An Investigation into the Representations of Sexuality in Sex Education Manuals for British Teenagers, 1950-2014

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Dedicated to my parents, John and Julie

(1) Introduction

(1.1) Background

As the historian Jeffrey Weeks argues, ‘the history of sexuality is a history of regulation... but it has also been a history of many forms of resistance and agency’ (2012: 415). It is through this repeated regulation, via linguistic and other semiotic means, by which individuals’ sexual identities are shaped and defined over time. This study arose out of a long term desire to investigate the ways in which sexuality is regulated within pedagogic materials such as textbooks, given that such materials can have a cumulative effect on how people ultimately view the world and themselves. Didactic texts present their readers with an impression of the current state of knowledge in their particular field, and thus delimit what is and what is not possible to *know*, *be* or *do* (Epstein 1998).

Teaching sexuality in an educational context, be it in a classroom or through a website or textbook, is fraught with moral and ideological difficulties. Those who are charged with carrying out such instruction are frequently anxious about running afoul of students’ parents and accusations of teaching ‘too much too soon’ (Epstein, Telford & O’Flynn 2003). As a result, sex educators are often reluctant to engage with the topic away from the ideologically ‘safe’ grounds of human fertilisation and biological reproduction. Recurrent moral panics about the sexuality of today’s youth feed into this reluctance to provide adolescents with a comprehensive sex education which broaches desire, emotions, and relationships. In instances where efforts have been made in the past to revolutionise the teaching of sex and sexuality, for example through the use of real life models having sexual intercourse in sex educational videos, the reaction of the mainstream British media is often one of strict conservatism. One such notorious case concerns the British sexologist Martin Cole, a lecturer in genetics at Aston University in Birmingham, whose educational film *Growing Up* (1971) depicted live scenes of nakedness, male and female masturbation, and actual sexual intercourse between two volunteers rather than the more traditional static line diagrams of human reproduction. It earned him censure from his university, derision from the national press (who dubbed him 'Sex King Cole'), and death threats from many enraged parents (see Hall 2009).

If the teaching of sexual intercourse is fraught with moral pitfalls, then the teaching of *sexuality* or *sexual identity* is even more so given the way in which sexuality has traditionally been presented as static and based solely around the desire between opposite sexes, with any other form of sexual desire treated as deviations from this norm ('heteronormativity'). Whilst such heteronorms have slowly been challenged over time, it is the aim of this thesis to ascertain to what extent, if at all, such norms around sexuality have been challenged in sex education manuals for young people.

(1.2) Motivations for the Study

There are several motivations behind the present study. The primary motivation is to ascertain how the topic of sexuality has been treated by successive generations of sex education manuals over time. For example I am interested in the distinction that authors may make between sexuality as a desire (and thus potentially transitory) and sexuality as identity. Most people educated in the United Kingdom will have had contact with sex education material during their school life, but it is only relatively recently that sexual identity has featured extensively within such materials. The study aims to investigate whether texts from the 1950s talk about sexuality, and if they do, what a 1950s discussion of sexuality would look like compared to, say, a discussion from the 2010s.

Another motivation is based on the present lack of linguistics-based analysis of such texts. Whilst there is a rich tradition of analysis of sex education materials in the fields of education, history, and social policy, (indeed there are now whole journals dedicated to the study of sex education such as *Sex* Education, and *Sexualities*) there is a relative dearth of studies conducted from a discourse perspective and using linguistic analysis. Indeed, such studies rarely compare more than several texts at any one time, thus trading comprehensiveness for a particular detailed snapshot in, say, an individual school or textbook series. The present study aims to be the first comprehensive account of sex education manuals published in the UK, and also to provide insights into the representations of sexuality within one national context. It is intended as a basis with which to compare and contrast similar, future, diachronic studies on this topic. .

Another motivation concerns the relative lack of diachronic studies of such texts. As mentioned briefly above, studies of sex educational materials have tended to analyze a very small number of texts, taken from a particular point in time (e.g. Wilmot and Naidoo 2014). Whilst this is indeed valuable work, the present study aims to enrich our understanding of these manuals still further by providing a hitherto unseen diachronic perspective, showing how attitudes and representations towards sexuality have both changed and remained the same over time. Whilst it would not be correct to say that diachronic investigations of sexuality did not exist before this point, indeed many journal articles have been written discussing the representation of sexuality in agony aunt sections of magazines for young girls over a number of decades (Carpenter 1998, Kehily 1999, Jackson 2005a, 2005b), there is currently a gap in the research as to how sex education manuals deal with this topic over time.

The final motivation is based on the author's own stance on sexuality. The present study brings together a series of disparate analyses under the aegis of a Queer Linguistic analysis, which investigates and interrogates the various ways in which readers/hearers are oriented towards sexual norms. Queer Linguistics is based upon relativist Queer Theory, which holds that sexual identities are not fixed and may change over time depending on a number of factors and circumstances. This is not unproblematic, and I am inclined to agree with the stance adopted by Baker (2008: 256) on sexuality as discursive:

> I do not think that discourse alone can account for all expressions or configurations of gender and sexuality. Although it is, currently, an unpopular stance to take, I would advocate some role for genes and biology. Discourse might help to explain why many of us appear to express gender and sexual identities in terms of fixed categories but I am unsure that we are all born with identical 'factory settings' which specify that everyone's gender and sexuality has the same potential for fluidity.

Like Baker, I too advocate the role of genes and biology, albeit in the role of *desire* rather than thinking in terms of *sexual identity*. As with all forms of critical discourse analysis, there is a political motivation behind the study. With the ultimate goal in mind of increasing equality for all people by removing notions of sexuality as an issue with which they are discriminated against or defined, it is hoped that by interrogating how individuals are oriented towards sexual norms this study will provide a basis for conceptualising how people can represent their desire without a seemingly inevitable recourse to a sexual identity label. In other words, sexual identities are (convenient) fictions, but desires are real. This study therefore advocates a move away from the basis of Queer Linguistics on sexual identities to one of sexual desires, with a view to removing sexuality identities as a sociological variable. Of course, this is not an easy task given that many people do indeed ascribe to sexual identity labels such as 'gay' and 'straight', and it is incredibly difficult to talk about sexuality without recourse to the very identity labels one wishes to avoid. Therefore I adopt a policy of 'strategic provisionality' (Butler 1999: 19), which 'allows us to preserve sexual identities (such as "lesbian") as signs, enabling them to function as a site of contest, revision and re-articulation' (Baker 2009: 556).

(1.3) Research Questions

Whilst each analysis section of the thesis has its own set of research questions based on the analytical method used, there are several research questions which underpin the whole study, and these are as follows:

[RQ1] How is sexuality represented within sex education manuals published between 1950 and July 2014??

[RQ2] Are there changes and constants in these representations of sexuality over time?

[RQ3] How can different linguistic methodologies be used to identify and analyse representations of sexuality?

(1.4) Queer Theory

As mentioned above, the study utilises Queer Theory, which takes as its departure the concept of 'normativity' (Sauntson 2008: 277; Motschenbacher 2014: 49). As Baker points out, 'a key goal of queer theory is to move the debate on sexuality beyond the focus of gay and lesbian identities by taking into account the ways in which *all* forms of desire and all social practices connected to sexuality and gender are influenced by powerful, normalising discourses which are mostly accepted as unremarkable' (2008: 216). To this end, the remit of Queer analysis does not stop with 'gay' and 'lesbian' subjects, but rather encompasses individuals who never marry, who purchase sex, who live in communes, who identify with another gender or sex, and so on.

Queer Theory has been critiqued by a number of scholars on several points. For example, the theoretical aversion to drawing upon named identity categories (e.g. 'gay') may serve counter-productively in day-to-day life as it prevents those who adhere to such categories (e.g. individuals who desire the same sex as themselves) from attaining public or political recognition (Baker 2009b: 556). Conversely, by adopting such named identity categories for the sake of political recognition, one essentializes and reifies an identity imposed by the dominant group in society upon a minority (*Ibid*.).

Queer Linguistics draws upon Queer Theory and takes as its object the study and critique of normativities as they appear and are enacted in everyday life (Leap 2013). Most typically this tends to comprise the critique of heteronormativity (Warner 1993), which comprises 'all linguistic mechanisms that lead to heterosexuality being perceived as the naturalised norm, [and] which in turn is to be destabilised and confronted with non-heteronormative alternatives' (Motschenbacher 2010: 10-11). Indeed, Queer Linguistics problematizes the notion of sexual identities given that ‘they normatively regulate and exclude those who do not fully meet their normative requirements. This is true for the categories “woman” and “man”, but just as well for “lesbian” and “gay”, which are not treated as internally homogenous in Queer Linguistics’ (Motschenbacher 2010: 10). As Baker points out, a queer linguistic analysis of traditionally heteronormative institutions and practices such as marriage does not necessarily entail an advocacy against such institutions (2008: 215). Rather, such an analysis ‘examine[s] more closely the ways that certain categories or social practices... are problematised, backgrounded or stereotyped while others are validated, foregrounded and privileged, and that we consider the consequences that this is likely to have on a range of different types of people’ (Baker 2008: 215). Following Milani (2013: 206) I argue that Queer Linguistics must broaden its horizons in order to encompass the non-linguistic ways in which heteronormativities are reproduced and maintained, thus embracing a call for a wider-reaching Queer Semiotics. To this end, the analysis in this thesis is supplemented by a section on the visual, in addition to the linguistic, maintenance and reproduction of (hetero)normativities.

This thesis investigates the representation of sexualities, including heterosexuality, across a 65 year time period. Indeed it is important to the paradigm of research that heterosexuality *especially* is held up for scrutiny alongside homosexuality, bisexuality, asexuality, and so on. By focussing solely on the representation of LGBT sexualities, one implies ‘that heterosexual identities and desires are less a matter of discursive construction... [and] would, therefore, reinscribe the view that heterosexuality is the tacitly assumed default sexuality and that other sexualities are marked’ (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013: 523-524).

It should also be clarified that Queer Linguistics may be read in two different ways. On the one hand it may be read as the study of language as it is used by non-heterosexual people, and thus references much of the earlier work that was undertaken under the mantle of 'lavender linguistics' (e.g. see the edited collection by Livia and Hall 1997). On the other, it may be read (as it is for the present study) as the study and critique of normativities.

(1.5) Summary of thesis structure

The thesis comprises a set of disparate linguistic and multimodal analyses which interrogate the texts in different ways and which are all undertaken under the umbrella of Queer Linguistics. Due to the variety of methods adopted in this study there is no discrete literature review, but rather each analysis section draws upon and discusses its own review of previous work in the field. The analyses were selected based on their ability to provide different, but complementary, methodological perspectives on the data. Given how important images are to the representation of sexuality in the corpus, it was established that a section investigating the interaction of modes would yield insights into discourses and, more importantly, potential clashes of discourses. Similarly with a corpus-assisted approach, the ability to take a more statistical approach would allow for diachronic trends to be highlighted, trends which may be overlooked by a more qualitative analysis. The analysis of attributions also plays an important role, given how it brings into focus who or what gets to speak within these texts over the time period. Much can potentially be gleaned from being able to ascertain discursive silences (Sauntson 2013, Partington 2015). Finally, the analysis of constraint was incorporated as one of the qualitative strands to the analysis (along with the attribution analysis). The decision to interrogate the data along these lines was borne out of exposure to previous research which looks at sociological notions of structure and agency (e.g. Sealey 2014) and how these affect one's understandings of what is possible. Given how sexuality has traditionally been treated as a sensitive topic in educational circles in the UK (and beyond), the ability to see what successive generations of authors have construed to be possible in this regard merits the application of this framework.

The thesis itself comprises the following sections:

(1.5.1) The SexEd Corpus

In this section I outline a brief potted history of events which have influenced the teaching and representation of sexuality in the UK. I also introduce the SexEd corpus of texts created for this study, and the various inclusion and exclusion criteria for texts within it. I outline basic information about the corpus, and give an indication as to who the authors are and their motivations behind publication.

(1.5.2) Chapter 3 - Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis Section

In the first of four analysis sections, I perform a corpus-assisted investigation of key sexuality identity labels in order to investigate how authors use these to orientate their readers to sexual norms. I group these into two groups: those dealing with same-sex desire and those with opposite-sex desire. Other forms of identity label such as bisexuality, asexuality, transsexuality, etc. are mentioned briefly.

(1.5.3) Chapter 4 - Constraint Analysis Section

Next is the section analysing the representations of constraint within the corpus. Constraint is a useful focus for Queer Linguistic analysis given that it prioritises analysis of ability and inability, which are often inextricably linked with social and, in this case, sexual norms.

(1.5.4) Chapter 5 - Attribution Analysis Section

The third analysis section covers attributions to third parties. The words and views of others may be attributed for a wide variety of purposes, and in the case of these texts they are introduced to discuss sexuality in a number of ways.

(1.5.5) Chapter 6 - Multimodal Discourse Analysis Section

The final analysis section deals with the multimodal aspects of sexuality representation, primarily concentrating on the intersection of the visual with the linguistic (though paying some attention to the textual). Given that the majority of these texts draw heavily upon images in addition to words, it is necessary to discuss all relevant forms of meaning-making in order to analyze comprehensively the representations of sexuality.

(1.5.6) Discussion and Conclusion

This final section outlines some final comments about the thesis, and suggests a series of recommendations for the treatment of sexuality in future sex education materials.

(2) The SexEd Corpus

(2.1) Introduction

This section introduces the SexEd corpus, and provides a brief survey of the political, legal and social background to the texts, with a view to highlighting some of the key legislation and events which are explicitly commented upon by the authors. This background helps contextualize the present study by identifying what the authors presented as the pressing issues and concerns of the day. Such texts proved increasingly popular over the time period under investigation, and as Weeks (2012: 330) notes, ‘although the 1960s saw a boom in publishing sex-instruction manuals – so that no major publisher was without its sex-education textbook – most of these were either totally inadequate or endorsed a very conservative view of sex’. Indeed a review of 42 sex education books[1] undertaken by the National Secular Society in 1970 ‘found most of them were obscure in style, inaccurate in content, and badly written. Nearly all of them were moralistic, particularly about non-marital sex; and some of them were positively dangerous’ (*Ibid*.). This section therefore also addresses issues such as authorship and motivations for publication behind this explosion of interest.

[1] Many of which also appear in the SexEd Corpus. Many manuals are not included, however, as they are written for adults rather than adolescents.

(2.2) A Brief Potted History of Sexuality in the UK

In this section I outline I detail a brief potted history of important events and pieces of legislation which have shaped public and private attitudes towards sexuality in the UK[2]. I introduce these events in chronological order, and include events insofar as they impact upon the discussions of sexuality within the manuals themselves. Indeed, as a general rule I detail developments which are either themselves discussed in the sex education manuals, or which impacted directly upon them and their authors.

(2.2.1) *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* (1684)

Sex education manuals have a long history in the UK. The first recorded British manual was the anonymously published (in England) *Aristotle's Compleat Master-Piece* (1684), which was given as a gift to young newly married couples. This manual was in continuous publication for over two hundred years (Porter and Hall 1995), with numerous revisions for each subsequent edition undertaken by further anonymous authors. The topics contained in in this manual, and elaborated upon in subsequent editions, include how to birth a child, how to keep one's spouse content, discussion of different sexual positions in order to more successfully beget a child, and so forth. While such manuals were not frequently published until the second half of the twentieth century, each generation was not without their own manual. Many texts were also imported from the continent, such as France and the Low

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[2] The laws covered in this section apply primarily to England and Wales. The laws affecting Scotland and Northern Ireland changed more slowly – for example the partial decriminalization of homosexuality in England and Wales in 1967 was followed by the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980 in Scotland, and the Homosexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 1982 in Northern Ireland.

Countries (*Ibid*.), and these provided young couples with the latest social, spiritual and sexual thinking of the day.

(2.2.2) The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885)

The historical context immediately preceding the time span covered by the corpus may be described as one of constraint and censorship towards sexuality. One of the defining pieces of legislation which created this atmosphere of restriction and secrecy was the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885). The Act was introduced in order to raise the female age of consent from 13 to 16, and to enforce 'new measures against disorderly houses, procuration, and abduction' (Hall 2009: 34). The Act itself contained an amendment known as 'The Labouchere Amendment' which was intended to equalize the law in terms of protecting girl and boys from sexual exploitation (e.g. through prostitution). In reality, however, the ambiguously-worded clause reified the notions of 'public outrages' or 'gross indecencies' which allowed penalties to be imposed on instances of same-sex male intercourse regardless of the presence of full consent and whether the 'offence' was conducted in private (*Ibid.*: 35).

The Labouchere Amendment read as follows:

> Any male person who, in public or in private, commits, or is the party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any male person of, any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and, being convicted thereof, shall be liable, at the discretion of the court, to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding one year with or without hard labour.

(reproduced in Hall 2009: 35)

This amendment set the tone for the legal treatment of homosexuality in the UK, so that even consenting sexual intercourse undertaken in private constituted a criminal offence. Perhaps the most famous conviction under this amendment was Oscar Wilde, who was imprisoned in 1895 for two years with hard labour. The legacy of this piece of legislation has been described as a 'blackmailer's charter', given that all instances of homosexual intercourse from this point forward constituted a criminal offence, thus leaving gay men vulnerable to blackmail and prosecution (Porter and Hall 1995: 224-225). It is arguable that the discourses of shame and secrecy around homosexuality, which are so prevalent in much of the early sections of the corpus, can be traced at least in part back to this amendment.

(2.2.3) The Wolfenden Report (1957)

The Wolfenden Committee was set up in 1954 in response to 'a proliferation, after decades of silence and evasion, of newspaper articles and press reports' about prostitution and homosexuality (Hall 2009: 142). It comprised 15 members[3], and was chaired by the educationalist and Vice-Chancellor of Reading University, John Wolfenden. Its aims were to standardize and reform the legal system as it pertained to the two aforementioned topics, and to counter the onset of recurrent moral panics about the decline of sexual morals in the UK. The historian Weeks describes the Committee as a 'paradox', stating that it comprised both 'an expression of 1950s moral anxieties and a blueprint for the "permissive" legislation of the 1960s', given that it 'balanced more effective regulation of sexual deviance with individual freedoms' (Weeks 2012: 311). The committee heard evidence from a wide range of groups including doctors, psychologists, the police, lawyers, magistrates, prison officers,

[3] The 15 committee members comprised ministers, politicians, judges, doctors, church ministers, councillors, academics and other leading public figures.

church ministers, and several ‘high profile’ homosexuals (Hall 2009: 143). One of the conclusions reached by the committee, and which was outlined in the subsequent report published in 1957, was that sexual intercourse between two males should be decriminalized in instances where the act was done in private, and between consenting adults over the age of 21.

(2.2.4) The Obscene Publications Act (1959)

The Obscene Publications Act (1959) was introduced by the British government in order to clarify previous obscure obscenity legislation and to tally this with changing social norms about morality and decency. The Act was passed partly in response to the sudden increase of pornography publications in the 1950s, and also in response to a greater acceptance of public discussions of sex and sexuality in the written medium (Weeks 2012: 339). As McEnery also notes, ‘the moral and political landscape of Britain was changing’, with a move in public opinion away from moral absolutism in terms of taste and decency, and towards moral relativism (2006: 121). This Act therefore reflected a gradual, and as yet incomplete, shift from sexuality being conceived of as a monolithic concept (with any deviations from heterosexuality being considered aberrations of the norm) to sexuality as representing a diverse range of human desires and experiences. Whilst sexuality was still presented in essentialist terms, these ‘variations’ of the heterosexual norm were given a degree of legitimacy by increasing media visibility and subsequent partial social acceptance. This is reflected very much within the texts, as the visibility of sexuality becomes prominent in texts from the 1960s onwards. The texts in the 1950s, by contrast, do not mention heterosexuality at all, but rather devote brief paragraphs to departures from the assumed norm.

(2.2.5) The Sexual Offences Act (1967)

An external event which is often referred to in the SexEd corpus of texts is that of the Sexual Offences Act (1967). The Act comprises the culmination of the Wolfenden Report recommendations (see above), and saw the partial decriminalization of sexual intercourse between consenting males over the age of 21, as long as it was done in private. The Act was limited to England and Wales, with legislation for Scotland (1980) and Northern Ireland (1982) appearing much later. The Act also did not apply to the armed forces or the merchant navy. Despite the limited advance in equality created by the passing of this Act, the result proved almost counter-productive in that 'between 1967 and 1976 the recorded incidence of indecency between males doubled, the number of prosecutions trebled, and the number of convictions quadrupled' (Weeks 2012: 346). This can perhaps be accounted for by the increase in visibility of homosexual 'offences' and concomitant zeal with which individuals were subsequently pursued to prosecution.

(2.2.6) The HIV/AIDS crisis in the UK

The first British victim of the HIV/AIDS epidemic died in 1981 (Hall 2009: 167). Despite the rapid rise of confirmed cases by the mid-1980s however, the British government did not debate the illness and potential preventative measures until 1986 (*Ibid*.: 168). By this point, national newspapers were propagating moral panics about a 'Gay Plague' and grass-roots charities and support groups such as the Terrence Higgins Trust were established in order to counter the vacuum of co-ordinated action. Information on HIV/AIDS features very prominently in the sexuality sections of the texts from the mid-1980s onwards, often with whole sub-sections or chapters devoted to the topic.

(2.2.7) Clause 28 of the Local Government Act (1988)

Section or Clause 28 of the Local Government Act (1988) is referred to by almost every text subsequent to 1988. It was introduced as part of a 'New Right agenda concerning sex education' in which responsibility for the provision and content of sex education in schools was secured in the control of boards of governors, which mostly comprised parents (Weeks 2012: 379). The Act features prominently in the corpus because of one controversial section, which states that local authorities should not 'intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality' or 'promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship'. The wording of the clause resulted in significant opposition from equality campaign groups, charities and some LGBT people themselves. Whilst the clause was designed to protect teenagers from material and topics deemed unsuitable for their age, the effect was to compound the fact that 'British adolescents had the worst record in Europe for pregnancy, abortions, and sexually transmitted diseases, [which could be] attributed to inadequate education (general and sex)' (Hall 2009: 173). The lack of reliable and accurate sex education for LGBT teenagers was also a contributing factor in the high rate of venereal disease among young people generally, and of HIV/AIDS in young LGBT people specifically. It is notable therefore, that whenever Section 28 is discussed in the SexEd texts, it is unanimously represented as a barrier to education and good sexual health.

(2.2.8) The Sexual Offences Act (2003)

Another piece of legislation often cited within the corpus is that of the Sexual Offences Act (2003), which abolished the offence of gross indecency for sexual conduct between two males. The Act marked a legal turning point in the history of sexuality in Britain, in that criminal offences based on one's sexuality no longer existed, such as the archaic law on 'buggery' (Hall 2009: 182).

A final point to note in this section is the exclusion of relevant pieces of legislation in the form of The Civil Partnership Act (2004) and The Marriage Act (2013), both of which fall within the time period investigated in this study. Whilst these are contemporaneous with some of the texts in the corpus, they are not mentioned once by any of the texts. The latter is perhaps understandable given that the time period ends soon after this law was passed, but the former is a little puzzling, given how it impacts (for the better) on the issue of same-sex equality in the UK.

(2.3) Composition of the SexEd Corpus

In this section I outline details about the composition of the SexEd Corpus, some salient linguistic features, and finally some general observations. Below I describe the criteria I use to create the corpus.

(2.3.1) Criteria for data collection

The purpose of the thesis is to investigate how sexuality is represented to an adolescent readership of sex education manuals and textbooks[4]. In order to achieve this, we must first build a corpus which allows us to track the similarities and differences in such representations over time. Therefore the following criteria were followed in order to build the SexEd Corpus:

Sex education manuals must be published between 1st January 1950 and 1st July 2014

The first criterion concerns the temporal range of the corpus which would play an important role in which texts were eligible for inclusion. I set the start date at 1950 for several reasons. The first is due to issues of scarcity: sex education manuals before the 1950s are relatively scarce, something which may be explained by the restrictive prohibitions on public discussion of sex and sexuality which characterised this period. The second reason is that pre-1950s sex education manuals were almost universally marketed at an adult readership. Given the focus of the present study on the construction and maintenance of *adolescent* sexuality, this therefore excludes almost all of these texts from analysis.

[4] This also includes short pamphlets.

Sex education manuals must be marketed either solely, or jointly, at an adolescent readership

This second criterion ensures that only texts which deal with themes and topics for adolescents are included. Most of the texts which were ultimately chosen for inclusion within the corpus are solely marketed at adolescents. However there are a small number of manuals which are simultaneously marketed at teenagers and their parents. I include these also on the basis that such texts usually contain prefaces which directly address the parents, whilst the main body of the text is addressed to the young reader. Interestingly, all but one of the jointly-marketed manuals are published in the 1950s[5], suggesting that despite the relaxing of publishing laws to allow for such manuals to be disseminated, the publishers still deem it necessary to promote a level of sexual knowledge gate-keeping in the form of parental supervision.

Sex education manuals must be published either solely, or jointly, in the United Kingdom

This criterion ensures that only those texts which are aimed at British adolescents are included within the corpus. This is a straightforward requirement for the majority of the texts which were subsequently included, however there are some texts which are either British editions of foreign[6] manuals, or manuals which are simultaneously published in several countries[7]. I include both sets of texts on the condition that British teenage audiences are explicitly addressed and referred to. Several of the texts contain prefaces explaining any changes made to the original, foreign, edition for the sake of British readers

[5] The other was published in the 1980s: Bruggen and O'Brian (1986).
[6] These are usually from the USA.
[7] These are usually published simultaneously in the USA and the UK.

(e.g. change of currency icons from dollars to pounds sterling, references to British laws on sex and sexuality, and so on).

Sex education manuals must be the first edition where possible

This criterion effectively excludes the reprints and subsequent editions which many of the texts have. This is to ensure that there is no replication of text, as subsequent editions of manuals tend to retain large portions of the text verbatim, with only dates and references to key legislation and events comprising the newly updated information. It was found that many of the older texts in particular were difficult to procure, and so in these cases I endeavoured to include the next available reprint or edition of that manual. In several other cases, the first editions of manuals fall outside of the time range decided upon (i.e. before 1950), so in this eventuality I include the first subsequent edition to fall within this time range. For example, the first edition of Leonora Eyles' manual "Commonsense About Sex" was published in 1943 and therefore not included, but the subsequent edition "The New Commonsense About Sex" *was* included within the corpus as it was published in 1956.

Sex education manuals must be targeted at a general adolescent readership

This criterion ensures that only generalist manuals and textbooks are included within the corpus. It excludes those manuals which are written for a specific sub-group of adolescents, such as religious manuals marketed at Christian teenagers and manuals written for young people who self-define as LGBT. It was found that the tone and content of these other manuals were very different to those which were aimed at no group of teenagers in particular, and would therefore likely result in numerous linguistic and discursive outliers during the analyses. Therefore the decision was made to exclude them in order to preserve the integrity of the corpus.

Sex education manuals must mention sexuality explicitly at least once

This criterion ensures that only texts which explicitly reference sexuality are included within the corpus. Given that the focus of the study is upon representations of sexuality and how these reinforce and maintain sexual normativities, texts which have nothing to say on this matter are seen as providing no insight for the purposes of this study and therefore are excluded. In practice this resulted in the exclusion of only two texts.

Sex education manuals must comprise a physical publication

This criterion deals with an issue that becomes apparent in the final two decades of the time range under investigation. From the 2000s onwards, the number of physical sex education manuals begins to decline from the heyday of the 1990s, and instead we begin to see a proliferation of websites, blogs and online fora dealing with sex education. These online texts are excluded for a number of reasons. Firstly, webpages have a tenuous existence relative to the printed page given that the former may be amended, updated or removed entirely at any point. Secondly, such online texts draw upon a wide array of modal resources for representing information about sex and sexuality which are different from those used by printed manuals (sound, interactive icons, moving images such as GIFs[8], and so on).

Sex education manuals must deal with more than the reproductive aspects of sexuality

This final criterion ensures that only lifestyle sex education manuals are included within the corpus, rather than scientific textbooks. Indeed, there are many textbooks which deal with sexuality purely in reproductive terms, and thus have very little to say about forms of sexuality which do not contribute to procreation (such as same-sex sexual intercourse). Whilst interesting in their own right, biology textbooks do not contain the robust discussions of sexuality which are a feature of many other manuals, and which form the topic of focus or the present study.

Having established the criteria for data collection, I then collected all relevant manuals where this was possible or practical. After an extensive search via public libraries, private collections, online book merchants (inc. rare book merchants for some of the older texts), I procured 88 texts which met all of the above criteria. Some texts were collected which were later discovered to have flouted one or more of the criteria, for example where the readership was discovered to be the parents of adolescents rather than adolescents themselves. The collection was undertaken at great expense in terms of time and resources, and in some cases the author now owns one of only several copies remaining of particular manuals (given their age and their being out of print).

[8] Graphic Interchange Format (GIF) is a digital image which performs a brief movement or change on a perpetual loop

(2.4) The SexEd Corpus

Using the above criteria as a guide, I collected a total of 88 sex education manuals. The next step involved transcribing the sexuality sections or chapters into plain text format so that the text could then be read by corpus analysis software such as AntConc (Anthony 2014). Most of the manuals contained a discrete section on sexuality, however there were a small number of texts which mention sexuality in the middle of other topics. In such cases I transcribed the immediate contexts around sexuality words (e.g. GAY, LESBIAN, HOMOSEXUAL, BISEXUAL, STRAIGHT) using Partington *et al.*'s (2013: 286) "concordance corpus" method as a template. This involves transcribing a 300 character span on both sides of a node word, but in instances where another sexuality word (e.g. 'gay', 'heterosexual', 'lesbian') occurs within this span, the span count begins afresh from the most recent word. Using this approach, combined with the transcription of the discrete sections and chapters on sexuality, this generated a total word count of 93,202 words. The breakdown of texts, word counts, and average words per text are outlined in the table below:

Table 1 – Composition of the SexEd Corpus

	No. of Texts	No. of Words	Avg. Words per Text (rounded)
1950s	10	7,410	741 wpt
1960s	13	20,050	1,542 wpt
1970s	12	12,610	1,051 wpt
1980s	11	12,162	1,106 wpt
1990s	19	23,885	1,257 wpt
2000s	16	13,793	862 wpt
>2014	7	3,292	470 wpt
TOTAL	**88**	**93,202**	**1,059 words per text**

As we can observe from the table above, the chapters and sections on sexuality are fairly brief, comprising an average of 1,059 words per text. Depending on factors such as the inclusion of images or the size of the typeface, such chapters tend to amount to between 1 and 3 pages of running text. The publication of the manuals is fairly evenly spread across the 65 years covered by the corpus, with a slight spike between the 1990s and first half of the 2000s. Of those 65 individual years covered between 1950 and 2014, 18 years[9] do not feature the publication of a manual, with the period up until the mid-1960s and the first half of the 1980s being particularly underrepresented. It is perhaps easier to explain the former given the historical trend for relatively few of these manuals to be published. This was in part due to the stringent morality restrictions placed on publishers and authors up to the 1970s regarding what was deemed acceptable for young people to know about sex. Indeed

[9] These are: 1950, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1984, 2000, 2006, and 2011.

several of the authors and publishers received legal sanctions, such as Dr. Eustace Chesser, the author of the earliest manual in the corpus, who was arrested and charged under obscenity laws when he published an earlier sex education manual for adults in 1940, entitled *Love Without Fear*. Despite the book being withdrawn almost immediately, it sold well in excess of 5,000 copies (Hall 2004), perhaps highlighting that the legal restrictions on the dissemination of sexual knowledge was out of keeping with demand for such knowledge. The beginning of the proliferation of sex manual publications seems to have been influenced by the increasingly public debates about sexuality. Such debates are very often reflected within the texts themselves, so much so that they warrant devoted chapters and sections in the manuals. The second period is less straightforward to account for, although it may reflect a brief hiatus in what was otherwise a saturated sex education manual market at the time[10]. One final point to note from the first column is the apparent drop in the number of manuals published in the final decade. Given that the cut-off point for data collection was July 2014, the final 'decade' thus represents only the first five years of the 2010s.

The second and third columns in the table outline the total word lengths and average word lengths for each decade. Given that decades are artificial temporal constructs, the information in these columns are meant as a rough guide only, and not as a statistically precise measurement. With this caveat in mind, we may make several observations. Firstly, the trend for shorter sections on sexuality is mirrored at the start and the end of the corpus, with the final manuals in the collection representing the shortest texts. The shortness of the texts in the 1950s is a reflection of the distaste with which the subject is reported on. The

[10] As noted earlier, the National Secular Society published a review in 1970 of no fewer than 42 sex education manuals.

‘sections’ themselves often comprise no more than a short paragraph included in a glossary at the very end of the manual under headings such as ‘Sexual Deviations’ or ‘Perversions’. The final decade of the corpus contains the shortest texts due to an increasing trend towards a ‘multimodalisation’ of the manuals: in other words, whilst the texts themselves become shorter and more akin to glossy magazines, the role of images begins to overtake that of the written word as the most salient mode for conveying information. This is not an isolated phenomenon, and indeed reflects wider advances in technology and cultures of learning (Kress 2010: 46). Indeed, as Kress goes on to point out,

> In the domain of education, looking at ‘teaching materials’ – textbooks and, more recently, looking at screen-based materials – over the last sixty or seventy years, it is easy to see deep changes in social/pedagogic practice and in semiotic form... Over the last three decades there has been a distinct move away – differently in different school subjects – from the dominance of *writing* as the main or at times sole carrier of meaning to an increasing reliance on *image*.
>
> (*Ibid.*- italics in the original)

The changes noted by Kress in the quote above are very much reflected within the corpus. With perhaps the exception of an image adorning the front cover of a manual, most of the texts in the 1950s do not contain any images whatsoever. Of those texts which do include images, these usually comprise two separate line diagrams of the male and female reproductive organs. By comparison the texts in the 2010s contain on average several images per page, with the written word often reduced to a single column of text, or even reduced to several delineated text- and fact boxes.

Another point of interest is that the largest sections on sexuality appear in manuals in the 1960s. The texts which are published in the immediate vicinity of the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1967 are particularly lengthy, and indeed the longest text in the corpus was published in 1968[11]. Many of these sections on sexuality appear in the form of extended essays on the subject, with discussion both of its legal status and its psychological status as an 'illness' or symptom of a 'deficiency'. These essay-like treatments of the subject appear between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s.

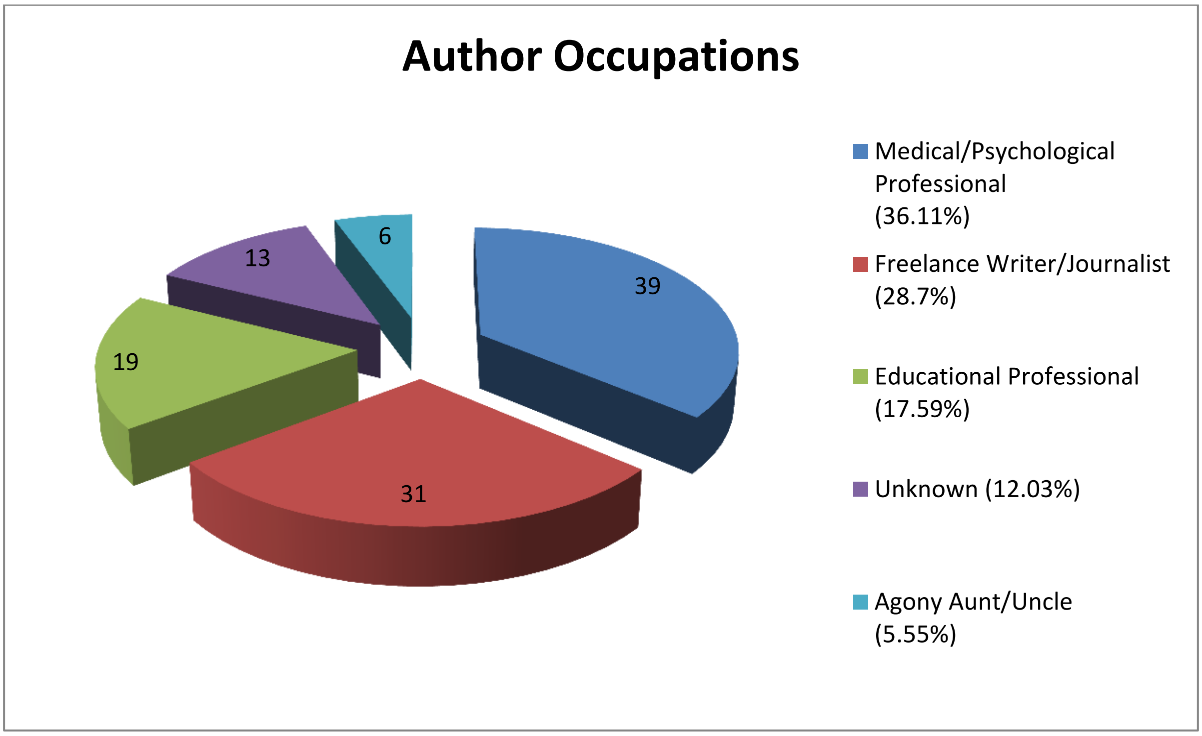
A final point to note about the table is that there is a particular proliferation of manuals published in the 1990s. Indeed this is the only decade in which there is at least one manual published in every year. Given the tens of manuals already in circulation at the beginning of the 1990s, this raises the question as to why the decade witnessed such a growth in the rate of publication. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that much of the information contained within the manuals was constantly out of date due to rapid social and legal change in the UK. Changing ages of consent for same-sex partners and other legislation affecting sexuality (e.g. the now infamous Section 28 of the Local Government Act of 1988), in addition to the increasing prominence of gay rights movements such as Stonewall, all provided for an ever-changing social, legal, political and moral landscape in which these texts seemingly struggled to maintain up-to-date coverage.

[11] W. Pomeroy (1968) *Boys and Sex*. Harmondsworth: Penguin

(2.4.1) Authors and Publishers

It is of interest to identify who exactly authors these sex education manuals over the time period. Compiling the information provided in the manuals' prefaces, blurbs, acknowledgements and dedications, I outline below the professions of the 88 texts' 108 authors[12]:

Fig.1 – Breakdown of Occupations for all 108 Sex Education Manual Authors



As we may observe from the pie chart, the majority of sex education manual authors (36.11%) are medical or psychological professionals. This grouping comprises professionals such as General Practitioners, doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, psychotherapists, youth counsellors, and sex therapists. The next largest category (28.7%) is made up of freelance

[12] 70 of the texts have 1 author, 16 texts have 2 authors, and the remaining 2 texts are authored by 3 authors. The total number of individual authors is thus 108.

writers and journalists. Also included here are newspaper columnists, contributors to teenage magazines, and researchers. The third largest grouping (17.59%) concerns professionals from the education sector, such as head teachers, university lecturers, and accredited sex educators more generally. The fourth grouping comprises 13 authors (12.03%) for which there is no available biographical and professional information. The final category (5.55%) deals with the 6 agony aunts and uncles who have authored texts within the corpus.

Overall, medical, psychological and educational professionals are fairly evenly represented across the 65 year time span. From the 1980s onwards however, the trend for texts authored by freelance writers, journalists, and agony aunts/uncles increases exponentially. This is not to say that medical professionals no longer have input into the creation of such texts. Rather, the vast majority of the manuals which are not themselves authored by medical or psychological professionals draw upon the expert advice of medical consultants in order to provide the most up-to-date information on sex education. Indeed in a few cases, the consultants themselves also have their own texts within the corpus.

One final point to note in this section concerns the publishing houses which publish such sex education manuals. The vast majority of these manuals are published by small, independent publishers. A small group of exceptions exist however, being published instead by the children's non-fiction arms of larger scale publishers such as Penguin, Dorling Kindersley, Wayland, and Oxford University Press.

(2.4.2) Preliminary Corpus Findings

Now that we have established the overall make-up of the corpus, let us investigate the findings in closer detail. Following Baker (2006: 54-55) I begin by identifying the most frequent lexical words and lexical lemmas within the corpus in order to ascertain more accurately the discourses and content within the corpus. Lexical words may be defined as nouns, verbs, adjectives and lexical adverbs (*Ibid.*: 54), whilst lemmas comprise the various inflections of the base form of a word: for example HAVE includes the lexemes 'have', 'has', 'had' and 'having'. Given that grammatical and function words are far more common than lexical words, it is likely that the first column will not tell us much about the corpus. For this reason, the list of lexical words is important. It begins to give us an idea of the dominant themes and topics covered within the corpus, and may act as a useful starting point for subsequent concordance analyses. However, the frequencies in this list may be distorted by the fact that a word may be realized across several lexemes, thus lowering its overall position in the rankings. The final list of lexical lemmas is therefore designed to remedy this, by grouping together all known inflections and forms of a word. The table below details the 20 most frequent words in the corpus, followed by the 20 most frequent lexical words and 20 most frequent lexical lemmas:

Table 2 – Top 20 words in the SexEd Corpus

No.	**Rank by Frequency (all words)**	**Rank by Frequency (lexical lemmas)**
1	the (3,189)	HOMOSEXUAL (1,238)
2	to (2,840)	PERSON (1039)
3	and (2,563)	SEX (873)
4	of (2,528)	GAY (858)
5	a (2,247)	FEEL (618)
6	is (1,750)	MAN (500)
7	in (1,502)	BOY (447)
8	are (1,370)	GIRL (395)
9	that (1,279)	WOMAN (390)
10	it (1,191)	LESBIAN (281)
11	you (1,182)	HETEROSEXUAL (273)
12	or (1,138)	ATTRACT (263)
13	be (941)	THINK (248)
14	they (921)	LOVE (246)
15	sex (873)	BISEXUAL (230)
16	with (861)	FIND (199)
17	as (819)	WANT (196)
18	people (812)	ASK (134)
19	have (765)	SAY (111)
20	for (758)	MEAN (108)

As we might expect, the words in the first column of the table are almost all grammatical or function words, and therefore tell us very little. The second and third columns give us a much better impression of the content of the corpus. Lemmas pertaining to sex and sexuality feature prominently ('HOMOSEXUAL', 'SEX', 'GAY', 'SEXUAL', 'LESBIAN', 'HETEROSEXUAL'), as do lemmas representing desire ('ATTRACT', 'LOVE'). Other significantly represented words include groups of people identified by their gender ('MAN', 'BOY', 'GIRL', 'WOMAN' and the gender neutral 'PERSON'). Finally, the internal feelings and emotions are also referenced via several regularly-occurring lemmas ('FEEL', 'ATTRACT' and 'LOVE'). At a superficial level, these findings confirm our expectations that a corpus of chapters on sexuality for teenagers regularly discusses the sexualities and desires of boys and girls. What these findings also reveal, however, is that there is slight gender bias in favour of discussing the sexualities of males over females. It also implies that the descriptions of sexuality and attribution of feelings and emotions to teenagers are frequently modified by epistemic modal verbs ('MAY', 'CAN'), suggesting either a degree of caution on the part of the authors or a prediction about the sexual experiences and desires the young reader may have had.

Another way in which we can ascertain the focus of a given corpus is to compare it against a second corpus and identify which words are statistically key. This is done by comparing word list frequencies against a reference corpus to find which are *relatively* more frequent in the target corpus than in general linguistic usage. Indeed, 'a keyword list therefore gives a measure of *saliency*, whereas a simple word list only provides *frequency*' (Baker 2006: 125, italics in original). The table below details the top 20 keywords in the SexEd Corpus when compared against the British National Corpus (BNC)[13], which acts as a reference corpus:

[13] The BNC was first created in 1994, and comprises 100 million words of spoken and written text of general British English. It is made up of 90% written language, and 10% spoken language.

Table 3 – Top 20 Keywords in the SexEd Corpus

Rank	Freq.	Keyness	Keyword
1	1,279	23.292	that
2	921	22.140	they
3	873	20.986	sex
4	812	19.520	people
5	740	17.789	gay
6	613	14.736	homosexual
7	587	14.111	who
8	553	13.294	sexual
9	1,138	12.281	or
10	390	9.375	homosexuality
11	1,370	8.864	are
12	351	8.438	men
13	582	8.110	their
14	311	7.476	many
15	298	7.164	he
16	287	6.899	an
=17	279	6.707	boys
=17	279	6.707	was
=19	273	6.563	more
=19	273	6.563	women

Again, the table of keywords confirms the previous finding that certain subjects to do with sexuality and various groups of people are more salient within this specialised corpus than in a corpus of general English. We find that there is a relative focus on ‘men’, ‘women’ and ‘boys’ (but not ‘girls’), and, unsurprisingly, labels for sexuality (‘homosexual’, ‘sexual’, ‘sexuality’). However we also observe the relative keyness of functional words (e.g. ‘that’, ‘or’) and copular verbs (‘are’, ‘was’). Beyond these quite superficial observations, however, we are unable to glean more without first investigating some of the concordance lines around these keywords. This forms a part of the corpus-assisted analysis section later in the thesis.

(2.5) Summary

In this section I have outlined briefly the historical context in which this study has been conducted. I detailed the various selection criteria for inclusion of texts, and then described the overall composition of the corpus. I discuss features of interest, such as the demographics of the authors, and look at some basic frequency and keyword information which give us a first look at the topics covered by the chapters.

(3) Corpus-Assisted Discourse Chapter

(3.1) Introduction

In this section I look at how sexualities are represented, focusing on how individuals of various sexual identities are represented. This section also assesses the feasibility of performing a Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (henceforth MD-CADS) on the SexEd Corpus. The focus of the present chapter is to discuss to what extent tracking diachronic shifts in discourse prosodies is possible in a corpus where there is no recourse to comparable corpora (at present), where there is no convenient break in the data set, and where the potential for further enhancing the size and range of the corpus has been exhausted. Indeed, given that 'it is only possible to both uncover and evaluate the particular features of a discourse type by comparing it with others' (Partington *et al*. 2013: 12), this therefore presents particular difficulties when attempting to perform an MD-CADS analysis using the SexEd corpus.

Much previous work has focused on the 'othering' strategies which are often used to represent gays and lesbians as strange, criminal, promiscuous, militant, shameful, etc. (Baker 2004; Baker 2014). By comparison there are relatively few diachronic studies of representations of other sexuality labels, such as bisexuality, asexuality, and most revealingly of all, heterosexuality. This chapter intends to fill this gap, and in addition to this add to the growing body of linguistic work which investigates the ways in which sexuality is represented to young people.

In this section I address some of the issues researchers may face when using an MD-CADS approach on a relatively small purpose-built corpus such as the SexEd corpus. One of the primary difficulties is how to divide the corpus into sub-corpora, in order to provide comparisons for the analyses. I identify and discuss six ways in which the researcher can 'chunk' their corpus for the purposes of linguistic analysis.

(1) Time Gulf Division

This approach comprises comparing two points in time separated by a time gulf. It is the most common approach used by MD-CADS researchers as it allows for comparisons of 'snapshots' of different linguistic usage in two time periods. This approach is useful for comparing pre-existing corpora or for comparing sub-corpora within a corpus which has natural breaks in the data set (as with many historical corpora). However, for continuous historical corpora with no natural breaks within the data set (like the SexEd Corpus) this creates a problem, particularly as the corpus contains almost all the texts of its type, and therefore artificially removing texts from the set could undermine the robustness of the corpus.

