Exploring experiences of young-adult Quebec gay men in the workplace after the sex-education

reform by Quebec's Ministry of Education

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Abstract

Using the photovoice method, this thesis study explored the lives of four young gay men in Quebec as they navigate their work, family and social life having received sex education after the 1997 and 2001 sex education reforms put forth by the Ministry of Education of Quebec. These reforms removed sex education from the formal curriculum and expected sex education to be incorporated across the curriculum and be taught from a cross-disciplinary approach. The main three themes of the photovoice findings are: (1) Hiding or suppressing sexual orientation in general and in the workplace. (2) A reluctance to express sexual orientation with family. (3) The need to address stereotypes associated with gay men. Another interesting finding was that change is expected to come from within the gay community or individuals rather than externally. Furthermore, the results indicated that overall the experience of these four young men during high school lacked pertinent LGB education leading to reluctance to express sexual orientation.

The following recommendations are advanced: (1) Provide sex-education and sexual diversity in well developed curriculum units rather than the present across the curriculum approach dependent on teachers' comfort level. (2) Position the LGB as part of the norm – teaching with a vision of LGB**H** rather than LGB as diversity from the norm of **H**eterosexuality. (3) Include gender identity and gender diversity as part of sexual diversity inclusive education, extending the educational approach to LGBTQ**H**. (4) Provide workplace sensitivity training that includes sexual diversity. (5) Revise the teacher education curriculum to equip teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills to develop age appropriate curriculum units to teach about LGBTQ**H**.

Keywords: photovoice, sex education, gay, LGBTQ

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Finally, I would like to thank the friends that I have made through this program. Their support and sharing of experiences has made the process of this program and thesis much more enjoyable. I hope to continue these friendships long after I complete the program.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, who was a proud teacher and always encouraged me to

pursue higher educational studies.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Figures

Exploring experiences of young-adult Quebec gay men in the workplace after the sex-education reform by Quebec's Ministry of Education

Quebec is considered a safe haven for the LGBTQ community (Janicek, Wong & Lee, 2009). The Quebec Policy against Homophobia adopted in 2009 and the Act to Prevent and Stop Bullying and Violence in Schools adopted in 2012 have contributed towards the safe haven status in Quebec. Despite these legal and civil developments, homosexuality and LGBTQ studies remains a topic inconsistently addressed in the Quebec high school curriculum (Garcia, 2015). Expressions such as "that's so gay" persist in school hallways and verbal harassment of sexual minority students are prevalent (Egale, 2011).

In the last few decades, Quebec education has seen several reforms that have affected sex education in high schools. In 1997, an education reform removed sex education from the formal curriculum. Sex education became a cross disciplinary topic and no longer confined to a single course (Duquet, 2003). In 2001, further education reform changes from the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS) were implemented across multiple subject matters where educational practices were expected to prepare students with a competency based approach and a focus on the development of cross-curricular competencies. These educational reform changes have left a sense of uncertainty among teachers on how to incorporate sex education in the curriculum (Otis, Gaudreau, Duquet, Michaud, & Nonn, 2012; Joyce, 2015; Christman, 2014; Dowd, 2009).

Even though Quebec was at the forefront of gay and lesbian rights in Canada, the 1997-1998 curricular reform abolished the Personal and Social Development course, which covered sexual diversity and sexuality education within a specific subject. After the reform, sex education along with sexual diversity was to be covered from a cross-disciplinary competency approach,

and would become the responsibility of the teachers across disciplines to integrate into their curricula. As part of the Personal and Social Development program, which consisted of approximately 25 hours per academic year, secondary levels 3, 4 and 5 included a range of sex education topics, including stereotypes, different relationship options, contraception, and sexually transmitted diseases (Garneau, Guilbert, & Michaud, 2006).

In 2015, Quebec launched a two-year pilot project in 15 schools to re-incorporate sex education into the curriculum. The goal was to re-introduce sex education across all Quebec schools starting as early as grade 1 (Montreal Gazette, 2015). The result of this pilot project is that as of September 2018, sex education is compulsory for all students in Quebec for 5-15 hours each year. According to the plan, gender stereotypes, sexism, homophobia, sexual diversity and social norms are addressed at grade 6. At the Secondary I level other topics such as identity, gender stereotypes, roles, and social norms are addressed. However, respecting sexual diversity for LGBTQ inclusive education is not further highlighted at the high school level (Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur Quebec, 2018a).

Prior to the pilot project and current compulsory re-introduction, the coordination and inclusion of the sex education topics into the curriculum were the responsibility of the school administration and sex education was left at the discretion of stakeholders (Garcia, 2015). Currently, with the compulsory re-introduction of sex education, the MEESQ still expects the principals to formulate the sex education plan annually with staff members and the governing board to approve the plan. However, sex education topics are now compulsory. As before, the school may also bring on professionals such as nurses or community agencies with specific areas of expertise as guest speakers. These areas of expertise include the prevention of discrimination based on sexual and gender diversity as well as prevention of sexual

assault (MEESQ, 2018b). According to the MEESQ, it is more effective to integrate sexual education across subject matters than to confine it to one subject, but no research references are listed. MEESQ also states that countries that have been using this cross-disciplinary approach for years report the lowest rates of sexually transmitted diseases and unplanned pregnancies, but conveniently, this information excludes the cultural context of these countries in question. (MEESQ, 2018c).

The current themes to address with the 2018 re-introduction of sex education are now well outlined in the updated plan available online (MEESQ, 2018d), but the responsibility to review these topics will continue to be distributed among teachers' based on expertise and interests (MEESQ, 2018c). As sex education is now compulsory, but still planned by the school administrators and dependent on teacher's expertise, whether this compulsory re-introduction will result in consistent sex education topics covered year-to-year and school-to-school is not yet clear. As sex education does not require any academic testing or examinations, tracking the results may prove to be difficult.

To help guide Quebec teachers on the previous sex education reform and provide guidelines for implementation, Duquet (2003) compiled a document titled *Sex Education in the Context of Education Reform*. In 2008, in a second document, *Sex Education in Schools: Yes, But How?*, Duquet (2008) further elaborates the way to implement sex education and provides additional resources. It seems obvious to me, a guide to the original guide was needed as it regards a controversial topic not specifically outlined in the curriculum. Although sex education as a cross-disciplinary approach may have seemed to be a move in a positive direction, research presented later in this thesis shows this lack of guided direction on the topic of sexual diversity has left teachers unsure on how to incorporate it into lessons (Christman, 2014; Dowd, 2011). It

seems Quebec is trying to correct these actions with the current re-introduction of compulsory sex education.

In the March 2014 issue of the *Curriculum Journal*, Young's (2014) summary discusses "What is a curriculum and what can it do?" (p.7). Young recognizes the central role curricula have in the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next. The editorial review by Wyse, Hayward, Livingston and Higgins (2014), discusses how the curriculum globally is more and more knowledge based, focusing on educational performance in Mathematics, Reading and Science. It also discusses the focus on international rankings by politicians at the cost of the socialization of future citizens of the country and the world. What we include in the curriculum is just as important as what we decide to leave out. The content that is left out sends a message to students in terms of what we value in our society and culture (Apple, 2004; Eisner, 1985;). What message does inconsistent discussion of sexuality diversity send to Quebec students?

Research Statement

This study aims to explore the life of young gay adult men in Quebec after a high school education with sex education and sexual diversity as a cross-disciplinary approach that resulted from the 1997 curriculum changes. The aim is to provide a glimpse into the lives of gay adults who were high school students during the post sex education curricular reform years. The study will also try to gauge whether the resources from high school were helpful to comfortably express their sexual orientation and deal with any conflicts or acceptance issues.

Research Questions

1. How do young adult Quebec gay men experience post-secondary work in relation to comfort level with the expression of their sexual orientation?

2. How do these experiences reflect the educational resources or content provided to them during their high school studies?

This research will be guided by the following questions: What is it like to be a young adult gay professional in Quebec? How does being gay affect the work experience and relationships at work? How comfortable are young Quebec gay men in expressing their sexual orientation? What can the work experiences of young Quebec gay men tell us about the best ways to promote sensitivity and awareness of sexual diversity in the high school curriculum and in the workplace? What resources have been helpful in dealing with workplace incidents?

Literature Review

Studies in Canada (Taylor et al., 2016) and Quebec (Chamberland et al., 2011; Richard, 2012) report findings on classroom discussions of sexual diversity to be relatively low. Furthermore, there is a need for teacher training on how to approach this topic (Beaulieu, 2010; Bernier, 2011; Joyce, 2015). Within the Quebec context, a study surveyed 2747 Quebec high school students regarding sexual diversity education. Three out of four students (75%) report having witnessed or heard of at least one homophobic incident in their school, with one third reporting that these incidents are frequent. More alarming, this survey reports that almost 56% of students said that teachers never mentioned the subject of sexual diversity in their classrooms (Chamberland et al., 2011). In the next section, I will review in more detail past research related to the topic of sexual diversity in Quebec high schools. When reporting the results of past research, I refer to gay men only, LGB or to the extended to LGBTQ community exactly as it is mentioned in the study being discussed.

