and athletic). An important characteristic that materialism has retained from post-structuralism is the challenging of binary theorizing. Such post-structuralist aligned research in physical education set out to expose binary relations (boy/girl; straight/gay; nature/nurture), but in doing so, much of this research inadvertently created a paradox that reinforced such binaries (Wright, 1996). By drawing on materialism, this thesis seeks to create links to the vital previous research (and expose the insidious practices of binary thinking), as well as to produce new ways of thinking about

gender and sexuality that conceptualize such categories as constantly unfolding into new ways of being.

Principle 2: Explore what matter does, not what it is. Fox and Alldred's (2017) second foundation focuses on exploring the affect, or the force of matter, instead of trying to describe it. The focus on "what matter does" is an important departure from descriptive modes of thinking. During a descriptive process, the author runs the risk of creating a fixed image or a representation of an event. In contrast, materialism recognizes that matter self-organizes through relations with other bodies to produce our material world. Therefore, the question of "what is a body" transforms into a more important question: "*what can the body do?*" (Buchanan, 1997). Fox and Alldred (2017) claimed that we need to explore the associations matter makes, the capacity of matter to affect those relations, and the consequences from those interactions, which places the focus on states of change or, as Massumi (1987) wrote, "an ability to affect and be affected" (p. xvi).

I will clarify the concept of affect later in this chapter. For now, I want to note the consequences of shifting away from description toward affect. To start, the focus on *what the body does* reinforces the interconnected, complex, relational, and emergent properties of bodies (Coole & Frost, 2010). By focusing on the affective potential of bodies, materialists assert that the consequences of a given relationship transcend binary thinking. For example, consider if someone described an event in this manner: "A gay boy was hit in the head with a soccer ball." This descriptive approach creates a fixed image that merely describes the person (a gay boy) who was hit in the head with a ball. Yet, by turning to affect and focusing on what this event *did*, we move away from fixed representation and into multiple domains. For example, we can explore the physiological affects (did the ball cause a bruise?), psychological aspects (how did this make the student feel?), or social affects (what did others

in the class do?). The switch to affect opens up the event and creates multiple avenues of exploration in which people can investigate what is (or is not) produced through an event.

The use of affect transitions thinking from a description into an affect economy, where all things are produced in relation to each other on one plane (Clough & Halley, 2007). Furthermore, the emphasis on affect challenges traditional modes of representational logic. When we describe something, we are limited to the words, definitions, and the individual body itself. Alternatively, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) claim we should map the affects of something, because mapping “cracks open words, crack[s] open things” (Deleuze 1991 as cited by Goodchild, 1996, p. 12) into new ways of thinking and we see new relationships we may have not previously considered. Moving away from description and toward affect places the focus on relationality, experimentation, and complexity. In so doing, affect theorizing rejects stable events that are stratified and instead explores the consequences of such events (be they psychological, social, curricular, material, or subjective).

The turn to affect (Clough & Halley, 2007) in broader cultural studies can have major implications for exploring LGBTQ issues in health and physical education. Many LGBTQ-focused scholars in physical education have focused on describing the atmosphere of the subject (homophobic, heterosexist, heteronormative) (Coll, Enright, & O’Sullivan, 2014; Morrow & Gill, 2003; Piedra et al., 2016). The affective turn (Clough & Halley, 2007), however, changes the exploration to how these atmospheres are produced and the subsequent effects that are instigated as a result of their production. Furthermore, affect theorizing recognizes that subjects do not exist in a vacuum but are influenced by larger forces often outside of health and physical education (Kirk, 1998, 2010b; Penney & Chandler, 2000). Yet, by switching to affect, connections can be made to multiple forces that disrupt the binary posited between internal and external forces. Instead, physical education has become a part of the machine that produces cultural shifts as well as reinforces particular values.

Principle 3: Human agency is not privileged. The relationality of matter and the concomitant affects matter can produce are directly related to agency. To start, when we consider matter as produced through relationships between multiple bodies, “the conventional hierarchy of matter (from the ‘raw materials’ of rocks and gases, through simple life forms and onwards and upwards until we reach human agents) is flattened” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 25). Take, for instance, the human body. From a materialist perspective, we cannot say that cells are the “building blocks” of organs. Nor can we say that organs are the “building blocks” of a body. Instead, we have to see each of these (cells, organs, bodies) as machines or processes that materially produce each other. Cells producing organs and organs producing cells. Organs producing bodies and bodies producing organs. It is not a question of depth or one building on the other. It is a chaotic network in which all are connected. The flattening of all things (material, abstract, psychological) and the focus on affect undermines the notion that humans exclusively construct the social world (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Instead, it is the interactions between bodies that actively *produce* the world, whether they are human or not. Humans are only one factor in a material world composed of an infinite number of productive processes or machines (Braidotti, 2013).

The notion that humans are just one of a multiplicity of factors that shape our world is significant. As DeLanda (2016) noted, the flattening of the world inevitably disrupts the agency/structure binary. Instead of agency and structure being oppositional, they are produced on a material continuum. Therefore, “agency is no doubt a ‘force,’ but it is a force that arises not from any essential properties of ‘the subject’ but out of the ways in which humans have been-assembled-together” (Rose, 1996 as cited by Coffey, 2016, p. 25). DeLanda’s (2016) concept of flattening also disrupts a nature/cultural dichotomy in favor of conceptualizing them both as a continuum of materiality. Therefore, we should not try and

split apart natural and social bodies in our world (Fox & Alldred, 2017), but rather we should acknowledge the social and the natural as intertwined in a complex network of materiality.

Breaking down agency/structure and nature/culture binaries is a significant approach to LGBTQ issues in health and physical education. There are pedagogical practices that are premised on the individual being in charge of their own health (Metzler, McKenzie, van der Mars, Barrett-Williams, & Ellis, 2013; Sallis & McKenzie, 1991; Sallis et al., 2012). If agency is considered as more than human, however, individualistic approaches to health and wellness will inevitably be ineffective (Tinning, 1994). Furthermore, the agency of LGBTQ students cannot be limited to the individual. Rather, agency for LGBTQ students must be conceptualized as a material production produced via multiple bodies that are natural, social, internal, and external.

Principle 4: Thoughts, memories, desires, and emotions have material effects.

Given that new materialism flattens hierarchical conceptions of the world, bodies that are considered incorporeal (language, emotions) have the same power to affect as corporeal (physical) bodies (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Therefore, the flattened ontology of materialism upends another dualism: mind/body (Grosz, 1994). Indeed, Deleuze and Guattari claimed the following:

We think the material or machinic aspect of an assemblage relates not to the production of goods but rather to a precise state of intermingling of bodies in a society, including all the attractions and repulsions, sympathies and antipathies, alterations, amalgamations, penetrations, and expansions that affect bodies of all kinds in their relations to one another. (p. 90)

In this statement, Deleuze and Guattari link together all types of bodies as intermingling and affecting each other. These bodies include corporeal bodies, attractions, and sympathies, amongst others. In other words, any relationship has the ability to affect all types of bodies,

including thoughts, desires, and emotions. The human reaction when we see an attractive person produces psychological, physiological, and emotional affects. Furthermore, our emotions and thoughts affect our corporeal selves. Therefore, the physical and the social come into relation with each other to produce material thoughts, bodies, and actions (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

The (fictitious) dualism between the mind and body has haunted physical education (Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Hokowhitu, 2003; Stolz, 2013) as well as health education (Allen, 2014; Paechter, 2004; Quinlivan, 2018). Because of this historical dualism, some health and physical education researchers have investigated the mind as separate and superior to the carnal body (Biddle & Mutrie, 2008). Researchers investigating students' attitudes (Silverman & Subramaniam, 2000; Subramaniam & Silverman, 2007), motivation (Xiang, Chen, & Bruene, 2005; Xiang, McBride, & Guan, 2004), and enjoyment (Garn & Cothran, 2006) have recognized the role that thoughts and emotions play in physical activity participation. Yet, much of this research operated under the assumption that the mind is the center of motivation that controls the body, so the mind and body were treated as separate and unequal entities (where the body was considered radically inferior to the mind). A materialist perspective, however, aligns with much of the post-structuralist work that sought to disrupt such Cartesian dualisms. Therefore, from a materialist perspective, thoughts and emotions are on a continuum of materiality.

Principle 5: Material forces act locally. If there is anything that Fox and Alldred (2017) tried to highlight in the previous four principles, it is that materialism puts an explicit focus on the relationships between bodies. By focusing on relationships, materialism also continues the post-structural tradition of resisting structural systems that theorize power in hegemonic forms (Foucault, 2002; Markula & Pringle, 2006; Pringle, 2007). In other words, instead of seeing power as operating in a top-down fashion, materialists “focus on the forces

(or affects) operating at the level of actions and events” (Fox and Alldred, 2017, p. 27).

Power therefore, is conceptualized as part of the flow of affects between bodies (Braidotti, 2013). This is important because a materialist perspective retains the important advancements of post-structuralism (e.g., Judith Butler, 1990; Foucault, 1978; Larsson, 2014; Lather, 2004; Wright, 2006) but also augments them in ways that move beyond the bounded human subject (Davies, 2018).

When power is conceptualized as affects in between bodies (all types of bodies), then any analysis of power must be conducted on a micro-level and in relation to an event. For example, hegemonic masculinity (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) drew heavily from structuralism and therefore theorized power as a top-down process that stratifies bodies. A materialist conception, however, claims masculinities materialize locally in between different bodies, human or non-human (e.g., toy truck, dolls), and affect them differently. When materializing, however, patterns emerge that can produce particular rhythmic interactions (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Essentially, patterns of interactions such as a boy playing with a truck or a girl playing with a doll seem normal because they are repeated and congeal over time (Judith Butler, 1990).

If rhythmic interactions persist at a micro-level, they can develop into patterns at a macro-level that have the ability to affect more bodies. These patterns, however, are not stable phenomenon; rather, the patterns rely on the micro-level rhythms that produce them (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Rhythmic patterns repeat in the mind like a melody and are often willfully reproduced. In other words, concepts like masculinity or neoliberalism are not stable things that operate in a hegemonic fashion (Pringle, 2007; Pringle & Markula, 2005). Rather, masculinities are produced through flows of affect in between bodies and develop into patterns that can affect more bodies through macro-level melodic flows.

Principle 6: The materiality of sociology. The last principle that Fox and Alldred (2017) proffered is “a need to understand sociology as a material and affective process” (p. 27). Fox and Alldred (2017) argued that sociological (and I argue health and physical education) research affects and is affected by the material world. Conventional forms of social inquiry (and scientific inquiry) are considerably human centered with the researcher as the main instrument making decisions based on theory, reasoning, and methodological skill to impose structure on data in order to provide an interpretation of results. From a materialist perspective, on the other hand, the researcher has generative power (Fox & Alldred, 2015a) but is operating just as one machine (or part) that plugs into other machines (or other parts) to produce a research product (or a whole) (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013). Therefore, materialism rejects humans as the central focus of the investigation and instead views the researcher as one of many different parts. Decentering humans as the central decision makers also challenges the notion of objectivity within research practices (Barad, 2007) so research influences materiality and is not limited to human beings (Braidotti, 2013). Rather, research produces ripples of affect in politics, emotions, the environment, and health, amongst other bodies.

Researchers have claimed for years that health and physical education can make a difference outside the field. For example, Sallis (Sallis & McKenzie, 1991; Sallis et al., 2012) argued that physical education should move away from attending to “multiple cognitive, social, and physical skills objectives...to become more focused and aligned with public health needs” (Sallis et al., 2012, p. 126). The above argument relies heavily on the belief that physical education has the ability to change health outcomes in communities and their society. Given that Sallis claims that physical education can have this affect, he called for a direct re-articulation of the field to “take responsibility for ensuring that it has optimal health effects” (Sallis et al., 2012, p. 132). While there is little research to suggest that physical

education can inspire such dramatic health improvements, it cannot be denied that physical education affects the world and is affected by it. Such arguments have also been made from a humanist perspective, albeit, with very different goals. Hellison (1973) argued that physical education “provided the means to achieve nonphysical ends” (p. 2). Hellison claimed that physical education can make substantive contributions to self-esteem, socialization, and value transfer in our society. Although they come from different places, both of these views show physical education’s potential to affect the world it inhabits. On the other hand, scholars have noted that the material circumstances in which teachers teach limit their capacity to be affective (Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Gard & Pluim, 2014). The shift to materialism then helps theorize humans (students, teachers) as only part of the health and physical education story and positions humans as interconnected with greater systems. Materialism also analyzes the role health and physical education plays not only in the lives of humans, but also how those affects ripple into bodies that ostensibly seem unrelated to health and physical education (e.g., politics, gender). In this thesis, I hope to draw such links between health and physical education and larger cultural issues. As previously mentioned, I will draw on the concepts of Deleuze and Guattari to aid in this investigation.

Deleuzo-Guattarian Concepts for Research

In order to enact the above principles of materialism, I draw on Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, 1987) to explore the relationships between gender, sexuality, health, and physical education. In this sub-section, I explore the concepts *assemblage*, *affect*, *Body without Organs*, and the *Smooth versus Striated*. These concepts will be linked to previous research to extend sociological understanding. My goal in this section is to outline a materialist theory that will carry into the analysis and augment the arguments made in this thesis.

Assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987) eschewed dualistic thinking and, in order to transcend binaries, the duo proffered the concept assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The term *assemblage* was translated to English from the French word *agencement*, which “refers to the action of matching or fitting together a set of components (*agencer*), as well as to the result of such an action: an ensemble of parts that mesh together” (DeLanda, 2016, p. 1). Thus, an assemblage could be considered an arrangement or a “network of habitual and non-habitual connections, always in flux, always reassembling in different ways” (Potts, 2004: 19). Assemblage as a term simultaneously refers to a process and the result (or product—however short lived) of the process. Assemblage is a process that meshes multiple types of bodies including physical, psychological, social, or emotional (Fox and Alldred, 2017). Since assemblage is a process, it is comprised of multiple types of bodies and oscillates between moments of stasis and change (Adkins, 2015). In other words, the assemblage in this thesis is a unit of analysis that helps to analyze how the material relations of things in our world produce affects of stability (or repetition) but also how they move towards moments of change (or difference).

If we consider the world as comprised of assemblages, or arrangements of multiple bodies that produce affects, then the focus of investigations is placed on relationships. This is because “an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicities” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 23) from multiple types of bodies. In other words, all things become an “ecology” where “relations (physical, social, psychological, emotional, political and so forth) both affect the body, and also how the body can influence or affect other entities” (Fox, 2012, p. 58). Only by understanding the relationships between things can we map movements toward stability and change in our world. Consider the human body for example. When we examine the human body from an assemblage perspective, we place the focus on the relationships of the body, which can transcend binary thinking. One such binary that the

assemblage disrupts is nature/culture. If we think of the human body as an ecology of multiple relationships, then we recognize that the body is connected to nature *and* society. So, instead of trying to describe different relationships the body enters into (as *either* social or natural), the more important questions are concerned with how relationships produce oscillations of stability and change in the body or the networks it comes into contact with.

Sexuality is another example of an assemblage. There is a great deal of research that documents how physical education discourses “discipline” sexually diverse bodies in an attempt to make them fit into heterosexual norms (e.g. Fitzpatrick & McGlashan, 2016; Larsson, Redelius, & Fagrell, 2011; Squires & Sparkes, 1996; Sykes, 1996). Fitzpatrick and McGlashan (2016) argued that physical education is dominated by straight pedagogy that assume everybody is heterosexual. Through straight pedagogies, LGBTQ bodies are either disciplined into heterosexual norms or are ostracized for not conforming to such discourses. The idea of physical education as a disciplining space is well documented throughout history (Kirk, 1998). When it comes to LGBTQ bodies, scholars have drawn selectively on post-structuralist theories to illustrate physical education as an institution dominated by particular identity norms (e.g., athlete, straight, gay gym bunny) (Azzarito, 2009; Paechter, 2000; Sykes, 1996; Wright, 1996). Azzarito (2009) drew on Foucauldian theory to argue that physical education was a disciplining space that worked to produce certain bodies (pretty, skinny, and white) whilst relegating others. Similarly, Sykes (1996) drew on feminist poststructuralism to argue that lesbian physical educators were constricted (and their identities constructed) through discourses in physical education. This thesis looks to build on previous important work by investigating these stifling practices (or oscillations toward stability) while also exploring the ways in which these discourses are shifting (or oscillating toward change).

Deleuze and Guattari's (1983, 1987) concept of assemblage is ideal to conceptualize events as oscillations between stasis and change. Therefore, from a Deleuzo-Guattarian lens, there is greater flexibility to explore how institutional processes are resisted and the affects that are produced from such flows of resistance. This is because "assemblages are in constant variation, are themselves constantly subject to transformations" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 82). Assemblages then, are chaotic networks that develop through aleatory and unpredictable movements that place greater emphasis on material productions through relationality. Some relationships are stronger than others (peanut butter and jam) and get repeated over time to produce movements toward stasis. Because assemblages rely on relationships, however, assemblages also produce the conditions necessary for change (peanut butter and banana anyone?) (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). One way to understand an assemblage then, is to focus on its affects or what the assemblage can do (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Therefore, the next key concept for this thesis is affect or what the body can do.

Affect. For this thesis, I draw on the materialist understanding of affect. A materialist conception of affect is different than the affective domain in health and physical education. Laker (2002) claimed the affective domain consists of moral and aesthetic attitudes, which inspired an entire research line within physical education that has been concerned with developing moral and responsible citizens (Gordon, 2010; Hellison, 2003; Laker, 2002). Deleuze and Guattari (1987), on the other hand, were keen to illustrate the difference between feelings and affect as a concept. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), "Affect is the active discharge of emotion, the counterattack, whereas feeling is an always displaced, retarded, and resisting of emotion. Affects are projectiles just like weapons; feelings are introceptive like tools" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 400). For Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the distinction between weapons and tools was a distinction between a becoming (or change) and a stratification (or stasis). A tool or weapon cannot be classified by what it is (a pen as a

tool or a gun as a weapon), but only by what it can do. For example, a pen in the hand of the good student who follows instructions is just a tool—a tool that makes the student feel good about doing schoolwork and receiving an award. A pen in the hand of Karl Marx, on the other hand, was a weapon that created affects of change in our world. Therefore, the distinction between affect and feeling is that affects are catalysts of change.

The aforementioned clarification, however, does not isolate affect from feelings or emotions. If I were to make such a distinction, I would be (re-)positing the fictitious Cartesian dualism between the corporeal and incorporeal, where affect takes a superior position and emotions are relegated to the carnal body. Strict Deleuzian scholars may argue for such a firm demarcation between affect and emotion (Colman, 2010), but I am not so socialized in my theorizing of affect and therefore revel in the *feeling* of affect. I take cues from Ahmed (2004, 2010a) and Probyn (2004) to theorize emotions as the capture of affective movements. Furthermore, I also align with Sedgwick's (2003) contention that affect adds to the enduring post-structural project of disrupting binary thinking. Therefore, affect works toward "agitating, working, and worrying specific points in larger trajectories of thought that have been long underway" (Niccolini, 2016c, p. 47).

Affect, in this thesis, is a tool that draws on these long-standing ideas to disrupt binaries and explore the power of what affects can do. For example, we have all felt the affective intensity of our first kiss and the social, physiological, and cognitive affects produced by such an event. Like a first kiss, teaching and learning may have similar affects. In other words, affective-focused pedagogy has the ability to *move* knowledge, bodies, and feelings. Affect "offers us a way of reimagining or thinking more intimately about the aspects of experience and learning that lie beside conscious intention and cognition, but which nevertheless make up the 'thick sociality' ... in classroom spaces" (Niccolini, 2016b, p. 896). The concept of affect is used to understand the enmeshed web of biological, psychological,

social, cultural, and emotional effects of unfolding events. Affect is a way to explore how bodies *come to matter* in the world (Judith Butler, 1993; Larsson, 2014).

Given the focus on matter(ing), affect is used here to explore how assemblages augment or diminish a body's capacity to affect others or be affected itself (Massumi, 1987). In other words, the focus on affect is what allows materialists to shift away from description to ask, "What can the body do?" (Buchanan, 1997). Affect is a "becoming" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) or ongoing experimentations that change bodies and assemblages (Clough & Halley, 2007) through relationships. Given this, affect is "a desire for relation, the 'drive in a person'" (Goodchild, 1996, p. 39) to connect with other bodies. Affects, however, can also consolidate hierarchies of the body's ability through "processes of generalizing and racialization [amongst others] that grant certain bodies full status (mainly white, western, able-bodied man) and disqualify others" (Niccolini, 2016c, p. 49). So affects then are the flows of intensity that produce oscillations toward stasis (or stability and consolidation) and change within an assemblage.

Given that affect is focused on relationships, it is impossible to describe changes as discrete units, because they can only be mapped through their connections (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The changes generated by affects could therefore be "physical, biological, psychological, social, political or emotional" (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 18). By mapping flows of affect in any given event, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) successfully transcend binary theorizing (social/natural, mind/body, feeling/physical). By using affect, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) do not privilege some bodies over others. Instead, all bodies are conceptualized as self-organizing systems that have differing capacities to affect or be affected.

The shifting of focus toward affect could have notable implications for research in LGBTQ issues in health and physical education. For example, many researchers have

described the heteronormative or homophobic culture of physical education (Clarke, 1998b; Cobhan, 1982; Cockburn & Clarke, 2002) or described how gender and sexually diverse people experience health and physical education (Bredemeir, Carlton, Hills, & Oglesby, 1999; Carless, 2012; Clarke, 1995; Devís-Devís, Pereira-García, López-Cañada, Pérez-Samaniego, & Fuentes-Miguel, 2018; Edwards et al., 2016; McGlashan, 2013). Some published manuscripts have theorized ways to change physical education to be more accepting (Ayvazo & Sutherland, 2009; Block, 2014; Clarke, 2013). Very little scholarship, however, has actually attempted to change the culture of physical education. For example, Chapman and colleagues (Chapman et al., 2003) developed a play and required physical education majors to attend to shift their worldview on sexuality. In Fitzpatrick and Enright (2016), Fitzpatrick gave an example of a bold statement assignment where one student in a PETE program capitalized on the opportunity to advocate for transgender youth with his classmates. Pérez-Samaniego and colleagues (Pérez-Samaniego et al., 2016) also explored changing students views by reading a fictional narrative of a transgender person in a physical education teacher education course. Notably, all of the research above was predominantly conducted with straight students regarding shifting their opinions of LGBTQ students. The above research also focused on shifting students' views and was, therefore, anthropocentric. The use of affect then has the ability to examine oscillations toward stasis and change by decentering the human as central to physical education practice.

Body without Organs (BwO) & Desire. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) co-opted the term “Body without Organs” (BwO) from the playwright Antonin Artaud. In his work, Artaud was concerned with trying to escape the judgment of God. Artaud claimed that judgment was clearest when we consider the organism as an organized static system comprised of distinct organs. Artaud proffered the BwO as the opposite to an organized system and argued, therefore, that it could escape God’s judgment (Adkins, 2015). For

Artaud, the BwO is not an “organ”-“ized” body, but rather is a body that is unorganized and capable of change. Given Artaud’s focus on change, and Deleuze and Guattari’s (1983, 1987) emphasis on affects, the latter co-opted the term BwO to help conceptualize the limits of the body and ways to experiment with those limitations. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated, “You never reach the Body without Organs, you can’t reach it, you are forever attaining it, it is a limit.” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 180). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) were clear that experimenting with the limitations of bodies is an ethical question and went on to state, “Experimentation: not only radiophonic but also biological and political, incurring censorship and repression. Corpus and Socius, politics and experimentation” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 150). For Deleuze and Guattari (1987), all organisms have an ethical obligation to experiment with their bodies in relation to the assemblage. These experimentations may produce moments of censorship or repression, but they also have the ability to expand the body’s limitations/potential, which raises the ethical question: Which relationships are worth entering into?

All bodies have limitations to what they can do. Human bodies cannot defy gravity or live under water. Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987) recognized the limitations of bodies and labeled those limitations the “Body-without-Organs” (BwO). According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the BwO (or limitations) are materially *produced* and continually *transformed* through relationships in the world. Reverting back to a previous example, one limitation of the human body is defying gravity. If humans enter into a relationship with an airline company, however, the material relationships generated through this experimentation produces a new BwO: the human–airplane company–pilot–airplane assemblage leads to an expansion of the BwO. The human body, which could not defy gravity prior to entering into a relationship with an airplane company, can now defy gravity. The BwO are therefore the

materially produced limits of the body and can be expanded or diminished through experimentation.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) emphasized that humans have the ability to change the body's limitations because the restrictions imposed on our bodies are not distinctly social or biological. Instead, many limitations of bodies are also *ethical* questions (Adkins, 2015). In other words, our limitations are ethical because as humans, we need to choose which limitations we want to experiment with and explore further. This is why Deleuze and Guattari (1987) clearly stated that not all BwOs (limits and experimentations) are good. An addiction to heroin, as an example, may induce further limitations on the body. This is the ethical component of the BwO. When we consider the BwO as experimentation, we understand the BwO as our body's ability to enter into relationships with other bodies (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). So, the ethical component of the BwO is not a moralistic one such as, "You should not eat cupcakes because they make you fat." This would be a judgment. Instead, the BwO is a way of talking about desire as a productive force (Goodchild, 1996), which would inspire the alternate question, "What does eating cupcakes do?" The BwO is an ethical concept concerned with desire or the desire to produce new limits:

The BwO is the *field of immanence* of desire, the *plane of consistency* specific to desire (with desire defined as a process of production without reference to any exterior agency, whether it be a lack that hollows it out or a pleasure that fills it).

(Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 154, original emphasis)

Deleuze and Guattari perceived desire as a productive force (and not a lack) because desire continually makes new connections (or relationships). Since desire consistently enters into new relationships with new bodies, it has the ability to produce *new combinations* (Goodchild, 1996). Adkins (2015) noted this distinction by drawing on his personal experience:

I had always assumed that desire was predicated on a lack, that the reason I wanted something was because I didn't have it. Watching my children play, however, showed me that this was not the case. A child with a toy in each hand, who suddenly drops one in order to pick up a new toy, didn't "lack" the new toy. The child is simply interested in making new connections, and making a new connection requires breaking other connections. (pp. 105-106)

In Adkins' example, his child's desire to play with a toy was not out of lack (the child had a toy in hand). Rather, the child had a productive force that forged a new connection, which he noted requires breaking other connections. Back to the cupcake example, instead of trying to judge the relationship between a body and other things moralistically (cupcakes are bad), it is more important to ask, "What does the relationship do?" The BwO is an ethical way of mapping the productive potential of desire. Therefore, it is not a question of judgment (yes or no, good or bad), but rather an ethical question of affirmation (which relationships are worth entering?).

The concepts BwO and productive desire have the ability to augment LGBTQ research in the field. Instead of treating queer desire as "natural" and something our field must react to (McCaughtry, Dillon, Jones, & Smigell, 2005) or as repressed (Clarke, 1998b; Sykes, 2011), a materialist perspective recognizes that physical education plays an active role in the material production of queer desire. Given that the field of physical education shapes the relationships that queer desire can enter into, we need to adjust the conception of physical education. Instead of viewing health and physical education as something that is good or bad for queer and gender diverse students, it can be conceptualized as something that expands and/or limits LGBTQ students' BwO. Therefore, queer desire is no longer subjugated to discourses (Fitzpatrick & Enright, 2016; Larsson, 2014; Sykes, 2011), but rather queer desire is materially produced in relationship with health and physical education. A materialist

approach also requires that the field asks ethical questions of itself like, “What do certain pedagogical practices do when they enter into relationships with queer subjectivities?”

Smooth and Striated Spaces. In Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) final chapter of *A Thousand Plateaus*, they focused on the role space plays in our world. To elucidate space further, they drew on the concepts of “Smooth Space” and “Striated Space.” While these concepts ostensibly appear dualistic, that could not be further from the truth. There is no such space that is purely striated or purely smooth, because “the two spaces in fact exist only in mixture” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 474). This distinction is important because assemblages always have oscillations between stasis and change (Adkins, 2015). If space were only smooth, then there would be no stasis. If space were only striated, there would be no change. All spaces are a mixture of both. Before we discuss how the concepts of striated and smooth spaces are particularly relevant to research on gender and sexuality, it is important to gain a clear understanding of striated and smooth spaces.

To explain the concept of striated space, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) referenced the game of chess, in which the pieces are coded and assigned particular qualities so they can only move in pre-determined fashions that replicate the function of the game (pp. 352-353). For my purposes, I like to think of a striated space as a game of American Football (or gridiron). Each person on the field has specific responsibilities and duties: the head coach, the offensive coordinator, the defensive coordinator, the quarterback, the offensive lineman, the linebacker, the wide receiver, and every other person on the field. Each of these players is bound by rules that govern their positions (e.g., a lineman cannot go past the line of scrimmage on a pass play). These rules are enforced by officials, who also abide by certain rules depending on their position (e.g., line judge, back judge, field judge). The game starts and stops based on whistles, down markers, and quarterback signals. The American Football assemblage is highly striated and limits bodies BwO into certain functions and expressions.

The material conditions do not allow for much deviation from these rules, and if one violates the rules, they are penalized and each penalty is highly striated.

Unlike American Football, the game of soccer provides a smoother space that is not as striated. Positions (e.g., forwards, midfielders) exist in soccer, but the players in these positions can act freely and break from traditional roles. Furthermore, the coach does not call tactical plays every ten seconds to the players. Rather, the players are free to develop their own gameplay and come up with tactics or movements on the spot. Contrary to American Football, the gameplay does not start and stop a few seconds later with each play. In fact, the officials tend to be hands off and allow the players to continue at a constant flow. Given this, the space is smoother and allows different configurations to unfold. The “movement is not from one point to another, but becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 353).

Soccer, however, is not a completely smooth space. It does have striations. As noted earlier, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) clarified that all spaces are mixed: “smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into a striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space” (p. 474). Adkins (2015) observed, “Deleuze and Guattari are less interested in the pure difference between the smooth and the striated than they are the interaction between the two kinds of space. How does smooth space become striated? How does striated space become smooth?” (Adkins, 2015, p. 231). The answer to this lies in affect and what the body can do. Striated spaces are “organ”-“ized” spaces that tend to reproduce patterns in our world. It is important to note that even the most striated spaces have moments of smoothness that allow for the BwO to open up and create new interactions and induce change so the assemblage can smoothen its space and transform what it can do.

Now that we've clarified the concepts of striated and smooth spaces, we will examine why they are particularly relevant to research on gender and sexuality. Mac an Ghaill (1994) noted that specific schooling spaces (e.g., playgrounds, staff rooms) have become critical sites where young men learn about masculinities and identity formation. Thorne (1993) also noted that gendered identities are often constructed via "borderwork" where spatial boundaries are used to inform what it means to be a young boy or girl. In physical education, Gerdin (2017) drew from post-structural theory to illuminate the ways that young men's understandings of masculinity are constituted by the socio-spatial relations of sport in physical education. Clarke (2004) also drew on post-structural theory to illustrate how lesbian teachers are simultaneously restricted by socio-spatial borders but also transcend them. The use of concepts like striated and smooth provides a different view of the structural and post-structural arguments leveled above. Instead of conceptualizing space as completely discursive, or understanding how certain subjects cross borders, a materialist perspective actually analyzes how spaces can transform and oscillate between striated and smooth places and how matter plays a role in such oscillations. Therefore, materialism places great emphasis on how agency is always beyond the self because spaces are always mixed (striated/smooth, internal/external) and never pure.

Summary: Materialist health and physical education

In this chapter, I explained some of the underlying principles and philosophies of materialism relevant to this thesis (Coole & Frost, 2010; Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2017; van der Tuin & Dolphijn, 2010). These underlying principles are highly dependent on understanding that all things in this world are relational. Everything is always a multiplicity and is constantly being materialized. Therefore, materialism flattens the hierarchy and does not privilege some bodies over others. Each body is materially constituted and constituting. In materialism, the important question is what can a body do? (Buchanan,

1997). In order to understand what a body can do, one must always look at the local flows of affect but map them in relation to meso- and macro-systems. What the body can do is materially produced through self-organizing properties of matter and the limitations it experiences on its BwO. Therefore, we can no longer just look at humans as the only agential bodies within our field. Rather, we need to conceptualize humans as part of a multiplicity of incorporeal and corporeal bodies.

As previously mentioned, I draw on Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in this thesis to help analyze gender and sexuality in health and physical education. Drawing on materialism to explore gender and sexuality within physical education has never been done at this level, so the Deleuzo-Guattarian framing brings a *different* perspective to the field. Given this, the methods of inquiry drawing on materialism must also be conceptualized *differently*. In the following chapter, I outline a Materialist Ethnographic approach to research in health and physical education.

Chapter 4: What can a materialist ethnography do?

We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are...

(Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 257)

The importance of affect compels me to avoid describing what a materialist ethnography is and instead focus on what a materialist ethnography does. Like this thesis more broadly, a materialist ethnography sits *beside* (Sedgwick, 2003) the important ethnographic work that has come before. This ethnography has been affected by critical orientations, and as such it seeks to apply “a subversive worldview to the conventional logic of cultural inquiry” (J. Thomas, 1993, p. vii). The subversive worldview employed works to “expose power relations through in-depth and sustained involvement in a research setting” (Fitzpatrick, 2013b, p. 25). According to Fitzpatrick (2013), this is done through a “dedicated and sustained engagement with social theory in order to elucidate wider power issues” (ibid.). A materialist ethnography then draws on materialist social theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, 1987; Fox & Alldred, 2017) to attend to power relations and inequities. The power relations addressed here are directly related to diverse genders and sexualities.

What is unique about this ethnography is that I was not restricted to one research setting (a school or class); instead I took a rhizomatic approach (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) eschewed linear and structuralist thinking (one becomes two and two becomes four). Rather, they were theorists of the multiple. Deleuze and Guattari rejected conventional linear approaches to logic or thinking that had been referred to as an “arborescent model of thought” (Massumi, 1987, xii). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued, “We’re tired of trees... They’ve made us suffer too much. All of arborescent culture is founded on them...” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 15). Instead of arborescent trees (bound to a single location), they offered the illustration of a rhizome: “unlike trees or their roots, the

rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 21). So, instead of the image of research being a tree, where the trunk is fixated and investigation goes in a linear fashion (from trunk to branch, from branch to stem, and stem to leaf), this ethnography acts like a rhizome and uses different types of methods in different settings at different times.

It is important to note that my original intention was to conduct research in an educational setting (a health and physical education class). Yet, the mere topic of sexuality made it arduous to gain entry into such settings (especially being a United States born researcher in a different country). Furthermore, being isolated to a single health and physical education setting would have limited my investigation to a few (if any) out LGBTQ students. As a result, this ethnography took place at a queer organization called QueerTEENS (discussed later this chapter), which meant that my investigation into health and physical education practices was limited in particular ways (e.g., no entry into a health and physical education classes). Yet many of the events that unfold throughout this thesis affect (and are affected by) health and physical education. One potential claim could be that my focus on the lives of these LGBTQ youth also helps “decenter the research subject” (K. Strom, Mills, & Ovens, 2018) and contextualize health and physical education in a broader cultural setting. Given this, I did my best to employ a flattened ontology (Coole & Frost, 2010). In the next section, I discuss the implications of such an ontological position.

Ontological considerations: Flattening the methodologies.

According to the work of Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre and Pattie Lather (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; St. Pierre, 2013, 2015), research drawing on conventional methods (Strom and Martin (2017) would call this positivist) create a systematic and linear process that aids researchers in answering pre-determined research questions using a set of tools (e.g., interviews, observations). Therefore, conventional approaches to methods are a striated space

that place a specific focus on investigating epistemologies (or knowledges) through a lock-step process that results in a single truth (K. J. Strom & Martin, 2017). Materialist inquiry, like much of post-structural informed research (St. Pierre, 2000b), shifts away from epistemological debates between realists, positivists, or social constructivists (van der Tuin & Dolphijn, 2010). For me, materialism retains important insights from post-structuralism like the “ontological focus on relationality rather than essence” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 152), but it also has an additional emphasis “with ontology (the kinds of things that exist in the world)” (ibid.). Therefore, what sets materialist inquiry apart is its alignment to a flat or monist ontology (Fox & Alldred 2018) that treats knowledge, matter, and subjects as equal partners in the production of the world.

Indeed, this methods section is already notably different than traditional qualitative inquiry. Invigorated by Giardina (2017), I intended to “(re)turn towards thinking of ourselves as philosophers of inquiry rather than ‘researchers’ who use ‘methods’ to gather ‘data’” (p. 265, original emphasis). To Giardina’s (2017) point, one of the reasons I am drawn to ethnography is because ethnographies operate within a smoother space. Instead of just taking tools (or methods) to construct a project (or research), I started thinking about the research process from a theoretically informed position. I drew on Renold and Mellor’s (2013) insights that ethnography creates a “research environment that enables the mapping of new conditions of possibility, which...involves some complex missing of a range of affects” (p. 28). Affects that can be attended to in the ethnographic assemblage include the senses (Pink, 2015), politics (J. Thomas, 1993), and education (Carspecken, 1996; Delamont, 2014). The ethnographic approach can address these affects because it draws from multiple data generation machines. Ethnographies use interviews, observations, visual methods, linguistic methods, and artefact analysis, amongst many other tools to produce data. Therefore, while I cannot claim that the results of this research accurately *represent* the real, I can claim that

multiple data generating machines (e.g., interviews, observations) were used to create a crystallized (Ellingson, 2009) view of the real with multiple dimensionalities. Knowledge, subject, and matter become equally important in a materialist ethnography. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated:

There is no longer a tripartite division between a field of reality (the world) and a field of representation (the book) and a field of subjectivity (the author). Rather, an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicities drawn from each of these orders.” (p. 23)

When doing ethnographic inquiry using a materialist lens, we cannot arbitrarily separate knowledge, matter, and subjects. Instead, we should conceptualize them as multiplicities working in tandem with each other to produce the world. Assemblage is an apt concept to help theorize the world because it challenges the idea of a fixed subject: a stable, autonomous, and agential being that can produce rationale thought (St. Pierre, 2000b). Using assemblage, the focus of analysis moves away from the description of subjects, matter, or knowledge; rather the emphasis is placed on the relationships between these things and their affects (Deleuze, 1990, 1994; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In essence, assemblage is not something that can be described (or represented); rather it aids our understanding of how things come together and interact, and importantly, what they produce through those interactions. The focus on relationships aligns well with ethnographies, as Fitzpatrick and May (2016) claimed, “all research should attend to the relations between the objects of study, rather than just the objects themselves” (p. 104). Therefore, ethnographies become “the machine that is a hub of connections and productions” (Mazzei, 2013, p. 739).

Mapping the ethnographic assemblage: Data generating machines

“Everywhere it is machines—real ones, not figurative ones: machines driving other machines, machines being driven by other machines, with all the necessary couplings and connections.”

(Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, p. 1)

For Deleuze and Guattari (1983), the term *machine* was not meant to be understood as a mechanical thing but rather the term highlighted the productive potential and process of multiple bodies being linked together. Fox and Alldred (2015a) claimed, “We will treat the research process as if it were a series of interconnected machines that do specified tasks such as data collection, data analysis and so forth” (p. 4). Each of these tasks, however, is also comprised of machines. Data generation, as an example, is a machine comprised of other machines (e.g., interview machines, survey machines, observation machines). Each of these machines has the potential to produce specific outputs. An individual interview produces accounts of an event supplied by a human subject. A questionnaire, on the other hand, can gather and collate data from multiple subjects (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Every type of research machine has effects on the research assemblage and what it can do.

Research methods have the ability to be striated spaces (St. Pierre, 1997, 2000a). For example, linear lock-step methods may work to replicate concepts of reliability, trustworthiness, and validity (K. J. Strom & Martin, 2017). Such approaches to methods, however, also run the risk of reproducing previously established results because they are restricted in their movements. Instead of thinking of methods as a linear process that explores an ultimate truth, Deleuze and Guattari believed we should always stay in the middle and recognize that we are bound to our research. In this sense, we (the researchers) materially produce methods, data, and analyses based on our movements, which concomitantly affects the production of the world (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013).

The ability to stay in the middle is one of the reasons I chose to conduct an ethnography. Ethnographic approaches using materialism have produced new ways of thinking about the body, gender, sexuality, and education. Mindy Blaise (2013) combined ethnographic approaches with materialist theory to explore how binaries around gender (man/woman), age (adult/child), and body size (skinny/fat) work to produce murky encounters with youth. In her work, Blaise examined the role of material items and bodies, and how they shaped what children can do. Carol Taylor (2013) also used material approaches to engage in “a critical practice of interference which pays attention to what we don’t normally see, to what is excluded” (p. 692). Through material approaches, Taylor (2013) illustrated how material objects such as clothes, classwork, chairs, and other mundane objects worked to (re-)inscribe gendered, sexual, classed, and raced subjects. Taylor argued a materialist ethnography can explore how “material cultures of everyday classroom life are both active and constitutive in processes that recreate gender inequalities” (p. 688). Both of these approaches are known for creating smooth spaces and linking multiple bodies, so the ethnographer can stay in the middle to consider what affects others and/or is being affected.

Another form of material ethnography is when the participants produce their own materials. In Emma Renold’s (2018) recent work, she engaged with participants to create data using arts-based methods. Renold (2018) used artwork (data) to explore sexual violence with girls in schools. One example from this research was when one of the girls claimed young boys were using rulers to lift up girls’ skirts. As a way to disrupt this culture, Renold (2018) asked the girls to explore, through art, “what else could the ruler do” (p. 42). The girls linked the ruler to shaming girls and women, trying to control girls’ bodies, and most invigorating, they linked it back to the object: the point of the ruler was to “Rule Her” (p.44). In Renold’s (2018) study, multiple things came together (objects, ideas, humans, politics) to produce

particular affects. The materialist ethnography becomes an experimentation by linking multiple machines together to produce affect.

As illustrated, materialist ethnographic research assemblages are viewed as a smooth space and experimental spaces (Blaise, 2013; Holford, Renold, & Huuki, 2013; Renold, 2018; Ringrose, 2011). Many of these interactions produced in a materialist ethnography include the researcher. In other words, the researcher is another machine in the research assemblage and actively influences the material production of data. The researcher-as-machine cannot be separated and isolated because other machines (e.g., interviewing, observing, participants, supervisors) concomitantly affect the researcher (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This means each interview, each observation, and each analysis affected me, which in turn affected the material production of data. I made every attempt to stay in the middle and be open to different perspectives, movements, or flows that occurred within the research assemblage. As St. Pierre (2000a) stated, I tried to be “more interested in the surprising intensity of an event than in the familiar serenity of essence” (St. Pierre, 2000a, p. 264). The goal of the research assemblage is not to interpret but to use intensities (the data generated) to make connections that were not previously there.

By staying open to new connections, the researcher does not investigate previously documented issues in the field but is open to creating new ones. By conducting research in this manner, educational researchers can avoid what Delamont (2014) called the “shared failure to make their own education systems problematic” (p.13). Rather, Delamont (2014) drew from Young (1971) and claimed that researchers should “shift from *taking* problems to *making* them” (Delamont, 2014, p. 12). By using the intensities of space to explore new connections between the health and physical education assemblage, LGBTQ issues, and pedagogy, I aim to produce new ways of understanding curriculum and change in health and physical education. Below, I articulate the data generating machines used in this thesis.

Methods

In the following section, I describe the method-machines that actively produced the data in my ethnographic research assemblage. These machines include the settings, the participants, the data generation methods, the analyses undertaken, and the ethical considerations in my research assemblage. I hope to highlight that this research project, like any assemblage, materially produced specific ways of knowing the world through ethnographic interactions.

Setting: QueerTEENS. This ethnography took place at QueerTEENS, a charitable youth organization in Auckland, New Zealand. QueerTEENS was founded in 1989 with the goal of helping Gay and Lesbian youth in Auckland. Since its conception, however, the outreach of QueerTEENS has grown exponentially and they now work with sex, gender, and sexuality diverse youth across the country. The primary location of QueerTEENS may be in Auckland, yet many of their outreach strategies are done through support groups across the North Island. In these support groups, youth have access to different types of resources (brochures, pamphlets, condoms), professional development (workshops, lessons around sexuality), peer support (counseling, referral programs), and activity programs (art, physical activity, gaming), amongst other things.

Given the lengths that QueerTEENS places on education, the LGBTQ youth that attend these support programs are highly sexually educated. Therefore, the QueerTEENS-machine produces particular affects that are unique to this study. I spent the majority of my time in the centrally located drop-in center in Auckland's CBD. Therefore, much of the data produced affects that are specific to Auckland's community in relation to LGBTQ culture. I did, however, spend additional time with multiple support groups the organization sponsors. Each of these support groups produces different affects based on their location, targeted age group, and topic of programming. Below, I outline the support groups I had the pleasure of

working with at QueerTEENS. Notably, all of these groups are youth led, planned, and driven.

G.Q. (Generation Queer). G.Q. was one of the support groups I attended at QueerTEENS. The group met on a bi-weekly basis at QueerTEENS main headquarters off of K-Road (a street in the Auckland CBD that is known for being a queer community). G.Q. was comprised of youth under the age of 18 who identified as LGBTQ (although straight allies were always welcomed). The usual crowd at G.Q. included roughly 20 to 35 youth from Auckland and the surrounding areas (roughly up to 30 minutes in all directions). G.Q. met during the evenings from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m., although some nights the meetings went later. All of the youth at G.Q. were enrolled in school at the time of this study, so the G.Q. research machine produced affects that were relative to current school goer's experiences. The youth also came from multiple schools ranging in socio-economic status, which produced different results.

Every meeting of G.Q. started with a name round, where everyone formed a large circle so they could all listen and see each other. Each person in the group had the opportunity to share his/her/their name, preferred gender pronouns (he, she, they), and usually something to discuss from the previous two weeks. During this time, the youth brought up their struggles, but also inspirational moments, that occurred in school, at home, or in local communities. After scouring difficult and light-hearted events, the youth would share *kai* (the Māori word for food) with each other and chat in small groups. Over the course of the night, the youth played games, discussed life, and even brought their instruments to jam out. Crucially, this support groups was a smooth space where youth acted as supportive figures for each other. I attended many meetings with the G.Q. crowd during which they shared many insights that are published in this thesis.

TaurangaPryde. The support group for the Bay of Plenty region was called TaurangaPryde. The TaurangaPryde group met on a weekly basis (Wednesdays) in Tauranga from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. TaurangaPryde welcomed LGBTQ youth (and straight allies) aged 27 and under to attend the group. Given the wide age range, the TaurangaPryde research machine produced a mix of stories from current school goers to recent graduates. The oldest member of TaurangaPryde was 19 years old. Like G.Q., the group always started with a name round, after which members discussed the events that unfolded over the previous week. TaurangaPryde had a smaller number of regular attendees (between 10 to 15 LGBTQ youth), but this had an unexpected affect of making the group even more intimate in the stories they chose to share.

Many of the students went to different schools in the Bay of Plenty region, and some attended single-sex private (usually faith-based) institutions. Because of the difference in location and type of schools, the TaurangaPryde-machine produced different results in the study. Since it is located in a more rural area, there are fewer LGBTQ support programs for these youth. Therefore, the weekly gatherings at TaurangaPryde served as a sticky epicenter where youth consistently attended. In these meetings, the group explored queer culture they were not exposed to in their schools. During my six visits to TaurangaPryde, the youth watched *RuPaul's Drag Race*, *Rocky Horror Picture Show*, and *Philadelphia* (all LGBTQ media). The youth at TaurangaPryde also organized annually to attend the Gay Pride Parade in Auckland. The insights of these students proved to be invaluable as their experiences differed greatly from the youth in Auckland.

Outside the Box. Outside the Box was the group I was most connected to during my time at QueerTEENS. Unlike the other groups, Outside the Box did not have a recurring meeting day or time. Instead, the group often participated in scheduled trips that involved physical activity of some sort. Much of these trips were, as the name entails, outside the box

(or outside of building walls). Some of the trips that occurred during my time with Outside the Box included (a) overnight camping at Kaiwi lakes, (b) two overnight camping trips in the Waitakere ranges, (c) a visit to Piha beach, (d) bouncing at a trampoline park, (e) playing laser tag, (f) escape room challenge, (g) indoor rock climbing, and (h) a hiking trip at Rangitoto Island. The Outside the Box group was comprised of a bunch of explorers who were keen to discover different activities that involved movement and being outdoors. Given this, the data affects produced in this group were remarkably different because of location, interests, and types of activities.



Image created by QueerTEENS

Outside the Box typically sponsored trips for LGBTQ youth under the age of 20, and the number of participants usually ranged from between seven to twelve. Most activities were day trips that took place on a Saturday, but there were several overnight trips that also took place. Given the propensity for overnight trips, one affect of the Outside the Box research machine was that it produced more intimate relationships. I got to know the youth in this group the most intimately because of our deep engagement with each other. While sharing tents, beds, and blankets, we all stayed up late and chatted about topics that were much deeper than a formal interview. Throughout this thesis, I have interwoven stories from many of these youth because they *affected* me greatly.

Leaving the city for Outside the Box activities provided LGBTQ youth a means to get out of communities and homes that were not supportive to diverse genders and sexualities.

Given this, the youth that signed up for Outside the Box were different than other groups, and this affected the data produced. At many times, these LGBTQ youth affected my body through gut-wrenching knots, tears of joy, and nail biting worries. Even now, I am reminded of their resilience, and tears well up as I strike letters on my keyboard. In regards to my focus on health and physical education, I found this group the most compelling. The youth that comprised Outside the Box enjoyed and participated in multiple forms of physical activity, so their insights to the field proved to be noteworthy.

WaQuY (Waikato Queer Youth). WaQuY (pronounced Whacky) is an independent (yet financially connected) group that operates separately from QueerTEENS. WaQuY started as an independently run organization that served LGBTQ youth in the Waikato area. Over the years, however, their work has become enmeshed with the work of QueerTEENS. For example, QueerTEENS pays their employees to provide support sessions, event programming, and community outreach. The WaQuY group meets every Monday from 4:30 p.m. onwards in Hamilton, New Zealand's CBD. The group is usually comprised of 15 to 30 LGBTQ up to the age of 27. Due to the difference in location and mix of youth ages, the WaQuY research machine produced different results from the other support groups. I attended four sessions with the WaQuY group over the course of the five-month ethnography.

Participants. The ethnography was comprised of 62 overall participants (60 of which were LGBTQ youth; two were adults). In the appendix section, I have included a table outlining the pseudonyms, ages, gender identities, sexual orientations, and ethnicities of all of the participants. Below, I summarize the demographic categories for the 62 participants as a whole. I gathered this information by asking each person about their age, gender, and sexual orientation, which I did after I started to get to know each person because I felt uncomfortable asking these questions upon first meeting. Furthermore, for many of these

students, their genders and sexualities changed over the course of the ethnography. Given this, I updated my notes on these topics if the youth told me they identified differently.

Age. QueerTEENS is a youth advocacy organization. The organization defined youth as anyone below the age of 27. For this study, 60 of the 62 participants were between the ages of 13 and 25. The two non-youth participants were 29 and 49, and served as the Executive Director and an Intern, respectively.

Gender. The participants were asked to describe their own genders. I then took their descriptions and consolidated them into six thematic categories. If a person said they identified as genderqueer or androgynous, I consolidated this into Non-binary. Another example for consolidation is if the youth identified as Transman or Transboy, I consolidated this into Transmasculine. Below are the categories and the number of participants that corresponded with each category.

- (1) Cisgender Man (14/62): a term that describes a person who was born a biological male and identifies with a masculine gender identity.
- (2) Cisgender Woman (27/62): a term that describes a person who was born a biological female and identifies with a feminine gender identity.
- (3) Non-Binary (6/62): a term that describes a person who does not prescribe to either masculine or feminine gender identities.
- (4) Transmasculine (11/62): a term that describes a person who was born a biological female but identifies with a masculine gender identity.
- (5) Transfeminine (3/62): a term that describes a person who was born a biological male but identifies with a feminine gender identity.
- (6) Takatāpui (1/62): a culturally specific Māori (indigenous) term that describes someone who does not identify with western gender or sexual terms.

It is important to note that 21 of the 62 (33.9%) participants did not identify with a normative (or cis) gender identity. Furthermore, 14 of the 62 (22.6%) participants identified as transgender or did not identify with the gender they were assigned at birth. It should be noted the participants' genders were not fixed or stable. Some participants, for example, started the study identifying as a cisgender man and changed their gender to transfeminine or non-binary towards the end. The final categories and tallies were based on the member-checking conducted with the participants at the end of the study.

Sexual orientation. The participants were asked to describe their own sexual orientation. I then took their descriptions and consolidated them into nine thematic categories. The answers varied greatly, so I categorized sexual orientation into nine groups for the purposes of this study. For example, some women identified as gay, and I consolidated this into lesbian. When youth claimed they were Queer as F*ck, I consolidated this into Queer. Below are the sexual orientation categories and the number of participants that corresponded with each.

- (1) A-sexual (4/62): lack of sexual attraction to others or the lack of interest in sex.
People who identify as asexual may still identify with other sexualities and be romantically attracted to other people and have fulfilling relationships.
- (2) Bisexual (5/62): a romantic or sexual attraction to someone who may be from the same or different genders.
- (3) Fakaleiti (1/62): refers to a third gender category found in Tonga. Usually these persons are born male, but do social activities traditionally done by females.
- (4) Gay man (12/62): refers to a man who is romantically or sexually attracted to someone who is also a man.
- (5) Lesbian (14/62): refers to a woman who is romantically or sexually attracted to someone who is also a woman.

- (6) Pansexual (6/62): refers to a person who is sexually, romantically, or emotionally attracted to people regardless of their sex or gender identity.
- (7) Queer (14/62): refers to a reclaimed word that serves as an umbrella term for diverse sexualities and genders, or for persons who choose not to identify with other labels.
- (8) Straight/heterosexual (5/62): refers to persons who are sexually, romantically, or emotionally attracted to someone of the opposite sex.
- (9) Takatāpui (1/62): a culturally specific Māori (indigenous) term that describes someone who does not identify with western gender or sexual terms.

The vast majority of participants (57 of the 62, or 91.9%) did not identify as heterosexual/straight. Furthermore, only half of the participants (50.0%) identified as gay, lesbian, or straight. In other words, half of the participants felt the need to distance themselves from labels they found to be normative in their society. Like gender, the participants' sexualities were not fixed or stable. Some participants, for example, started the study identifying as gay and changed their sexual orientation to queer or pansexual towards the end. The final categories and tallies were based on the member-checking conducted with the participants at the end of the study.

Data Generation. I have chosen to use the term data generation rather than data collection. In an interview about research with Richard Tinning (Tinning & Fitzpatrick, 2012), Fitzpatrick claimed, “relations between myself and the students within the school formed the research evidence/stories/writings. We *made* the ‘data’ rather than reported or collected them” (Tinning & Fitzpatrick, 2012, p. 62, emphasis added). Fitzpatrick asserted that data were produced during research through interactions, and in this study, I argue that the interactions also materially produced data. Therefore, data generation uses “various ‘research-machines’ that underpin data collection, analysis, writing and dissemination” (Fox

& Alldred, 2017, p. 152). In the following sections, I outline data generation machines used in this research to produce data from the research assemblage.

Observations. Marshall and Rossman (2011) defined observations as the “systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting” (p. 139). I did not do this. Nothing about my work at QueerTEENS was systematic (or striated), rather it was more spur of the moment (or a smoother space). For this research, I acted as a participant-observer (Hammersley, 1992) who actively participated in the events at QueerTEENS. As O’Reilly (2005) claimed, “the ethnographer should not sit in ‘his’ (sic) armchair theorizing but should get out there and spend time learning about different peoples” (p. 10). I immersed myself in the setting, which “permits the researcher to hear, see, and begin to experience reality as the participants do” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 140). I walked in Gay Pride parades, went camping with members, attended self-defense classes, provided and received professional development, sat in and participated in support sessions, acted as a sounding board at meetings, and participated in community events with the youth at QueerTEENS. I participated in these activities for five months from February through June in 2017.

During my participation in these events, I took “jottings,” or a “word or two written at the moment or soon afterward” in order to jog my memory later in the day when I wrote up my field notes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011). This method was important because personal reflections on these events were integral to understanding the material production of the research assemblage. The personal reflections I later wrote from these jottings allowed me to make the “familiar strange” and the “strange familiar” (Glesne, 2006). When writing up my reflections, I did not try to represent things that occurred. Instead, I looked for moments of affect or moments that led to a transformation in a body’s ability to affect or be affected. Hickey-Moody (2013) explained this lucidly:

An affect, then, is the margin of modulation effected by change in capacity: a material section in its own right that articulates an increase or decrease in a body's capacity to act. For example: a car screeches to a halt, narrowly missing a woman pushing a pram. The busy intersection stops. The woman screams and her hands shake. The composition of her body has changes – as she responds to the stress, her body reacts. (p. 80)

My reflections therefore, were focused on the events that changed spaces from striated to smooth and vice versa. I wrote about the events that changed the members' emotions, thoughts, and bodies through interactions. Observations then were not merely observations. They were reflections that served as a springboard to allow the participants in the study to reflect on and draw parallels to their lived experiences in health and physical education.

Interviews. The major source of data generation for this research was interviewing. Interviews have historically been aligned to feminist approaches to qualitative research (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Traditional ethnographic interviewing has been described as a method that focuses “on culture—broadly construed—from the participants’ perspectives and through firsthand encounters” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 148). The focus on culture is probably because interviews have historically been thought of as “an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest” (Kvale, 1996, p. 2). This is a very technical way of looking at interviewing and also privileges knowledge over matter. Instead, I agree with Pink’s (2015) conception of the ethnographic interview: “In the context of an ethnographic research project, interviews are not simply research events during which one person (the researcher) asks and audio records a set of questions of another person (the interviewee)” (p. 75). As Pink noted, research is more than just an event between two people. Rather, a fundamental part of interviews is the researcher as a participant in the generation of data through interviews and, therefore, not just an observer. Given this, focus must be made on relationships between the researcher and participants (M. Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong,

2000). This relationship between researcher and participants is particularly crucial when the participants are children and youth because of power relations that materialize within these settings (G. A. Fine & Sandstrom, 1988).

A materialist conception of interviewing focuses on the relationships between bodies and their productive potential (Coffey, 2016). An interview is an assemblage comprised of multiple bodies (e.g., the researcher, the participant, the place, the questions, the feelings) and relationships between these bodies materially produce data. The data produced, however, are limited by the methods utilized. For example, one limitation of the interview is that it “privileges human accounts of events” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 165). This was especially the case when I conducted one-on-one semi-structured interviews with youth (Creswell, 2012). To counter this limitation, I also used group interviews because the interactions between multiple people produced richer narratives of specific events (Fontana & Frey, 2005). The group interviews were more flexible, or less striated, and allowed the participants to make new connections I had not considered. For example, in chapter nine, I discuss the ways in which LGBTQ students shifted the way sexuality education was taught in schools. In particular, I did not realize that students were actually peer-teaching in sexuality education classes, but this information arose immanently through the data. Because group interviews were less formulaic, and sometimes participants responded to each other’s points without solicitation, group interviews allowed for greater experimentation that shifted my own thinking about LGBTQ issues in health and physical education.

The last type of interview I utilized was “unstructured” interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005). As Fitzpatrick claimed (2013b), “the interview format can have an unavoidable degree of falsity and formality, due in part to the hierarchy between interviewer (who controls the topic and questions) and interviewee (who, typically, responds)” (p. 57). One way I counterbalanced this falsity and formality was by simply having conversations with the

participants during interactions. These conversations often provided some of the most fruitful information because I learned about events happening in their lives. Furthermore, the youth in this study were keen to open up when they did not feel it was forced. Therefore, the unstructured interview provided a smoother space for youth to explore their own topics. Not to mention, unstructured interviews and informal conversations gave me the opportunity to listen to their words while also seeing the affects these ideas had on their bodies (Coffey, 2016). In this study, I interviewed and listened to the words of LGBTQ youth regarding their experiences in schools, communities, at home, and specifically in health and physical education. When discussing some of these topics, the youth sometimes folded their arms and shut down. In other cases, they got really excited and jubilant. Since the body is an assemblage of productive affects, the unstructured interview gave me the opportunity to move beyond dichotomies of verbal and physical and see the two on a continuum of materiality (St. Pierre, 2002).

Artefacts. Materialism makes a modest attempt to think beyond or outside of the human experience (Braidotti, 2013; Coole & Frost, 2010). Humans are affected by and can affect non-human bodies (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Another machinic operation of generating data included exploring the affects materially produced by objects within the lives of LGBTQ youth. It is common for qualitative researchers to collect artefacts and documents within a setting (Creswell, 2012). Usually, the purpose of collecting artefacts from cultures is to interpret and understand “the values and beliefs of participants in the setting” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 160). This approach of interpreting, however, tends to privilege knowledge and reproduces representations rather than exploring affects. Therefore, I agree with Pink (2015), who argued that we need to explore “how people experience their homes, material cultures, and domestic products and practices” (p. 20). I aimed to explore the

affective potentials of artefacts and how they affected the assemblages of which they came into contact.

The artefacts collected for this project ranged in substance and purpose. For example, I have stickers that were distributed during the gay pride parade in Auckland. I collected brochures that were used to up-skill (or provide continuing education to) members, professionals, and other stakeholders. I collected a box of condoms that were distributed to help youth decide which type of condom was best suited for their needs. Participants and I took pictures of events that had meaning in the study. Lastly, I took pictures of artwork that was produced during group sessions. Each of these artefacts produced particular affects for the participants in this study. Some of the artefacts, like brochures, were empowering in the hands of students trying to change their school-based sexuality education program. Other artefacts, like stickers, were subtle reminders that the participants were loved and supported by friends. The collection of artefacts was not simply to analyze discourses, but rather to understand what they can do in particular assemblages.

Data Analysis. The techniques undertaken to analyze data are, in effect, other machines that produce material outputs. Each analytical technique has particular benefits and limitations that affect the research assemblage. For example, an inductive analysis, or grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, 2008), has a tendency to privilege aggregations of data over its complexity and randomness (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Analyses often include some form of thematic memos (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) where data are categorized into clusters. Thematic analyses are done through coding (Saldaña, 2013) that aggregate into fuller themes. Thematic analyses, however, affect the ethnographic assemblage because it “acts on raw data from a study to aggregate it, reduce variability, and open it to reporting” (Fox & Alldred, 2015a, p. 7). A discourse analysis (Mills, 1997), on the other hand, uses

constructivism and privileges the researchers' political ideals (Fox & Alldred, 2017). All types of data analyses have strengths and limitations that affect the research assemblage.

A materialist approach to data analysis does not privilege one approach over another. Instead, a materialist data analysis is concerned with using materialist principles to enhance what the research assemblage can do (Fox & Alldred, 2015b). Therefore, the following principles were taken into consideration. The assemblage became the unit of analysis, and therefore relationships, including both human and non-human relationships (Fox & Alldred, 2017), became the focus of study. Second, while exploring relationships, analyses were concerned with affects, or what the body can do (Buchanan, 1997). Lastly, a materialist analysis works to avoid binaries and actively link together dualistic concepts like macro/micro, mind/body, and matter/knowledge (Fox & Alldred, 2015a). To conduct a materialist analysis, I drew on three data analyses techniques: (a) dredging (Fox & Alldred, 2017), (b) mapping (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013), and (c) crystallization (Ellingson, 2009).

Dredging. Fox and Alldred used a systematic research method called *dredging* in many of their studies (Fox, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2013, 2015b; Fox & Ward, 2008):

In this approach, empirical data sources (interviews, observations, documents, survey data and so forth) are 'dredged' to identify the relations and affects that comprise assemblages of bodies, things and social formations within a specific event, and also to assess the capacities that emerge from this assemblage. (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 172)

Previously in this thesis, I used dredging to illustrate how a mind/body dualism is composed of more than just a mind and a body. Dredging requires a very close reading of data sources to piece together their relations to each other. When data are dredged, they look similar to the what Stuart Hall coined discursive chains of signification (Kirk, 1992b). The chain of signification method that Kirk (1992b) adopted focuses on discursive formations that are produced through abstract systems of representation. Materialist dredging, on the other hand,

focuses on articulations between abstract and material entities that are both human and non-human (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Through relationships within an assemblage, I could explore how particular bodies (human and non-human) assemble in relation to each other. Because a close reading of the data sources starts this process, the dredging process operates at a micropolitical level and looks for flows of affect and the capacities they materially produce. By focusing on the local, the researcher can explore “what bodies and things in assemblages can do, and what limits and opportunities for action are available within an event” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 172). In this thesis, I used dredging in relation to mapping.

Mapping. Drawing on Ringrose and Coleman (2013), I used another analysis technique called *mapping*. Like dredging, mapping looks at material relations between different bodies within an assemblage. Mapping, however, has another specific focus because it has the ability to “question the directionality, flow and ethico-political workings” of the assemblage (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013, p. 125). Therefore, instead of trying to dig down and find meaning in an assemblage, mapping follows the flows of affect horizontally and views each aspect as connected to the other. Importantly, mapping has another key component because it can “treat the capacity of affecting and being affected as a series of relations we can map” (Ringrose & Coleman, 2013, p. 126). In other words, mapping is a way of investigating how relationships may produce oscillations toward change and stasis. Ringrose and Coleman (2013) asserted, “Mapping affect and bodily capacities...how bodies affect and are affected by things, and to therefore think of bodies’ potentials for movement or fixity in space” (p. 128). The mapping technique helped me identify certain changes, or movements, toward transformation. To understand how assemblages lean towards stabilization, however, I drew on Ellingson’s (2009) concept of crystallization.