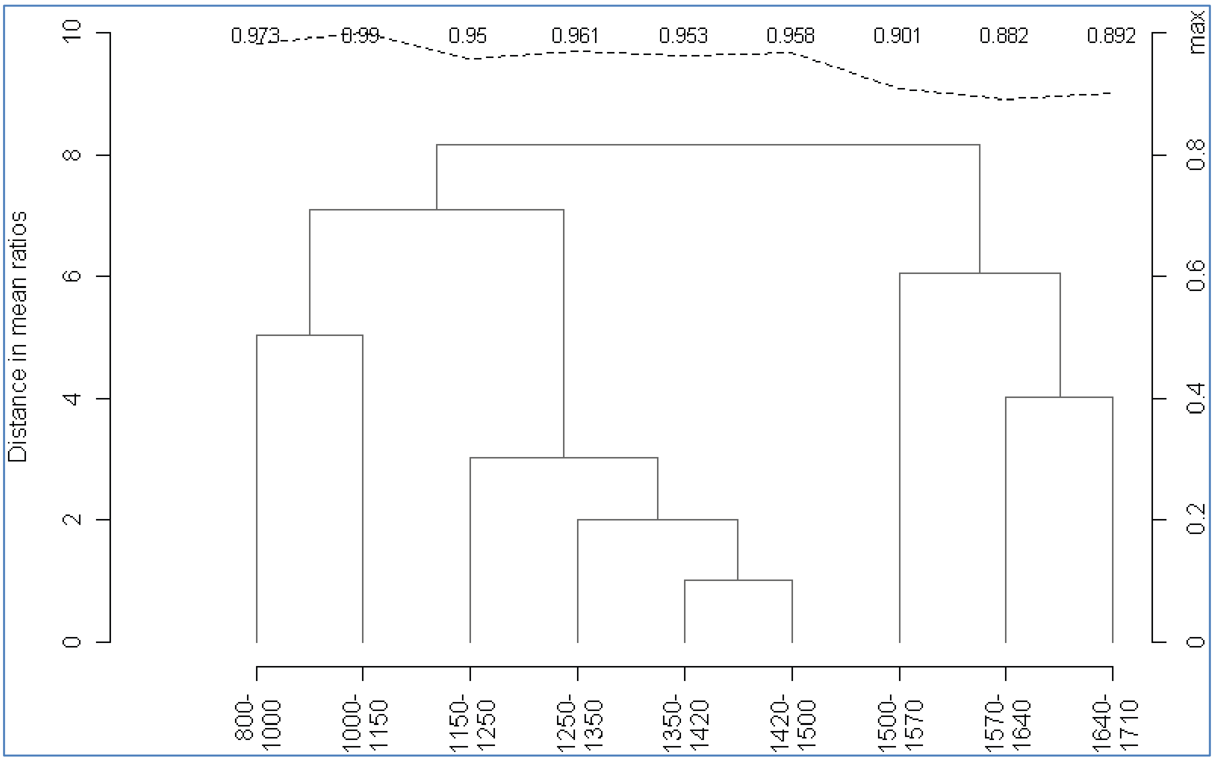
(2) Division by Decade

This provides an even spread of focal points for comparative analysis, however for qualitative historical corpus analysis this would prove time-consuming and difficult to enact given the large number of sub-corpora. Additionally, division by decade is also somewhat arbitrary, and does not take into account patterns which straddle the boundary between two decades.

(3) Statistical Division

Perhaps the most robust method which divests the researcher of interference with the data cut-off points (unintended or otherwise) is one which relies on a statistical model, such as the Variability-Based Neighbour Grouping (VNC) model advocated by Gries and Hilpert (2008). This model takes individual data points (i.e. individual years) within the corpus and progressively merges those data points which are the most alike in terms of the presence or absence of the linguistic feature under investigation. What results is a tree diagram, or 'dendrogram', which depicts a handful of pattern groups, and which can then be used as a rigorous approach with which to divide the corpus into sub-corpora for the purpose of modern-diachronic corpus-assisted discourse analysis (see Figure).

Figure 2 – A 'dendrogram' from Gries and Hilpert (2008: 76), showing the development of Subject Animacy in English between 800-1710



Of course there is still a degree of researcher judgement in deciding whether a particular pattern or discourse is present in the first instance (as in the case of much discourse-based analysis), before inputting it as a ‘presence’ or ‘absence’ in the VNC model. Thus deciding whether, say, a ‘compulsory heterosexuality’ discourse or ‘male sexual drive’ discourse (Sunderland 2004: 50) is present at all requires the standard checks and balances required of all critical discourse analysis work. In addition to this concern regarding more nebulous forms of linguistic representation, this model does not work as well with relatively small numbers. This is an issue in particular for small purpose-built historical corpora whose sizes number in the tens or hundreds of thousands rather than the millions.

(4) Division by Legislation

This text-external means of sub-dividing the corpus utilises cut-off points based on important pieces of legislation which have influenced the representation of a particular group or issue. This approach assumes that the most important defining influences on groups and issues are the laws which regulate such groups and issues, rather than major social and cultural events, for example. In the time period covered by the SexEd Corpus, perhaps the two most important pieces of legislation governing sexuality in the UK were the decriminalization of homosexuality in 1967, and the equalization of the ages of consent in 2001. Taking this as a starting point, the researcher would then assign three sub-corpora based on these pieces of legislation; sub-corpus A comprising 1950 to 1966, sub-corpus B comprising 1967 to 2000, and sub-corpus C comprising 2001 to 2014.

Whilst legislative benchmarks often provide a convenient means of dividing the corpus into comparable sub-corpora, it has the potential to create a false impression of homogeneity within a sub-corpus, which may not reflect real-world views. A text published in 1968 before an event such as the AIDS crisis of the 1980s will read very differently from one published in 2000 on the eve of the equalisation of the ages of consent. One further point to note is that the researcher must decide *which* pieces of legislation had sufficient impact on the time period in question in order to merit sub-dividing a corpus.

(5) Division by Major Social or Cultural Event

This approach is similar to the previous one, albeit with major social and cultural events providing the benchmarks for sub-corpora divisions. One such event, as already mentioned above, was the AIDS crisis which came to prominence in the 1980s. Again, like the previous type of division, this relies on what social and cultural events the researcher judges to have had impact on the representations of sexuality. Of course the researcher could choose to combine key legislation with relevant social events to provide the benchmarks, but again this runs the risk of accusations of arbitrariness.

(6) Linguistically-Driven Division

This approach sees the data 'speak for itself' in that the researcher allows the presences and absences or peaks and troughs of particular linguistic patterns to guide the sub-division process. This has the advantage of letting the data itself provide the clues as to shifts in usage and perceptions of a particular issue over time. However, if those absences/presences, peaks/troughs are not sufficiently stark so as to be obvious, then again the researcher is left with the problem of where to assign suitable cut-off points.

Ultimately I employ an amalgamation of several of these approaches, following Partington *et al.*'s suggestion that CADS work relies on an eclectic array of analytical procedures tailored around the solution of specific research aims and questions (2013: 328).

The Research Questions for this section are:

RQ1) What actions are people who are identified with sexuality labels ('gay', 'straight', 'lesbian', etc.) represented as performing in this corpus?

RQ2) Do these patterns change over time, or remain the same?

RQ3) How suitable is an MD-CADS approach for analyses of relatively small purpose-built corpora such as the SexEd Corpus?

(3.2) Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS)

MD-CADS is distinguishable from other forms of corpus analysis by its emphasis on familiarity with the context of one's data, of 'reading or watching or listening to parts of the data-set, a process which can help provide a feel for how things are done linguistically in the discourse-type being studied' (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013: 12). Much existing MD-CADS work utilises ready-made corpora and/or (necessarily) arbitrary time spans in order to provide the means for comparison (e.g. Partington *et al*. 2013: 285-286, draw upon four datasets taken from the years 1993, 2005, 2009 and 2010 for their diachronic investigation of anti-Semitism tokens in the UK press). Initial attempts to 'chunk' the corpus into suitable sub-corpora based on the changing legal landscape towards non-heterosexuality would risk skewing the findings depending on which legal landmarks the researcher perceived as having significant impact on representations of sexuality. This chapter therefore addresses the range of options available to the researcher when utilising a corpus of this kind.

The nature of the comparison is not A with B as in much MD-CADS work, but rather observations along a time scale punctuated by (necessarily) artificial breaks in the data set, in this case by decade. Doing this allows the researcher to draw comparisons, but should always be supplemented not only by an awareness of the arbitrariness of those breaks, but also by a finer-grained discussion of where examples group (e.g. whether a group straddles a break in the data set). This approach may be useful for comparative MD-(CADS) work where there is patchy or no access to comparative corpora, and where the ability to expand the corpus is exhausted or restricted by availability such as historical corpora.

(3.3) Methodology

An important methodological point to reflect on here is the use of sexuality terms (e.g. ‘gays’, ‘homosexuals’ and so on). Butler (1990) has previously noted the difficulties encountered by the researcher who inevitably has to draw upon the terms used by others, but for whom these terms are socially and theoretically problematic. Given that this thesis adopts the Queer Linguistic approach to viewing sexual identities as constructions, it is an unfortunate necessity that I have to use the very terms I am attempting to deconstruct in an effort to deconstruct them. Therefore I shall use the terms mentioned by the texts, though this should not be regarded as an advocacy of them, or the connotations and prosodies surrounding them.

In order to analyze the semantic and discursive prosodies around the various groups of people, I first compiled lists of concordance lines for each word, including its various inflections (e.g. *lesbian, lesbians, lesbianism* for LESBIAN). In order to draw inferences between the various forms of desire, I grouped the concordances into two categories: the first and largest group comprising same-sex attraction (GAY, HOMOSEXUAL, LESBIAN), and the second group opposite-sex attraction (HETEROSEXUAL, STRAIGHT). The initial search for ‘STRAIGHT’ yielded several hits which did not refer to sexuality (‘straight away’, ‘straightforward’), and so these were excluded from the analysis. For the same-sex desire group, there are 2,377 hits within the corpus, and for the opposite-sex desire group there are 448 hits. However, the purpose of the present section is to analyze representations of people, and so I then identified those concordance lines which depicted individuals or groups acting as grammatical agent or patient. This then provided me with 400 concordance lines out of 2,377 for the first group, and 71 concordance lines out of 448 for the second group. The large preponderance of omitted concordance lines in the first group represent the fact that sexuality is a phenomenon that is largely construed via definitions in the corpus, rather than in terms of people performing actions or being performed upon. Thus the vast majority of concordance hits concern very formulaic sentences beginning with 'Homosexuality is...' . The table below outlines the distribution of hits within the first group.

Table 4 – Breakdown of Group 1 – Homosexual*, Gay*, and Lesbian*

	Homosexual*	Gay*	Lesbian*	
Hits in Corpus	1,238 (52.08% of 2,377)	858 (36.09% of 2,377)	281 (11.82% of 2,377)	2,377 (100%)
Hits as agent or patient	192 (48% of 400)	150 (37.5% of 400)	58 (14.5% of 400)	400 (16.82% of 2,377)

As we can observe from the table, the number of hits representing men far exceeds the number of those representing women[14]. Part of this could be explained by the fact that older texts within the corpus adhere to an unspoken double standard in regards to the discussion and treatment of sexual practices. Even though these early texts are written and produced for both teenage boys *and* girls, they are almost universally addressed to young boys, or use male pronouns even when referring to the experiences of females. It is acknowledged however that it can be difficult to remove a sense of 'otherness' entirely, given the inherent deictic function of pronouns, though what is commented upon here is

[14] While, of course, 'gay' is not gender-specific, a close reading of the concordance lines and texts shows that the authors in this period exclusively use 'gay' to refer to males in all cases.

the use of explicitly gendered pronouns, Though this issue disappears to some extent from the late 1970s onwards, it is sufficiently prevalent to impact upon the concordance results given that the texts from the 1960s and 1970s comprise some of the longest chapters within the corpus. Lesbianism is also sporadically treated as an appendage to larger discussions of (male) homosexuality, and thus appears only once or twice throughout each text, unlike the terms ‘gay’ and ‘homosexual’ which are used numerous times per text. Indeed the term ‘lesbian’ usually appears once in the form of a definition (‘a lesbian is someone who...’), and then not mentioned again. This is not to say they are totally excluded from discussion, but that many authors subsume discussion of females within the generic but androcentric term ‘homosexual’. Consider now the first group.

(3.4) Group 1 – HOMOSEXUAL, GAY and LESBIAN

The table below summarises the activities that ‘homosexuals’, ‘gays’ and ‘lesbians’ are represented as performing, or as being the recipients of such activities. The activities are ordered from the most frequent to the least frequent activity. It should also be noted here that the activity of ‘Saying and Thinking’ for both groups will not be discussed here, as these examples are covered elsewhere in the attribution analysis section of the thesis.

Table 5 – Summary of Patterns for Homosexual*, Gay* and Lesbian*

Activity	Homosexual*	Gay*	Lesbian*	Total
Being Victims of Discrimination or Abuse	40	50	25	115 (28.75%)
Performing Sexual Activities	43	19	12	74 (18.5%)
Seeking Partners	30	17	4	51 (12.75%)
Saying and Thinking	28	20	0**	48 (12%)
Proving Useful Citizens	9	16	4	29 (7.25%)
Coming Out	1	17	6	24 (6%)
Having Psychological Inhibitions or Deficiencies	24	0	0	24 (6%)
Performing Criminal Activities	15	5	0	20 (5%)
Adhering to Norms (or not)	0	4	7	11 (2.75%)
Being Parents	2	2	0	4 (1%)
Total	192 (48%)	150 (37.5%)	58 (14.5%)	**400 (100%)**

** This is not to say lesbians are not represented as speaking within the texts, but rather the lemma LESBIAN does not appear within the context of an attribution. In other words, there are several narratives given by lesbian speakers, but which do not show up within this analysis because they do not explicitly include the word 'lesbian' or 'lesbians'.

(3.4.1) Being Victims of Discrimination or Abuse

The most striking and frequent pattern of representation with this group concerns LGBT people being acted *upon* by others. Of the 400 instances of LGBT people acting as either agent or patient in the corpus, over a quarter (28.75%) depict them as suffering abuse, violence or discrimination. Interestingly, regardless of the decade one investigates, the authors tend to align themselves away from the discrimination towards LGBT people, even where, in other parts of the text, they have employed homophobic logic or language. For example, compare these three pairs of quotes taken from their respective textbooks, all of which depict contrasting views held by the same author. The first example in each pair represents an individual or group being acted upon, and the second example is drawn from elsewhere in the same text (but is not part of the analysis):

3.1	Homosexuals merit our sympathy and help, not our condemnation, for they are almost invariably more <u>sinned against</u> than sinning. [M59]
3.2	Homosexuality is, however, one of the serious social problems at the present time, largely because of the unsatisfactory nature of the law, which makes all homosexual behaviour by males a punishable offence. [M59]

and,

3.3	Fortunately, the old school that <u>feels</u> that all homosexuals '<u>ought to be horsewhipped'</u> is fast dying away. [W66]
3.4	We must now face a question that arises naturally out of the last chapter: the question of homosexuality, and of 'sexual deviations' in general. It is not a pleasant subject; but unless you live in a monastery or a nunnery, it is one that you are bound to encounter a great deal in the modern world, and it is important to understand it. [W66]

and finally,

3.5	Generally, life for homosexuals is very difficult in our society because most people so strongly <u>condemn</u> homosexuality and <u>reject</u> those who practice it. [J68]
3.6	Some Special Ways That Sex Can Become a Problem: Homosexuality [J68]

As we can see from these three sets of examples, there appears to be a conflict of stances towards LGBT people. Homosexuality is presented in the respective introductions of these texts as 'one of the serious social problems at the present time', an unpleasant 'sexual deviation', and also one of the 'special ways that sex can become a problem'. Yet further into each discussion there is a recognition that life is made more difficult for LGBT people due to the ignorance and prejudices of others. In the first pair, the author describes them as worthy of 'our sympathy and help, not our condemnation'. While on a superficial level this evaluates LGBT people in a positive way by representing them as worthy of help and sympathy, there is also a negative evaluative discourse of pity, where they are positioned as being unable to lift themselves out of the constraints which they face (ironically, constraints which the 1950s manual author Matthews himself contributes to in the opening paragraph of his sexuality chapter). There is also a distancing of the author from the ‘homosexuals’ with the use of ‘our sympathy’ for *them*.

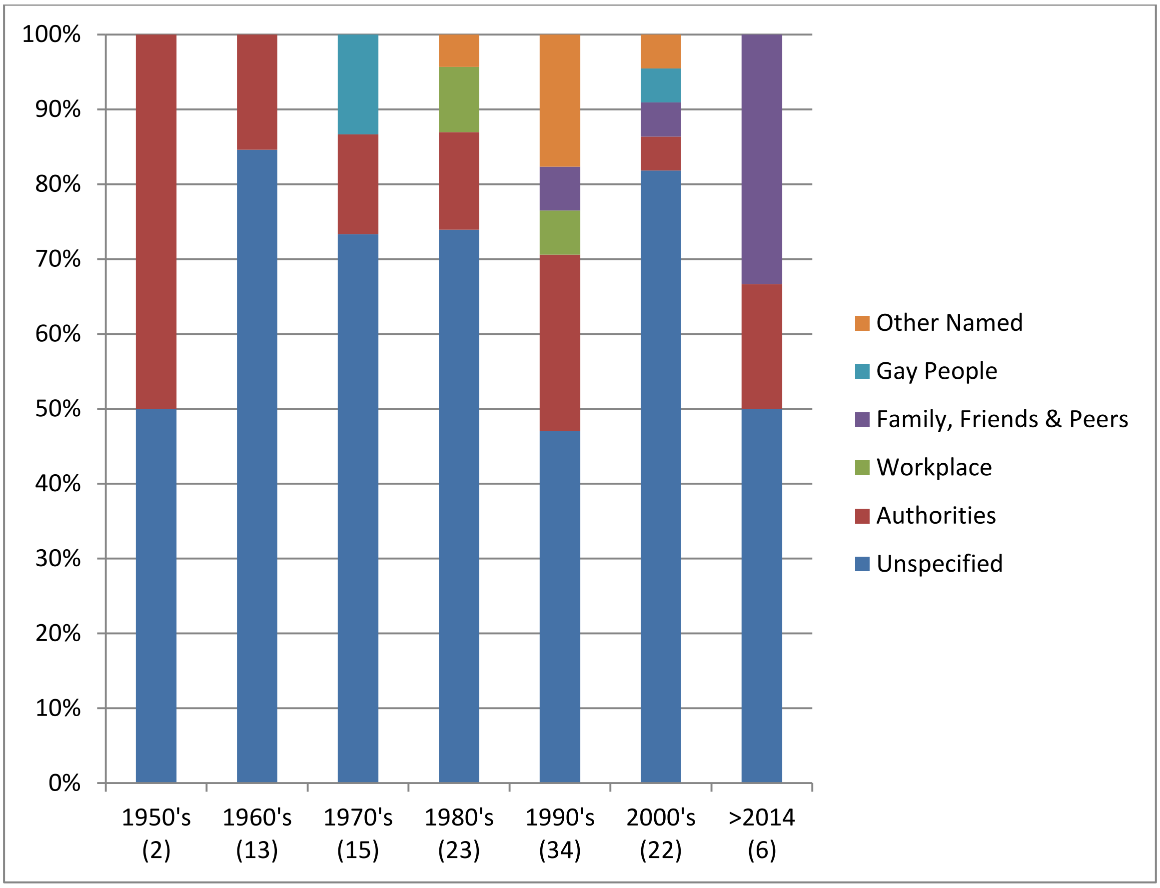
It is unclear from reading the books in isolation whether the conflict of stances is attributable to a general social ambivalence about gay people, or whether the often harsh language of many of these texts has been toned down by the editors of the publishing houses which produced these books. In some texts however, one can detect the weight of an editorial hand more clearly than others, as in the case of the final paragraph of this text which is worth quoting from at length (italics mine):

3.7	The authors of this book feel that there must be continued legal restrictions to discourage adult homosexuals from soliciting homosexual acts from children or adolescents. Many youths spend several years wavering between homosexual and heterosexual feelings. Anything that would push them toward the homosexual side should be discouraged. We base this statement not on any moral or religious basis, but on the fact that the homosexual life is seldom as happy or rewarding as the heterosexual life. Most of the arguments given by homosexuals in favour of their mode of living are merely a series of rationalizations to justify their unhappy lives. *In all fairness, though, we should point out that many homosexuals are able to live useful, well-adjusted lives, and that many of the problems of the homosexual arise from the social stigma attached to homosexuality and from the homosexual’s resulting alienation from the mainstream of heterosexual society*. [JSB69]

Such abrupt changes in stance and tone are largely features of the textbooks from the 1950s through to the early 1970s. In the cases of editorial intervention, this may point to a publisher-wide tempering of more hostile authorial stances on LGBT people and their role in society, particularly as this seems to occur across different publishing houses.

Returning now to the representations of people being discriminated against and abused, the figure below outlines the sources of such actions wherever they can be identified.

Figure 2 – Sources of Discrimination or Abuse Towards Gay People Within the SexEd Corpus



Unspecified sources of discrimination comprise the largest (or joint-largest) group in each of the seven decades. The sources can be gleaned either from passive constructions which strongly implicate some societal attitudes (as in the first example), or noun phrases which obscure the identity of those who discriminate (as in the second example) but which it is understood to be a general or common attitude:

3.8	However, homosexuals are still often <u>persecuted</u> by ignorant people. [HJ71]
3.9	But because of a general atmosphere of intolerance, many lesbians and gays find life very difficult. [C-M88]

Occasionally there are instances where groups of discriminators *are* identified, albeit without specification. The 'ignorant people' in the Hansen and Jensen (1971) quote above is one example, but others include 'the old school that feels all homosexuals "ought to be horsewhipped"', 'people who believe sex should only be for having babies', 'thugs', etc. These are included in the 'Unspecified' category in Figure 2 given that they represent a relatively unidentifiable and unquantifiable mass of people.

In all but the most recent decade, Authorities comprise the second (or joint-second) largest grouping of discriminators. Authorities include the police, governments, legal institutions, specific laws, and so on. The 'Workplace' category includes business owners as well as employees like managers or co-workers. As we can observe from Figure 2, there is a gradually increasing acknowledgement of the diversity of discriminations sources towards LGBT people. From the 1950s through to the 1970s sexuality-based discrimination is almost exclusively assigned to society in general or to faceless legal and political institutions. Then from the 1980s through to the 2000s we get a more varied picture of the people and organizations which discriminate, for example with workplace-based discrimination which is discussed for the first time in the 1980s and 1990s. From the 1990s through to the end of the corpus there is a recognition that discrimination does not necessarily come from strangers or impartial institutions, but rather family, friends and social peers (e.g. classmates in school). Indeed there is an overall trend throughout the decades of identifying sources of discrimination which inhabit increasingly closer social spheres surrounding LGBT people. Beginning with a vague acknowledgement of discrimination being propagated by unspecified groups in society at large and endorsed by legal and political entities, through to the companies that LGBT people work for and the media they consume, and finally to their family, friends and social peers, the authors of these texts increasingly draw their young readers' attention over time to the fact that sexuality-based discrimination can arise from almost anywhere.

(3.4.2) Performing Sexual Activities

The second most common pattern, with 74 hits (18.5%), pertains to the sex lives of gay people. In some ways, the high frequency of this finding may not be surprising given that part of the definitions employed by these authors involve discussing who individuals are sexually attracted to. However, there are representations which present gays and lesbians as being promiscuous, having voracious sexual appetites, and being reducible to a sexual act (findings which are replicated in other public texts such as newspapers – see Baker 2005: 79-83). Most commonly these are represented within the form of euphemisms and vague noun phrases which are used to distance the author (and by implication the reader) from the activity (see Channell 1994 for the functions of vague language). Examples include:

3.10	In homosexual association one participant feels himself in all respects male but <u>seeks union</u> with another of his own sex who assumes the role of the female. [D58]
3.11	It should also be understood that, within certain limits, a homosexual of either sex may <u>act</u> in homosexual practice as male or female, but never as both. When two homosexuals, therefore, <u>act together</u> one will <u>act</u> as the female party, or to be more accurate, the submissive party, and the other will be the active or male type. [R60]
3.12	<u>Homosexual activity</u> on this basis has been fairly common among prisoners and among sailors on long cruises. [S70]
3.13	The Problem of Homosexuality in Youth. Most boys are so firmly heterosexual that even <u>a good deal of adolescent homosexual play</u> has no effect upon their sex-affinity, nor does it cause any permanent damage or repercussion. [M71]

Here, constructions such as ‘seeks union’ and ‘act together’ carry connotations of being unspeakable, whilst desire is reduced to the act of intercourse itself in ‘homosexual activity’ and ‘a good deal of adolescent homosexual play’.

However in later texts, these discourses of promiscuity and voracious sexual appetites tend to be replaced with more mundane descriptions of sexual activities which are evaluated neither positively nor negatively:

3.14	Some homosexuals <u>enjoy</u> mutual masturbation, oral sex or ‘rimming’, (the practise of tonguing around the anus). Lesbians, too, might <u>enjoy</u> oral sex or finger fucking or sex with vibrators - the same as some heterosexuals. [F94]
3.15	True, many gay men do <u>enjoy having</u> anal sex, but it is not a compulsory part of lad-with-lad sex and not all gay couples do it. [W98]
3.16	Girls who are gay may <u>put</u> their fingers or a sex toy inside one another but they do this because it feels nice, not in place of a penis. [S01]

(3.4.3) Seeking Partners

The third most prevalent pattern, with 51 concordances (12.75%) within this group concerns homosexuals seeking out new partners. The emphasis in approximately the first half of the corpus is on the search for *sexual* partners, as in the following examples:

3.17	No doubt many homosexual men will continue to seek sexual satisfaction with each other although this is a criminal offence and may remain so in spite of the recommendations of the Wolfenden Report. [B62]
3.18	The emphasis among males is generally toward variety in sexual partners. Exclusive relationships are unusual and seldom last for any length of time. Instead, the male homosexual is often engaged in constant, seemingly desperate, search for new sexual encounters. He spends much of his time haunting 'gay' bars and similar homosexual gathering places. Since there is much open solicitation for homosexual activity, the chance of arrest of male homosexuals is great. [JSB69]
3.19	If she becomes an overt homosexual, she has a desire to be the active person in seeking a partner and in making love by some kind of physical stimulation. [S70]

In these examples, homosexuals are represented as being strongly motivated by their sexual urges. Indeed these urges are portrayed as motivating individuals to look for sexual partners despite the risk of being prosecuted under a punitive legal system, as in the first example. In the second and third examples there is the implied suggestion that the homosexual is not fully in control of their own behaviour, and that they are driven 'in constant, seemingly desperate, search[es]' to fulfil their sexual needs. The suggestion is more implicit in the third example, although the same message is presented that homosexuals are seeking partners to have sex rather than for the purposes of a relationship or to have a family together.

Later examples rarely mention searches for sexual encounters at all, but rather depict a desire to find love, ‘settle down’, and start a family. Thus there is a shift in emphasis to a desire and search for *life* partners, and a subsequent establishment of a family and home:

3.20	But many gay relationships flourish without the pressures of childrearing and many homosexual couples <u>live</u> happily together for many years just as heterosexual couples do. [S91]
3.21	Just like heterosexuals, the majority of gay people <u>have partners</u> to share their lives with. [N98]
3.22	Some men and women are homosexual or ‘gay’. This means that they are <u>attracted to</u>, and <u>feel desire for</u>, people of the same sex as themselves. They may <u>fall in love</u> with them and have sexual relationships with them, although homosexual couples cannot physically make babies together. [B04]

One important point to note is that in the first set of examples detailing the earlier period within the corpus, the only partners homosexuals had were sexual (and thus temporary) ones. Thus the notion of a long-standing commitment to another person is precluded by the emphasis on sexual gratification. This latter set of examples now takes for granted that gays and lesbians have relationships, a notion which simply does not appear before 1980s. Not only this, many of these relationships are represented as both established and long-term, thus bringing same-sex relationships within the cultural norm of monogamous relationships which are intended to last for the duration of a couple’s life span. There is a shift in the normative grounds in order to accommodate same-sex partners as normal and acceptable, in a way completely opposite to the earlier texts which emphasised the sheer quantity and fleeting nature of same-sex relationships.

(3.4.4) Proving Useful Citizens

This next category deals with those concordance lines which depict homosexuals as proving themselves to be useful citizens. There 29 examples (7.25%) within this group, most of which are found in the 1960s and 1970s:

3.23	There can be few creative men - in art, literature or science - who have not, at some point in their careers, owed a great deal to <u>the kindness</u> or <u>encouragement</u> of homosexuals. [W66]
3.24	All this means that homosexuals <u>add</u> a great deal of colour to our social life. [W66]
3.25	It is quite true that many homosexuals have <u>played</u>, and <u>are playing</u>, constructive roles in society. Many have come to terms with their situation and <u>live</u> stable, cultured, integrated lives. [H70]
3.26	There are many successful, normal-appearing adults who are totally unsuspected and undetected homosexuals and who <u>make</u> a good adaptation, <u>become</u> important citizens, and <u>live</u> a satisfactory life. [G71]

It is interesting to note the 'othering' work which is achieved despite the authors positively evaluating the homosexuals. Indeed, despite the fact that they 'add a great deal of colour to our social life', and 'are playing constructive roles in society', there is an underlying assumption of fundamental difference. The first example presents homosexuals as a benign force in their capacity as professionals (but note, not in their capacity as individuals), who are capable of offering 'kindness' and 'encouragement' and generally making a contribution to society. The other three examples are suggestive of a social segregation between homosexuals and the rest of society. The fact of their 'good adaptation' and the capacity to lead ‘stable, cultured, integrated lives’ invokes a state of affairs where most homosexuals are not indeed integrated within the mainstream of society. Rather they are presented as outsiders who have different norms and values, and who potentially pose a threat if they do not conform to the norms and values espoused by the authors (and publishers). Interestingly, it is hinted that homosexuals are not *yet* part of society, given that they are ‘playing... roles’ and are yet to ‘become important citizens’. Thus homosexuals are simultaneously evaluated as a potential and nascent force for good in professional life, whilst also being othered as outsiders who threaten to overturn the sexual and moral order of society.

As has become clear with many of the other categories, there is again a shift in emphasis on the utility that homosexuals are seen as providing to the rest of society. In the former examples, they are presented as contributing to social life *despite* their sexuality. In these next examples, they are presented as contributing *because of* their sexuality:

3.27	Research is going on to find a treatment for this fatal disease [AIDS] and the gay community has meanwhile <u>organized</u> support and counselling for victims, their families and friends. [S87]
3.28	If you are really troubled with uncertainty you could talk to someone you know and trust who is gay and/or you could ring your local gay and lesbian switchboard or the London Lesbian and Gay Switchboard which <u>aims to provide</u> advice, information and counselling for the whole of the UK. [W98]
3.29	Fortunately, most cities have an active, well-organized network of gay and lesbian rights organizations that <u>can help</u> if you or someone you know is struggling with issues of sexuality. [P03]

In these examples, the emphasis is on LGBT support groups who are contributing to social life by organizing support for those affected by sexually transmitted diseases like HIV, and by lending a sympathetic ear to adolescents who are anxious about their sexuality. The focus of such examples is on the notion of community spirit and being qualified to help and advise. Indeed in these examples sexuality is not a bar to engaging in civic life, but rather a qualification for engaging in it. The types of contribution made by homosexuals therefore appear to vary between the pre-1980s period, and the post-1970s period. In the former homosexuals contribute based on an inherent skill or achievement that they have made (the skill thus temporarily exempting them from the usual hostility and disdain with which most of these authors hold them) , whilst in the latter they contribute based on their shared personal experiences and expertise.

(3.4.5) Coming Out

The next set of concordances comprise 24 examples (6%) whereby gay people are represented as acknowledging their sexuality to themselves and to others, also known as ‘coming out’. The very act of ‘coming out’ suggests a transition from one state to another, from ‘anti-society’ (Halliday 1976) to mainstream society, thus resocializing the individual within the dominant culture. The very first mention of the term ‘come out’ in the SexEd corpus is in a text published in 1982. The examples below depict the anxieties which are often present when individuals come out to their friends and relatives:

3.30	Some gays even feign heterosexuality, marry and have children then <u>come out</u> in their thirties or forties when they have enough self-confidence to face their families and the world. [S82]
3.31	Some gays like to <u>come out</u> openly and publicly, complete with personal identifiers like badges; others prefer the quieter approach. But most people will feel a need to talk through their position with someone else who is gay, which invariably means enlisting support from an agency set up to offer help, like the ones listed under Useful Addresses on page 186. [W86]
3.32	Many gay people who <u>come out</u> to their straight friends find that these friends are completely fine about the news, as well they should be. [W98]
3.33	For people who belong to a minority ‘non-straight’ sexuality, a definite label can help them to <u>come out</u> and be who they want to be. Knowing that they can get support from everyone else with that label can be a massive massive boost in a society which expects everyone to be straight. [H13]

The examples concerning coming out are unanimously positive about the individuals performing this action. In contrast to some of the other categories, there is also a strong disavowal of prescriptive norms which serve to problematize people based on their sexuality (e.g. '...as well they should be' in 3.32; '...in a society which expects everyone to be straight' in 3.33). It is interesting to observe how prescriptive norms are challenged in the latter half of the corpus with activities such as coming out, compared with the reproduction and maintenance of such norms in the earlier half around activities such as having sex and searching for new partners. Whilst the very notion of 'coming out' is itself evocative of a discourse of secrecy, very few authors such as the ones below explicitly contest the premise or use of the term:

3.34	Being open about being gay or bisexual is sometimes called 'coming out'; it is as if you have to <u>come out</u> of a hiding place. [DL96]
3.35	People don't question straight people in the same way that non-straight people are questioned about this. Do straight people get asked questions like 'when did you <u>realise</u> you were straight?' [H13]

Indeed, the continued use of this term right through to the end of the corpus is perhaps problematic given that societal attitudes to sexuality in 2014 (the cut-off point for texts within the corpus) are now quite different to those in the early 1980s when this term was first used in the corpus. The discourse of secrecy is ossified within this term, and thus one way of working to normalize same-sex attraction still further would be to replace it with a sexuality-neutral term, which accounts for the acknowledgement of one's desires regardless of what those desires may be.

(3.4.6) Having Psychological Inhibitions or Deficiencies

The next category comprises 24 examples (6%) which deal with homosexuals as exhibiting some weakness or inherent fault in their psychology. This usually is provided as evidence for their deviance from the projected social norm of opposite-sex attraction, as in the following examples:

3.36	A child or a young person who is charmed, bribed, or frightened into compliance may <u>feel</u> that he himself is also abnormal; that was the reason his seducer sought him out. He may be so appalled by this idea that he <u>cannot enjoy</u> healthy sexuality later on. Or, he may find the experience is pleasurable, always a possibility when one is quite young. Then, if he has repeated relationships with adult homosexuals, there is a serious risk that his originally normal instincts may eventually become permanently perverted. [D58]
3.37	Externally he may appear in no way abnormal - only a few homosexualists show the effeminate mannerisms typical of what used to be termed the 'nancy-boy' - but internally he is <u>unable to feel himself</u> a complete adult, and it is not for nothing that the slang word for one of his kind is 'a queer'. [M71]

These examples reflect one of the dominant themes about sexuality which appear in the in the corpus in the period up until the 1970s: that of not being able to feel opposite-sex desire because of some psychological problem or deficiency. I will not comment too much on this here, as this is discussed extensively in the analysis section on constraint, but it should be pointed out that such examples draw upon the notion of inherent heterosexuality, with same-sex desire manifesting a symptom of an underlying problem which precludes them from 'fulfilling' their achievement of the sexual and emotional norm.

(3.4.7) Performing Criminal Activities

The next category concerns homosexuals performing activities which are deemed to be criminal, harmful and/or illegitimate. They comprise 20 examples (5%), and are distributed largely within the pre-1980s period of the corpus. The vast majority of the criminal activities represented concern paedophilia:

3.38	The adult homosexual is an unhappy person living in a lonely, restricted world. He is dangerous only if he <u>seduces</u> children, or boys or girls in early adolescence. [D58]
3.39	The authors of this book feel that there must be continued legal restrictions to discourage adult homosexuals from <u>soliciting</u> homosexual acts from children or adolescents. [JSB69]
3.40	There are some people, however, who do not desire sexual intercourse with the opposite gender. They may, however, be <u>attracted</u> to the unusual, to persons of the same sex, to young children, animals, or even to inanimate objects such as shoes or underwear. Some <u>desire</u> unusual activities such as being tied up, inflicting or receiving pain, or exhibiting one's genitals in public. [K79]

As we can see from these examples, one of the primary concerns 1960s and 1970s authors have about homosexuals is their supposed attraction to, and desire for, children and adolescents (amongst other things). Example 3.38 is particularly interesting given that the author appears to misunderstand the term by suggesting homosexual men can or want to seduce adolescent females. These examples draw upon the notion, discussed earlier, of homosexuals not fully being in control of their own rational behaviour, but instead are driven by their sexual urges. In the third example in particular, same-sex attraction is equated with a range of other taboo desires including paedophilia, bestiality, objectophilia, sado-masochism and voyeurism. Homosexuality is thus presented as but one manifestation of the ways in which deviations from a projected social norm can constitute a criminal offence. It should be pointed out that the Queer Linguistic position does not entail that desires for children or animals, for example, should be normalised and legalized (Baker 2009: 248). Rather, it draws attention to the way discourses of sexuality are policed and reinforced.

(3.4.8) Adhering to Norms (or not)

The penultimate category deals with homosexuals explicitly adhering to, or flouting, social and sexual norms. It comprises 11 examples (2.75%), and covers examples whereby gays and lesbians deliberately conform to exaggerated stereotypes in order to ridicule them:

3.41	The 'stereotype' picture of a gay man is that he must be limp-wristed, pretty, have styled hair, wear feminine clothes and mince about talking in a high voice. A lesbian is expected to thump about in boots and dungarees and smoke roll-ups or even a pipe. Some gays <u>do do</u> this - almost as a joke against 'straights' or heterosexuals but the sexual preferences of most gays cannot be seen just by looking at them. [H86]
3.42	There are plenty of myths about what gay people look like or how they behave- i.e. gay men are feminine, dress oddly, talk in 'camp' voices like Julian Clary, and walk around wiggling their bums with one hand flopping in front of them; lesbians are 'butch' and wear men's clothes, huge boots, have very short haircuts and talk in a fierce growly voice. These are just silly stereotypes, and very few gay people actually <u>fit them</u>. [G94]

These examples almost always appear from the 1990s onwards, and highlight how homosexuals do not abide by received social and sexual norms, with a view to the author challenging the helpfulness and utility of such norms in helping people express themselves. It is interesting to note how gender norms are foregrounded in these examples, particularly around areas such as clothing ('feminine clothes', 'men's clothes', 'huge boots', 'dungarees'), voice ('talk in "camp" voices like Julian Clary' and 'talking in a high voice' for men, 'fierce growly voice' for women), gait ('mince about' for men, 'thump about' for women), mannerisms ('limp-wristed' and 'wiggling their bums') and appearance ('styled hair’ for men, ‘short haircuts’ for women). The texts go on to discuss how the flouting of such norms is not the exclusive preserve of homosexuals, but of anyone, thus drawing attention to a widespread conflation of gender and sexuality norms in society. Indeed not all women who have short haircuts and wear dungarees experience same-sex desire.

(3.4.9) Being Parents

This final category outlines homosexuals as parents, for which there are only 4 examples (1%).

3.43	It is still impossible for lesbians and gays to marry and only very recently have lesbians been allowed to adopt children. [C-M88]
3.44	However some local authorities allow established gay couples of both sexes to foster children, and some doctors or pregnancy advisory services provide an artificial insemination service for lesbians who want to have a child. [B93]

All four of these examples allude to the fostering or adoption of a child by same-sex couples, in light of recent changes in the law to allow this. There is also an allusion in the second example to a biological way of having a child through surrogacy. The four examples in this category all occur within ten years of each other, suggesting that recent debates in society and changes to the law have prompted such discussions. It is perhaps a mark of its normality and acceptance that the notion of same-sex couples having children is not remarked upon at all in the 2000s and 2010s. It also highlights the point that the majority of these manuals tend to discuss what is perceived to be the most pertinent topics of the day, be they same-sex adoption, Section 28, legalization of the ages of consent, and so on. The exception to this rule concerns those texts published in the 1960s, which mostly resemble authoritative essays on sexuality, and which investigate a wide variety of topics around the subject.

(3.5) Summary of Group 1 – Homosexual*, Gay* and Lesbian*

I have shown that gays and lesbians are represented as performing a wide variety of activities, and that these activities tend to be negatively evaluated in approximately the first half of the corpus (crime, searching for sexual partners, having psychological deficiencies). In the latter half of the corpus, gays and lesbians are involved in activities which support and advise young readers on issues with sexuality, they have families, they search for life partners, and they ridicule the gender norms which are espoused by most people within society. The table below provides further information, and highlights the distribution of these activities by decade.

Table 6 – Diachronic patterns for Group 1: Homosexual*, Gay* and Lesbian*

Pattern	**Examples**	**Freq.**	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
1) Being Victims of Discrimination or Abuse	* The gay world is a different world: it has other values because gays have had to learn to live with suspicion and abuse * Even though homosexuality doesn't harm anyone, homosexuals are often discriminated against and treated with a lot of intolerance	115	2	13	15	23	**34**	22	6
2) Performing Sexual Activities	* When two homosexuals, therefore, act together one will act as the female party, or to be more accurate, the submissive party, and the other will be the active or male type * Some gay men also have intercourse by using the back passage or rectum in place of the vagina	74	2	18	12	14	**21**	7	0

Pattern	**Examples**	**Freq.**	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
3) Seeking Partners	* In general this is not true, as a homosexual seeks for someone who has strong masculine attributes and on whom he can depend * Lesbians and gay men draw their partners from the sex they've been brought up to get on with	51	0	**18**	8	8	11	6	0
4) Saying and Thinking	* The true homosexual believes he was born that way * Many religious lesbian and gay people see human sexuality as a gift from God	48	0	7	10	9	**13**	9	0
5) Proving Useful Citizens	*All this means that homosexuals add a great deal of colour to our social life * It is quite true that many homosexuals have played, and are playing, constructive roles in society	29	1	3	7	1	**15**	2	0
6) Coming Out	* On the whole,	24	0	1	1	5	**9**	8	0

Pattern	**Examples**	**Freq.**	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
	lesbians and gays are finding it easier to be open about their sexual preference than they used to be * Many gay people start by telling a close friend or relation, then gradually tell more people								
7) Having Psychological Inhibitions or Deficiencies	* The homosexual is unable to escape from the emotional involvement with his mother, without the necessary male example from his father * The complete homosexual seldom responds to treatment	24	3	**13**	8	0	0	0	0
8) Performing Criminal Activities	*It is always thought that male homosexuals want to corrupt boys * The authors of this book feel that there must be continued legal restrictions to discourage adult homosexuals from	20	1	**10**	4	3	1	1	0

Pattern	Examples	Freq.	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
	soliciting homosexual acts with children or adolescents								
9) Adhering to Norms (or not)	* There are plenty of myths about what gay people look like or how they behave – i.e. gay men are feminine, dress oddly, talk in 'camp' voices like Julian Clary, and walk around wiggling their bums with one hand flopping in front of them * Some gays do do this – almost as a joke against 'straights' or heterosexuals	11	0	0	0	**6**	5	0	0
10) Being Parents	* Homosexuals in long-established relationships may even adopt children * At present some local authorities allow gay couples to foster children but this is under review	4	0	0	0	1	**3**	0	0

(3.6) Group 2 - HETEROSEXUAL and STRAIGHT

In the SexEd corpus there are a total of 273 hits for the search term ‘heterosexual*’, and 175 hits for the search term ‘straight*’, thus combining to give an overall total for this group of 448 hits. Of this number, there are 71 instances of heterosexual/straight people acting as either grammatical Agent (64 times) or Patient (7 times). The remaining 377 hits comprise definitions and facts about opposite-sex attraction, and thus do not cover the activities of, and patterns surrounding, straight people.

Table 7 – Summary of Patterns for Heterosexual* and Straight*

Activity	**Heterosexual***	**Straight***	**Total**
*Being Compared With Gay People**	23	14	37 (52.11%)
Having Same-Sex Desires or Experiences	9	3	12 (16.9%)
Saying and Thinking	1	11	12 (16.9%)
Expressing Fear or Hostility Towards Gay People	3	4	7 (9.85%)
Having Relationship Issues	3	0	3 (4.22%)
Total	39 (54.92%)	32 (45.07%)	**71 (100%)**

* Being Compared with Gay People encompasses examples from many of this group’s other categories. Examples are assigned to other categories when a *comparison* with gay people is not mentioned or implied.

(3.6.1) Being Compared with Gay People

The most common pattern involves heterosexuals being invoked as a point of normative comparison with gay people. This grouping comprises two fifths (29 out of the 72 instances – 40%) of all examples. The predominant point of comparison is that gay people participate in sexual and social activities that are also common to straight people.

3.45	Homosexuals can achieve orgasm or sexual gratification in many of the ways that heterosexuals do. [K73]
3.46	Gays make love by exploring each other's bodies (just like heterosexuals do). [B93]

The purpose of the comparison is to draw attention (ironically perhaps) to the normality and mundanity of same-sex relationships and sexual behaviour. Opposite-sex sex is invoked to provide a normative frame of reference in which the teenage reader can interpret the acceptability of same-sex relationships. Interestingly, heterosexuals always occupy the 'Given' slot in each comparison, with the 'New' being occupied by the gay or lesbian Agent. As Halliday (2014: 118) notes, 'the unmarked position for the New is at the end of the information unit', so by reversing this usual order one highlights the New as marked and of particular interest. The Given may be defined as what is recoverable from the context or what can be taken for granted (*Ibid*.). The above examples therefore take for granted that heterosexuals 'can achieve orgasm or sexual gratification' and 'make love by exploring each other's bodies', with the contrastive element in both examples ('in many of the ways that', 'just like') serving to highlight gay people doing this as both noteworthy and New. While the markedness of this information makes sense within the context of a textbook chapter on sexuality, and on same-sex sexuality in particular, the effect of this repeated pattern of heterosexual-as-Given and homosexual-as-New could also be to assume that the teenage reader is a heterosexual subject. This is problematic for many of the textbooks in the SexEd Corpus, which explicitly align themselves with an inclusive LGBT-friendly stance.