In a thesis study by Dowd (2009), interviews with teachers and students in one particular Quebec private school showed that teachers are dissatisfied with the implementation of the Quebec sex education reform. Body image and homophobia were frequent mentions of problems among both students and educators. However, busy curriculum schedules made it difficult to incorporate the sex education topics and teachers struggled on how to better implement and evaluate the reform changes. Teachers note that from a cross-disciplinary approach, it is hard to coordinate among teachers to ensure sex education topics are adequately covered. This study highlights the importance of a defined space and guided topics in the curriculum for the discussion of gender, sexual diversity and stereotypes.

In another thesis study, five teachers' perceptions were captured from the Montreal English school board through the use of interviews regarding cross-disciplinary sexualities education practices (Christman, 2014). In this study, *sexualities education* was defined as sex education beyond biology and reproduction. Results show that the lack of a structured program in the curriculum leaves teachers unsure on how to incorporate these topics into lessons. Furthermore, the lack of specifics on the topic in the curriculum combined with the controversial nature of the subject resulted in teachers fearing negative consequences (e.g., losing their job, having parents file an incident report for disagreeing with the content or topic, etc.). Since the topics are not outlined and defined, and not legally mandated, teachers do not feel protected when discussing such topics.

Given that teachers' level of motivation and sense of responsibility to include sex education and sexual diversity education was high, they agreed that more training is needed on how to better incorporate the study of these topics into classrooms. The interviews emphasize the need for sexuality education to be defined in a specific course, which will also allow for sex

education discussions to be consistent year-to-year and from school-to-school. These results are further supported by a thesis study conducted by Joyce (2015), where six teachers were interviewed and discussed the sex education they provided throughout their careers. Results show that there is a gap between the expectations from MELS and the implementation by teachers. Teachers felt they were ill prepared to incorporate these lessons in their classrooms from a cross-disciplinary perspective.

The change of sex education as a cross-disciplinary topic has resulted in the reliance of guest speakers from external organizations to discuss sexual diversity (Richard et al., 2015). One such group in Quebec is Groupe de Recherche et d'Intervention Sociale (GRIS), which is a community organization with the goal of demystifying homosexuality and bisexuality in Quebec schools. Richard et al. (2012)'s research was undertaken to assess the medium-term impact of GRIS workshops on Montreal high school students. GRIS workshops usually involve one female and one male speaker, both homosexual. These workshops also include speakers of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. The guest speakers introduce themselves, their age, employment, sexual orientation and relationship status. The remainder of the session is focused on questions students have for the guest speakers. To assess the impact of the GRIS workshop on students' knowledge and attitudes towards homosexuality, questionnaires with some open-ended questions were implemented just after the workshop and three months following the workshop. The results indicate that the main information retained from the workshop 12 weeks later include:

1. LGB people are normal people; 2. LGB people do not necessarily correspond to the stereotypes that target them; 3. Coming out as LGB can be difficult; 4. One can be LGB and proud/happy of it; 5. Some gay men and lesbians have previously been in

relationships with opposite-sex partners (Richard et al., 2015, p. 426).

Comments from the questionnaire mentioned that prior to the workshop, several students considered homosexuality or bi-sexuality abnormal, "weird," "bad," "illegal." Meeting guest speakers from the LGB community who did not always correspond to the stereotypes also helped students understand the false reliability of such stereotypes. An interesting finding was that many students were uncomfortable when confronted with a male speaker exhibiting stereotypically female characteristics and attributes. The same effect did not come from a female guest speaker with stereotypically male attributes. Three months after the workshop, the anecdotes most remembered by students were when male guest speakers did not conform to their gender stereotype (i.e., stereotypically female characteristics).

In 2005, a study conducted by Temple (2005) reviewed the content of the French curriculum books evaluating the level of sex education topics in Quebec. Books that were more likely to include sex education topics were selected. Among the 610 pages reviewed across 20 books from the Personal and Social Education, Moral Education, Family Economics, Human Biology, and Catholic Moral and Religious Education subjects, 95% of the content completely ignored homosexuality. Among the 33 pages that did discuss homosexuality, 26 were in a negative context related to sexual abuse, prostitution and STIs while only seven focused on a positive context relating to family life, puberty and sexual desire. There was also a heteronormative bias in the books.

Findings were similar in a more recent study conducted on the sex education content of Quebec curriculum books and manuals (Richard, 2012). Thirty-one manuals were examined from the Science and Technology, Science and Environment, History and Citizenship, Physical Education and Ethics subjects, totaling 17,568 pages. This examination revealed only 41

mentions of sexual diversity and further analysis showed that almost two thirds of the mentions related to sexual orientation was fact based (e.g., groups susceptible to stereotypes, what constitutes a marginalization, the state of gay rights during the Nazi regime). Only about 1 in 10 mentions were of a positive nature (e.g., human rights movements, homosexuality as a normal sexual orientation). Further in-depth reviews revealed that definitions of homosexuality or sexual orientation were rare and sexual orientation topics were not covered in depth, more focused on simple enumerations. These findings highlight how the more in-depth exploration of relationships within sex education previously in the Personal and Social Development class may have been left out due to the cross-disciplinary approach to sex education. Having a defined time and space for these important personal development topics can ensure they are discussed and covered.

In a thesis study by Bernier (2011), with the use of a written questionnaire, 163 future teachers studying in the French university system were surveyed to gauge the extent of training and preparation given with regard to sexual diversity and homophobia. Analysis showed that diversity as it relates to learning disabilities receives the most attention, while sexual diversity receives the least. Ninety-nine percent of respondents mentioned receiving learning disabilities training while only 60% mention receiving sexual diversity training. When restricting answers to "professors covered a lot" to "covered enough," 70% of future teachers were exposed to learning disability diversity training, 50% were exposed to ethnic and socioeconomic diversity training, and a drop to 16% and 6% respectively for physical and sexual diversity training.

During their internships, 68.5% of the future teachers had been witness to sexual orientation related insults among students. Face-to-face interviews revealed that future in-training teachers did not feel their training covered how to deal with these types of incidents.

Furthermore, 47% of the respondents considered sexual orientation and gender expression to be the toughest diversity topic to address and discuss in schools. Fifty-one percent of the respondents felt that the subjects taught at school did not necessarily lend themselves well to sexual diversity. While 80% of respondents felt comfortable to address sexual diversity topics in class, this number dropped to 65% when the topic was not specifically outlined in the curriculum. This reality is an important consideration given the cross-disciplinary approach of the current and previous sex education curriculum, where topics were assigned based on the interests of teachers. The interviews with future teachers revealed they felt that students were lacking basic sexuality knowledge due to the changes to the sex education curriculum. Therefore, teachers in training felt that when the basics were not consistently covered, teaching about tolerance and relationships as related to sexual diversity is not guaranteed.

In a study by Richard (2015), three correlated variables emerged whether teachers in Quebec would include sexual diversity education into the lessons. These variables were: professional training, experiential training (based on the experience of an LGB teacher) and contact with a close acquaintance from the LGB community. Therefore, the cross-disciplinary approach to sex education based on teacher's competencies and interest is further complicated by the personal experiences of the teachers at the school. Finally, a qualitative study by Otis et al., (2012) provided an extensive review of positive and negative aspects of the sex education implementation across nine schools in Quebec during the 2008-2009 academic year. Results indicated that although a cross-disciplinary approach allowed for more flexibility in integrating sex education into the curriculum, the distribution of sex education in Quebec schools was uneven.

Several schools reported having difficulty setting time aside for activities related to sex education, which meant that students did not receive consistent sex education throughout the year. The level of motivation to include sex education of the principal as the main stakeholder played a significant role in its implementation into the curriculum. Students were left without access to sex education if teachers felt uncomfortable discussing the topic. The lack of clear direction from MELS has caused confusion regarding the responsibility of stakeholders implementing the curriculum. In other words, a cross-disciplinary approach is further complicated by the lack of agreement among the teachers on what to teach and when. Thus, it would seem based on the literature that a cross-disciplinary approach to sex education that is not clearly defined in the curriculum does not seem to be a successful model.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Queer Theory

Queer theory is a critical theory that emerged from gender, feminist and sexuality studies (Filax, 2006). The theory questions gender and sexuality binaries (e.g., gay/straight, masculine/feminine, man/woman) and deconstructs heteronormative thinking (Sullivan, 2003). Furthermore, queer theory also recognizes the marginalization to the groups of individuals that are outside of the social norms and practices (Sullivan, 2003).

Established in 1990 at the University of California conference, the term "queer theory" is based on the work of De Lauretis (1991). De Lauretis' work questioned the positioning of homosexuality in opposition to heterosexuality, the "dominant," "natural" or "proper" sexuality (De Lauretis, 1991). Instead of considering homosexuality as a form of sexuality that deviates from heterosexuality, De Lauretis (1991) characterized both as normal sexualities. As mentioned

in Filax (2006, p.139), "To queer is to expose how identity categories, in particular sexuality, are produced in relation to a fabricated norm."