Crystallization. Strom and Martin (2017) used crystallization as a way to challenge “recipe-style approaches” in research that tend to simplify the complexity of data. By turning

to Ellingson's (2009) concept of crystallization, Strom and Martin (2017) were able "to not only push the boundaries of traditional qualitative methods, but also our own boundaries as researchers" (p. 29). The concept of crystallization owes much of its development to early feminists researchers that pushed the boundaries between objectivity and subjectivity (Cook & Fonow, 1986; M. Fine, 1994; Nielsen, 1990). Crystallization is a further development of previous alternative research traditions such as critical analytic practice (Richardson, 1994) and "bricolage" (Kincheloe, 2001). Richardson (1994) first introduced crystallization to point out the limitation of triangulation. Richardson (1994) argued, "Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, and arrays casting off in different directions. What we see depends on our angle of repose—not triangulation but rather crystallization" (p. 963). Triangulation then implies a rigid and striated understanding of research with distinct points that if traced can provide an accurate perspective. Crystallization disrupts this model by pointing out that life is a multiplicity with more than three dimensions and that subjects, matter, and knowledge all influence the refractions of the crystal.

Ellingson (2009) proposed that crystallization occurs when projects are able to do the following:

- "Offer deep, thickly described, complexly rendered interpretations of meanings about a phenomenon or group.
- Represent ways of producing knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum, generally including at least one middle-ground (constructivist or postpositivist) and one interpretive, artistic, performative, or otherwise creative analytic approach; often crystallized texts reflect several contrasting ways of knowing...

- Include a significant degree of reflexive consideration of the researcher's self and roles in the process of research design, data collection, and representation.” (p. 9)

By using thickly described yet complex renderings, crystallization creates a mode of inquiry that could aid in understanding how assemblages produce stabilizations. In other words, crystallization is one way of understanding the how bodies are stratified within the assemblage and limit their affective movements. In crystallization, there are no one-to-one correlations that directly cause events. Instead, there are multiplicities of bodies that are quasi-causes of events (Deleuze, 1990) and all collectively contribute to a material production.

(Over)reliance on interview data. I am aware that one limitation of this study, both theoretically and methodologically, is my over-reliance on interviews. This is problematic because I embody some posthumanist (Braidotti, 2013) leanings in my theoretical orientation and analysis. For example, in using the above data analysis machines (dredging, mapping, crystallization), I often de-center the individual human as the focus of my investigation in favor of seeing these events as networks of human and non-human bodies (Fox & Alldred, 2015b). Despite this, I too get stuck in humanistic tendencies that are very difficult for me to leave behind. One example of this is my (over)reliance on the interview data from LGBTQ youth about their experiences, because the voices of LGBTQ youth become a dominant source of data generation for this thesis. As stated earlier, however, the interview has a historic place in feminist research and also in those strands of feminism that employ the concept of affect. For me, Walkerdine's (2010) statement about interviews could not ring more true:

The method we used, while it explores affective relations in the psychoanalytic sense, does tend to be very language-based, as it uses the form of an interview. I need to make it clear then that what I am exploring here is a sense which emerged from my reading of

the interviews and the whole approach could be much further developed if data of a more embodied kind were to be collected. However, we can think of the process of engaging with these interviews as stimulating an affective response within the author, which is then checked against other data and developed into a tentative way of reading and theorizing. (p. 192)

As Walkerdine stated, the interview has particular limitations because of its reliance on language, which can sometimes come across as disembodied. The interview, however, can also be fleshy and embodied, especially when it stimulates “an affective response within the author.” Thus, the interview is not thought of as a singular event, but rather a process of multiple interactions between multiple bodies (human and non-human) (Coffey, 2016; Mazzei, 2013) and, in a way, those affects get “checked against other data” through other generated data (interviews, observations, etc.). As such, it is my responsibility to cross-check the data and outline the trustworthiness of this process as I am responsible for re-assembling the data in ways that are ethical to the youth involved in this study.

Researcher as generator. In the research assemblage, the researcher has generative power (Fox & Alldred, 2015b, 2017). As such, the data that are re-presented (Allen, 2011) in this thesis have been assembled, re-assembled, and re-re-assembled with my own subjectivities in mind. Like Safron (2019) claimed, the researcher plays a major role in the process of data generation (Tinning & Fitzpatrick, 2012) and analysis. The data I chose to assemble into this thesis reflect my needs, concerns, passions, and interests. MacLure (2013b, 2013a) refers to these intensities and connections with the data as ‘glows’. These data were glowing at me and produced affects and intensities that changed my understanding of HPE, but also the HPE assemblage itself. As Niccolini (2016c) argued, data have the ability to take us on “affective journeys” (p. 70) and generate new ways of understanding the world. In this vein, the events that comprise data generation, inquiry, and analysis all overlap and are

enmeshed together in their own assemblage (Safron, 2019)—to which I produced several affects. Therefore, the way data are generated, analysed, and reported in this thesis are affects intertwined with my own self-inquiry process and reflect my interests as a researcher and queer man in health and physical education. These are all important points when considering the trustworthiness and/ or ethics of the research assemblage.

Trustworthiness and ethics

Trustworthiness and ethics are additional parts of the research assemblage. Strom and Martin (2017) claimed, “Issues of trustworthiness are, at their heart, issues of quality” (p. 38). Like Allen (2011), I believe, “It is a methodological impossibility to extract and represent students’ perspectives exactly as they intended. Their representation is precisely that a (re-)presentation” (p. 7). I hope the detailed analysis above, and the background on how data were generated, provide justification for the readers to consider this thesis trustworthy. The detailed explanation on the different machines producing the research assemblage was based on my aims to be transparent and visible on how data were generated.

I am also keenly aware that as the researcher, I have generative power in the research assemblage (Fox & Alldred, 2017). Given this, my background in critical theory, LGBTQ topics, and health and physical education produce particular strengths and limitations. Because I have a background in these areas, the data are going to be framed in particular ways. In other words, my interests, passions, and beliefs regarding LGBTQ issues and health and physical education affected the production of this thesis. More specific, as a researcher, I aimed to make health and physical education a more equitable setting for historically marginalized groups and to disrupt the normative assumptions (Fullager, 2017) of LGBTQ issues in health and physical education. Furthermore, much of the data in this thesis originated from interviews, so I was not involved with many of these events but rather received descriptions of them. Therefore, the claims I make are based on the trust and

relationships I built with participants. Paralleled with my trust in them, the participants' trust in me was equally important for producing accounts that attempt to illustrate their experiences while also doing no harm in their daily lives. To do so, all the names and places have been anonymized, although I fully accept that qualitative research is messy and does not guarantee their privacy in all contexts.

It is important to recognize that the ethical process research goes through is itself a machine that affects the research assemblage and what it can do. A materialist perspective of ethics is different than a moralistic view of ethics (Coleman & Ringrose, 2013, p. 11).

Drawing on Deleuze's work around *ethology*, Hickey-Moody and Malins (2007) claimed:

Ethics, for Deleuze, is about maximizing the capacities of all bodies to affect and to be affected. It is also about affirming difference and the production of the new. Rather than limiting the future to what has already been or to what is already known, ethics involves opening up the potential for the unknown. (p. 4)

In Hickey-Moody and Malins' (2007) interpretation, ethics are more than imposing limitations on research, because ethics also concern the relationships that produce *new limitations* on research. In other words, materialist ethics are concerned with experimenting with the research assemblage's BwO (or the limits of the research assemblage).

Experimenting with the new emphasizes the connections between bodies and moves beyond humans. Hickey-Moody and Malins (2007) thus claimed:

Ethics must, therefore, go beyond the human to incorporate relations between humans and other, non-human, bodies such as animals, trees, rivers, microorganisms and built environments. By giving the name *ethology* (the study of animal relations) to this practice of ethics, Deleuze draws attention to the importance of evaluating relations between all bodies. (p. 4)

The research in this thesis underwent an ethics process that included human and non-human relationships required by the University of Auckland. The project went through a rigorous review that ensured the research methods, guidelines, and safety/health standards were appropriate for the subjects, environments, and agencies involved. After passing the University Ethics board, I received permission from the Executive Director of QueerTEENS to access their organization and community engagement sites. I also received permission from QueerTEENS' members and employees to observe, interview, and converse with them during the project. Lastly, for any subjects under the age of 16, I received permission from parents to participate in this study. Prior to recruiting members to participate in the study, I outlined ethical issues that may arise as a result of this research and provided participant information forms. All of the youth involved in this thesis were pleased to share their experiences in schools, health and physical education, and life more broadly. Therefore, my ethical obligation is to produce a thesis that generates affects in those who read it in order to make health and physical education and broader school settings a more equitable place for LGBTQ youth.

Chapter 5: “All Physical, No Education”



Picture taken by Trudi at Kaiwi Lakes. Effects added by Dillon Landi

It is early March, and we are on the beautiful sand of Kaiwi Lakes in the North Island of New Zealand. Trudi (19, lesbian), Kanti (25, gay), Charlie (19, gay), and I are taking turns passing around the flying disc. We are at Kaiwi as part of a trip sponsored by the physical activity group at QueerTEENS called Outside the Box. As discussed previously, the group is comprised of youth who want to be physically active, creative, and participate in non-traditional activities. Given the group’s interest in physical activity, I asked questions about their school-based physical education experiences.

Dillon: What were your experiences like in physical education?

Kanti: In Iran, physical education isn’t a real subject. We don’t learn anything. We just move around.

Charlie: Physical education was just a bunch of games. We didn’t really learn anything useful. Like they taught games and stuff, but we already knew most of that stuff anyway.

Trudi: In Germany, physical education was boring. Just did sport techniques. The only non-boring part was the lesbian teachers. But they never talked about their sexuality. Really didn’t learn much.

Charlie: I guess you could say it was “All Physical, No Education.”

(Everyone Laughs)

In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the culture of physical education is assembled, how this culture affects pedagogy, and the ways in which LGBTQ students experience these cultural practices. More specifically, I examine how binaries shape the field of physical education, limit LGBTQ students, and produce movements toward stasis for the field. The above conversation highlights a major point of the chapter. Charlie claimed his experiences in physical education were all physical with no education. While Charlie's comment is ostensibly true for many (and no doubt witty), I argue that physical education does, indeed, educate LGBTQ youth on ways in which they perceive their bodies, physical abilities, and subjectivities. I also agree with Charlie's statement around the nature of physical education and its reproductive practices of focusing on the body. To explore the nature of physical education (and what it does), I start the chapter with the LGBTQ students describing the culture of physical education. I then discuss specific pedagogical activities that students reported engaging in during physical education and how these activities become assembled. I then uncover the concomitant affects of what physical education does within its culture and pedagogical practices before concluding with thoughts on the pertinence of what this all means for LGBTQ students and the broader field.

Culture of physical education: Striated spaces

Students perceived physical education as a very “strict” or “disciplined” place. For example, students were told what changing rooms they were allowed to enter, what clothes they could wear, and what activities they were expected to participate in. Sara (17, lesbian) expressed the following regarding her experiences in physical education:

Sara: PE teachers are always the strictest at schools. Like, I've been given detentions over my tattoo because it's against the rules even though I have a note from the principal; and they are just like, very strict.

Physical educators have a reputation for being effective disciplinarians who implement rules, routines, and work to condition students (O'Sullivan & Dyson, 1994). When describing the precarity surrounding the longevity of physical education in schools, Kirk (2004) stated:

School physical education and school sport may be in crisis, at least in part because they represent a series of modernist bodily practices concerned with normalizing and regulating children's bodies through methods and strategies which are perhaps already culturally obsolete. (p. 63)

As Kirk noted, physical education is often perceived as a subject focused on regulating and disciplining children's bodies, which requires physical education spaces to be highly structured—or striated. Within this research study, students suggested the culture within physical education were striated by two major concepts: (a) the biomedical body and (b) competitive sports. Below, I explicate these concepts and their affects on the physical education assemblage.

The biomedical body. Physical education has an interconnected, yet contentious, relationship with biomedicine (Burrows, 1999; Gard & Pluim, 2014; Kirk, 1998).

Biomedicine is an applied science concerned with understanding the body in order to help people achieve optimal physical health through the prevention of disease (Fox, 2012). In biomedicine, the body is understood as a technical machine rationally put together to function properly (Porter, 1997). Biomedical researchers, therefore, are interested in the malfunctions of the body and link them to underlying causes to develop cures (Freund, McGuire, & Podhurst, 2003). Some health-oriented approaches to physical education have solely adopted

a biomedical approach and claim that physical education has an active role to play in public health promotion (Sallis, 2017; Sallis & McKenzie, 1991; Sallis et al., 2012). For example, some proponents argue that physical education plays a vital role in reducing childhood obesity. The most direct proponents of such an approach have stated that school-based “physical education is the pill not taken” (McKenzie & Lounsbery, 2009). The adoption of the biomedical body in a cultural environment like physical education, however, materially produces several binaries. I identified the following binaries from the students’ narratives: (a) pathological binary, (b) mind/body binary, and (c) gender binary. Below, I explain these binaries in greater depth.

Pathological binary. The biomedical model of the body was developed to understand disease (the field of pathology) and to improve the health of physical bodies (Porter, 1997), so the field of biomedicine privileged, or placed emphasis on, pathological (or diseased) bodies (Fox, 2012). By focusing on pathology, the biomedical perspective posited a binary between a healthy body (absence of disease) and a diseased body (Armstrong, 1995). The level of disease in a human body is relative and measured by its degree of deviance from a normal or healthy body (Engel, 1977). Better put, some bodies are considered sicker than others (e.g., a common cold versus malaria). Through the biomedical perspective, bodies can be evaluated or judged based on their level of healthiness. Crucially, not only are bodies healthy or diseased, they can also be classified as at-risk of becoming diseased (Lupton, 1999).

Many of the youth in this project discussed how their bodies were constantly evaluated in physical education. Eskild (15, queer) provided this example:

Eskild: Yeah cause like there was one time that we had to get weighed and measured and stuff.

Dillon: What stuff?

Eskild: That was the worst. We had to figure out our BMI.

Dillon: How did they do this?

Eskild: You just line up and you wait to stand on the scale and then they write it down, I was so embarrassed.

Eskild was not the only person who had to calculate their Body Mass Index (BMI) in physical education. Later in this chapter, I discuss how students experienced specific teaching activities that integrated BMI and its concomitant affects on students. Students reported that measuring their bodies occurred often in physical education class, and they felt they were being compared to a healthy body standard. Any bodies that deviated from the standard were deemed unhealthy or at-risk. Melanie (23, lesbian) explained how she learned about the healthy body:

Melanie: They [teachers] didn't tell you straight up that you had to be fit and skinny and all that, but they told you a lot about what a healthy body was and that was the ideal body and healthy has connotations of being skinny and having muscles and that, but that doesn't actually mean that you are physically healthy and all that. But there was never any discussion about being body positive.

Melanie's statement includes two important points: The first is that the healthy body in physical education is not solely a biological entity. The healthy body is interconnected with cultural stigmas, perceptions, and values about the body (Turner, 2008). Therefore, a healthy body is not just a biomedical state but is culturally implicated. Second, Melanie is quick to defend her teachers as not explicitly stating certain body types are healthier than others. Rather, through different activities, pedagogies, and assignments, physical education is assembled through biomedical and cultural knowledge in relation to the human body. So, despite teachers not explicitly stating that skinny is healthy, it was still an implicit message within the curriculum (Eisner, 1985). Given that physical education is a body subject

(Paechter, 2000), sculpting students' bodies becomes an implicit (sometimes explicit) aim of the subject (Tinning & Glasby, 2002). With this emphasis on sculpting the body, another binary arises between the body and the mind.

Mind/body binary. One way of conceptualizing the biomedical body is to compare it to a machine (Porter, 1997). That is, the body is a highly complex biochemical machine that either functions normally or abnormally (Freund et al., 2003). By conceptualizing the body as a machine, the physical body is separated from the mind—positing a mind/body binary (Bray & Colebrook, 1998; Freund et al., 2003; Grosz, 1994). Put differently, the body is a material organism that can be poked, prodded, and quantified to analyze its structure and function. The mind, on the other hand, is the source of consciousness or a 'ghost in the machine' (Porter, 1997). Given that biomedicine is concerned with disease, the body becomes the object of disease that can be examined for malfunctions.

Throughout this study, students expressed that one of the purposes of physical education was to understand the structure and function of their bodies:

Response from Eskild (15, Queer):

Dillon: So, what did you learn from PE when you used to take it?

Eskild: It was just learning about muscles like you know, if you're gonna run so fast how much energy are you going to use from one muscle. Nobody really cared.

Statement 2 from Harry (20, Transmasculine)

Dillon: What did you learn in PE?

Harry: It was explicitly physical education within stuff like physical anatomy, like bones and muscles and biomechanics. Like how to throw a ball.

Excerpt 3 from AB (16, Bisexual):

Dillon: So, you did PE in the past? Why did you drop the class?

AB: It just wasn't part of the career path that I'm following... so it was just like nah and just because all they really taught us about was bones and muscles...

I chose the aforementioned quotes because they embody how much emphasis was placed on the structure and function of the body in physical education. The body was constructed as natural thing to be studied in order to understand its appropriate function in physical education and sport, as Chanel (21, Fakaleiti) expressed in this exchange:

Dillon.: How do you think they (teachers) saw your body?

Chanel: They saw my body as an object. So, like my personality and everything else would be neglected because my body would be perfect for this (rugby). I have a big body and they thought I would be good at sport. So, the PE teachers pushed it.

In Chanel's example, they noted how the body was taught as if it were separate from the mind and subject. It is important to note that Chanel (who prefers the pronouns they and their) is adamant their body was seen as an object and therefore separate from their subjectivities.

These students' comments connected back to Charlie's comment that physical education was "all physical, no education." Students were affected by the mind/body dualism in physical education and this dualism influenced their views of physical education as a body subject (Paechter, 2000). The students felt the body was the focus of physical education, and they noted that this was distinct from the mind. Another binary that arose from the focus on the biomedical body was gender. More to the point, students' genders were conflated with biological sex.

Gender binary. Another binary produced in the physical education assemblage was gender. There is a major difference between the concepts of sex and gender. Sex is a biological classification usually based on external reproductive body parts (e.g., penis,

vagina). Gender, on the other hand, refers to the cultural characteristics ascribed to sexed bodies (e.g., masculine, feminine) (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). In New Zealand educational settings, biological sex has produced a discourse of what Alton-Lee and Praat (2000) called ‘biological determinism.’ In other words, the biological sex of students often informed the types of gendered activities they had access to in schools. In sport and physical education, Pringle (2007) argued that masculinities are assumed to be natural because of their link to biological male sex. Sport, physical education curricula, and pedagogy are structured through the perceived differences in biological sex (male activities, female activities) (Fernández-Balboa, 1993; Messner, 2002; Parker, 1996).

In my research, students reported being funneled into changing rooms, clothing, and activities based on their perceived gender in relation to their biological sex. Changing rooms were differentiated by perceived gender. For example, Jim (15, pansexual) had this to say:

Jim: So, there are only two changing rooms and there is no real neutral place that you can go to, or you have to make special requests.

In Jim’s school, there were only two changing rooms: boys and girls. At the time of this interview, Jim was questioning his gender identity and felt uncomfortable changing in the boys’ room. Jim explained that he could make a special request to change in a gender neutral room, but he would have to publicly come out as transgender to do so, which was something he was not prepared to do. Gender binaries also assembled the clothing youth changed into. The physical education clothing assemblage is affected by social norms around gender. Roxy (16, Transfeminine) provided this example from a swimming lesson:

*Roxy: Like swimming in general was **really** bad because I always wore a rash shirt. It was as comfortable as I could get, but here, like, the swimming changing rooms are just gross because there is a distinct difference in swimwear. Yeah changing rooms are shitty.*

Roxy identifies as a girl and wanted to wear a girls' bathing suit. Roxy, however, only felt comfortable enough to wear a rash shirt, or a spandex swimming top, to express some form of femininity in physical education. Since the changing rooms at her school were assembled through gender binaries, however, she was the only person in her changing room to wear a top. Her rash shirt allowed her to express femininity but also produced a critical point of difference between her and her classmates in the changing room space. The Roxy–Swimming–Rash Shirt–Changing Room assemblage produced “really bad” feelings for Roxy because the assemblage was a “shitty” situation. The above affects were produced through a gender binary that striated the physical education space by assembling changing rooms, clothing, and students along gendered lines. In this instance, gendered norms around clothing and space intertwined with biomedical concepts (male and female) and produced ostensibly “natural” gendered identities that structured physical education.

Since gender appears to be “natural” in PE settings, LGBTQ students are affected because they often transgress gender binaries. When I asked what physical education did for students, Emily (19, lesbian) and AB (16, lesbian) reflected on the role uniforms played in their experiences:

Dillon What did PE do for you?

Emily Like I didn't like it because getting changed into our uniforms because we had a strict uniform dress thingy but then at PE you could wear shorts. Then some girls, really skinny girls, would wear really short shorts and you'd just see them and be like, why can't I look like that?

AB It makes you self-conscious.

Emily Yeah, like it makes me really self-conscious.

Below, I use Fox and Alldred's (2017) analytical technique of dredging to pull apart the interview excerpt:

PE–Shorts–Girls–Skinny–Short Shorts

Visual Economy–Bodies–Comparison–Self-Conscious

Emily and AB explained that they did not like physical education because of the body centered and visual nature of the subject. In physical education, students were allowed to wear shorts in order to participate in physical activity. Some of the students used the shorts as an opportunity to express their femininity and sexuality. According to AB and Emily, girls that wore short shorts were really skinny (and therefore privileged). Therefore, binaries around gender coalesce with cultural views on the (female) body to produce a visual economy that privileged some girls' body at the expense of others. Yet, such body standards are perhaps unachievable for many young women. In this study, the biomedical body could not escape the cultural beliefs about the body or health (Fox, 2012). Students in physical education learned about their bodies and subjectivities, but these lessons were assembled through gender binaries. The effect of this physical education assemblage was AB and Emily felt self-conscious about their bodies. Another area where students felt self-conscious was sports.

Competitive sports. All of the students in this study claimed they experienced sport as a central part of their physical education classes. Sport has been in New Zealand schools since (at least) the 1860s (Crawford, 1983). Despite having a central role in school, sport has had a somewhat contentious relationship with physical education in New Zealand (B. Stothart, 2000b). Grant (1992) drew on the work of Bradly (1974) and claimed, "Sport in schools has been 'the big boogy,' and the general feeling has been that the less PE had to do with sport the more academic the subject could be" (p. 307). Gard (2001) noted that many schools "start from the assertion that sport is unproblematically good for all children and that they have a duty to help children find a sport they like" (p. 220). This assertion, however, ignores the harm sport can induce and neglects the question of relevance in the lives of youth

(Flintoff, 2000; Renold, 1997). Despite the contentious relationship between sport and physical education, both the 1999 iteration of the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1999) and the current one (Ministry of Education, 2007) included “sport studies” as one of the seven key areas of learning.

Team sports and competition. According to students in this study, team sports were a major focus of physical education. Just about every student in the study described team sports as main activities they engaged in during physical education. Alexander (16, pansexual) expressed the following:

Dillon: What types of things did you do in PE?

Alexander: I just, you know, general soccer and cricket and all those general like team sports everything. I really wasn't noticed in PE because I wasn't great at those things.

Alexander noted that physical education at his school was centered on team sports like soccer and cricket. Notably, he also lamented he was not really noticed in physical education because he was not great at team sports. Gwen (16, lesbian), Alison (16, lesbian), and Rose (16, transmasculine) all had similar experiences:

Dillon: What type of things did you learn in PE?

Gwen: Running and sports.

Alison: Generic team sports mostly.

Rose: We had PE every six-day cycle and one would be health. So three sports, then three health.

Gwen, Alison, and Rose all claimed physical education was mostly centered on team sports. Notably, Rose explained that physical education and health switched every six days. When the cycle was in physical education, Rose actually referred to the class as “sports.” Something I found interesting is that some students described their schools as “sport schools.” These

schools, according to students, were focused on physical development. Valkyrie (18, bisexual), for example, called her school a sport school:

Dillon: So, what did you do in PE?

Valkyrie: We have a really physical school. It's a sport school. We have like a proper gym on the top floor. So yeah, we have like a proper fitness center with weight machines to get us better at sport. In PE, we did the usual: dodgeball, running, team sports.

Valkyrie's school was interesting because she claimed it had a focus on sport and being physical. Later in the interview, she divulged that her school really focused on being successful at boys' rugby and women's netball. Both rugby and netball are considered popular sports in New Zealand (Nauright & Broomhall, 2007; Pringle, 2001, 2003; Pringle & Markula, 2005). Rugby and netball came up often during interviews when students discussed their experiences in physical education. Again, both of these sports are team sports. In some cases, students reported that their schools integrated different team sports in order to produce a multi-sport atmosphere. Spongey (16, lesbian), Hayden (14, transmasculine), Nicole (16, bisexual), and Space Ace (16, non-binary, asexual) discussed the role of team and multi-sport:

Dillon: So, what type of stuff did you do in PE?

*Spongey: One thing I hate is working in a group of people and **always** doing team sports.*

Hayden: We did a lot of multi-sport.

Dillon: What is multi-sport?

Hayden: We got split into groups, so there were four groups in the corner of the gym...

Nicole: Multi-sport makes me wanna leave.

Hayden: You all get numbered out in your groups so you each had hockey sticks and things like that in your base. Then the teacher would call out “2,” “5,” and “football” and throw the football to the center of the gym and you would all run to play football.

Nicole: It was like four teams against each other. It was vile.

Space Ace: It was like chaos.

In the example above, multi-sport was an activity in physical education that combined multiple sports and had students play these sports on call. Important to all of these activities, however, is the role of competition. Pitting students against each other—according to Nicole and Space Ace—could result in vile and chaotic atmospheres for students.

Competition is a staple in traditional sport and has been proffered as a potential avenue for teaching morality and ethics in educational settings (Arnold, 1989, 1997; McFee, 2004). The research on competition within physical education is more equivocal. Drewe (1998) for example, claimed competition tends to get reduced down to winners and losers and neglects the historical understanding of competition as striving together. In Singleton’s (2003) feminist analysis of competition, she criticized Drewe’s vision of competition as unachievable and idealistic. Indeed, Ennis (1996) claimed that “[more than] apologies are necessary” (p. 453) for those students who have been thrust into the competitive environment of sport-based physical education. Given the array of views on competition, Aggerholm, Standal, and Hordvik (2018) suggested that the use of competition in physical education ranges in a continuum from (a) avoidance of competition, (b) asking students about the role of competition, (c) adapting competition for the environment, or (d) just outright accepting competition as integral.

With the exception of one student, all of the youth interviewed at QueerTEENS stated being competitive (and winning) was an integral aspect of physical education. During

an interview, I asked Chanel (21, fakaleiti) about the role of sport in teaching skills like cooperation and teamwork in physical education:

Dillon: So, do you think sport teaches cooperation in physical education?

Chanel: No, not really because like again they make it very competitive. So, PE is split up into teams and the focus is on who's going to win, who's going to do this.

So, it's not about supporting your team building; it is more about who is going to win. Being competitive.

Competition and winning are not solo endeavors. Both competition and winning develop in a physical education assemblage that is affected by cultural and biomedical perspectives. One cultural norm around competition is that it promotes male dominance (Flintoff, 2000; Larsson et al., 2011). The youth at QueerTEENS were cognizant of the interconnected nature of some masculinities and competitiveness, as Maika (21, bisexual) expressed in the following conversation:

Dillon: Did you like PE?

Maika: I liked games, I didn't like being aggressive like that is what we had to be in PE we had to be aggressive...

Dillon: Why?

Maika: Because that is the only way you could succeed. Like the end goal for any game was to win, and to win you had to be aggressive because being aggressive was like taking charge and going for the ball and being brave and running across to try (score) and get the flag and bring it back to your side. It was very male dominant as well in terms of who was successful and who wasn't quite as successful in PE.

In the space below, I dredged (Fox & Alldred, 2017) the different part of Maika's interview assemblage:

PE–Games–Aggressive–Competition–Winning–Balls–Scoring–Males–Successful

In the above assemblage, multiple bodies (material, abstract, human, and non-human) came together to produce particular affects around gender and physical education. Maika noted the way physical education produced particular affects for students who use balls, field lines, and aggressive demeanors to triumph over their classmates. Within this assemblage, however, Maika raised another interconnected issue around males dominating the landscape, where the interconnected nature between competition, winning, and triumph became assembled in relation to male bodies. When males (a biological sex) get ascribed in relation to cultural binaries (winning/losing, aggressive/passive), the assemblage materializes and naturalizes male identities that ascribes characteristics related to traditional forms of masculinities (R. W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The affects of such an assemblage (re-)inscribe a gender binary that teach lessons about the roles of men and women. While physical education may ostensibly come off as All Physical and No Education, there are affective forces at play that educate and striate students on the types of bodies and subjectivities that are acceptable in physical education. In order to illustrate the assembling process, I will outline specific pedagogical practices that actively assemble students' bodies.

Pedagogical activities and their affects

The physical education assemblage materially produces and re-inscribes binaries related to health, gender, and Cartesianism. In this section, I argue physical education pedagogies actively (re-)inscribe binaries related to health and gender.

Healthy pedagogies. Healthy pedagogies materially produced interactions between students' bodies, biomedical knowledge, and cultural practices. A theme that arose from my research was the use of pedagogy that splits healthy from unhealthy body types in physical education. Many of the students in this study described having to calculate their Body Mass Index (BMI). A few students explained an activity where they used their BMI to reflect on

their physical bodies in relation to health. Kez (17, gay) explained one activity he participated in using BMI:

Kez: Yeah, we had a booklet that we almost never finished, but at one point there were a couple of diagrams and it is the extremes of things where you have a very skinny tall person, medium height well-built person, and then a short like large person. Then you have like the whole situation of calculating your BMI and all of that and then later on the teacher would just be like, look at these three diagrams and then pick one that you think you would apply to, or mix between, or let your friends choose for you, which was worse because clearly your friends were either going to sugar coat it, or they were just going to blatantly be rude.

Dillon: How did that make you feel?

Kez: Oh, I was really chubby back then so this was the most degrading thing because of course straight away my friends are like yeah you are the fat one you are the fat picture and I'm like great thanks guys.

Kez's description of this BMI activity is an assemblage of material and abstract bodies. Let's dredge Kez's experience:

*Booklet–Diagrams–Bodies–BMI–Comparisons–
Friends–Evaluations–Chubby–Fat–Degradation*

In Kez's activity, a material object (a booklet) was filled with multiple diagrams of bodies that ranged in perceived healthiness (underweight, healthy, or obese). After calculating their own BMI, students were asked to map their bodies in relation to the diagrams in the booklet. In this instance, biomedical knowledge related to BMI was intertwined with cultural knowledge about healthy and fit bodies within physical education. The way the body looks became assembled in relation to health and a metaphor of health

(Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Markula, 2001; Powell & Fitzpatrick, 2015). Therefore, the biomedically healthy body became entangled with cultural values (Turner, 2008) that act as an authority by which to classify bodies as unhealthy or healthy. To add insult to injury, the teacher requested that students evaluate their classmate's booklet to ensure they interpreted their results correctly. In this case, the students' interactions with the biomedical and cultural aspects of the physical education assemblage positioned them in places of moral authority to pass judgment on their classmates.

Tinning (2010) argued that educators need to examine the consequences (including the unintended consequences) of pedagogy in physical education. He referred to these affects as 'pedagogical work.' The label fat or obese carries significant cultural baggage. Fat bodies are considered moral failures (Gard & Wright, 2005) or excess weight the rest of society must carry. The pedagogical work of this activity informed Kez of his own "baggage" and shamed him both personally and publicly. Queer students already encounter greater stress compared to heterosexual peers in school-based settings (Lucassen et al., 2014). Furthermore, the body is often judged in queer cultures more broadly in relation to fatness (Sykes, 2011). Despite this, the pedagogical work of this activity placed additional stress on these students in the hope of cultivating a technocratic body (McKay, Gore, & Kirk, 1990).

The other pedagogical work of the activity Kez experienced was the material production of an unhealthy/healthy binary. In the above event, several abstract bodies (biomedical knowledge, cultural values, comparisons) become assembled in relation to material bodies (students, booklets, diagrams) to produce highly striated forms of health. The physical education assemblage is thus active in the production of binaries related to the students' bodies and health. Kez's experience provides a clear example of why Melanie stated that teachers did not have to explicitly say what a healthy body was, because the

activities and circumstances of physical education promoted a striated ideal of the body.

These practices were also true of gender.