There are other comparisons drawn between the two which do not take as their focus sexual activity, but rather sexual identity:

3.47	From feeling ashamed of yourself and your sexuality, you can go on to take more pride in your identity than many heterosexuals who <u>never had to face</u> that challenge. [S91]

It is clear from most of the comparisons that there is a sympathy and sense of equity intended towards gay people, as exemplified in the example above. The Saunders textbook quote is taken from a passage on 'coming out' to friends and family, and is drawing attention to a rite of passage that many LGBT people go through at some point in their lives. 'Coming out' can involve several stages, from a private acknowledgement to oneself, to a public acknowledgement of one's sexuality to family, friends, colleagues, etc. The phrase itself has drawn criticism from many who do not share the connotations of secrecy that it presupposes. Indeed, several of the textbook authors in the corpus draw attention to the problematic nature of the terminology surrounding 'coming out'. These include the presumed necessity of concealing forms of sexuality which do not adhere to traditional norms (i.e. opposite-sex desire) and the presumption that one is heterosexual by default. One text in particular that draws attention to the discrepancy in people's assumptions about sexual identities is Hancock (2013):

3.48	People don’t question straight people in the same way that non-straight people are questioned about this. Do straight people get asked questions like ‘when did you realise you were straight?’ or ‘why have you chosen to be straight when you could be gay?’ or ‘are you really straight or is this just a phase you’re going through?’’ [H13]

Such are the questions and the ‘challenge[s]’ to which Saunders refers (above) when discussing the acknowledgement of one’s sexuality. Examples such as this act as a vital corrective to detrimental narratives of ‘owning up to’ or ‘admitting’ one’s non-heterosexuality (with all of the connotations of shame and secrecy this entails) by putting emphasis on the merits of a personal journey of self-discovery and eventual happiness, a journey which heterosexuals have ‘never had to face’. Indeed this reflects a small but growing trend of later texts in the corpus to reverse the ideological emphasis of the comparisons of sexual identity, so that forms of sexuality other than opposite-sex desire are given greater prominence. This trend bears a resemblance to an emphasis on the notion of everyone being the same, something which was advocated by several texts from the 1980s onwards, whereby authors take the relatively unusual step of collating multiple sexual identities into one extended noun phrase:

3.49	A person’s daily life - <u>making</u> a home, <u>having</u> friends and fun, <u>raising</u> children, <u>working</u>, <u>being</u> in love - is, for the most part, the same whether he or she is heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual. [H94]
3.50	Homosexuals, heterosexuals and bisexuals <u>lead</u> the same kinds of lives. They <u>work</u>, <u>travel</u>, <u>shop</u>, <u>make friends</u> of both sexes, and <u>look after</u> their homes. [DL96]

This more equitable form of comparison avoids the potentially divisive step of splitting sexual identities into Given and New, seen in previous examples, by including all as one or the other.

(3.6.2) Having Same-Sex Desires or Experiences

Another frequent activity that heterosexuals are represented as doing is having experience of same-sex sexual activity or same-sex sexual desires. There are 12 instances of this, 11 of which have heterosexuals in the grammatical role of Agent. Therefore this comprises the second most frequent pattern found for this group in the corpus. The main focus is on the same-sex experiences that many heterosexuals are represented as having had in their lives. For example,

3.51	Most normal heterosexual persons <u>have</u> some homosexual experiences, especially when they are young, and they may <u>find</u> them enjoyable or frightening or both. [K79]
3.52	For example, a man who says he is heterosexual may occasionally <u>have sex</u> with other men. [S01]

Whilst the earlier examples of this pattern attempt to account for the relative fluidity of sexual behaviour in terms of temporary teenage sexual urges, later texts acknowledge that this is not always an adolescent phenomenon. This could be argued to be a form of sexual erasion, whereby non-conforming sexual relationships are silenced in order to preserve a hegemonic heterosexual ideal (Baker 2009).

(3.6.3) Expressing Fear or Hostility Towards Gay People

Moving on from comparisons as a feature of representations of heterosexuals, there is also a small group of 3 examples (all from the 1990s) where heterosexuals are represented as explicitly expressing hostility and/or pity towards gay people.

3.53	However, gay women sometimes get a lot of aggravation from aggressively macho heterosexual blokes who <u>can't believe that</u> a woman can get sexual satisfaction from anything other than a penis. [B93]

Examples such as this highlight the logic employed by many 'aggressively macho heterosexual blokes' in order to question and undermine sex, and by extension relationships, between two women. The logic follows that two women having sex is sub-standard and unfulfilling because it does not involve penile penetrative sex. Such logic is presented as flawed because fulfilling penetrative sex does not necessarily require a penis, and sexual satisfaction is similarly not precluded from lesbian relationships due to the relative absence of a man (Butler 1990). Here homophobia reflects the great extent to which sexuality is intertwined with gender roles. Traditionally sexist thought in the UK (and elsewhere) women were regarded as fulfilling the passive role in sexual intercourse, with their male partner performing the active role. Following this logic the sex between two lesbians, i.e. two 'passive' partners, would result in a lack of sexual stimulation due to the absence of an 'active' sexual role. Another example from much earlier in the corpus draws upon another contested homophobic logic (that of non-heterosexuality indicating psychological immaturity):

3.54	Most normally heterosexual men <u>feel</u> a disgust for homosexual acts and are as a result lacking in the understanding and compassion that the homosexual needs from the rest of the community if he is to be constructively helped. [B62]

This second example also invests in the concept of ‘homosexual acts’ being sub-standard and evoking disgust in ‘normal’ people. What is particularly unusual about this example is the explicitness with which the author invokes ‘normally heterosexual men’. A feature common to the texts preceding this one is a relative absence of words describing opposite-sex desire and attraction. Indeed the string ‘heterosexual*’ returns only 4 hits for the 11 years prior to this text – compared with 132 hits for ‘homosexual*’ in the same period. It therefore marks the first time this sexual identity appears in a capacity as either grammatical Agent or Patient. This is not to say however that homophobic comments by self-declared ‘normal’ (i.e. heterosexual) people do not appear in the corpus before the 1960s Barnes text, but rather that other more circumvent strategies are adopted. For example, the choice of an existential verb process (‘there is’, ‘merit’) creates the impression that this is a general view and thus received opinion:

3.55	Newspaper publicity and the report of the departmental inquiry have recently brought this subject more into the open, and there <u>is perhaps a greater readiness to afford</u> the homosexual the sympathy and understanding which he needs. [P57]
3.56	Homosexuals <u>merit</u> our sympathy and help, not our condemnation, for they are almost invariably more sinned against than sinning. [M59]

Thus while there are only 3 examples of homophobic actions performed explicitly by ‘heterosexual’ or ‘straight’ Agents or Patients, this belies a much larger trend in the first two decades of the corpus for hostility and pity towards homosexuals, albeit with these actions performed by inclusive personal pronouns (‘we’) or existential verb processes (‘there is’) denoting public opinion.

Complementing the few instances of hostile heterosexuals in the corpus are examples where they are represented as abusing children. All 3 cases are brought by their respective authors as counterpoints to the stereotype of gay people as predatory paedophiles (see Baker 2005), in order to make the point that the sexual identity of the criminal has no bearing on crimes committed towards children.

3.57	In fact, most children who are abused sexually (and this is presumably what these people are really worried about) are girls who <u>are abused</u> by heterosexual men. [C-M88]
3.58	Actually, the vast majority of men who <u>abuse</u> children are heterosexuals targeting young girls. [R05]

It is interesting to note that these mentions of child abuse are not necessarily commenting upon heterosexual men as paedophiles *per se*, but rather acting as benchmarks with which to correct misconceptions about the number of gays abusing children, as evidenced by the use of the contrastives ‘in fact’ and ‘actually’. Again we have more evidence to suggest that, rather than being discussed and explored on its own merits, heterosexuality is merely used as a prop with which to comment indirectly on the perceived validity (or otherwise) of homosexuality. The relative disparity between ‘heterosexual*’ and ‘straight*’ (448 hits), and ‘homosexual*’ and ‘gay*’ (2,377 hits), is indicative of a corpus-wide preoccupation with categorising and explaining departures from the heterosexual norm, even when such discussions are well-meaning. Rarely does opposite-sex attraction invite the level of scrutiny and degree of questioning reserved for same-sex attraction in this corpus. This is not to say, however, that the details and issues of opposite-sex attraction are not covered in these texts. Rather they only tend to appear as grammatical Agents or Patients when they are doing something in relation to gays, or to demonstrate an author's point about gays. This *thematic heteronormativity* in the sexuality chapters serves both to impoverish meaningful discussions about opposite-sex desire, and to hinder the inclusive stance that many of these texts take by treating same-sex desire as equal yet fundamentally *different* to opposite-sex desire. Working from a queer perspective, where the target(s) of one's sexual desires do not form the basis of an essentialist sexual identity, this proves problematic.

(3.6.4) Having Relationship Issues

This final category deals with those few instances which depict heterosexuals as having relationship difficulties. An example of this is provided below:

3.59	In this society, boys and girls are often brought up not to understand one another: to play different games, have different aims and socialize separately. This means that heterosexual couples often <u>have difficulty</u> <u>understanding</u> each other's feelings. Lesbians and gay men draw their partners from the sex they've been brought up to get on with. This helps to avoid problems arising from 'the battle of the sexes' which heterosexuals undergo. [S91]

This example draws upon the notion of heterosexual couples having difficulties because of their differences in upbringing and biology. As with many of the other examples in this section, this is discussed in order to normalize same-sex relationships, given that same-sex couples know more about themselves because they are more alike than opposite-sex couples. Whilst this idea is itself based on the stereotypical notion of fundamental differences between men and women (the 'Mars and Venus' concept), it is employed here to undermine heteronorms which privilege opposite-sex relationships as inherently superior.

(3.6.5) Summary of Group 2 – Heterosexual* and Straight*

In this section I have shown that heterosexuals are represented as performing a relatively smaller variety of activities, and that these activities tend to be used to appraise indirectly the actions and beliefs of gays and lesbians. Heterosexuals are rarely explicitly represented until the 1990s, given that the teenage reader and society more generally conforms to dominant norms regarding gender and sexuality. The table below provides further information, and highlights the distribution of these activities by decade. Interestingly, the most frequent patterns all occur in the 1990s, and this may be accounted for, at least in part, by the larger number of texts published within this decade compared to the others. It could also be due to the relatively long length of the sexuality chapters compared to their predecessors'.

Table 8 – Diachronic patterns for Group 2: Heterosexual* and Straight*

Pattern	**Examples**	**Freq.**	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
1) Being Compared with Gay People	* Gays make love by exploring each other's bodies (just like heterosexuals do) * Just like heterosexuals, the majority of gay people have partners to share their lives with	37	0	0	2	6	**22**	5	2
2) Having Same-Sex Desires or Experiences	* Most normal heterosexual persons have some homosexual experiences * People who are heterosexual can sometimes have same-sex thoughts and feelings	12	0	0	2	1	**5**	4	0
3) Saying and Thinking	* There is a belief amongst some straight people that sex between gay men always includes anal sex, but this is not the case *Some straight people think that gay people are weird or scary	12	0	0	0	1	**7**	4	0
4) Expressing	* Most normally	7	0	1	0	2	**4**	0	0

Pattern	**Examples**	**Freq.**	*1950s*	*1960s*	*1970s*	*1980s*	*1990s*	*2000s*	*>2014*
Fear or Hostility Towards Gay People	heterosexual men feel a disgust for homosexual acts * Even now some straight people dislike gay people because they are different from themselves								
5) Having Relationship Issues	* This means that heterosexual couples often have difficulty understanding each other's feelings * Some heterosexual parents may just assume that their children will also be heterosexual, so it can come as a shock when they find out their teenager is gay or bisexual	3	0	0	0	0	**2**	0	1

(3.7) Section Summary

As I have demonstrated, the collocations and representations of the two different groups are asymmetrical and different. Gays and lesbians are portrayed as performing a wide variety of activities in both agent and patient roles, and that these activities tend to be evaluated negatively in the first half of the corpus and evaluated positively in the latter half. Whilst there are exceptions to this general rule, such as homosexuals being portrayed as useful citizens, the overall effect of these examples is to reproduce and maintain heteronorms by presenting them as fundamentally ‘other’. The second half of the corpus focuses on their roles in community support and family life, rather than with sexual gratification and criminal activities.

By contrast, heterosexuals are almost always mentioned in relation to homosexuals. They are essentially a prop with which same-sex sexuality can be discussed in terms which the assumed heterosexual reader will understand. Explicit mentions of heterosexuals do not appear until at least the 1990s, given widespread assumptions by authors and publishers that their readers are heterosexual and will only want to know about heteronorms. The lens of queer linguistic analysis has brought into focus issues of comparability, and changes in attitudes to people and norms over time. In the next section we now begin to consider an issue briefly touched upon here: that of constraint.

(4) Analysis 2: Constraint

(4.1) Introduction

The purpose of the present chapter is to illustrate how analysing representations of constraint can contribute to Queer Linguistic research. As Sauntson reminds us, 'queer theories... take "normality" as their object of investigation' (2008: 277). Only by identifying what is 'normal' can one identify what is to be termed 'abnormal' or 'queer' (and vice versa). Constraints are therefore useful markers for establishing where this boundary lies, as when one talks of constraint one orients to normativity. By invoking constraint, the authors of these texts reflect upon a world as it should be. A diachronic analysis of what constitutes these 'ideal imagined worlds' therefore forms a large part of what the present analysis can offer to Queer Linguistic research, given that constraints are often useful barometers of social (and in particular for the present chapter, sexual) norms. Longitudinal analyses of constraint provide the researcher with one way of charting the presences and relative absences, the defences and the critiques, of such norms in texts. For investigations of sexual identity construction, therefore analysing representations of constraint is a useful and important means of highlighting how speakers or writers orient to sexual normativities (Motschenbacher 2014).

(4.2) Definitions of Constraint

If one is to identify constraints in text and speech, one must first provide a working definition. One such definition is provided by Folbre (1994: 54) who states that they comprise ‘the assets, rules, norms, and preferences that delimit what people want and how they can go about getting what they want’. Here, ‘what people want’ includes what people want to *be* (e.g. a man who wants to be a woman), *do* (e.g. a same-sex couple wanting to adopt a child) or *have* (e.g. equal pay at work). These are just a few examples of the ways in which ‘doing’, ‘being’ and ‘having’ have traditionally been constrained on the basis of gender and sexual orientation (e.g. see Rich 1980). Butler’s influential notion of performativity also allows for a very nuanced investigation of the ways in which ‘being’ is constrained (I shall return to this point in the analysis section). Indeed, she describes sexuality as something which is performed ‘within a field of constraints’ (2004: 15), so that our ability to ‘do being’ a heterosexual or homosexual or bisexual or asexual is never a totally free choice, but rather something which is continuously shaped and impinged upon by a wide range of social, institutional and ideological factors.

An important distinction needs to be made when defining this term, which is that a representation of constraint is not necessarily reducible to some aspect of an external reality. Indeed, what someone experiences as a constraint is not necessarily the same as what someone *represents* as a constraint. For the purposes of this chapter I shall call the former *Ontological Constraint*, and the latter *Represented Constraint*. Below I provide a brief working definition of each, as well as an example to illustrate the two:

Ontological Constraints are based upon some physical reality, regardless of whether people represent it as constraining or not. There is no ‘ideological baggage’ with this form of constraint – people simply cannot, or are obliged not to do something (regardless of any moral judgement).

Represented Constraints comprise evaluations of something as constraining, and often reflect (but not necessarily so) an ontological constraint or some other aspect of reality. In order to illustrate the two types of constraint, consider the following scenario:

Scenario – A person in a wheelchair and a flight of stairs.

> In this scenario, there is an ontological basis for the constraint: the wheelchair-user is physically unable to climb the stairs unaided. This is an Ontological Constraint. The Represented Constraint is that this person is thus 'disabled', even though this term has become increasingly contested (e.g. with the term 'differently abled'), and may not reflect a person's own view of themselves. Indeed the choice to label oneself with a noun (be it in terms of disability, sexuality, etc. – 'I'm a gay man') may carry subtle but important distinctions when compared with adjectives ('I'm gay').

In contrast to Ontological Constraints, Represented Constraints have the capacity to be ideological because they do not necessarily need to be based on an external reality.

As I have drawn attention to above, constraints are formulated from particular viewpoints, so that something considered to be constraining in the past may in fact be considered not to be so (or even enabling) in the present – e.g. such as having children out of wedlock. And because the presence of constraint acts as a useful barometer of social and sexual norms, the researcher can compare these with concomitant legal and social developments to identify how long, and to what degree, it takes for shifts in normative discourses to percolate through to educational materials such as these advice manuals. In some cases, representations of constraint can draw the researcher's attention both to resistance to emergent discourses, or to complicity with dominant or residual discourses (Williams 1977).

(4.3) Methodology

Each of the 88 texts in the corpus were analysed manually for the presence of constraint. Identification of constraint is often a recursive process which begins with the most explicit and easily identifiable forms. For example, the combination of negation with modal verbs of ability (e.g. 'I couldn't') investigated by Sealey (2012) is relatively straightforward to identify and search for in a corpus. Other words and phrases also provide useful starting points, such as words to do with ability (unable, inability, prevented, stopped, and so on), success/failure (failed, unsuccessful) and obligation (have to, must, should, forced to, obliged to, etc.). Even where constraint is absent in the surface form of an expression, it may instead be invoked dialogically, as in the following examples taken from the corpus:

Normal people who have **attained** heterosexuality fall in love with persons of the opposite sex. [S57]
Some homosexuals are **able** to marry and beget children. [D58]
As a rule these phases pass and heterosexual adjustment is **achieved**. [H60]

Each of these three illustrative examples represent an ideal situation, which invokes a dialogic alternative in which constraint is present (see Martin and White 2005). The first example invokes the existence of (abnormal?) people who have not 'attained heterosexuality', whilst the second implies that some other homosexuals are *not* able to fulfil social and marital obligations. The final example allows for exceptions to the rule that 'the homosexual phase' will pass and heterosexuality will be achieved for the growing adolescent.

As one can see from the brief outline above, the identification of constraint is not always a straightforward process whereby one starts with a list of words and phrases and then searches for them and their near-equivalents in a text. Rather, it quickly becomes apparent that despite the contiguity in meaning, the manifestation of constraint can take a very wide range of surface forms. An analysis of constraint is ultimately an analysis of asymmetry. Therefore, in order to identify constraints the researcher must keep in mind the following question:

Q) Is someone partially or wholly restricted from doing, being, having, or wanting something?

Once the researcher has a list of candidate constraints, they should then break these down into the three components of any constraint: the constrainer, the constrainee, and the constraint.

The Constrainee

This is the person, or group, who is restricted from doing, being, having, or wanting something.

The Constraint

The constraint comprises the norm, rule, law, resource, preference (etc.) that is the source of the restriction in doing, being, having or wanting.

The Constrainer

This represents the entity, feelings, person, people or institution (etc.) which is responsible for the constraint. The constrainer may be elided, for example in passive constructions.

In order to illustrate these three components in practice, consider the following example which is taken from the corpus (the ‘constraint’ is highlighted in bold):

Gay people may be **discriminated against at work or when seeking a job**. [S91]

Here, the **constrainees** are ‘gay people’, the **constraint** is an impeded ability to find or keep a job, and the **constrainers** are work colleagues and those who interview and employ new workers. In addition to the distinction made between Ontological Constraints and Represented Constraints, the researcher must also consider these three facets in the analysis.

Each text is analysed manually for the representation of constraints, based on the criteria listed above. This provides a list of 1,517 constraints, which are then sorted into like categories based on the identity of the **constrainer(s)**. This produced three categories which operate largely along the lines of agency, structure and culture discussed by Sealey (2012). These are discussed starting with the most tangible form of constraint, the personal, followed by those perpetuated by institutions, and then finally the attitudes and behaviours of members of society.

(4.4) Personal Constraints

(4.4.1) Introduction

The most tangible of the constraints identified in the corpus are those to do with the personal failings of young teenagers and others (as the authors of the texts construe them). In this category, it is found that the majority of cases comprised examples where the Constrainer was the same person as the Constrainee. It is interesting to note what young people are represented as being constrained from, as I shall discuss further in the next section.

(4.4.2) Genetic Constraints

The first group of examples in this category detail the supposed genetic constraints faced by teenagers. In terms of what they are being constrained from, heterosexuality is represented as the unrealised ideal. The genetic and biological basis of same-sex sexual attraction is questioned explicitly in an attempt to account for its deviation from the heteronorm of opposite-sex sexual attraction. In short, teenagers are said to be constrained from developing into heterosexuals by 'one of those tricks or quirks of nature' (G59 – full example not shown here) which instead turn them into homosexuals.

4.1	A great deal of research has been carried out in the hope of establishing a cause for this condition, either in **the hormones** which are produced by the ductless glands, or as **the result of heredity**. [M59]
4.2	This suggests two thoughts. One is that if there are **born homosexuals** they are very few indeed... [B62]
4.3	There can be no doubt that scientists will one day understand exactly what produces homosexuality in the **'born homosexuals'**. [W66]
4.4	Another popular belief is that homosexuals have **different kinds of glands or bodies**. [P68]
4.5	Some male homosexuality may be the result of **an insufficient supply of the male hormone androgen** before birth. [K79]
4.6	It does seem likely that there is some **genetic cause** for people being gay. [B98]

Personal Constraints – genetic

On the surface it may not appear that these authors are representing constraint by discussing possible causation. However, it is the fact that the authors are questioning the factors behind homosexuality, but not heterosexuality, which implies a heteronormative ideal. By questioning why something is the case, one leaves open the possibility that it should not be the case at all. This point is discussed in several of the texts in the latter half of the corpus, whereby the earlier texts' (and also society's) preoccupation with selective causation is questioned:

> Writing in 1915, Sigmund Freud, the originator of psychoanalysis, who stressed the importance of infantile sexuality in later development, wrote: 'From the point of view of psycho-analysis the exclusive sexual interest felt by men for women is also a problem that needs elucidating.' So Freud was pointing out that we need to know more not just about what causes homosexuality, but also about what causes heterosexuality! [S01]

Here, the author (Stones) is arguing that if society is concerned to know the workings and origins of human sexuality, then this endeavour should be applied equally rather than selectively. By describing same-sex sexual attraction in terms of cause and effect, one undermines it as abnormal, which further serves to destabilise and delegitimise sexual identities which are not based on the traditional unit of one woman and one man. As Stones points out in the above example, the existence of heterosexuality is rarely questioned, or held up to the same levels of scrutiny that other forms of sexuality have had during this period.

The 29 examples of genetic constraint are largely found in texts published between the 1950s and 1970s, with the number of remaining examples decreasing sharply until they are not mentioned at all by the 2010s.

(4.4.3) Psychosexual Development Constraints

Another recurring theme in the texts from the 1950s to the 1970s is that of homosexuality as a symptom of psychological immaturity, for which there are 177 instances. Many of the texts draw upon the notion that adolescent psychosexual development involves a temporary 'homosexual phase' (what is variously called the 'hero-worship' stage or the 'crush' stage in later texts), through which the teenager grows 'out of' and thus 'into' heterosexuality. The source of the constraint is represented as an arrest of psychological development at this otherwise temporary stage, as we can see in the following examples.

4.7	If a young person learns the facts of sex in a shocking, instead of a natural way... he can **get stuck** at the stage of having friends only of his own sex. This kind of behaviour is known by the name of homosexuality. [C51]
4.8	Normal people who have **attained heterosexuality** fall in love with persons of the opposite sex. It is obvious that otherwise they would not be likely to marry, to fulfil themselves sexually in the way nature intended, and to bring children into the world, which is the purpose for which nature gave us our sexual organs and sexual natures. [S57]
4.9	Since fixation on the mother, and fear of women, are potent factors in **arresting the boy's development** at the homosexual stage... [M59]
4.10	Like other abnormalities, homosexuality is **a fixation or regression** keeping the man in a state of mind more suitable to a child. [H60]
4.11	As a rule these phases pass and **heterosexual adjustment is achieved**. [H60]

4.12	...this is why such individuals, despite any qualities of charm and intelligence, are invariably recognised as **immature**. [C64]
4.13	But it is still true that homosexuality in adulthood represents **an inhibition of normal sexual development**. [H70]
4.14	They may not have any **other psychological difficulties** and function well at work and socially... [K79]

Personal Constraints – psychosexual development

Many of the examples draw upon a common stock of terms for describing homosexuality in this way, for example ‘get stuck’ (4.7), ‘arresting’ (4.9), ‘fixation or regression’ (4.10), ‘immature’ (4.12), ‘inhibition’ (4.13), and ‘difficulties’ (4.14). The choice of words is quite explicit in presenting homosexuality as a hindrance to achieving an end-product of heterosexuality. Thus the Constraint element in all of these examples is an inability to be, or ‘do being’ (Butler 1990), heterosexual.

Conversely, several of the examples utilise verbs denoting success rather than failure to do something. Examples (4.8) and (4.11) both describe heterosexuality as something to be ‘attained’ or ‘achieved’, and therefore implying that anything which deviates from this ideal is sub-standard or a temporary anomaly which needs to be accounted for. This focus on a binary of success and failure in the area of sexuality is also routinely conveyed through a combination of ability modality and negation (see Sealey 2012):

4.15	But if it is prolonged or involves much physical contact and stimulation it may create anxieties and inhibitions that will **prevent** the proper enjoyment of sex in marriage. [B62]
4.16	Homosexuals, whether aware of it or not, are **unable** to have physical relations with the opposite sex because of their deep underlying fears. [C64]
4.17	...seek counselling advice before marrying if there is any suspicion that either the man or woman is **unable** to join fully in affectionate exchanges and draws back at any physical approach. [D66]
4.18	There are only two sexes, and if a boy (or a girl) wants to have a sexual relationship with another person and **cannot** learn to develop them with the opposite sex, he has only one alternative left – one of his own sex. [P68]
4.19	He or she is **unable**, in many cases, to engage in sexual relations with members of the opposite sex. [B70]
4.20	...but to be **unable** to express one's deepest love for another human being in physical union is surely a deprivation. [H70]
4.21	For reasons which are not his or her fault... the homosexual has been **unable** to face the demands and the opportunities of heterosexual encounter. [H70]
4.22	A homosexual is **unable** to experience this kind of sexual love for a person of the opposite sex. [P92]

Personal Constraints – psychosexual development

Many of the examples contain the adjective ‘unable’ in order to flag the presence of a constraint. What is presented as seemingly unattainable for many young people are rather vague and euphemistic noun phrases: ‘the proper enjoyment of sex’ (4.15), ‘physical relations’ (4.16), ‘affectionate exchanges’ (4.17), ‘one’s deepest love’ (4.20), and ‘the demands and the opportunities of heterosexual encounter’ (4.21). These present a rather romantic and idealised view of the traditional heteronormative family unit: a prize or goal with which to aspire to.

As with the genetic constraints, the psychosexual constraints are concentrated between the 1950s and the 1970s, with numbers falling sharply after this period. Only 10 of the 177 examples do not appear in the 50’s, 60’s or 70’s.

(4.4.4) Medical and Psychological Constraints

Following on from the notion that homosexuality represents the *symptom* of psychosexual developmental difficulties, many of the same authors also invest in the idea that non-heterosexuality itself is a medical or psychological malady.

4.23	It is important to remember that homosexuality is not, in any sense, a kind of conduct; it is a word used to describe **a condition**. [P57]
4.24	A psychiatrist may be able to help, but at present his help may be more directed towards enabling **the patient to bear his homosexuality** and **to live a useful life in spite of it**, than to getting rid of it. [B62]
4.25	Most homosexual people do not know why they are homosexual; in fact, it is often difficult for **even the trained psychiatrist to know the definite cause**. [JSB69]
4.26	It is generally agreed today that punishment of the homosexual by jailing him does not **cure his illness** or result in any subsequent change in his behaviour. [JSB69]
4.27	To speak of a healthy, happy homosexual is misleading. In his vocation he may still be creative, just as are many people **who suffer from unremitting diseases of physical or mental form**, but he is **not a healthy, functioning adult**. [M71]
4.28	The only known **cure** for homosexuality is psychiatry. [G71]
4.29	**Treatment** for homosexuality is most successful when it is started at an early age, before the sexual preference is firmly established. [K79]

4.30	This being so, the real issue is learning how to live with or help those facing the homosexual **condition**. [LS85]

Personal Constraints – medical and psychological condition

One constraint which only appears in texts up until the 1970s is that of homosexuality as a psychological or medical condition. These examples draw repeatedly upon medical terminology: cure, illness, condition, treatment, patient, illness, suffer, healthy, diseases, etc. The texts which represent homosexuality as a medical illness do so with a strong degree of certainty: there is little dialogic space left for this to be contested.

(4.4.5) Sexual Constraints

Many authors draw the teenage reader's attention to the constraints non-heterosexuals face in terms of both sexual intercourse and sexual reproduction. The examples to do with sexual reproduction centre around what non-heterosexuals cannot do (i.e. have children biologically), whilst the sexual intercourse constraints are presented less explicitly with a comparative construction which is expressed through a semi-fixed phrase.

4.31	As homosexual couples **cannot biologically have children**, many people see this as a major drawback and sacrifice. [S91]
4.32	Gay couples **can't biologically have children** together, which can be distressing. [B93]
4.33	You **won't** marry or **have children**, and they may have fears about what a same-sex relationship involves as well as fears about you catching a fatal disease. [B98]

Personal Constraints – sexual reproduction

The use of the word 'sacrifice' in example 4.31 is interesting in that it implies that sexuality is a choice, and that having a family and having a same-sex relationship are mutually exclusive. As we can see, when discussing non-heteronormative sexual intercourse, the authors tend to use variations on the same semi-fixed phrase in the context of constraint (see examples 4.37, 4.38 and 4.39 below). This may be represented using the following formula:

as + [conditional] + [pronoun] + BE + {heteronormative yardstick}

The other variations on the phrase (outlined below), which undertake the same semantic work include the examples (4.35) and (4.36):

[verb] + [synonym for 'role'] + of + [opposite sex partner]

or as in the cases of examples (4.40) and (4.41)::

in place of + [normative object of sexual interaction]

4.34	Every human being wants to be a partner in male-female union. Therefore the 'love' of a man for a man or a woman for another woman is **a tragic caricature of** the warm feeling between a man and a woman. [D58]
4.35	In homosexual association one participant feels himself in all respects male but seeks union with another of his own sex who **assumes the role of** the female. [D58]
4.36	If they have been smothered and dominated by too intense a relationship with mother they may find it difficult to **play the part of** a man and love any other woman. [H60]
4.37	It is possible for men to have intercourse together, if one man's anus is used **as though it were a woman's vagina**. [H68]
4.38	A chicken farmer will tell you that if there is one cockerel weaker than the rest it has to be removed from the pen or it will be trodden to death by the others

	seeking sexual relations with it **as if it were a female**. [J69]
4.39	Men also sometimes put the penis in the back passage **as if it were a vagina** and have intercourse this way. [CC79]
4.40	Some gay men also have intercourse by using the back passage or rectum **in place of the vagina**. [H86]
4.41	Girls who are gay may put their fingers or a sex toy inside one another, but they do this because it feels nice, **not in place of a penis**. [S01]

Personal Constraints – love and sexual intercourse

Interestingly, the 1960s and 1970s texts frequently draw attention to the fact that gay men often marry and have children as a way of concealing their sexual orientation. In the 1980s and 1990s texts this focus shifts, so that gay couples are represented as constrained instead by not being able to have children biologically.

‘As if it were’ (4.38; 4.39) and ‘as though it were’ (4.37) present penile-vaginal sex as a heterosexual frame of reference for explanations of gay sex. It construes it as a sexual constraint by comparing anal sex against the heteronormative ideal of penile-vaginal sex.

(4.5) Institutional Constraints

(4.5.1) Introduction

Constraints may be manifested not only at the individual level, but also on a more structural basis. Constraints may be created and perpetuated by the laws, regulations and policies of institutions such as businesses, governments, the courts, and so on.

Non-heterosexuals have faced an enormous amount of institutional regulation and constraint for the majority of the period under scrutiny here. In several of the texts from the 1990s onwards, there are many personal narratives which deal with the experiences of young LGBT people, and the institutional constraints they face as they negotiate their lives on a daily basis. In the following example, the narrator reflects on homophobic discrimination towards her in a hospital, and also at the subsequent funeral service for her partner:

> Sue and I had been partners since we were best friends at school and discovered that we loved each other. We started living together when we were eighteen, and not long after that she contracted leukaemia. She spent weeks in hospital, and the staff treated me so insensitively. She'd put me down as next of kin, but they wouldn't tell me anything when I phoned, they didn't contact me when she took a turn for the worse and it was only because her sister phoned me that I knew she was dying. At her funeral I sat at the back, ignored by her parents, all the time knowing that I'd been the most important person in her life. If I'd been a bloke, I would have been given every sympathy. As it was, I was completely alone.'
>
> (Jill) [B93]

Institutional constraints such as those alluded to in this narrative were far from uncommon for many British LGBT people. As Weeks (2012: 408) notes, in the context of the HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1980s,:

> Same sex partners found themselves by-passed by medical authorities as their lovers fell ill or lay dying. Insurance companies refused cover for same sex couples. Mortgage companies were reluctant to lend without intrusive medical tests. Surviving partners often lost their homes when their partners died, and were denied inheritance rights. In extreme cases they even found themselves excluded from funeral services by legal next of kin.

Perhaps the most well-known and explicit form of constraint faced by those who identify as LGBT are discriminatory laws, or the discriminatory application of certain laws. These are outlined in the next section.

(4.5.2) Legal Constraints

These constraints are based on laws which restrict and shape the daily lives of people. In practice, most of the examples of this kind criticise the unequal application of the law on the grounds of sexuality. However in the earlier texts up to the 1970s, the law is criticised for not punishing homosexuals equally, as lesbians did not feature in the laws prohibiting same-sex sexual intercourse. From the late 1980s onwards, however, the law is criticised for the unequal treatment of people on the grounds of their sexual orientation.

4.42	In our society, homosexuality is **prohibited by law unless** carried out in private between consenting males over twenty-one. [P68]
4.43	Secondly, on the quite practical level, our society **continues to impose legal and social penalties on** homosexuals. [H70]
4.44	A 'homosexual marriage' is supposed to indicate a stable long-term relationship between the two people, but it is **not legally** a marriage. [LS85]
4.45	This law does not apply to the armed forces, where homosexual acts are still **illegal**. [G90]
4.46	This **bans** local authorities from 'intentionally promoting' homosexuality... [G90]
4.47	Laws of public order and decency **can be used against** homosexuals kissing or openly showing affection to each other. [S91]
4.48	Gay men sometimes **have to put up with a lot of harassment from the police**. If they try to chat someone up in a public place they **can be charged with 'importuning'**, and if they kiss or even hold hands with their partner in public

	they **can be charged with gross indecency**. [B93]
4.49	It remains **illegal** in a number of countries and in many states of the USA. [B98]

Institutional Constraints – legal

In many of the examples, the constraints are genericized so that 'the law' is represented as discriminatory. There are more examples of generic unspecified references to 'the law' than there are to individual pieces of legislation which discriminate and constrain LGBT people. This is perhaps unsurprising given the educational nature of the manuals, and the restrictions on space impose by the publishers.

Most of the examples do, however, specify the nature of the legal constraint. This ranges from discriminatory ages of consent based on sexual orientation, to restrictions on public displays of affection or the teaching of same-sex relationships in school curricula (in the earlier texts).

By contrast the later texts attack the legal constraint on *sexual orientations* which are selectively applied (as opposed to the constraint on the *sexes* which are discriminately applied). The basis of constraint here is the uneven application of legal constraints, rather than the constraints themselves. The authors are representing the constraint here as legal discrimination, rather than the legal curfews themselves.

The earlier texts are largely in favour of differing ages of consent, but the later texts draw attention to the discrepancies between the law and reality.

Several of the examples draw attention to the temporality of the legal status of same-sex relationships. Examples include 'continues to impose...', 'still illegal', and 'remains illegal'.

This positions the legal status as in need of explanation when the overall legal and social climate towards homosexuality has become more accepting. By drawing attention to the fact that nothing has changed, the authors are highlighting it as something anomalous, thus implying that the law should perhaps change to rectify this.

(4.5.3) Employment Constraints

Non-heterosexuals are frequently represented as constrained in terms of their employment opportunities and ability to earn money.

4.50	...in the hysteria of the early 1950s in America they equated homosexuality with Communism, and the presumably enlightened Department of State **hounded suspected homosexuals out of their jobs** - or else **dismissed officers** they suspected of unprovable Communist connections on the charge of homosexuality. [D58]
4.51	Homosexuals are still open to blackmail because many government agencies and business organizations regard their deviation from the norm as rendering them **unfit for responsible jobs**. [H70]
4.52	Many find they are **refused jobs**, especially if they want to work with young people as teachers or youth workers, or in 'security' work such as the Armed Forces, the Police or the Civil Service. [H86]
4.53	Many people fear this, which is why **gays will be hounded out of jobs** or even their homes because straights are terrified of 'catching' their sexual preferences. [H86]
4.54	But perhaps because some groups of people tend to be more tolerant of others, many lesbians and homosexuals have doubtless been **attracted to the sort of jobs where they will find fellow workers who will treat them with respect as fellow human beings and not as outcasts**. [C-M88]

4.55	Homosexuals, and even more, bisexuals will be reluctant to take HIV tests lest they expose themselves to the discrimination which is already **costing gay people their jobs and livelihoods**... [G90]
4.56	Gay people may be **discriminated against at work or when seeking a job**. [S91]
4.57	Gays **lose their jobs**, are abused and physically attacked for no other reason than their sexual preference. [B93]

Institutional Constraints – employment

Constructions such as 'costing gay people their jobs' and 'lose their jobs' obscures the agency of those who are forcing gays out of the jobs. The agents of such discrimination – businesses and their owners or managers – are very rarely identified explicitly for criticism for such discrimination. LGBT people are represented as constrained not only when seeking employment, but also constrained in their ability to hold on to their current jobs if their sexuality becomes public knowledge. In the earlier examples, employment constraints are considered unfair even by those espousing otherwise homophobic views.

Example 4.54 is interesting as it is a reaction to a stereotype of gays and lesbians only working in certain professions – this example shows the structural constraints inherent in these people's lives. Here the focus is on the only available jobs which do not discriminate based on sexual orientation, with the constraint itself backgrounded. This is achieved by repeated use of the passive construction so that those doing the discriminating are obscured. The choice of verb used by authors to describe employment constraints include 'hounded (out of)', 'costing', 'refusing' and so on, suggesting a negative evaluation of those who are responsible for implementing or causing the constraint.

(4.5.4) Segregation of the Sexes as Constraints

The next section comprises examples whereby people's sexualities are constrained by the lack of opportunity to socialise with, or have access to, the opposite sex:

4.58	...are usually passing phases, as are the homosexual activities of men who are **forced to live without women** for years on end. [H60]
4.59	Girls and boys may be **introduced to homosexual acts at school, especially at boarding-school.** [R60]
4.60	...but if **boys are kept apart from girls**, as for instance in a boys' boarding school, the homosexual stage tends to be prolonged... [B62]
4.61	Many men will behave homosexually **when in an all-man community**, like a prison, and return to a heterosexual life when released. [B66]
4.62	But if, for example, **he happens to be at a boarding school when his sexual instincts are beginning to awaken and demand an outlet**, the element of 'forbidden-ness' in sex-play with other boys may excite him as much as the 'forbidden-ness' of a girl excites the average male. [W66]
4.63	...but the way to homosexuality is much more open to him and he may adopt such behaviour simply because **no other way is available**. [P68]
4.64	...while a male prisoner may behave homosexually only when **denied access to women**. [G90]
4.65	Mr Rogers said that if you were in a boys-only, or girls-only, school, the sex drive was so strong that if you **didn't have someone of the opposite sex to experiment with**, then it might easily lead to doing something with someone

	of your own sex. [MM96]

Institutional Constraints – segregation of the sexes

The vast majority of the segregation constraints comprise educational and penal contexts. Other forms of institutionalised segregation include military and naval contexts. The segregation of the sexes is presented as a hardship, more specifically as a constraint from being, or indeed ‘do being’, heterosexual (Butler 1990).

Several of the examples (4.61, 4.63, 4.64, 4.65) present homosexuality as a temporary arrangement whilst young people are isolated from the opposite sex. It is implied that sexual experimentation with the opposite sex is the ultimate goal with which to aspire to.

Some of these examples draw upon a notion of a male sex urge which is represented as needing to run its course. This presents homosexuality as a temporary arrangement whilst in segregated institutions like boarding school or prison. In example 4.64, same-sex sexual activity is referred to using the adverb ‘homosexually’, something which is relatively rare. By describing such activity in terms of *how* it is done, rather than *what* is done, the author reinforces the idea that same-sex sexual activity is a temporary phase whilst access to the opposite sex is prohibited. Homosexuality is thus stripped of its status as an authentic sexual identity: it is construed as a form of behaviour, rather than a legitimate sexual identity.

These examples naturalise a process whereby the growing adolescent becomes sexually aware and demands an outlet for such sexual feelings in the form of the opposite sex. By artificially separating the two sexes, the drive of the male sexual urge is represented as seeking temporary and necessary outlets in the form of male companions. This gives credence to the idea that the male sexual urge is a force of nature, something which has, by means of necessity, to run its course. Queer theorists and feminist scholars alike have criticised this traditional conception of male sexual activity on the grounds that it validates instances of sexual violence towards women and other men (see Mills 2008).

Boarding schools in particular are often represented as merely replacing one risk (girls and boys experimenting sexually) with another (boys experimenting with each other; girls experimenting with each other). The reasoning behind segregating the sexes in educational contexts is, in part, to circumvent opportunities for sexual congress (and pregnancy) between the sexes. The authors of these manuals, however, argue that by denying (almost always) young men from sexual activity and experience with young women, educators are effectively institutionalising homosexuality by confining together groups of sexually experimenting young men. Constructions like 'didn't have someone of the opposite sex to experiment with', 'denied access to women' and 'forced to live without women' serve to objectify women as a tool, or even as a commodity, which men use to fulfil their sexual urges. The lack of access to the opposite sex is thus represented as a hardship, and implicitly suggests that the male sexual urge is stronger than the female sexual urge.

The choice of the phrase 'behave homosexually' undermines homosexuality status as an authentic sexual identity on the grounds that it constitutes transient actions rather than a relatively fixed and stable identity. In example 4.64, 'the male prisoner' is assumed to be heterosexual by default, given that homosexuality is presented as a temporary form of behaviour caused by segregation from the opposite sex. In fact in almost all of the examples there is an assumption that everyone is 'really' or 'essentially' heterosexual, and that same-sex sexual activity constitutes a misguided but understandable venting of the male sexual urge in the absence of female companions. Such assumptions work on the premise of female passivity and essentialist discourses of heterosexuality.

(4.6) Social Constraints

(4.6.1) Introduction

The third and final category of constraints identified in the corpus is based on the attitudes and behaviour of other members as society as the Constrainers.

(4.6.2) Attitudes and Behavioural Constraints

In this section I outline the represented constraints which take as their focus the negative attitudes and behaviours of others.

In the broadest terms, our society shows approval for sexual relationships which lead to marriage and the reproduction of the traditional family unit. Therefore a woman who is too old to have children **is disapproved of** if she enters into a relationship with a young man, whereas an older man who marries a young woman is tolerated. Relationships outside marriage and homosexual relationships are also **seen as a threat** to this ideal family unit and are therefore **taboo**. [C77]

In several of the texts in the corpus, there are acknowledgements of the difficulties people face if they do not adhere to the expectations of others, as seen through the following passive constructions which obscure the role of the constrainer:

4.66	They may seem **condemned by** relations, friends, church or society. [LS85]
4.67	In our culture, love and sex are **seen as wrong and wicked unless** they lead to the logical end – pregnancy and a baby. [H86]
4.68	**The taboo** against homosexuality is really the old 'sex equals reproduction' idea in disguise... [W86]
4.69	Traditionally, being homosexual has **isolated** people from the mainstream of society. [S91]
4.70	**The long list of derogatory terms given to homosexuals of both sexes** gives no indication of how people are in reality. [B93]
4.71	What makes homosexuality a problem is the **fear, ignorance, prejudice and discrimination** still surrounding gay and lesbian people in some parts of our society. [S01]
4.72	Lesbians and gay men face **discrimination** in their lives, from being **denied privileges** that straight people get automatically, to **being called hurtful names or beaten up** - all because of who they're attracted to. [R05]
4.73	There was a lot of **verbal abuse**. People called me '**queer boy'**, and said, '**Don't come near me'**. A chant went around, '**Put your bums on the ground when Joe's around**'. I felt I wasn't human in their eyes. [N08]

Social Constraints – attitudes and behaviour

An important point to note about this constraint is that there are a large number of derogatory slang terms to refer to non-heterosexuals, yet few which are specifically aimed at those who favour opposite-sex attraction.

The difference between these constraints and those in the Institutional category are that these constraints are attributable to society more generally, and to the behaviour and attitudes of ordinary people in day-to-day encounters and situations. Bullying in school is a prime example of discrimination as a form of constraint, which, even though it occurs in an institutional setting (a school), cannot be attributed to that institution. Of course, as Sauntson (2013) argues, school policies and the content of lessons may contribute to the maintenance of such discrimination, or the implicit silencing of alternatives.

Social constraints are almost always critiqued by the writers of these manuals. Regardless of when the manual was published, each author presents themselves as a balanced and informed authority on societal prejudices and attitudes. This is perhaps a strategy of adopting credibility not only as an author, but also an expert in the field of sexuality and sexual health.

There are also many examples which contain dynamic modality to convey the constraints imposed by society upon those who self-define as non-heterosexual:

4.74	Recent cases have shown that a homosexual may be a security risk, and certain nations have employed photographers to collect evidence which has been used to blackmail him into spying. This is only a particular example of **the insecure position** which men with such tendencies **have to face** in our society. [J69]
4.75	There is the chronic fear of discovery under circumstances that may mean loss of livelihood and reputation, the risk of blackmail, and especially the risk of **having to lead a permanently driven, chaotic, unhappy, and lonely life**. [G71]
4.76	Even worse, many gays are bullied and beaten up and almost **have to accept this as a part of life**. [H86]
4.77	Whatever the reason, lesbians and gays still **have to put up with a lot of hassle in this country**. [S91]
4.78	One of the worst aspects of being gay is **having to keep it a secret and live a lie**. [B93]
4.79	However, the advantages of telling your parents and not **having to keep a very important part of your life secret** are enormous. [FW94]
4.80	**Concealing your sexual orientation and your feelings about it** is a very frustrating, lonely and frightening thing **to have to do**. [S01]
4.81	I told a few close friends but then one told about me publicly and I felt dreadfully betrayed. I decided I **must deal with being gay alone**. [N08]

Social Constraints – attitudes and behaviour

It is perhaps telling that many of the social constraints with which young LGBT people are represented as experiencing are oriented towards situations in which the individual is *obliged* to experience discrimination. The use of the modal verbs *have to* and *must* here is dynamic, by which is meant ‘what is possible or necessary in the circumstances’ (Palmer 1990: 36).

These examples, and many others not shown here for reasons of space, reflect on the necessity of concealing one’s sexuality from other people – of being ‘in the closet’. Other examples comment upon the necessity of dealing with homophobic abuse and attitudes. Earlier examples tend to focus upon the precarious lives which gay men had before the partial decriminalization of male homosexuality in 1967. Finally, one of the goals of analysing representations of constraint is to ask why this is a constraint, and how it can be changed so that it is no longer a constraint.