Core theorists of Queer theory include Foucault (1980), Rubin (1984), Sedgwick (1990) and Butler (1999). Whereas Foucault (1980) rejected biological explanations of sexuality, Rubin (1984) built on that work by discussing the way certain sexual orientations are made more valuable than others (i.e., heterosexuality) and how this results in a hierarchical sexual classification. Sedgwick (1990) continued this work by highlighting different sex-gender combinations outside the binary of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Finally, Butler (1999) argued that gender is not defined by the body and can be outside the feminine and masculine binary just like sexuality can be outside the hetero-homo binary.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a participatory, visual, social action research method. This methodological approach "engages people in representing their experiences, perspectives, or cultures through the use of visual media, such as photographs, videos, paintings, murals or mixed methods" (Yang, 2017, p.9). Photovoice has been influenced by "adult education, feminist theory, documentary photography, and participatory research" (Mayfield-Johnson & Butler, 2017, p. 50). The photovoice method is used for empowering marginalized populations, enabling them to be the recorders of their experiences and catalysts of change through the use of images (Wang & Burris, 1997). Originally developed by Wang and Burris for a study with rural Chinese women who were encouraged to photograph their everyday lives and realities (Wang, 1999), "photovoice supports participants in their efforts to challenge the status quo and ultimately revise depictions that contribute to gender, class, racial, ethnic, and other kinds of oppression". (Mayfield-Johnson & Butler, 2017, p. 51).

As summarized in Nash (2014, p. 244),

> photovoice comprises three stages that are supposed to 'empower' participants and lead to social change: (1) the creation and documentation of participant-produced images; (2) critical reflection by the participants on the process of taking photographs and the photographs themselves using the *SHOWeD* method of inquiry; (3) sharing participant-produced photographs and narratives with the wider community (Wang & Burris, 1997, p.380).

SHOWeD is an acronym comprised of the following questions: "What do you **see** here? What is really **happening** here? How does this relate to **our** lives? Why does this situation, concern, or strength **exist**? What can we **do** about it?" (Wang, 1999, p. 188).

Participatory visual methods require participants to engage in a reflective analysis of their reality, exercise agency and have control over their self-image (Yang, 2017). Yang (2017) distinguished photovoice from *participatory photography* (i.e., participant photographic documentation of their daily lives), as photovoice is considered a community based research tool where participants aim to represent and enhance their community with the photographic technique. Photovoice allows the opportunity to observe the world of participants from their perspective versus from the perspective of policy makers and those in power and control (Wang, 1999). Theoretical background for photovoice is based on Freirean theory, Feminist theory, Documentary Photography and Theory on Participatory Research (Mayfield-Johnson & Butler, 2017).

Photovoice has been applied in many research settings, from health (Catalani & Minkler, 2010), professional development (Adams, Brooks, & Greene, 2014), education (Greene, 2015),

women's healthcare (Mayfield-Johnson, Rachal, & Butler, 2014), immigrant youth (Roxas, Gabriel, Becker, & Kent, 2017), learning disabilities (Cluley, 2017), and ESL teaching (Villacañas de Castro, 2017). Specifically in the LGBTQ community, the photovoice method has served studies with LGBTQ-identified individuals at Weber State University (Santurri, 2014), homeless queer youth (Forge, Lewinson, Garner, Braxton, Greenwald, & Maley, 2018), queer high school students (Hall, Witkemper, Rodgers, Waters, & Smith, 2018) and queer youth (Holtby, Klein, Cook, & Travers, 2015). In 2017, the University of Michigan Spectrum Center initiated a photovoice project examining "What does it mean to be Jewish and queer?" The project resulted in a photo exhibit in the Jewish Community Center's Amster Gallery in Ann Arbor in 2018 (Pride Source, 2017).

Looking through the lens of Queer Theory and the use of photovoice, this study took a peek into the lives of four young gay men in Quebec after the sex education reform. According to Filax (2006), "action research informed by queer theory can provide opportunities for teachers, students, administrators, counsellors, parents, and researchers to explore how they are implicated in homophobic and heterosexist social hierarchies that devalue those whose sexual practices differ from the norm" (Filax, 2006, p.144). In the context of this study, the photovoice method was modified to accommodate for the participants and research in question. I employed the use of both questionnaires and interviews to collect the data (traditional photovoice only uses interviews). Furthermore, I did not provide any photo-taking training as the participant group was already savvy in this skill. Finally, I recruited participants from my personal network as opposed to approaching a community normally done with traditional photovoice.

Methodology

Using a modified photovoice method, this thesis studied the lived experiences of young gay men in Quebec after the sex education reform in terms of their level of comfort to express their sexual orientation to colleagues, family and friends. After receiving ethics clearance from the Concordia University Human Research Ethics Committee in January 2018, I used my personal network across family, friends and co-workers to recruit participants. Once a participant informed me of interest, I emailed him the consent form (Appendix I) and the questionnaire (Appendix II) for review. Once the person agreed to participate, I scheduled an initial phone call or in-person meeting to review the consent form and the study participation details. I explained the objective of the study and the photovoice process. I explained to participants that the photos are meant to showcase the daily life experiences of being gay in Quebec and navigating the post-secondary world at work. Given the intertwined nature of work, family and social life, I did not restrict participants' choice of photos to work situations alone.

As mentioned earlier, given the tech savvy nature of the participants, I did not provide a photo-taking training session. However, I did discuss the work involved with participation in a photovoice study along with some examples from other photovoice projects outside the LGBTQ community to illustrate the requirements. Once accepted, I requested the signed consent form and scheduled a follow-up within 4 weeks to review the pictures and answers to the questions. Participants were allowed to discontinue from the study at any time as well as contact me for any questions. Once the photos and questionnaires were completed by participants, I scheduled a follow-up call or in-person meeting to review and discuss the results further.

Based on the work of Wang, (1999), for each photo provided, participants were asked to answer the following questions in writing as preparation for the follow-up meeting: 1- "What do

you see here?" 2- "What is really happening here?" 3 – "How does this relate to our lives?" 4-
"Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?" 5- "What can we do about it?"
(Wang,1999, p. 189). Additional questions included: 6- Does this make you recall any
experiences or discussions from high-school? 7- Do you have any other comments? 8- Any other
information or contribution you deem important? I also collected demographic information from
each participant (i.e., age, years at work, area of work). Refer to Appendix A and Appendix B for
Questionnaire and Consent Form.

Recruitment and Participants

Although I had originally hoped for six to eight participants, the commitment required for
the photovoice process in combination with reluctance to allow an outsider to look into the "gay
world," this study resulted in the participation of only four participants. Given the use of my
network, trying to recruit participants that I did not know personally was very difficult as the
involvement required in the photovoice process was considered to be too demanding. Two
potential participants from my network were initially very interested in participating, however,
upon further details provided on the requirements, they did not move forward with participation.
Another hurdle experienced during my recruitment process was that many of the gay men in my
extended network did not attend high school in Quebec. I attribute this to the fact that my
network is primarily Anglophone, as opposed to Francophone.

Table 1 below represents the demographics of the four participants. Three participants
attended public school and one participant attended an independent school. Given that Quebec
private and independent high schools must also follow the standard curriculum and employ
provincially certified teachers (Van Pelt, Hasan & Allison, 2017), I did not split the results along
these lines.

Table 1

Participants' Demographics

Participant	Age	Industry	Years of experience
A	32	Book publishing	7
B	25	NGO – Communications	3
C	23	Banking – Finance	5
D	25	Media and Communications	4

Analysis of Data and Major Themes

Introduction

Overall, based on the photos, writing and interviews, the young gay men who participated in this study did not have a positive high school experience as it related to the expression of their sexual orientation. The need to conform to the male heterosexual norm was experienced by all participants. The feeling of being different was an uncomfortable feeling and participants were unsure on how to navigate the expression of their sexual orientation. This discomfort experienced during high school seems to have also spilled into adult life, but not necessarily in all life environments.

Themes

Table 2

Themes

Theme	Description
1. Acting straight /hiding to fit in	Acting or hiding sexual orientation in order to fit into the expected norm
2. Stereotypes	Stereotypes associated with gay men and their negative impact
3. Feeling "different"	Feeling different than peers, but not being comfortable to express or deviate from the expected norms
4. Family	Expression of sexual orientation with family members
5. Progress	The progress made by the LGBTQ community on awareness and acceptance
6. Recommendations	Recommendations to improve the stereotypes and the heteronormative nature of education and society

Theme 1: Acting Straight or Hiding to Fit in

This was the strongest theme among all four participants. Each participant included at least one image and write-up that highlights actions to hide sexual orientation in order to avoid being judged or treated differently.

Figure 1. *Backpack with Pride pin (Participant A).* By placing a Pride pin on his backpack, Participant A is subtly sharing his sexual orientation.

He places the pin on his backpack to express his orientation and considers it staying true to himself. He likes the freedom to express himself without having to say anything.