Gendered pedagogies. According to Wright (1996), physical education is a space that actively works to produce gendered binaries. Vertinsky (1992) claimed:

Of all school subjects, physical education, with its central focus on the body, has been most strongly influenced by traditional understandings of ineradicable biological differences between boys and girls and the social roles assigned to each gender as a supposed consequence of biology. (p. 374)

Vertinsky (1992) asserted that biological differences in sex have been conflated with cultural understandings of gender, and physical education actively works to socially produce differences between boys and girls. Early research on gender and physical education found that young girls were limited in opportunities compared to boys (P. Griffin, 1984; Scraton, 1987, 1992). Many of these differences owe their history to the separatist nature of gender in physical education (and society in general). Physical education used to be structured as a single-sex subject (Kirk, 2010a) that taught girls how to be women and boys how to be men (Leaman, 1984). While some research has investigated how this patriarchal system affects girls (e.g. Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Flintoff & Scraton, 2001; Oliver & Kirk, 2015a), there is little existing research on students who identify as LGBTQ (Sykes, 2011).

As noted previously in this chapter, both the structure (changing rooms) and material practices (uniforms) of physical education were highly gendered. The uniforms in physical education were very revealing, especially for girls in this study. The revealing nature of physical education placed additional extra stress on students to monitor their bodies according to traditional gender and health norms. In the description below, Melanie discussed the role of body shape and leg hair in PE class:

Melanie Oh, PE! Jesus Christ, PE was the worst because you had to get your legs out.

Dillon What do you mean?

Melanie It is definitely a thing because PE clothes were more revealing. So like t-shirt and shorts or something like that. And if you didn't have a good figure you did not look good in uniforms doing this, you know, "good" as in, what society thinks good is.

Dillon So, how do you feel about your body in physical education?

Melanie I am very self-conscious about it, and then even just the fact that I was a girl, so god forbid I missed a leg hair. Stuff like that, like it's all very real...

Let's dredge Melanie's statements:

*PE–Legs–Uniforms–Revealing–Women–
Body Figure–Society–Self-Conscious–Leg Hair–Real*

Physical education is a striated space that is assembled through cultural norms about the body. When discussing her experiences in physical education, Melanie said, "Jesus Christ" to portray the seriousness of her struggles and called physical education "the worst." For Melanie, physical education was problematic because the students had to wear revealing uniforms, which for her, meant displaying her legs. Importantly, she felt pressure for her legs (and body for that matter) to "fit in" with gendered beauty standards. Melanie acknowledged that physical education made her extremely self-conscious, not only about how her body looked, but about the natural growth of her body, such as a single leg hair. Physical education for Melanie was what Kirk (1998) called a "civilizing process" because it had very real socio-emotional and physical consequences for students who were not considered civilized.

Some of the students in this study were dealing with socio-emotional issues as well as exploring their gendered and sexual subjectivities. The revealing uniforms in physical education publicized the private circumstances of students' lives. Valkyrie's (18, bisexual)

example of the revealing nature of uniforms demonstrated why gendered uniforms are problematic:

Dillon Why did you hate PE? Just because of the subject matter?

Valkyrie It was mostly a case of we have to do physical things and I'm bad at them. And plus, in the uniform was... None of these were healed at that point in time (pointing at scars from self-harm cutting on her arm), so the PE uniform was not fun. Especially when at one point the PE teacher literally said to me, "You look like a—what attacked you? Yeah. This was after an argument with her over putting on the PE uniform.

Valkyrie is an 18-year-old bisexual woman who went through a period of clinical depression during high school. During this time, she was actively working with professional help, which the school was aware of. Despite this, the physical education teacher forced Valkyrie to wear clothing that revealed the evidence of self-harm. Instead of being empathetic and caring toward Valkyrie, her teacher went on to mock her by claiming that it looked like something attacked her. Queer youth experience higher rates of self-harm and depression in New Zealand (Rossen, Lucassen, Denny, & Robinson, 2009). The students in this study claimed physical education exacerbated these feelings because of the aesthetic and athletic nature of the class. Cultural gender binaries assembled in relation to uniforms, biomedical knowledge, and architectural structures striated the physical education space. Teachers also played a role in causing stress for these students by promoting certain body types as acceptable and others as devalued. Such practices are not always as blatant as Valkyrie's experience and are also implicitly taught or expressed (Eisner, 1985). One conspicuous example of silencing gender-diverse students is the process of splitting up teams by gender. Riles (16, transmasculine) provided this example:

Riles I'm trans and like I used to hesitate when the teachers used to say, "Go! oh boys over here and girls over there." I just remember the hesitation I had and how uncomfortable I was in those moments.

Through multiple interviews, students reported that teachers often split their lines, activities, or teams by gender. This practice subtly silenced many of the trans and non-binary students who were not out yet. Furthermore, a null curriculum (Dodds, 1985; Eisner, 1985; Kirk, 2014b) has been established about transgender students because their subjectivities and bodies are left out (intentionally or unintentionally). Riles is now out as a 16-year-old transmasculine student and has since dropped physical education because he feels he is not part of the subject. Roxy Wild (16, transfeminine) described a similar experience with line splitting:

Roxy W.: They were like, "Oh, like where are you going to go? Shouldn't you be going in the girls' line? Oh, I forgot, you should be in the middle." And there was another girl and she was like, "You have to go in the boys' line because you are a boy." It was something along those lines.

Roxy was out as trans to her classmates at the time of this lesson. When the teacher told the students to break into boys' and girls' lines, Roxy's classmates took it upon themselves to ridicule her for the non-conforming gender subjectivity she expressed. Given that Roxy is transfeminine, this event produces particular affects around gender and highlights that she does not fit cleanly into the binary. In Roxy's case, there was a hidden curriculum (Dodds, 1985; Eisner, 1985; Kirk, 2014b) where students learned knowledge, attitudes, norms, beliefs, and values about gender. The teacher also taught implicit lessons about gender in the decision to split the class by gender to make teams. This gendered split is often based on the assumption that girls are not as competitive as boys in sport-related settings (Flintoff, 2000; Messner, 2002). Many of the students internalized these gendered

ideologies. For example, I asked Harry (18, transmasculine) how he felt about being on a men's team in physical education:

Harry: It is tricky like, I don't know, for me personally I don't think I would do well at the moment I wouldn't feel comfortable joining a men's team.

Dillon: Why do you think that is?

Harry: I'm not the same as him and I don't know. A cisgender man is probably going to be taller and stronger than me. So being in a team with them would be, you know, I wouldn't be as good as them.

Harry recently started taking testosterone as part of his transition process. Despite fully identifying as a man, he still has several barriers to participating in physical education as a man. I am going to dredge his statement:

*Transmasculine–Feelings–Men's Team–Classmates–Height–
Muscle–Team–Competition–Gendered–Dragging Down*

Despite identifying as a man, Harry doesn't feel like he can actually "be a man" in physical education. He compared his body to his classmates who have greater stature, more muscle, and are more competitive. When competition, or winning, is the goal of physical education, Harry does not feel like he can contribute like a "real man" should. Despite these barriers, Harry was the only student in the study who reported that he enjoyed physical education. Harry's high school was close to hiking trails and, therefore, many of his experiences in physical education were based in outdoor education. In those settings, he felt much better about his contributions to his class.

Physical education is filled with and structured through multiple binaries (e.g., healthy/unhealthy, boy/girl). Binaries, however, are an insidious mechanism that generate and reproduce hierarchies (Braidotti, 2013) to categorize some things as valued and other things as other. Physical education, as a field, has long claimed that it has been devalued and

marginalized because of a mind/body dualism (Fitzpatrick, 2013b; Kirk, 1992a; Paechter, 2006; Stolz, 2013). In this study and for these students, physical education was a place that systematically reproduced such binaries. Furthermore, the pathological binary (healthy/unhealthy) and gender binary (boy/girl) worked in tandem with the mind/body binary to produce body hierarchies that actively marginalized LGBTQ youth. The way the cultural and pedagogical activities within physical education become striated produced significant implications for these students. Therefore, the final section of this chapter explores what physical education does.

What does physical education do?

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) claimed that it is not enough to describe something, so instead we should explore what it does. In this study, 59 out of the 60 participants claimed they disliked physical education. I argue below that the pedagogical work (Tinning, 2010) of physical education had two interrelated affects. The first is that physical education produced negative climates for LGBTQ youth. This led to a second affect where students actively resisted the assembling processes of physical education by avoiding class. I conclude this chapter by claiming that physical education limits the experiences of LGBTQ students, and when they lose these students, the field loses its potential to change.

Negative physical education climate. My first interview at QueerTEENS was a group interview with seven LGBTQ students who were all currently in school. Halfway through the interview, I realized they were squirming in their seats as I asked questions about physical education. I recognized their body movements, their silence, and their facial expressions and asked a general question:

Dillon: Was physical education a fun subject?

... silence...

Dillon: So, I am noticing a lot of arms being crossed. Were there any times you felt uncomfortable in PE class?

In Unison: Every time.

During this group interview, it was as if the LGBTQ youth were speaking to each other without words. When I asked about being uncomfortable, all seven of them, in unison, said, “Every time.” I knew, in that moment that I had struck a chord. Over the course of the study, I found that physical education provided a very negative climate for most LGBTQ students. The negative environment was directly related to the binaries and the hierarchical nature of physical education. I asked Sara (17, lesbian) and Jacinta (16, gay) what physical education did for them:

Dillon: If I ask, “What does PE do for you?” What would you say?

Sara: It made me realize I wasn’t good enough to meet the bar.

Jacinta: Yeah, exactly.

Sara: It’s biased.

Jacinta: It’s not at all supposed to be like that. I think PE should be trying to lift people up, getting people to know and think like, “You can do this!” ... PE didn’t do that. It just made you feel like you’re not good enough to be in this class because you don’t play sport and then you just sit there like in the corner like, oh well.

For Jacinda and Sara, physical education privileged students who were already considered healthy and sporty. Many of the students I interviewed felt out of place or as if they did not belong in physical education because they were not fit, athletic, or competitive enough. These binaries also manifested in relation to gender.

Dillon: Why did you hate physical education?

Valkyrie: Because I honestly felt like “that girl” a lot of the time. The one who nobody wanted on their team. Like they would always be, you know, the whole thing where you’re picking people for teams and then the last three kids ... and you know nobody actually wants them on your team. Yeah, I was almost always one of those and again I wasn’t good at sports.

Dillon: So how did PE class make you feel?

Valkyrie: It was my least favorite class by far. It definitely, it made me feel pretty crap to be honest.

Dillon: Why?

Valkyrie: It was the one class where I was terrible at everything, nobody really wanted me there, plus arguing with the PE teacher...

Valkyrie’s (18, bisexual) story is not unique. Many of the girls in this study felt unwanted and left out of games and activities in physical education classes. Much of this was due to the assembled gendered ideal that girls are conceptualized in opposition to boys (Wright, 1996) and therefore not competitive or skilled. Physical education was a space that many gender and sexuality diverse students felt unsafe. Like Sykes (2011) and McGlashan (2013), there was evidence that students experienced both physical and verbal harassment. All in all, however, the overall climate was not conducive for sexuality and gender diversity, and the students in this study internalized these feelings. E (14, lesbian) said the following about the gym:

E: It just makes me feel rather unsafe about myself. That whole area (the gymnasium) is where a lot of the people who are very judgmental hang out and also during PE classes when you are in uniforms and stuff. People are like yelling at you for not doing things or yelling at you for doing things wrong and I just feel very like I don’t know, judged and self-conscious.

E's description of the physical education setting resonated with the other students throughout the study. For the most part, physical education was conceptualized as a judgmental place where students' subjectivities and bodies were constantly evaluated against an assembled biomedical and sporting norm. As such, and consistent with other literature with young women (Fisette, 2011; Oliver & Kirk, 2015a; Scraton, 1992; Vertinsky, 1992) and students with disabilities (Fitzgerald, 2005, 2006; van Amsterdam, 2014), the LGBTQ youth in this study did not enjoy physical education. Another major theme that arose from the data was LGBTQ youth opting out of physical education in a variety of ways.

Avoiding physical education. The LGBTQ youth in this study found several ways to avoid physical education. The most prevalent forms of avoiding physical education were dropping the class after it was no longer required (Year 10 in New Zealand), cutting class, or forging notes. I conducted a group interview with six students about their experiences in physical education: Gwen (16, lesbian), Jack (16, non-binary), Hayden (14, transmasculine), Nicole (16, bisexual), Spongey (16, lesbian), and Space Ace (16, non-binary). In the interview, all but Hayden were allowed to drop physical education from their timetable. Below is an excerpt of the discussion:

Dillon: So, is PE a fun subject?

Gwen: I dropped it.

Jack: Yeah, we dropped it in Year 13.

Dillon: (Going around the table). So, drop, drop, drop, drop, drop and you can't drop it yet, so what are your experiences?

Hayden: It is awful, I don't know, it is like the one thing that I really don't like. In most schools they don't have androgynous changing rooms and you kind of have to pick and choose and it is frustrating. The teachers don't really understand

anything. Like you try to talk to them but they are like hey I'm uncomfortable with this and they are like ok do it anyway...

All of the students in the group discussion who could drop physical education from their timetable had dropped it. During another group discussion, a student likened physical education to serving a prison sentence:

Dillon: How is physical education in school?

AB: I haven't done PE in two years, I dropped it as soon as I could.

Emily: I'm done. I've served my time.

Given Emily's statement that she's served her time, which equates physical education to a prison sentence, there is no wonder why LGBTQ students in this study overwhelmingly dropped out of physical education. The LGBTQ students actively showed their resistance to the striated and competitive nature of physical education by no longer taking part in its practices. Many of the LGBTQ students in this study face extreme pressure from multiple areas of their lives. Physical education was just another place that added pressure instead of serving as a place where students could build meaningful relationships with each other and potentially relieve pressure through physical activity. Interestingly, some of the students did not wait to drop physical education. Instead, they worked together and helped each other by creating forged notes to get each other out of physical education class. Gwen and Spongey explained how they colluded to resist the physical education practices:

Dillon: So, you said it was awful and you dropped it as soon as you could?

Gwen: Yeah, I hated doing it. I didn't even do Year 10. I forged my mum's signature.

Spongey: You forged my notes too!

Gwen: Yeah it was like we've got PE next, write us notes so like to whom it may concern my child has injured their ankle in a blank accident can they please not do PE for today, signed my mother and I wrote her signature and then we

had to write the phone number. So, I wrote my own phone number so if they did contact they were contacting me.

Dillon: Did they ever call?

Gwen: Our teacher was a giant pushover because she was like 'we are going to ring your parents to confirm if this is right' and I was like, sure, you never did because it was my phone number and I got no contact.

Many of the students in the study discussed how they forged notes to get out of physical education. Importantly, the teachers rarely followed up on the notes. Given this, the students seldom faced consequences. Below, I analyzed a specific forgery excuse that females used: menstruation. Here, though, a transgender man was using the excuse.

Oakley (20, Transmasculine) stated this:

Oakley: Yeah, physical education made it quite awkward for me because, obviously, I had to get changed into my PE uniform, otherwise I'd get deducted points and then there was nowhere else for me to change sort of thing because I'm trans. I would get in, get out as fast as I could or sometimes I would just forge notes saying that I couldn't do PE that day.

Dillon: You literally forged notes?

Oakley: Yeah.

Dillon: What did they say?

Oakley: I was on my period or oh, I sprained my ankle.

Dillon: At this point did you know you were trans?

Oakley: Yeah, I had a sort of inkling, but I didn't know there was a name for it back then.

Dillon: I find it interesting that you identify as a man but you used a female excuse to get out of phys ed.

Oakley: The thing is that it only worked when you had a male teacher.

Dillon: Really!

Oakley: Yeah because females would be like, "Exercise is good for you it would help relieve the pain, your cramps and everything," whereas the men were kind of like, "Ok, you don't need to explain it like I know what it is like you can just sit down."

Below I have dredged our conversation:

*PE–Awkward–Uniform–Space–Changing–Trans–Forging Notes–Menstruation–
Female Teachers–Exercise–Pain–Cramps–Male Teachers–Blood–Sit Down*

To start, Oakley noted physical education was an awkward place for him because he did not feel comfortable changing in front of the opposite gender. If Oakley did not change, he lost marks on his grades. Given this, he felt there was no place for him to succeed because there was no physical space for trans-people in the physical education assemblage. Instead, he forged notes to avoid PE and the awkward situations the assemblage produced. Even though Oakley was transmasculine, he used his biological position as a female as an excuse to avoid physical education.

Bringing up menstruation, however, provoked different affects depending on the teacher. Female teachers used menstruation as an opportunity to implore the biomedical health benefits of being physically active. I do not mean to overstep my boundaries as a male (I have never experienced the pain of menstruation), but this strategy seems to privilege biomedical knowledge over students' subjective experiences. Male teachers, alternatively, had a different relationship with the forged note. Male teachers, on the other hand, displayed expressions of disgust and told Oakley to sit to the side, a form of repudiating the female excretion from the masculine dominated space of physical education. In this example, a forged note is not merely words written on a paper. Rather, the note is an assemblage

comprised of gendered, sexual, and material relations. When LGBTQ students used forged notes, they drew on the material relations related to biomedicine, gender, and sport to provide legitimate excuses to avoid physical education. The reason most students chose to avoid physical education was because it made them feel shameful, self-conscious, or outright unsafe. In other words, the affective experiences of physical education limited the types of identities and movements that LGBTQ youth could express.

Concluding thoughts: Limiting LGBTQ bodies and stasis

The results of this chapter are significant because they provide novel evidence of the affective experiences of LGBTQ youth in physical education. When I asked Lovecraft (17, transfeminine) what physical education did for her, she summarized the ethos of the research:

Lovecraft: What it did to me was instilled a sense of physical image impotence and a sense that I wasn't equal to my fellow classmates because I didn't have the traditional masculine perspective.

Because LGBTQ youth transgress gendered expectations, the physical education assemblage is not a conducive milieu for identity development. As Lovecraft noted, the gendered expectations for students are limited to specific and traditional forms of masculinities and femininities in physical education (Cockburn & Clarke, 2002; Gard, 1993; Kirk, 2010b; Oliver & Lalik, 2001; Parker, 1996). Many of the LGBTQ students in this study did not fit in to the assembled reality of physical education because they contravened pathological and gendered binaries. For many of these students, this mismatch produced feelings of gender dysphoria² and bodily discomfort. Therefore, the material reality of physical education limited the types of bodies and subjectivities that could be expressed within its setting.

² Gender dysphoria: “a marked incongruence between one’s experienced/expressed gender and assigned gender” (Erickson-Schroth, 2014).

LGBTQ students did not just sit idly by and become victims of the physical education assemblage. Instead, they looked for ways to resist and avoid physical education through forging notes, dropping out, or just blatantly cutting class. The avoidance of physical education, however, has two concomitant and reciprocal affects on both LGBTQ students and the field of physical education. To start, when LGBTQ students remove themselves from the physical education assemblage, they also remove their capacity to transform the field. In so doing, the assembling practices of physical education produces shifts toward stasis that can result in future harm toward LGBTQ students. Alternatively, by removing themselves from physical education, the students also lost a precious opportunity to engage with and through embodied movements that further explore their subjectivities and interests. The LGBTQ students' BwO (or their potential) is severely limited because of the broken connection with a field that has the potential to be educational about bodies, subjectivities, and knowledge. In other words, these students could potentially benefit from physical education, but they end up leaving because the field tends to be "all physical" and "no education."

Chapter 6: Queer men, affect, and physical education

In the previous chapter, I argued the physical education assemblage works to assemble LGBTQ bodies and subjectivities along gendered norms, which leads many LGBTQ students to leave the physical education assemblage as a form of resistance. When LGBTQ students leave the physical education assemblage, however, they limit their ability to change the assemblage because they lose their capacity to affect that space. In this chapter, I will examine the transformative potential of LGBTQ men when they are within the PE assemblage. This proposition is already radically different from previous research in the field. More specifically, LGBTQ persons have been theorized as abject or repressed within physical education (e.g. Clarke, 2004; Pérez-Samaniego et al., 2016; Sparkes, 1997; Sykes, 2011). The term *abject*, or the process of *abjection*, refers to the creation of boundaries through the expulsion of non-conforming bodies. In other words, for any system (in this case physical education) to be established, there must be something beyond the borders of that system (Pronger, 2002).

Over the past several decades, researchers (Clarke, 1995, 1996; P. Griffin, 1998; H. Lenskyj, 1991; Sparkes, 1994, 1996; Squires & Sparkes, 1996) have claimed that LGBTQ bodies are constructed beyond the borders of PE. LGBTQ subjects have either been expelled from physical education or forced to repress their (homoerotic) desires within the subject. I intend to offer an alternative perspective. Instead, I argue LGBTQ students and desire are not beyond the borders of physical education, but are produced within and affected by the field. I will draw on interviews I conducted with men who identify as queer to explore the role of desire in physical education.

Research on queer experiences in PE

As a reminder from chapter one, the privileging of heterosexuality in physical education has been documented since the early 1980s (Cobhan, 1982). For example, Clarke

(1995, 1998b, 2002) has consistently illustrated that compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) had insidious effects on LGBTQ teachers and teacher candidates. In the same vein, researchers have documented homophobic and heterosexist behavior (Clarke, 2004; Morrow & Gill, 2003; Sykes, 2011), negative attitudes toward LGBTQ persons (Gill, Morrow, Collins, Lucey, & Schultz, 2006), and LGBTQ people feeling uncomfortable in physical education settings (Clarke, 2006; Gill et al., 2010; Sykes, 2011). Given the overwhelming amount of evidence documenting the ways in which PE has been negative for LGBTQ-identified persons, there has been little impetus to explore the role of homoerotic desire in physical education.

Desire and PE. When investigating the role of desire in physical education, I was left unfulfilled (or perhaps desiring) due to a limited number of empirical outputs on the topic. Much like sexuality education (M. Fine, 1988; M. Fine & McClelland, 2006), there is indeed a missing discourse of desire in physical education. Again, this is odd given the central role that bodies play in physical education and how these bodies are conceptualized in relation to gendered and sexual meanings. Despite this, the only work I located that focused on sexual desire in physical education was conducted by Sykes (1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2003). In her work with physical educators, Sykes (2001) claimed a “trope of ‘silence’ was central... owing to longstanding secrecy surrounding lesbian desires in women’s physical education” (Sykes, 2001, p. 14). The concept of silenced desire reinforced the claim that lesbians in sport and PE were expected to follow the ethos of “play it, don’t say it” (Cahn, 1994, p. 205). Griffin’s (1998) work explored how lesbians managed their identities and reinforced Cahn’s (1994) findings. Indeed, Griffin (1998) concluded that the closet was a “comfortable compromise” (p. 154) for lesbians in sport and physical education. Sykes (2001) linked this active silencing (and closeting) of lesbians to homophobic repression:

For generations of teachers growing up within heteronormative contexts, one main manifestations of homophobia is silencing: the psychic repression of same-sex transference – the crush – as students can return as an unconscious feature in some teachers’ counter-transference, a feature that might be termed ‘homophobic counter-transference.’ (Sykes, 2001, p. 26)

Sykes’ statement is crucial because she placed homoerotic desire within the realm of physical education. Concomitantly, she also claimed homoerotic desire was silenced, repressed, or (counter)transferred so lesbians could remain in the heteronormative system of physical education, which was indeed an (un)comfortable compromise. The above research shows how it became a normative assumption that LGBTQ persons must repress or hide their homoerotic desires in physical education. In this chapter, I was motivated to offer a different perspective using Fullager’s (2017) call to “critically challenge, rather than unknowingly reiterate, normative assumptions that negate or ignore different embodied practices” (p. 248). I agreed with Sykes’ positioning of homoerotic desire within the borders of physical education, but I also argue that the field plays an active role in the production (and therefore not just repression) of embodied homoeroticism. To support my alternative perspective, I draw on the experiences of queer men in physical education.

Research on queer men in physical education. Previous research on queer men in physical education has been primarily split into two categories: (a) experiences of teachers and (b) experiences of students. Sparkes’ (1996, 1997) autoethnographic fiction was the first attempt to provide an example of what life would be like as a queer male physical educator. Drawing on Griffin’s (1991) research, Sparkes used compelling narratives to illustrate the many obstacles that Alexander (a fictional gay physical educator) faced within schools. Recently, I wrote an autoethnography (Landi, 2018) illustrating my own experiences as a queer male physical educator. I used this autoethnography to challenge the dichotomy

constructed between students and teachers by centering my narratives on a student (Geraldo) who inspired me to shift my own practices and ideologies within physical education.

To my knowledge, published research solely investigating queer male students has been limited to a few chapters (Carless, 2012; Fitzpatrick & McGlashan, 2016; Sykes, 2011). Sykes (2011) discussed a plethora of issues confronting queer men in physical education. Importantly, she outlined different types of homophobic harassment men faced in physical education and changing rooms. Fitzpatrick and McGlashan (2016) recently reinforced many of these findings and stated that physical education “maintains narrow and circumscribed norms of gender [and] sexuality and the body” (p. 117). Changing rooms, however, are ambivalent sites because they serve as places of fear *and* desire. Carless (2012) shared a sentiment from an experience where he and another man were gazing at each other in a changing room. In essence, it cannot be claimed that physical education settings are totally repressive.

It is also important to mention that physical education and queer cultures do not exist in a vacuum. They are affected by larger cultural discourses and in so doing, produce their own forms of privileged bodies, mainly the “gay gym body” (Sykes, 2011). Sykes’ (2011) research revealed that gay body expectations were aligned with and expected to express a hegemonic ideal. According to Sykes (2011), the gay gym body is the product of a matrix of discourses (ethnic, national, sexual) that affect the ways in which queer men participate in physical education. Sykes (2011) claimed that the narrowly prescribed expectations for gay bodies ultimately rob gay men of enjoyment within physical education. Notably, the previous research discussed above has two limitations. The first is that the theoretical frameworks employed constructed queer bodies as passive within larger discursive networks. By using materialism, queer bodies could also be theorized as productive agents within physical education. Secondly, all of the previous research on queer men has been conducted with

adults reflecting on their past experiences of physical education. The students in this study, on the other hand, are comprised of both current and recently graduated students. Therefore, this chapter will explore the transformative potential of homoerotic desire in physical education by drawing on the experiences of current and recently graduated queer men in physical education from a materialist perspective (Coole & Frost, 2010; Fox & Alldred, 2017).

Assembling queer men in physical education

I categorized the main themes of this chapter into three sections: (a) Assembling ~~‘healthy’~~² sexy bodies, (b) Assembling queer desire, and (c) Queer desire as transformative. In the first section, I argue queer men’s bodies and subjectivities were assembled via material practices in physical education. I analyzed how these practices affected what queer bodies can do. In the second section, I illustrate how assembled queer men’s desires reproduce discourses that limit participation in physical education. In the final section, I highlight the homoerotic potential of physical education.

Assembling a healthy athletic and sexy body. As discussed in the last chapter, the students in this study viewed physical education as a place to work on the body. All of the students expressed beliefs that the purpose of physical education was to either learn about the body through a biomedical lens, or to “work on the body” to make it “healthy.” Jim (15, gay) claimed the body was the sole focus of physical education:

Jim: Like, the general purpose of PE was to run around and learning about physical body stuff.

Dillon: What about the body?

Jim: Like this is your bone, this is your muscle, muscles. Muscles move. So it’s just learning that stuff in PE, you know, is it flexion or extension... Body stuff in PE is really just anatomy and physiology.

Jim explained the main purpose of physical education was to learn about the biomedical concepts of the body. Jim attended school in both the United States and New Zealand. In New Zealand, the curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b) emphasized a socio-ecological perspective to physical education. Despite this, Jim experienced that the privileged knowledge in both countries were based on biomedicine. Prioritizing biomedical knowledge affected classroom practices and students' understandings of the human body. For example, activities were connected to biomedical knowledge and its relation to either health or sport. When asked what he learned from physical education, Charlie (19, gay) gave the following response:

Charlie: Not explicitly learned anything, like, we weren't taught stuff apart from like simple technique things like running.

Dillon: So what did you learn?

Charlie: I'm not actually sure, just like to run up to a long jump thing and jump to get the most distance and how to throw a shot put to get the most distance and all that stuff just basic techniques.

Charlie's description of PE is an assemblage of multiple interconnected bodies. Let's dredge his statement:

*Learning–Technique–Biomechanics–Running–Jumping–
Performance–Throwing–Shot Put–Performance–Techniques*

For Charlie, physical education was merely being physically active through the learning of sport skills and increasing performance. Kirk (2010a) demonstrated that technique has historically played a contentious yet central role in physical education. Learning and improving sport skills is intended to systematically produce more athletic bodies in physical education. The relationships between sport skills, biomechanics, bodily performance, objects (e.g., shot put, sand pit), and biomedical knowledge coalesce to produce athletically inclined

queer bodies. So, as discussed in chapter five, biomedical knowledge is not isolated from culture but rather is materially produced in relation to cultural activities like sport. In addition to sport, biomedical knowledge materializes in relation to cultural understandings of body size and attraction. In a group conversation, Kez (17, gay) expressed the following regarding physical education:

Kez: I wouldn't say we exercised to gain strength...yeah not to like gain strength, but to be healthy and fit. I don't want to be a fat slob.

Charlie: Goals. (Laughs)

Dillon: Ok, so the way you look has something to do with health in physical education?

Kez: Yeah.

Dillon: What do you mean, like what is healthy?

Kez: I guess I was going to say normal, but what is normal. Not like super skinny or super fat, or fat at all. Just healthy weight.

Like Kez, many students in this project felt the purpose of physical education was to have a “normal” or “healthy” weight. Kez described being normal as not being too skinny (especially as a man) and not being a fat slob. Powell and Fitzpatrick (2015) asserted that being fit is constructed in relation to one’s body size. In my study, the interconnected nature between body fat, biomedicine, and games is fundamental. Physical education is a subject that exists within cultural (e.g., sport, body attraction) and biomedical (e.g., biomechanics, health promotion) paradigms. The interaction between culture and biomedicine produced affects on the material human body. In other words, Kez’s perception that PE is meant to help students resist being fat slob was produced through his embodied experiences of learning biomedical concepts in relation to culture. Therefore, the athletic or fit body is coupled with

biomedicine and sport in physical education to assemble a narrowly defined material condition of what it means to embody health: an athletic and sexy body.

The queer men in this paper were also cognizant of the dominant discourses surrounding ethnicities, genders, and sexualities. Olive (25, cismasculine, queer) noted how physical education tends to reinforce Western sexuality through health (Tinning & Glasby, 2002):

Dillon: So, what was considered a healthy body in health and physical education?

Olive: White and sort of, you know, if you were a female, big breasts and, you know, if you were a male, you had to be muscular basically.

While dredging this statement, I traced the flows of affects in the assemblage through physical, social, and material bodies:

Ethnicity–Femininity–Breasts–Heterosexuality–Masculinities–Muscles

Despite being white himself, Olive was culturally aware of his own privilege at the intersection of health and the body. In so doing, he called out “whiteness” (Azzarito, Solmon, & Harrison Jr., 2006; Simon & Azzarito, 2018) and how it operated in connection with gender to materially produce sexy bodies. The material production of femininities were connected to having large breasts. Large breasts are often achieved through augmentation and have been linked to Western cultural practices that reproduce misogyny and limit women’s agency (Jeffreys, 2005). Furthermore, the emphasis on large breasts reproduces a phallogentric view of female bodies that is limited to women who have the financial means to surgically modify their bodies (Wilson, 2002). The purchasing of breast augmentation has been referred to as “buying white beauty” (Perry, 2006). The Western feminine ideal therefore, is materially producing cyborg bodies comprised of human and non-human parts (Haraway, 1991). Importantly, the capitalist flows necessary to achieve the cyborg ideal reproduced gendered, social class, and ethnic inequities.

Olive also illustrated that sexy feminine bodies are produced in opposition to sexy masculine bodies (Wright, 1996). In other words, men's bodies in physical education reinforced muscularity, body size, and dominance (Gorely et al., 2003). In Olive's physical education experience, the cultural knowledge of the body coalesced with biomedical knowledge to assemble and affect material effects on students' bodies. Physical education reinforced what Youdell (2005) called a sex-gender-sexuality assemblage that produced material conditions to permeate white, Western, gendered, and sexy views of health based on heterosexuality. The important question, however, still remains: "What does the physical education assemblage do to queer men's desire?"

Assembling queer desire

From a materialist perspective, desire is not something that is natural only to the body, rather it is materially produced through relationships. If we consider desire as something produced, then physical education plays an active role in the production of homoerotic desire. Physical education promotes the touching of same-sex bodies, idealising same-sex bodies, and desiring a sexy body. In this section, I draw on the narratives of three students to illustrate how queer desire and bodies are produced but also striated in physical education.

Suva's crush: Reproducing athletic and sexy. In this section, I draw on Suva's (21, gay) experience of being harassed in physical education and the affects this event had on Suva's Body without Organs (BwO) and physical education.

Suva: I actually started to develop a crush on Johnny (pseudonym), but before that happened he was always like kind of like taking the piss out of me on 99% of the time it was like kind of verbal kind of stuff where he was like calling me gay.