(4.6.3) Adherence to Social Norms as Constraint

Examples in this category comprise constraints based around the unwritten rules of social norms, and how flouting of those norms can lead to difficulties:

4.82	For those who are **unable, or do not want, to conform to a heterosexual pattern**, life can be hard. [C77]
4.83	Most people are capable of very strong feelings for members of their own sex as well as for members of the opposite sex but **tend to conform to a heterosexual pattern by repressing or denying the other parts of the sexuality**. [C77]
4.84	And there are **particularly strong pressures to conform** when it comes to sexual identity. [S91]
4.85	There is a great deal of **pressure** on all of us **to conform to these stereotypes**. But **the strongest pressure** of all is not to do with the way we look, but with regard to our sexuality. [B93]
4.86	Because we live in a predominantly heterosexual society, the **pressure** exists for people **to conform**. [F94]
4.87	...but other factors have made it difficult to come out. These include **pressure** from family members to marry and have children and **conform to traditional roles for women**. [DL96]
4.88	Due to **pressures to conform to traditional gender roles**, coming to terms with being transgendered can be a long and difficult journey. [P03]

4.89	Heterosexuality is **the norm** and our social structures favour and encourage this. [H04]

Social Constraints – adherence to social norms

We must also look at why this is being represented as a constraint: in other words, what are we being constrained from doing, or being, or having? In the case of these examples, people are represented as being constrained from being accepted and treated equally by others, with 'others' being taken to mean as 'society'. Throughout the corpus many authors use the phrase 'pressure... to conform' (or some variation of it) to indicate an expected adherence to received social and sexual norms. Many of the authors use this to empathise with LGBT people (e.g. 4.82, 4.88, and others not shown here). Whilst it is admirable that these pressures are explicitly alluded to, rather than erased, authors only rarely explain who or what is applying this pressure. Whilst in many cases 'society' is implied, the agency of such discrimination is very much obscured.

Also, to what are young people pressured into conforming? 'A heterosexual pattern' (4.82, 4.83), 'stereotypes' (4.85), 'traditional roles for women' (4.87), and 'traditional gender roles' (4.88). Interestingly, constraint is very often individualized in this category, thus obscuring the structures and agency of the society which imposes these constraints on young people:

4.90	Many homosexuals **feel guilty** about their own feelings or about relationships they may form with their own sex. [LS85]
4.91	Persecution, **loneliness**, and **self-doubt** can make life difficult for some homosexuals... [S87]
4.92	You may find that you feel differently later on, and even if you do not, you should not **feel guilty** about being the way you are. [MS87]
4.93	Some **get to feel so hung up** about their homosexuality that they marry non-gays in the hope that this will somehow 'cure' them. [C-M88]
4.94	Because society treats heterosexuality as the norm, young people who are homosexual often **feel particularly isolated**. [FW94]
4.95	If your parents try to make you **feel guilty** for coming out in the first place, try and remain strong and positive about yourself. You are not responsible for their broken expectations, or **feelings of guilt or shame**. [W98]
4.96	This can cause you a lot of secret **anxiety** – particularly if you hear other boys make crude jokes about homosexuality or use the term gay as a form of abuse. [KSJ02]
4.97	Trust your instincts and **don't be ashamed** of who you are. [C04]

Social Constraints – Internalized shame

Interestingly, the lemma 'guilt' only appears in the pre-1980s texts, and is replaced in subsequent decades by the lemma 'anxiety', terms which are certainly not synonymous The former conveys a sense of wrongdoing, for instance.

These constraints are related to those in the social constraint category, but here the focus is on the emotions and feelings of those being discriminated against, rather than those who are doing the discriminating. If one questions why LGBT people feel isolated, or ashamed, or anxious, one must look to the society in which they live, and the attitudes and norms prevalent there.

(4.7) Discussion

As we can see, the chapters and sections on sexuality in these manuals discuss a wide variety of constraints. Primarily they discuss constraints in relation to young LGBT people, but also take into consideration young heterosexuals and to some extent society more generally. This is perhaps unsurprising given the target demographic of these texts, however constraints often also bear traces of those who are responsible for such constraint, whether directly or indirectly. Analysing these texts through a lens of constraint allows the researcher to highlight the potentially unwarranted presuppositions and assumptions that authors sometimes make, and which often contain implicit orientations to social and sexual norms. These constraints do not necessarily reflect an ontological reality: indeed few people would argue credibly today that people experience same-sex attraction as the result of poor upbringing (e.g. see the overviews provided in Baker 2005; Baker 2009). Rather they reflect the preoccupations of these authors with adhering to, or questioning, the dominant social and sexual norms in society. The analysis of constraint is of particular value to Queer Linguistic research given that it often takes as its basis normative values and viewpoints, whether they are realized through established legal practices, educational institutions, widespread discourses, and so on.

Once we have identified constraints, and highlighted their provisional and contingent nature, what then? Constraints may be used both to problematize, and challenge, sexual identities (and other identities), and it is a useful point of departure that we should begin by not only deconstructing identities, but also the constraints upon which they are represented as being shaped. Indeed notions of inferiority are often ‘built into’ the representations of contested identities through references to lack or inability, so that such inferiority appears to be natural and beyond reproach. An example of this in the area of sexuality concerns arguments in these texts about ‘bodies not fitting’ (a reference to same-sex sexual activity).

The increasing visibility of same-sex relationships and same-sex sexual behaviour in the mid-20th century, has contributed to the undermining of the rigid gender and sex roles upon which many British institutions are based. One way in which normativities are preserved, or attempted to preserve, is to circumvent the challenge to hegemonic heterosexual masculinity by pathologizing and trivializing feelings and relationships which do not fit the normative mould. Hegemonic masculinity and heterosexuality is thus preserved as the ideal, the goal with which to aspire to, whilst alternatives are delegitimised as inferior, lacking, or works in progress. Constraint is therefore useful as a tool for highlighting the oppression and discrimination of individuals who adhere to non-dominant sexual norms (e.g. same-sex attraction), whether in the critique of a contested identity of the ‘mentally or physically ill’ homosexual, or by drawing attention to how institutions perpetuate discriminatory practices, laws, policies, and so on at the expense of swathes of the population.

Also, by highlighting *changing* representations of constraint (and those which remain the same over time), we are able to identify how constraints are utilized to make different points or arguments, the form those constraints take, and the changing orientations to the social and sexual norms which are ‘packaged into’ the logic of such constraints. An analysis of constraint reveals the often complex interplays between the different elements of the social world: structure, agency and culture (Sealey 2012: 208). The social and sexual norms alluded to in many of the constraints comprise one aspect of the ‘culture’ element, with this being manifested in the cultural resource of discourse. As Sealey (2012: 208) notes, ‘one means of contributing to the goals of CDA... is to develop analytical approaches which take account of structure, agency and culture – and the interplay between them'. An analysis of constraint does just this, and is therefore crucial to linking linguistic representations with the social and cultural forces operating behind them.

(4.8) Summary of Findings

In this section I outline the overall findings of the constraint analysis. The figure below (fig. 3) summarizes the breakdown of the 1,496 personal, institutional and social constraints identified within the corpus. Constraints are identified based on an iterative manual analysis of the texts, focussing initially upon negation (e.g. *couldn't* do something) and expressions of difficulty (e.g. found it *hard* to do something). Subsequent rounds of analysis identified other strategies for representing constraint, including the dialogic invocation of opposites (e.g. specifying that someone is *able* to do something, invokes the fact that others are *unable*), and expressions of unrealized desire through dynamic modal verbs (e.g. *want* to do something). This is sometimes a tricky analysis to perform, given that the intentions of the author are not always clear, and the researcher may sometimes read constraint where none is otherwise expressed or implied. This is, however, a criticism of all forms of critical discourse analysis (Widdowson 2004), and in cases where the validity of the constraint was in question these have been removed from the final tally of results. The 1,496 examples detailed in the two figures below all explicitly express, or strongly imply from the context of the sentence, some form of constraint, and exclude representations of constraint which are attributed to other people (the words and views of others are dealt with in the attribution analysis section of the thesis). One final point to note is that the frequencies are not wholly comparable across decades, only within them, given that there are different numbers of texts within each decade grouping.

Fig. 3 – Number of Representations of Constraint in the Corpus

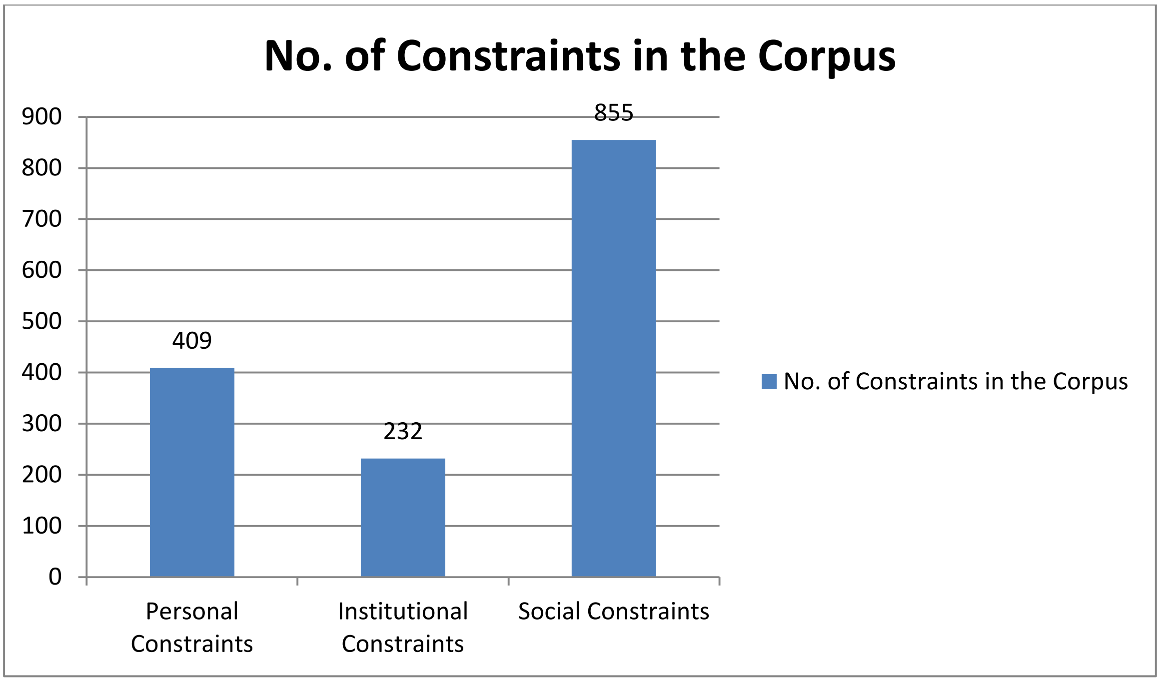
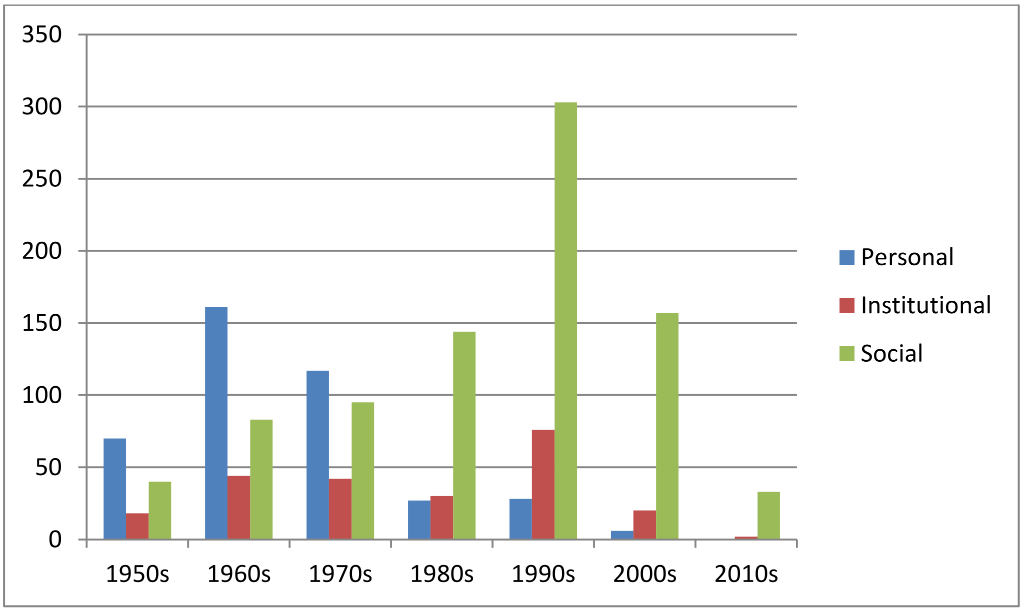


Fig. 4 – Distribution of Constraint Types by Decade



(4.8.1) Personal Constraints

Personal constraints deal with shortcomings which are inherent to the individual, based on factors such as genetics, personality, and physiology. They comprise 409 of the 1,496 constraints (i.e. 27.33%) and are predominantly found in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. It is interesting to observe that in relative terms, the first three decades of the corpus see the personal as the most common form of represented constraint, whilst the remaining four decades see it as the least common. This suggests quite a dramatic shift in representations of constrained sexuality in relation to the self. As I have demonstrated in the analysis section, the authors from the first three decades largely draw upon the notion of one's inherent or inner *hetero*sexuality being constrained by complicating factors such as birth defects, faulty genetics, or emotional trauma. Indeed almost all of the personal constraints based on genetics or psychology in the corpus appear in texts from the 1960s and 1970s: only 6 out of the 131 examples in this particular sub-set do not. Here the constraint is an inability to orient to heteronormative forms of sexuality and sexual identity. In other words, illness (whether biological or psychological) and arrested psychological development are held up as ways in which one's presumed desire for female-male relationships is frustrated or precluded entirely. The invocation of this constraint, for the purpose of maintaining heteronormativity by providing explanations for those people who are not heterosexual, is part of a homophobic discourse which is particularly common in texts published in the years leading up to, and following, the partial decriminalization of homosexuality in the UK in 1967. To say that this discourse is a relic of the 1960s and 1970s, however, would be incorrect. The occasional re-emergence of this constraint in texts spanning the 1980s through to the early 2000s highlights that while this discourse is still in circulation, albeit reproduced by outlying individual authors or texts, it now reflects a minority view within this latter section of the corpus.

(4.8.2) Institutional Constraints

Institutional constraints are the least commented upon in the texts, with only 232 examples out of 1,496 (15.5%). They deal with the structures which may constrain us at particular points in our lives, such as schools, prisons, courts, and so on. The constraints identified here are almost always to do with the legal restrictions and penalties applied to same-sex activity, for example with discriminatory ages of consent (21, then 18 for homosexuals; 16 for heterosexuals), discriminatory education legislation (e.g. Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988) and discriminatory laws pertaining to social conduct (e.g. same-sex public affection such as kissing or holding hands penalized on grounds of flouting public order and decency, whereas opposite-sex affection is not). There are also several references to discrepancies in job opportunities, where non-heterosexuals are actively excluded from certain lines of work (e.g. teaching, law enforcement) based on their sexuality.

Interestingly, there appear to be two main types of institutional constraints. The first resembles the preoccupation with heteronormativity displayed in the representation of physical constraints. Here, the possibility of heterosexual activity is precluded by an institutionalized segregation of males and females through single-sex boarding schools, prisons, etc. This type of constraint is a restraint of one’s ability to *be* heteronormative, and is found almost exclusively in the 1960s and early 1970s. The second type represents the legal and professional restrictions mentioned above. Here the underlying goal has changed, with the focus now being on achieving acceptance and equal rights for people regardless of their sexuality. In short, the constraint comprises an inability to be accepted and treated as normal, and is found predominately in texts between the mid-1980s and the 2000s. That said, one must be careful not to treat the two types as an either/or binary, with clearly delineated time periods representing each. Rather there appears to be a degree of overlap in the 1970s and early 1980s where both types are present, sometimes in the same text. These are interesting cases, given that they acknowledge the discriminatory bias present in the laws on sexual and social behaviour, whilst maintaining heterosexuality as *the* ideal social and sexual behaviour with which to aspire.

A final point to mention here is that for much of the time span, institutional constraints (on both heteronormativity and normativity more generally) are not commented upon, and are thus largely invisible to the teenage reader. The likely effect of this is to present non-heterosexuality as an individual problem, rather than one which is to a large extent reflective of larger structural inequalities. For example, it takes until the mid-1980s for a discussion of legal biases against same-sex activity and the discrimination of non-heterosexuals to appear. For texts which are written to help and inform young people about upcoming aspects of their development and life more generally, this could pose a serious problem if they know, or suspect that they know, that they are attracted to people of the same sex.

(4.8.3) Social Constraints

Social constraints comprise the largest grouping within the corpus, totalling 855 out of 1,496 examples (57.15%). These constraints mirror the preoccupations of the institutional constraints in that the texts from the 1960s and 1970s (but also parts of the 1950s, 1980s and 1990s) are concerned with how heterosexuality is precluded. Represented ways in which this happens include the misguided but largely well-meaning attitudes of parents, and of society more generally, towards behaviour which is not traditionally considered as heteronormative. These same constraints are later invoked to describe how equality and perceptions of normality are hindered by the homophobic attitudes of others. Again, the distinction between the 1960s and 1970s as one 'core' period is contrasted with a second 'core' period of the mid-1980s to mid-2000s. Many of the constraints represented in the first core period are no longer represented as such in the latter. An example of this is that a homosexual relationship would preclude one's ability to have a long-term relationship, marry, have children, etc. The latter desire (to have children) is represented as a constraint for much of the time span covered by the corpus given that adoption of children was not a possibility for same-sex couples in the UK until the Adoption and Children Act 2002. There is also the assumption in the earlier period that 'to have a family' or to 'have children' necessarily entails a biological process, something which not only serves to 'other' same-sex couples, but also opposite-sex couples who are infertile and couples who do not want sex (asexuals).

(4.9) Section Summary

'The history of sexuality is a history of regulation,' Weeks writes, '...but it has also been a history of many forms of resistance and agency' (2012: 415). In this section I have outlined how such regulation is maintained and reproduced within these sex education texts. I also outline a method for the identification and analysis of constraint, based on a tri-partite model of agency, structure and culture first discussed by Sealey (2012). By focusing on constraint, the researcher is often rewarded with views of discourse which reflect the complex interplays between the three elements of the social world. Thus a young teenage girl's feelings of shame and anxiety at her sexual or emotional feelings for another girl should look beyond the fact that she feels these things, but at the social context which makes these feelings both possible and probable. Taking Layder's approach to Social Domains as a basis, one can formulate a model where constraint operates at conflicting intersections between two or more social domains: in the case of the above, between the psychobiographical (attractions to someone of the same sex) and the contextual resources (the heteronorms of British society, and the discriminatory legal and employment policies).

Constraint is also one important way of accessing how people orient to sexual norms, given that normativities are oftentimes prescriptively prescribed by their adherents. As Motschenbacher argues, 'normativities certainly do not just regulate gender and sexuality, but also other types of identities and behaviours' (2014: 66). The next step is to investigate how this regulation is achieved, and the forms it takes. One answer to this is through the repeated representation of constraint in public discourses. Norms are reflected through representations of what people are lacking, or through representations of how they are being impinged upon. Early representations of constraint were constructed on the basis of an ideal sexual young citizen, or rather *non*-sexual young citizen. All teenage boys and girls were intrinsically heterosexual, but through some ‘tricks or quirks of nature’ brought into disrepute by engaging in same-sex activity. Later representations of constraint were overwhelmingly to do with addressing how young people are impinged upon by rules and policies which have questionable legitimacy and perhaps do not fully reflect the reality of everyday life for these teenagers.

(5) Analysis 3: Attributions

(5.1) Introduction

In this section I investigate the presence and role(s) of attribution within the corpus. I draw upon work undertaken in the sub-discipline of evaluation studies in order to account for patterns and alignments between the authors of the texts and the adolescent readers. The chapter is structured firstly to give account to the previous literature on attribution and averral, before moving onto the notion of ‘stance’. Different forms of attribution are discussed, before then analysing how attributions are made within the SexEd corpus.

(5.2) Representing Words and Thoughts

When conveying words and thoughts one must decide whether to retain responsibility for them or to delegate them to another source.

(5.2.1) Averral

Averral is defined as any proposition made by a speaker or writer which does not represent the words of others (Hunston 2000: 178). By default, all language is averred unless it is modified in some way to represent the words and thoughts of others . The present section investigates attributions only, given that the other analysis sections deal with the averred representations and evaluations of the textbook authors themselves.

(5.2.2) Attribution

Attributions may be defined as speech, thought or writing which is derived from someone other than the author/writer/speaker (Hunston 2000: 178). Indeed, 'if a speaker reports an event, he or she as the person reporting avers only the fact of the report; responsibility for its contents is assigned to the person who is reported' (Sinclair 2004: 105).

The most basic attributions have three facets: The Proposition, The Source (of the proposition), and The Averrer (i.e. the author of the text). Given that each attribution is also an averral (Hunston 2000: 179; see also Sinclair 1986), responsibility for repeating the words of others ultimately belongs to the author. We may conceptualize these facets of attributions as follows:

Fig. 6 – Components of an Attribution

The Averrer ---------------> The Source ---------------> The Proposition

In other words, the proposition is averred by the source. And the fact that the proposition is averred by the source is also something which is averred by the averrer (author). In order to illustrate this, consider the following example taken from the corpus:

Some people **think** a person is born gay due to the genes he or she inherits. [B98]

In this example, we have a proposition ('a person is born gay due to the genes he or she inherits') which is attributed to a somewhat vague source ('some people'). The author attributes these thoughts in a way which neither adopts nor deflects shared responsibility for the validity of the claim: its role is to ensure the impartiality of the author whilst reproducing one side of a debate. The Figure below outlines the various layers present within this attribution:

Fig. 3 – Layering within an Attribution

The Averrer	**The Source**	**The Proposition**
(The author avers that)	Some people think	a person is born gay due to the genes he or she inherits.

(5.2.3) Embedded Attribution

Embedded attributions are a little more complex given that they contain more than one source. For the sake of comprehension, examples reproduced here which contain more than one attribution, like embedded attributions, are coded differentially. The attribution under discussion will be highlighted in bold, and any other (levels of) attribution are underlined. Consider the following example:

Female homosexuals tend to report a relationship with their father which was hostile and rejecting on the part of the latter ... **(Philip Feldman and Malcolm MacCulloch, *Human Sexual Behaviour*, 1980.)** [G90]

Here we have three layers of attribution (four, if we count my own averring of the attribution) which each aver an increasingly complex set of propositions. The proposition itself is ultimately attributed as the indirectly reported words of the 'female homosexuals'. However, responsibility for reporting this attribution is given to the book authored by 'Philip Feldman and Malcolm MacCulloch'. The final layer comprises the author of the sex education manual averring the words and attribution of the book's authors. As with the previous example, we may break this attribution down into its composite elements:

Fig. 4 – Layering within an Embedded Attribution

The Averrer	**Primary Source**	**Secondary Source**	**The Proposition**
(The author – Liz Grist – avers that)	(Philip Feldman and Malcolm MacCulloch aver that)	female homosexuals tend to report	[having] a relationship with their father which was hostile and rejecting...

As we may observe, there are several vantage points at which evaluation of the words and source(s) may operate on those further down the chain. Feldman and MacCulloch choose the relatively neutral verb 'report' to convey the words of the female homosexuals, which is then pre-modified by the high probability modal phrase 'tend to'. The effect of this is to render the female homosexuals' words truthful and likely, with the authors adopting responsibility for the veracity of the claim. The overarching attribution of Feldman and MacCulloch is merely an acknowledgement however, as the averrer (the author of the textbook, Liz Grist) merely re-presents their words in the form of an extended non-integral citation. As Thompson (2012: 122) notes, non-integral citations are attributions which place emphasis on the proposition by placing the source of the attribution within parentheses separately at the end. This is one way in which the authors of the sex education textbooks introduce different sides to debates around sexuality, where the exact identity of those espousing the views is secondary to the pedagogic value of the argument being expressed.

(5.3) Forms of Attribution

How a speaker or writer chooses to invoke the voices of others may take many linguistic forms. Below I consider some of the numerous ways attribution is realized and outline illustrative examples where appropriate.

(5.3.1) Reporting Verbs

Perhaps the most prototypical way of representing words and thoughts is to employ what Halliday terms 'projection'. This comprises a verbal or mental clause, plus a quote of the verbal or mental act (Halliday 2014: 547), and may be realized using direct or indirect quotation. Prototypically, verbs used to convey speech include 'say', 'claim', 'report', and so on, whilst the verbs used to represent thoughts include 'think', 'wonder' etc.

(5.3.1.1) Direct Quotation

Direct quotations comprise attributions where the words or thoughts of another are represented verbatim, complete with quotation marks.

(5.3.1.2) Indirect Quotation

Indirect quotations cover attributions where the words and thoughts of another are paraphrased, and are therefore not an exact record of the original verbal or mental act.

(5.3.2) Scare Quotes

Sometimes the words of others are reported when it is not immediately clear who these sources are. In the SexEd Corpus this usually occurs when an author wishes to introduce a term which is in common usage, or to distance herself from a term used questionably by others. The attribution given below represents an example of the former, whereby the scare quotes function to introduce 'dating' as a term which is in common parlance but which the author appears to resist adopting.

> Gangs break up as individual members become less gregarious in their habits. Boy and girl begin to chum up. Dancing and **'dating'** become the new interests. [C52]

This tactic of using scare quotes to convey words which aren't owned by anyone in particular was also noticed by Verschueren (2012) in his study of early nineteenth century history textbooks for school children. As he notes, the use of direct quotation attributed to undisclosed sources serves to 'underscore the factuality of the told communicative events' (2012: 112). It should also be said that the tactical use of italics serves as another variant of the scare quotes, and performs the same attributing function pointing to general usage of a term.

One final point to note is that the evaluative context in which the scare quotes appear must be taken into consideration when assessing the degree of alignment between the author and those responsible for the quote. Scare quotes may realize positively evaluated terms, negatively evaluated terms, or terms which bear little or no evaluation at all. Examples of each are discussed in the analysis section.

(5.3.3) Stance Adverbs

Attributions may also be invoked through the use of stance adverbials such as *allegedly*, *apparently*, *reportedly*, *purportedly*, and so on. These adverbs dialogically invoke antecedent voices by referencing a speech act without explicitly identifying the source. Due to the absence of stance adverbs which function dialogically as attributions within the corpus, I illustrate the point with an example drawn from a brief Google news search with the term 'allegedly':

Sydney man **allegedly** threatened two TV reporters while awaiting sentencing for stand-over tactics. (Source: www.9news.com.au – accessed 28/08/15)

In this example, the antecedent allegation of a threat to two television reporters is invoked by the use of the adverb 'allegedly'. In isolation of the rest of the text it is unclear exactly who made the original allegation, although we could make an educated guess that the two reporters and/or the Australian police are in fact the sources.

(5.3.4) Negation

Another way in which the words of others are invoked dialogically is via the use of negation. Again, antecedent voices are attributed by explicitly disavowing a proposition. The purpose of contesting what otherwise appears to be an averral is to create distance between the author and the proposition (and by implication the source of the proposition). Consider the example below:

It is **not** congenital, the result of some deformity in the unborn child, like a club foot. It is **not** due to some accident at birth, like a flattened head. [D58]

In the example, the 'it' in question refers to homosexuality. The author actively contests the propositions that homosexuality is first congenital, and second due to an accident at birth. By disavowing herself of responsibility for these averrals, the author effectively attributes them as the words of others. Indeed, it would seem curious for the author to outline and then contest a series of propositions if they were not in response to the attributions of other people.

It should also be pointed out that not all negations constitute attributions. Tentatively we may argue that it is a property exclusive to attributions containing negated characterizing or identifying relational processes. As Halliday reminds us, relational processes 'serve to characterize and identify' and are frequently realized by a copular verb (2014: 259). The two phrases (or clauses) in 'Identifying' relational processes may be switched and the overall meaning is preserved: e.g. *The monarch is Elizabeth II* may be switched to *Elizabeth II is the monarch*. In 'Characterizing' relational processes, however, this switch cannot occur without losing grammatical and semantic consistency: e.g. *The Queen is old* cannot then be reversed to state *Old is the Queen*. It is with these processes which, when negated, suggests the author is contesting the characterization or identification given by an antecedent voice.

(5.3.5) Concessions

These attributions comprise examples where the author concedes a point or argument belonging to an antecedent voice. As Hunston states, 'I also treat some concessions as a type of attribution, because they are treated by the writer as if they had been uttered by a debating partner. They are, however, an attribution without an attributee: the debating partner is unnamed and silent' (2000: 179). Consider the following example:

When they are forced to wash behind their ears and plaster down their hair and go to a party with girls, the two sexes promptly separate and go their own ways. The only attention they give to the females present takes the form of rude teasing and scaring, pulling hair, throwing cakes or breaking bottles. Their elders **may deplore their bad manners** but they see nothing abnormal about them. It never occurs to adults that their son's tendencies are homosexual. [D58]

In the above example, the averral that boys' elders 'deplore their bad manners' is conceded to an unidentified debater. Hunston identifies a similar example in her 2000 study on evaluation, whereby Sir James' causing of apoplexy is conceded to an antecedent voice:

Sir James **may have caused apoplexy** in the Tory party with his tirades against Eurodoctrine,

but he has not so far moved enough voters for them to register on an opinion poll.

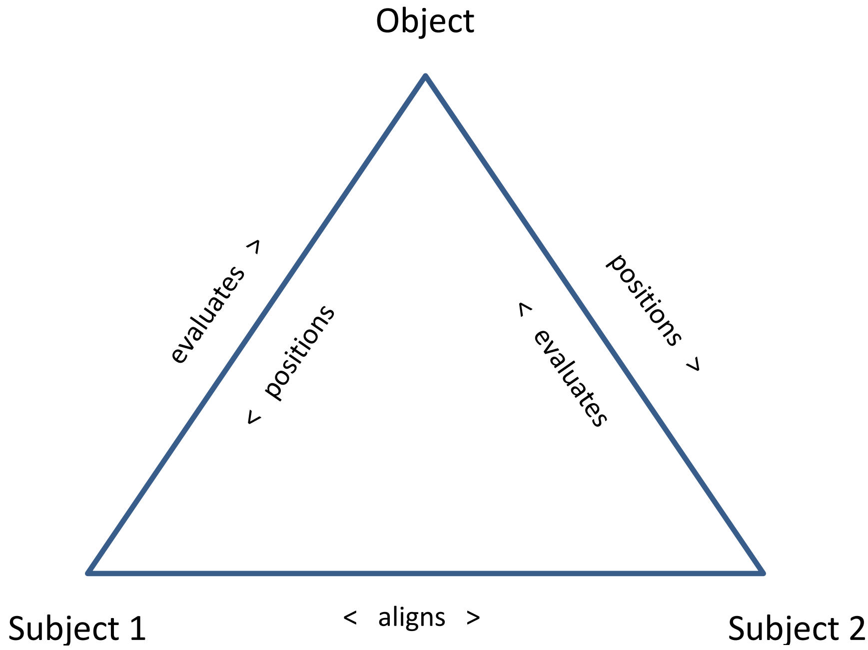
(Source: Hunston (2000: 180))

(5.4) The Significance of Attribution Analysis

Investigating the interplay and diversity of voices within a text is often of particular value to researchers investigating sensitive or contentious topics such as sexuality. Issues such as determining who else gets to speak besides the author, what these other people are represented as saying, and the manner in which their words are reported, all play a role in positioning the reader towards a given issue. Indeed, Martin and White draw attention to the dialogic nature of attributions in their evaluative sub-system of ENGAGEMENT, which comprises 'the linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards to [sic] the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address' (2005: 92).

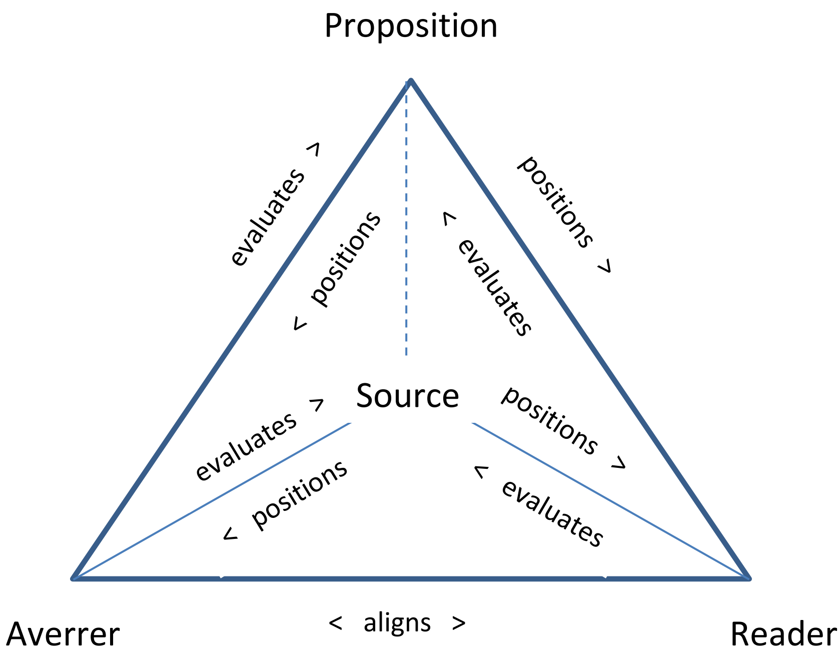
The notion of alignment is an important one for attribution analysis. When a speaker/writer avers and evaluates a proposition, she positions the listener/reader in relation to that proposition. Du Bois (2007: 163) has posited the notion of a "stance triangle" to conceptualize the alignment that occurs between a speaker/writer, their audience, and the proposition being evaluated. By evaluating something as positive, the speaker encourages the interlocutor to also view it as positive and to share an alignment towards it with the speaker. Du Bois conceptual stance triangle is reproduced below to illustrate the point.

Fig. 7 – Du Bois' Stance Triangle - Averrals



The stance triangle is a conceptualization of what happens between a speaker/writer and their audience when they *aver* an evaluation of an object/proposition. It takes for granted that "Subject 1" (i.e. the speaker/writer) is taking full responsibility for the Object or proposition being evaluated. If we want to account for the evaluation and alignment that occurs as part of an *attribution* then we need to modify the stance triangle in order to account for the extra Subject who is the source of the proposition. As we can observe from the figure below, the modified stance triangle takes into account the dual layer of evaluation which occurs when a speaker or writer attributes a proposition. Not only is the *proposition* evaluated in some way for the benefit of the reader, but the *source* of that proposition too.

Fig. 8 – Modified Stance Triangle - Attributions



The modified stance triangle can be used to highlight the layering of evaluation in the attributions, as in the following example.

It may be right to say that some of these are born with homosexual tendencies, but **the opinion is strongly held** among psychiatrists **that** most instances are due to a failure in upbringing [B62]

Here we have a proposition that 'most instances [of homosexuality] are due to a failure in upbringing' which is averred by a high-status, and thus authoritative, source: 'psychiatrists'. Whilst the psychiatrists are only responsible for the averring of an *opinion*, the author Barnes subsequently attributes this in such a way ('is strongly held') so as to present it as all but confirmed, and thus as highly likely. The proposition is evaluated as a subject of consensus, which is realized by the lack of a quantifier pre-modifying the noun ‘psychiatrists’. The purpose of this is to give the proposition higher evaluative capital, as propositions given by ‘psychiatrists’ would carry far more weight than a proposition given by ‘some psychiatrists’. Therefore we may describe the overall effect as an endorsement of a proposition (i.e. homosexuality is a result of a failure in upbringing) which is represented as the result of a consensus of medical opinion among an authoritative group of experts. The status of the proposition as an ‘opinion’ is strengthened to one of virtual fact by the author, thus encouraging the reader to align with the proposition as factual, and the source of that proposition as authoritative and comprehensive.

As I have demonstrated briefly above, attribution analysis can often tease out subtle layers of evaluation around a proposition which are not always immediately apparent. Even where an author and an attributed source are in agreement about the validity of a proposition, there may be discrepancies in the *status* they give to that proposition. In other words, is the proposition variously represented as an opinion, a fact, an assumption, a conjecture, etc.? And as Hunston points out, questions of status are of particular importance in identifying the alignment between a putative reader and a world construed by the author (2011: 25).

In addition to questions of alignment, between both author and speaker and also between the statuses assigned to a proposition, there are other reasons attribution analysis is of value to the researcher. For example, the words and beliefs of others may provide a rhetorical basis on which the author can use to reinforce or supplement her own arguments. Political rhetoric and argumentation often draws on the words of others such as experts or “ordinary people” in order to argue a case. In his study of New Labour rhetoric, Fairclough found that the majority of attributions being made in a Labour government Green Paper on welfare were to market research sources such as opinion polls, surveys and focus groups (2000: 139). Here, the attributions of market research findings are argued by Fairclough to comprise a legitimation strategy used by the government to show that they represent the voices of ordinary people. Interestingly however, he finds that 'apart from these examples, the voices of others (including relevant others such as welfare professionals and claimant groups) are not reported' (*Ibid*.). For the purpose of the present section this is a useful reminder that who is *not* reported is sometimes as important as who is.

As I have discussed, the study of attribution can highlight arguments or views which the author shares responsibility with or devolves responsibility from. Authors can invoke the views of others in order to achieve a range of evaluative and pragmatic goals, from invoking agreement and the sharing of responsibility for a proposition, to delegitimising groups by challenging the veracity of their claims, and to legitimising organizational practices by showing that the organization speaks on behalf of those it represents, etc. Identifying who is frequently attributed (and who is not), and how they are evaluated by the authors who are attributing them, can therefore start to provide us with insights into the discourses surrounding the representation of sexuality within these texts.

(5.5) Section Research Questions

The purpose of the present analysis is to determine which sources are drawn upon for comment more than others, and to ascertain what they are saying. We may, then, formulate the following research questions in order to achieve this aim:

RQ1) Who or what is attributed?

RQ2) What propositions are attributed to them?

RQ3) What role(s) or functions does attribution play in the representation of sexuality?

In order to answer these questions, we must first adopt a system which allows us to quantify degrees of evaluation and alignment towards the propositions being attributed. For this we now turn to the system of APPRAISAL developed by Martin and White (2005).

(5.6) Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL framework

The APPRAISAL framework developed by Martin and White constitutes an attempt to account for the 'major discourse semantic resources construing interpersonal meaning' in language (2005: 34). Their framework references and draws upon the three-fold ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions which comprise the basis for the theory behind Systemic Functional Linguistics (see Halliday 2014 for the most recent iteration of this theory). I cover SFL theory elsewhere in the Multimodality Analysis portion of the thesis.

The framework accounts for the ways in which writers/speakers interact with their readers/interlocutors. It is sub-divided into three parts: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. They are outlined as follows:

> **Attitude** is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. **Engagement** deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. **Graduation** attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred.
>
> (Martin and White 2005: 35)

The three categories are not mutually exclusive, and must all be taken into account simultaneously when performing an APPRAISAL analysis of language. Below I outline the functions of the three ENGAGEMENT sub-categories which account for attributions, before introducing an original fourth sub-category.

(5.6.1) Endorse

Endorsed attributions comprise examples where the author shares responsibility for the attributed proposition. Endorsements denote agreement between the author and the source of the attribution, so that to challenge the veracity of the attribution is also to challenge the author. Endorsements are dialogically contractive, meaning that the authors do not leave the proposition open to doubt.

Common realizations of endorsements include: *show*, *demonstrate*, *prove* etc.

(5.6.2) Acknowledge

Acknowledgements deal with attributions which are reproduced with no evaluative bias for or against the proposition being attributed. Their function is merely to report words, thoughts and arguments.

Common realizations of acknowledgements include: *say*, *report, state*, etc.

(5.6.3) Distance

Distanced attributions comprise examples where the author leaves the veracity or acceptability of the proposition open to question. It is possible to distance oneself from a proposition without contesting it.

Common realizations of distances include: *claim*, scare quotes

(5.6.4) Contest

'Contest' represents an original fourth category in this framework, and it deals with attributions where the author evaluates the source or the proposition (or both) negatively as wrong, misguided, etc. The motivation for this came about as the result of the author observing nuances in the data that the 'Distance' category seemed unable to differentiate, such as the ability to distance oneself from a proposition with or without undermining its basis in fact, Contests are differentiated from Distances on the grounds of the author showing the source to be incorrect.

Common realizations of contests include: *purport*, negation

(5.7) Methodology and Findings

In order to answer the research questions set above, I first identify all instances of attribution within the corpus. This cannot be achieved automatically via a series of corpus searches given the wide variety of linguistic forms which attributions take, so this step needs to be performed manually. Upon identification of an attribution, I code it for the first line number of the text in which it appears, and also whether it is an instance of Endorse, Acknowledge, Distance, or Contest. Thus examples reproduced here for discussion will appear in the following format:

> Knowing for sure whether you are gay or bisexual is only something you can determine over time and it certainly isn't as clear-cut as people **think**. [H-H14, ML03 – Contest]

There are a total of 942 individual attributions identified across the 88 texts, which amounts to an average of 10.7 attributions per text. I then compile lists of attributions for each of the categories Endorse, Acknowledge, Distance and Contest, the results of which can be seen in the first figure below. As we can see, 'Acknowledge' attributions account for almost half of all the attributions within the corpus, whilst 'Endorse' comprises almost a quarter.

The next step is to take each of the four lists and to group attributions together based on them sharing similar sources. The first round of classification (not shown here) produced many tens of source groups which proved too unwieldy to analyze. The source groups were then grouped into larger sets of like sources, which then produced the five categories seen in the second figure below: Society, Authorities, LGBT People, Historical Sources, and The Reader.

Fig. 9 – Breakdown of the 942 Attributions in the SexEd Corpus

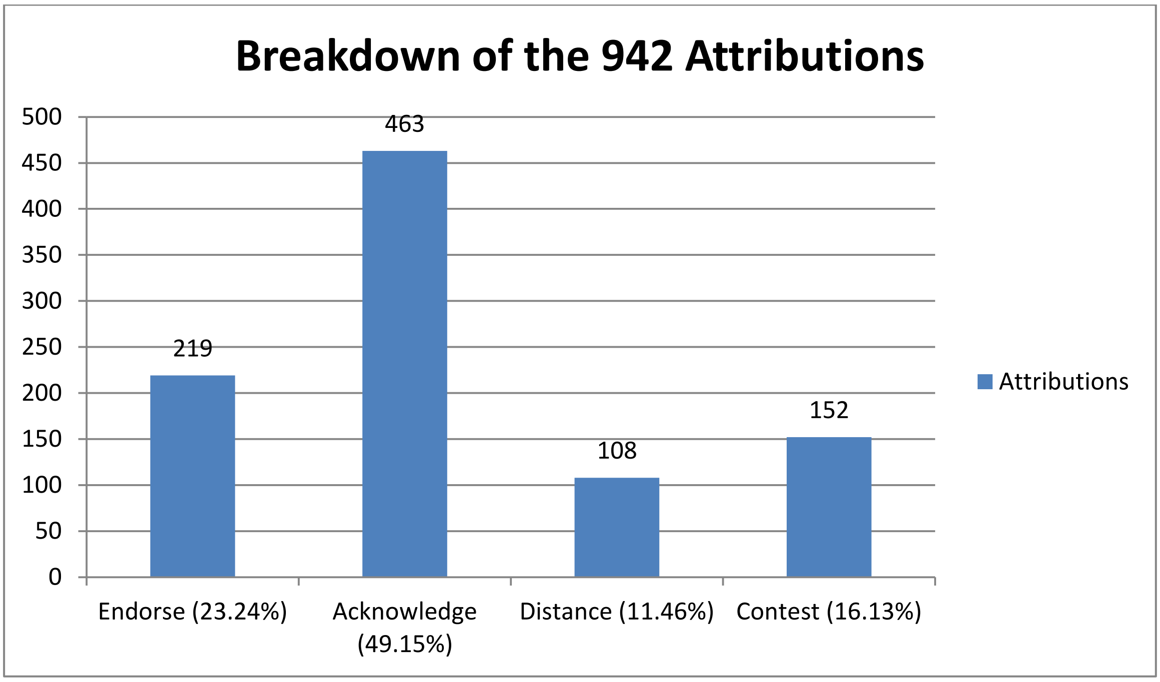
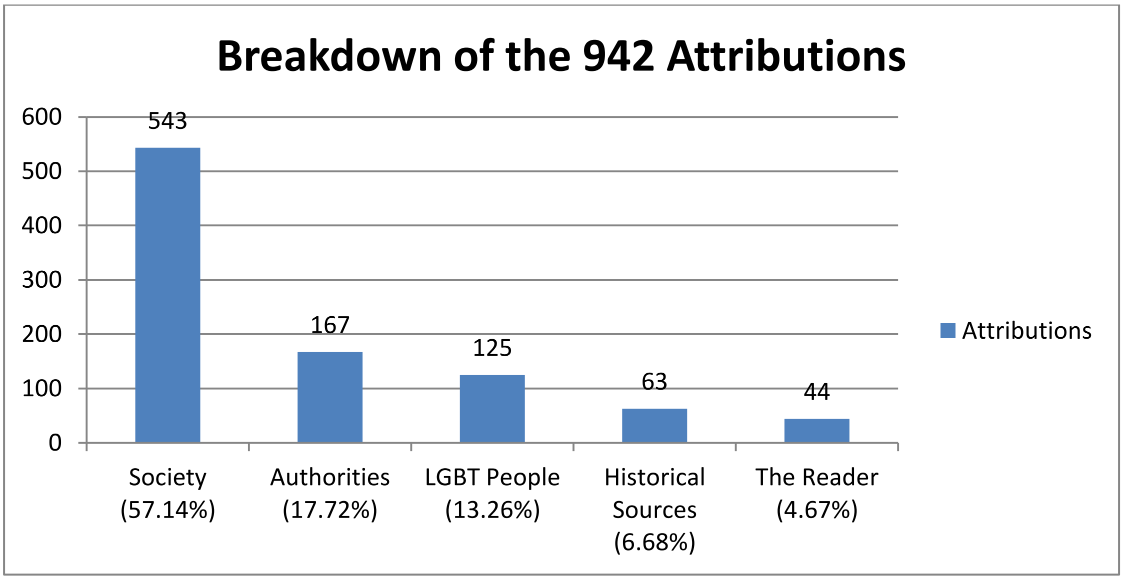


Fig. 10 – Breakdown of the 942 Attributions by Source



Of the 942 attributions, over half (57.14%) are sourced from 'Society'. This comprises attributions to society generally, or from named but still unidentified sections of society (e.g. *some/many people think that* etc.). It also includes scare quotes which are used to attribute terms and labels to common usage.

The next largest grouping belongs to 'Authorities', which comprise various experts from academic, legal, medical, political and scientific fields. I have also included parents in this category given that they are frequently represented as being 'experts in life' and thus able to impart wisdom and experience to their adolescent children.

The next grouping comprises the words and thoughts of LGBT people themselves. Many of these examples appear in the form of personal narratives which are used to provide case studies or points of discussion for the larger body of text on sexuality.

Next is a group where the sources of attributions are derived from the past, i.e. 'Historical Sources'. Historical sources are here defined as those groups, organizations, societies and individuals which do not exist within the life span of the author who attributes them. Historical sources comprise a wide range of individuals within the SexEd Corpus, from playwrights and politicians, to philosophers and ancient societies.

The final grouping covers what Coupland and Coupland (2009) term 'Other Stance Attribution', whereby words are put into the putative reader's mouth. All of these attributions have as their source a projected reader who acts as an interlocutor with the author(s). An example may comprise a construction such as 'You probably won't want to believe this, but…', where an attribution is (erroneously or not) is provided in the reader's name.