I recently had to attend a book fair in NYC with my boss where we met with some publishing partners. New York Pride had just ended and the city was filled with supportive banners from local businesses. As I visited the scholastic booth at the fair, I noticed they were giving out these pins and I knew I had to get one for myself. It represented me so well: I love to read, I work in publishing and I am gay. After I took it though, I realized I did not know what to do with it. I did not feel confident enough to put it on my t-shirt during the book fair while we meet with partners for fear of rustling feathers. So I kept it in my pocket until I got home and regretted not putting it on. Since then, it has been on my bag as a reminder of that struggle and to show the world I am not

ashamed to express my true colors. I was in the closet for a very long time. I have learned

to let loose and be myself when I am in a safe environment, but the instinct to hide

myself when I am surrounded by strangers is very strong. I can be a social butterfly one

moment and a complete wallflower the next depending on who I am with. I think this

self-imposed pressure stems from the fear of being judged by others; especially in a

professional environment where I not only represent myself but my colleagues and the

company I work for. (Participant A, Personal communication related to Backpack with

Pride Pin, 2018).

During the interview, Participant A expressed how with each new meeting whether

personal or professional, his comfort level to express his sexual orientation resets to zero. Every

time he meets new people, he changes his behavior to hide his sexual orientation and gauges as

time progresses how much he can reveal. He considers it is a journey in his life to be able to let

his "true colors" be free at all times. Furthermore, he recognizes that career progression is not an

issue for him due to his selected field of work, but recognizes that sexual orientation can affect

career progression depending on the industry, especially in more traditional work environments.

Figure 2. *Voice (Participant B).* Speaking is an everyday part of life impossible to avoid. For Participant B, this picture represents how he has to hide or modify his real voice to avoid stereotypes associated with gay men.

Participant B discussed the societal expectation for males to be cisgender, which is when a person's identity and gender corresponds with that of their birth sex.

Gay voice is a stereotyped effeminate sign that hetero people use to distinguish gay men. It is associated with being effeminate, weak and lacking of agency according to me, whereas the "manly voice" I try to project denotes strength, authority and power. I think gay voice in the workplace is very dangerous for gay men not only because of the stereotypes associated with it, but mostly because it is a form of oppression experienced by women alike. It is an indicator of the cis white male patriarchy that overwhelms the Global North and needs to end. I believe interacting with men in the workplace is a lot harder as they see me as a threat to their masculinity, and because of that I am not taken seriously or I am completely omitted from important conversations or decisions. I don't   think being gay has anything to do with performance levels, but I do think the stereotypes of gay men play into the roles gay men are expected to play in the office i.e., the gossip girl, or the gay best friend to all of the women.

I feel the pressure to project a deep, manly and authoritative voice as opposed to my natural and higher pitched "gay voice." Interviews are the best example for this particular case, as I automatically act out this deep manly, and loud voice that really isn't my true voice, forcing me back into the proverbial closet again so I can homogenize with the dominant culture that is omnipresent

in all spaces I live in (except my home). This occurred throughout high

school, where homophobia was rampant and I was constantly bullied,

assaulted and humiliated by students." (Participant B, Personal communication

related to Voice, 2018).

Figure 3. *Wardrobe (Participant C).* This image represents the two personalities Participant C

portrays. His real self with more colorful clothes on the right and the self he portrays at work on

the left.

Participant C elaborates on this:

The photo is a picture of my closet at home, specifically where my work shirts are

hung. The photo is a clear demonstration of the two distinct personalities I use to

go through the world. On the left side, there is the wardrobe I most often

will wear, which will typically consist of neutral, basic colours, which are

not that remarkable. On the right hand side however, is the clothing I

wish I could wear, these are pieces of clothing that are much more vibrant

and colourful. I have either very rarely or never worn the clothing on the right

side. The reason I do not wear the clothing on the right, even though my office

has a very liberal dress code is fear of being presumed to be gay. I am not out to

everyone at work and I believe I intentionally dull down the type of clothing I

wear to blend in and not be suspected of being gay based on the clothes that I

wear.

Most of my shame I believe is derived from my high school experience. I went to

an all   boys' independent high school, where socially, the standards of what it

meant to "act like a man" were very present and people were often ridiculed

or called "gay" if they did not act accordingly. Those standards included

expectations of how to dress. If I ever dressed too flamboyantly, I was made

fun of for it. So I eventually decided to create a wardrobe of neutral and

understated clothing for myself. (Participant C, Personal communication related

to Wardrobe, 2018).

During his interview, Participant C also revealed how he sometimes "edits [his] personal

stories at work to not give away his sexual orientation to all co-workers, only to a select few."

(Participant C, Personal communication related to Wardrobe, 2018).

In response to the question, "Why does this situation, concern or strength exist? What can

we do about it?" Participant C answered,

This concern or fear exists out of past experiences where I have been told I "look gay" due to the clothes I was wearing, which I took to be an insult at the time. I can decide to not live in shame and be honest with my coworkers about my sexuality and dress however I please. Also, as a society we can remove the stigma associated with patterns and colors of clothing and whether they are deemed to be masculine or feminine." (Participant C, Personal communication related to Wardrobe, 2018).
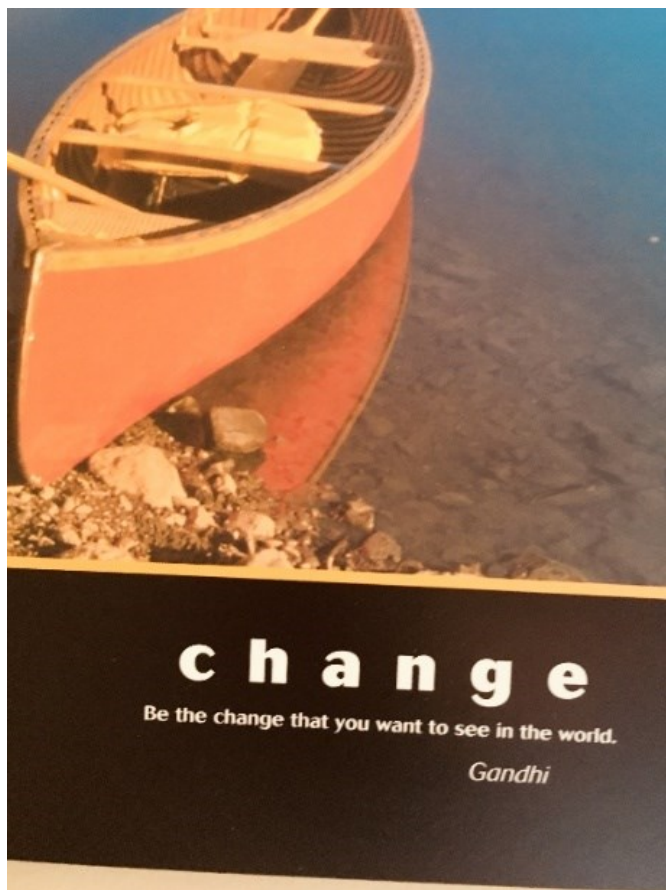

Figure 4. *Change (Participant D)*. This photo represents the different personality Participant D portrays at work to fit in. In other words, the way he changes when presenting himself to others.

Participant D further explains his use of this photo:

It's a photo from my office with the words "change" on it. I believe it's meant to be a positive quote from Ghandi, but I just focus on the part that says "change". I feel like sometimes LGBTQ individuals have to mask their true identities, especially at work. They have to essentially modify their behaviour or "change" in order to fit it. Although I'm fully "out" at work, I sometimes feel like I have to adapt or change to fit the surrounding environment. A lot of people at the office are not aware of LGBTQ issues, and I sometimes feel like I have to blend in.

It [the photo] kind of asserts the fact that we still have a long way to go in terms of acceptance. We still don't feel completely comfortable being ourselves out of fear of persecution and discrimination. In high-school, most gay kids had to hide their sexuality because they are afraid of persecution and isolation. While as adults, things are slightly different – we still feel the need to censor ourselves in the workplace. (Participant D, Personal communication related to Change, 2018).

Theme 2: Destructive Nature of Gay Stereotypes

This was the second most prominent theme, with each participant either providing a photo or discussing during the follow-up interview. This theme relates to the pre-conceived notions about gay men and the negative impact of these stereotypes on the daily lives of the participants. The stereotypes discussed are both from outside as well as within the gay community.

Figure 5. *Mannerisms (Participant B).* In this image, Participant B shows how mannerisms that do not conform to gender normative stereotypes impact his work and social life.

For Participant B, the concept of stereotypes was important. He explains:

The main issue I honed in on is that of stereotypes, as I believe it to be the most destructive and reductive concept that is constantly attacking gay men in Quebec. Stereotypes surrounding sexual orientation, gender performativity, normativity and the heteronormative society we live in are a constant oppressive regime that gay men tackle at all times, including from within. When I first started to dabble with men sexually, I was in high school and to me, thankfully, it felt natural and I had nothing to hide. The school actually punished me for being girly, or wearing a skirt as a joke during cheerleading practice (I wasn't even on the team). Stereotypes such as the gay voice (related to Figure: Voice), or even gay

mannerisms (related to Figure: Mannerisms) are the easiest to target in my opinion, because gay men are stereotyped as being more effeminate.