Dillon: Did you talk to him?

Suva: No, I didn't...Um but then um he kicked a soccer ball at me one time during PE.

Dillon: Yeah what happened here?

Suva: Uh well basically we were just playing in PE and then he just saw me standing on the side of the gym and then he just kicked the ball like at my head deliberately and he's got really good aim so it wasn't like he accidentally did it. He's like a real sharpshooter I remember that. We were in the same soccer team...and he was always the guy who scored like the goals.

Below, I dredge and analyse the flows of affect from Suva's narrative:

*Homoeroticism–Verbal Harassment–Sport Skills–Soccer Ball–
PE–Physical Harassment–Suva's Head–Team Sport–Athletic Body*

For Suva, physical education was part of the material production of homoerotic desire, but it also assembled that desire in striated ways. Suva noted he was sexually attracted to Johnny (had a crush on him). Johnny had the athletic and sexy body par excellence in Suva's physical education class. Johnny was white, muscular, and the star of the soccer team. Suva found Johnny's body sexually attractive and therefore unconsciously reproduced dominant assembled discourses about the "sexy" body. Suva's body, on the other hand, did not match the assembled norm, because Suva was Asian, skinny, and non-athletic. In the beginning of the passage, Suva noted that Johnny verbally harassed him in class and called Suva gay. Being gay, however, was not an insult to Suva's sexuality but rather an attack on Suva's embodied self. Suva being gay was not the only issue, rather it was the intersection of how Suva's body materially produced performances contrary to the assembled ideal (athletic and sexy).

There are two extremely important takeaways from this passage in relation to queer men's desire. The first is that Suva's homoerotic desire was produced within and assembled

within physical education. Suva's consistent interactions with Johnny in physical education created events that materially produced an erotic attraction to Johnny. Suva inadvertently reinforced the physical education assemblage because he actively desired the body the field intends to idealize. By reinforcing the discourse, Suva also produced affects that helped the assemblage maintain stasis. Suva's body, on the other hand, was severely limited in physical education because it did not fit the assembled ideal (athletic and sexy). Suva's body was actively separated from his subjectivity rather than being understood as an embodied, fleshy, and materialised subject (Braidotti, 2011), which created a situation in which Suva's body was ripe for harassment from fellow classmates while also limiting the affect he could have on transforming the physical education assemblage.

Changing rooms: Assembling homoerotic desire. Changing rooms have historically been labelled as harmful spaces for queer students (Ketterson, Atwell, & McGlothlin, 2009; McGlashan, 2013; Sykes, 2011). Notably, changing rooms are also very intimidating for all youth, especially during different stages of development (e.g. puberty). Many of the queer men in this paper felt "on guard" or like they needed to protect themselves in changing rooms. Indeed, this guarded and protected feeling was heightened if their classmates knew (or assumed) they were gay. Alexander (16, pansexual) described one of the reasons he dropped out of physical education:

Alexander: I feel like one of the reasons I dropped PE was because the fact that I knew people would be thinking things like this in the changing room. Thinking that I would be looking at them.

Alexander explained that he always made efforts to *not* look at his fellow classmates in the changing room because he did not want to be "caught" snooping. Many students in this paper felt they were actually hypersexualized because of their subjectivities. Interestingly, Alexander was nervous in changing rooms because of his own body.

Dillon: How did you feel in changing rooms?

Alexander: I felt relatively uncomfortable like I'm really skinny and I can tell people noticing that.

Not only was Alexander trying to cover himself from seeing other classmates, he was also cognizant of his own body in relation to the physical education assemblage. Alexander is a tall lanky student who is into tech and drama. In changing rooms he often went into stalls or corners to avoid other students seeing him. Alexander actively positioned his body differently in the changing rooms to avert being harassed. As shown in previous research, many of the students in the overall project despised changing rooms. Importantly, the assembled ideal body in physical education (athletic and sexy) affected Alexander's psychological and social comfort in the class. Alexander's BwO was limited because every time he came to PE he was worried about how he looked and if others were going to accuse him of looking at them.

Changing rooms, however, are also homoerotic places (Carless, 2012). Mafu (20, gay) illustrated how the locker room is filled with restrictions but also with homoerotic desire:

Dillon: Did you enjoy seeing the other guys?

Mafu: Yeah, of course!

Dillon: What about it did you enjoy?

Mafu: Yes, I enjoyed just like getting changed and be around other guys and just like, Oh, yeah!

Dillon: So, did you look at the other guys?

Mafu: Yes, yes and but if I was checking them out I wouldn't do it like directly, I would do it in a way that it wasn't as obvious and no one could detect that I'm checking them out.

Dillon: Why did you do that?

Mafu: Just in case I might be marginalized for doing that.

Dillon: So, what are some things that you have to do to hide that?

Mafu: So, god...oh my god! So, what I used to do was when I would get changed into my sport gear...and there was this really hot guy beside me or behind me. I'd like drop something, yeah. So, I'd walk over, bend and pick it up and just look at the person and he's like, "Are you ok there?" – "Sorry, I'm just picking up my pants or picking up my shoes" ...Oh my god!

Let's dredge the flows of affect in this example:

Men's Bodies–Viewing–Rules–Hot Men–Pants–Body Parts–Excitement

The changing room enabled encounters that instigated the production of homoerotic desire. Desire is not a pre-existing thing laid dormant in the body, but rather is produced through the connecting of material and abstract bodies. To start, Mafu's desire to connect with other men's bodies was produced via seeing their bodies in relation to the assembled ideal body (athletic and sexy). Importantly, for Mafu to view these men's bodies, he had to do so indirectly so as to not cause attention. Such affects are produced for a multitude of reasons. From this perspective, social expectations regarding the regulation and desexualisation of youth desire in schools (Allen, 2007a; McClelland & Fine, 2014; Youdell, 2011) forces Mafu to hide his desire. Additional social rules in relation to homoerotic desire in the locker room also assembled the actions Mafu could take to explore his desire. Furthermore, Mafu used material objects (his pants) to forge new relationships with body parts he could not see. Inevitably, the interaction between these bodies produced physiological and sensual reactions in Mafu's physical body. Indeed, when Mafu explained this to me he was very excited, blushing, and aroused. Noticing this, I asked specific questions:

Dillon: So what did you feel when you saw them (the guys in the locker room)?

Mafu: Happy.

Dillon: Did you get erections?

Mafu: Yeah.

Dillon: And did they ever notice that?

Mafu: No, because I would cross my legs, I'd cover my, (physically covers groin area), yeah.

The interactions between the flows of affect materially produced physiological reactions in Mafu's body. Mafu was aware that his physiological reaction would not have been acceptable in this space, so Mafu crossed his legs to hide his erection from classmates. By hiding his body, Mafu also reinforced the stasis of the physical education assemblage by reproducing the heteronormative discourse.

Given the above narratives, homoerotic desire was materially produced and assembled in physical education settings. The way homoerotic desire was assembled, however, reinforced heterosexuality as the "normal" sexual orientation (Judith Butler, 1990; Fausto-Sterling, 2012; Youdell, 2005). Therefore, any production of homoerotic desire was not repressed but rather was produced in a restricted fashion that privileged heterosexuality. By hiding his actions, Mafu reinforced the stasis in the physical education assemblage. Furthermore, both Mafu and Suva reinforced the assembled body ideal (athletic and sexy) in PE. Their attraction to jock bodies inevitably reproduced a masculinity vortex (Kirk, 2010b). The masculinity vortex, however, transformed and limited these students BwO in physical education because their bodies did not fit the ideal. Alexander removed himself completely from physical education because he was not comfortable with his subjectivity and physical body. By removing himself from physical education, Alexander reinforced a material discourse that gay men are not athletic (Pronger, 1990). In all of the cases that the LGBTQ students reported, homoerotic desire was materially produced but also assembled in ways to

reproduce norms that limit queer student's BwO and stabilized the physical education assemblage.

Queer desire as transformative

In this section, I aim to show how homoerotic desire has the potential to be a transformative force and that homoerotic desire and physical education have a co-constitutive relationship in which they both affect the other. When we consider homoerotic desire as materially produced within physical education, we expose the potential of homoerotic desire to transform the practices of physical education. Below, I articulate ways homoerotic desire has produced new combinations of the body, subjectivities, and health. I draw on Chanel's (21, Fakaleiti) example of using material entities to push back on physical education norms.

Dillon: So how did you feel being in physical education if you didn't represent the body they wanted?

Chanel: I felt out of place. I felt like I had to put on a fight to kind of divide that picture they had of what it is to be a man. I fought this by doing little things like putting makeup on. I don't just put makeup on so I could like you know, create a different idea of what a man is. I also put makeup on because it was something that I felt confident doing and it was a way for me to express myself and I just love makeup overall. But it was a major reason why I did it, to challenge their idea of what a man is.

I analyse the relationships and flows of affect below:

Masculinity–Femininity–Makeup–Capitalism–Confidence–Pleasure–Challenge

In Chanel's narrative, the relationships between several entities (physical and abstract) allowed Chanel the opportunity to resist the dominant "sexy" body in physical education. For Chanel to resist the dominant culture, they had to interact with material discourses of masculinities. Considering that masculinities are at odds with feminine products (like

makeup), Chanel used these material products to destabilize social codes through which men's bodies are assembled. In other words, by wearing makeup in physical education, Chanel directly challenged the binary posited between masculinities and femininities. To do so, Chanel had to purchase makeup, which reinforced capitalist markets that profit from society's feminine standards and therefore reproduced gendered beauty standards. In other words, Chanel may have used makeup to augment their desire to destabilize the micropolitics of gender and sexuality in physical education but in doing so, they also reproduced gendered ideologies on a macropolitical scale by providing capitalist flows to companies that profit from these material discourses. The micropolitical resistance gave Chanel a sense of pleasure because they expressed themselves in a way that challenged the oppositional foundations of gender binaries and heterosexuality in physical education. Another example of challenging discourses was apparent in Dean (15, gay) and Kieran's (16, gay) exchange in physical education class:

Dillon: Do you feel that people see you in a sexual light because of your sexuality?

Dean: Like if I bumped into somebody they would be like, "Oh get off." Like they used to, they don't anymore, because when it happened they would say, "Oh are you gay?" Then I would answer "Maybe!"

Kieran: That gave them something to think about.

Dean: It did, but now like that happens so much that I kind of played into that because if they were being a dick to me I would make them feel uncomfortable. I would intentionally bump into them and they would say, "What are you doing?" Then I would say, "What are you doing?" and "If you want to be rude to me then why not be rude to you back."

Dredging the relationships and flows of affect:

Games–Bodies Colliding–Homophobia–Challenge–Classmates–Masculinities

Dean challenged the heteronormative environment of physical education when he replied “Maybe” instead of denying his sexuality. After Dean “shocked” his classmate, he got pleasure out of challenging homophobic language by affirming that heterosexuality is not the preferred subjectivity. Importantly, he then intentionally bumped into other guys in his class to get a rise out of them. Classmates were often put off by his actions and asked, “What are you doing?” Dean then used that opportunity to correct the classmates’ initial behavior of using homophobic language by claiming it was rude. In addition, by initiating body collisions, Dean ironically asserted that queer men could also perform “masculine” behaviours of aggression, which challenged the material foundations of masculinities. Through all of these actions, Dean produced affective intensities that have the potential to shift, or transform, the heteronormative nature of physical education. What is important here, however, is that Dean’s actions are not necessarily pedagogically sound. Yet, the fact that the physical education space was smooth enough where he felt he could express his identity is important—and may have pedagogical implications.

When we consider queer bodies as assemblages, we recognise them as affective flows from a variety of sources. Therefore, queer subjectivities and desire are not natural to the body, but rather are materially produced through the interactions of multiple entities. In the examples above, multiple entities coalesced through physical (e.g., human bodies, makeup, pants, body parts) and abstract (e.g., masculinities, capitalism, gender) relations to produce queer desire and agency. Importantly, these entities were both internal and external to the human body (Coole & Frost, 2010). Therefore, I argue that physical education has been an active proponent in the material production of queer desire and agency. Given that queer desire is materially produced within the field, physical education is constantly creating new relations and is under production.

Discussion

In this chapter, I identified LGBTQ youths' experiences that support Cobhan's (1982) and more recently lisahunter's (2019) call to see physical education as a queer space despite its disconnect from queer topics. I drew on new materialist and more specifically Deleuzo-Guattarian theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983, 1987) to illustrate the active role physical education plays in the material production of queer bodies and desire. The use of materialism had massive implications, because I illustrated ways queer desire is produced within physical education and also ways queer desire produce oscillations toward stasis and change in the physical education assemblage.

One of the insights provided in this chapter is the breaking down of (false) binaries that have plagued our field. Instead of viewing biomedical and cultural knowledge as in opposition to each other and therefore antagonistic, I attempted to show that the interaction between these fields materially produce the conditions of physical education. Therefore, any critique of biomedical approaches to physical education (Azzarito, 2009; Kirk & Calquhoun, 1989; McKay et al., 1990; Tinning & Glasby, 2002) must also look inward and critique how cultural practices play a role in the production of the field. Likewise, any claim that empirical approaches are more fruitful (Sallis, 2017) than social approaches blindly ignores the neuroscience and other natural sciences research that illustrates the interconnected nature between nature and culture (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). Queer bodies, like all bodies, are a contradictory space that simultaneously reinforce and challenge discourses in our field. Therefore, the material production of gender, sexuality, and other inequities cannot be summed up by placing blame on one end of the spectrum.

The last key insight of this chapter regards the way queer desire and bodies are produced in physical education. Previous research in the field considered queer persons as a pre-existing subjectivity that the field of physical education must cater to (e.g. Block, 2014;

Clarke, 2013; Edwards et al., 2016; H. Lenskyj, 1991; McCaughtry et al., 2005). I offer an alternative to this approach by claiming that physical education plays an active role in the production of queer desire. Importantly, I argue that queer desire is not repressed or abject to the field; rather, it is assembled in a restrictive way. The above implications are unique because I argue the transformative potential of queer desire is actually being produced within the field itself and not outside of its borders. If the potential to transform the field is being produced within its borders, I assert that the physical education field needs to look inward for true transformation.

As we approach the end of this chapter, let's reflect on Deleuze and Guattari's important question: "What can the body do?" If we tailor the question for this study, the question would become, "What can queer men's bodies do in physical education?" The flows of affect in physical education assemble queer bodies along extremely gendered, (hetero)sexualized, and capitalist lines. The affective capacities of queer men are reduced because their BwO are constantly assembled by competing interests. These interests are not just cultural or biomedical, because they are produced through relationships. The number of relationships that queer bodies can enter into during physical education is dramatically diminished. If health is considered from a materialist perspective as maximizing the number of meaningful relationships a body can enter into (Fox, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2017; Fox & Ward, 2008), then educators need to consider whether physical education is actually producing materially healthy conditions for bodies that identify as LGBTQ?

In 2011, Sykes claimed physical education was in need of radical change. Scholars have been trying to progress the field of physical education for a variety of equity issues (e.g., racism, sexism, homophobia). These approaches have predominantly materialized through socially just/critical approaches to teacher education (Philpot, 2015; Tinning, 2004; Walton-Fisette et al., 2018) or activist/critical pedagogies at the school level (Fitzpatrick, 2013b;

Kirk, 2019; Oliver & Kirk, 2015a). I wholeheartedly support these initiatives because they are worthy attempts to affect the physical education assemblage. However, it is important to recognize the affective potential of the students themselves. Therefore, in the spirit of former U.S. President John F. Kennedy, I claim we should “ask not what physical education can do for queer students but ask: What can queer students do to transform physical education?”

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Chapter 7: Queer women, affect, and fitness testing

Niccolini and Lesko (2017) boldly claimed, “We are interested in affect. And we’re not alone” (p. 1). Indeed, they are not alone! By affect, Niccolini and Lesko meant the interconnected web of feelings, dispositions, senses, knowledge, and capacities that have the ability to *move* people to act (or vote, or buy, or click, or learn). In physical education, many scholars have shifted their focus to affect by positing the overarching goal of the field is to produce similar effects in order to *move* students to *value* the physically active life (Oliver & Kirk, 2015a; Siedentop, 1996). The emphasis on affect is imperative because it posits movement as more than an individual event carried out by a slab of human meat. Instead, the emphasis on affect recognizes sustained and pleasurable movement is multiplicitous, embodied, and shaped continuously by biological, psychological, cultural, and socio-emotional influences.

In this chapter, I am particularly interested in the experiences of six LGBTQ women from the TaurangaPryde and WaQuY groups of QueerTEENS. While LGBTQ women have long been a crucial part of physical education (Scruton, 1992; Verbrugge, 2012), they have also been the butt of jokes, harassment, sexism, and homophobia within the field (Clarke, 2006). It is therefore even more imperative to understand physical education pedagogy at the intersection of affect with LGBTQ women. If the field continues on its current trajectory, LGBTQ women will be crucial in its articulation.

To be frank, at the beginning of this research journey, I had not considered anything in relation to fitness testing. Yet, it became apparent that fitness testing (and the beep test) was an avenue to explore for two overarching reasons. One, LGBTQ students participating in the research began to adamantly express, on their own, feelings and affect(s) related to fitness testing. The physical education experiences of the LGBTQ women in this chapter were shaped by the use of fitness testing in their schools and classes. Two, fitness testing has

become synonymous with physical education (Pluim & Gard, 2018). It has been argued that such approaches to fitness have the ability to “breathe new life into disciplinary institutions” (Butler-Wall, 2015, p. 231), which may have both positive and negative implications (Alfrey & Gard, 2019). Keeping this in mind, the chapter explores the ways in which six LGBTQ women experienced fitness testing and the affective implications this had on their identities, feelings, and dispositions toward movement and physical education.

Fitness testing and the beep test

Physical fitness training is a conventional topic that is taught in most schools and is part of most curricula across New Zealand (R. Stothart & Culpan, 2012). Notably, the Ministry of Education (2007a) in New Zealand is keen to point out, “Fitness training often includes fitness testing, which can serve a useful function in raising students’ awareness of their level of fitness but, in itself, has no educational value” (p. 30). Indeed, such insights on fitness testing have been made in the past, especially when fitness testing is not part of a larger academic unit (Silverman, Keating, & Phillips, 2008). Such piece-mealed approaches, according to Cale and Harris (2009), may actually be misguided and do more harm than good. This is particularly important when we consider that physical education, as a cultural subject, relies upon sport and physical activity to remain popular. According to Green (2004), the ways in which these topics are presented to youth affects the sustainability of their popularity. One such dominant feature of the presentation of fitness in New Zealand is the beep test.

There are multiple versions of the beep test available to physical education teachers across the world. Without going into classrooms, it would be impossible to know which test versions were being used in the different schools represented in this study. Yet, all versions of the beep test are a multi-stage fitness test. The multi-stage test was first developed by Léger and Lambert (1980) as a way to measure VO₂ max. Since its inception, however, it has

been formalized and published under different names: (a) beep fitness test, (b) 20m multistage fitness test, (c) shuttle run test, (d) PACER test (described below), amongst others. The most widely used version of this test used worldwide is the PACER. The PACER test was developed and produced by the United States based Cooper Institute and is part of the fitness testing program, Fitnessgram®. While I did not ask the students which version of the test they used, I find it important to make links to, and provide an overview of Fitnessgram®, for a contextual understanding of the fitness testing industry in physical education.

Fitnessgram Overview

Fitnessgram® has an extensive history in physical education research and practice. Charles Sterling initially designed the program in 1977 as a physical fitness report card with the purpose of communicating fitness information to children and parents. It has since grown into a worldwide phenomenon used as a way to educate, assess, and report health-related fitness data among youth as early as five years old through high school (Plowman & Meredith, 2013; Welk, 2017). The main philosophy of Fitnessgram® is ostensibly straightforward: the program aims to improve the health-related fitness levels of youth and promote lifelong physical activity (PA). According to the Cooper Institute (2014), Fitnessgram® aims to “help schools evaluate and evolve their physical education programming into an education experience that supports the whole child” (Cooper Institute, 2014).

The Fitnessgram® reference guide (Plowman & Meredith, 2013) also emphasizes benefits for students, teachers, and parents. Students learn about health-related fitness, develop personal fitness goals, and self-monitor levels of PA and fitness. Parents, on the other hand, are given report cards with information about these fitness levels in order to make them aware of their children’s health and/or fitness status (Plowman & Meredith, 2013). At the same time, teachers gather and monitor students’ health-related fitness using the

Fitnessgram® assessment to track and project trends in youth fitness and evaluate programming (Welk, 2017). The Fitnessgram® data can also be used to build policies and advocate further for health promotion.

Thus, the widespread reach of Fitnessgram® is difficult to ignore. The program has been described as a unique and innovative educational tool for the field of physical education. It is used in all 50 states within the United States (USA) and across 14 different countries, one of which is New Zealand. Specific to New Zealand, schools have a long history of implementing physical fitness testing (Dawson, Hamlin, & Ross, 2001). Much of these fitness tests have been adopted from the battery of tests developed in the United States. More recently, however, New Zealand physical educators have been using Fitnessgram® in research and teaching practices (Howe et al., 2016). Furthermore, public health organizations are partnering with fitness programs to promote testing in schools (Sport Waikato, n.d.). Fitnessgram® also has a long history of corporate sponsorships (e.g., Campbell Soup Company, NFL), relationships with private organizations (e.g., Human Kinetics, SHAPE America), and empirical research (Welk, 2017). As such, Fitnessgram® has been positioned as a potential solution in the promotion of lifelong health-related fitness.

Given the above support, there has been a great deal of research devoted to Fitnessgram® to make it “the best possible physical fitness assessment, activity promotion, and feedback system” (Plowman et al., 2013, p. 19). Such research includes studies that investigated the validity and reliability of Fitnessgram® tests (Morrow Jr., Martin, & Jackson, 2010), measurement and interpretation of aerobic capacity in Fitnessgram® (Cureton & Mahar, 2014), observation and examination of teachers’ perspectives of Fitnessgram® (Martin, Ede, Morrow Jr., & Jackson, 2010), and student achievement of healthy fitness zones (Welk, Meredith, Ihmels, & Seeger, 2010). Of these studies, only one

(Martin et al., 2010) briefly mentioned students' perspectives before returning to increasing data collection and infrastructure to support testing.

Pacing yourself for aerobic capacity: The PACER test. One way in which Fitnessgram® works to monitor and standardize the health-related fitness practices of youth is through the progressive aerobic cardiovascular endurance run (PACER) test. The PACER test, like all versions of the beep test, measures aerobic capacity and begins with students lining up at a start line to run a distance of 20 meters. On a pre-recorded “beep,” students begin the test, going back and forth the 20-meter distance. With each “beep,” students repeat the 20-meter distance and touch the line with their feet before the next “beep” sounds. As the multistage test progresses, the time between beeps reduces. To score highly, students must run progressively faster over time, which stresses their cardiovascular systems. Students continue running the 20-meter distance until they fail to reach the line twice by the time a “beep” occurs. To calculate scores, the age of the student and number of laps completed are entered into the Fitnessgram® software. The calculated score represents the students' estimated aerobic capacity (Welk & Meredith, 2013).

There are (at least) three things to consider regarding the PACER test. To start, since it is a progressive test, maximal effort is required only at the end. Thus, the Fitnessgram® reference guide implies that motivation is less of a problem since maximal intensity is not required throughout (as compared to the one-mile run). Secondly, the scores for the PACER test divide students into three zones: (a) “healthy fitness zone (HFZ),” (b) “needs improvement-health risk (NI-HR)” zone, and (c) “needs improvement (NI)” zone. These zones are designed to indicate the aerobic capacity associated with increased risk of metabolic syndrome. Notably, these calculated zones are based on age and sex, determined by physiologic and anatomic differences, and therefore divide results (and students) into binary sexed categories (male and female). Lastly, because PACER test results are based on

age and sex, the standards for males and females differ. In this case, males have to perform more laps than females after the age of 12 in order to receive a similar score on the PACER (Plowman & Meredith, 2013). The above points are important to keep in mind when bringing the focus to LGBTQ students.

Unexamined perspectives: Fitnessgram® critiques. Physical education scholars, researchers, and practitioners, especially in the USA, have provided an overwhelmingly supportive environment for Fitnessgram® and fitness testing. Few scholars (Butler-Wall, 2015; Gard & Pluim, 2017; Pluim & Gard, 2018), however, have recently raised awareness that research within gymnasias on Fitnessgram® remain underexplored. More specifically, Gard and Pluim (2017) have critiqued the widespread implementation and concomitant silence regarding Fitnessgram®’s “pedagogical, philosophical and ethical issues” (p. 603). Gard and Pluim (2017) went on to argue that critical scholarship is needed to examine Fitnessgram® research and practices.

In emerging critical literature, scholars (Gard & Pluim, 2017; Pluim & Gard, 2016) have called into question the practices of Fitnessgram® in relation to educational value, children’s privacy rights, data interpretation, and conservative policies. Educationally, Fitnessgram® pushes health-related fitness testing as a standardized solution for childhood obesity in order to create a nation of fitter youth (Butler-Wall, 2015). The underlying notion is the “continuous and personalized health messages” (Pluim & Gard, 2016, p. 12) of Fitnessgram® will lead students to make healthy, responsible choices. Whether it is the PACER test or body composition measures, Gard and Pluim (2016) claimed students are expected to accept Fitnessgram® values without intellectual resistance.

Fitnessgram® is a commercialized program that links private, academic, and government organizations (Pluim & Gard, 2016). The underlying connections that align funding structures, principles, and underlying philosophies of Fitnessgram® have been linked

to capitalist values such as privileging private corporations over public interests. Given this, Gard and Pluim (2017) argued that the funding structure of Fitnessgram® is heavily influenced by conservative policies. For example, the Cooper Institute is a private organization that is substantially funded through public funds from the government, schools, and other public entities. Therefore, the funding structure consistently redistributes limited public funds (e.g., school budgets and grants) to a private entity. Furthermore, it is not just funds that are shifted into private hands, student data is also transferred, often without informed consent.

Gard and Pluim (2017) link the lack of critique against Fitnessgram® to the paradigmatic closure of academic PE in the USA. Gard and Pluim (2017) claimed that due to “networks of connection” (p. 609) of/among Fitnessgram®, an entire critical perspective has been lost in research, and they specifically drew on Fitnessgram® research to illustrate their claim (e.g., Martin et al., 2010). While Martin and colleagues discovered numerous errors in Fitnessgram® testing (e.g., lack of teacher knowledge, lack of student motivation), Martin and colleagues still *supported* Fitnessgram® practices. To further complicate the matter, Gard and Pluim (2017) found that Fitnessgram® provided Martin funds for research, which is a clear conflict of interest. Clearly, there is much to be concerned about regarding the silence of critical research on Fitnessgram® and the interpretation of data (Gard & Pluim, 2017). Thus, I argue the importance of bringing students’ perspectives about Fitnessgram® and fitness testing more broadly.

This chapter seeks to build on the students’ perspectives of fitness testing with a particular focus on the role of queer women. LGBTQ women have a contentious yet courageous history as leaders and role models in the field of physical education (Bredemeir et al., 1999; P. Griffin, 1998). Despite being strong advocates for the field, LGBTQ women have historically been treated abysmally in physical education (Clarke, 2006). While

evidence has indicated progress toward equity (Edwards et al., 2016), much work still needs to be done. By exploring the intersection of affect and fitness testing practices with six LGBTQ women, this chapter is a necessary step in that direction. Below, I outline the main results of this chapter. The results suggest the LGBTQ women in the study did not enjoy physical education. More importantly, one of the main reasons LGBTQ women cited for disliking physical education was specifically the beep test. From the analysis, three main themes emerged: (a) Negative experiences of the beep test, (b) Socio-emotional affects of the beep test, and (c) Beep test revolt.

Negative experiences of the beep test

The experiences that LGBTQ study participants reported were overwhelmingly negative in regards to the beep test. Researching fitness testing was not the goal of the larger study, but these young women's words became hard to ignore as they described their beep test experiences in vivid detail. Below, I examine an interview extract in which Isaak (17, lesbian) and Eskild (15, queer) described the beep test:

Dillon: So, if PE made you feel bad, can you give me a specific time where this happened?

Isaak: The beep test.

Eskild: That's what I was going to say!

Isaak: They are so bad, they judge you on how many beeps you can run and they judge you on how fit you are and give you a grade.

Eskild: Yeah, so like everyone lines up at the start.

Isaak: Oh my God! It's the worst.

Eskild: And there's another line that you run to before because it's in the speakers before it beeps.

Dillon: What's in the speakers?

Eskild: The beep. Yeah, so the beep tells you how fast it's going to be the next time.

Isaak: So it goes there's like level one and level two...

Below, I dredged (Fox & Alldred, 2017) this assemblage and analyzed the flows of affect:

PE–Beep Test–Bad–Judge–Fit–Grade–God–Speakers–Beep–Speed–Levels

The above assemblage is comprised of corporeal and abstract entities that worked to assemble LGBTQ women's bodies in physical education. In this example, students were judged about their bodies and in relation to their corporeal performances through an interconnected system of bodies, beeps, distances, lines, and time limits. From the onset, the students invoked the name of “God” to emphasize the severity of how terrible this experience was (“the worst”). While not intentional, the use of “God” simultaneously invoked a sense of omnipresence by which fitness testing operates in this setting. In other words, the beep test acted as an all-knowing mechanism through which students' bodies were judged from a standardized approach. Here, the beep test became an assemblage of cultural, biological, and psychological bodies that drew on professional and social capital to affect physical education instruction. The students described this “act of judgment” in detail because each beep that boomed from the speakers adjudicated the moral and corporeal standing of the body. The more beeps that students outlasted, the greater privilege they attained in the fitness testing assemblage.

The women in this study had a tense and estranged relationship with Fitnessgram®. As these students brought up their experiences with the beep test, they expressed many choice words. In describing physical education, Te Hinu (23, Takatāpui) said:

*Te Hinu: I really enjoyed soccer, and then inside we did basketball, and then they made up their own little games, and we had to do the f*cking beep test.*

Te Hinu did not mince words. She expressed exactly where she stood in her relationship with the beep test. Notably, Te Hinu was not the only student to express intensely negative feelings about the beep test:

AB: PE was just all...

Emily: Beep tests.

AB: Yeah.

Emily: Running.

AB: I hate the beep test.

Not a single participant in these interviews reflected on the beep test as an enjoyable experience. The above statement is important because AB (16, bisexual) and Emily (19, lesbian) did much more than just fitness testing in physical education. Despite this, the single lasting memory that totalized their physical education experience was how they felt during the beep test. With this in mind, it was essential to not only understand the experiences of the beep test, but also the affects (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Niccolini, 2016a) of the beep test on these students. In other words, I wanted to know what the beep test test *did*.

Socio-emotional affects of the beep test

It is not only important to document how students described their experiences of the beep test, but it is imperative to understand the affects of the test. In other words, I wanted to know how the various components of the beep test assemblage produced particular affects on students. Affect, however, is not isolated to the biological/physiological characteristics of the body. Rather, affect is inclusive of a “whole range of non-human—physical, biological, social and cultural, economic, political or abstract” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 99) entities. Thus, in this section, I sought to understand how the implementation of the beep test had implications not only on individual students but on the whole range of bodies that students are assembled through. Below is an excerpt from a group interview:

Dillon: Did you have any experiences in PE that..?

Niv: Oh I just really don't like PE in general.

Dillon: Is there a reason why?

Niv: I'm not a sporty person, I'm more of an arts person.

AB: Exactly, same here.

Dillon: So can you provide an example from PE of why you didn't like it?

AB: Every time after the 12-minute run or the beep test.

Emily: Yeah.

AB: In the beep test they really force you to get there like go push yourself to your limits and then after like level four or three, I'm like no I'm not.

*Niv: Every single beep haunts me. **Nightmares.***

I used the excerpt to dredge the interconnected bodies that comprised the above assemblage:

PE–Dislike–Sporty–Arts–Beep Test–Force–Push–Limits–Levels–Haunts–Nightmares

The above dredge highlighted several articulations between physical, abstract, human, and non-human bodies. First, Emily (19, lesbian), AB (16, bisexual), and Niv (16, lesbian) brought up significant points regarding the affects of physical education on their sense of self. When Niv stated, “I’m not a sporty person,” she actively distanced herself from the corporeal practices of physical education. Instead, Niv positioned herself as an “arts person” and posited a binary between physical education and the Arts. Almost immediately, AB concurred with Niv, resonating with the idea that the Arts and physical education are distinctly different. This point is *crucial*. The way physical education made Niv and AB feel about themselves actively (re)produced a mind/body dualism (Braidotti, 2011). In other words, worthwhile intellectual pursuits (such as the Arts) offer spaces for creativity, expression, and imagination. The beep test, on the other hand, was relegated to disciplinary practices that shape the corporeal body. These dichotomized practices neglected the affective

potential of conceptualizing movement as an interconnected web of socio-emotional, corporeal, subjective, and creative experiences.