The following pie charts summarise how these five categories of sources are variously endorsed, acknowledged, distanced from, or contested:

Fig. 11 – Sources of ‘Endorse’ Attributions

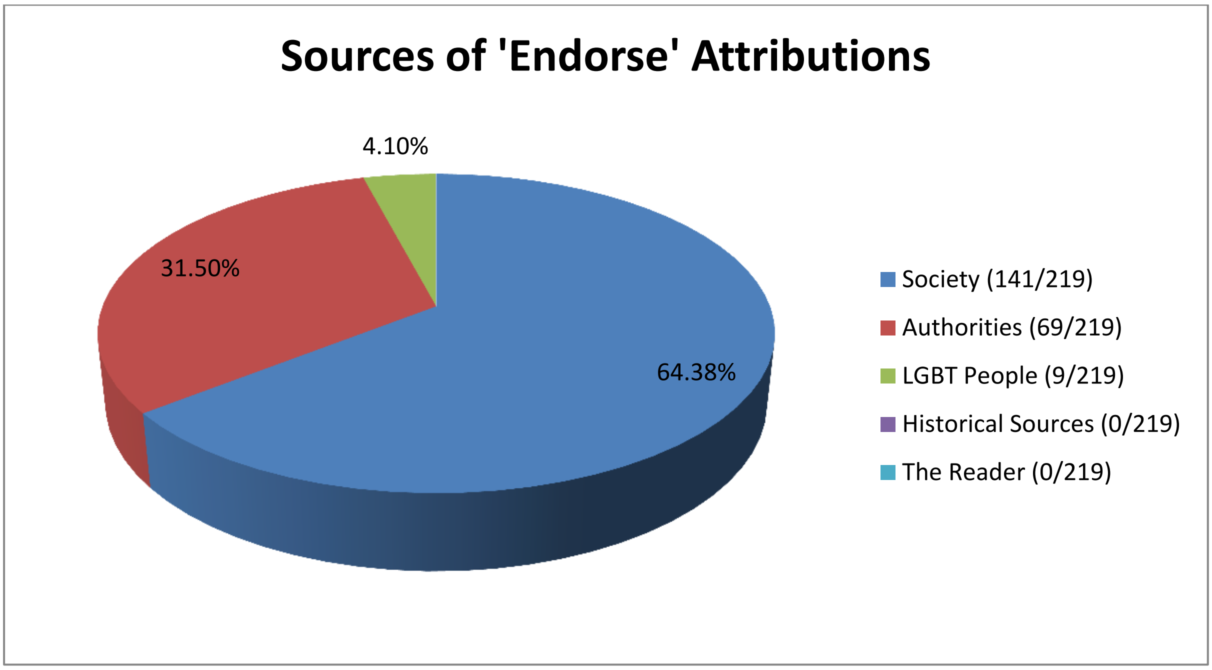


Fig. 12 – Sources of ‘Acknowledge’ Attributions

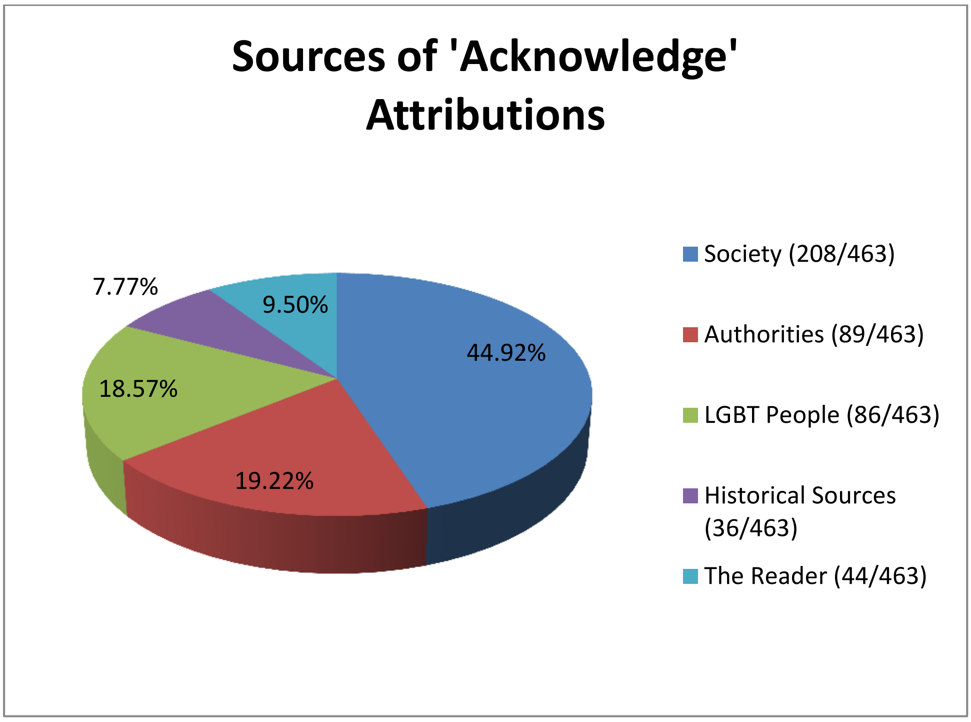


Fig. 13 – Sources of ‘Distance’ Attributions

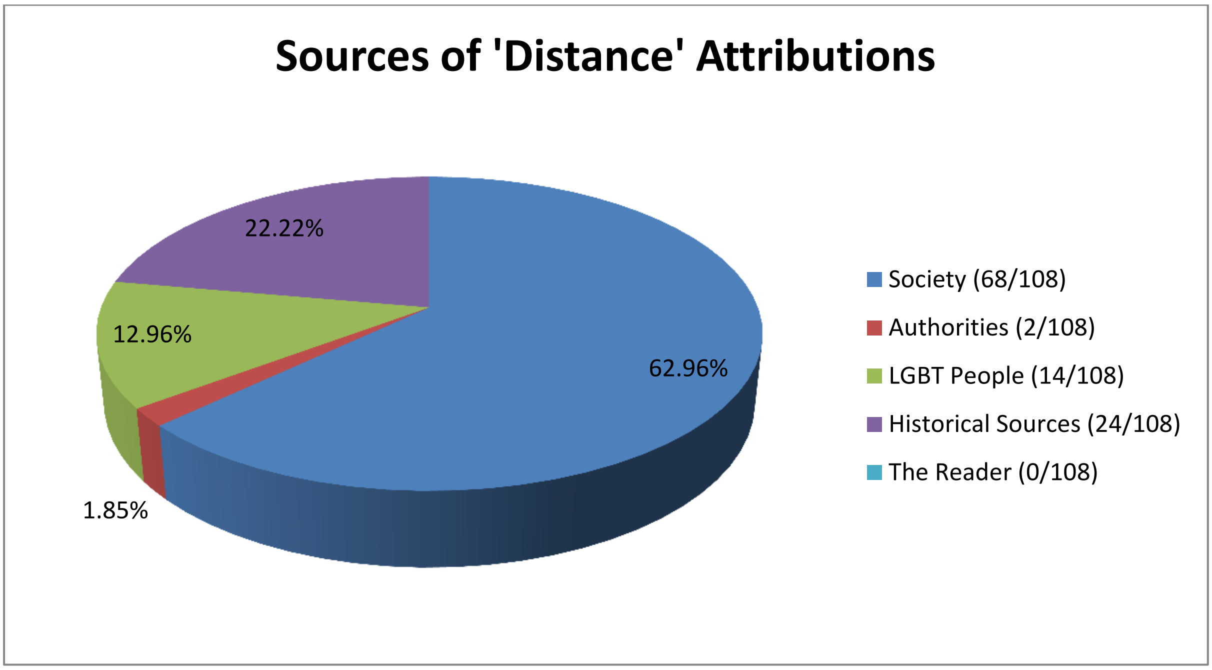
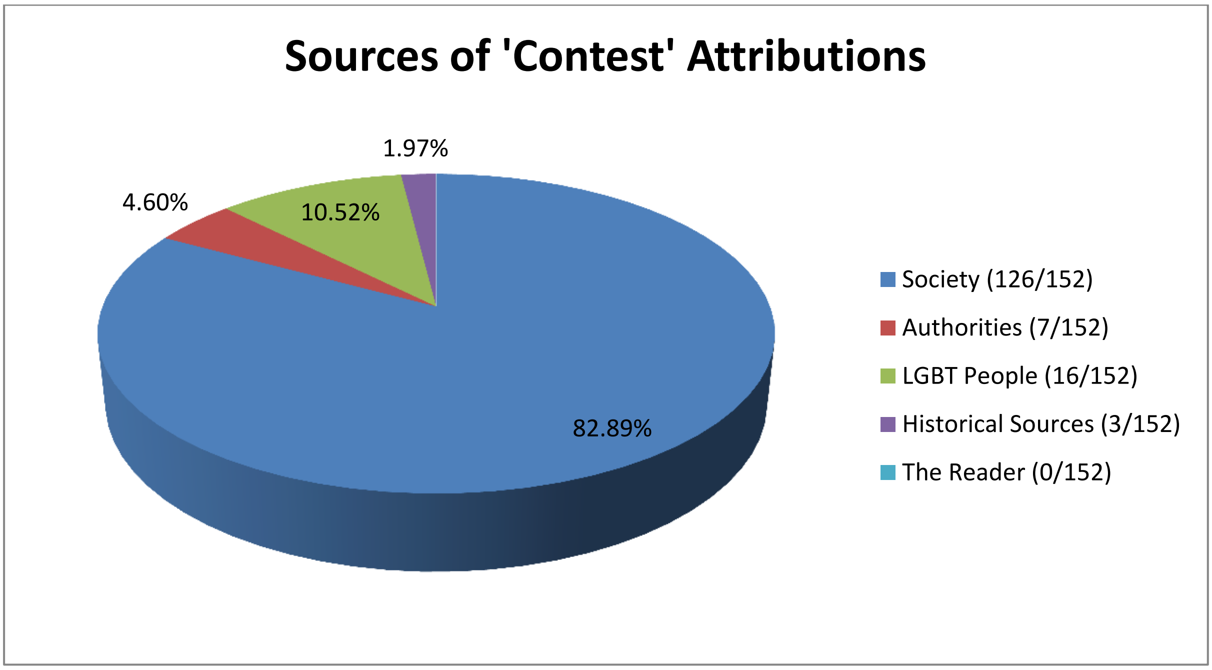


Fig. 14 – Sources of ‘Contest’ Attributions



(5.7.1) Society Sources

In this section I identify patterns in the largest group of attributions in the corpus, which comprise 57.14% of all attributions. The table below summarises the spread of Endorses, Acknowledges, Distances and Contests across the seven decades. As we can see, the temporal spread of Endorses, Acknowledges and Contests is roughly even with a drop in the final decade being attributable to the fact that the data collection period stops in the first half of 2014 and thus contains fewer texts and words than the other decades. There appears to be a spike in Distances in the 1980s and 1990s, and a spike in Contests in the 1960s and 1980s. Both may be explained in terms of the increasing frequency with which these texts begin to question the stereotypes and the 'facts' about sexuality from previous generations, or perhaps because of the differences in number and length of texts in each decade sub-category.

Table 9 – Attributions of Society Sources by Decade

	Endorse	*Acknowledge*	*Distance*	*Contest*	**TOTAL**
1950s	12	27	6	10	**55**
1960s	31	27	9	30	**97**
1970s	20	31	5	15	**71**
1980s	20	19	17	34	**90**
1990s	34	46	20	23	**123**
2000s	18	42	8	9	**77**
2010s	6	16	3	5	**30**

TOTAL	**141**	**208**	**68**	**126**	**543**

The latter may also be reflective of widespread renewed public interest in discussing sexuality, prompted by the partial decriminalization of homosexuality in 1967 and the introduction of Section 28 in the 1980s. Reading the table horizontally, Society sources feature heavily in all decades and in the 1990s in particular. It may be the case that this is due to the 1990s being the most prolific decade for sex education manual publications, and also for the length of those publications. It could also be a symptom of a gathering momentum in this texts (and also society) to normalize homosexuality, one aspect of which is to discuss and assess the views of society towards it both in the present and the recent past.

We now move on to address the patterns which emerge from the data. Now that we have identified the largest source of speakers, we must now investigate what it is that they are saying, and how they are reported by the authors of the manuals.

The most frequent set of examples concerns the attribution of labels to society to suggest common usage, and depending on whether the proposition is adopted by the author, they are realized as Endorses or Acknowledges.

5.1	If a young person learns the facts of sex in a shocking, instead of a natural way – and thus or through some other bruise to the mind gains a wrong outlook on the whole subject – he can get stuck at the stage of having friends only of his own sex. This kind of behaviour is **known by the name of** homosexuality. [C51, 41 – Endorse]

5.2	People attracted to their own sex are **called** homosexual or queer or gay. [HJ71, ML02 – Endorse]
5.3	Nowadays people who prefer someone of their own gender are often **referred to as** being **“gay”**, although this is more often applied to male homosexuals. [S97, 9 – Acknowledge]
5.4	Hating, abusing or bullying people because they are gay or bisexual, **called** homophobia, causes huge amounts of misery and suffering. [FB13, ML05 – Endorse]

The first three examples highlight the changing status of the labels used to discuss sexuality. The first example is taken from the 1950s and ascribes ‘homosexuality’ as a ‘behaviour’, whereas the subsequent examples describe it as an *attraction* and a *preference*. In all but one case the label is endorsed by the respective authors. Because the attribution in 5.3 is pre-modified with a modal of usuality (‘often’), this has the effect of weakening the author’s commitment to the term, thus reducing what would otherwise be an Endorse to an Acknowledge. It is also worth pointing out that the author of this particular example avers outright the term ‘homosexuals’ whilst simultaneously devolving personal responsibility for use of the term ‘gay’, which is reproduced in scare quotes. This suggests the former is the more accepted or used term than the latter, in the eyes of the author.

The final example, 5.4, deals not with sexual identity labels, but rather with attitudes towards sexuality. The authors adopt the use of the society-attributed term ‘homophobia’ to account for the ‘hating, abusing or bullying [of] people because they are gay or bisexual’. This example is more conducive to flagging different perspectives on sexuality, as here we have a term which simply would not have existed for a large portion of the corpus: indeed the term does not appear in the corpus until 1991. This is not to say that the critique and abuse of people based on their sexuality does not occur before this time, but rather that these actions have only been reified and assigned a term from this date in these texts. There are numerous examples in the earlier parts of the corpus (many of which are quoted here and in other sections of the thesis) where the authors both aver and attribute explicit criticisms of LGBT people. It is unlikely that these authors would have considered their own use of language to be ‘homophobic’, had that term existed in common parlance in the earlier decades of the corpus. The status of such language in earlier periods has variously been described, and I would argue *justified*, by the authors as ‘discussions’ of, or as a case of ‘addressing the issue’ of (homo)sexuality. By contrast in later decades such language is assigned the status of ‘homophobic language’. Indeed in this respect comparisons may be drawn between homophobic and other forms of discriminatory language, given that those who use such language would rarely consider themselves to be homophobic/sexist/racist etc. (see Mills 2008).

Another set of examples which features prominently in the corpus is that of common misconceptions and stereotypes about sexuality which are attributable to society more generally.

5.5	Today the average healthy adult has a comparable aversion to homosexuality; he **thinks** it is a dreadful incurable disease, or an unnatural emotional deformity. (D58, 9 – Contest]
5.6	Men with female tendencies and women exhibiting male tendencies are not necessarily **‘like that from birth’**. The condition is not, as so many **believe**, always based upon a fundamental defect of character. In the vast majority of cases, it is environment and

	experiences in their life which bring them to such a perversion. [R60, ML01+2 – Contest x 2]
5.7	It is always **thought that** male homosexuals want to corrupt boys. In general, this is not true as a homosexual seeks for someone who has strong masculine attributes and on whom he can depend. [B66, 69 – Contest]
5.8	There are groundless **fears that** children or youths seduced by adult homosexuals will be permanently affected. Undoubtedly it is a traumatic and wretched experience, but generally a child or youth with normally developing sexuality can withstand it without being changed to a homosexual. [G71, 65 – Contest]

In this first batch of examples, the authors are concerned with correcting widespread misconceptions about what homosexuality is and what homosexuals do, so as to allay any anxieties young people may have. The first example is of particular interest given that who is being shown as wrong is 'the average healthy adult'. Here we have a positive evaluation of the source of the attribution, but also a negative and contested evaluation of the views held by that source. One of the purposes of these corrections to attributed misconceptions therefore is to temper the negative views held by otherwise respectable individuals, and to thus prevent moral panics around sexuality. On this theme the latter two examples draw upon a common moral panic discourse about gay people wanting access to children, presumably in order to 'convert' them or otherwise prey on them sexually (Baker 2014: 117).

It is interesting to note that the strategy of correcting the misplaced preconceptions of others is a perennial one stretching across all of the decades in the corpus. Whilst the misconceptions reported tend to be the same regardless of which decade they appear in, the way they are evaluated changes over time as attitudes towards homosexuality soften. For example the sources of the attributions (given above) may be presented as wrong, but there is an implied alignment between the author and the source as the former presents themselves as empathetic towards the beliefs of the latter. This is done by presenting the source as high status in 5.5 ('the average healthy adult'), by softening the source's sweeping statements to allow for caveats instead of contesting their basis outright in 5.6 and 5.7 ('the condition is not... *always* based upon...'; '*In general*, this is not true'), and finally by using concessions to show alignment with the source despite contesting their proposition in 5.8 ('*undoubtedly* it is a traumatic and wretched experience...').

In the latter half of the corpus however, we observe a marked switch in the patterns of alignment in attributions concerning misconceptions. Consider now the following four examples:

5.9	Sometimes this persecution has been bolstered by misinformation, for example that homosexuals are **'child molesters'**. There are of course adults, both homosexual and heterosexual, who are attracted to children (we discuss this on p. 116), but the vast majority of adult human beings <u>want</u> sex to be an aspect of a loving relationship with another adult. Homosexuals are no exception. [C77, ML05 – Contest]
5.10	The taboo against homosexuality is really the old **'sex equals reproduction' idea** in disguise (same-sex couples cannot possibly produce children so sex between them is wrong). But as we've already seen, sex isn't just for having babies. [W86, 38 – Contest]
5.11	It's **assumed to be** automatic and normal for women and men to be attracted to members of the opposite sex. This is true for the majority of people – that's to say, most people are heterosexual. (Hetero is a Greek word meaning 'other'.) But it isn't true for

	everyone. [C-M88, 52 – Contest]
5.12	No-one knows why some people are gay and others aren't. Ignore the stupid people who **suggest that** being friends with gay men or lesbian women can make you gay. [N98, 17 – Contest]

As with the previous set of examples, concessions are present to account for why these misconceptions exist. However, this time the authors' focus is on negatively evaluating the proposition rather than empathising with it. The form this negative evaluation takes includes ascribing the proposition's *status* as 'misinformation' in 5.9, as an 'old... idea in disguise' in 5.10, or as an 'assumption' in 5.11. These authors collectively contest the status of these propositions as having no basis in reality, thus undermining their credibility. The final example undermines the status not of the proposition, but of the source itself. The author in example 5.12 describes the averrers of the proposition as 'stupid people', thus contesting anything they have to say as wrong or misguided.

If we think in terms of the modified 'Stance Triangle' I outlined in a previous section, we could say that the first group of attributed misconceptions commonly displays an alignment between the authors and the sources in favour of negatively evaluating homosexuality despite the contesting of their proposition as wrong. In the second group, we see the authors instead aligning with the adolescent readers in favour of positively evaluating homosexuality by pitching them both against the prejudices and misconceptions of wider society. The shift is fairly discrete and occurs largely from the mid-1980s onwards, although there are one or two outliers in previous decades.

Another set of society attributions common throughout the corpus deals with widespread attitudes towards sexuality and those who self-define as LGBT. Acknowledge attributions in this category often function as barometers of moral and social norms around sexuality. They give us insight into what was (not) considered acceptable in the recent past, and imply what is acceptable in the present:

5.13	I did not mention this particular difficulty in the first edition of this book because it **was considered** unmentionable. Now this particular subject has been the cause of several widely publicized prosecutions and of **discussions** by the Church and various social bodies. Also, even small children **talk about "pansies" and "queers"** and one even hears very Victorian old ladies **say that** a grandson or a grand-daughter's boy friend is a "pansy". [E56, 2-6 – Acknowledge x 4]
5.14	In England, most men have been **taught to hate** the idea of kissing and embracing another man. [H68, 28 – Acknowledge]
5.15	Whilst the government has recently reduced the age from 21 years old to 18 many people **believe** it should be 16 years, the same as for heterosexuals. [C97, 48 – Acknowledge]

These examples contrast the attitudes of the present with those of the recent past. Example 5.13 refers to the fact that in the first edition of her manual she felt unable to include discussions of same-sex sexuality because 'it was considered unmentionable', presumably by society in general and her publishers in particular (the first edition of her manual was published in 1946). She contrasts this attribution with several from the present, where she registers her surprise that whole swathes of society from 'small children' to 'very Victorian old ladies' are now discussing it. This is of interest as it suggests to us a relatively rapid transition from a period of public silence to one of public recognition. The remaining two examples deal with recent changes in norms around same-sex affection and intimacy. By contrast with the previous attribution, example 5.14 references cultural rather than temporal differences in norms around same-sex contact. The author highlights that most English men are taught from a young age to avoid kissing other men, while then going on to contrast this with ‘European men’ who are said to hug other males and kiss them on the cheek as a sign of friendship. The final example details the changing legal landscape around same-sex sexuality, and in so doing implies changing norms around sexuality. The ‘many people’ attributed question the validity of both past and present legal inequalities in the age of consent for sexual intercourse between two men. This example deictically refers to three periods of time: a time when only those over 21 could have sex, the present when only those over 18 can have sex, and a desire for a projected hypothetical future where gay men over 16 are able to have sex legally.

(5.7.2) Summary of Society Sources

As we have observed, attributions to society or sections of society play a number of roles in the representation of sexuality. They may be summarised as:

- To show what are the received sexuality labels of the day
- To highlight and challenge misconceptions and stereotypes about sexuality
- To act as a barometer for changing attitudes towards sexuality within society

(5.7.3) Authority Sources

In this section I discuss the attribution of sources that are explicitly or implicitly deemed by the authors to be authoritative in some way. It is illuminating to investigate which sources of authority authors from different decades deem necessary to consult, and to compare what they are being consulted on. This gives us an insight into whom the authors draw upon to help legitimate their claims about sex and sexuality. Sources range from professionals in the medical, scientific, legal and academic communities, to the authority of parents and elders. As we can see from the table below, authority sources are rarely contested or distanced from in the corpus. Overwhelmingly they are endorsed, particularly in the first half of the corpus, with many more acknowledgements appearing especially in the 1990s.

Table 10 – Attributions of Authority Sources by Decade

	Endorse	*Acknowledge*	*Distance*	*Contest*	**TOTAL**
1950s	3	4	0	1	**8**
1960s	11	12	0	3	**26**
1970s	15	3	0	1	**19**
1980s	10	3	0	0	**13**
1990s	22	52	2	2	**78**
2000s	7	14	0	0	**21**
2010s	1	1	0	0	**2**
TOTAL	**69**	**89**	**2**	**7**	**167**

Many of the authority attributions are introduced in order to speculate on the potential 'causes' of homosexuality in young people. It is perhaps interesting to note that reliance on medical and scientific experts begins abruptly in the immediate aftermath of the partial decriminalization of homosexuality in the UK in 1967. Indeed, we find that most authority sources in the 1960s and 1970s are medical and scientific experts pronouncing on the potential factors behind some people being gay:

5.16	Scientists who have carefully studied homosexuality **do not agree on** what causes people to prefer homosexual behaviour. They do **agree that** the causes are complicated and probably connected with the way a person was brought up. [J68, 18 – Acknowledge + Endorse]
5.17	Psychiatrists **believe that** one factor in early childhood which commonly pushes a boy towards an effeminate and homosexual disposition is having grown up with a father who was unusually distant and uncomfortable with him or a father who was the non-dominant partner in his parents' marriage. [S70, 43 – Endorse]
5.18	The psychologists go on to **say that** when this period of homosexuality is prolonged, as it may be by some particularly disturbing experience, it then becomes abnormal – an illness whose cure lies in encouraging the individual somehow or other to grow (in personality) past the point at which development has been arrested. [M71, 77 – Endorse]

With only a few exceptions, authority sources are decreasingly attributed after the 1970s for their opinions on causation. There are two reasons for this: firstly, the role of authorities in discussions of sexuality changes after the 1970s, and secondly the opinions on sexuality are instead attributed to generic Society sources (e.g. ‘Some people think that...’) in later decades.

Authors in subsequent decades merely tend to report that experts have tried and failed to assign a variety of causes to explain same-sex attraction:

5.19	Anatomists have tried hard but unsuccessfully to **prove that** the pelvises of gay men are different from those of straight men. [W86, 45 – Acknowledge]
5.20	Endocrinologists have equally unsuccessfully tried to **put** homosexual behaviour **down to** hormones. [W86, 46 – Acknowledge]
5.21	Some scientists **believe that** being homosexual or heterosexual is <u>not something you choose</u>, just as you cannot choose what colour skin you are born with or whether you are born male or female. [H94, 26 – Acknowledge]
5.22	Scientists are still **trying to establish** whether or not there is a gay gene but, as yet, they have no conclusive evidence. [B98, 53 – Acknowledge]

In these examples a range of scientific experts are quoted to comment on the purported physiological, hormonal and genetic differences between gay and straight men, none of which any of the authors Endorse. Over the course of the decades then we may observe a gradual shift in alignment away from such sources, from Endorsed speculations on causation in the 1960s and 1970s, to a devolved Acknowledgement of efforts to prove differences based on sexual orientation. One final point to note is that after the 1990s medical and scientific sources of attribution cease entirely.

The period after the 1970s sees a change in the role of experts and studies. They are almost always quoted to provide statistics about the estimated size of the gay population, or among particular groups in society (e.g. young people). In many of the cases, studies and demographic surveys are not mentioned explicitly but instead presented as the most recent received wisdom:

5.23	In our society, it is **estimated that** one in ten people is fairly exclusively gay, but the number of gay women is probably smaller than the number of gay men (one of the reasons being that many women – whatever their sexual preferences – have traditionally been more financially dependent on men and therefore obliged to marry or at least cohabit with them). [W86, 23 – Endorse]

As we can see from the examples below, studies and surveys are quoted so as to provide different statistics about gay people. The first example is unlike the others in that it presents a case study of 'the [sexually] active homosexual male', estimating that the average male has almost 200 sexual partners per year. The attribution utilises a rare (by the standards of the corpus) non-integral citation to enhance the status of the proposition to an academic/scientific finding (see Thompson 2012).

5.24	It has been **estimated (Gebhard *et al.*, 1965) that** the average number of different sexual partners of the active homosexual male is close to 200 per year. [JSB69, 39 – Endorse]
5.25	One recent survey **estimated that** at least 30 per cent of heterosexual men have had a homosexual experience at some time in their lives. [S91, 28 – Endorse]
5.26	The British National Survey of people of all ages **reported that** just over six per cent of men and three per cent of women <u>reported</u> having had a homosexual experience

	although some surveys have <u>given</u> higher numbers. [C97, 15 – Acknowledge]
5.27	A recent survey **reported that** just over 6 per cent of men and 3 per cent of women <u>said</u> they had had a gay relationship, but it is hard to know how accurate these figures are. [S01, 30 – Acknowledge]

The remaining three examples draw upon surveys to report or estimate the number of those who have had a same-sex relationship or experiences. The British National Survey is quoted in 5.26 and 5.27, but both authors treat the findings with a degree of caution. The former includes a caveat that 'some surveys have given higher numbers', whilst the latter concedes 'it is hard to know how accurate these figures are'. This follows a general trend in the corpus for increasing caution towards the numbers given by studies and surveys such as these.

The single most attributed *named* source of authority is Alfred Kinsey and his two Kinsey Reports into the sexual behaviour of men (1948) and women (1953). Kinsey himself was an American biologist and professor of zoology who undertook one of the first large scale scientific studies of human sexuality and later founded the Kinsey Institute to continue this work. Indeed despite the study comprising only American males and females, the studies played a pivotal role in encouraging a new climate for the public discussion of sexuality in Britain (Weeks 2012: 310). The Reports concluded that sexuality was driven by sexual 'outlets' rather than by choice of partner or an inherent sexual identity, and as Weeks notes, 'the radical long-term effect of the work of Alfred Kinsey and his colleagues was to undermine the idea of a nature-given normality' (*Ibid*.: 310-311). It is interesting then to compare the attributions to Alfred Kinsey, and his studies, around the time of decriminalization in the 1960s and 1970s, and then later on when he is mentioned once again in the 1990s. The first set of examples below deals with attributions of Kinsey's estimations about those with same-sex sexual experience:

5.28	Male homosexuality is very common. Kinsey **reports that** a third of males have had some previous homosexual experience. [B66, 44 – Acknowledge]
5.29	On the other hand, about one out of ten married men, **according to** the Kinsey Report, had homosexual relations while they were still married, and at the same time continued to have intercourse with their wives. [P68, 237 – Acknowledge]
5.30	Alfred Kinsey and his associates **showed that** a large proportion of American males, and a somewhat smaller but still large proportion of American females, have engaged in homosexual relationships at least once in their lives. (B70, 15 – Endorse]
5.31	The Kinsey Reports **indicated that** a fair percentage of boys (fewer girls) have some homosexual experiences during adolescence. [S70, 27 – Endorse]
5.32	Kinsey in his remarkable studies has **shown that** it is quite common, particularly for males, and less so for females, to achieve orgasm with individuals of the same sex during adolescence. [G71, 11 – Endorse]

Example 5.29 is of particular interest given that the manual's author – Wardell Pomeroy – was also one of the co-authors of both Kinsey Reports. The fact that he seems to Acknowledge, rather than Endorse, the study he helped undertake could perhaps be explained as a deferential move to enhance the status of the report's findings as impartial. To have endorsed the report explicitly would perhaps seem self-serving, and would certainly

lower the status of it and its findings as no longer belonging to an external authority which can be attributed.

It is interesting to observe that the manuals' authors defer responsibility for the studies when the findings challenge dominant discourses about homosexuality being an illness or psychological deficiency by showing that 'a third of males have had some previous homosexual experience'. Indeed, the second example contains an equally awkward and unpalatable finding that 'about one in ten married men' had same-sex experiences whilst married to an opposite-sex partner, which is also only Acknowledged. By contrast, authors only Endorse the reports after providing their own spin on the findings: examples 1.26-1.28 are all modified by a caveat suggesting that same-sex sexual activity is confined to one period in life ('during adolescence', 'at least once in their lives'), and thus temporary. This highlights that the reports are Endorsed only when they play into existing dominant discourses around same-sex sexual activity, and in cases where they do not, responsibility for them is deferred.

Now that we have seen how Kinsey and his studies are attributed in the 1960s and 1970s, let us compare how they are incorporated in attributions made from the 1990s onwards:

5.33	Researchers at the Kinsey Institute in America <u>devised</u> a five-point scale of sexual identity ranging from total heterosexuality to total homosexuality. It was **found that** very few people were 100 per cent gay or straight. Most people's sexuality fell somewhere in between. In other words, the potential for homo- or bi-sexuality exists in most of us. [S91, 18 – Endorse]
5.34	As Alfred Kinsey **said** in his report Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male: 'Not all things are black, nor all white, for nature rarely deals with discrete categories. Only the

	human mind invents categories and tries to force facts into separate pigeon holes. The living world is a continuum in each and every one of it's aspects. The sooner we learn this concerning human sexual behaviour, the sooner we shall reach a sound understanding of the realities of sex.' [F94, 146 – Endorse]

As with the first set of examples, we observe that Kinsey and his colleagues are Endorsed by the authors attributing them. The author of the first example shares responsibility for the proposition that 'very few people were 100 per cent gay or straight', based on a points scale devised by Kinsey (the author incorrectly labels the scale of 0-6 – where '0' represents total heterosexuality, '3' bisexuality, and '6' total homosexuality – as a 'five-point scale'). The author here is using statistics based on Kinsey's findings to argue that sexuality is not an essentialist characteristic of human beings. Example 1.30 then alters the focus slightly and draws attention to the difficulty of attempting to use statistics to explain sexuality given that 'not all things are black, nor all white'.

We therefore have a named authority source, whose statistics and findings are attributed at different points within the corpus, but used for different purposes. All of the authors attribute the same reports: they do not change for the duration of the period covered by the corpus. The only thing that changes is the way the reports are used to justify different arguments about sexuality.

Moving away from statistics now, but remaining with the theme of authorities, we also observe a similar pattern with another named expert source: Sigmund Freud.

Unlike the Endorsements devoted to Alfred Kinsey in the previous section, the authors tend to devolve responsibility towards Freud and his words, or even contest them outright:

5.35	Yet, although most individuals who become homosexual do so because of events beyond their own control, it would not be correct **to say, as Freud did, that** to a very great extent the condition is acquired. This is not so. [R60, ML03 - Contest]
5.36	Some people <u>believe</u> homosexuality is a phase of sexual development. This idea <u>originated</u> with Sigmund Freud, who **thought** there was a development in human beings from narcissism, or a preoccupation with self, to homosexuality, to heterosexuality. [P68, 112 – Acknowledge]

In the first example Freud's argument is presented as a misconception by the use of negation. The critique of Freud in the second example, however, is a little more subtle. The example is set up by a preceding attribution whereby the proposition 'homosexuality is a phase of sexual development' is averred by 'some people'. The status of this is presented as an '*idea* which originated with Sigmund Freud' (italics mine). Now the choice of reporting verbs for both attributions are mental process verbs ('believe', 'thought'), the statuses of which are left, in dialogic terms, open to question by the author. The choice of the past tense with a mental process verb in particular combine to suggest a low status whereby the author attaches little credence to what is being thought or believed. In other words if one avers that "X thought Y", one implies either that X does not think Y any more, or that X has now been found to be incorrect. This particular sex education text is of significance as it marks a break in the received wisdom of Freud's notion of homosexuality being a temporary phase of psychosexual development. All texts prior to this one attach varying degrees of credence to this notion, and use it to explain away same-sex attraction as a symptom of psychological immaturity. This is not to say all texts instantly adopt the new discourse around (homo)sexuality, but rather it marks the emergence of a competing discourse in these texts, one which is resisted considerably until the mid-1980s in the corpus.

Consider the now the second set of Freud attributions, this time taken from a text in the early 2000s:

5.37	Sexual orientation is determined by a complex mixture of genetic, hormonal and environmental factors. Writing in 1915, Sigmund Freud, the originator of psychoanalysis, who <u>stressed</u> the importance of infantile sexuality in later development, **wrote**: 'From the point of view of psycho-analysis the exclusive sexual interest felt by men for women is also a problem that needs elucidating.' [S01, 75 – Acknowledge]
5.38	So Freud was **pointing out that** we need to know more not just about what causes homosexuality, but also about what causes heterosexuality! [S01, 78 – Endorse]

Here we have the same source attributed as before, albeit for a different purpose. This time Freud is quoted selectively as part of the author's attempt to normalize same-sex attraction and sexual experience instead of attempting to undermine a previous theory about sexuality. His argument is Endorsed and given credence in the second example, with the choice of an exclamative clause highlighting that this is perhaps contrary to what the reader may have previously thought. His words are invoked as a corrective to the Discourse of Causation surrounding homosexuality which dominates most of the texts in the first half of the corpus, arguing the point that absolute essentialism in terms of attraction 'is also a problem that needs elucidating'.

(5.7.4) Summary of Authority Sources

Attributions to experts and other authorities fulfil the following roles within the corpus:

- To attempt to account for sexual orientation
- To provide statistics on sexual orientation
- To challenge attitudes towards sexual orientation

(5.7.5) LGBT Sources

In this section I outline attributions made to sources who are explicitly labelled by the authors as being gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender. As we can see from the table below, LGBT sources are primarily Acknowledged, with a predicted spike in the 1990s (due to it being the most prolific decade in the corpus). Another finding of note is that LGBT sources are only Endorsed in the first three decades of the corpus, and then not at all afterwards. Similarly authors do not distance themselves from them or contest their propositions from the 2000s onwards. These patterns are explored below.

Table 11 – Attributions of LGBT Sources by Decade

	Endorse	*Acknowledge*	*Distance*	*Contest*	**TOTAL**
1950s	2	0	0	1	**3**
1960s	2	4	4	6	**16**
1970s	5	2	3	3	**13**
1980s	0	10	4	3	**17**
1990s	0	44	3	3	**50**
2000s	0	23	0	0	**23**
2010s	0	3	0	0	**3**
TOTAL	**9**	**86**	**14**	**16**	**125**

This first pattern comprises the range of ways in which authors delegitimise homosexuality by attributing the voices and thoughts of LGBT people themselves. Interestingly LGBT people are only attributed before the mid-1980s if they are discrediting their own sexuality. Even in instances of 'Endorse', whereby the author aligns with the source, the LGBT person is presented as providing supporting evidence for the perceived problems of non-heterosexuality. In the following examples the authors endorse, or at least acknowledge, concessions of abnormality or disadvantage by LGBT people themselves:

5.39	More often the partners **know that** their imitation male-female activity is a masquerade, dishonest because of its abnormality. [D58, 131 - Endorse]
5.40	Although Robert Cowell <u>emphasised that</u> he was never attracted by other men in the days when he was a man, he **admits that** his aggressive masculinity and dislike of <u>"queers"</u> was probably an unconscious attempt to compensate for his real tendencies. [W66, 64 – Endorse]
5.41	Homosexual groups who are continuing to work, quite properly, for an end to all such unfair discrimination, nevertheless strongly **urge** young people to avoid a way of life that frequently leads to embarrassment, shame and humiliation. [H70, 121 – Endorse]
5.42	When one large sample of homosexuals <u>was asked</u>, <u>'If you had a son would you want him to be a homosexual?'</u> only two out of every hundred **answered 'Yes'**. [H70, 124 – Acknowledge]

It is perhaps telling that the only endorsements of attributions by LGBT people in the entire corpus are analogous to those given above, and appear only between the 1950s and 1970s. The first two examples represent LGBT people as conceding flaws in some way. The author of the first example negatively evaluates gay sexual intercourse in stark terms as ‘imitation male-female activity’ and a ‘masquerade’, which is then attributed as a concession made the sources themselves. The second example involves ‘Robert Cowell’ (1918 – 2011), a racing driver and World War Two fighter pilot who was the first transgender person to have male-to-female sex reassignment surgery in Britain, and was subsequently known as Roberta Cowell (Hall 2013: 146). The author Barnes negatively evaluates her in a number of ways, not least by resisting the use of her name ‘Roberta’. Barnes also represents her in essentialist terms by referring to ‘his *real* tendencies’ (italics mine), thus simultaneously undermining her wish to be considered a woman and refusing to qualify her attraction to men as heterosexual.

The final example draws upon the reaction of ‘one large sample of homosexuals’ to a leading question from an unidentified survey. They are represented as conceding that they themselves would not want their child to be ‘a homosexual’, thus serving to delegitimise the very ‘homosexual groups who are continuing to work... for an end to such unfair discrimination’ the author mentions in the previous sentence. On the one hand the author positively evaluates the ‘homosexual groups’’ actions as being ‘quite proper[ly]’ in tackling discrimination. However on the other hand he then represents them as otherwise leading ‘a way of life that frequently leads to shame, humiliation and embarrassment’, and thus in need of being ‘strongly urged’ not to do this. As I also demonstrate in the corpus-assisted analysis section of the thesis, this cognitive dissonance towards sexuality is common among texts in the first half of the corpus, and highlights the ambivalence many authors display towards same-sex sexuality.

There are also instances of Acknowledgements which focus on the sexual careers of gay men:

5.43	For example, I recall a man who **reported that** he had more than 10,000 homosexual partners (he kept a careful count), but he had also had sexual contact with 600 or 700 women. [P68, 233 – Acknowledge]
5.44	Individual male homosexuals have **reported** sexual contact with as many as 1,000 different partners per year. [JSB69, 41 – Acknowledge]

The attributions to LGBT sources here serve as extreme case studies in which they are profiled and reported to be sexually prolific. The evaluation of the sources in both examples is implicit, although in 5.44 the sources are represented as an exemplar of a generic group of people. In particular the use of ‘individual’ which pre-modifies ‘male homosexuals’ is reminiscent of a more scientific register than a pedagogic one.

In addition to the attributions of LGBT people mentioned above, here the 1960s and 1970s authors also contest the beliefs of LGBT people as ultimately misguided about their sexuality:

5.45	Transsexualists are also homosexual, but because they **think of themselves as** female, they **think of themselves as** heterosexual. [P68, 200 – Contest]
5.46	More often, the marriage is an attempt by the homosexual to live a <u>“straight”</u> life, **thinking** the marriage may solve the problem of homosexuality (it seldom does). [JSB69, 52 – Contest]
5.47	If a man in such case persists in practising homosexuality, he will undergo a change of particularly ominous significance to others. He will lose insight into his weakness,

	actually coming to **believe that** his beastly* attentions confer benefits and privileges on those whom he seduces. (*The adjective is used advisedly. As every dog-owner knows, homosexuality exists throughout the lower animal kingdom). [M71, 96 – Contest]

The first example resembles the Roberta Cowell attribution in the previous section in that transsexuals, or 'transsexualists' as they are termed here, are represented as having essentialist genders and thus essentialist sexualities. Despite now being women, these individuals are represented as retaining their status of homosexuality contrary to what they themselves think. This comprises another instance of ambivalence as this text is one of the first to challenge fixed essentialist notions of sexuality. It appears that whilst *sexuality* is beginning to be treated as a continuum of desire rather than as a phase of development, *gender* is still treated as fixed and immutable. Given the relative scarcity of trans people and trans identities in these texts (and indeed, in the wider academic literature – see Baker 2014) the inclusion of 'transsexualists' here seems noteworthy, not least because of the seemingly unusual suffix '-ist', which does not appear in later iterations of this term (instead becoming 'transsexuals'). It is unclear as how or when this term originated, though it could potentially be derived from the original German term "transsexualismus", itself used to assign a medical definition those who experience an affiliation with a gender to which they were not born (Hall 2009).

The next example presents gay people as misguided in their aspirations to change their sexuality by marrying people of the opposite sex. Homosexuality is here defined as a 'problem', with the attributed solution being marriage with an opposite sex partner described by the author as ‘an *attempt*... to live a “straight” life’ (italics mine). The overall evaluation here is that gay people are seldom able to cure their homosexuality by marrying someone of the opposite sex.

The final example is one of the starkest negative evaluations of gay people in the corpus. Here same-sex attraction and desire are treated as a form of behaviour (‘practising’) which is ‘of ominous significance to others’. If we begin to unpack the assumptions in this example, we reveal that several discourses around homosexuality are being expressed almost simultaneously. Firstly, we might ask why same-sex sexual activity might be defined as ‘ominous’. Synonyms of ‘ominous’ include ‘threatening’, ‘menacing’ and ‘sinister’, thus suggesting an impending threat to the ‘others’ who are assumed to be heterosexuals. Same-sex desire is also represented using the noun phrase ‘his weakness’, and the adjective ‘beastly’. The author also elaborates upon, and defends, his use of the term ‘beastly’, arguing that homosexuality is a behaviour common to ‘the lower animal kingdom’, and thus by implication not fitting for those in the higher animal kingdom, i.e. humans. On the one hand, the elaboration given in parentheses could be read as a defence of what is an unusually strong and explicit negative evaluation of homosexuality (by the standards of the SexEd corpus) thus justifying his use of the term. On the other, it could be read as providing further evidence of the dangers and abnormality of homosexuality by describing it as the sole preserve of lesser animals. The pattern therefore running through each of these three examples comprises an author reducing the status of the LGBT source’s proposition by representing their *beliefs* as *misapprehensions*. In effect this functions to delegitimise the same-sex desire as an aberration and/or a poor imitation of normative, opposite-sex desire.

The theme of correcting LGBT people's misapprehensions continues throughout the corpus, although in later texts the focus of the misapprehensions are not LGBT people themselves but rather urban myths and stereotypes which exist in society. Unlike the previous examples, the goal of the authors is not to attack the beliefs of LGBT individuals, but to use attributions as a pedagogic resource for showing how some discourses around homosexuality can be unhelpful and/or damaging to young people. This is usually achieved by challenging a label or term which young people have internalized as factual or as an ideal with which to aspire to:

5.48	Not all gays <u>'come out'</u> – that is, declare to themselves and those around them that they are gay. Many are quite rightly frightened of what may happen to them and so keep it a dreadful secret all their lives. They may marry and have children, trying to **persuade themselves and others that** they are <u>'normal'</u>. [H86, ML24 - Contest]
5.49	When I worked as an agony aunt for a Sunday newspaper the post would bring at least half a dozen letters each week from worried girls and boys who **thought** they were gay and were desperate for a <u>'cure'</u>. [B93, 165 – Contest]

As with the previous examples, LGBT sources are represented as having misapprehensions about themselves and their sexuality. This time, however, the misapprehensions are presented in the form of embedded attributions, which comprise internalized beliefs derived from prejudices and negative discourses circulating in wider society: that homosexuality is not 'normal' and for which there exists a 'cure'. The misapprehensions themselves are reproduced in scare quotes, which serves to dissociate them from the beliefs of the author.

Here, then, we have the same strategy being employed to achieve different goals. The authors from the first set use the words of LGBT sources themselves to delegitimise same-sex desire, whilst the second set of authors employ them to counter the prejudices and stereotypes which many LGBT people have internalized as personal failings.

The previous sets of examples dealt with LGBT sources unknowingly reproducing or internalizing misapprehensions about their sexuality. The next examples comprise LGBT sources who are represented as *knowingly* making claims which authors distance themselves from or contest outright:

5.50	Some of the greatest men in history have been homosexual though we must be on our guard in this matter as homosexuals notoriously **claim** all sorts of people on very flimsy evidence. [J69, 13 – Contest]
5.51	Gays can sometimes appear to **push the idea of 'gay love'** as being ok and be quite loud about their attitudes. This is hardly surprising. If you spent your whole life being told how wrong and odd you were, you might decide the only way to keep sane was to shout back! [H86, ML09 – Distance]

The author of example 5.50 avers that homosexuals are misguided in their treating of 'all sorts of people' as also homosexual. The status of their proposition is lowered twice, firstly by reporting their words as a 'claim', and thus unsubstantiated, and secondly by representing their claim as being based on 'very flimsy evidence', and thus unreliable or unwarranted. Also, that fact that the author recommends his readers 'be on our guard' makes the assumption that homosexuals are constantly attempting to proselytize heterosexuals using unwarranted claims such as these.

The author of the second example (5.51) is slightly less negative in her portrayal of 'gays' as proselytizers by downgrading both the certainty ('appear to') and the frequency ('sometimes') with which they are represented as performing such an activity. The negative evaluations around the 'pushing' of the idea of gay love are subsequently mitigated however by circumstantial factors. The author thus criticizes the LGBT sources for their proposition, but reserves the greater part of such criticism for the attitudes of society which engenders this.