Because I walk with a limp wrist, or because my voice is higher pitched, I am automatically labelled as gay and the set of preconceived beliefs that come with the label of "gay": weak, girly, fake, annoying, sexually interested in any straight man that I speak to, being the attractive but unobtainable ideal partner to straight women, the gay best friend, the fashion guru, and the list goes on. These labels, deemed "other" are oppressive as they are not within the standards of normalcy, forcing gay men to perform as straight in order to avoid the beliefs that are associated with the sexual orientation. (Participant B, Personal communication related to both Mannerisms and Voice images, 2018).

Figure 6. *Fashion Clichés* (Participant B). On the theme of stereotypes, this image represents the pre-conceived notions and expectations from society of gay men. It confines gay men as only interested in specific areas (i.e., Fashion).

Participant B explains that this photo addresses,

The cliché of the gay man as a fashion icon, different from the straight cis man. This is again a stereotype that is used as a sweeping statement for gay men in general, reducing us to the clothing we wear. Again, the issue here is that "gay men dress differently", whether that means more flamboyant, effeminate, colorful, tight-fitting or anything else. This is something that has always affected me, as I have always had a passion for fashion. Whether that be off-the-runway eccentric pieces or a perfectly tailored suit, clothing is a very important aspect of my everyday life. In the workplace, I think the stereotype of appearing gay is harmful in the same way as gay voice affects gay men at work. It instills a set of beliefs, prejudices and expectations for us which are based in bigoted mindsets. (Participant B, Personal communication related to Fashion Clichés, 2018).

Figure 7. *Vending machine (Participant A).* This image of the vending machine is a constant reminder for Participant A of the stereotypical look of gay men that he does not fit.

For Participant A, the ideas surrounding the gay man were destructive at school and continue to be destructive in a post-educational setting.

These machines represent my constant struggle with obesity. I can't remember a time when I was not overweight. The consequences of this "stigma" have reverberated themselves in multiple areas of my life: I was made fun of in school, I had a hard time with my self-image and more recently, it has been a point of derision in my personal life. Although gay culture prides itself with its values of acceptance and equality, it sometimes shows quite the opposite. Every ad, movie and activity targeted at a gay audience pushes the propaganda of the perfect male Adonis. These unreasonable standards have become almost a prerequisite for

attention on gay dating apps. The proof lies simply in the fact that most profile pictures are those of shirtless men with abs. Obviously (and luckily), these standards do not apply to everyone but it is still an important factor in how gay men see themselves and interact with others. Being overweight has made me insecure when dealing with other gay men (especially those who have a fit body shape); I feel inferior to them somehow. Part of me feels insecure coming out to people at the work place (especially other gays) by fear of seeing judgment in their eyes or even worst, a sad look of sympathy. Unwillingly, I compare myself with these standards of beauty and sometimes can't help but feel like a second-rate gay. Body image and my sexual orientation have always been intrinsically linked for me. There is always a little voice in the back of my mind when I'm coming out to new people (especially other gay people) that automatically expect them to judge me for how I look on top of my sexual orientation." (Participant A, Personal communication related to Vending Machine, 2018).

During the interview, Participant A revealed why he believes this ideal male Adonis image has been associated with gay culture and gay ideals. Adonis represents maximum masculinity. Since gay men are stereotyped as effeminate and weak compared to their straight counterparts, achieving this ideal is overcoming those stereotypes and being masculine.

Figure 8. *Scale (Participant C).* Similarly, for Participant C, this photo represents the need to meet a stereotypically "gay look."

For Participant C, this struggle to look and act a certain way is constant.

This photo represents how I see my self-worth, especially within the image-conscious gay community. I do not feel accepted within the gay community. With my experience in the gay community, I have felt that it is very judgmental and there is an expectation to be in great shape and because I am a bigger guy, I often feel like the gay community does not accept me. This expectation can also stem from straight people, who have often jokingly made comments to me like "aren't

gay guys supposed to be in great shape", which does not help with my sense of acceptance in the community.

This concern can come from the representation of media and gay people. Firstly, it is extremely rare to see gay representation in media at all, but if you ever do it seems as though the men will always be extremely good looking and in good shape. Concerns with body issues affect many members of the gay community and while there have been some improvements made, there should be a more concerted effort within the gay community to show more positive and diverse representations of gay men of all sizes. This concern has mostly affected me post high school and has to do with me not feeling accepted within the gay community. However, there was always a big focus on physicality in high school, and guys were praised if they were in good shape and represented the ideal picture of masculinity, which I never related to at the time." (Participant C, Personal communication related to Scale, 2018).

Although not represented by a photo, during the interview, Participant D revealed how the stereotypes associated with being gay affected him. When he finally openly discussed his sexual orientation with family and friends in his early 20s, the response was often "yeah, we've known for a long time." It was like being robbed of his identity and he was asking himself "how is it that others have known before I may have even known for certain" and "what is it that gives it away?"

Participant D also discussed stereotypes in the workplace.

I do worry sometimes about how I'm perceived at work – but more on an interpersonal level rather than on a professional level. This is because many of my work relationships are loosely based around trust, and I feel like I can easily obtain people's trust via my sexuality. This is especially true when it comes to women in the workplace, I feel like they are automatically willing to be my friend because they assume I'll be their confidant. I sometimes feel invincible at work because I can have my sexuality to protect me. I know this may sound strange, but I tend to say controversial things and I often get away with it, and the excuse I create in my head was "I can say anything because I'm gay. This is especially true when we talk about things like sex at the office – keep in mind the office is very young, and it's a small team." (Participant D, Personal communication, 2018). **Theme 3: The Feeling of "Different"**

In this theme, participants discuss their feelings of being different than the norms surrounding them and how they deal with this in their lives. Three participants discuss with photos submitted, while the third participant discusses this during his interview.
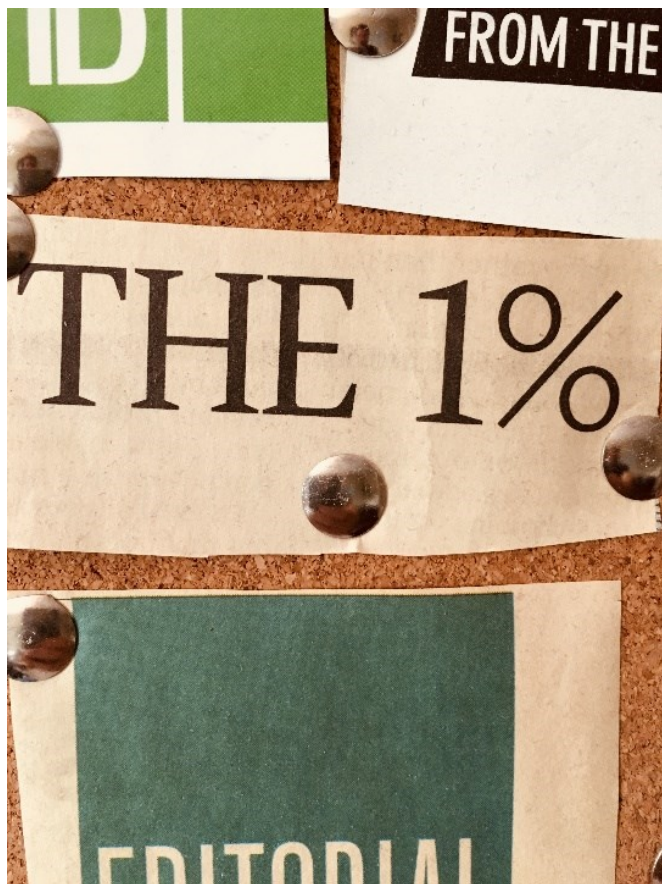
Figure 9. *The 1% (Participant D).* This photo represents how gay men are still on the margins of society, regardless of the progress of the LGBTQ community with regards to awareness, acceptance and representation.

Participant D explains this photo:

> This is a photo from my vision board at work. I originally had cut it out because I wanted to target the wealthy 1% elite – but it now serves a very different purpose. The 1% is symbolic because it represents how I feel my community is extremely under-represented, especially at my office. I'm the only gay person, and at times it can serve as an asset, but it can also feel quite lonely and isolating at times. Many LGBTQ individuals can attest to the fact that growing up gay can

be very isolating. It's almost like we're the black sheep in the crowd. This is why

this 1% visual is symbolic because it can sometimes feel like we're one in a

million in the crowd. High school was very isolating. There were really no LGBT

mentors to look up to. It really did feel like the isolated 1% of the population.

In my high school (which was public), there were NO resources or any kind of

information for gay kids. It was extremely upsetting because I feel like there were

resources for heterosexual kids, but it was almost like the LGBTQ community

was overlooked." (Participant D, Personal communication related to The 1%,

2018).