Dichotomized practices also have the ability to (re-)produce body hierarchies. The beep test assemblage produced a quantitative system that ranked students' bodies according to performance. The students felt they had to "force" and push themselves "to the limits" to meet performance-driven standards. In other words, the implementation of beep test binaries (male/female; crossed the line/did not cross the line; mind/body) signified some bodies as "fit" and others as "unfit." As these bodies are assembled through the beep test, students were reduced to numbers, which further disjointed their bodies from students' identities, feelings, and emotions. Therefore, when students claimed they were not "sporty," this categorization was based on a belief that movement should be quantified and separate from subjective elements like the mind.

The assembling process of the beep test also resulted in students internalizing negative feelings about their bodies and sense of self. Niv went as far to say that the beep test test *haunted* her and resulted in *nightmares*. The beep test produced negative socio-emotional feelings that transcended the gym and entered the bedroom. Niv, AB, and Emily were not the only participants affected by the beep test:

Te Hinu: The beep test, where you had a cone on one end and a cone on the other. You had to go and run and stop and wait for the beep and go. It would get faster and faster and if you didn't get to like level 7, you were below average and you failed. If you failed, you had to do it again and again. I never passed, I never passed the beep test.

Dillon: How did you feel about that?

Te Hinu: Like a fat sh!t. It was horrible. You would get teased, like the teacher would be, "That is really disappointing" and would call out, "Ok, you are in the top

and you are the bottom,” but wouldn’t talk to the people who scored in the middle.

Te Hinu’s (23, Takatāpui) words are extremely powerful. The beep test assemblage produced affects that not only affected Te Hinu, but also others in her class. For example, Te Hinu noted that because of her low score, she felt like a “fat sh!t.” This is important because the beep test is not just a scientific evaluation of students. The evaluation was also imbued with cultural judgments. In other words, because fitness testing becomes the standard by which students were judged (Pluim & Gard, 2016), a low level did not merely indicate a poor level of fitness; it also was assembled in relation to and decreed social judgments unto the body. Therefore, the fitness testing did not merely represent *levels* of fitness; it also ascribed cultural values that labeled (and continue to label) bodies as productive/lazy, moral/immoral, or worthy/unworthy.

What is unique about fitness testing, however, is that these judgments were not private evaluations (think of a teacher returning a test face down). Instead, all bodies were on public display and therefore socially signified by corporeal and cultural values. Given that many teachers have adopted fitness testing as unambiguously positive (Pluim & Gard, 2016), the signified value (from the beep test) provides a justification for teachers to give feedback to students in a way that reinforced dominant perspectives of health. Notably, the students that did not meet the standard were denounced as “disappointing.” As Foucault (1978) proffered, where there is power, there is also resistance. Given this, the next section explores the ways in which students resisted the assembling of fitness testing.

Beep test Revolt

On the one hand, the beep test forced students to compete and push themselves to assemble their bodies in particular ways. At the same time, a sense of agency was materially

produced during this process. As students further described the beep test, they illustrated the affects they produced on the test itself:

Isaak: You run as fast as you can, but you have to keep at a steady pace and then you have to get to the next line before it beeps and then it gets faster and faster so it's like it's pretty much survival of the fittest. And you don't want to be the first one out, because then you'll get ridiculed.

Eskild: Yeah cause then everyone's like, "Oh my gosh she's so like fat and slow." And you have to plan it with your friends be like "Ok we're gonna go out in this round all three of us."

Dillon: You do that?

Isaak: Yeah you literally do that because you don't want to be in alone.

Eskild: Yeah, you have to make allies.

Isaak: Yeah you've gotta elbow them and be like we're out in the next round.

Dillon: Ok, there's beeps going on, the teacher is on the side...

Eskild: So basically you find someone who is a similar fitness and is ok not getting a good grade, or is just a good a friend. Then if you start dying, you just be like, "Girl help me."

Dillon: And you both drop out?

Isaak: Yeah you're like, "Bitch bye," because if you don't do that and you're on your own, everyone kinda looks at you and is like, "Is that how slow you are? Can you not run this far?"

*Run–Steady–Line–Beeps–Faster–Darwinism–Ridiculed–Fat–
Slow–Conspiring–Teamwork–Elbows–Friends–Dying–Bitch Bye*

The conversation above started like many others. The students began by engaging in their experiences of the beep test. Isaak described the running, timing, and regimented nature

of the test, comparing it to “survival of the fittest.” The reference to Darwinism is crucial because its links to competition, elimination, hierarchies, and mocking that goes on in the name of physical education. The pressure to individually perform is socially critiqued (“Don’t want to be the first one out!”), so the pressure coalesces in relation to moral implications and judgments (“You’ll get ridiculed”). Eskild reinforced this social implication by illustrating the social signification attached to poor individual performances: “Everyone’s like, ‘Oh my gosh she’s so like fat and slow.’” Instead of being passive consumers and critiqued by their teachers and classmates, however, these students planned a resistance to subvert the beep test assemblage. In other words, the beep test not only assembled students but also produced the conditions for students to join forces to resist the test and its moralistic judgments.

The way in which these students resisted the beep test was by working together, which created a direct contradiction of the individualistic nature of fitness testing. Through relationships with classmates, the students colluded, using verbal and physical communication to drop out early. They did this by scheming with allies of similar fitness levels or close friends to escape the cultural harassment that comes along with finishing early. By enacting what they called the “bitch bye” mentality, students not only rebuked the individual nature of the beep test, they also rejected another key principle: the public displays of competition that came with the enactment of fitness testing. Subsequently, as students collaborated and become more of a unit, they inevitably shifted the knowledge, data, and practices of fitness testing. As the above discussion illustrated, the students’ ability to exercise agency was not just individual, or internal to the body, it was augmented through external (e.g., classmates, testing) and internal assemblages.

Discussion

The results section brought to light three major issues with fitness testing: (a) students dislike the practices, (b) the practices morally judged bodies and had socio-emotional implications, and (c) the students actively resisted the individualism and competition. The fact that students disliked fitness testing practices supports previous research (Hopple & Graham, 1995). The difference in this instance, however, is that the beep test has been recommended as a way to avoid the problems of traditional fitness testing to make students feel better about the process (Silverman et al., 2008). The beep test was actually created to make cardiovascular fitness testing more appropriate and enjoyable in physical education, but in fact, these students have described the beep test in devastating terms.

The second point is the beep test actively judges and creates dichotomies (fit/fat, fast/slow) among students. Therefore, the beep test's practices actually perpetuate physical education's legacy of a Cartesian dualism or mind/body dichotomy (Paechter, 2004). Ironically, PE has long claimed that it suffers because of this constructed dualism (Kirk, 2014b), but fitness testing actually (re-)produced this binary. Through this dichotomy, the socio-emotional impact of fitness tests *haunt* individuals even after they have fulfilled their physical education requirements. The beep test—and by extension fitness testing more broadly—neglected the sociocultural and everyday aspects of young persons' lived experiences. Instead, fitness testing is reproducing social inequity with surveillance of the body through an assemblage of cultural and biological symbols.

The third point is that students actively resisted the practices associated with fitness testing. As Silverman and colleagues (2008) noted, fitness testing without explicit and concomitant pedagogical purposes have negative implications for young people. These negative implications became abundantly evident when the students in this paper adamantly raised issues with the competitive, judgmental, and restrictive practices of the beep test.

Fitness tests like Fitnessgram® positions themselves as programs “based on sound science and educational principles” (Corbin, Lambdin, Mahar, Roberts, & Pangrazi, 2013). For example, the Fitnessgram® reference guide claims that a focus on individual fitness levels, self-testing, and personal goal setting eliminates competition and provides students with greater motivation. It is important to note that the young women in our study clearly did not feel that way. In fact, they were actively resistant to the individualistic and competitive nature of fitness testing. Instead, these young women turned the beep test into an opportunity to make allies and subvert the testing practices.

The final significant point from these results is that students were (unknowingly) resistant to the specific capitalist values and practices proposed through fitness testing. The students called out characteristics like competition, individualism, and quantification. This is interesting because all of these concepts are inextricably linked to capitalism and contribute to how the economic system reproduces inequities in our society (Piketty, 2014). As others previously noted, big business fitness testing like Fitnessgram® is only possible under the auspices of capitalism because it siphons funds from public institutions to further its private ambitions (Pluim & Gard, 2016). It is notable then that fitness testing activities are imbued with conservative capitalist values (individualism, competition, quantification) because fitness testing organizations are well-positioned to benefit from the reproduction of this economic and political system. Not only do these values neglect students’ identities, feelings, and experiences, but they also treat the body as potential “capital” that must be cultivated. It is interesting that these were the exact characteristics that the students actively resisted in fitness testing.

In this chapter, I sought to understand the experiences of six LGBTQ women in relation to fitness testing. This chapter is novel because it is the first attempt to understand the affective implications of fitness testing with LGBTQ-identified students. While recognizing

the major contributions fitness testing has made to the field, it is undeniable there is much left unexamined regarding the pedagogical, ethical, philosophical impact of such practices. The women's words in the above excerpts make it difficult to accept that the beep test, and fitness testing as a whole, is a harmless practice. Whether it is used for testing and assessment purposes, or pedagogical practices, the everyday experiences and affect of fitness testing stuck with these students—and not in a good way. These students highlighted many negative aspects of fitness testing that, as researchers and practitioners, we cannot continue to ignore.

As research at the intersection of identities, fitness testing, and PE continues, attention must be paid to students' perspectives. If the goal of physical education is to get students to “value the physically active life” (Siedentop, 1996) or to derive pleasure from physical education (Pringle, 2010), students' perspectives must be considered in teaching and learning. As Gard and Pluim (2017) suggested, it is necessary to raise awareness to our pedagogical, philosophical, and ethical assumptions as researchers and practitioners. Therefore, I also conclude that activities focused solely on individual development (e.g., beep test, Fitnessgram®) do not do enough to address the social inequities that plague the field and society. Instead, these individual practices produce binaries within gender, fitness, and performance that work to quantify bodies based on an assemblage of cultural, biological, psychological, and social norms. When this happens in physical education, body hierarchies are produced that often create feelings of “winners” and “losers” amongst students. In turn, these feelings become embodied and make some students resent physical education and movement more broadly. Therefore, the use of fitness testing in physical education produces oscillations toward stasis and change. While the beep test has the ability to entrench PE with conservative values, the LGBTQ students in this study actively produced affective challenges to such practices. In the next two chapters, I will examine similar oscillations in school-based sexuality education.

Chapter 8: School-based Sexuality Education Assemblage

In chapters five through seven, I illustrated how the PE assemblage produces oscillations toward stasis and change. In chapters eight and nine, I intend to show similar movements in school-based sexuality education. Sexuality education is one of the seven key learning areas in the New Zealand health and physical education curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b). Given this, when I refer to the sexuality education assemblage, I am referring to the curricular and pedagogical practices of school-based sexuality education that occur in health and physical education. In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the sexuality education assemblage in health and physical education produces movements toward stasis.

Historically, sexuality education has been conceptualized as a conduit for promoting safe sexual practices through the regulation of behaviors and values (Sears, 1992). Two major goals of sexuality education have been to reduce sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unintended teen pregnancy. Given this, youth participating in sexuality education are positioned as “innocent” children who must be socialized into choosing healthy and moral behaviors. In discussing the presumed innocence of children, Jenks (2005) provided a brief historical snippet:

Emerging from the Enlightenment, they [children] are the Ideal immanence, and the messengers of Reason. It is the experience of society which corrupts them. Left to its own devices the child would by nature, it was supposed, be guiltless. A second engagement with childhood innocence...children are thought to be innocent, not innately, but, like halfwits, as a consequence of their lack of social experience. Through time the unknowing, unworldly child may become corrupted by society. (p. 124)

Indeed, the notion that children are innocent and in need of protection still remains a strong belief that dominates sexuality education in Western countries. For example, when the

Ministry of Education in New Zealand published a revised version of *Sexuality education: a guide for principals, boards of trustees, and teachers*, almost immediately an alternative document was published by a conservative group to counter the policy (Fitzpatrick & Powell, 2016). Over the next two chapters, I aim to illustrate that youth in this study were not passively shaped or “corrupted by” sexuality education, but rather they were central to the production of the sexuality education assemblage. In this chapter, I will outline the “normative” approach to school-based sexuality education assemblage as described by the LGBTQ youth in this study. Next, in chapter nine, I will contend that these LGBTQ youth materialized agency within sexuality education to flip the script and actually save the subject from being a discourse of innocence.

Sexuality education: A brief background

In Sue Lees’ (1993) groundbreaking work exploring gender and schooling, she identified three (political) approaches to teaching sexuality education: conservative, liberal, and feminist. Lees’ (1993) approaches are not the only models of sexuality education (Aggleton, Homans, & Warwick, 1989; Alldred & David, 2007; R. Johnson, 1996; Jones, 2011; Macleod & Vincent, 2014), but Lees’ framework nicely highlights the difference in opinion and the political implications of sexuality education in schools. According to Lees (1993), the conservative approach aims to make morality the crux of teaching practices, which tends to construct sexuality as a moral issue where students should consider the ethical implications of their own sexual behaviors. The liberal approach, on the other hand, aims to provide students with as much information as possible on sexuality so students are able to make their own educated decisions regarding health and behaviors. Lees claimed that both of these approaches (conservative and liberal) failed to address the broader sociopolitical power relations that sexuality is situated within. Unsurprisingly, Lees (1993) noted that both the liberal and conservative manifestations of sexuality education did very little to disrupt, and in

many cases even reinforced, the inequitable structures that limit women's sexual embodiment and agency. Lees (1993) proffered a third "feminist approach" that aimed to challenge those structural inequities related to gender, health, and sexual embodiment.

Fitzpatrick (2018) recently claimed that the current New Zealand sexuality education policy adopts a social justice approach. Fitzpatrick justified the term social justice because the policy (Ministry of Education, 2015) integrates indigenous perspectives, sexuality and gender diversity, and a unique form of health promotion where it is "reimagined, not as individualistic, but as an opportunity for young people to forward social justice aims, and to advocate and campaign for more equitable schools and communities" (p. 6). Given this, Fitzpatrick's (2018) claim for social justice is justified because it advances on Lees' (1993) feminist model by addressing not only gender but also LGBTQ diversity. Policies, however, do not always manifest in the ways they are intended (Ball, 1990). In New Zealand, for example, the implementation of sexuality education is a mixed bag with very little continuity across different settings (Allen, 2011). Fitzpatrick (2018) identified this lack of continuity as a "vexed issue" that the government has failed to address.

One of the reasons sexuality education is a vexed issue is because of the ostensibly private nature of the topic, which clashes with the idea that schooling is a public enterprise (Epstein & Johnson, 1998). The very concept of sexuality is itself materially, socio-politically, and historically constituted (Foucault, 1978). Sexuality education in schools, therefore, conducts the inelegant task of thrusting presumably innocent children into the center of this politically and emotionally charged topic. As a result, what goes on in the name of sexuality education is often compromised by fears about how it will be perceived in a public forum, so sexuality education practices are shaped by a variety of opinions, whether these positions are empirical or sentimental. Alldred and David (2007) eloquently summed up this paradox:

In acknowledging the emotional and political investment in the category ‘child’ comes the recognition that public debates about sex education can be about maintaining the purity of idealised subjects, rather than the well-being of actual flesh-and-blood children. (pp. 7-8)

Allred and David’s (2007) accentuation of the “actual flesh-and-blood children” highlights the fact that when debating sexuality education, many people forget that youth are self-organizing beings. Allred and David’s (2007) statement highlighting the fleshiness of children is reminiscent of Allen’s (2014) scholarship that outlined the incredible role that students’ bodies played in producing different forms of genders and sexualities within schools. Given the “vexed issue” (Fitzpatrick, 2018) of sexuality education’s incongruity across many settings, the purpose of this chapter is to investigate common themes that were described in the current sexuality education assemblage and how those themes affected the “flesh-and-blood” (Allred & David, 2007) queer youth in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The “normative” sexuality education experience

More than 25 years ago, Sears (1992) argued that sexuality education had a tendency to hide sexual ideology “beneath a veneer of scientism” (p. 8). Unfortunately, many of the LGBTQ students in my study described this same scientific veneer in modern sexuality education practices. Included below are just a few of the many descriptions students gave about their sexuality education experience from Maika (21, bisexual), Emily (19, lesbian), and AB (16, bisexual):

Maika: It felt really like robotic, like this is what you do and it was all sort of like a lot of conversations about reproduction and like your body was made this way and you have these parts and they have these parts and you connect to reproduce.

Emily: Like, they didn't have any information on anything LGBT. They didn't even have resources or mention the acronym. Or it's just diseases, like infections. That is all they really care about. Stopping STIs.

AB: There is nothing about it [LGBTQI]. Everything is hetero. It's all about how to scientifically make a child.

I asked many students about their experiences in sexuality education. Just about all of them claimed that the teacher-led and normative approaches to sexuality education assumed everyone was heterosexual and cisgendered. Listening to the many narratives of how LGBTQ topics were left out of sexuality education reminded me of Eisner's concept of the null curriculum (Flinders et al., 1986):

The null curriculum Eisner defines as what schools do not teach: "...the options students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about, much less be able to use, the concepts and skills that are not part of their intellectual repertoire. (Eisner, 1985, p. 107 as cited by Flinders et al., 1986, p. 34)

The null curriculum is important to understand because removing certain knowledge and activities also limits the affective capacities of the academic subject. In other words, because normative sexuality education is often void of LGBTQ topics, it limits the affect it can have on influencing LGBTQ students. Another way of looking at this, however, is that the affective potential of including LGBTQ topics could cause political backlash. Including LGBTQ topics into the assemblage may produce oscillations toward change, but such change comes with the potential of political backlash. Removing LGBTQ topics from sexuality education thus nullifies the affective potential of the LGBTQ community, because it removes their ability to incur change in the sexuality education assemblage:

It is, perhaps, also a case of hiding a very important matter from ourselves—that we consign many topics to the null curriculum because of their potential affective impact.

There are, it would seem, certain feelings and degrees of feeling that we do not want to induce in the classrooms. Hence our desire to nullify various feelings guides the selection of content. It may be, then, that affect is the primary and most important single dimension of the null curriculum. (Flinders et al., 1986 pp. 95-96)

Flinders and colleagues were well aware that topics are often left out of the curriculum (intentionally or not) because of the sticky and messy nature of their presence. LGBTQ issues are affectively charged topics that tend to produce polemic reactions amongst certain members of the community. Returning to my previous example, when the Ministry of Education in New Zealand published the new sexuality education guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015), a radical conservative group publically took issue with the LGBTQ-inclusive language of the policy. This radical right-wing group published an alternative document that emphasized the importance of teaching conservative values and beliefs around gender and sexuality (Fitzpatrick & Powell, 2016). Just the very mention of LGBTQ inclusivity, in this instance, produced affective flows and movements beyond the bounded (academic) subject and into the communities in which they are ensconced. Nulled curricular topics then (like LGBTQ issues), are not just about saving innocent children, they are techniques to nullify debate and avoid unwanted publicity toward schools and school systems. As such, the normative approach to school-based sexuality education is one way to avoid (or nullify) the affective potential of LGBTQ youth. Concomitantly, this nullification stymies the generative capacity to transform sexuality education to be socially just. In the next section, I illustrate events that embodied this normative approach and examine the affects these have on LGBTQ youth.

Heteronormative and biomedical. In their study investigating sexuality education in Australia, Hillier and Mitchell (2008) had a participant named Sam who stated that sexuality education was as “useful as a chocolate kettle” (p. 220). Sam pointed out that sexuality

education was organized to promote safe sexual behaviors between straight persons, and he felt that this had no use to him as a gay man. Sam's experience was not unusual, because sexuality education tends to be *heteronormative*. Warner (1993) developed the concept of heteronormativity when he conceptualized society as organized around the assumption that desire, sexualities, and identities are naturalized as heterosexual. In my interviews and conversations with LGBTQ youth, all of the students described teacher-led sexuality education as heteronormative and claimed that sexuality education was made for straight folks. Cameron (13, pansexual) put it this way:

Cameron: Yeah, they would shove it in your face when they would do the videos and stuff in sexuality education. It would all be about straights. It was always straight relationships, straight marriage, straight sex. It was all straight.

Dillon: How did you feel about that?

Cameron: It was kind of like I was figuring out my sexuality. I kind of noticed how it was a lot about straight people and they weren't really open-minded and if people would ask questions about not being straight, they would kind of laugh it off.

One of the highlights of this interview was how Cameron flipped the narrative on sexual expressions in society. LGBTQ persons are often accused of flaunting their gayness and have been asked to tone it down for being *too* gay (whatever that means). As a gay man, I have personally heard the statement, "We know you're gay. Why do you have to shove it in our faces?" In her interview, Cameron put the proverbial shoe on the opposite foot. Instead, she claimed that school-based sexuality education shoved heterosexuality in her face through videos and activities. Cameron claimed that straightness (or heterosexuality) is on 'full throttle' in normative sexuality education programs (straight relationships, straight marriages, straight sex). Yet when LGBTQ related issues were brought up, she felt they were laughed off—almost as a silly proposition.

One of the (many) reasons sexuality education is organized around heterosexuality is because of its link to biomedicine and health promotion. When biomedical concepts assemble the subject, topics like desire, relationships, and sexual acts are affected by scientific purposes (e.g., procreation). Maika (21, bisexual) explained how a discussion of sex in sexuality education reflected biomedical imperatives:

Dillon: Did you learn anything about your identity as a bisexual woman?

Maika: No. So we didn't learn, so where I think that learning should have taken place was during health and PE. And actually all we talked about was how to have sex like biologically between a male and a female. The only other time we would have spoken about sexuality, gender, and sex is in biology. But again, that was like XY and XX. No variation of those.

I want to dredge the above assemblage to map the affective flows between the different bodies:

*Health Education–Physical Education–Sex–Reproduction–Male/Female–
Biology Class–XX Chromosomes–XY Chromosomes–No Variation*

As noted in chapter one, health education and physical education are combined in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007b). Therefore, it should be no surprise that these two subjects are both implicated in teaching about sexuality and the human body. When it comes specifically to sexuality education, however, flows of affect travel between multiple entities to produce the school-based sexuality education assemblage. First, sex is organized around human reproduction. Therefore, predominantly heterosexual male and heterosexual female bodies are explicitly taught in the sexuality education assemblage. Second, teaching about sexuality transcends health and physical education because its scientific foundation places sexuality squarely into a biological framework. When sexuality education is assembled in relation to biomedical underpinnings, particular topics become

nullified in the curriculum. For example, no student mentioned discussions about romance, pleasure, or fun. Furthermore, when Maika explained the XX/XY chromosome binary, intersex bodies were completely neglected and therefore nullified. Biomedical binaries (XX/XY, Male/Female, Hetero/Homo) reproduce cultural beliefs that there are only two “natural” genders (Judith Butler, 1990). Reinforcing cultural binary beliefs nullifies transgender, non-binary, and other students that digress gender binaries. The null curriculum then is comprised of omitted topics that have the ability to produce affective intensities to transform the normative school-based sexuality education assemblage.

The use of biomedicine has another effect in that it serves to “depoliticize sexuality by removing it from the contested terrain of public discourse and enveloping it within a veneer of ‘scientific objectivity’” (Sears, 1992, p. 14). In so doing, the biomedical concept of the body has become entangled with cultural understandings of sexuality. What follows is a reductive understanding of sexuality and its complex nature. Whatley (1987) explained the entangled nature of biomedicine and sexuality education:

The reliance upon scientific explanations, however, often reduces very complex concepts, which involve social, cultural, and psychological factors, such as gender role behaviors and sex drive, to simple biological determination...The scientific approach to sexuality can easily lead to a view in which the "laws of nature" neatly coincide with a political agenda. (p. 29)

The important takeaway from Whatley’s (1987) statement is that a scientific approach to sexuality conflates nature with culture. When this occurs, political stances on gender, sexuality, and sex are naturalized as “laws of nature” or “common sense.” If it is common sense that sex is meant for reproduction, then it is also common sense that sexual behaviors are meant for the responsible reproduction of the human species. The concept of “responsible,” however, produces a binary between safe/unsafe sexual practices. If applying

this logic, unsafe sexual practices would be early/unwanted pregnancies, the contraction of STIs, or non-reproductive sexual acts. In other words, sexuality education became an academic subject that attempted to assemble students' bodies by "getting it right" (Quinlivan, 2017, 2018). When asked about her experiences in health education, Melanie (23, lesbian) provided this perspective:

Dillon: So what was taught in health education?

Melanie: It was like, this is a penis and this is a vagina. Don't get pregnant. Like that's about it. I mean at one stage they threw wooden penises at us and said hey put a condom on. They basically told us about contraception and the anatomy of people, but that was it and that always bothered me.

Dillon: Why?

Melanie: I'm very sex positive. I think sex is great and everyone should do it if they want to and be safe and all that. But there was never any acknowledgement that you can have sex with someone who was the same sex as you or like sex is about more than having children.

Melanie was quick to criticize the sexuality education program she experienced because it focused on anatomy and reducing pregnancy. In her description, the normative approach to sexuality education was focused on achieving public health objectives and was geared toward heterosexual students. Thomson (1994) called this approach "health pragmatism" because it aligns population health goals with educational outcomes. Allen (2011) criticized health pragmatism by claiming, "this bio-medical notion of sexual health has been criticized for failing to take account of other more holistic factors such as a positive sense of self" (p. 10). As Allen noted, the focus on reducing STIs and unintended pregnancies fails to account for a holistic understanding of sexuality.

For many youth in this thesis, sexuality education taught that there was a “right way” to engage in sexuality, and it was predominantly heterosexual. Yet, there are (at least) two points that are problematic about these students’ experiences of the normative approach. To start, LGBTQ issues were often nullified through omission and the implicit assumption that everybody was straight, which suggests that there is a hidden curriculum (Eisner, 1985) operating to normalize heterosexuality. Second, positing that there is a “right way” to engage in sexual activity sends the unspoken message that there is a wrong way to engage in sexual activity. When heterosexuality was considered “right,” all other sexualities (e.g., bisexual, gay) were measured against it and therefore appear to be second or third choice (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). By this measure, students that did not identify as heterosexual were positioned as “abnormal” or “deviant” in normative school-based sexuality education programs.

Stereotypes and affects. Previous research has shown that schools are heteronormative places (Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Pascoe, 2012; S. Richardson, 2012; Walford, 2000; Walters & Hayes, 1998) and sexuality education is inundated with heteronormative practices (Allen, 2007b; Epstein & Johnson, 1994; Quinlivan, 2006; Robinson & Davies, 2008). The notion of normal, however, implies there are aspects that are defined as “abnormal.” In this case, heteronormativity refers to heterosexuality as the normal sexuality, and therefore any other expression of sexuality is considered abnormal or deviant (Allen, 2011). As noted above, teacher-led normative sexuality education nullifies LGBTQ issues. Despite this, LGBTQ issues still arose in sexuality education. In these cases, LGBTQ students claimed they were framed as deviant or other. Jacinda (16, gay), Sara (17, lesbian), and Francine (17, lesbian) wrestled with this phenomenon.

Jacinda: I think it's also the fact that sexuality education gets lumped in with sex education. I don't believe that they should be lumped together, because they are two completely different things.

Francine: If you are talking about sex with sexuality like the actual sex that comes with certain sexualities it...

Sara: It kinda enforces the idea that being gay is inappropriate for kids and only meant for adults.

Jacinda: Yeah. So like it's always associated with gay sex so when people think of gay people they think of like porn and gay sex and...

Sara: Two men.

Jacinda: Exactly. They just think of two men having sex, they don't think about the whole part of like they can be parents, they can be doctors, lawyers, truck drivers...

Francine: Women!

Jacinda: Yeah! They don't think about it like that. Yeah, exactly! They don't think, they only associate it with gay sex and that's the way it's taught, and so like that's why I think most people think it's so inappropriate or taboo to talk about these issues.

There are several intensive flows of affect dredged in the above assemblage:

Sexuality–Lumping–Sex–Kids–Porn–People–Taboo

Jacinda referenced the action of “lumping” sexuality education and sex education together and the negative effects of this lumpy assemblage. According to Jacinda, one such effect was the conflation of sexuality with sexual behaviors. Assembling sexuality in relation with sexual acts conflates gay people with gay sex. During this assemblage, LGBTQ issues break free from nullification and become assembled in relation to taboo sexual acts, images,

and performances (like pornography). Jacinda felt that his subjectivity was lumped into a category considered too dangerous (or deviant) to discuss with children. Jacinda resists the normative sexuality education assemblage by claiming LGBTQ people are more than their sexual behaviors—they are parents, doctors, lawyers, and truck drivers. Despite this, he realized the deviant connotation becomes a label he must resist because of the articulation between sex and sexuality.

One of my favorite parts of this conversation was how Jacinda was also assembled through the patriarchal order of the sexuality education assemblage. Jacinda is a gay man and did not take his own positioning into consideration when discussing how the sexuality education assemblage works to assemble stereotypical views of queer sexualities. Francine, however, challenged Jacinda by pushing back against his “masculine-centric” view of queer. Jacinda acknowledged the oppressions that he faced as a gay man in sexuality education but, until Francine’s affective interruption, he had not considered how the sexuality education assemblage also marginalized queer women. After Francine interrupted Jacinda and declared, “Women!” Jacinda was further inspired and affirmed her stance by dramatically agreeing, “Yeah!”

Quinlivan and Town (1999b) found that LGBTQ persons in the normative school-based sexuality education assemblage were constructed as promiscuous. In my research, Emily (19, lesbian) provided an example of how classroom activities conflated promiscuity with LGBTQ persons:

Emily: We had to do this like, match the definition for the scenario thing in health and one of the things was like: Lisa sleeps around with this guy and then the next day she kisses this girl. I thought the definition was like oh, she might be bisexual or something like that. No, the definition was just promiscuous. And I was like, ok.

AB: Wow, so like a girl who has an active sex life is promiscuous?

Emily: Yeah, especially with multiple genders.

Emily was initially excited when she thought the teacher had potentially included a bisexual person in her sexuality education class. In fact, Emily identified with the LGBTQ subjectivity of the fictional character in the scenario and felt hopeful that bisexuality had been included. When the teacher defined the fictional character as promiscuous (and not bisexual), she implicitly framed LGBTQ women as promiscuous. The above activity worked using an implicit curriculum (Eisner, 1985) that articulated *bisexual–women–promiscuity* into an assemblage. The *bisexual–women–promiscuity* assemblage produced two concerning affects. The first, as AB acknowledged, is that the assemblage positioned sexually active young women as promiscuous. The second affect was when Emily noted that the fictional character was presented as more promiscuous because she was attracted to multiple genders. Given that unsafe sexual behaviors are considered “getting it wrong” in this assemblage, the promiscuous label of bisexuality has particular effects that make LGBTQ students feel as though they are deviant.

Labeling LGBTQ people as sexual deviants has historically been used to demean their existence (Ferfolja, 2007; Foucault, 1978; Gilbert, 2014; McNinch, 2007). Western societies have become increasingly accepting of LGBTQ persons and issues of late, but schools still operate under the assumption that heterosexuality is the preferred and normal sexual orientation (Ferfolja, 2007; Pascoe, 2012; Renold, 2002; Walters & Hayes, 1998). Niv (16, lesbian) explained how the sexuality education assemblage produced negative effects on how she understood her own sexual rights:

Dillon: How is your health class? Do you have similar experiences to your friends?

Niv: Sometimes there is a police officer that comes around and just talks about things like sexual assault and all that type of stuff. One time, he said same-sex sexual assault isn't considered rape and it is just considered sexual assault.

Dillon: How did that make you feel?

Niv: That made me feel really uncomfortable because practically I would always assume that rape is rape no matter what gender you are violated by.

Dillon: How did the class react?

Niv: They didn't really react, they just sort of agreed with it.

AB: It's pretty disgusting because rape is rape no matter what the gender.

Niv: Exactly.

In the above narrative, Niv explained that her sexuality education class includes police officers (and other guest visitors). The police officer augments the affective capacity of the sexuality education assemblage by including a legal apparatus by which to judge persons and their concomitant behaviors. This event, in particular, created an affective moment in how Niv conceptualized her own subjectivity and personhood. New Zealand law defines rape as:

Person A rapes person B if person A has sexual connection with person B, effected by the penetration of Person B's genitalia by person A's penis,- (a) without person B's consent to the connection; and (b) without believing on reasonable grounds that person B consents to the connection. (Crimes amendment act of 2005, 2005, p. 7)

Niv was devastated when she heard about this law. Niv identifies as a lesbian and considered this law in relation to her own sexual orientation. A *police officer-law-Niv-Lesbian rape* assemblage produced affective stimulations that registered through "the medium of the flesh" (Massumi, 2002). By claiming that only biological males are capable of rape, the assemblage places status on same-sex rape between biological females as "lesser." This assemblage

produced what AB (16, bisexual) called “disgusting” affects for the LGBTQ youth. In this instance, the normative sexuality education assemblage worked to limit, nullify, and downplay the lives of LGBTQ youth in New Zealand.