An interesting point to mention is that when LGBT sources are directly attributed with quotations marks/scare quotes, it follows that the proposition being quoted is distanced from or contested. In the next examples, the authors employ scare quotation marks to contest LGBT people's use of (and right to use) particular terms:

5.52	Every human being <u>wants</u> to be a partner in a male-female union. Therefore the **'love'** of a man for a man or a woman for another woman is a tragic caricature of the warm feeling between a man and a woman. [D58, 126 – Contest]
5.53	Furthermore, most homosexual liaisons are temporary and impersonal, and even when a couple establish a **'marriage'** the arrangement is threatened by competitiveness and jealousy far beyond the problems of heterosexual marriage. [H70, 132 – Contest]
5.54	A **'homosexual marriage'** is <u>supposed</u> to indicate a stable long-term relationship between the two people, but it is not legally a marriage. [LS85, 49 – Contest]

In each of the three examples, the author contests LGBT people's right to use a particular term. The implication is that these terms are reserved solely to describe normative opposite-sex relationships and desires. This criticism of the adoption of various terms takes several forms. Example 5.52 glosses same-sex desire and affection not as 'love', but as 'a tragic caricature of the warm feeling between a man and a woman'. The next example is similarly reimagined in less flattering terms, euphemistically as an 'arrangement'. Unlike the permanence suggested by the term 'marriage' (which traditionally includes the vows 'till death us do part'), 'arrangement' conveys the sense of a more temporary or fleeting period of time, thus drawing upon the discourse of homosexual relationships as transient. The choice of the verb 'establish' in relation to the noun phrase 'a marriage' also seems unusual, and indeed a subsequent search for the phrase "establish* a marriage" returns no results in the British National Corpus. A search for noun phrases following "establish" returns hits including:

i) *a modern Socialist party;*

ii) *a community for handicapped people in the village of Atea in Romania;*

iii) *a church which has grown to some sixty members;*

iv) *one of the first clubs in the country to be licensed as an openly gay establishment;*

Thus the objects of the verb establish comprise a wide range of political, geosocial, religious, and cultural organizations. All of these examples from the BNC clearly represent instances where individuals and groups have founded an organization in response to a perceived need (i, ii, iii) or in the context of opposition and difficulty (iv). It is perhaps serendipitous that one of the very first results to be returned from this corpus search should describe the establishment of a gay club in the face of implied hostility or difficulties ('openly' suggests there exist other clubs in secret). The example taken from my own corpus seems to adhere to this second meaning, around something being achieved in the face of difficulties: in this case the implication is that gay people have married despite their own internal psychological failings as abnormal people ('threatened by competitiveness and jealousy far beyond the problems of heterosexual marriage'). Although there is no immediate or explicit mention of it in the text quoted above, the implied constraints also likely include prejudice (in which the author himself participates) and a detrimental legal landscape which prevents them from allowing their marriage to be recognized legally.

The three examples discussed above all draw upon a notion of same-sex relationships representing a bastardized form of marriage. In all of the time periods represented by those texts, same-sex marriage was illegal in the United Kingdom, thus perhaps facilitating the need for scare quotes to highlight the inapplicability of the term. Indeed example 5.54 explicitly disqualifies it on legal grounds, whilst the other two disqualify it on grounds of it flouting a supposed natural order.

(5.7.6) Personal Narratives

Another frequent pattern which occurs in the corpus is that of acknowledging the personal narratives of LGBT people. The first narratives appear in 1986, and texts from this point show a tangible shift in emphasis away from gay people being attributed to discredit their own sexuality and towards attributions recounting the stories of ordinary gay people. There is also a shift in the sources of LGBT attributions, from spokespeople of a projected gay community and ‘case studies’ of homosexual individuals, to ordinary young LGBT people talking about love, families, relationships and feelings. In this section, I only underline those attributions which are embedded, as the whole example is understood to be an Acknowledged attribution and therefore does not require the addition of bold typeface throughout.

Here the authors Acknowledge the personal narratives of young people who self-identify as gay, and who distance themselves from the negative views and opinions of those around them:

5.55	‘My Dad used to <u>make jokes</u> about a bloke in his factory – <u>he called him “Queenie”</u> and was always going on about <u>“that filthy poofter”</u>. He’d <u>tell me</u> to watch out for people like that. How could I tell him that I was becoming <u>“someone like that”</u> myself? I spent years of misery and even tried to kill myself because he made me so ashamed and sick with guilt at my own feelings’ – Gary S. [H86, ML04 – Acknowledge]
5.56	‘I think my parents <u>hoped</u> they could cure me of being gay and that it was all just in my imagination.’ Mark, 18 years [FW94, 16 – Acknowledge]
5.57	‘I know I’m gay. I keep trying to tell people but they <u>say</u> it’s just a phase and I’ll grow out of it. Others <u>say</u>, how can you know yet? But my friends <u>know</u> they fancy boys, so I know I fancy girls.’ Alison (15) [N98, 37 – Acknowledge]

All three examples recount the hostile reactions of parents and peers towards gay people, which are Distanced from or Contested by the teenagers in the body of the narratives. The purpose of such narratives is to empathise and validate the same-sex feelings the teenage readers of these manuals may have. It is perhaps no coincidence that the appearance of narratives by LGBT sources such as these coincides with a growing recognition on the part of sex education manual authors that their readers may not all be heterosexual.

(5.7.7) Summary of LGBT Sources

As I have discussed, LGBT sources are quoted throughout the corpus for a variety of reasons. The roles of LGBT attributions may be summarised as follows:

- To delegitimise same-sex desire and relationships
- To highlight and challenge stereotypes and misconceptions about sexuality
- To empathise and validate the feelings of LGBT readers of these manuals

(5.7.8) Historical Sources

In this section I detail those attributions which are made to sources from earlier periods in time. Historical sources are defined as any attributee who is not contemporaneous with the author attributing them. The table below outlines the spread of Historical Sources across the decades:

Table 11 – Attributions of Historical Sources by Decade

	Endorse	*Acknowledge*	*Distance*	*Contest*	**TOTAL**
1950s	0	2	3	2	**7**
1960s	0	18	8	1	**27**
1970s	0	4	2	0	**6**
1980s	0	4	3	0	**7**
1990s	0	7	5	0	**12**
2000s	0	1	2	0	**3**
2010s	0	0	1	0	**1**
TOTAL	**0**	**36**	**24**	**3**	**63**

One thing which unites these disparate sources is that they are never invoked to be Endorsed, and only rarely to be Contested. This suggests two things. Firstly, it suggests that these sources are not drawn upon in order to provide agreement or support for the arguments being made by the author. Secondly, it shows that these sources are routinely invoked in order to highlight changes and breaks in thinking towards sexuality, gender relations, and other norms. In addition to this they are often used as props to contextualize the subjectivity of present-day attitudes towards sexuality. One set of examples deals with the views of historical sources in order to contextualize present-day attitudes towards sexuality:

5.58	In one period of ancient Greece, homosexual love was **held to be** superior in some ways. [H68, 26 – Acknowledge]
5.59	It is interesting that the Albigensians, a twelfth-century heretical sect who nearly succeeded in over-running the southern parts of Europe and especially Southern France in the twelfth century, **regarded** homosexuality as less degrading than heterosexuality, as it was not concerned with procreation. [J69, 78 – Acknowledge]
5.60	In ancient Greece, male homosexuality was **seen as** a higher form of love than heterosexual unions. [C77, ML11 – Acknowledge]
5.61	In the ancient Greek city-state of Sparta, in about 1000 BC, it was **hoped that** male lovers would be in the same army regiment. People <u>thought that</u> if a warrior was in the same regiment as his lover, he would fight harder in order to impress him. [H94, 17 – Acknowledge]

As we can see from these examples, the authors are invoking the beliefs and the words of various historical sources (ancient Greece being the most common) to highlight that societies have not always been hostile to same-sex attraction and experiences, and indeed in some cases have held same-sex desire in higher regard than opposite-sex desire.

Historical sources are also attributed in order to ridicule their views and beliefs as misguided is some way. One of the most striking examples of this is the repetition of the same apocryphal story throughout the corpus, variously attributed to Queen Victoria and to an unnamed member of the British House of Lords:

5.62	When the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was being discussed about one hundred years ago in the House of Lords, a noble lord, more distinguished than instructed in the facts of life, **pointed out that** as a clause stood the Lords were in danger of making themselves a laughing stock, for it read as if it applied to either sex, and everyone <u>knew that</u> it could not apply to the female sex since an offence was impossible for them. [J69, 148 – Distance]
5.63	Female homosexuality (lesbianism) is not illegal. It was left out of the laws curbing male homosexuals because Queen Victoria **refused to believe that** women (who were <u>not supposed to be</u> interested in sex at all) could do such a thing! [C77, ML07 – Distance]
5.64	Curiously, female homosexuality is not against the law. The story is that when Queen Victoria signed the Sexual Offences Act, she **refused to believe that** women could do such a thing! [H86, ML31 – Distance]
5.65	Lesbian relationships are not illegal as long as both partners are over sixteen. This dates back to Victorian days when legislation against homosexuality was being drawn up: apparently Queen Victoria **refused to believe that** women could indulge in such things and so refused to pass a law against it! [B93, 144 – Distance]
5.66	There is one story told that in the 19th century parliament were all set to bring in legislation against lesbian acts, but they never happened because Queen Victoria **refused to believe that** such things ever took place. [F94, 109 – Distance]

With the exception of the first attribution to the unnamed member of the House of Lords, the examples all bear striking similarities to one another. Each is attributed to Queen Victoria, and is realized as an instance of Distance in the form of an exclamatory sentence. There is also verbatim repetition of the phrases ‘refused to believe that’ and ‘such things’, showing that even though all of the authors are paraphrasing the story, they are doing so consistently and accurately across four decades. This suggests either that the authors are all drawing their story from the same attributed source, or that the story is formulaic enough to enter common knowledge intertextually despite being of questionable veracity (‘the story is that...’, ‘apparently’, ‘there is one story told that...’).

Other examples are concerned with views of sexuality which are presented as old-fashioned, out-of-date or no longer widely held:

5.67	There are no laws against lesbianism in Britain and there is more toleration for female homosexuals in Western society than for males. Primarily this is because of our social inheritance from our Judaeo-Christian ancestors, who **regarded** women as little more than property, and so female sexual behaviour which did not affect males was of little concern to the law-makers. [P69, 79 – Distance]
5.68	Externally he may appear in no way abnormal – only a few homosexualists show the effeminate mannerisms typical of what **used to be termed the ‘nancy-boy’** – but internally he is unable to feel himself a complete adult, and it is not for nothing that the slang word for one of his kind is ‘a queer’. [M71, 84 – Distance]
5.69	In the past, being homosexual **was considered to be** wrong. [L09, 9 – Distance]

This strategy of distancing themselves from the views of previous generations is one which is common to most of the texts in the corpus, and indeed an example can be found in every decade. Regardless of whether homosexuality is evaluated positively or negatively, each author presents their representations of sexuality as more reasonable or accurate than those that came before them.

(5.7.9) Summary of Historical Sources

We may summarise the functions of Historical Sources in the corpus as follows:

- To contextualize present-day views about sexuality
- To present the author's arguments and descriptions of sexuality as more reasonable than what came before

(5.7.10) Reader Sources

In this final section I outline the smallest category of attributions identified within the corpus: those sourced to the reader themselves. This comprises both ‘other stance attributions’ (Coupland and Coupland 2009) whereby words are put into the mouths of the putative reader, and also questions which are purported to have been asked by readers in the past.

Table 12 – Attributions of Reader Sources by Decade

	Endorse	*Acknowledge*	*Distance*	*Contest*	**TOTAL**
1950s	0	0	0	0	**0**
1960s	0	1	0	0	**0**
1970s	0	2	0	0	**0**
1980s	0	7	0	0	**0**
1990s	0	16	0	0	**0**
2000s	0	15	0	0	**0**
2010s	0	3	0	0	**0**
TOTAL	**0**	**44**	**0**	**0**	**44**

What differentiates these attributions from others is that they provide a structuring function to the sexuality chapters, for example as part of an FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions) section. Below is a typical example of an attribution given in question and answer format common to many texts throughout the SexEd corpus:

5.70	Question **"Can relationships with the same sex in later or adult life stem from schooldays?"** In some cases they can. There is a natural phase in adolescence when our friends for the first time become more important to us than our parents, and these friends are usually of our own sex, though they may be of both. [D66, 2 – Acknowledge]

While it remains unclear whether these questions are really anything more than a fictitious pedagogic device for introducing a particular topic, they are treated by the authors as representing real people's questions, concerns and anxieties, and so are included within the analysis here. Because of their role in introducing frequently asked questions and other sections within the texts, and of airing views and concerns, rhetorical attributions are invariably classed as instances of *Acknowledge*. They are merely re-presented in verbatim, and therefore may not be subjected to the kind of evaluation which would determine whether they are Endorsed, Distanced from or Contested. They are to some extent Endorsed however by virtue of their inclusion within the manuals.

Some of the sexuality chapters and sections within the corpus are produced entirely in the style of a question and answer format, with the choice of question shaping the subsequent discussion of sexuality:

5.71	**What is homosexuality and how do homosexuals have sexual relations?** Each of us goes through stages of physical development in the process of growing up... [K73, ML01 – Acknowledge]
5.72	**AM I GAY, AM I STRAIGHT?** Our main aim in this book is to help you feel good about your sexuality, regardless of whether you are sexually active or not, or whether you are attracted to people of the same sex, the opposite sex or both... [PP88, 1 – Acknowledge]

It is of interest to collate these questions and to look for patterns in the choices of topic used to structure the discussions about sexuality. The point of many of the questions is to provide a premise for introducing a change of discussion. Some of the questions, however, provide an opportunity to draw attention to, and subsequently challenge, common misconceptions and stereotypes about sexuality, as we can see from the following examples:

5.73	'Is it abnormal to feel attracted to someone of your own sex?' [LS85, 41 – Acknowledge]
5.74	'Is it true that gay men molest small boys?' Edward, 14 years [FW94, 76 – Acknowledge]
5.75	Q: Can I catch homosexuality? [P03, 87 – Acknowledge]

There are other examples which focus on questions young people are purported to have regarding LGBT people:

5.76	What is homosexuality and how do homosexuals have sexual relations? [K73, ML01 - Acknowledge]
5.77	'What problems do homosexual people have?' [LS85, 55 – Acknowledge]

5.78	'What is it that gay and lesbian people do?' Jane, 16 years [FW94, 72 – Acknowledge]
5.79	Q: How do gays and lesbians have sex? [P03, 83 – Acknowledge]

The majority of these questions deal with same-sex sexual intercourse and what it entails. It is interesting to note how same-sex sexual activity usually requires a separate section by itself, with responsibility for initially introducing the topic devolved to a purported reader question. This is in contrast to discussions of opposite-sex sexual activity which do not use such external introductions, and are dealt with extensively throughout other chapters in the texts. One potential reason for the discrepancy in the treatment of opposite- and same-sex sexual activity could lie in the perennial emphasis on sex as a procreative activity (as opposed to, say, a recreational one) throughout the texts in the corpus. Discussion of opposite-sex sex often comes as a by-product of sections on the reproductive cycle of humans, something which same-sex sex does not encompass. Given the traditional reluctance with which many didactic sex education manuals have broached the topic of sex for pleasure (Porter and Hall 1994), discussions of same-sex sexual activity provides particular difficulties given that it cannot be paired conveniently with the metaphorical fig leaf of human reproduction.

(5.7.11) Summary of Reader Sources

The functions of reader questions may be summarised as follows:

- To provide a premise for discussing, and subsequently refuting, misconceptions and stereotypes
- To answer frequently asked questions by young people about sex and sexuality

(5.8) Section Summary

In this section I have outlined the various different speakers who are attributed by the authors in their discussions of sexuality. We have observed how there are five categories of sources which are allowed to speak throughout the corpus. The 942 identified attributions are distributed between the sources as follows:

1. **Society** sources (543 attributions – 57.64%)
2. **Authority** sources (167 attributions – 17.72%)
3. **LGBT** sources (125 attributions – 13.26%)
4. **Historical** sources (63 attributions – 6.68%)
5. **Reader** as source (44 attributions – 4.67%)

We have observed that **Society** sources are attributed for the following purposes:

i) To show what are the received sexuality labels of the day

ii) To highlight and challenge misconceptions and stereotypes about sexuality

iii) To act as a barometer for changing attitudes towards sexuality within society

We have seen that **Authority** sources are attributed for following reasons:

i) To attempt to account for sexual orientation

ii) To provide statistics on sexual orientation

iii) To challenge attitudes towards sexual orientation

We have shown that **LGBT** sources are attributed for the following purposes:

i) To delegitimise same-sex desire and relationships

ii) To highlight and challenge stereotypes and misconceptions about sexuality

iii) To empathise and validate the feelings of LGBT readers of these manuals

We have also seen that **Historical** sources are attributed for the following reasons:

i) To contextualize present-day views about sexuality

ii) To present the author's arguments and descriptions of sexuality as more reasonable than what came before

Finally, we have observed how **The Reader** is attributed as a source for the following purpose:

i) To provide a premise for discussing, and subsequently refuting, misconceptions and stereotypes

ii) To answer frequently asked questions by young people about sex and sexuality

This section has also argued for an extension of Martin and White's (2005) ENGAGEMENT framework, by incorporating the new sub-category of 'Contest', along with 'Endorse', 'Acknowledge' and 'Distance'. These categories of attribution may be viewed as existing along a cline, with 'Endorse' at the one end representing a sharing of responsibility between author and source, and 'Contest' at the other representing the author explicitly challenging the veracity of the source. The new category allows for a differentiation between those attributions where the author/averrer *does not* challenge the veracity of the proposition even though she devolves herself of responsibility for it (i.e. 'Distance'), and those where the author *does* challenge the veracity of the proposition and simultaneously devolves herself of responsibility (i.e. 'Contest'). It is hoped the addition of the new sub-category will allow for more nuanced readings of texts containing attributions. Investigations of the new 'Contest' category may prove of interest when analyzing attributions made to controversial sources, or attributions made to members of a group or organization for which a spokesperson for that group/organization has to be seen to distance themselves publicly from the proposition (even if privately those views are endorsed), for example.

Finally, it has been shown that the 942 attributions within the SexEd corpus may be broken down into the following:

1. Endorse (219 attributions – 23.24%)
2. Acknowledge (463 attributions – 49.15%)
3. Distance (108 attributions – 11.46%)
4. Contest (152 attributions – 16.13%)

The overall picture of attributions within the corpus, then, is one of acknowledgement of various views with supporting endorsements of authorities and sections of society. Authors less frequently distance themselves from, or contest, the words of others. When they do they largely do so to correct widespread misconceptions and stereotypes about sexuality or to challenge the negative views held by some about different forms of sexuality.

(6) Analysis 4: Multimodal Discourse Analysis

(6.1) Introduction

This section advocates using a queer approach to the creation of sex education materials for teenagers. While conceding that many people do indeed use essentialist sexuality labels to self-identify (e.g. ‘gay’, ‘straight’), I propose basing sexuality sections of these books solely on love, relationships, sex, and so on, regardless of the sex of the individuals involved. I also advocate a much greater awareness of the affordances offered by writing and images in the representation of sexuality, and the interplay between those modes. It is found within the present investigation that the two modes often work at cross purposes when representing same-sex relationships and intimacy, and so an awareness of how this can be avoided is of both theoretical and pedagogical interest.

The purpose of the present chapter is to investigate how sexualities are constructed and represented visually in these texts, and how such images interact with linguistic representations. The breakdown of the chapter is as follows: a brief description is provided for Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) on which much multimodal analysis is firmly based (e.g. see Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 for a summary), followed by sections on Multimodal Analysis and Visual Sources in particular. The analyses performed on the texts are then covered. This chapter represents the final analysis section, and provides a crucial multimodal perspective to complement the series of monomodal linguistic analyses that have been outlined in previous chapters. Pictures are an important part of educational texts, and increasingly so as such publications move into more magazine-style formats.

(6.2) Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) is a social semiotic theory of language which construes communication as comprising a series of choices made within a complex system of linguistic realizations. It is made up of three different 'metafunctions' which all function simultaneously:

i) The *Ideational* Metafunction construes the world around us;

ii) The *Interpersonal* Metafunction enacts the relationship with the interlocutor;

iii) The *Textual* Metafunction deals with how language is arranged coherently, and how the flow of information is maintained (See Matthiessen, Teruya & Lam 2010).

The three metafunctions may also be applied to other 'modes' of communication and representation, such as visual images. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have developed a 'grammar of visual design', in which they outline the semiotic resources for how images communicate meaning.

(6.3) Multimodal Analysis on Books for Young People

Whilst at present there are no multimodal studies investigating the visual representation of sexualities in sex education textbooks and manuals, there is a growing body of work on the meanings communicated by images in fiction picture books marketed at children and their parents. The pedagogic motivations driving such multimodal analysis is based on improving children's literacy, and indeed as Painter, Martin and Unsworth (2013: 156) point out, 'when we apply this framework to the analysis of high quality picture books... we can also better appreciate the pedagogic role of such texts in apprenticing young readers into the understanding of literature' (see also Moya Guijarro 2014 for a similar study).

The role of sexuality in same-sex parent picture books for children has also been investigated by Sunderland and McGlashan (2012, 2013). They found that normative discourses around gender roles provide a strong influence on the representations within the texts, and that 'although the co-parents' sexuality was shown in diverse and positive ways, Mums were more frequently constructed than Dads as *co-parents*, and Dads more frequently constructed than Mums as *partners'* (2012: 189 – italics in the original). They also suggest that 'a next step may then be to look at other cases of potentially transgressive text-image combinations – perhaps pedagogic texts on sex education in contexts where such explicit education is widely deemed inappropriate' (2013: 492).

(6.4) Visual Sources

(6.4.1) Types of Image in the SexEd Corpus

Social research may utilize a wide variety of visual sources in the quest to identify commonalities and anomalies of human experience (Banks 2001). Visual sources may be conceived of as signs, images or objects which index a particular meaning or human experience. A classic visual source would be the photograph (Prosser and Schwartz 1998) in which a particular spatial and temporal moment in time has been preserved for the purposes of recollection, documentation and/or information. Visual images may also be relatively mundane objects such as road signs, stamps, and logos on clothes. They can also be tactile experiences such as statues, monuments and plaques. The point of images for the benefit of the social researcher is that they tell us something about the people who are in the image, part of the image, or who created the image itself.

Images are not direct windows into a discourse-external reality, but rather are perceptions of that reality. Photographs, for example, may document a particular scene at a particular time, but the framing and emphasis of the image may only indicate aspects which the photographer deemed most important to him/her(Winston 1998). Indeed successive generations of viewers may focus on different aspects of the image, perhaps a minor individual only partially visible in the background, and the meaning one takes from an image is always dependent upon the context in which it is experienced (Grosvenor 2010).

Visual sources encountered in isolation (e.g. a lone photograph) are often unable to tell us much beyond the immediate content of the image. A single sex education textbook can tell us what topics were deemed worthy of instruction and education at the time of publication, but it cannot tell us if the book was widely read, or as part of a school curriculum. It also cannot tell us if the creator of a document or image was in keeping with rules and traditions surrounding the representation of particular parts of society: in short whether the image was considered conservative, radical, or somewhere in between at the time. Visual sources may state explicitly the creator of the image (e.g. a signed portrait, a copyright acknowledgement for a photograph) but the meaning of the image and the context of its production require additional investigation. Visual sources, then, are a series of partial and subjective ‘windows’ into reality, and are subject to continuous reinterpretation by successive generations of viewers (Prosser 1998). They have the benefit of providing a mode of representation beyond the descriptions provided by the linguistic (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), which can reveal more than would otherwise be the case. Consider for a moment the example of sexuality, and the different representational emphases provided by a linguistic description of ‘homosexuality’ and a concomitant visual description. One would have to decide on features such as skin colour, hair length, body shape, and so on, as part of the visual description, features which would not necessarily appear in a purely linguistic description of a gay man or lesbian woman.

As with the other analysis sections within the thesis, I adopt a Queer Theory approach, which seeks to identify and challenge discrepancies in the way different sexualities are represented (Leap 2014). Whilst Queer Theory does not adhere to formal identity constructions such as ‘homosexual’ or ‘heterosexual’, seeing them as historically-contingent and relatively unstable categories, it follows post-structuralist feminist approaches in temporarily adopting such categories for the purpose of critiquing them (Sauntson 2008). Thus for the purpose of visual analysis, the researcher would identify and critique images which maintain and reproduce binary models of sexuality (gay/straight) and gender (man/woman), and also images which represent same-sex couples unfavourably.

One way in which we may perform multimodal analysis is by identifying tropes common to a number of texts at a given time, or which appear in similar texts over time. The choice of one particular image such as a photograph does not necessarily tell us anything, but when one considers tropes such as *pose*, or *setting*, then we can begin to track the 'social biography' of that trope through successive images, even when these images are all recontextualizations away from their original intentions and meanings. This is one important way in which we can track commonalities in the decision-making process behind the inclusion of these images. Indeed here we must ask: why should different authors, in different sex education manuals, published by very different publishing houses, and at different points in time, all choose such similar third-party images to convey 'homosexuality' and 'coming out'?

The question seems more pertinent when these images are compared against their counterparts depicting opposite-sex couples, the faces and identities of whom are almost always clearly visible to the reader/viewer. Whilst it is possible that the decision to include only gay couples whose identities are obscured is based on ethical grounds of consent, surely this would also apply to heterosexual couples too.

The first visual representations of same-sex couples and attraction does not occur until 1979. Texts published before this year are largely monomodal in that the mode of writing is the predominate mode of communication, with images being very sparse or not used at all (with therefore no sexualities of any description being represented visually). This may have something to do with practicalities of printing and typing in this period. The images that do appear in texts from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, are usually medical and scientific diagrams depicting the labels and functions of the male and female reproductive organs. These tend to be highly abstract, with line sketches used to illustrate the developing penis and vagina.

While it is found that the images of sexuality and same-sex couples and attraction are largely positive throughout the corpus since 1979, there are several recurring patterns of representation which are problematic when viewed through a Queer lens. It is with these patterns which I will focus on in the present chapter.

Many of the books contain many images which depict a wide variety of people, situations and more abstract representations of feelings and emotions. Therefore due to this variety, the present analysis focuses particularly on representations of intimacy and attraction, whether this comprises images of attraction/desire, courtship, kissing, holding hands, cuddling, sexual intercourse, or ritualized contexts such as weddings.

This study utilises a queer approach to multimodal discourse analysis, something which I have termed "Queer Semiotics" (Milani 2013). As with Queer Linguistics, the primary object of investigation with Queer Semiotics is the asymmetry between representations or 'performances' of sexuality and gender identity. In other words, how 'normal' is something, and how 'normal' is it compared with something else? In the context of sexuality studies, a common point of investigation is to understand how same-sex attraction and desire is represented or 'performed' in relation to how opposite-sex attraction and desire is represented or 'performed'.

The present chapter takes a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) approach. As Jewitt notes, 'multimodal research can be applied to take a detailed look at "big" issues and questions through specific instances' (2009: 27). One important aspect of MDA is the investigation of the interplay between modes, in the present case image and text (and also layout). Jewitt (2009: 26) points out that 'the relationships between modes as they are orchestrated in interactions (and texts) may realize tensions between the aspects of meaning in a text. This kind of tension can itself be meaningful and a means for encouraging reflection and critique'. This chapter traces an outline for a queer approach to multimodal discourse analysis. It comprises what would usually be called MDA but without a reliance on fixed and stable gender and sexual identity categories. The approach also attempts to outline the ways in which various modes are utilised to orient to dominant social and sexual norms. Key questions involved in this enterprise include: How are heteronorms encoded and represented within different modes (e.g. speech, writing, image, gesture, and so on)?; How are non-dominant forms of sexual desire and attraction encoded and represented within the different modes?; What are the gains and losses made when attempting to communicate aspects of sexuality through different modes?; Are different modes employed synergistically when representing various aspects of sexuality and sexual desire?

A queer approach to MDA therefore draws attention to the privileging of one manifestation of sexuality over another for the purposes of social critique. It addresses the synergies and tensions afforded when multiple modes are employed to represent sexuality. It also addresses asymmetries in the representations of different forms of sexuality. The 'Discourse' element of MDA comprises routinized ways of representing sexuality which can be manifested through a range of modes. Here I draw upon Sunderland's (2004) approach to the identification and classification of discourses.

In order to illustrate the workings of a Queer Semiotics, or MDA based upon queer theoretical principles, I choose four multimodal patterns which would be of potential interest to scholars of sexuality. Whilst I comment upon the frequency and occurrence of such patterns in my corpus over time, it is more the focus of this paper to highlight the ways in which a MDA analyst may tackle images from a queer perspective. It is hoped the present study provides a useful starting point for further research into multimodal constructions of sexuality along queer lines. It perhaps should also be pointed out that the goals of QMDA are not solely confined to the identification of tensions and social critique of recurring semiotic choices. Rather there should also be room for the identification of synergies and representations which work to undermine or exclude the asymmetries present in public discussions of sexuality. Perhaps the main benefit of undertaking this analysis on a relatively large (for multimodal analysis) diachronic corpus of texts is that one can observe the relative movement of various forms of sexuality towards or away from the centre/periphery of sexual norms. In other words, one can observe what is represented as sexually ‘normal’ at successive points in time over a 65-year period.

(6.5) Methodology

(6.5.1) Section Research Questions

The research questions for the present chapter is as follows:

(i) How are same-sex couples, and same-sex desire, represented visually within these texts over time?

(ii) What text-image relations are present?

(iii) What can a Queer theoretical perspective bring to a multimodal discourse analysis of representations of sexuality?

In order to answer the first question I will address two aspects of the visual representation of sexuality: the ideational and the interpersonal. From an ideational perspective, I analyse what actions non-heterosexuals are represented as performing (thinking, speaking, doing, etc.). I also address the notion of *Commitment*, which comprises how fully someone or something is represented. A high level of commitment will depict a full body, the person’s face and facial expression, and so on. By contrast, a low level of commitment will be metonymic (e.g. just showing clasped hands, talking heads) or mask the features of the individual by concealing their face through body position or through the use of a shadow/silhouette (see Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 134). The representation of the contexts in which these individuals are seen to be inhabiting is also factored into the analysis.

From an interpersonal perspective, I address how the individuals in the images interact (or not) with the teenage reader. This is achieved through *Focalisation*, whereby issues such as gaze and viewpoint serve to enact spatial and ideological stances on behalf of the reader. For example, the meaning communicated by a direct frontal gaze will be different to one where the gaze of the person in the image is achieved through a turned head. Similarly, if the reader is depicted as physically looking down onto the person, as opposed to looking up, different effects are again achieved. One aspect of this framework which does not occur in the genre of didactic sex education manuals for teenagers is the use of mediated gaze. This comprises the reader "seeing through the eyes of someone", which is usually represented by the person's arms or shadow extending away from the reader.

In order to answer the second question I draw on the notion of *epistemological commitment* introduced by Kress (2010: 16). This deals with the capabilities, constraints and commitments of a communicative mode when representing something. For example, it is perhaps easier to *write* about, say, 'love', than it is to *draw* it or *make* an object of it. Returning to the notion of represented sexuality, writing and image both exhibit very different affordances for communicating. When representing people, while the writer may be able to refer generically to 'homosexuals', the illustrator is forced to show details such as skin colour, sex, clothing, facial expression, proximity to others, and so on. Interestingly, it is perhaps the reason why there are no images of 'bisexuals' in the entire 65 year corpus (how does one draw 'a bisexual'?). Indeed much of the epistemological work which goes into the creation and maintenance of essentialist sexual identities is done through the modes of speech and writing. A similar problem occurs for the visual representation of 'gays' and 'lesbians' (and indeed, 'heterosexuals'). How does one depict a lesbian without recourse to culturally arbitrary symbols , proximity to another person of the same sex, or a thought/speech bubble explicitly verbalising it?

The present analysis focuses on the images contained in the sexuality sections of these texts and their accompanying captions or 'anchored' sentences. I briefly review these over the time period. I pick out and discuss 4 recurring patterns which may be of interest to Queer Linguists and discuss these in the context of multimodal discourse analysis. It should be noted that the analysis provided here is based on 'preferred readings' (Hall 1982) of images, and that numerous other potential readings are possible. Each will be illustrated with a selection of representative images from the corpus. The patterns identified for discussion are:

Pattern 1 – Visual deletion of same-sex intimacy

Pattern 2 – Visual representations of simplistic sexual binaries

Pattern 3 – The 'Heterosexual Gaze'

Pattern 4 – Structurally marked layout of same-sex intimacy and same-sex attraction representations

The first section investigates the role and frequency of images in the corpus. It focuses specifically on the representation of intimacy, desire, attraction, and love between two individuals. I investigate how visual representations dealing with opposite-sex intimacy compare with those of same-sex intimacy. In addition to looking at similarities and differences over time, I also look at the interaction between the written and visual modes in the representations of intimacy. As Jewitt (2009: 25) notes, 'multimodal research attends to the interplay between modes to look at the specific work of each mode and how each mode interacts with and contributes to the others in the multimodal ensemble'.

In the second section of this paper I discuss four case studies.

(6.6) Multimodal Representations of Sexuality

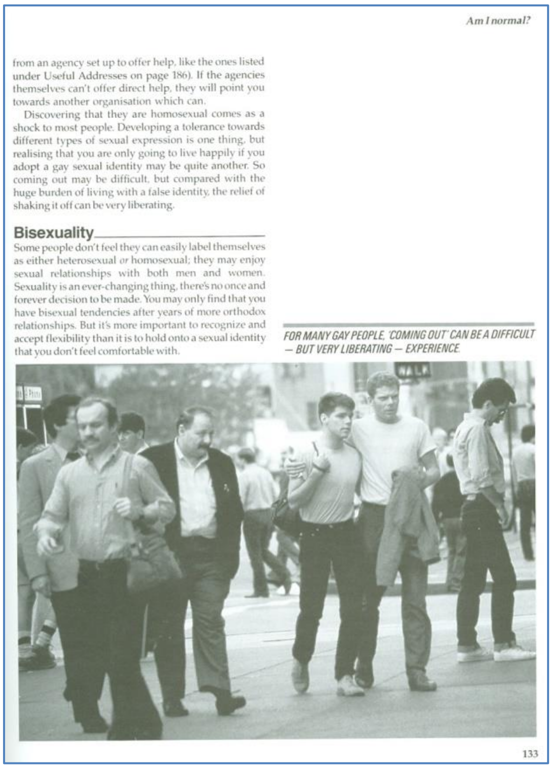
In this section I outline and discuss the types of image which are found within sex education manuals, and discuss their roles and functions in relation to their representation of the subject matter. I then discuss four issues which are brought to light by a critical multimodal analysis of the texts along queer semiotic lines. However before we start to analyze the content of the images for their representations and discourses of sexuality, let us first outline briefly the variety of images which appear in the corpus.

(6.6.1) Photographic Images

One of the most common forms of visual image within didactic sex education manuals is that of the photograph. The authors and publishers of the manuals invariably draw upon 'found' stock library photographs in order to illustrate a particular topic (as evidenced by the numerous copyright acknowledgements at the beginning of each manual). Indeed of the 88 manuals analyzed for this study, none explicitly use purposely commissioned photographs, rather recontextualizing images already in existence. The only commissioned images are provided by in-house illustrators, rather than photographers (which are discussed in the next section).

The photograph in Figure 15 (below) is taken from the section on 'Homosexuality' in the Wellings (1986) text, and comes with a brief caption reading: 'For many gay people, "coming out" can be a difficult – but very liberating – experience'. The photograph is of a busy inner city street scene. It shows two young males walking down the street with their arms around each other. It is not explicit by looking at the image whether these two individuals are partners or merely friends, but the framing of it within a sexuality chapter suggests the former. From the appearance and dress of the individuals it appears that this is a 'western' city located within a warm climate (most of the individuals are not wearing coats), something further evidenced by the American-style street traffic 'WALK' sign visible in the background. One immediate question raised by this image is why a *British* textbook would utilise a visibly American street scene to illustrate the topic of homosexuality in Britain. As readers and researchers we do not necessarily know the previous uses or 'social biography' of a particular image (Grosvenor 2010), and so we have to infer the logic behind its selection and its *re*-presentation within a sex education manual.

Fig.15 A page from Wellings (1986) *First Love, First Sex: A Practical Guide to Relationships*



Am I normal?

from an agency set up to offer help, like the ones listed under Useful Addresses on page 186). If the agencies themselves can't offer direct help, they will point you towards another organisation which can.

Discovering that they are homosexual comes as a shock to most people. Developing a tolerance towards different types of sexual expression is one thing, but realising that you are only going to live happily if you adopt a gay sexual identity may be quite another. So coming out may be difficult, but compared with the huge burden of living with a false identity, the relief of shaking it off can be very liberating.

Bisexuality

Some people don't feel they can easily label themselves as either heterosexual *or* homosexual; they may enjoy sexual relationships with both men and women. Sexuality is an ever-changing thing, there's no once and forever decision to be made. You may only find that you have bisexual tendencies after years of more orthodox relationships. But it's more important to recognize and accept flexibility than it is to hold onto a sexual identity that you don't feel comfortable with.

FOR MANY GAY PEOPLE, 'COMING OUT' CAN BE A DIFFICULT — BUT VERY LIBERATING — EXPERIENCE.

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Given that sex education manuals such as these rely on ‘found’ photographic images, it is important to ask what range of images on ‘homosexuality’ pre-exist for selection by the publishers and authors. Were there no photographs of *British* street scenes depicting same-sex partners? Was this the only photograph in the library archive at the time which depicted same-sex partners in a public setting? Indeed as Grosvenor points out, ‘the meaning[s] we take from photographs are always framed by the context in which we come upon them’ (2010: 155). Therefore we encounter this recontextualized image with a caption which did not accompany the original, and presented within a section on homosexuality found in a pedagogic manual on sex education. We must also take care not to draw too many inferences about the composition of the image and the context in which the photograph was taken, given that the main driver of choice behind this image could well have been a lack of suitable alternatives. If we discover that this photograph was chosen from many potential candidate images, then there would be grounds for then investigating what elements of this photograph qualified it as the most suitable image to convey the topic of ‘homosexuality’ and ‘coming out’.

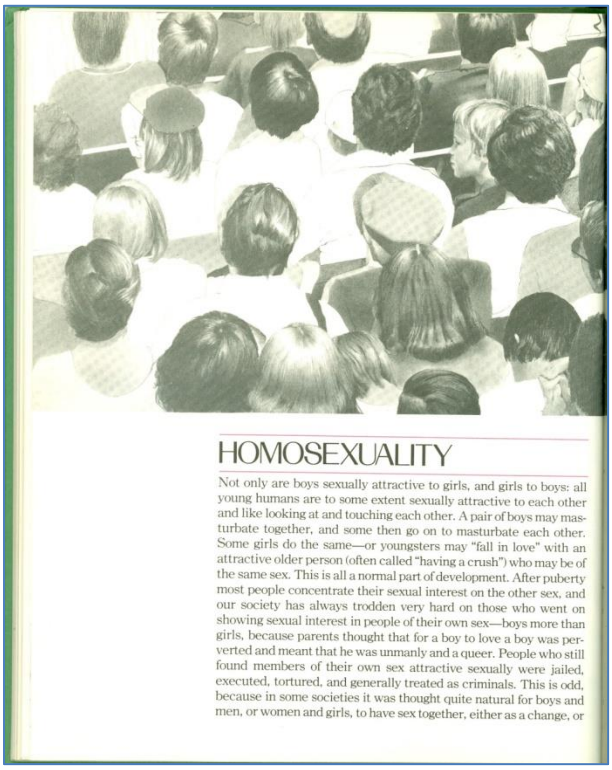
Even though we cannot necessarily draw conclusions from the choice of a *single* image, we can look at the repetitive selection of tropes within images used in sex education manuals over time in order to draw conclusions about choice and meaning. Much work has been undertaken under the aegis of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) to this end, with a view to highlighting and challenging the repeated use of linguistic, visual, aural, and haptic ‘discourses’ which undermine or challenge different groups in society (for a study specific to sex education see Jewitt and Oyama 2001).

(6.6.2) Illustrator's Sketches

In addition to photographs, many of the manuals utilise in-house illustrators to provide life-like sketches to accompany the text. The status of sketches is slightly different from that of the photographs discussed above. For one, the image is not a recontextualization, but rather an original image commissioned for the manual. Issues of choice, framing, composition, perspective, gaze and many other factors comprising the 'grammar' of visual design (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 114-153) are therefore much more pertinent for the social researcher to analyze here.

Figure 16 (below) draws upon another trope sometimes used in the 'Homosexuality' sections of sex education manuals: that of the generic crowd scene.

Fig. 16 A page from Comfort and Comfort (1979) *The Facts of Love*



HOMOSEXUALITY

Not only are boys sexually attractive to girls, and girls to boys: all young humans are to some extent sexually attractive to each other and like looking at and touching each other. A pair of boys may masturbate together, and some then go on to masturbate each other. Some girls do the same—or youngsters may "fall in love" with an attractive older person (often called "having a crush") who may be of the same sex. This is all a normal part of development. After puberty most people concentrate their sexual interest on the other sex, and our society has always trodden very hard on those who went on showing sexual interest in people of their own sex—boys more than girls, because parents thought that for a boy to love a boy was perverted and meant that he was unmanly and a queer. People who still found members of their own sex attractive sexually were jailed, executed, tortured, and generally treated as criminals. This is odd, because in some societies it was thought quite natural for boys and men, or women and girls, to have sex together, either as a change, or

The purpose of such illustrations is to show that it is not possible to judge someone's sexuality from appearance alone, and crowd (or in this case, school classroom) images such as this also tend to be accompanied by the latest statistics about the number of gay people in the general population: the visual point being made that one in ten/twenty/fifty etc. of the people in the crowd is likely to be gay.

Sketches such as this give the author and publisher an advantage over 'found' stock photographs insomuch as they allow them more freedom to represent the topic how they like. Whilst pre-existing photographs may be framed or digitally altered to fit particular pedagogic agendas, sketches may be tailored to the specific needs of each manual. Perhaps due to the additional cost of employing an illustrator to produce such images, sketches are relatively uncommon compared to stock library photographs.

Due to the versatility of commissioned sketches, manuals may employ more abstract interpretations of a given topic, as in the case of Figure 17 (below). When illustrators produce drawings of people, they must first decide how realistic they want those images to be. This decision may be complicated when the topic is politically and educationally sensitive (like sexuality), and so a degree of greater abstraction allows for more creative freedom in representing same-sex desire. The deliberate abstraction of images of same-sex desire may act as a metaphorical fig leaf by shielding the publishers from accusations of controversy whilst simultaneously fulfilling the visual requirements of representing the topic in question. That said, abstract images such as Figure 17 are very rare in the corpus, with authors and publishers often choosing not to include images at all in politically sensitive sections of the manuals.

Fig. 17 A page from Wellings (1986) *First Love, First Sex: A Practical Guide to Relationships*

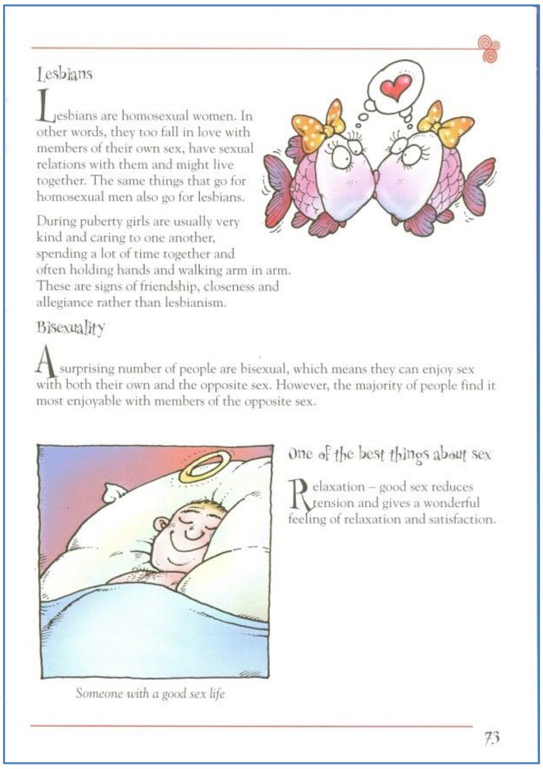
When looking at a sketch like this, we may want to ask: why does the author use a sketch in a manual otherwise filled with (in this instance) photographs? This may be attributable to the fact that most manuals have a particular visual style or theme running throughout. In the Wellings text for example, photographs are used to represent the outward world of social experiences (e.g. socialising with friends and partners) and important occasions (e.g. first dates, marriage) which adolescents may one day encounter for themselves. By contrast, sketches are introduced periodically to represent the *inward* world of the adolescent, by presenting them in various emotional states, both positive and negative. The minimalism and abstraction seen in the figure above therefore should not be viewed as a strategy of visual representation exclusive to the portrayal of same-sex desire, which is an impression one may make when viewing the image in isolation from the rest of the manual.

(6.6.3) Digital Cartoon Images

Another type of image commonly found in the SexEd corpus is that of the digitally created cartoon. Rapid advances in technology from the 1990s with, for example, the proliferation of computers and smart phone devices meant that the way in which we encounter and create images has changed substantially (Kress 2010). This change is reflected within the corpus, whereby manuals from the 1980s onwards begin to incorporate a larger amount of images than their predecessors. The result of this is that texts from the first three decades of the corpus contain only a few images (usually diagrams of the reproductive cycle) used to illustrate key points within a text. By comparison, the manuals from the final two decades display almost a complete reversal of this image-text ratio, so that text boxes are used to punctuate what is otherwise a glossy, image-heavy, magazine-style format. We also observe the introduction of cartoon images alongside photographs as the primary visual medium for representing sex and sexuality.

Cartoons ultimately come to replace the predominance of stock library photographs seen in manuals from previous decades, and may be original or derived from a pre-existing archive of digital images. Cartoons are low on a cline of realism (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013) thus providing more scope for humour and informality than a posed photograph might otherwise provide. This often provides a playful take on an otherwise sensitive topic, as we may observe in Figure 18 (below) whereby a representation of lesbians is visually realized as two anthropomorphised fish. It is sometimes more difficult to determine the provenance of a digital image than a photographic one, although one can observe similarities if a particular cartoon character or object appears consistently throughout a text. In this particular case, anthropomorphism is only found within this text.

Fig. 18 A page from Petrovic (2002) *The Sex Files*



Lesbians

Lesbians are homosexual women. In other words, they too fall in love with members of their own sex, have sexual relations with them and might live together. The same things that go for homosexual men also go for lesbians.

During puberty girls are usually very kind and caring to one another, spending a lot of time together and often holding hands and walking arm in arm. These are signs of friendship, closeness and allegiance rather than lesbianism.

Bisexuality

A surprising number of people are bisexual, which means they can enjoy sex with both their own and the opposite sex. However, the majority of people find it most enjoyable with members of the opposite sex.

One of the best things about sex

Relaxation – good sex reduces tension and gives a wonderful feeling of relaxation and satisfaction.

Someone with a good sex life

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Cartoon images, as with photographic images, are not unproblematic windows into reality. Neither are they permanent records of representation. Digital images are endlessly recontextualizable, perhaps more so than photographic images, given the ease with which they may easily be 'copied' and 'pasted' between websites, blogs, SMS messages, social media feeds, and so forth. Digital images also have a more tenuous existence than physical images, and their 'technology of display' (Grosvenor 2010: 160) on internet search engines and online archives usually means that our contact with such images is via a computer screen rather than on a printed page, and that one's access to such images may temporarily or even permanently be removed. A small and relatively minor case in point concerns the subtle changes in cartoon characters' clothing and facial expressions in subsequent editions of the same sex education manual. Although not the case here, it is perhaps worthy of further exploration in other multimodal corpora to investigate the social biographies of digital images realized throughout successive editions and reprints of the same text.

We now turn to the first of the four multimodal representations which I discuss from a queer theoretical perspective.

(6.7) Pattern 1: Visual omission of same-sex intimacy

(6.7.1) Introduction

In this section I compare the representations of opposite-sex and same-sex couples to ascertain what, if any, similarities and differences exist between them. I focus on the ways in which these couples are visually represented, followed by a discussion of the activities that they are represented as doing or being part of. In addition to this, and as with any form of discourse analysis, one must also bear in mind that the role of absence (as well as presence) may play an important role in how a topic is represented (Partington 2014).