During the interview, Participant A recalls the lack of sexual diversity education in high

school. The only time there was exposure was when an external organization sent a gay guest

speaker to discuss the topic in class. On the one hand, this experience petrified him because he

was quiet about is sexual orientation and feared the guest speaker who was open about it would

enable classmates to guess that he is gay as well. On the other hand, he wanted to hear more

from this guest speaker and soak up as much information as possible. This experience felt like a

lifeline to what he was experiencing and a road to being open and comfortable about his sexual

orientation.

Figure 10. *Hockey Night (Participant C).* This image represents the need for Participant C to pretend he is interested in hockey (a stereotypically male expectation) to avoid judgment, even though it highlights to him that he is different.

Participant C explains that hockey is important to his family, and his struggles to fit in with their interest.

> This photo is a photo of my family watching a hockey game in our living room at
> home. What is actually happening here is that I am faking being interested in the
> hockey game, the same way I have my entire life. This is another case of me
> being afraid of to be honest with others about who I am. Growing up with a
> brother and father, I was put into sports but was not very athletically inclined and

did not last very long. When I witnessed the excitement my dad felt when he was coaching my brother's hockey team and how they bonded over sports, I learned to fake my interest in sports as a way to relate to my family. This also plays a major role in my work life, I will often fake my interest in sports and have small talk with my male superiors about the game, scared that if I reveal I am not into hockey, it will hurt my chances for advancement.

Sports are the ultimate stereotypical sign of "manliness" and therefore heterosexuality. I've always felt self-conscious about my lack of interest in sports and as a way to hide my homosexuality I faked an interest in sports. Sports were a major part of my high school social life, I often felt excluded if I was not caught up on the previous night's game or which major player was traded. To avoid this, I would look up sport news just so I can pretend that I actually watched the game and faked an interest so I can keep up with conversations. Sports news was a major part of class as well, many male teachers would begin each class by talking about the game. It felt like watching and liking sports was absolutely essential part of my high school life and yet another way of me masking my sexuality and trying to be someone I wasn't. (Participant C, Personal communication related to Hockey Night, 2018).

In response to the question, "What can be done about it?" Participant C responded,

The change needs to come from me. Many of my concerns come from my own insecurities and fear of being honest to avoid judgment from others. I feel like I need to work on being completely honest about my sexuality so that I can stop

keeping up appearances and doing things I do not actually enjoy. (Participant C,

Personal communication related to Hockey Night, 2018)

Figure 11. *Pride Parade (Participant B).* Although this photo demonstrates for Participant B

how he can stop feeling different for one week of his life for Pride, it also reinforces how the

feeling of being different comes right back once Pride is over.

Participant B has attended Montreal Pride, and explains the feelings he associates with

that experience:

Picture 4 was taken at Montreal Pride, and I cut myself out for privacy, however

the entire experience of being out and openly proud is liberating for that one week

a year, as all the stereotypes dissolve and love thrives. When Pride ends, the veil

of homogenizing with the straight standards comes right back on, a performance

of heteronormativity. (Participant B, Personal communication related to Pride

Parade, 2018).

Theme 4: Comfort Level of Sexual Orientation with Family

In this theme, participants discuss their struggles with expressing their sexual orientation and being their true selves with family members, whether in the past or present.

Figure 12. *Heritage Figurine (Participant A).* This figurine represents the Italian family heritage for Participant A and serves as a reminder to tread carefully about his sexuality to his family out of fear of rejection.

This statue is a familiar figure in Participant A's village, and is a constant reminder of his heritage, as it relates to his sexuality. He explains:

This statue is very common in my parents' village in Italy and was given to me by

my mother. When I see it, it reminds me of how I was raised, the culture that is a

very big part of my life and my family. Being gay is not very well accepted in

Italian culture, so I was very afraid to come out to my family. In fact, it took me a

very long time (when I was 25) to do it. I had a lot of pressure from my parents and other family members to find a woman to settle down with. I was convinced that I would never come out to them for fear of being ostracized. Then, my father passed away and everything changed. I suddenly felt like I needed to live my life to the fullest. Slowly but surely I started putting down barriers until one night my mother confronted me about my sexuality. I then came out to her and found that she was not only accepting, but sad that I had to live with this secret for so long. She gave me the courage to come out to my siblings and my friends because if she could accept me as I am, then who wouldn't?

The very thing that cowed me into staying in the closet was what gave me the strength to be my authentic self and live my truth. My family has always meant a lot to me, so the fear of losing them by telling them I was gay was overwhelming. Little did I know that when I finally came out to my family, the love and relationship we had became even stronger as I did not need to hide my true self. Knowing that they accepted me gave me the strength to be authentic in the other aspects of my life (may it be at work or with friends).

My high school years were spent in fear of being discovered by my family and fellow students, so I remained very deep in the closet. I wish I knew back then the support they would end up giving me later in my life. It would have made all the difference to have that encouragement in those formative years and not be such a recluse. (Participant A, Personal communication related to Figurine, 2018)

The interview with Participant A reveals the fear of non-acceptance from coming out. He felt worried about non –acceptance from family members as well as friends. He worried if he

were rejected from both groups, social support would be non-existent, so he kept it a secret. Part

of his fear to tell family was also from extended family, in-laws of his sisters potentially

blocking his relationship with his nieces and nephews he considered so important. He mentioned

how he would not have felt comfortable to come out to his dad and only told his secret after his

dad's passing. In the end, not talking about sexual orientation at school nor at home, led to this

fear to discuss and tell the truth.

Figure 13. *Bed Side Table (Participant C).* This image represents Participant C's need to hide his

gay magazines inside the drawer while comfortably displaying the leisure and financials ones on

top of the drawer.

Participant C explains his placement of the magazines:

The second photo is a picture of my bedside table and the drawer beneath it. There are 3 magazines on the table, with one hidden inside the drawer, Fugues, Montreal's free gay monthly magazine. I am a huge fan of magazines and subscribe to many; I keep the magazines on my bedside table and often read them before bed. I keep all magazines out in public except for one which I keep hidden in the drawer, which is the Gay magazine Fugues. This photo disturbs me the most because it represents my own issues with accepting my sexuality. Even though all of my immediate family members know that I am gay and I have come to terms with my sexuality for a while now, I still find it extremely difficult to have visual representations of that anywhere, which is why I chose to hide this magazine while others are often left out on display.

This magazine [Fugues] was extremely important for me growing up in high school. At the time, it was the only connection I had to Montreal's gay scene. I would often make secret trips to the gay village to pick one up and then wait to get home and hide in my room to read it in secret. I would sometimes put a copy of the magazine in my school bag and be extremely nervous all day that someone would discover it. It is disappointing to me that I still hold the shame associated with reading that magazine to this day. I spent so many years hiding who I was that I still have a difficult time revealing that to others or making my sexuality obvious in any way. (Participant C, Personal communication related to Bed Side Table, 2018)

Figure 14. *Family Lunch (Participant C).* This photo represents the fear of weekly family gatherings where Participant C's sexual orientation can be an uncomfortable situation.

He explains this discomfort:

This photo is a picture at my grandparents' house where we have weekly Sunday lunches with members of my immediate and extended family. This scene automatically gives me anxiety. While I love my family dearly, my grandparents and extended family are Italian Catholics and while this is not true for all Italians, there is definitely a culture of "machismo" in Italian culture. That aspect combined with traditional catholic values means that the Italian culture is not very open to homosexuality. I have heard many homophobic comments made over these lunches.

In my past I used to look forward to these weekly lunches with my family, however it reached a point where it felt that homophobic comments were becoming constant. I ended up skipping many of these gatherings because I couldn't take them anymore. This has caused me to have a negative stereotype of the Italian community, I tend to assume that Italians are automatically homophobic. Many of my friends and coworkers are of Italian decent and this aspect has definitely made it difficult for me to open up to them about my sexuality. This concern exists out of a fear of being judged and my issue of letting bad experiences with my family inform how I act with an entire group of people." (Participant C, Personal communication related to Family Lunch, 2018)

In response to the question, "What can be done?" Participant C replied,

Growing up in a catholic family, the comments my grandparents make about homosexuality, which come out of the influence of religion being described as a sin. A change needs to come from myself and give other people in my life the benefit of the doubt and not automatically assume that people are homophobic." (Participant C, Personal communication related to Family Lunch, 2018)

Figure 15. *My Family (Participant D).* This image represents Participant D's four family members.

The juxtaposition of the coins represents how he feels it would be hard to introduce a new person into the family mix, which is even more stressful given his sexual orientation.

> I took these photos of the four coins because it represents my family. The two larger quarters represent my parents, while the two nickels represent my sister and me. I took this photo because it's representative of my family dynamic – there are no additions. It feels slightly daunting to bring an addition to a family dinner – or introduce someone to my parents. This is how I've always seen this dynamic as well and I don't think it will change. (Participant D, Personal communication related to My Family, 2018)

Theme 5: Progress

Although this theme was mostly from Participant D across three photos, this theme is subtly expressed by other participants when answering the question what can be done about the situations they are presenting. This theme recognizes the personal progress in the expression of the participant's sexual orientation and the hope for a future less worried about perceptions and stigma.