The role of desire

Harry: They don't think of trans people as sexual. They don't think we have active sex lives. We just get thrown into this category of “well you're different so you must not date.”

In the above statement, Harry (20, transmasculine) was keen to point out that transgender persons were constructed as “non-sexual” in school-based sexuality education. The students in this study reported that transgender persons were completely left out—or nullified (Eisner, 1985)—as sexual subjects. Sexuality education, and sexuality educators, are placed in ‘sticky’ positions because it is rather difficult to openly discuss desire in an open and safe setting. As such, sexual desire has had an equivocal position in sexuality education in a variety of contexts. In the United States, Fine (M. Fine, 1988; M. Fine & McClelland, 2006) argued school-based sexuality education works to limit young women’s agency by omitting desire. As a result, Fine and McClelland (2006) offered a human rights approach to sexuality education that applies a concept Fine and McClelland coined called *thick desire*. According to Fine and McClelland (2006), thick desire encourages young women to “imagine themselves as sexual beings capable of pleasure and cautious about burden without carrying the undue burden of social, medical and reproductive consequences” (M. Fine & McClelland, 2006, p. 201). Diorio and Munro (Diorio & Munro, 2000) claimed in the Australian setting that sexuality education needs to be underpinned by desire in order to be relevant to young women and youth. Thick desire, however, has not been unproblematically accepted. Also in the Australian setting, Rasmussen (2014) argued that thick desire produces political binaries linked to fundamentalism, moralism, and policy. In New Zealand, Allen

(2004) argued school-based sexuality education must move “beyond the concept of a “missing discourse of desire” to propose the need for a discourse of erotics” (p. 152). Given the use of materialism, desire is a key concept in relation to affect for this study.

As Harry noted above, school-based sexuality education completely ignored the idea of transgender students’ being sexually active. Despite many transgender students being in sexual relationships during this ethnography, the students reported leaving sexuality education feeling underprepared and undereducated about their own sexuality. Indeed, sexuality education nullified (Eisner, 1985) transgender sexual desire. Unlike findings in previous research (E. Connell, 2005; M. Fine, 1988; M. Fine & McClelland, 2006), young cis-gendered women in this study were not constructed in sexuality education classes as desire-“less,” but rather as subjects who needed to control desire. Kaylee provided this example during a group interview:

Gwen: We just got shown a bunch of pictures of STIs.

Dillon What do you mean?

Gwen: Like pictures of genitals filled with gonorrhoea that were projected on a slide show. It was click, click, click. Don’t have sex.

Kaylee: But probably more in the classroom activities, there was this one time where all girls were told to make a circle with their finger and thumb like an ok sign (holding up the ok sign to me) and put that circle between their knees and squeeze. Then the teacher said, “Don’t open your legs any further than that, ever.”

Nick Macy: Wow! Really?

Kaylee: Yeah.

The above example from the sexuality education assemblage has several affective elements. First, the sexuality education assemblage is “produced in and through broader

social and political anxieties, and enacted through discourses of ‘risk’” (Quinlivan, 2014, p. 79). According to the students, the “*teacher-picture-STI-genital*” assemblage was meant to produce disturbing affective intensities in students’ bodies in order to forewarn youth of the risks involved with engaging in sex. Many of the students in this study reported their sexuality education teacher showing STI infected genitalia in class. In fact, one student, Cooper (18, transmasculine), described his experience like this: “The only thing I remember is seeing a ‘gross a*s’ dick on the screen that had some sort of nasty sh*t going on with it and he [the teacher] is like, ‘this is why you don’t have sex or don’t have unprotected sex’ and I’m like, ok.” Deleuze and Guattari (1983) viewed desire as a productive force (*puissance*) that has the ability to connect with new things and induce changes. When teachers foreground their lessons in “at-risk” approaches, they may be stunting students’ desire to learn and experiment with topics of sexuality. This stunting, however, may have diminished the productive potential of youth to shift normative sexual cultures that work against LGBTQ subjects. In other words, by focusing on fear and omitting desire, sexuality education loses generative power because it frames youth bodies based on riskiness rather than empowering young people.

Kaylee’s story was gut wrenching to hear. The “*girls-OK-legs*” assemblage had pedagogical affects of educating young women that they needed to control sexual desire. In a way, the event reminded me of Deborah Tolman’s (1994) work with young women and sexual desire:

Their experiences of sexual desire are strong and pleasurable, yet they speak very often not of the power of desire but of how their desire may get them into trouble. These girls are beginning to voice the internalized oppression of their women’s bodies; they knew and spoke about, in explicit or more indirect ways, the pressure they felt to silence their

desire, to disassociate from those bodies in which they inescapably live. (Tolman, 1994, p. 338)

As in Tolman's study, the young women at QueerTEENS were balancing along an incredibly thin line between expressing sexual desire and the pressure to regulate desire. This striated space often works to diminish the productive and generative power of women in our society. Another interesting insight that LGBTQ youth reported was that some schools split sexuality education by gender. This is notable because again, it implicitly assumes all students are heterosexual and cisgendered. Olive (25, queer), however, was critical of this practice:

Olive: One thing I never understood about sexuality education is they always split up boys and girls. Like, all girls would go into one classroom and learn about menstruation and pregnancy and stuff. All the boys would go into another classroom and we learned about condoms and puberty and stuff. And only the male teachers taught boys and only the female teachers taught girls. But it makes no sense. Boys might become fathers and they might have daughters. Mothers have sons. They need to know this stuff. Like we all need to know about all of these things.

Olive's insights into the sexuality education assemblage focuses on the interconnected issues that produce a vexed (Fitzpatrick, 2018) field. The first insight is that sexuality education is rooted in binaries based on biomedicine and heteronormativity. There is often an assumption that there are only two genders and that all students are attracted to the opposite gender. Olive disrupts the gender binary, however, by claiming that "we all need to know about all of these things." Instead of conceptualizing men and women as different, Olive noted that genders are more interdependent and similar than we believe. The other interesting point Olive mentioned is that even the sexuality education teachers were split by gender. Splitting teachers by gender represents an entrenched belief that men are unprepared (or

perhaps unwilling or unable) to teach girls, and women are unprepared (or perhaps unwilling or unable) to teach boys. As such, many students were quick to lament that their teachers were under-prepared to teach sexuality education.

Teachers as unprepared

One of the major issues students expressed about their sexuality education programs were the teachers. Students were disappointed that physical educators doubled as sexuality education teachers. When asked who taught sexuality education, Emily (19, lesbian) had this to say:

Dillon: Who teaches your health classes?

Emily: Well that's the problem, it's the PE teachers. But there is a new thing going around that the nurses get a certain amount of hours that they teach in sexuality education because we complained.

In the next chapter, I will discuss ways students in this study worked to change the sexuality education assemblage. For now, however, I want to highlight the point that students were very resistant to physical educators teaching sexuality education. The reason for this resistance was twofold. The first reason is that physical educators were seen as insensitive to, and ignorant of LGBTQ issues. For example, Oakley (20, transmasculine) had this to say:

Dillon: Did queer topics ever come up in sexuality education?

Oakley: Definitely not. I feel like our teachers were either told not to bring them up or they just didn't know how to talk about it so they didn't want to discuss them with the students.

Oakley claimed he did not engage with LGBTQ topics in sexuality education. Notably, Oakley was unsure why these topics did not come up and offered two potential reasons: school policy or teacher unpreparedness. Like Quinn, the LGBTQ youth in this study were highly critical of their teachers' preparedness on LGBTQ issues. When I asked

Kieran (16, gay), Dean (15, gay), and E (14, lesbian) about their teachers' knowledge, they launched into a great discussion around teacher knowledge, classroom dynamics, and comfort:

Dillon: Do you find that your teachers are up to date with queer topics?

Kieran: PE teachers generally double as health teachers. But they are obviously educated in that because they have to do health at Uni, right?

Dean: I think they are educated, but is the education actually good? Because it is like "We are going to have a big hearty conversation about sexuality and here are some books, here's a couple of pictures, write down what is wrong in this situation." It is all from a textbook... I would feel more comfortable talking about sexuality with someone like Kieran who knows what I go through and I can actually trust...

Kieran: Like how often do they update all the information for subjects, like, generally? I think with health it is especially important that like, minimal three years you update, and you have your teachers re-informed, teachers getting taught again...

E: Yeah, but when you are in a classroom and people are talking about this, you might not actually be trustworthy with your mates either. You might not be out to some of your friends and some of the people in your class might be homophobic... I know some of the PE and health teachers they do get it and are really nice people, but honestly my health and PE teacher is kind of more like a 12-year-old.

Dean: Is that the one who looks like a Year 13?

E: Yeah, he like dresses like a 12-year-old, and I don't think he has much experience with the whole, like, that part of the community.

Dillon: The queer community?

E: Yeah, the queer community, and he is a great person, but sometimes there are definitely areas that I wouldn't wish to be teaching in.

Dillon: So do you feel that health and PE teachers know about queer issues?

E: Few do. Most of them really don't.

There are several flows of affect to map in this assemblage:

Teachers–Double–Education–Textbooks–Friends–Trust–Update–Community

The above interview assemblage produced several affects of interest. First, Kieran noted that PE teachers doubled as health teachers. In this study, students claimed that teachers were primarily physical educators and secondarily health educators. This is important because within the subject, health education holds secondary status to physical education. Second, Dean called into question the use of textbooks because of the non-personal nature of such pedagogy. Dean felt that topics like sexuality are filled with passion and interest, but drawing from a textbook diminished such affects. Third, Dean also noted that sexuality education is a “touchy” subject, and he feels more comfortable talking to people he trusts and who experience similar struggles. The *Dean–Teacher–Textbook–Criticism* assemblage forced an intense affective interruption in Kieran’s body during the interview. As such, Kieran questioned if teachers are kept “up-to-date” or if they receive professional development for issues of health and sexuality. Kieran noted that regular updates are very important because the field is continually evolving. Given this, the *Dean–Teacher–Textbook–Criticism–Kieran* assemblage actively called into question the ways knowledge is entrenched and reproduced in sexuality education.

E was also affected by the above interview assemblage, because she chose to expand on Dean’s point around the role of comfort in the sexuality education assemblage. E agreed that being comfortable in sexuality education is vital, and sometimes classmates in the

sexuality education assemblage are untrustworthy and homophobic. She claimed this makes it really difficult to discuss personal issues in a productive way. Thus, the *Dean–Teacher–Textbook–Criticism–Kieran–Comfort–E* assemblage criticized the striated nature of sexuality education because the persons that composed the assemblage produced particularly untrustworthy and homophobic striations that limited the subjects’ capacity to affect and be affected. This is an important issue when we consider teacher preparedness, because learning how to navigate sensitive topics, build trust, and read classrooms and students are skills developed through teaching experiences. E was quick to defend her teachers as nice people, yet the teachers’ lack of experience with LGBTQ communities placed teachers in sticky situations when building trust with LGBTQ students. According to E, her teachers might be nice, but this does not make them suitable sexuality educators.

Sinkinson and Burrows (2011) warned against merging health and physical education because of the negative effects it could have on sexuality education. More specifically, Sinkinson and Burrows (2011) claimed “removing health education from specialist ‘health’ teachers has left it to the mercy of physical education teachers’ whims, in many schools” (Sinkinson & Burrows, 2011, p. 58). The LGBTQ youth in this study felt an obvious disdain toward physical educators teaching sexuality education. Several students in this study also stated their teachers provided misleading information. Alexander (16, pansexual) provided the following example:

Alexander: Like, there were minor misinformation now and then, and it was certainly heteronormative and all that, but that was pretty much the limit of any objectionable stuff.

Dillon: What do you mean misinformation?

Alexander: Well for one, the teachers taught us about the hymen as something that completely seals the vagina and “pops” during the first time a girl has sex.

That isn't very accurate. It is not completely sealed and its more like a "balloon arch" as one source delightfully puts it...

As noted earlier, the students at QueerTEENS were highly sexually educated, which placed them in unique positions to evaluate their sexuality education experiences. Thus, Alexander and other students often questioned the accuracy of information taught in sexuality education. In the next chapter, I will provide examples of how students actually resisted some of these teaching practices. For now, however, I raise this issue as an example of how students perceived a lack of knowledge and suitability with some of their teachers.

Another major issue that came up in interviews and conversations was insensitivity around LGBTQ diversity. For example, Aspen (16, transmasculine) summarized his sexuality education in the following manner:

Dillon: How were your experiences in sexuality education?

Aspen: Heteronormative, cisnormative bullshit from people who knew nothing about what they were talking about, and when they made a token mention of gender diversity or diverse sexualities, everyone looks at you to answer the questions that are framed so insensitively with no fucking clue about my feelings.

Aspen noted that his PE teacher doubled as his sexuality education teacher. Aspen criticized his teacher for using heteronormative and cisnormative language. Cisnormative is “a term that describes the assumption that all people are cisgender or that those assigned male grow up to be men and those assigned female grow up to be women” (Erickson-Schroth, 2014, p. 612). Whenever the teacher did raise issues around LGBTQ diversity, they raised it in a tokenistic way. When this happened, however, everyone in the class looked back at the “token queer kid” to answer the question, which put these students on the spot. Aspen’s experiences were not unique. Many other LGBTQ youth in the study shared similar sentiments. Te Hinu (23, Takatāpui), for example, provides this example:

Dillon: Do you think sex, sexuality, and gender are taught well based on your experiences in school?

Te Hinu: Hell no. The only thing I got to learn in high school about, my sexuality teacher, she said it's really hard for lesbians and gays to come out. I was sitting like in the middle of the class to the side and everyone just went "vroom!" and turned their heads and looked directly at me. I just felt like "yeah fucking A!" (embarrassed).

Dillon: Are you serious?

Te Hinu: Yeah.

Dillon: How did you feel?

Te Hinu: I was like, "I want to die." I was like, "I'm done, I cannot do this..."

Te Hinu's experiences exemplified the worst examples of sexuality education. Teachers often thought they were doing a service to LGBTQ students by raising these issues. The problem, however, was that the way they raised these issues put a major spotlight on those students who were most vulnerable. By teaching sexuality education as predominantly cisnormative and heteronormative, when queer topics did arise, LGBTQ students were made the center of attention. This produced a hostile and insensitive environment for those students who were not comfortable with being "out." When LGBTQ students experienced such events, they were less likely to become active contributors to the sexuality education assemblage. The takeaway lesson from these students' shared experience is when sexuality educators bring up LGBTQ topics, they should do so in sensitive and responsible ways. Tyler (16, queer) for example, illustrated how such attempts to include LGBTQ topics may not consider the youth in the class:

Tyler: Yup, although at the end of like a sexuality lesson we had to fill out a worksheet that was so bad. I remember we had this worksheet where it asked,

so you being yourself and it was like this whole list of “would you feel safe like holding hands with your partner in public” and it was like all the stuff. And I’m like, ok being myself and I put down how I felt. Then she [the teacher] goes, ok so now imagine it the other way around. Imagine that you’re gay and I’m just like, umm.

Dillon: Oh so she assumed you were straight?

Tyler: She assumed everyone was straight and it’s like, excuse me. This activity was clearly for straight people.

Dillon: So she was trying to do a pro-gay activity but in actuality she...

Tyler: She was like assuming that everyone was straight, which make me feel like the only gay activity was done for straight people.

Tyler’s example of a “pro-gay” activity shows just how much the sexuality education assemblage is steeped in heteronormativity. In Tyler’s example, the teacher was actually trying to be “pro-gay” by providing a “contextual twist” (Walton-Fisette et al., 2018, p. 6) to the lesson. A contextual twist is when the teacher takes “something that is only said of a few people and turn that around so that it’s said about everybody” (ibid.). In Tyler’s lesson, the activity was meant to convey that LGBTQ people face marginalization because they may not be able to hold their partner’s hand in public. The problem, however, was that the teacher did not consider that her class had LGBTQ students within it. Because of the teacher’s oversight and lack of awareness, the only activity that addressed sexual diversity was actually aimed at persons who were not sexually diverse. The lack of training and activities for LGBTQ persons could be seen as one of the reasons why heteronormative instruction occurs, and how diverse subjectivities continued to be nullified through the sexuality education assemblage.

A Tale of Two(?) Stories

Anyone familiar with research on sexuality education would avoid generalizing the nature of what happens in the name of sexuality education. This is partly due to the “vexed issue” (Fitzpatrick, 2018) of incongruity across the different settings. It is also due to the messy nature of research itself. Yet the above themes consistently came up when students described issues around teacher-driven sexuality education. Therefore, in my (re-) presented data (Allen, 2011), three major themes arose in the normative sexuality education assemblage: (a) LGBTQ students were often nullified in curriculum and practice, (b) when LGBTQ topics did arise, they were implicitly taught as deviant, and (c) PE teachers were often unprepared to teach sexuality education. As a result, this chapter may give the reader an impression that the sexuality education assemblage has been a tale of two stories. Story A is what the policy mandates—a push for social justice that includes and celebrates the subject positions of LGBTQ diverse youth. Story B, on the other hand, is what actually happens in practice—the nullification of these voices from the sexuality education assemblage.

Yet, as I have argued throughout this thesis, the world is not so easily divided into neat binaries. In the following chapter, I argue that there are not just two stories but also the possibility of a variety of stories. Policies inevitably take time to materialize in practice (Apple, 2006), and policies always materialize differently depending on context, people, and socio-political events (Ball, 1990). In the next chapter, I will examine how the momentum garnered from New Zealand’s new social justice sexuality education policy (Fitzpatrick, 2018) intersects with an increase in LGBTQ-identified youth in schools (Lucassen et al., 2014) and the nullifying practices to produce a “murky” space in sexuality education. As such, the new configurations have the potential to instigate affective intensities to shift the sexuality education assemblage. In other words, because these LGBTQ youth are positioned in a subjugated (Foucault, 1980) or in a minoritarian (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) position,

their ability to resist the normative approach is materialized and augmented at the edges of the sexuality education assemblage. In so doing, the resistance these students and teachers enact in their classrooms and schools produce new sets of dreams, practices, and promises for future LGBTQ youth that enter the sexuality education assemblage.

Chapter 9: Materializing agency and speaking back

If sex is repressed, that is, condemned to prohibition, nonexistence, and silence, then the mere fact that one is speaking about it has the appearance of deliberate transgression.

(Foucault, 1978, p. 6)

In the previous chapter, I outlined events that illustrated how normative approaches to sexuality education in schools are heteronormative, cisnormative, and insensitively developed. I noted that such approaches to sexuality education nullify and limit LGBTQ youth's subjectivities and desires, because these students are enmeshed in systems that marginalize and oppress their existence. This is done through what Foucault (1980) called subjugated knowledge.

...by subjugated knowledges one should understand something else, something which in a sense is altogether different, namely, a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity... (p. 82)

Foucault (1980) also explained that “popular knowledge,” or normative knowledge, owes its privileged positioning to the subjugation of other knowledge(s). Foucault (1980) explained:

What I would call popular knowledge (le savoir des gens) though it is far from being a general commonsense knowledge, but is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything surrounding it... (p. 82)

In this chapter, I am interested in the harsh process of subjugation as an affective mechanism necessary to produce oppositional agency through those who are oppressed. So, within this

harshness, I argue that affect is generated in an assemblage of bodies internal and external to the school that produce the agency required in order to “speak back” to the popular knowledges and transform the sexuality education assemblage.

LGBTQ student activism

I agree with Payne and Smith (2012) that there are many limitations in framing LGBTQ issues around a deficit approach. Mayo (2009) argued that such deficit approaches tend to limit the agential (or affective) capacity of LGBTQ youth. Lucassen and colleagues (Lucassen et al., 2014) similarly claimed that educational researchers and practitioners should focus on the strengths of LGBTQ youth instead of their weaknesses. LGBTQ support groups (e.g., Gay Straight Alliances [GSAs], Queer Student Associations [QSAs], Rainbow groups) are places where a strengths-based approach can manifest. In fact, Quinlivan (2015) found that under specific circumstances, school-based Rainbow groups have the ability to serve as sites of critical transformation for LGBTQ youth. McGlashan and Fitzpatrick (2017), for example, illustrated how LGBTQ support groups served as places for students to transgress normative gendered and sexuality binaries. In the United States, Mayo (2014) explored how LGBTQ groups participate in forms of public activism like a “day of silence” to build awareness around LGBTQ topics in schools. The ability to congregate and affect change is extremely important. Thus, I am keen to explore the conditions in which such affects can take place in sexuality education.

In this chapter, I aim to understand the ways in which LGBTQ students in this study materialized agency through their relationships with such support groups (within school and outside of schools). I examined how students reported ways they resisted and transformed normative sexuality education assemblages through micropolitical movements in individual classrooms (e.g., challenging individual lessons, teachers) and through macropolitical movements in schools (where students made massive changes to the school’s sexuality

education program). Throughout this chapter, I argue that the agency to “speak back” is produced via multiple affective and interconnected bodies that are internal, external, human, and nonhuman (Braidotti, 2013). By drawing on these interconnected assemblages, the LGBTQ youth in this study reported shifting the way teachers and other students conceptualized gender and sexuality in schools.

Micropolitics: Affective disruptions

In the previous chapter, I provided examples of how LGBTQ students were nullified, constructed as promiscuous, or made uncomfortable during school-based sexuality education. Some of the LGBTQ students in this study, however, reported that they did not just sit back and accept being omitted from classroom discussions. I draw on Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) concept of micropolitics to explain the forms of resistance LGBTQ students enacted in the classroom. The term micropolitics is used to “describe the internal movements of power and resistance within assemblages” (Fox & Alldred, 2017, p. 198). In other words, I examined the ways LGBTQ students self-organized to transpose the normative sexuality education assemblage. Below, I outline specific acts in which queer students materialized agency through interactions with classmates, objects, lessons, and knowledge to produce disruptions and ruptures to heteronormative practices.

In our conversation, Aspen (16, transmasculine) explained that his teachers generally taught sexuality education from a heteronormative perspective. When I asked Aspen (16, transmasculine) how he responded to this type of class, he claimed that other classmates inspired him to “speak back.” In the excerpt below, Aspen re-constructed a story about his lesson on consensual sex in class:

Aspen: One of our teachers was talking about what is consensual sex. Consensual sex is when boys and girls both agree to have sex. Another gay kid in the class asked, “What about gay people?” Then she [the teacher] went, “Well, um...

[Aspen mimics a stutter]... gay people have sex too and you get some people who like boys and some people who like girls.” She [the teacher] carried on with the rest of her spiel sort of having no understanding of “oh shit” perhaps there is a whole concept of diverse sexualities. Perhaps it is not just “boys like boys” or “girls like girls.” It could be girls and boys can like girls and/or boys. Perhaps there are more than two genders of people and different sexualities. This is not the royal categories system. This is a spectrum and they never taught that. It took my own research and my own understanding to get it. I was never taught that through school.

Below, I dredge Aspen’s statement for the flows of affect in the above assemblage:

Consensual Sex–Heterosexuality–Gay People–Diversity–Spectrum–Research

According to Aspen, the teacher defined consensual sex as an act between “boys and girls.” When one of Aspen’s classmates “spoke back” to the teacher and critically questioned why consensual sex was only constructed between opposite genders, the *Aspen–Consensual–Teacher–Classmate* assemblage shot off an affective surge that had effects on the teacher, the class, and even Aspen. According to Aspen, the teacher was caught off guard by the question, and just the thought of gay sex made her stutter. In this moment, however, another “affective jolt” (Massumi, 2015a) produced disruptions in both the sexuality education assemblage and Aspen. Because previously subjugated knowledge entered the class, sexuality education was shifted in micropolitical ways toward transformation, or change.

The affective jolt Aspen’s classmate produced, however, also had affects on Aspen. Instead of being content with the teacher’s answer, Aspen left the class invigorated, provoked, and inspired to learn more and to challenge the normative assemblage. The *Aspen–Consensual–Teacher–Classmate* assemblage produced effects in Aspen’s body and expanded his BwO (or limits to the body) by producing an ambition to research LGBTQ topics on the

Internet. Through his own research, Aspen became armed with new information and became highly critical of his teacher's approach to sexuality education. Aspen expressed his criticism in his excerpt challenging how the teacher taught: "Perhaps it is not just 'boys like boys' or 'girls like girls.' It could be girls and boys can like either girls and/or boys. Perhaps there are more than two genders of people and different sexualities." The above assemblage produced affective impulses in Aspen's body and created the circumstances for Aspen to interact with nonhuman actors (like the Internet) to rebuke what he called the "royal system" of schooling. The royal method is no doubt a reference to the oppressive and striated nature of an antiquated gender binary that only acknowledged two forms of gender identity. Instead, Aspen expanded his BwO by experimenting with human (e.g., classmates) and nonhuman (e.g., Internet) bodies to disrupt binaries that limit "What Aspen's body can do." Therefore, when students "spoke back," they not only produced agency in their own bodies, they augmented the production of agency in other students' bodies as well.

In the experiences that the LGBTQ youth in this study shared, agency was not only produced by other students. Valkyrie (18, bisexual), for example, re-told a story about the use of a "question box" in sexuality education. A question box is an empty box that is passed around the room to students. The students are encouraged to anonymously place questions in the box to be answered in front of the class by the teacher. According to Valkyrie, many LGBTQ students (closeted or not) used the question box as an opportunity to shift the heteronormative discussions in class.

Valkyrie: We had six weeks of sex ed, and we had a question box that, we were told at the end of the six weeks, all of those questions would be answered. Now, the entire time we hadn't mentioned anything about lesbians or Trans people. It was an all-girls class, and it was all about make sure you use a condom, actually just don't have sex, but if you do have sex, use a condom. This is what

a STD is, you will get them if you have sex, so don't have sex. At the end of the six weeks, the question box was entirely full of questions about lesbian sex.

Dillon: Really?

Valkyrie: Yes!

Dillon: And what happened?

Valkyrie: The teacher answered the ones she could! We looked up the other answers in-class.

Dillon: So how did that make you feel, having a box full of lesbian questions?

Valkyrie: Oh I, me, at this point I had, I was friends with a girl who was very very shy. And the best description of this would have been "late bloomer." She just didn't see any of this as relevant to her yet. She was just like, I'm in Year 9 and I still like climbing trees, why do I care about this? But after the lesbian box, she started talking about sexuality more. And by the end of the year, she came out to me.

Again, it is important to dredge the flows of affect in the above narrative:

Sex Ed–Question Box–Lesbian Questions–Teacher–Students–Classmate–Came Out

There are several flows of affect between multiple bodies in the above assemblage. According to Valkyrie, the teacher set up a question box during sexuality education. The box was filled with individual papers on which students had written questions about sexuality. Up to the end of the semester, there was no discussion of LGBTQ people or issues. Instead, the all-girls class only engaged with "popular knowledge" (Foucault, 1980) around sexual health. As Foucault (1980) noted, popular knowledge works through the oppression of other knowledges. Importantly, the classroom lessons being structured around biomedical and heteronormative knowledge, or what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) called a "major language" (p. 100), created an environment that fostered an underlying micropolitical storm among the

students. Instead of reinscribing the heteronormative major language, these students experimented with “minor languages,” or subjugated knowledge. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated, “the more language has or acquires the characteristics of a major language, the more it is affected by continuous variations that transpose it into a ‘minor’ language” (p. 102). Therefore, the *Question Box–Popular Knowledge–Teacher–Student* assemblage produced an affective buzz that shifted the sexuality education assemblage to include LGBTQ topics though lesbian questions.

The above shift is important because the students used a nonhuman question box and the teacher’s offer of anonymity to transpose the “major language” of the sexuality education assemblage. Valkyrie reported that the box was overflowing with papers posing questions about minor languages: LGBTQ topics. These minor language questions possibly emitted affective jolts to the teacher, because the papers produced opportunities for the teacher to address LGBTQ topics. By addressing LGBTQ topics in the class, the sexuality education assemblage expanded its BwO because it increased its affective range to include LGBTQ persons. One such example of this affective reach, according to Valkyrie, was the transformation of her friend who, at the beginning of the narrative, was described as a “late bloomer” but transformed to an “out of the closet lesbian.” The sexuality education assemblage, therefore, was “affected” by minor languages and transformed into a more LGBTQ-inclusive space. In other words, the *Minor Language–LGBTQ Students–Teaching* assemblage used critical dialogue (Clark & Brown, 2016) to include members of non-dominant cultures. I should note, however, that such resistance does not only occur in the form of micropolitics. Below, I discuss two ways that students drew on macropolitics to transform the sexuality education assemblage.

Macropolitics: Shifting the sexuality education assemblage

Students also leveraged external organizations, student groups, and teacher allies to resist and transform the normative sexuality education. Importantly, these macro-changes did not just affect classroom level practices, they also promoted LGBTQ issues throughout the school. Below, I explore the role that QueerTEENS, Rainbow Groups, school policies, and school nurses played in transforming the sexuality education assemblage.

QueerTEENS: Armed with information. QueerTEENS is currently putting on a workshop for LGBTQ youth. Students were bussed in to QueerTEENS during school hours to discuss the role of LGBTQ support groups in high schools. Maika (21, bisexual) and Te Hinu (23, Takatāpui) are in the center of the large meeting room at QueerTEENS. The room is filled with couches, bean bag chairs, and a rug for youth to sit on. There are several high school students sitting around Maika and Te Hinu.

After a discussion on how to recruit members to join a Rainbow Group, one student says, “We don’t learn anything about gender identity or sexuality in school. What can we do to get more kids to know about these things?” Te Hinu points to the back of the room where there is a desk filled with resources including pamphlets on gender identity, safe lesbian sex, and intersexuality amongst others.

Te Hinu responds, “In the back of the room, there is a table filled with different resources. Feel free to pick these up, read them, and give them to your counselors and teachers. You can also teach these things in your club meetings as well.”

Maika then adds, “If you want, we can have someone from QT come to your school and do a workshop on these topics for you as well.” The students and supervising faculty members (mostly guidance counselors) attending the workshop get excited about reading some of the pamphlets. These colorful booklets have an affective buzz that radiates through the room. As soon as Te Hinu and Maika are done discussing different support groups at QT,

all the students make a mad rush to get their hands on the resources in the back. They stand around reading the different topics and discussing some of the information with their friends. Resources in hand, these students are armed with information and ready to inspire others.



Picture taken by QueerTEENS

The above narrative is from field notes I recorded during a QueerTEENS gathering. In this gathering, the QueerTEENS staff provided activities and resources and supported youth in producing new ideas to establish or sustain LGBTQ support groups in their schools. Importantly, these meetings were based around the students' strengths. Maika (21, bisexual) summed up the strengths-based approach in this way:

Maika: We sort of like to use the strengths of our young people and the drive that they have and just the incredible people that we have within the community to encourage people to be more active because they know it is heading in a positive direction. I think that is really emotive. Feelings of strength and power and happiness, and those positive feelings towards Rainbow communities.

QueerTEENS produced assemblages with the goal of expanding LGBTQ students' BwO. They wanted students to teach students to draw upon their strengths to augment their

local schools and communities. The *QueerTEENS–Youth–Resource–Strengths Based* assemblage had the ability to produce extremely potent affects within the school-based sexuality assemblage. In the following two sections, I explore how LGBTQ students drew on their strengths to produce transformative change in their school-based sexuality education programs.

Rainbow Groups: Students taking over. I use the term Rainbow Groups as an umbrella term for different clubs or extracurricular activities that focused on working with queer youth. These groups took on different names in different places, but the purpose of the groups was consistent: to work toward creating hospitable environments for LGBTQ youth in schools. As noted above, many of these Rainbow Groups started as brainstorming sessions at QueerTEENS. One topic that consistently came up was using Rainbow Groups (broadly defined) to lobby for change in school-based sexuality education. Roxy (16, Transfeminine) provided this example:

Dillon: How does health class address the needs of transgender girls?

Roxy: I am part of the LGBT council in school. We discuss school-based health, gender, and sexuality issues. We started to implement LGBT education into health classes, which have been pretty good. It started off pretty rough, but now it has been a lot smoother. We use a lot of the resources from QueerTEENS, and it has been super helpful.

Below, I dredge the affective flows of Roxy's statement:

LGBT Council–LGBT Education–Health Class–Rough–Smooth–Resources

In Roxy's description, the LGBT council (Rainbow Group) gathered and discussed issues of gender, sexuality, and health/ well-being for students. According to Roxy, one of the Rainbow Group's initiatives was to implement LGBT education in the curriculum. Thus far in this thesis, health and physical education has been framed as an oppressive place for many

LGBTQ students, because students reported that, in their experience, LGBTQ topics were either nullified (Eisner, 1985) or framed as deviant. However, the Rainbow Group at Roxy's school maintained optimism about the potential to make health and physical education more inclusive. The Rainbow Group became actively involved in the subject. Roxy became an integral part of the sexuality education assemblage by drawing on her strengths around LGBTQ knowledge and drawing on external bodies (like the QueerTEENS resources) and working with teachers at her school. Roxy's efforts helped transform sexuality education from a "rough" place to a "smoother" space for teaching and learning about LGBTQ issues. In this instance, the sexuality education assemblage and Roxy both expanded their BwOs because they augmented each other's ability to affect and be affected. In other words, Roxy and others in the Rainbow Group influenced sexuality education programs to become more inclusive. In the process, Roxy developed skills around relationship building and leadership.