I then explore the interplay of image and text in several representative examples of same-sex couple images. I discuss to what extent the text and image 'mutually enhance' the meanings of one another (Unsworth and Cleirigh 2011).

(6.7.2) Findings

The following table details the number of opposite-sex and same-sex couple images identified within the corpus:

Table 13 – Distribution of the 584 Couple Images in the SexEd Corpus

	No. of Texts	Images of Opposite-Sex Couples			Images of Same-Sex Couples		
		No.	Texts present	Avg. per text	No.	Texts present	Avg. per text
1950s	10	14	2/10	1.4	0	0/10	0
1960s	13	9	6/13	0.69	0	0/13	0
1970s	12	33	6/12	2.75	1	1/12	0.08
1980s	11	166	10/11	15.09	11	5/11	1
1990s	19	188	15/19	9.89	26	7/19	1.36
2000s	16	96	12/16	6	10	7/16	0.63
2010s	7	23	4/7	3.28	7	3/7	1
TOTAL	**(88)**	**529 (90.6%)**	(55/88)		**55 (9.4%)**	(23/88)	

The results in this table tell us a lot about how couples are represented within the corpus, so let us first break down what the information means. Starting on the left-hand side and working across, the first column breaks the corpus down into its component decades. The second column details how many sex education manuals are found within each of those decades. The next three columns comprise information regarding opposite-sex couples whilst the final three columns outline their same-sex counterparts. For each set of couples, I show the number of individual images identified, how many texts these images appeared in that decade, and finally what the average number of couple images is per text for that decade.

As we can observe, there is a vast discrepancy between the number of images of opposite-sex couples (529 examples – 90.6%) and the number of same-sex couples (55 examples – 9.4%). In addition to this, opposite-sex couples appear at least once in 55 out of a possible 88 texts, whereas same-sex couples appear only in 23. Another interesting observation which confirms the normativity of opposite-sex couples in these texts is that same-sex couples only appear in texts which also contain opposite-sex couples, yet the reverse scenario is not true (i.e. there are no texts where there are *only* same-sex couple representations). As the third column for same-sex couple images intimate, these images usually occur only once in any given text, something which is in stark contrast to the much higher averages displayed by opposite-sex couples images.

The table gives us an indication of the relative representation and placement of couple imagery in these texts. It confirms what we find if we physically leaf through these manuals: that images of opposite-sex couples are pervasive and may be found in almost any section of the manual. In contrast, the manuals which do contain some same-sex couple imagery usually only have one example, and even then that may only be found in the dedicated section on ‘homosexuality’. Same-sex desire and relationships is thus presented almost as a ‘special interest’ section, physically separated from the rest of the text and images. I shall return to this point later as part of the fourth topic for discussion.

Whilst the visual representations of opposite-sex couples and desire become more numerous from the 1970s onwards, it is not until the 1980s that one sees a similar increase in same-sex couple representations. To draw upon a term from Multimodal Discourse

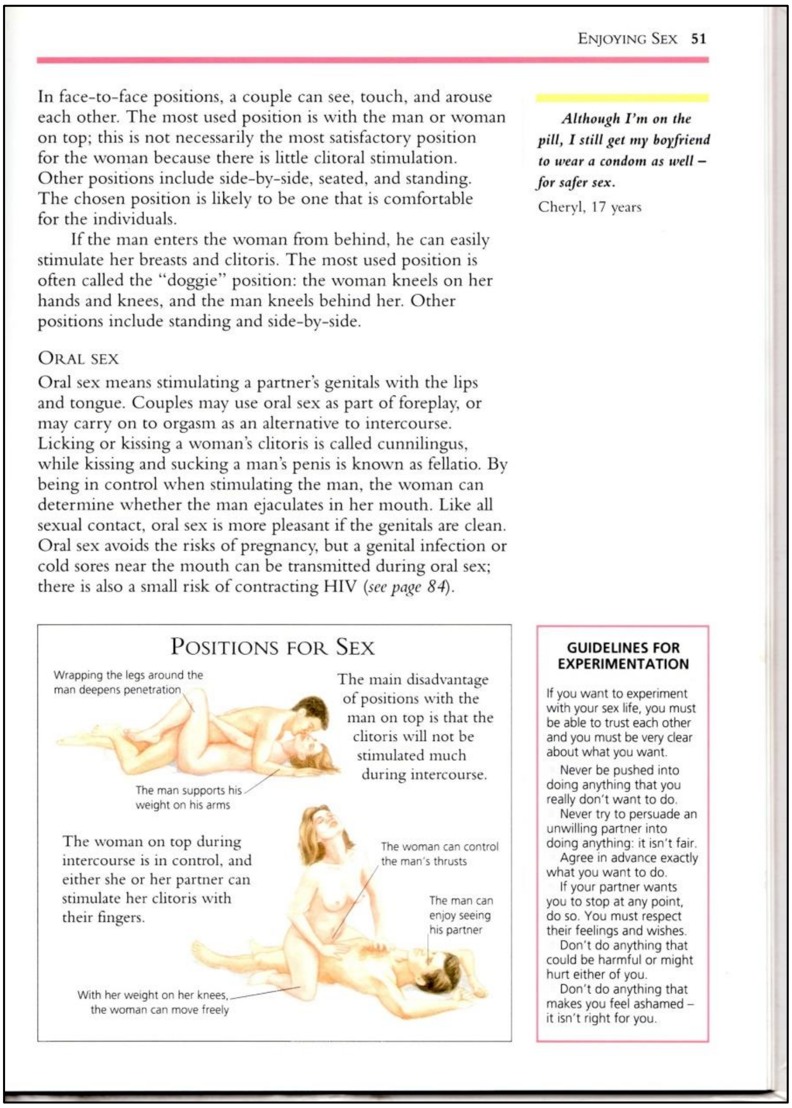
Analysis, the mode of image is exclusively the domain of representations of opposite-sex couples and opposite-sex attraction up to this point. The lack of same-sex visual representations could well be traced to pressure from publishers (certainly in the first three decades of the corpus) for the authors not to contain too much information on 'homosexuality' on the grounds of potentially corrupting young readers (see Epstein and Johnson 1998). At this point in time, the age of consent for two men was 21 years, compared with 16 years for a man and a woman. The 1967 partial decriminalization of homosexuality[15] contained the caveats that two men who have sex must consent, and that the sexual act must be undertaken *in private*. It is therefore likely that any representation of same-sex intimacy in a commercial and publicly-available sex education manual would have fallen within this jurisdiction and been regarded as illegal. The visual omission in this earlier period is also likely the result of wider social and legal prohibitions on representations of same-sex couples than it is of an independent policy of proactive omission on behalf of the major publishers of these manuals.

What emerges when reading the majority of these manuals is that same-sex intimacy is conspicuously absent in the sections on sexuality. Many of the images which contain two people of the same sex holding hands or embracing are depicted as facing away from the reader, with their faces obscured (see next section). Similarly the scientific and medical diagrams of sexual intercourse occur always within a heteronormative (and procreative) framework, with the *male*'s penis entering the *woman*'s vagina. What is striking is that in several of the more progressive manuals, opposite-sex sex is discussed not just within traditional procreative discourses but also in terms of pleasure. Visually, several of the texts

[15] Only between two males, as there was no law criminalizing sexual activity between females.

contain images such as the following which highlight that sexual intercourse is not solely for the begetting of children:

Fig. 19 – A page from Fenwick and Walker (1994) *How Sex Works*



ENJOYING SEX 51

In face-to-face positions, a couple can see, touch, and arouse each other. The most used position is with the man or woman on top; this is not necessarily the most satisfactory position for the woman because there is little clitoral stimulation. Other positions include side-by-side, seated, and standing. The chosen position is likely to be one that is comfortable for the individuals.

If the man enters the woman from behind, he can easily stimulate her breasts and clitoris. The most used position is often called the "doggie" position: the woman kneels on her hands and knees, and the man kneels behind her. Other positions include standing and side-by-side.

ORAL SEX

Oral sex means stimulating a partner's genitals with the lips and tongue. Couples may use oral sex as part of foreplay, or may carry on to orgasm as an alternative to intercourse. Licking or kissing a woman's clitoris is called cunnilingus, while kissing and sucking a man's penis is known as fellatio. By being in control when stimulating the man, the woman can determine whether the man ejaculates in her mouth. Like all sexual contact, oral sex is more pleasant if the genitals are clean. Oral sex avoids the risks of pregnancy, but a genital infection or cold sores near the mouth can be transmitted during oral sex; there is also a small risk of contracting HIV (*see page 84*).

Although I'm on the pill, I still get my boyfriend to wear a condom as well – for safer sex.
Cheryl, 17 years

POSITIONS FOR SEX

Wrapping the legs around the man deepens penetration

The main disadvantage of positions with the man on top is that the clitoris will not be stimulated much during intercourse.

The man supports his weight on his arms

The woman on top during intercourse is in control, and either she or her partner can stimulate her clitoris with their fingers.

The woman can control the man's thrusts

The man can enjoy seeing his partner

With her weight on her knees, the woman can move freely

GUIDELINES FOR EXPERIMENTATION

If you want to experiment with your sex life, you must be able to trust each other and you must be very clear about what you want.

Never be pushed into doing anything that you really don't want to do.

Never try to persuade an unwilling partner into doing anything: it isn't fair.

Agree in advance exactly what you want to do.

If your partner wants you to stop at any point, do so. You must respect their feelings and wishes.

Don't do anything that could be harmful or might hurt either of you.

Don't do anything that makes you feel ashamed – it isn't right for you.

Fig 20 – A page from Gunn (1986) *Sex & You: An Illustrated Guide to the Facts of Life for Young People*


SEX

Above: *Rear entry intercourse allows the penis to enter the vagina from behind, and is one of the few positions that can be comfortably achieved either kneeling or standing.*

Right: *The sitting position allows deep penetration of the vagina, and brings the labia into firmer contact with the base of the penis, often increasing stimulation for both partners.*

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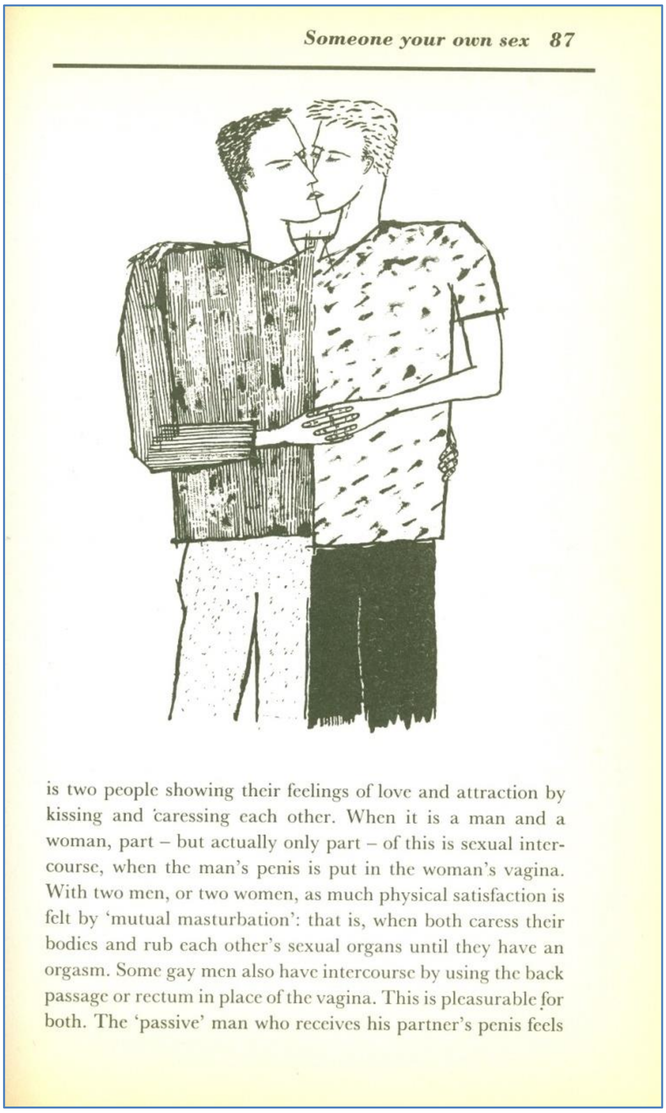
Scenes explicitly depicting sexual intercourse are relatively uncommon in the corpus, and tend to be found within texts in the 1980s and 1990s. They also tend to be found in texts either commissioned by the Family Planning Association, or in texts which contain a "stamp of approval" by them. As we can observe from the two images above, a variety of sexual positions are being modelled by opposite-sex couples. The captions accompanying them explain the benefits of various positions for the purpose of achieving pleasure. By contrast, there are no images at all of same-sex sexual intercourse in any form (photographs, sketches, cartoon images, etc.) in any of the texts. What conclusions might we draw from this? Certainly that at least in some of the texts, some of the time, authors and publishers agree there is a need to acknowledge and depict sex for the purpose of achieving pleasure rather than as an activity for producing offspring. This acknowledgement evidently does not stretch to same-sex intercourse, even though some of the texts concede the importance of showing intercourse outside of a procreative capacity. Given how relatively sparse images of same-sex couples already are in these manuals, with even the most basic of intimacies represented only infrequently, it is perhaps unsurprising that there are no images of intercourse at all. Also, given how these images almost always occur within dedicated sections on homosexuality, authors and publishers may use this limited space as a reason for the exclusion.

There is also a relative lack of other forms of intimacy, such as kissing between same-sex partners. It is perhaps telling that same-sex kissing is only represented when the couple is depicted using low levels of commitment (e.g. through cartoons, anthropomorphism, or both - see Figs. 21 and 22). Examples such as Figure 21 (below) comprise what Painter *et al*. (2013: 30-31) call a ‘Minimalist’ depiction. They utilise a cline of realism with Minimalist at one end, Naturalistic at the other, and Generic somewhere in the middle. They observe that the typical function of minimalist depictions of people is to provide social commentary on them and their surroundings, whilst also establishing a degree of social distance (*Ibid*.: 34). The lack of realism effectively trades individualism for iconicity, with the black and white line sketch of two young males kissing being made to stand in for all men who express same-sex intimacy. I argue that the purpose of such an image is therefore to provide a succinct visual summary: to present types, rather than individuals.

Fig. 21 – a page from Hayman (1986) *It's More Than Sex! A Survival Guide to the Teenage Years*

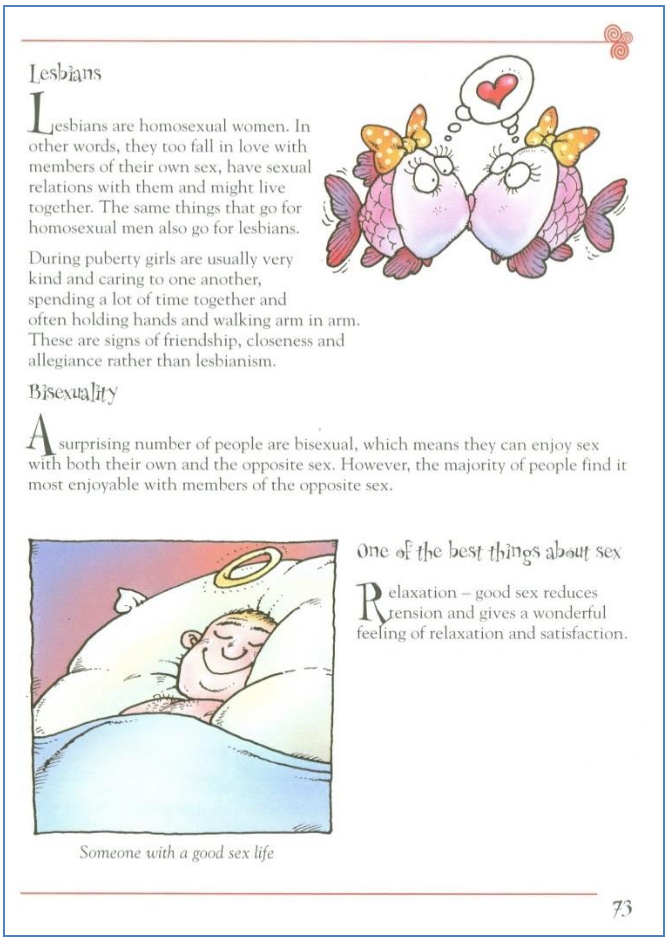


Someone your own sex 87

is two people showing their feelings of love and attraction by kissing and caressing each other. When it is a man and a woman, part – but actually only part – of this is sexual intercourse, when the man's penis is put in the woman's vagina. With two men, or two women, as much physical satisfaction is felt by 'mutual masturbation': that is, when both caress their bodies and rub each other's sexual organs until they have an orgasm. Some gay men also have intercourse by using the back passage or rectum in place of the vagina. This is pleasurable for both. The 'passive' man who receives his partner's penis feels

Figure 21 also depicts a lack of realism in the representation of same-sex intimacy. Perhaps the use not only of anthropomorphism, but also a minimalist style, comprises a more concerted effort not to depict same-sex couples in a way which would invite empathy. The manual from which Figure 22 is taken uses cartoons throughout. The most salient feature of the composition is therefore the ideational element of anthropomorphism which is reserved exclusively for same-sex couples. The literature on anthropomorphism as a tool used in the creation of visual meaning is not as extensive as one might suspect. It is clearly a form of anti-realism which has the potential both to alienate and also to create empathy depending on the context in which it is used (e.g. animal imagery may be used to represent an affectionate display between individuals). Van Leeuwen discusses this in terms of 'Exclusion', which comprises 'not acknowledging the existence of certain people or kinds of people who live and work among us' (2008: 142).

Fig. 22 – a page from Petrovic (2002) *The Sex Files*



Lesbians

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During puberty girls are usually very kind and caring to one another, spending a lot of time together and often holding hands and walking arm in arm. These are signs of friendship, closeness and allegiance rather than lesbianism.

Bisexuality

A surprising number of people are bisexual, which means they can enjoy sex with both their own and the opposite sex. However, the majority of people find it most enjoyable with members of the opposite sex.

One of the best things about sex

Relaxation – good sex reduces tension and gives a wonderful feeling of relaxation and satisfaction.

Someone with a good sex life

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We observe a similar pattern in the absence of kissing as we do with sexual intercourse, albeit kissing realized with low levels of epistemological commitment. This fairly atypical image may also be explained by the fact that a slang term for two lesbians is ‘kissing fish’ (Baker 2002). Unlike their opposite-sex counterparts, same-sex partners never appear kissing in images displaying high levels of epistemological commitment (i.e. in photographs rather than cartoon depictions which are intended to be humorous). Instead, photographs of same-sex intimacy tend to comprise holding of hands and hugging in *public* settings. Indeed, the fact that photographs of same-sex couples do not appear depicting private or intimate settings, such as in the home, is worthy of comment. This is not to say that the homes and day-to-day lives of same-sex couples are not depicted, but rather that an artist’s impression is always used in place of ‘real’ photographs.

Interestingly, visual representations of sexual orientation seem to follow a trend of gradually increasing epistemological commitment over the time period under investigation. This seems to follow a much larger diachronic trend for greater realism in the sex education manuals as a whole, for example with a move away from no images or only sparse abstract medical diagrams of the reproductive organs, to cartoons and photographic images of real bodies. Certainly for the first half of the corpus, same-sex intimacy is represented with low levels of epistemological commitment (or only represented in manuals which utilise a consistent style of low epistemological commitment through the use of cartoons, anthropomorphism, etc.). Here with the representation of same-sex intimacy, there is strong evidence to suggest that high and low levels of epistemological commitment are strongly tied into moral judgements about what is ‘right’ or ‘proper’ to know during adolescence.

When analyzing visual representations of intimacy, we must also take into account the interplay of text and image given that one mode tends to 'enhance' the other (Unsworth and Cleirigh 2011). Consider the following image and its accompanying caption:

Fig. 23 – A page from de la Bedoyere (2010) *Personal Hygiene and Sexual Health*

Many teens have crushes on people of the same sex, but this doesn't necessarily mean they are gay – sexuality is still developing during adolescence.

someone you know, and who is a similar age to you, then you may have a chance at real romance, but be prepared for a possible let-down – Eros is busy shooting as many leaden arrows as he is shooting those lovely golden ones!

Crushes are normal, and usually short-lived, but if you are obsessed with thoughts of someone, or can't shake off the distress of rejection, talk to your friends and ask them to help you find other interests to distract you.

Straight or gay?

The years of adolescence are largely concerned with sexuality – developing bodies that are ready for sex, discovering one's sexuality and preparing for healthy, happy sex lives as adults. During this process you may question whether you are gay or straight. Confused? Here are some useful facts about sexuality:

- Heterosexual ('straight') means having sexual feelings for people of the opposite sex.
- Homosexual ('gay') means having sexual feelings for people of the same sex.
- A lesbian is a gay woman.
- Bisexual means having sexual feelings for people of both sexes.
- Some people only discover they are gay in their teens or as adults.

DiD YOU KNOW?

Being gay or straight is not a choice people make, and your sexuality is not something you can change – it's just the way you are. However, in some societies, gay people are treated as criminals.

HOMOSEXUALITY

Homosexuality is widespread in nature. Young male dolphins, for example, often pair up in sexual partnerships, and nearly all bonobos – apes that are closely related to chimps – are bisexual. They use sex to resolve conflicts and are known as the 'make love, not war' apes!

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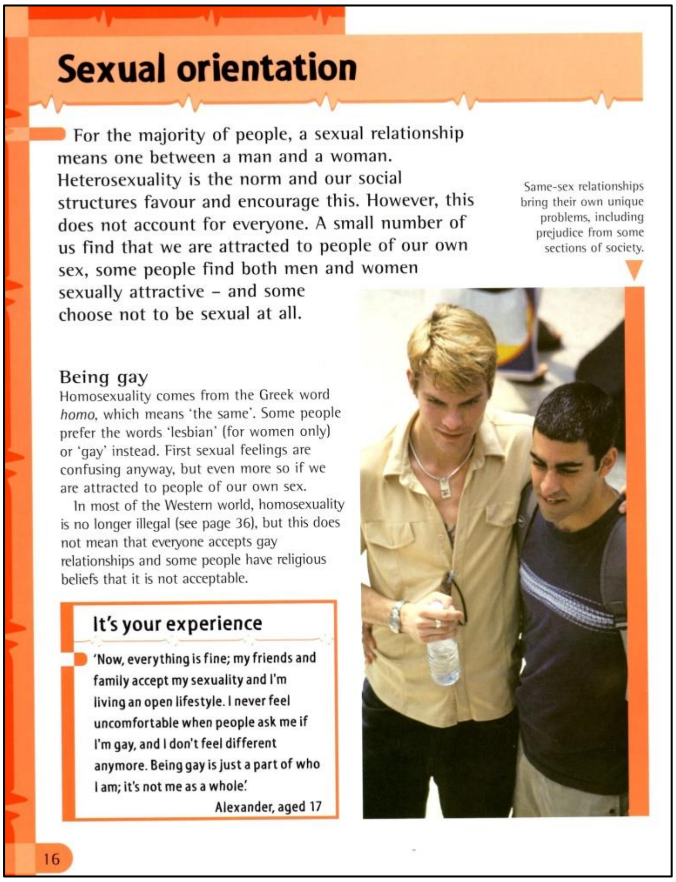
Looking first at the image, we see two young women sitting together in close proximity in an outside setting. One woman has long hair, and the other has short hair, something which perhaps simultaneously appeals to and reinforces a male/female binary with which the adolescent reader will already be familiar. In visual terms this may be a relatively easy trope to draw upon, given that females are perhaps more readily depicted in terms of stereotypes based on hair, clothing, and so on. They are looking at each other affectionately, and it may be assumed from this image that they are a couple. The message conveyed by the image could well be read as "young love".

If we now take into account the caption which accompanies the image, it reads: 'many teens have crushes on people of the same sex, but this doesn't necessarily mean they are gay – sexuality is still developing during adolescence'. Here we may assume that the two women in the image are visual representations of the 'many teens' referenced in the caption. The words discuss homosexuality in relation to the nascent sexual desires of teenagers, and appear somewhat cautious around the labelling of people as 'gay' given that 'sexuality is still developing during adolescence'. The caption therefore may be paraphrased as 'just because you like someone of the same sex *now*, doesn't mean you always will'. On the one hand this may be read as a helpful reassurance to young readers who may be questioning their sexuality and who are anxious as a result of this. On the other hand, the caption asymmetrically advocates caution in ascribing the label of 'gay' to oneself, something which may not be mirrored to advocate caution about ascription of the label 'straight'. Indeed, there is an underlying assumption that the reader will be heterosexual, and that any same-sex desires they may feel will probably be the result of a transient phase in their sexual development.

Taken together, the image and the text produce a meaning which is more than the sum of their composite parts. The "young love" meaning conveyed by the image combined with the caution displayed about same-sex desire in the text produces an overall effect of homosexuality as acceptable but probably not for the reader. The epistemological status of the two women in the image as a 'couple' is downgraded by the text to that of a 'crush'. There is therefore a dissonance between the meanings conveyed by these two modes of representation. This could be due in part to the difference in the affordances offered by the visual and the written modes: for example it is more difficult to differentiate visually the notion of a 'crush' (and thus a temporary attraction) and that of a 'desire' (which is more permanent) than it is to do linguistically. If the purpose of the section is to discuss teenage 'crushes', then the stasis of the image cannot readily account for the temporality of experience conveyed by the change in desire throughout adolescence. If, however, the purpose is to discuss same-sex couples and desire, then enhancing the image with text representing temporary desire seems either to be misplaced, or a deliberate attempt to undermine homosexuality by drawing upon an established discourse of homosexuality as transient. Reading the rest of the text on the page, it is clear that whilst homosexuality is not negatively evaluated, there is a marked absence of positive evaluations also. There appears to be a detached caution shown in the representation of same-sex sexuality in this section therefore, with the result that only the basic facts about definitions and labels are included.

The above is not a unique example in the mismatch of affordances conveyed in representations of same-sex couples. The figure below displays another example where the meaning of the text is at odds with that of the image. The image is of two young men on the street with their arms around each other. Taking the image in isolation, what meaning does it convey? The couple seem to be happy and both looking at the same focal point outside the frame of the image. With the exception of the downwards camera angle, which serves to frame the couple as objects of observation or scrutiny (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013: 19), the image appears to convey nothing which would suggest a negative evaluation. The accompanying text, by contrast, reads: ‘same-sex relationships bring their own unique problems, including prejudice from some sections of society’. Whilst it would be difficult to contest the factuality of the message given (I refer the reader to the analysis section on constraint), it seems a little odd that the message should accompany *this* image, or conversely that the image should accompany *this* message.

Fig. 24 – A page from Hibbert (2004) *Sex and Relationships*



Sexual orientation

For the majority of people, a sexual relationship means one between a man and a woman. Heterosexuality is the norm and our social structures favour and encourage this. However, this does not account for everyone. A small number of us find that we are attracted to people of our own sex, some people find both men and women sexually attractive – and some choose not to be sexual at all.

Same-sex relationships bring their own unique problems, including prejudice from some sections of society.

Being gay

Homosexuality comes from the Greek word *homo*, which means ‘the same’. Some people prefer the words ‘lesbian’ (for women only) or ‘gay’ instead. First sexual feelings are confusing anyway, but even more so if we are attracted to people of our own sex.

In most of the Western world, homosexuality is no longer illegal (see page 36), but this does not mean that everyone accepts gay relationships and some people have religious beliefs that it is not acceptable.

It’s your experience

‘Now, everything is fine; my friends and family accept my sexuality and I'm living an open lifestyle. I never feel uncomfortable when people ask me if I'm gay, and I don't feel different anymore. Being gay is just a part of who I am; it's not me as a whole.’

Alexander, aged 17

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Whilst it is not possible to ascertain for certain, this discrepancy could be explained by the fact that the text is produced prior to the “slotting in” of a relevant image to accompany that text. If this is the case, then as we have observed in the previous two examples, the repeated policy of incorporating generic stock photographs to represent an overall theme rather than complement an accompanying message, has the potential to create problems for how the text is read and understood. Indeed it has already been demonstrated that multimodal discourse analysis can be used to improve the visual literacies of both text producers and text receivers (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013; Moya Guijarro 2014).

(6.7.3) Summary

In this section I have addressed two issues in the visual representation of same-sex couples. Firstly, I demonstrated how same-sex desire and couples are characterized by visual absences even though they are discussed at length in the text. I showed how visual representations of intimacy are reserved for opposite-sex couples, and that same-sex intimacy is almost always presented within texts utilizing low epistemological commitment.

Secondly, I discussed several representative examples of the clash of affordances when images of same-sex couples are 'read' in tandem with their accompanying captions. I showed how the meanings conveyed by the one mode were often different to the other, thus producing an overall discordant effect which not only may hamper visual literacy but also present same-sex couples in a negative light (something which runs counter to the positive evaluations made by many of the texts). From a queer theoretical perspective, the sheer scale of the image ratio between types of couple (529 to 55) is reflective of the heteronormativity which predominates in these texts. The strategies, if one may call them such given how they were likely produced unconsciously, orientate the reader to heteronormativities even where same-sex desire is championed.

(6.8) Pattern 2: Visual representations of simplistic sexual binaries

(6.8.1) Introduction

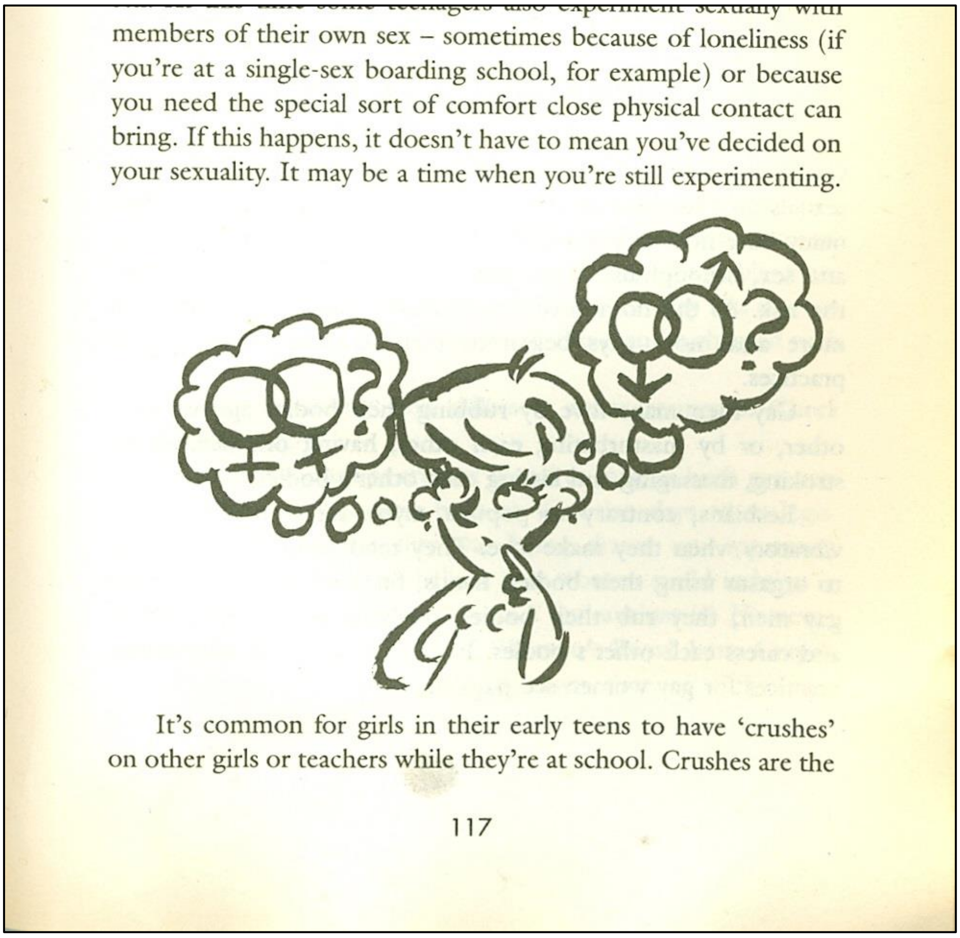
This section deals with the visual representations of the concept of ‘sexuality’. Unlike the previous section which critiqued the representations and absences of same-sex couples in relation to opposite-sex couples, I focus here on the ways in which the images used problematize same-sex sexuality as essentialist, something which is at odds with a queer theoretical approach.

The patterns identified here are not representative of the corpus. Rather, I now begin to focus on areas where some texts have historically represented sexuality in problematic ways.

(6.8.2) Findings

One such problematic pattern is the visual representation of sexuality as a binary choice comprising either heterosexuality or homosexuality. This is perhaps a result of the discrepancies and tensions between the affordances offered by the linguistic and visual modes, given that 'sexuality' is quite an abstract and contested concept. The most common visual realization of this pattern is a thought bubble, as in Figure 25 below.

Fig. 25 – A page from Butterworth (1993) *Straight Talk: How to Handle Sex*



members of their own sex – sometimes because of loneliness (if you're at a single-sex boarding school, for example) or because you need the special sort of comfort close physical contact can bring. If this happens, it doesn't have to mean you've decided on your sexuality. It may be a time when you're still experimenting.

It's common for girls in their early teens to have 'crushes' on other girls or teachers while they're at school. Crushes are the

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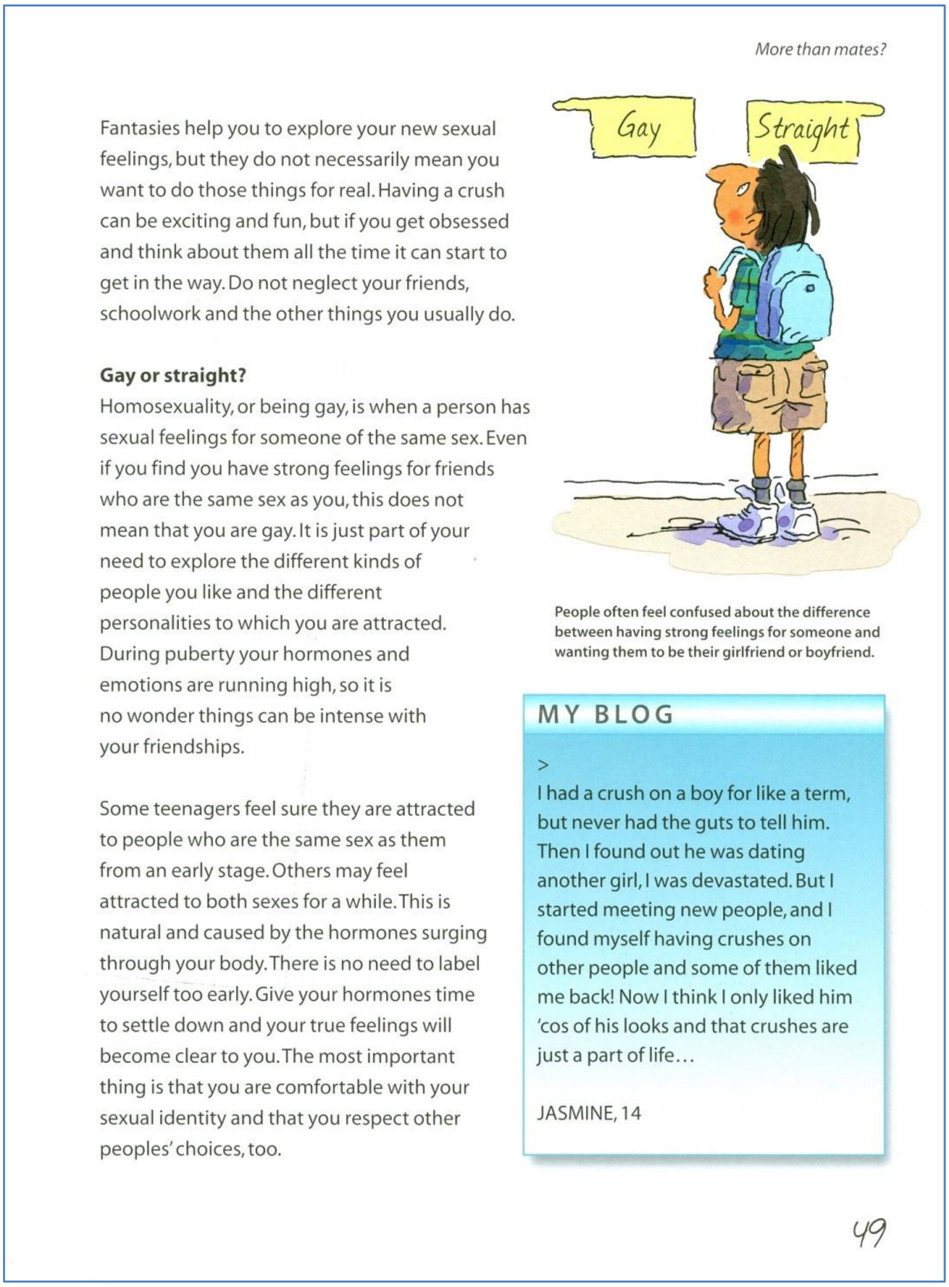
As we can see from this example, we have a minimalist line drawing of a young girl wondering about her sexuality. We see two thought bubbles emerging from her head, the first expressing two ‘Venus’ signs (symbolising female-female desire), and the second expressing two ‘Mars’ signs (symbolising male-male desire). It is possible that the author or illustrator made a mistake in depicting two ‘Mars’ symbols instead of a ‘Mars’ and a ‘Venus’ symbol (i.e. female-male desire), as the text surrounding the image suggests the girl is wondering whether she is gay or straight. Alternatively the image could represent desire and choice between males and females.

Taking a Queer Linguistic perspective, which ‘take[s] pains not to further entrench essentialist discourses of gender and sexual identity’ (Motschenbacher 2010: 7), this image may be viewed as an instantiation of essentialism. Indeed the potential for sexualities other than those which conform to traditional ‘heterosexual’ and ‘homosexual’ identities is erased: the image does not allow for the possibility that the young girl may desire *both* sexes (bisexuality) or *none* at all (asexuality). Whilst many of the texts which contain this pattern contest the existence of fixed sexual identities (‘gay’, ‘straight’, ‘bisexual’ etc.), the images they employ tend to work counterproductively by depicting sexual orientation as a binary choice. Attempting to account for the potential fluidity and contingency of sexual desire in a single static image is likely to be beyond the affordances offered by the visual mode.

Even more explicit in the binary construction of sexuality is Figure 26 (below), which depicts sexuality both as a conscious choice and metaphorically as a direction in which to take one’s life. As with the previous example, the use of a visual binary (in the form of a signpost pointing in two directions) makes no allowances for people who consider their sexualities to be less static than this image otherwise implies. Again, bisexuality and asexuality are erased as possibilities. Indeed all of the images within this category involve an inferred conscious decision as to one’s sexuality at a young age, something which is at odds with the oft-repeated statement in these texts that ‘there is no need to label yourself too early’ (final paragraph in Fig. 26).

Fig. 26 – A page from Spilsbury (2009) *Me Myself and I: All About Sex and Puberty*



More than mates?

Fantasies help you to explore your new sexual feelings, but they do not necessarily mean you want to do those things for real. Having a crush can be exciting and fun, but if you get obsessed and think about them all the time it can start to get in the way. Do not neglect your friends, schoolwork and the other things you usually do.

Gay or straight?
Homosexuality, or being gay, is when a person has sexual feelings for someone of the same sex. Even if you find you have strong feelings for friends who are the same sex as you, this does not mean that you are gay. It is just part of your need to explore the different kinds of people you like and the different personalities to which you are attracted. During puberty your hormones and emotions are running high, so it is no wonder things can be intense with your friendships.

Some teenagers feel sure they are attracted to people who are the same sex as them from an early stage. Others may feel attracted to both sexes for a while. This is natural and caused by the hormones surging through your body. There is no need to label yourself too early. Give your hormones time to settle down and your true feelings will become clear to you. The most important thing is that you are comfortable with your sexual identity and that you respect other peoples’ choices, too.

Gay

Straight

People often feel confused about the difference between having strong feelings for someone and wanting them to be their girlfriend or boyfriend.

MY BLOG

>
I had a crush on a boy for like a term, but never had the guts to tell him. Then I found out he was dating another girl, I was devastated. But I started meeting new people, and I found myself having crushes on other people and some of them liked me back! Now I think I only liked him ‘cos of his looks and that crushes are just a part of life…

JASMINE, 14

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It is a contested notion that one actively chooses one’s sexuality. Whilst this view was particularly common in the earlier texts in the corpus (particularly the 1950s and 1960s), the view of sexuality as shaped by genetics and context becomes increasingly prominent later on in the corpus.

(6.9) Pattern 3: The ‘Heterosexual Gaze’

(6.9.1) Introduction

In this section I focus on the interpersonal element of representations of same-sex couples. In particular I address how the reader is invited to ‘interact’ with the couple through the selective deployment of modal resources such as gaze, social distance, and proximity between the individuals within the image. These comprise important resources as they enact power relations not only between the author and the couple within the recontextualized image, but also between the reader and the image. Indeed the issues of positioning and alignment which are dealt elsewhere with Du Bois’ stance triangle (2007) also hold relevance here.

I take as my focus one particular ensemble of modal resources which is repeated across the final four decades of the corpus. This pattern is defined by a relative lack of visual interaction between the teenage reader and the same-sex couple depicted in the image. Their gazes are facing away from the reader, which serves to create the effect of the reader observing them. In terms of proximity, the couples are usually in medium shot, and always embracing with arms around each other or holding hands within a public setting. I argue that this comprises a ‘heterosexual gaze’ whereby the reader is positioned to look upon the couple as objects of scrutiny rather than as equals. The public setting is perhaps significant in the way that the photos, sketches and digital images were selected and framed. At the time in which this pattern first appears (in 1972), and also later when the photographs were taken, there were strict legal prohibitions on public displays of same-sex intimacy on grounds of public decency. Indeed, a strict application of the law as it stood in the 1970s and early to mid-1990s would see the individuals in these images effectively committing a crime.

This is perhaps a strong contributing factor in the routine selection of these particular images.

(6.9.2) Findings

Of the 23 manuals which depict same-sex couples at least once, 11 of them (47.82%) contain this pattern, with 11 of the 55 images (20%) of same-sex couples conforming to 'the heterosexual gaze'. Of the 11 texts in which this pattern appears, the 'heterosexual gaze' comprises the *only* representation of same-sex couples in 5 of them.

Despite the perhaps necessary legal practicalities of effectively anonymising the same-sex couples, the framing of the images serves to distance those couples from the teenage reader. By looking at them, sometimes from a long distance, we as readers are invited to look upon them as objects of scrutiny (one is almost tempted to say, as a curiosity). The notion of a 'male gaze' is by now familiar to feminist scholars and scholars of gender studies (e.g. see Lazar 2007), but there is a similar principle at work here with what I call the 'heterosexual gaze'. Indeed, as Sunderland and McGlashan (2013: 475) note in their multimodal analysis of same-sex parent picture books for children: 'physical contact between gay people in public [is] a marked social practice to the extent of often being seen as transgressive and deviant'. Interestingly, van Leeuwen (2008: 147) identifies 'at least five different strategies for visually representing people as "others".' These are:

(1) the strategy of exclusion, not representing people at all in contexts where, in reality, they are present;

(2) the strategy of depicting people as the agents of actions which are held in low esteem or regarded as subservient, deviant, criminal, or evil;

(3) the strategy of showing people as homogeneous groups and thereby denying them individual characteristics and differences ("they're all the same");

(4) the strategy of negative cultural connotations;

(5) the strategy of negative racial stereotyping.

On the basis of the present investigation we might also add the following two strategies:

(6) the strategy of routine anonymisation.

This strategy covers images whereby individuals' identities are concealed either by them looking away, or representing them as being at such a long distance that their facial features are obscured;

(7) the strategy of 'visual Apartheid'.

This strategy comprises images whereby individuals or groups are represented as being 'apart' from the rest of 'us'.

Now consider these strategies in relation to the following set of images of same-sex partners, drawn from various points within the corpus:

Fig. 27 – a page from Gunn (1986) *Sex & You: An Illustrated Guide to the Facts of Life for Young People*

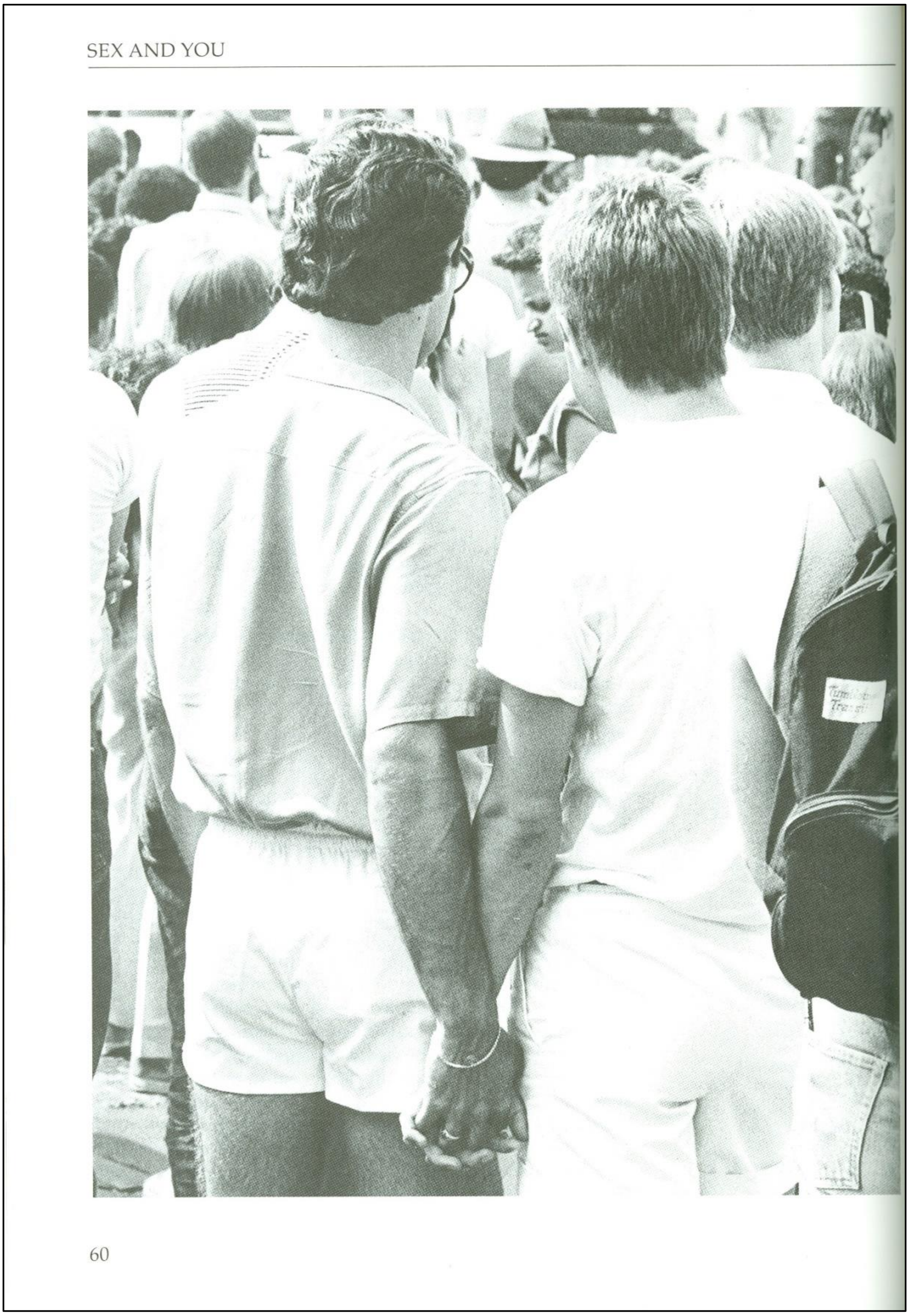


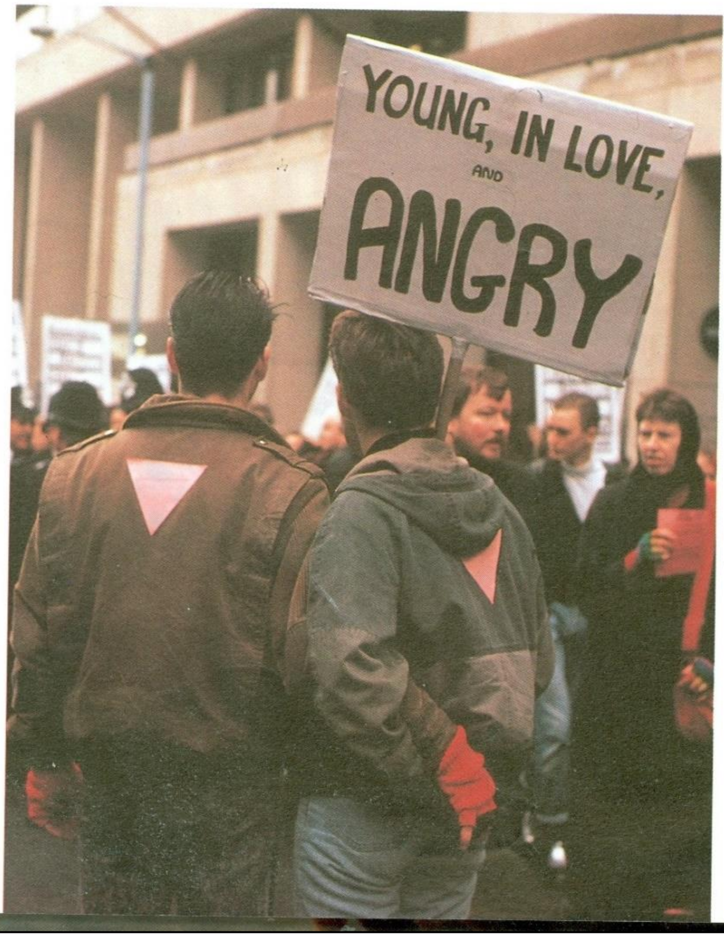
Fig. 28 – a page from Grist (1990) *Sex and Sexuality*

Other scholars point out, however, that the New Testament contains no statement from Christ Himself on homosexuality. They add that the Old Testament ban on homosexuality is irrelevant in the modern world.