Figure 16. *The Road Travelled (Participant D).* This photo symbolizes for Participant D, the long road he has been on to get to where he currently stands with his sexuality and the journey he wants to continue.

Participant D chose to take a photo of his feet to convey this theme. He explains:

It's a photo of dirty sneakers. While it looks like an ordinary photo, it's meant to symbolize the fact that sexuality is a long journey, and it never really ends. Coming to terms with your sexuality is a long journey, starting from your early years and continuing well into adulthood. The dirty sneakers symbolize the fact

that I've come a long way in terms of making progress – but the journey's still not over. There's this common misconception that someone comes out of the closet and suddenly they've got it all figured out. This is far from the truth because sexuality is not static, it's fluid and ever-changing. So it's a journey not a destination. I think this is something that a lot of young people have to understand.

It [the photo] demonstrates that sexual orientation is multidimensional and multifaceted. It's not a sudden realization (in most cases either). It's a process and young LGBTQ youth should be supported and nurtured during these times (Participant D, Personal communication related to The Road Travelled, 2018).

Figure 17. *Time Lost (Participant D).* For Participant D, this photo represents how he feels his major life events were delayed because of the hidden nature of his sexual orientation.

While others were experiencing their first girlfriend or boyfriend experiences, he felt left behind.

This is a photo of time (from my PVR device). It is meant to symbolize how time greatly impacts the LGBTQ community, especially repressed individuals. You may have heard that many teens have repressed their sexuality during adolescence, and as a result, they feel like they lost out on their teenage years, never experienced their first kiss until they were in their 20s or never had the opportunity to have a teenage love. In many ways, I felt like my life only truly began in my 20s. I think it is because I came to terms with my sexuality at that age, and I essentially felt like I was robbed of my teen years. I think it concerns LGBTQ youth. If they exist in a space that does not promote diversity or inclusivity, it can have a long-term impact. I just remember being confused. It was only in my 20s when I began to think about how I didn't properly live out my teen years." (Participant D, Personal communication related to Time Lost, 2018).
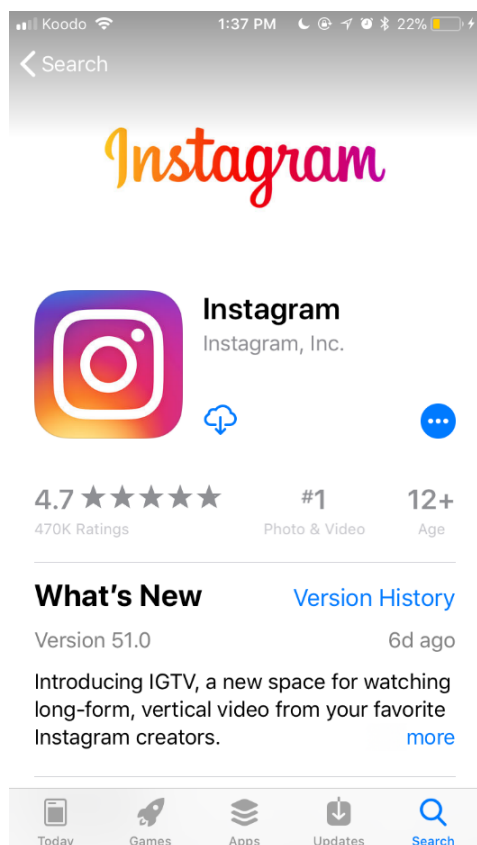
Figure 18. *Social Media in LGBTQ community (Participant D)*. For Participant D, social media has actually been helpful in expressing his sexuality because it provided him with a greater network that was not available at school or at home. It's like a lifeline to other LGBTQ community members.

Participant D explains why he chose this photo to express this theme:

This is a screenshot of the Instagram app. The purpose of this photo is to demonstrate how social media has been a great asset to the LGBTQ community. It's been a tool to help connect members and promote visibility. I wish I had access to this kind of social media when I was growing up. It would have really provided a bit of hope for the future. It strengthens the fact that the LGBTQ community has come a long way in the last 10 years. We no longer hide in the

closet and we are free to express our individuality and our lifestyle through the Internet.

Social media provides platforms for LGBTQ individuals to express themselves, and promote the fact that gay people aren't different whatsoever from straight people. I think I would've wished I had some kind of platform to serve as inspiration during my high school years. It's incredibly isolating at times to grow up as an LGBT youth, so it would've been nice to have a social media platform to see positivity and inclusivity. (Participant D, Personal communication related to Social Media, 2018)

Theme 6: Recommendations for Change

When asked about what can be done for change in an academic as well as a workplace environment for awareness and normalization for gay men in Quebec, below are excerpts from the recommendations offered.

Overall Participant A discussed how open discussions are needed in schools, at home and in public spaces in general. He feels very strongly that had he experienced that when he was younger, his level of comfort would not necessarily be case by case judged and assessed when meeting with family and friends. He summarized this perfectly when he says, "Visibility leads to a conversation, which leads to acceptance" (Participant A, Personal communication, 2018).

In terms of updates to the school curriculum, I believe an open and frank conversation needs to be had with all students of all backgrounds with regards to gender performativity, orientation and gender identity. I think educating kids on the gender binary, as it has been done for so many years, is teaching kids that

there is only one option in life: You are born with xy genitals, hence you must identify with that sex, and must be attracted to the opposite sex. A more inclusive LGBTQI2S+ approach is needed in order to give the kids a chance at experiencing life the way they seem fit.

I believe having a member of the LGBTQ community in every department, section, office, board, and committee is a way of assuring that there is always an ally there to educate the bigoted and misinformed people about gay voice and the implications associated with it. (Participant B, Personal communication, 2018)

Participant D expressed the desire for a similar movement toward inclusivity:

I think it's about promoting education and inclusivity. We need to educate the public when it comes to working alongside minorities – especially those within the LGBTQ spectrum. It's important to give young individuals who are questioning their sexuality to have the chance to feel protected and nurtured. We need to educate the public when it comes to working alongside minorities – especially those within the LGBTQ spectrum.

In my opinion, I believe my company should be more LGBTQ inclusive. This means actively hiring talent from this vast pool so workers who do fall within this spectrum don't feel so lonely and isolated. We can continue to push for visibility and fight homophobia. For example, I know a lot of people experience macroaggressions on a daily basis that appear harmless but actually are tainted by homophobic thoughts and perceptions.

We can also work harder to create these spaces, especially in schools across the province to ensure there are resources available for questioning individuals. It is also possible to aim educational resources at parents, who need to understand that homosexuality is indeed normal. (Participant D, Personal communication, 2018).

Photovoice Process

In terms of the photovoice process, several participants found it difficult at first to understand how the photos linked to the ideas they wanted to express about being gay in Quebec. For example, for Participant A, some photos and corresponding discussions came to mind very easily. On the other hand, some of the other topics he wanted to broach, he found difficult to find a photo to explain. This resulted in participant A discussing with friends and it helped generate some of the ideas for the photos. Participant C expressed how it was fun to try and think of the ideas, and have the freedom to go in any direction instead of being asked questions directly. Participant B offered the summary below for his experience with the photovoice process:

> Overall, I believe the photo voice experience has enabled me to look within, and gain a reflexive point-of-view I never really thought I had. As a gay white man, I think it is important to think about these experiences, both at school and in the workplace, as I am in a semi- point of power, however sexual marginalization is still an issue and we need to abolish the stereotypes I have mentioned previously. I think linking personal pictures, to personal experiences is a delicate and refined way of illustrating important issues society faces, and I believe the experience to have been overall quite positive (Participant B, Personal communication, 2018).

In general, participants found it hard to answer the questions directly. The feelings are there, but they are sometimes hard to put into words or express with images. Interviews revealed

a deeper understanding of the feelings and situations and showed the frustration and injustice that were felt by all participants as young gay men. Furthermore, these issues were things felt but not always expressed in everyday life. The photovoice process helped materialize them. For example, for Participant D, it allowed him to reflect about the impact of his sexual orientation in his work context more in depth and even resulted in an article on his personal blog about issues he and other gay men have faced in the workplace. The photovoice process overall was a positive experience for all four participants, but it was considered daunting at first. Three participants followed the questionnaire format as instructed to answer the questions for each image provided, but one participant felt more comfortable writing essay style as he considered most of his photos were related and interconnected.

As mentioned earlier, two potential participants did not want to participate due to the amount of work involved, which was perceived as significant. Furthermore, given my extended network of potential participants from Anglophone or allophone communities, many were willing to participate, but did not meet the criterion of Quebec-educated. In this thesis, photovoice proved to be a very insightful method to employ to encourage frank discussion, but a difficult one in terms of recruitment of participants.

Discussion and Recommendations

Discussion

The main goal of this research was to explore the lived experiences of young adult gay male Quebecers (ages 20-32) who were high school students after the 1997 cross-disciplinary, non-compulsory sex education reform. Due to this, these students may not have received the important sexual diversity education in high school and are now interacting with peers who also

may not have received this diversity education. In the next section, I refer to LGB as well as LGBTQ, where I consider LGB to refer to lesbian, gay and bisexual sexual orientation, while LGBTQ is extended to include gender identity diversity with transsexual and queer.