Jack (16, non-binary) and Spongey (16, lesbian) also used the knowledge they gained from QueerTEENS to start a Rainbow Group at their school. At QueerTEENS, they attended a weekend trip (or Hui) to receive special training on how to create and sustain quality community-based youth support programs in schools. During the trip, students were led by QueerTEENS staff members and guest experts on a variety of topics. Jack and Spongey described their experiences with QueerTEENS and their Rainbow Group:

Jack: Our school runs a Rainbow Group, which I was trained to be a part of at QueerTEENS. I went on this weekend trip and received a bunch of information on how to build a strengths-based program in our school. In the trip, we learned about mental health, how to party safely, gender and sexuality, and mental well-being.

Dillon: Wow! I want to go on this trip!

Jack: Yeah, it was great. But the important thing is, we took what we learnt and went into our sex ed classes and taught these things to our classmates.

Dillon: Really? You taught the class? What did you teach?

Jack: We taught about sexual wellbeing, cultural and Maori values around sex and gender, the difference between sex and gender, communication skills, consent, gender attraction, and sexual orientation.

Dillon: You taught all those things in sex ed?

Jack: Yeah.

Spongey: We have this too because of QueerTEENS. I was trained at the same trip, and I taught our classes about the differences between sexual attraction and orientation, STIs, contraception, pregnancy options, mental health and wellbeing, safe partying, healthy relationships, sexual consent and disclosure, body image and the media, and social change.

Dillon: How did the students react to all this information?

Jack: It went really well, we discussed safe spaces and communities. I think afterwards they saw me in a different way, not just the androgynous kid in class. They actually started chatting with me.

Below, I dredge the affective flows:

*Rainbow Group–QueerTEENS–Strengths–Sex Ed–Teach–Cultural–
Relationships–Consent–Social Change–Safe Space–Chatting*

For me, the above interview assemblage sums up the entire ethos of QueerTEENS.

Jack and Spongey are both members of QueerTEENS and were trained by the QueerTEENS staff to develop peer teaching programs in their schools. QueerTEENS did much of this work in conjunction with the Auckland Sexual Health program, so external agencies (QueerTEENS and Auckland Sexual Health) had direct influences on the transformation of the school-based

sexuality education assemblage. Instead of constructing students as innocent and in need of saving (as discussed in the last chapter), QueerTEENS' strengths-based approach (Lopez & Louis, 2009; Lucassen et al., 2014) used students' knowledge as the basis of lessons and allowed for critical debate. According to Jack and Spongey, because of their training they were able to discuss normative topics like STIs and pregnancies as part of a larger assemblage of topics like consent, community, and indigenous perspectives, amongst others. By placing students at the center of teaching and learning, the sexuality education assemblage is bounded to and enmeshed with their lived experiences.

The strengths-based approach espoused by QueerTEENS placed students at the center of the assemblage to produce transformative affects. Importantly, the new topics were reported to be more meaningful, because teachers were willing to work with and be affected by students. As such, the instruction was connected to youth curiosities and lived experiences (Kendall, 2013). By discussing sexuality education and relationships as part of sex (Mayo, 2014), the subject was able to affect a greater number of students. Not only did this transformation expand what the sexuality education assemblage can do, it also had an affect on Jack's BwO (or limits). Jack taking the initiative to teach about important sexuality topics altered the way his classmates perceived him, so instead of being seen as the isolated androgynous kid, Jack's classmates viewed him as a leader and role model in his school, which resulted in more relationships and discussions with peers. The *QueerTEENS–Rainbow Group–Sexuality Education* assemblage then, has the ability to produce moments of change and transformation that create more inclusive environments for LGBTQ youth. Not all students, however, had access to the QueerTEENS main drop-in center. In these cases, students had to rely on adults in their school to instigate change in sexuality education. In the last section, I explore how students enlisted the help of a school nurse to help shift their sexuality education assemblage.

Nurses Supplementing Teaching. One of the peer support groups at QueerTEENS is called TaurangaPRYDE. This support group is based in the harbor-side city of Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty region of the North Island. From Tauranga, it is approximately a two-and-a-half hour drive to Auckland, so young people who live there do not get the same access to weekend camps and other resources as those near the QueerTEENS city location. Despite the prohibitive distance, many of the students still had access to QueerTEENS pamphlets and other informational resources because of the satellite location. Jacinda (16, gay), Eskild (15, queer), and May (16, lesbian) all worked with their school nurse to increase LGBTQ visibility. May, for example, discussed how QueerTEEN's pamphlets were kept in the nurses' office:

May: Our school doesn't have anything LGBT friendly. Except the nurses' office. There are loads of pamphlets, some from here for LGBT stuff.

Even though May felt her school did not have LGBTQ related content in the explicit curriculum (Eisner, 1985), the nurse operated outside of the formal curriculum to provide resources for LGBTQ-identified students. Jacinda and Eskild also explained how they worked *with* the nurse to get her to help teach sexuality education in their health education class:

Jacinda: Umm yeah, so I've actually been working with the nurse on getting more sexual health because the nurse is now required to come in to help teach sex ed at our school. Beforehand, the PE teachers had the option of letting the nurse in and she only got called into one Year 9 class. So now, we worked with the nurse and the other counselors to get her to teach in every class. The nurse helped us argue that we should be going over LGBTQ topics because it was in the curriculum. That's when the PE teachers let us in more. Now, the nurse brings in resources from QueerTEENS, so she has resources for gay kids,

lesbian kids, trans kids. She's got something for every situation. She is so open to teaching, and she is great at it.

Eskild: Yeah in the beginning, the PE teachers were not good at all. The nurse now is amazing. Like, really good.

In the above assemblage, several bodies can be dredged to map flows of affect:

Nurse–Sex Ed–PE Teachers–Policy–Resources–QueerTEENS–Everybody

In the above narrative, Jacinda worked with the school nurse to shift the normative sexuality education. I want to highlight that the majority of the students in this study referred to their health and physical education teachers as *just* physical education teachers. This is indicative of the low position health education holds in the merged subject. According to Jacinda, the physical education teachers originally did not want the school nurse to come into the health classrooms to teach sexuality education. Instead of just accepting the physical education teachers' decision, Jacinda worked with the nurse to create an argument around including LGBTQ topics. Later in the conversation, Jacinda told me that the Ministry of Education's (2015) new sexuality education guidelines were one factor that bolstered their argument. Because the explicit curriculum (Eisner, 1985) now included LGBTQ students and topics, this document had the ability to produce affect in the sexuality education assemblage. Given this, the *Jacinda–Nurse–Guidelines* assemblage generated affect in the PE teachers' bodies to expand their sexuality education program to include the nurse and LGBTQ issues.

According to these students, when the nurse came into health and physical education, she was allocated a required time slot in all of the sexuality education classes. This formed a new assemblage between *Nurse–Jacinda–Students–Resources–QueerTEENS* that explicitly covered the LGBTQ material, which had been previously nullified. Notably, the school-based sexuality education assemblage was affected by multiple actors within the school (e.g., nurses, students, physical educators) and was also influenced by non-human and external

bodies such as QueerTEENS pamphlets, the Ministry of Education's guidelines, and other resources. Therefore, the school-based sexuality assemblage was transformed to be more inclusive of LGBTQ knowledge and bodies. In all of these situations, LGBTQ students materialized agency through an interconnected assemblage that drew on multiple internal, external, human, and non-human bodies.

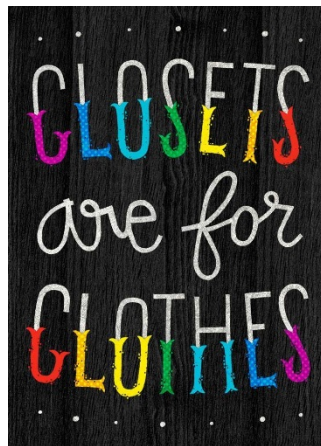
Sexuality education as a constant experiment

In this final results chapter, I explore the ways in which sexuality education can be re-imagined as queer-inclusive. Quinlivan (2018) recently asserted that sexuality education should become an experimental space. Quinlivan argued that sexuality education will always be assembled through normative, or what she called “arborescent,” knowledge, which works to striate and assemble student bodies and thinking. Yet, Quinlivan is still optimistic that sexuality education can “become other” if (and when) adults let go of preconceived notions of what young people ought to know (Lesko, 2010). Instead, Quinlivan claimed that educators need to focus less on “getting it right” (Quinlivan, 2017) and more on the productive potential of students experimental desire.

In this study, QueerTEENS took up this mantle. QueerTEENS actively entrusted and invested in their LGBTQ youth to promote messages of social justice and inclusivity amongst their peers. QueerTEENS recognized the negative climates that surrounded these students, but they used those harsh environments to produce hope and a sense of agency to transform normative sexuality education programs. Notably, they not only used human actors (e.g., students, teachers), they also included non-human actors (e.g., pamphlets, policies, condoms). The *QueerTEENS–Rainbow Group–Students–Pamphlets–Policy–Schools* assemblage worked to produce transformative leaps of change toward embracing and promoting LGBTQ inclusivity and diversity in the sexuality education assemblage. So while the LGBTQ students experiences health and physical education as an nullifying subject, the examples

provided in this thesis show that the transformative potential of the field lies within our ability to instigate passion and desire within students and teachers to transform settings using external/internal and human/non-human bodies.

Chapter 10: Conclusion



A “Closets are for Clothes” sign (pictured above) is posted on the closet door at QueerTEENS. I noticed it for the first time today as I waited for a sponsored event to start. It is Saturday, and QueerTEENS hired a professional self-defense instructor to come in and teach LGBTQ youth. Many LGBTQ youth requested a self-defense course or event to prepare them for the physical harassment they experience in their schools and communities. The instructor is a Scottish man who was a former professional mixed martial arts fighter and coach. The room is buzzing with anticipation, because this is the first time this type of event is taking place. There are 20 youth waiting around to start the class: 3 biological males, 1 transman, 2 transwomen, and 14 women. The facilitator started the session by explaining specific statistics about LGBTQ assaults and harassment in New Zealand. After discussing why there is a need for self-defense, the instructor delved into basic defense techniques while simultaneously physically maneuvering Charlie’s (19, gay) body to demonstrate positions and defense skills:

Instructor: OK, we are going to learn some attacking positions and how to defend them.

So, the first person is going to be in the top position, do you know what that is?

Charlie: Um, that means a whole different thing in my world.

<Everyone laughs in unison>

Instructor: Oh man, I have to remember where I am!

Like the sign says, nobody is “in the closet” in this setting. LGBTQ topics are openly expressed and encouraged. The instructor recognizes that he needs to change his language because of the homonormative milieu. On several occasions, he is challenged in his speech but, importantly, he is open to changing the words he uses to be more relevant. During one explanation, the instructor explained how to kick an attacker to produce pain quickly. Tabitha (18, gay), Dylan (16, lesbian), and Gina (18, lesbian) all chimed in for different reasons:

Instructor: Ok. I want you to remember this because it is really important. When you are kicking someone, you are aiming to put your big toe up the bum.

<Everybody looks around bewildered>

Tabitha: Only the toe?

<Everyone laughs in unison>

Instructor: OK, let me explain that better. When you are facing someone and you are kicking them in the family jewels, you have to aim to get your big toe up their bum. That means your shin is going to get their jewels, arteries, and all that sensitive stuff.

Dylan: Wait, so does that only work for people who have family jewels? Because then it doesn't work on everyone.

Instructor: Of course it does. It hurts no matter who you kick there.

Gina: So, why say family jewels then? First, it assumes the attacker is a male. And second, not all males use their jewels to create families.

Instructor: Wow. I never really thought of that. From now on, I'll say groin.

<Instructor continues using the term groin instead of family jewels>

In the above discussion, the LGBTQ youth challenged the instructor to use different language. Instead of trying to change the youth, he was open to changing his own teaching methods. After the explanation and demonstration, all of the students enthusiastically and

voluntarily participated in rigorous drills to work on self-defense maneuvers and attacks. During this course, QueerTEENS transformed from a support organization to a highly physically active space where LGBTQ youth learned how to defend themselves through embodied movement. This event had particular affective implications because of its relevance to the lives of LGBTQ youth. The instructor did not teach skills to be mastered; he taught students how to defend and use their bodies in new ways. The instructor also integrated LGBTQ-specific information on assault and violence. Because QueerTEENS is a less striated space, the youth in this study produced new curricular movements outside of schools to integrate physical activity and knowledge production in a fleshy, sweaty, and embodied event. The instructor was also affected by this event, because he shifted his language and approach shifted and transformed as he became more acquainted with queer bodies and cultures. In this five-hour period, the youth and the instructor laughed, played, and learned about each other through intense moments of affect. The youth touched, felt, and manipulated sweaty bodies to experiment with new knowledge and their own physical limitations. QueerTEENS' affective curriculum joined multiple bodies together as an interconnected multiplicity where each learned and grew with others.

I wanted to end my thesis with the above event because it represented, to me, the potential of an affective curriculum. Deleuze and his student Parnet published a book that started with a student interviewing the teacher, but it turned into something greater: a dialogue (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987). According to Stivale (2003):

The interchange between teacher-student as well as the assemblage to which their exchange gives voice not only help reverse and scramble the hierarchical rapport, that is, of just who is teaching and learning. Through this very process of authorial “becoming-imperceptible,” Deleuze and Parnet also implicitly emphasize the

importance of pedagogy and friendship, and indeed of pedagogy *as* friendship. (p. 23, original emphasis)

There is something affectively loaded about the idea of pedagogy being a friendship. Friendships, unlike traditional hierarchical roles, imply pleasurable, sustaining, and mutually beneficial relationships. Friendships are filled with exciting, agonizing, tumultuous, and progressive events that shake the core of who we are as people. Friendships enable us to learn through, with, and about one another, which ultimately transforms the self. In *QueerTEENS*, affective curriculum is an active process where diverse connections are promulgated through a pedagogy *as* friendship and experimentation.

At the beginning of this thesis I mentioned Pinar's call to no longer see the problems of curriculum as "how to" (or technical problems) and to instead explore curriculum as "why" problems (p. 4). I also mentioned that this thesis is not an advancement or new, but rather lays beside the previous patchwork that has come before it. In this thesis, I drew on these historical roots of curriculum theorizing and HPE literature to help conceptualize curriculum not as a noun (or stable thing), but as an active process that unfolds through assemblages and interactions between policies, students, teachers, and other bodies (internal/external, human/nonhuman). For example, Kez's (17, gay) *PE Booklet–Classmate–BMI–Chubby* assemblage from chapter five revealed a curricular process that produced both explicit and hidden lessons about the body that generated affective shocks. Massumi (2015b) claimed, "Affect for me is inseparable from the concept of shock. It doesn't have to be drama, though. It's really more about microshocks, the kind that populate every moment of our lives" (p. 53). Kez's assemblage produced microshocks in his body but also in mine as this thesis' interviewer and author and potentially in yours as the reader. Mafu's (20, gay) changing room experience in chapter six also produced hidden microshocks. The changing room assemblage involved a hidden curricular process that assembled Mafu's physical body

and homoerotic desire through striated formations based on microshocks and affective intensities. Most of the microshocks I explored in this thesis produced minor shifts or movements in the health and physical education assemblage and inspired movements towards both stasis and change. Not all shocks have to be groundbreaking, because there are microshocks that produce small shifts and oscillations over time. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated, “You don’t do it with a sledgehammer, you use a very fine file” (p. 160). Such very fine files within this thesis might be colluding with other students to leave formal testing (as expressed in chapter seven). Below, I discuss some of the affective shocks that produced oscillations toward stasis and change in the health and physical education assemblage, and I provide some overall insights I learned from this thesis. Lastly, I make recommendations on how to make health and physical education a more LGBTQ-inclusive and affective space.

Assembling subjects: Movements toward stasis

In this study, the health and physical education assemblage produced several affective flows that assembled bodies (broadly defined) in striated fashions. When subjects (human subjects, academic subjects, subjective subjects) are assembled in rigid fashions, the affective movements are limited in nature. For example, in chapter five, Maika (21, bisexual) was limited by the *PE–Games–Aggressive–Competition–Winning–Balls–Scoring–Males–Successful* assemblage. In this health and physical education setting, there was an explicit curriculum (Eisner, 1985) that aimed to teach students about the merits of competitiveness and being successful. Yet, Maika also expressed an uneasiness within this assemblage because of the hidden curricular messages (Eisner, 1985; Fernández-Balboa, 1993; Kirk, 1992b) linked to gender, health, and performance. According to the LGBTQ students in this study, physical education (re-)produced binaries around masculinities and femininities that favored men at the expense of women. Yet, it is not only women’s bodies that are nullified; LGBTQ and especially non-gender conforming bodies are also nullified in such spaces. As a

result, LGBTQ students in this study hated physical education and did whatever they could to opt out of participation. When these students opted out, however, they removed their affective potential from the physical education space and further solidified the assemblage's oscillation toward stasis.

LGBTQ students' did not have to leave the physical education assemblage, however, to reinforce these shifts toward stasis. For example, Mafu's (21, gay) homoerotic desire and fleshy body was assembled through the affective flows of eroticism in men's changing rooms to reproduce dominant norms (chapter six). The *Men's Bodies–Viewing–Rules–Hot Men–Pants–Body Parts–Excitement* assemblage produced physiological reactions in Mafu's body and produced micro-shifts toward stasis, because he was attracted to the assembled ideal body in PE (athletic and sexy). Suva (20, gay) had a similar experience, in which he was sexually attracted to a classmate who represented the ideal assembled body (also chapter six). Even though Suva was verbally and physically harassed, his role in this space as a victim of assault further (re-)produced particular machinations toward stasis in the PE assemblage by physically nullifying bodies that transgress gendered and sexual norms.

Another (re-)inscription was made in chapter seven when young women described their experiences in fitness testing. Niv (16, lesbian) and AB (16, bisexual) actively distanced themselves from physical education because of the focus on the body. They positioned themselves above the field by claiming they were more into arts or cerebral activities. However, by distancing themselves, both Niv and AB (re-)produced a Cartesian dualism that continues to work against LGBTQ persons, women, and health and physical education. As such, their alignment to the mind/body binary reinforced stasis in the physical education assemblage.

Similar shifts toward stasis were made in the sexuality education assemblage. By experiencing lessons through heteronormative and biomedical lenses, LGBTQ bodies were

often nullified (Eisner, 1985; Flinders et al., 1986) in sexuality education, which rendered them impossible subjects. When LGBTQ bodies were discussed, however, they were often framed as sexual deviants to be avoided and downplayed. One of the (many) reasons reported for this lack of movement towards change was due to the perceived lack of teacher preparation. Many students in the study were highly critical of PE teachers doubling as health education and sexuality education teachers. In particular, they described the teachers as unprepared, insensitive and, at worst, ignorant about LGBTQ issues. Downplaying and nullifying LGBTQ subjects stratified and assembled sexuality education, and health and physical education more broadly, toward normative pedagogical approaches.

Affective microshocks: Swings toward transformation

Despite the assemblage's tendencies toward stasis, I argue that the "shocking" features of affect have a contagious effect. In other words, once released, these affective flows have the ability to shift the tone of an assemblage and produce micropolitical swings toward transformation and change. Most of the time, these affective shocks are not totalizing, but they produce micro-fractures that crack open new possibilities in the health and physical education assemblage. For example, one micro-fracture occurred in chapter five when Chanel (21, Fakaleiti) wore their makeup to PE class to purposefully challenge gendered expectations for men and women. Another example of a small shift was when Dean described literally pushing (or shoving) back against the tide of homophobic harassment that intended to nullify his existence in physical education (in chapter six). Perhaps my favorite example of a micro-political shift was when Isaak (17, lesbian) and Eskild (15, queer) explained to me how they colluded with friends to revolt against the PACER testing norms. These micro-shocks, or small (Deleuzo-Guattarian) files, produced tiny cracks in the physical education assemblage that can start to open up new ways of being in the assemblage.

Unlike physical education, however, sexuality education is ripe for such swings toward transformation. When the new national policy (Ministry of Education, 2015) directly and explicitly (Eisner, 1985) addressed issues of LGBTQ diversity and social justice (Fitzpatrick, 2018), it produced a crack in the normative sexuality education assemblage. The revised national policy inspired a rush of affective flows that swarmed the normative practices of sexuality education and emboldened LGBTQ students (and teachers) to resist such nullifying practices on micro and macro-levels. These affective shocks are contagious affects that can be spread from person to person to infect (or enlighten) entire schools. For example, Aspen (16, transmasculine) was infected by his classmate's passion to challenge the teacher in sexuality education (in chapter eight). Or better yet, the students and teachers in Valkyrie's (18, bisexual) class reciprocally infected each other through a lesbian box of desire (also in chapter eight). In other words, affect became vibrant matter (Bennett, 2010) that produced fluctuations toward change in emotion, knowledge, practices, and bodies.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated quite simply, "Weapons are affects and affects weapons" (p. 400). The LGBTQ youth in this study used affective curricular practices to produce macro-shifts in the normative sexuality education assemblage. They drew on the collective knowledge of organizations like QueerTEENS to produce discourses of passion and desire to strategically re-imagine sexuality education as a relevant subject (matter). In the process, they did not foreclose different knowledges (like indigenous perspectives of gender and sexuality); instead, they incorporated different knowledges, which expanded their affective potential to reach more students and subjects. The affective re-imagination of sexuality education became relational to the material circumstances in which the students are ensconced and are produced through meaningful desirous connections. It is through this approach, which I call an affective curriculum, that I argue the field must produce new pathways to teach and learn about, with, and beside the fleshy human body.

Experimenting with Affective curricula

It is my intention to re-imagine health and physical education with a focus on affect. Current educational systems are extremely striated places. Curricula are comprised of rigid rules, policies, procedures, and practices that assemble the types of learning that can (and cannot) occur in gymnasias and classrooms. Tyack and Cuban (1995) referred to this assemblage of striated practices as the “grammar of schooling,” which “include such familiar practices as the age-grading of students, the division of knowledge into separate subjects, and the self-contained classroom with one teacher” (p. 8). An affective curriculum, on the other hand, focuses on feelings, emotions, relationships, embodiment, and most importantly, experimentation (Quinlivan, 2018). I want to end this thesis by proffering ideas on how to actively experiment with affective curricular aims in which the null and hidden subjects become visible and probed. To do so, I extrapolate three interconnected techniques used by the LGBTQ youth in this study to transform health and physical education from an outcomes-based space into a smoother space that produces the necessary tensions required to induce swings toward transformation. Below, I outline three potential approaches for embarking on an affective curriculum: (a) strengths-based, (b) co-production, and (c) response-able. Notably, I purposefully leave these three approaches rather conditional and brief because they are not meant to be prescribed.

Strengths-based. One of the most important characteristics the LGBTQ youth in this study proposed was strengths-based systems. Many physical education programs have been founded on a deficit model where students are seen as at risk or in need of intervention (Gard & Wright, 2001). A strengths-based approach, on the other hand, constructs students not as problems, but as potential solutions to societal problems. The LGBTQ youth in this study materialized agential capacities to affect others in their schools and wider communities. A strengths-based approach does not focus on eliminating risk, but rather provides students the

opportunity to be resourceful, critical, and productive subjects (McCuaig, Quennerstedt, & Macdonald, 2013). An affective curriculum then, starts from the point that students are central to teaching and learning, and as such, this should be where pedagogy starts (Allen, 2001, 2005). As Dewey (1906) stated, “The child is the starting point, the center, and the end” (p. 13).

Co-production. Friendship is a part of an affective pedagogy (Albrecht-Crane, 2005). Given this, affective approaches to curriculum are, at their heart, relational. As Seigworth and Gregg (2010) argued, “With affect, a body is as much outside itself as in itself—webbed in its relations—until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter” (p. 3). Bodily affects are produced through encounters. These encounters may be with material bodies (perhaps a ball or dildo), bodies of knowledge (perhaps sport culture or gender theory), and human bodies and subjects. Through these interconnected webs of relation, tensions are produced that provide students the opportunities to work through issues and produce new ways of knowing and feeling. An affective curriculum then is an experimentation (Quinlivan, 2018) where students experiment with new ways of thinking through tense interactions and cooperation. An affective curriculum works to move students into producing “multiple ways of making together: co-theorizing, co-storytelling, co-crafting, co-writing, co-constructing, co-organizing, co-thinking, co-enduring” (Niccolini, Zarabadi, & Ringrose, 2018, p. 337). Therefore, because of the focus on relationality, the affective curriculum is local and therefore response-able.

Response-able. As Kuokkaken (2007) stated, response-ability is “an ability to respond, to remain attuned to the world beyond oneself” (p. 39). In this sense, response-ability requires students to be cognizant and to wrestle with the struggles of others. These struggles transcend the gymnasium or classroom and enter into the communities and lives of

Others. An affective curriculum is a response-able, or ethical curriculum. As Massumi (2015b) stated:

In a way I think it becomes an ethic of caring, caring for belonging, which has to be a nonviolent ethic that involves thinking of your local actions as modulating a global state. A very small intervention might get amplified across the web of connections to produce large effects – the famous butterfly effect – you never know. So it takes a great deal of attention and care and abductive effort about how things are interrelating and how a perturbation, a little shove or tweak, might change that. (pp. 43-44)

An affective curriculum is a caring curriculum that recognizes the interrelations between the self and others. Importantly, how we act can influence others and their rights. In essence, an affective curriculum is a socially oriented curriculum that balances the strengths of individuals with the needs of the social. It is a curriculum where the complex realities of the material world become embodied in our fleshy and caring selves.

Physical education teacher education (PETE)

Many have contended that physical education teacher education (PETE) is one area that can address issues of criticality, equity, and diversity in HPE (Fernández-Balboa, 1997; Flory & Walton-Fisette, 2015; Ovens, 2017; Philpot, 2015, 2016; Tinning, 2006). I would argue that LGBTQ issues are directly related to such areas. Much of the above research has found that there is often a resistance to sociocultural topics being taught in PETE (Flory & Walton-Fisette, 2015), teacher educators not prepared to teach such topics (Walton-Fisette, Richards, Centeio, Pennington, & Hopper, 2019), limited curricular space (Walton-Fisette et al., 2018), and limited engagement with students to transform such views (Ovens, 2017). Indeed, Brown (2005) claimed it is hard to change the perspectives of pre-service teachers because the students come into preparation programs with entrenched ideas of what physical education should look like. The socialization scholarship in physical education (Lawson,

1983b, 1983a, 1986; Richards, 2015; Richards & Gaudreault, 2017; Richards, Templin, & Graber, 2014) has documented similar results, by highlighting that PETE students are socialized prior to University entry on their beliefs/ values. Therefore, PETE programs are placed into a sticky situation because they are expected to unpack and contend with views that are well-established prior to even stepping foot into a college or university.

In this study, many students felt their teachers were under or ill-informed about LGBTQ issues in physical and sexuality education. This is extremely problematic given that roughly 1 in 10 students identify as LGBTQ in New Zealand (Lucassen et al., 2014). As such, I agree that we need to have specific classes that address diversity and sociocultural issues (Walton-Fisette et al., 2018). Yet, I also contend this may not be enough. Instead, it is my contention that PETE must become a smoother space that makes connections with non-traditional educational settings. For example, this could take the form of internships in LGBTQ organizations or volunteering with specific charities. As such, PETE courses are not only disrupting LGBTQ issues in the university setting (Chapman et al., 2003; Pérez-Samaniego et al., 2016) but they can also draw on the personal lived experiences of LGBTQ youth and PETE students interactions with such populations. Through this, affects can be produced that help PETE students (and future PE teachers might I add) conceptualize LGBTQ youth differently than when they come to university.

Some final thoughts

If we have a superpower, it's the capacity to host a multiplicity of worlds inside us, all of us do. Frames of reference from which to see the same world differently, to make the familiar strange. In passing through these thresholds, we emerge with the possibility to become something different. (Sousanis, 2015, pp. 96-97)

As I reflect on this thesis, I think of the opening line of Teresa Brennan's book *The Transmission of Affect*: "Is there anyone who has not, at least once, walked into a room and

‘felt the atmosphere’?” (Brennan, 2004, p. 1). Every time I enter a gym or a health education classroom, I feel the atmosphere. I feel the atmosphere as a gay man—but also as a health and physical educator. I get jittery yet enlivened. I think about all of my pleasurable moments in these spaces but also about the unsavory events that have unfolded. The sum of these events, or the totalizing affect, make me believe physical education and sexuality education are heading in an optimistic direction. I wish I could say that the LGBTQ youth in this study felt the same. Yet, I remain hopeful because I truly believe that *our* subject is the most fun and important one to teach because it is a space that explicitly embodies the emotions and feelings of society. Political agendas and late capitalist policies have limited (or perhaps nullified) the affective element of health and physical education curricular practice through a focus on outcomes and standards-based learning. Despite this, I argue that such nullification (or harshness) will only produce a more radical swing in the opposite direction. In this sense, this thesis should produce feelings of anger and disgust, but it should also inspire hopefulness and activism. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) stated that a book (or thesis) does not represent the world but rather connects to it and affects it. In this vein, I hope you are as affected as me.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table of participants

Pseudonym	Gender Identity	Sexuality	Ethnicity	Age
Harry	Transmasculine	Queer	NZ European	20
PC	Transmasculine	Pansexual	NZ European	13
Valkyrie	Cis Woman	Bisexual	NZ European	18
Maika	Cis Woman	Bisexual	Maori	21
Nicole	Cis Woman	Bisexual	NZ European	16
AB	Cis Woman	Bisexual	NZ European	16
Trudi	Cis Woman	Lesbian	German	19
Aspen	Transmasculine	Pansexual	NZ European	16
Charlie	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	19
Sara	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	17
Spongey	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	16
Cooper Foster	Transmasculine	Queer	NZ European	18
Awesome	Cis Woman	Straight	Italian	49
Tabitha	Non-Binary	Gay	Pasifika	18
Daina	Transmasculine	A-Sexual	NZ European & Maori	19
Jon	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	29
May Ocean	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	16
Niv	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ Chinese	16
Tyler	Cis Woman	Queer	NZ European	16
Jim	Cis Man	Pansexual	US Born NZer	15
Jacinda	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	16
Isaak	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	17
Kimberly	Cis Woman	Queer	NZ European	17
Space Ace	Non-Binary	A-Sexual	NZ Korean	16
Francine	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	17
Kez	Cis Man	Gay	NZ Indian	17
Emily	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	19
Alexander	Cis Man	Pansexual	NZ European	16
Cameron	Cis Woman	Pansexual	NZ European	13
Jane Way	Non-Binary	A-Sexual	US Born NZer	20

Pseudonym	Gender Identity	Sexuality	Ethnicity	Age
Dean	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	15
Gwen	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	16
Damien	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	19
Kieran	Cis Man	Gay	NZ European	16
Melanie	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	23
Alison	Cis Woman	Lesbian	Pakeha	16
Peti	Cis Man	Gay	Pasifika	19
Klaus	Cis Woman	Queer	NZ European	16
Lovecraft	Transfeminine	Queer	NZ European	19
Te Hinu	Takatāpui	Takatāpui	NZ Maori	23
Jack	Non-Binary	Queer	NZ European	16
Ned	Transmasculine	Queer	NZ European	25
Suva	Cis Man	Gay	NZ Chinese	21
Dylan	Cis Woman	Lesbian	Pakeha	16
Olive	Cis Man	Queer	NZ European	25
Kanti	Cis Man	Gay	Iran/ Indian	25
Chanel	Non-Binary	Fakaleiti	Tongan	21
Kate	Cis Woman	Bisexual	British	25
E	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	14
Oakley	Transmasculine	Queer	NZ Japanese	20
Riles	Transmasculine	Bisexual	Pakeha	16
Roxy Wild	Transfeminine	Queer	NZ European	16
Rubz	Non-Binary	Pansexual	NZ European & Australian	17
Hayden	Transmasculine	Gay	NZ European	14
Kaeru	Transmasculine	Bisexual	NZ European	16
Anonymous	Cis Woman	A-Sexual	NZ European	13
Rose	Transmasculine	Queer	NZ European	16
Mafu	Cis Man	Gay	Pasifika	16
Gina	Cis Woman	Lesbian	NZ European	18
Jimmy	Transmasculine	Queer	Pakeha	16
Hortensia	Cis Woman	Straight	German	23
Eskild	Cis Woman	Queer	NZ Spanish	15

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