> The Old Testament reflects the values of an aspiring Jewish tribe living in an age when survival depended upon producing and preserving as many children as possible. (*Homosexuality Re-examined*)

Values certainly have changed since then: the Old Testament also condemns usury, that is charging interest on money lent.

The religious view of homosexual acts as sinful assumes that a person can, and should, choose not to act on his or her natural sexual inclinations. A more extreme view is that homosexual orientation itself is largely a matter of choice and can, and should, be resisted. Those who subscribe to this view fear that young people are being 'corrupted' by gay propaganda.



Some critics believe that young gay men or boys are following social, rather than sexual, inclinations and are adopting homosexuality for political reasons, perhaps as a form of protest.

Comparative ages of homosexual consent

Irish Republic, Soviet Union – illegal
Denmark, Sweden, France – 15 years
Italy, New Zealand – 16 years
Germany, Canada – 18 years
UK (except for Isle of Man (under review) and Jersey, where it is illegal) – 21 years
In the USA and Australia, each state has its own law.

Fig. 29 – a page from Fenwick and Walker (1994) *How Sex Works*

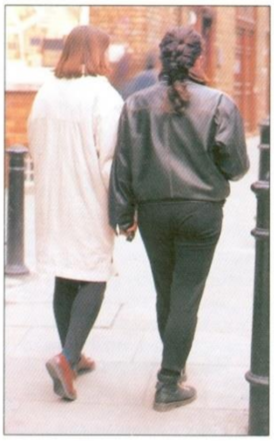
abuse. Being gay or lesbian is part of what you are, like your hair colour or the size of your nose. The problems are created by other people's prejudice and intolerance. Knowing this, some gay and lesbian people choose to try to ignore their feelings or disguise their sexuality. This can cause a great deal of unhappiness. If you are sure of your feelings, you may feel more comfortable if you can at least tell the truth to those who matter most to you.

TELLING YOUR PARENTS

One hard decision to make for anyone who knows they are gay or lesbian is whether to tell their parents. Your parents may be upset at first and will almost certainly need time to get used to the idea. Most people think that there is only one way to live and be happy and that is their way. They may think that unless you have a conventional marriage with children, you won't be happy. And whatever their own feelings, they know also that gays and lesbians are often treated unfairly. They'll be afraid for you.

However, the advantages of telling your parents and not having to keep a very important part of your life secret are enormous. It is quite possible that your parents may have guessed anyway. Loving parents can eventually accept that their child is gay or lesbian.

You may feel that you need a trial run before you tell your parents. A close family friend might be a good person to tell first. They can act as your support when you eventually broach the subject with your parents. A close friend whom you can trust and who will listen and be sympathetic is also a vital source of support. If there isn't anyone you feel you can trust, contact a counselling organizations (*see page 92-93*). By joining a contact group you'll feel more comfortable and confident with your feelings.



BEING TOGETHER
A loving relationship with someone they care about is what most people want, whether thay are gay, lesbian or straight.

"When I called the helpline I realized that she was the first lesbian person I had knowingly talked to. It felt really liberating."

Sue, 16 years

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

What is it that gay and lesbian people do?
Jane, 16 years

Gays and lesbians lead normal lives in which they experience the same sexual and emotional feelings as heterosexuals. They want to be near one another, kiss, and make love like heterosexual people. They can show their sexual feelings by masturbating one another, oral sex or anal sex.

Is it true that gay men molest small boys?
Edward, 14 years

Gay men are no more likely to be interested in small boys than heterosexual men are in small girls. Normal adults prefer their sexual partners to be adults. You should be very wary of any adult who seems interested in you in an overtly sexual way and talk to someone you trust about it.

THE LAW

Lesbianism is not illegal because it doesn't exist in law. Homosexual intercourse is illegal in the United Kingdom under the age of 18. In Australia and New Zealand homosexual intercourse is generally illegal under 18. As the age of consent for heterosexual acts is usually around 16, this represents an institutionalized prejudice against gays (*see page 44*).

Fig. 30 – a page from Forster (1995) *We're Talking About Sex and Relationships*

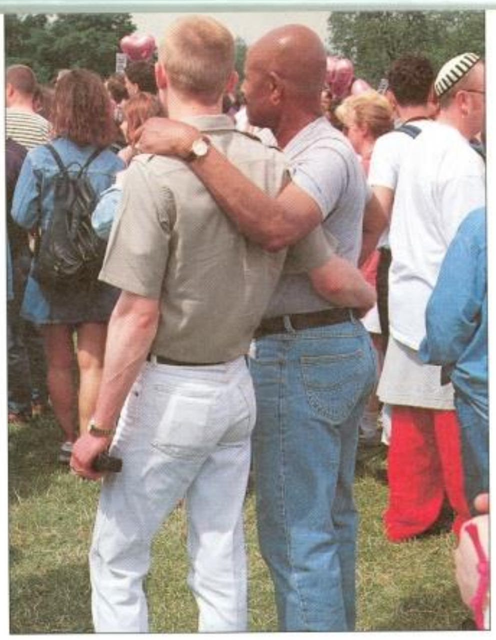
Even if you love someone, you don't have to have sex together. It is important for a couple to wait until they both feel ready for sex, otherwise they won't enjoy it. Some people decide not to have sex until they marry. This might be because of the rules of their religion or because they want their wedding day to be special.

No one should ever force a person to have sex who doesn't want to. This is called rape and it is a very serious crime.

At the moment, you might not like the idea of sex. Don't worry about it. This will change when you are older.

Homosexuality

People who are attracted to the opposite sex are called heterosexual. Some people are sexually attracted to people of the same sex. They are called homosexual. Men who have sex with men are often called gay. Women who have sex with each other are called lesbians.



▲ Darren and Lennox are gay. They are sexually attracted to each other.

Age of consent

In Britain, it is against the law for a man or boy to have sex with a girl who is under sixteen. It is also against the law for a girl or woman to have sex with a boy who is under sixteen. Men are not legally allowed to have sex with each other until they are eighteen. There is no law about the age at which two women can have sex.

If you do have sex underage, you can still get confidential advice from doctors and family planning clinics.

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As we observe, the images reproduced above all draw upon similar compositions and tropes for representing same-sex partners. How we as reader are meant to interact with *these* people does not change much over time, suggesting that institutional or social pressures, or even the absence of credible alternatives (e.g. a dearth of publicly available intimate photographs of same-sex couples with their family at home) converge to ensure that publishers repeatedly draw upon the same visually limited tropes time and again.

One particularly interesting point to note is the combination of the political march in Fig. 29 and the accompanying text implying the political action is the result of homosexuality ('for political reasons'), rather than because of systemic injustice towards same-sex couples. This serves to portray same-sex sexuality as having political, and therefore ulterior, motivations.

One of the most salient similarities within these images concerns the relation between the reader and the people within the image. Whilst I draw upon a similar concept, I do not utilise Painter *et al*.'s (2013) system network for the enacting of social relations between reader and image because it is more geared towards *drawn* or *painted* images. In other words, the system network assumes a level of choice behind each aspect of the composition of each image: something which is applicable to, say, cartoon images, but not to photographs. Indeed, recontextualized photographs come with essentially ready-made compositions, with the author or publisher being unable to exercise as much control over elements within that composition as the original photographer (though in the present day the technology available to alter photographs has become widespread). Whilst there are still issues around the selection and framing of photographic images, the system network does not work as well for the analysis of recontextualized images. A cursory investigation of the acknowledgement sections at the beginning of these manuals reveals that the vast majority of the photographs used are taken from library or other public archives (as opposed to photographs taken by the author). With this is mind, some aspects of the composition are seemingly more salient than others. For example, gaze and spatial proximity retain their status as important factors in the communication of meaning, whereas lighting and colour saturation become less important. It is unknown for certain whether these particular images were chosen from a wide array of alternatives, or whether the image constituted the only relevant one of its kind available at that time, or whether these provided a convenient alternative to sourcing copyright- or privacy-protected photographs. Clues as to *conscious* decisions behind the selection and framing of photographic images may come to the fore as similar compositions are chosen repeatedly over time. Indeed, the fact that different authors and publishers utilise consistently similar compositions (over a number of years) points to social, legal and ideological pressures to render same-sex couples in particular ways, whilst also hinting at what constitutes socially acceptable forms of representation for those couples.

I argue that the two key elements at play within these photographic images are gaze and the social distance between the couples and the reader. Each element is discussed briefly, below.

Gaze

The direction and intensity of someone's gaze has the potential to change drastically the effect upon the reader. A direct frontal gaze may appear demanding, connote anger, or suggest confrontation. By contrast, a sideways gaze may suggest furtiveness, flirtation, or surprise. The vector of one's gaze, coupled with facial expression, is thus a powerful tool for enacting a real or imagined interaction with the reader (Painter, Martin & Unsworth 2013).

The fact that these images repeatedly depict averted gazes with same-sex couples (which also obscures facial expressions) is therefore highly significant. The repetitive absence of gaze embodies an absence of interaction between the same-sex couple and the teenage reader. They are presented as individuals who remain anonymous and with whom the reader has no connection. They are essentially ‘others’. Van Leeuwen uses the term *Objectivation* for this strategy, which he describes as ‘representing people as objects for our scrutiny, rather than as subjects addressing the viewer with their gaze’ (2008: 141).

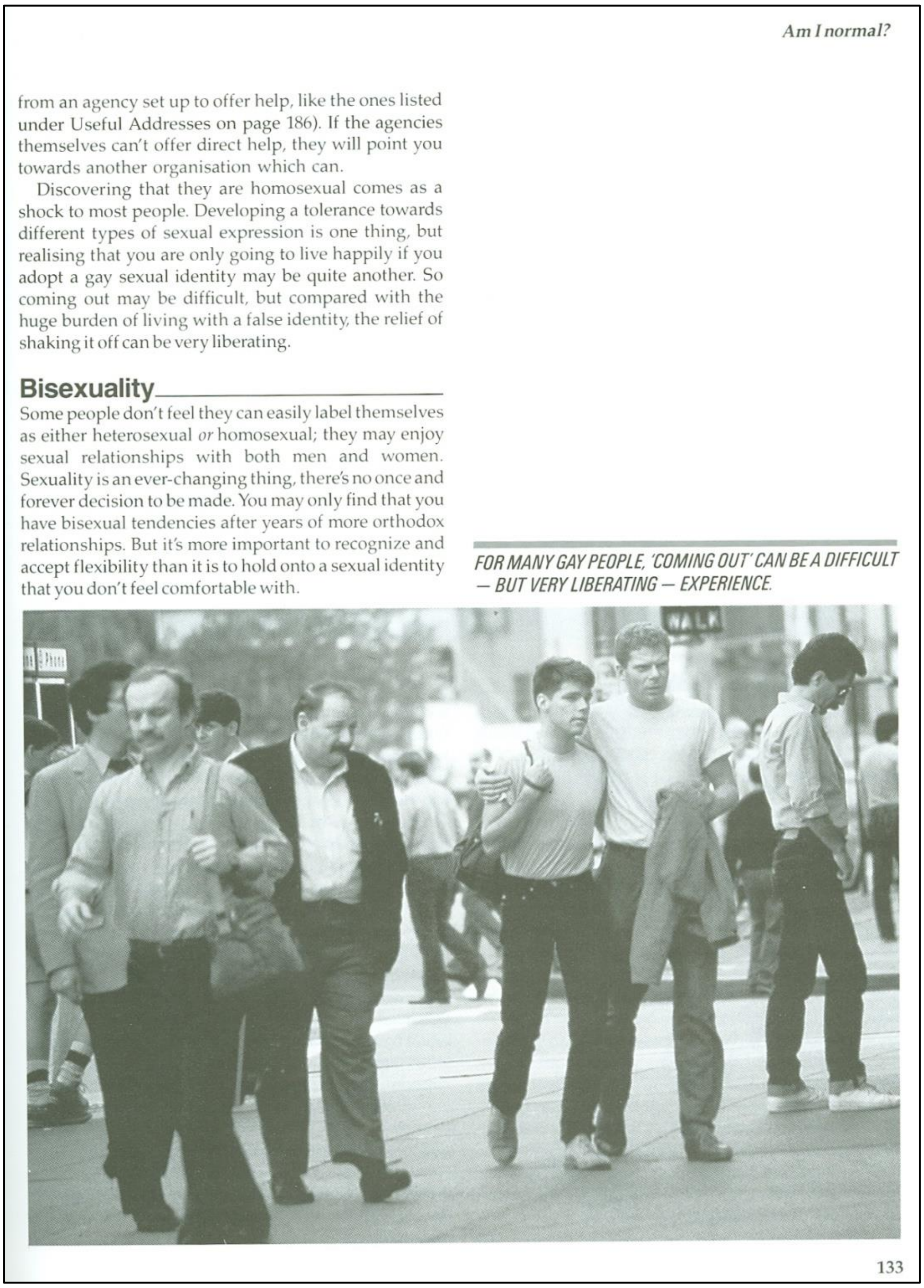
Social Distance

The physical and symbolic distance between reader and represented individual is also an important element within the Heterosexual Gaze. Deciding whether to photograph an individual in long shot, medium shot, or close up can impact upon how the reader views that individual. Long shots connote a sense of unfamiliarity and strangeness, whilst immediate close ups represent a sense of intimacy (given that the reader is symbolically inhabiting that individual’s personal space). Long shot may be characterised by the whole body being visible and which takes up only a portion of the image frame, which means a long way away. Medium shot is characterised as most of the body being visible and which takes up most of, or the entirety of, the frame. Close ups comprise individuals who are so close to the camera lens that only portions of their body are visible (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 124). In this particular pattern, same-sex couples are usually represented in either long or medium shot.

Van Leeuwen (2008: 138) reports similar findings in his and Kress’ research on Australian and Dutch high school textbooks, whereby Aboriginal people and a group of ‘culturally different’ women wearing headscarves are both represented as being at a long distance away from the camera lens (and therefore, symbolically, the reader) in the respective textbooks. An important addition suggested by Sunderland and McGlashan (2013) is that analysis of social distance between individual and reader should also incorporate analysis of proximity between the various individuals within an image. This point may be illustrated with reference to Figure 31 (below), whereby the same-sex couple are presented in medium shot and in close proximity to one another.

Almost nowhere do we find same-sex couples occupying the same physical space as opposite-sex couples. In the very few images which do, there is a vague sense of their being out of place, of being visually marked.

Fig. 31 – a page from Wellings (1986) *First Love, First Sex: A Practical Guide to Relationships*



Am I normal?

from an agency set up to offer help, like the ones listed under Useful Addresses on page 186). If the agencies themselves can't offer direct help, they will point you towards another organisation which can.

Discovering that they are homosexual comes as a shock to most people. Developing a tolerance towards different types of sexual expression is one thing, but realising that you are only going to live happily if you adopt a gay sexual identity may be quite another. So coming out may be difficult, but compared with the huge burden of living with a false identity, the relief of shaking it off can be very liberating.

Bisexuality

Some people don't feel they can easily label themselves as either heterosexual *or* homosexual; they may enjoy sexual relationships with both men and women. Sexuality is an ever-changing thing, there's no once and forever decision to be made. You may only find that you have bisexual tendencies after years of more orthodox relationships. But it's more important to recognize and accept flexibility than it is to hold onto a sexual identity that you don't feel comfortable with.

FOR MANY GAY PEOPLE, 'COMING OUT' CAN BE A DIFFICULT — BUT VERY LIBERATING — EXPERIENCE.

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There is an implicit sense of social distance between the couple and the other passers-by on the street. The medium shot conveys a sense of social distance in addition to the physical, in a way that a close up would convey a sense of personal interaction. Similarly, the lack of close proximity between the couple and the other people is suggestive more of a sense of social detachment than it is of social integration, at least in what I suggest is the preferred reading. Another (more positive) interpretation could be that the couple are ‘brave’ for showing affection in public, at a time when such public displays of affection by same-sex couples are generally frowned upon. This could in itself be used to convey the idea of increasing tolerance and acceptance of such couples, and such displays of affection.. The overall effect of Figure 31 is thus one of social alienation between the couple and the general public, and also between the couple and the teenager reader. It is perhaps likely that a teenage reader who has experienced same-sex attraction would find such images disengaging and uncomfortable, given that they are automatically being positioned to see such couples through a pre-determined Heterosexual Gaze. In pedagogic terms this would likely contribute to a lack of engagement, or ‘investment’ (Norton 2013), in sex education more generally, thus further entrenching the problem of relatively poor levels of safe sexual knowledge among British LGBT adolescents.

(6.9.3) Summary

What I have termed the 'Heterosexual Gaze' may be characterised by a number of things in the representation of same-sex couples, intimacy and attraction. This includes, but is not necessarily limited to;

(i) a *relative* absence of gaze between the same-sex couple in the image and the reader,

(ii) a *relative* lack of proximity between same-sex couples and other people in the photographic image,

(iii) a *relative* lack of proximity between same-sex couples and the reader.

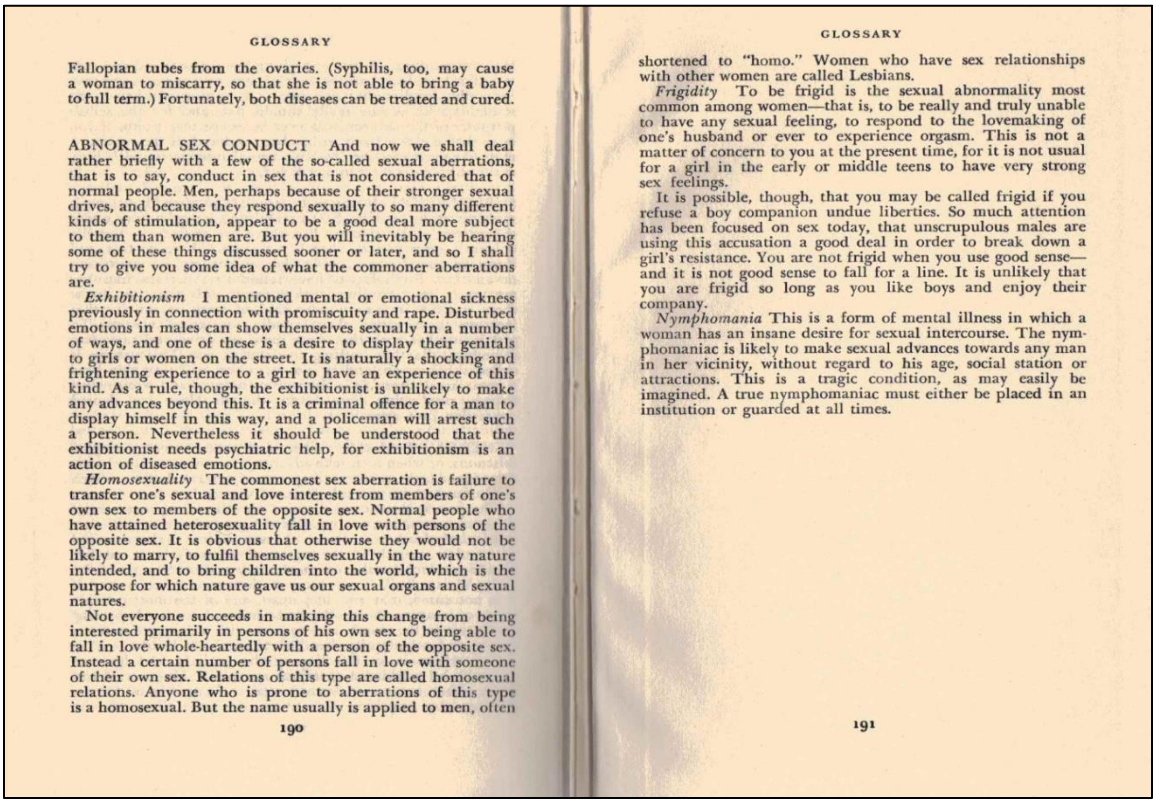
As with the 'male gaze', the 'heterosexual gaze' is predicated on the presence of asymmetrical representations. Unlike the male gaze however, which is geared towards the construction and representation of women in particular ways for the visual appreciation of men [REF], the heterosexual gaze routinely 'others' those who do not conform to traditional heteronormative relationships. Indeed, almost anything could represent a heterosexual gaze as long as it comprises consistent discrepancies in representation. If everyone, regardless of the sex of their partner, was represented consistently with their backs to the reader and their facial features obscured, then there would be no case to answer. Thus a Heterosexual Gaze is only possible to identify in relation to concomitant visual representations of opposite-sex couples.

(6.10) Pattern 4: Structurally marked layouts of same-sex sexuality sections

(6.10.1) Introduction

This fourth and final pattern concerns the overall layout of the manuals, and how representations of same-sex intimacy fit into the geography of the text. Particularly in the first half of the corpus, discussions about homosexuality are marked structurally in several ways. In some of the earliest texts in the 1950s and 1960s, mention of same-sex attraction was restricted to the back pages of the manuals, usually under headings such as 'Sexual Deviations' or 'Sexual Aberrations'. These contained no images, and usually comprised no more than one or two paragraphs outlining the supposed dangers of homosexuality to the developing adolescent (for example see Figure 32 below, which comprises the last two pages of Shultz, 1957).

Fig. 32 – a double page spread from Shultz (1957) *It's Time You Knew*



GLOSSARY

Fallopian tubes from the ovaries. (Syphilis, too, may cause a woman to miscarry, so that she is not able to bring a baby to full term.) Fortunately, both diseases can be treated and cured.

ABNORMAL SEX CONDUCT And now we shall deal rather briefly with a few of the so-called sexual aberrations, that is to say, conduct in sex that is not considered that of normal people. Men, perhaps because of their stronger sexual drives, and because they respond sexually to so many different kinds of stimulation, appear to be a good deal more subject to them than women are. But you will inevitably be hearing some of these things discussed sooner or later, and so I shall try to give you some idea of what the commoner aberrations are.

Exhibitionism I mentioned mental or emotional sickness previously in connection with promiscuity and rape. Disturbed emotions in males can show themselves sexually in a number of ways, and one of these is a desire to display their genitals to girls or women on the street. It is naturally a shocking and frightening experience to a girl to have an experience of this kind. As a rule, though, the exhibitionist is unlikely to make any advances beyond this. It is a criminal offence for a man to display himself in this way, and a policeman will arrest such a person. Nevertheless it should be understood that the exhibitionist needs psychiatric help, for exhibitionism is an action of diseased emotions.

Homosexuality The commonest sex aberration is failure to transfer one's sexual and love interest from members of one's own sex to members of the opposite sex. Normal people who have attained heterosexuality fall in love with persons of the opposite sex. It is obvious that otherwise they would not be likely to marry, to fulfil themselves sexually in the way nature intended, and to bring children into the world, which is the purpose for which nature gave us our sexual organs and sexual natures.

Not everyone succeeds in making this change from being interested primarily in persons of his own sex to being able to fall in love whole-heartedly with a person of the opposite sex. Instead a certain number of persons fall in love with someone of their own sex. Relations of this type are called homosexual relations. Anyone who is prone to aberrations of this type is a homosexual. But the name usually is applied to men, often

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GLOSSARY

shortened to "homo." Women who have sex relationships with other women are called Lesbians.

Frigidity To be frigid is the sexual abnormality most common among women—that is, to be really and truly unable to have any sexual feeling, to respond to the lovemaking of one's husband or ever to experience orgasm. This is not a matter of concern to you at the present time, for it is not usual for a girl in the early or middle teens to have very strong sex feelings.

It is possible, though, that you may be called frigid if you refuse a boy companion undue liberties. So much attention has been focused on sex today, that unscrupulous males are using this accusation a good deal in order to break down a girl's resistance. You are not frigid when you use good sense—and it is not good sense to fall for a line. It is unlikely that you are frigid so long as you like boys and enjoy their company.

Nymphomania This is a form of mental illness in which a woman has an insane desire for sexual intercourse. The nymphomaniac is likely to make sexual advances towards any man in her vicinity, without regard to his age, social station or attractions. This is a tragic condition, as may easily be imagined. A true nymphomaniac must either be placed in an institution or guarded at all times.

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(6.10.2) Findings

Another marked way in which these representations are laid out begins to come into prominence during the 1960s, particularly during the run-up to (and the immediate aftermath of) the partial decriminalization of homosexuality in England and Wales in 1967. This layout continues, albeit less frequently, into the 2000s. These sections constitute essay-like discussions of same-sex sexual activity and attraction, with the 1960s and early 1970s sections constituting some of the longest in the whole corpus.

The main observation about this pattern is that for much of the period under investigation, same-sex intimacy and attraction is set apart in its own dedicated chapter. It is treated firstly as a medical or psychological curiosity, and then later as an object of social, philosophical and historical interest in ways which are asymmetrical to discussions of traditionally heteronormative forms of attraction and intimacy. Here authors (and indeed publishers) are privileging opposite-sex attraction and desire by dedicating a clearly demarcated section for the discussion and explanation of forms of sexual attraction and desire which do not conform to this template. Having a chapter on ‘Homosexuality’ implicitly precludes the applicability of other chapters and parts of the manuals (e.g. ‘Love’, ‘Sexual Intercourse’, ‘Having a Family’, etc.) to those who experience same-sex attraction. Several later manuals from the 1990s onwards actively contest this textual form of segregation by including chapters and sections explicitly on ‘Heterosexuality’ in addition to ones on ‘Homosexuality’ and ‘Bisexuality’. Also, some manuals are published in the form of sexual encyclopaedia, with entries for ‘heterosexuality’, ‘homosexuality’, ‘bisexuality’, etc.

In later texts from the 1980s' onwards we begin to see same-sex intimacy and attraction treated as one amongst many forms of sexual desire. There is gradually less reliance upon essentialist notions of sexual identity, but not wholly so.

Kress (2010) discusses the notion of layout as a Mode in itself, replete with its own affordances and meaning potential. In addition to the emphasis Kress places on analysing compositions at the level of the page, I argue that it is also potentially fruitful to locate representations within the geography of a text as a whole. Whether one gives a particular section pride of place at the beginning of a book, or tucks it away discretely at the very back, can reflect implicit attitudes towards the content on behalf of the author and/or publisher. Similarly, how one decides to allocate space within the whole text (and for what) must also be taken into consideration. A theoretically queer approach questions the very notion of fixed and stable sexual identity categories, so dedicated chapters or sections which deal with topics such as 'Homosexuality' or 'Sexual Aberrations' are of particular interest here. The structuring of the book with chapters predicate on essentialist identity categories serves further to reinforce these notions, even in instances where the main body of the text explicitly draws attention to the subjective nature of sexual labels.

The fact that 'homosexuality' has frequently been afforded its own chapter/section in these manuals does ideological (and ideational, if we look at it in terms of the three Hallidayan metafunctions) work. By specifying one manifestation of sexual desire (i.e. same-sex) and dedicating a whole chapter or section to it, one represents it as an object of study of discussion in its own right. Indeed, the vast majority of manuals which contain chapters entitled 'Homosexuality' (or its near equivalents) rarely contain equivalent chapters entitled 'Heterosexuality'. By singling out one form of sexual desire, and holding it up to explicit scrutiny, one serves to problematize it as an invalid form of sexual expression. With this point in mind, it is of perhaps little surprise that manuals which contain specifically demarcated chapters on ‘Homosexuality’ or ‘The Homosexual’ are the most hostile towards same-sex desire within the corpus.

From a queer perspective, later texts do much to remedy this structural bias against same-sex intimacy. In contrast to the chapters on ‘Homosexuality’ and ‘The Homosexual’ found in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (which are positioned towards the end of the books), one begins to see sections entitled ‘Sexuality’ or ‘Sexual Orientation’. These discuss a wide range of sexual desires (same-sex, opposite-sex, both-sexes, etc.) with less of the asymmetry which characterised their predecessors. Also, these later chapters are distributed more widely throughout the manuals than the earlier texts which confined discussions of same-sex desire to footnotes or to the back pages. It would perhaps be unrealistic and unhelpful for such manuals to omit any mention of essentialist sexual identity categories (‘gay’, ‘lesbian’, ‘heterosexual’, ‘bisexual’, and so on), given that they are part of common parlance when discussing sexuality.

(6.10.3) Summary

Manuals which construct same-sex desire as marked (by affording them their own dedicated chapters) are essentially a feature of the first half of the corpus. This point also covers the asymmetrical placement of discussions of same-sex intimacy within the texts. This pattern has received almost no attention in the previous literature given that most studies have taken a qualitative approach with only a handful of texts. A combined quantitative and qualitative approach over time allows the researcher to identify trends in the content of chapters and their relative placements within the geography of the texts. I argue that multimodal analysis of layout should extend beyond the boundaries of the page (and the double-page spread) to cover a more global arrangement of features within the composition as a whole. In the case of the present corpus, this has revealed a systematic trivializing of same-sex intimacy representations through arrangement and the affordance of chapter space which reinforces essentialist sexual identity categories.

(6.11) Section Summary

In theprevious section we have found that images of opposite-sex intimacy and attraction are almost always unmarked throughout the books, with representations of same-sex intimacy and attraction confined strictly to the sections on “Sexuality” or not included at all. It is also found that the clearly demarcated “Sexuality” sections or chapters in these books create the potential to ‘other’ or otherwise exclude teenage readers who experience same-sex desire or attraction. Single or double classificatory images of ‘homosexuals’ tend to represent same-sex couples as types rather than as individuals, thus revealing that image and text sometimes work at cross purposes. Indeed, whilst the *written* portions of these manuals increasingly acknowledge the possibility of a non-heterosexual teenage reader, the accompanying images largely create a disjointed juxtaposition by *visually* representing same-sex couples as ‘other people’, largely through the use of a ‘heterosexual gaze’. The manuals’ disjunctions between text and image may well serve to alienate the very people they are meant to be educating, whilst privileging the default heteronorm of opposite-sex attraction and desire.

(7) Discussion and Conclusion

(7.1) Revisiting the Research Questions

[RQ1] How is sexuality represented within sex education manuals published between 1950 and July 2014??

[RQ2] Are there changes and constants in these representations of sexuality over time?

[RQ3] How can different linguistic methodologies be used to identify and analyse representations of sexuality?

As these analysis chapters have demonstrated, sexuality may be, and often is, represented in a wide variety of ways, and drawing upon a number of different discourses. Sexuality is regularly construed as a choice or a psychological deviation in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, something which is later commented upon negatively by manuals in subsequent decades.

The corpus-assisted analysis has highlighted that the most frequent actions which collocate with sexuality labels (e.g. 'gay') are words to do with violence and abuse, and are regularly realized through passive constructions. The general trend throughout the corpus is to represent people with same-sex desires as victims, or continuously seeking sexual congress. This is in contrast to people with opposite-sex desires who are primarily introduced for the purpose of comparison with people with same-sex desires, or as themselves having same-sex desires at one point in the past (usually in adolescence). This suggests that 'heterosexuals' are only included to provide a relatively superficial sense of balance, and that in fact they are utilized as a basis on which to further discuss supposed deviations from the heterosexual norm – those in same-sex relationships and having same-sex sexual intercourse.

This point is further reinforced by the analysis chapter on Constraint, where it was found that sexuality has very often been recontextualized in terms of what is (not) possible, be it socially, psychologically, or institutionally. Texts in the first three decades of the corpus are largely preoccupied with the purported genetic and psychological constraints that ‘homosexuals’ face, and frame this within a discourse of help which seeks to restore their ‘inherent’ heterosexuality. From the 1990s onwards we see a shift from genetic and psychological constraints to social and institutional constraints, highlighting instead the injustice and discrimination that people with same-sex desires face on a regular basis.

The chapter on Attribution highlighted the fact that views about sexuality tend to be either endorsed or acknowledged in these manuals, and that the people being endorsed or acknowledged are groups within society and professionals/professional organizations. Interestingly the category of ‘Society’ also comprises the largest group of Distances and Contests, perhaps showing that a common move within this text type is to position oneself as taking a more reasoned and logical approach to sexuality compared to texts which have been published previously (regardless of how positively or negatively the author(s) themselves represent same-sex sexuality). Attribution analysis therefore helps researchers to identify who or what is being invoked by authors in order to legitimate their claims and arguments about sexuality, and same-sex sexuality in particular.

Finally, the Multimodal analysis chapter provided a much-needed visual perspective on the representation of sexuality within these manuals, particularly given the prevalence of this mode within them. It was found that differential treatment of people based on their sexuality was mirrored in the visual as well as the linguistic, with visual representations of same-sex couples adhering closely to common stereotypes and tropes. Of all the forms of analysis conducted, this one yielded perhaps one of the most interesting findings, not least because it exposed the fact that the visual method of representing same-sex relationships was the most resistant to change over the time period. Combinations of such tropes, and relatively low epistemological commitments in visual images, and finally structural biases against chapters on same-sex desires all combine to create an educational framework which is inhibitive to the recognition and celebration of same-sex desires and relationships.

These analyses have shown that representations of sexuality have undergone considerable change over the past 65 years, though visual change has been much more consistent. Even though these manuals are only one form of sexuality and sexual health education (others being sexual health videos, classroom activities, and so on), they comprise perhaps the oldest form of sex education beyond word of mouth (indeed, we have seen that the tradition of these texts dates back to at least the late 17th Century). It is likely that due to rapid technological changes, particularly our ability to learn in new ways and new (online) environments, these texts are rapidly becoming obsolete. This study therefore represents something of an historical study of a dominant text type that is slowly giving way to more modern forms of educational instruction (Hall 2009).

(7.2) Limitations of the Study

In this section I outline the limitations of the present study, and suggest ideas for future projects which could expand upon the work outlined here. Whilst there are many insights the present analysis has afforded us into the representations of sexuality in these manuals, there are a number of limitations to this study:

Firstly, the SexEd Corpus comprises only those sections and chapters which to pertain to sexuality. Only these specific chapters were chosen in order to preserve the focus on the topic of sexuality. However, sexuality comprises merely one of many themed chapters which make up these manuals (e.g. on reproduction, relationships, puberty, school studies, eating healthily, peer pressure, and so on). In order to gain an overall impression of these manuals, and thus how they change or remain the same over time, one would need to transcribe the whole texts into .txt format for the purpose of corpus analysis. Such a move would be very time-consuming given the size of some of the texts (running into well over a hundred pages) and the difficulty with which present optical character recognition software has in reading some of the older texts. A larger study encompassing entire sex education manuals would however be worthwhile for investigating changing attitudes to, and representations of, topics such as sexual intercourse, reproduction, family structure, etc.

Secondly, the study is limited to printed sex education manuals. Traditionally this has been the most common medium in which sex information has been imparted to young people, with other formats such as educational videos and informational websites gradually introduced to supplement existing methods. It is interesting to observe how many of the late 1990s and early 2000s manuals contain references and hyperlinks to accompanying websites, which are represented as containing ‘additional information’ to that found within the manual. Approximately from the mid-2000s however we begin to see the number of printed sex education manuals decrease and instead be replaced by websites as the dominant purveyor of information. The gradual decline of the printed medium in sex education, and the concomitant rise of the online medium, are issues which may be better investigated either from a corpus of online sex education texts, or by a comparison of corpora from the printed and online media.

Thirdly, the SexEd corpus comprises only those manuals which are marketed solely or simultaneously at adolescents. There exist, however, a large number of sex education manuals which are aimed at adults either in their capacity as parents of adolescents (thus imparting advice to them on how to talk about sex to their children) or as subjects who are seeking information for themselves. The tone and focus of such texts tend to be similar to those which are included in the SexEd corpus, however there are a number of differences which may further be explored in a second corpus of adult sex education manuals. In addition to the notion of an adult 'version' of the SexEd corpus, there are even more manuals which are marketed at particular demographics. Indeed corpora could feasibly be created based on those aimed at girls, boys, religious teenagers, LGBT people, and so on.

Fourthly, the corpus deals only with manuals published in English in the UK. It would be interesting to compare corpora from different countries both synchronically and diachronically to see how sexualities are represented. Indeed 'western' English-speaking countries such as Australia, Canada and the USA have well-established traditions of sex education publications stretching back decades. However there is perhaps more to gain from cross-linguistic analysis of corpora in different languages or from texts which are published in regions of the world which problematize non-heterosexuality.

Another limitation of the present study concerns the period of time covered by the corpus. At one end of the spectrum, it would be interesting to investigate those texts which are published before the 1950 start date of the corpus. Admittedly such texts are much fewer and farther between than in subsequent decades, however this could be accounted for by the fact that they were published within a culture of much more stringent regulation around the dissemination of sexual knowledge, regardless of the age of the learner. At the other end of the spectrum, future studies could continue the work begin by this study and analyze the topics and discourses covered by manuals published from 2015 onwards.

A final limitation to note concerns the methodologies more than the texts used. Each of the analytical frameworks applied to the data have their own limitations. Corpus-assisted analysis has been criticized (e.g. Widdowson 2004) for giving an undue impression of objectivity when in fact the role of the researcher is more prevalent than ever (see also Marchi and Taylor 2012; Baker 2016). Constraint analysis is based on the ability of the researcher to identify various types of constraint. As with much of Critical Discourse Analysis, this is undertaken from a particular perspective and is heavily dependent on the subjective judgement of the researcher. What may be a constraint to one researcher, in one time and place, may not be so to another. Therefore this analysis requires the greatest effort in terms of justification and transparency, to provide linguistic evidence to substantiate these claims. The analysis of attributions is more robust in terms of identifying the linguistic feature under scrutiny, though again, researcher judgement is required to allocate a candidate example to one of the four categories: endorse, acknowledge, distance, and contest. Finally, it has been noted how there are ‘preferred readings’ (Hall 1982) of visual images which may run counter to what others ‘take’ from an image (Kress 2010), and indeed, approaching a multimodal text from a different angle, ideological perspective, or even time period may yield very different results. What I have attempted to show here are common patterns, and the likely preferred readings those patterns encourage us, as viewers, to make, though this is not to deny the multitude of readings however.

(7.3) Recommendations for Future Sex Education Material

In this section I outline some recommendations for discussions of sexuality in future sex education materials. Despite the following recommendations being based on the physical, printed versions of sex education manuals, they are fully applicable to the way in which sexualities are represented both linguistically and visually regardless of the medium of communication.

Recommendation 1 – Make explicit that sexuality identity labels are subjective, and that adopting them has both benefits and limitations

The first recommendation for future manuals concerns the use of sexual identity labels (e.g. 'gay', 'straight', 'bisexual'). Whilst there is a growing recognition among the authors of such texts that these labels are subjective and not necessarily adopted by everyone, many of the most recent manuals do not make this point explicitly enough, if at all. Indeed some texts' sections on sexuality merely comprise basic one sentence descriptions of labels and little else. This is potentially problematic for those teenagers who reject the blanket application of labels at a period in their lives when they may be unsure about their sexuality.

This is an area where the application of Queer Theory is of particular use to the adolescent readers of these manuals: indeed, the reader may benefit from being shown that such labels are not reflections of an essentialist identity (i.e. they are not solely defined by their desire for the same/opposite/both/neither sex(es)). In addition to this, they may benefit from knowing that the appropriation of such identities has potential benefits such as political and public recognition of rights and (in)equalities, and also disadvantages attendant on defining oneself solely in relation to one's sexuality.

Recommendation 2 – Do away with dedicated sexuality sections or chapters

This next recommendation is an attempt to better integrate discussions of sexuality, and to prevent it being represented as a 'special interest' section applicable to only a few readers. In some types of sex education manual this is acceptable and reasonable, such as manuals which are structured as an "A-Z of Growing Up", for example. For the majority of texts, however, the depiction of people who do not solely desire the opposite sex often construes them as being outside the umbrella of normativity. This study therefore recommends that sexuality be decoupled from evaluations of normativity by discussing all sexualities together and in generic terms which do not emphasise the applicability of one over others. The point of this is to cater not for specific ratios of people (with the erroneous logic of more pages being devoted to heterosexuals because they are more numerous) but to cover all fields of human experience evenly in relation to sexuality, so that the teenage reader draws no bias from the descriptions or the presentation of those descriptions.

Recommendation 3 – Include an equal ratio of images of same-sex and opposite-sex couples

This third recommendation comprises a change in the way same-sex couples are depicted visually. As I demonstrate in the multimodal analysis section of the thesis, the discrepancy between the 529 opposite-sex images compared with 55 same-sex images is very large and underrepresents same-sex couples considerably. Therefore it is recommended that authors and publishers cease the practice of *only* including one image of same-sex couples, *only* in designated sexuality sections of the manual. Whilst there are several exceptions to this trend, most notably in the 1990s, the vast majority of texts visually underrepresent such couples. According those who self-define as LGBT an ability to visualize a future among friends and family is a luxury which most texts do not yet afford the reader. This may be the result of many texts treating sexuality and desire as a discrete topic, only applicable to those whom it concerns (i.e. to ‘gays’, ‘lesbians’, and ‘bisexuals’). A more thorough integration of sexuality within these texts may remedy the many instances of visual omissions of same-sex couples.

Recommendation 4 – More evenly represent images of same-sex couples performing mundane activities, and engaging in close intimacy

This recommendation concerns the activities that various couples are represented as (not) doing. Whilst this study applauds the inclusion of scenes of intimacy within those images of same-sex couples which do appear, it concomitantly critiques this as the predominant method of visual representation, in addition to the total lack of intimacy beyond the holding of hands or embracing. Indeed there are very few images depicting the mundane day-to-day realities faced by same-sex couples compared with the abundance of such images for opposite-sex couples. Again, while there are exceptions to the rule, these are few and far between. The study therefore recommends more scenes which normalize such couples to the young reader, such as completing household chores, socialising with friends, going on holidays together, bringing up a family, and so on. Finally, the study deplores the *near* visual absence of close forms of intimacy within same-sex couples such as kissing, and the *total* absence of visual representations of sexual intercourse between such couples. The latter in particular is problematic given that such manuals are tasked with instructing young people on the facts of life, not least the role that sex plays within many relationships. Even in the most recent texts there appears to be a reluctance to depict sexual activity which goes beyond the traditional sphere of sex for procreation, and thus the representations of sexual activity between same-sex couples has no doubt suffered as a direct result of this. This study therefore recommends that manuals visually depict scenes of sex for *recreation* in addition to procreation, and between couples of the same and opposite sex.

(7.4) Final Remarks

It is hoped that the present study has shown how an analysis of sex education manuals can reveal the underlying social and sexual mores underpinning the representations and assumptions present in such texts. In addition, it is also hoped that this study has demonstrated the utility of Queer Linguistics for identifying discriminatory representations and critiquing the social and sexual norms upon which they are based, norms which are often overlooked or contested. The study also advocates the importance of broadening the focus of Queer Linguistics to encompass other modes of communication such as the visual, thus arguing for a Queer Semiotics. The overarching political and social goal underpinning Queer Linguistics is to create and maintain equality between individuals regardless of the sex or gender of those whom they desire. To this end it is hoped this relatively young sub-discipline will flourish, and will serve as a much-needed tool in the critique of texts produced by governments and organizations which routinely discriminate against people based on their sexuality.

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Appendix

Table 1 – Texts in the SexEd Corpus

No.	Sex Education Manual	Ref. Code
1	Eustace Chesser (1951) *Grow Up and Live*. Harmondsworth: Penguin	C51
2	Victor Chamberlain (1952) *Adolescence to Maturity: A Practical Guide to Personal Development, Fulfilment and Maturity*. London: The Bodley Head	C52
3	Leonora Eyles (1956) *The New Commonsense About Sex*. London: Victor Gollancz	E56
4	Doris Odlum (1957) *Journey Through Adolescence*. London: Delisle	O57
5	Edward H. Patey (1957) *Boys and Girls Growing Up*. London: A. R. Mowbray & Co.	P57
6	Gladys D. Shultz (1957) *It's Time You Knew*. London: Darwen Finlayson	S57
7	Maxine Davis (1958) *Sex and the Adolescent: A Guide for Young People and Their Parents*. London: Heinemann	D58
8	Marion Lerrigo and Helen Southard (1958) *What's Happening to Me? A Frank Discussion of the Physical, Mental and Emotional Changes in the Boy and Girl From 12-15 Years*. London: William Heinemann	LS58
9	Louisa Guarnero (1959) The Wonder of Growing Up: *A Book for the Modern Girl in Her Early Teens.* London: Campion Press	G59
10	E.R. Matthews (1959) *Sex, Love and Society*. London: Victor Gollancz	M59
11	Rose Hacker (1960) *The Opposite Sex: Vital knowledge about adult relationships – from your first 'date' to married life and love*. London: Pan Books	H60

12	Jonathan Rodney (1960) *Sex Knowledge: A Family Doctor's Frank and Comprehensive Guide to Sex*. London: Arrow Books	R60
13	Kenneth C. Barnes (1962) *He and She: A Penguin Handbook*. Harmondsworth: Penguin	B62
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