To revisit the research questions:

1. How do young adult Quebec gay men live post-secondary work experiences in relation to comfort level with the expression of their sexual orientation?

Based on the major themes expressed from this photovoice project, expression of sexual orientation by the gay men who participated is still a road treaded carefully. Whether that is gauging colleagues first before openly expressing as with Participant A or altering vocal expression to sound straight during interviews as with Participant B, all participants expressed a reluctance to openly express sexual orientation without considering the audience and context of the situation first.

2. How do these experiences relate/link to any educational resources or content from their high school studies?

All participants felt resources were lacking at high school to explore their sexual orientation. For several participants, this lack of resources and the instinct to hide their minority sexual orientation has leaked into their adult lives.

In the following section, based on the narratives from this study as well as previous research which indicated that sexual diversity is not consistently covered in the Quebec high school curriculum (Garcia, 2015), I will discuss the main themes of the photovoice findings. Furthermore, I will offer four recommendations for sexual diversity inclusive education at the high school level and one recommendation for workplace sensitivity training.

Hiding or Suppressing Sexual Orientation

This was the strongest theme expressed by all participants. Participant B changes his voice pitch; Participant A gauges each new relationship before fully expressing; Participant C adjusts his wardrobe to more stereotypically straight clothes and Participant D alters his personality based on the situation. Overall, this was the strongest theme and it is clear that there is still a reluctance to openly express sexual orientation and the need to work through situations and encounters on a case-by-case basis, something we would be surprised to hear from heterosexual male counterparts. Heterosexuality is the default, and if a person is different, then they have to "come out." The challenge of expressing a sexual orientation different from the expected norm of heterosexuality is evident in these findings.

Family. Although not necessarily the aim of this study, the themes indicate a reluctance to express sexual orientation with family. Participant A had an initial fear to discuss with family and only felt comfortable after the passing of this dad. Participant C dreads family gatherings and Participant D cannot imagine introducing a significant other into the family mix. Although this could not be controlled for from an educational perspective, as some of the reluctance stems from cultural background assumptions and family dynamics, the curricular recommendations that will follow could help provide support with comfort level when expressing sexual orientation with family members.

Stereotypes. The results of this study highlighted the need to address stereotypes associated with gay men. This was evident when Participant B was frustrated with the expectation that the gay friend is the fashion expert or the ideal man you can never have, or with Participant A where the expectation is to be an Adonis-like person. Similarly, Participant C wears dulled down clothes to avoid the 'gay' stereotype, and Participant D who felt robbed from

coming out as he was stereotyped as gay before knowing himself. The impact of the stereotypes associated with sexual orientation can be an additional burden to bare once one's sexual orientation has been expressed. In essence, the message that comes across from the narratives is "I am more than my sexual orientation." These participants want to be treated as individuals not constantly stereotyped or pre-judged on every aspect of life (e.g., work, family, interests) based on their sexual orientation.

Change expected from within. In several instances, participants expressed that change needs to come from within (e.g., having enough courage to not listen to the self-critical voice inside one's head). This is a sign that the goal of full equality and acceptance, even in a safe haven such as Quebec, is still far off. In 2016, it was the first time a Prime Minister of Canada attended a Pride parade (The Star, 2016). In 2017, Canada formally apologized for the injustices and systematic decimation of LGBT members from the 1950's to 1990s (CBC News, 2017). The progress on the political stage has been growing fast since the legalization of same sex marriage in Canada in 2005; however, on the smaller scale, in everyday high school students' lives, the results of this thesis lead us to believe there is still significant progress needed with regards to awareness, acceptance, and tolerance both within and outside the LGBTQ community in daily regular life situations. The new compulsory sex education re-introduction will hopefully help with this aspect.

Discomfort in approaching teachers and the need to learn about the LGBTQ community. As we saw in the narratives from Participant C, there was interest in getting more information from the guest speaker as he identified with him and wanted more information. However, due to a worry of being outed by classmates and a lack of LGBTQ discussions in class, it was difficult to find a comfortable space. Similarly, the lack of classroom discussion for

Participant D resulted in the feeling of isolation and of lost time. Even though Participant B was comfortable with his sexuality in high school, he was still made fun of for wearing a cheerleading outfit for fun. Knowing about resources does not equate with comfort level to pursue the knowledge and network with other LGBTQ youth. Therefore, a greater sense of a safe space seems to be needed to address young LGBTQ students' needs.

In her critique of the Quebec sex education reform, Garcia (2015) highlights that the reform expected teachers to

> Spontaneously integrate sexual health topics into classrooms and school activities without training or specific instructions, or to ask others to teach the subject, which has become a source of tension with the parents, the school, the school board and health organization (Garcia, 2015, p.199).

In her master's thesis, Joyce (2015) quotes McGill University professor, Lisa Trimble, on the topic of the sex education reform,

> asking everyone to teach it, though appealing in theory, is ensuring that no one does […] sex education in Quebec schools is either non- existent or completely random […] But (the government) doesn't understand that teachers need training and to develop comfort in teaching this (Joyce, 2015, p.28).

The glimpse into the lives of four young gay Quebec professionals seems to confirm this statement.

Curricular and Workplace Recommendations

1. Provide sex education and sexual diversity education in an outlined curriculum within a specific discipline versus an inter-disciplinary approach based on different teachers' comfort level.

As we saw in the literature review (Richard et al., 2015; Garcia, 2015) and from the narratives provided by participants, the inter-disciplinary teaching across the curriculum approach leaves a gap in providing sexual diversity its own space within education. Several participants mentioned sex education being non-existent, and particularly sexual diversity being silenced or ignored. The best quotation from Participant A to support this was: "Visibility leads to conversation, which leads to acceptance." Without sexual diversity having a specified time and space within the curriculum, we have not set the stage of acceptance when students are outside the regulated school environment.

For all students, the guest speaker approach is still important to include, but LGBTQ students in particular need to feel the high school space itself is safe to seek out external resources. With silencing or non-exposure, this step becomes even more difficult, especially when students do not want fellow classmates to be aware of their sexual orientation. Since teachers prioritize content that will be tested and evaluated at the end of the year (MELS, 2008), a specific time and space is needed for sexual diversity education to avoid ignoring the important topic. Whether this cross-disciplinary approach will continue and be successful with the 2018 re-introduction of sex education is still to be seen.

2. Do not teach LGB as different or separate from heterosexuality. Position LGB not as diversity, but as part of the norm.

As we saw from the narratives, hiding sexual orientation and acting more stereotypically masculine is still prevalent among gay men. LGB sexual diversity education should have its own time and space in the curriculum, as previously discussed, but it should also be incorporated in such a way that it is not different or distinct from heterosexuality. I propose what may be considered outrageous: instead of teaching LGB sexual diversity education, position it as LGB<u>H</u> sex education: H standing for heterosexual. Positioning LGB as different, even if equal, still treats it outside the norm and therefore will continue to stay on the margins. For as long as LGB identities are seen as different, students will keep their identity a secret and not feel comfortable expressing it. Furthermore, treating LGB sexuality as separate allows it to be dropped altogether from the curriculum or not covered in detail, especially if it is not specifically outlined within a course and relies on the comfort level and motivation of teachers. It inherently continues to treat LGB sexuality as different, not mandatory to discuss and requiring acceptance. If we taught LGB<u>H</u> sexuality instead of LGB versus Heterosexuality, what impact could we expect down the line for an inclusive education and by extension an inclusive community?

3. Include gender identity and gender diversity as part of sexual diversity inclusive education.

Extending on the previous recommendation, teaching not only about sexual orientation is important in sexual diversity inclusive education, but also gender identity, where the idea of the norms assumed can be addressed and allow room for non-cisgender expression. As we saw in Richard et al. (2015), students recalled guest speakers most when the expressed gender characteristics that did not match the person's biological gender. Similarly, from the narratives, conforming to gender stereotypes was important and masking effeminate behavior was often suppressed. The male-female binary discourse and associated stereotypes need to be addressed

and deconstructed in the curriculum, to allow room for non-cisgender individuals to feel comfortable to be themselves without the worry of non-conformity to societal established norms. The narratives further demonstrated how several participants hid stereotypically female characteristics to avoid being judged (e.g., wearing flashy clothes or speaking in a higher pitch).

As part of this newly proposed LGB<u>H</u> sex education, gender expression should also be addressed where a spectrum is considered instead of only the cisgender combinations, extending the inclusive education to LGBTQ<u>H</u>. The newly implemented Quebec sex education program highlights this education at the elementary level in the overall guidelines, but details are lacking and further discussion at the high school level is needed (when gender expression can be more prominent). I understand this is a difficult recommendation to implement as it breaks down what the majority of students and the media have taught us since childhood and continue to support (e.g., girls like pink and dresses, boys like blue and sports).

4. Workplace sensitivity training to include sexual diversity

As seen in the narratives, several participants did not feel comfortable being themselves in the workplace and often acted straight or hid sexual orientation out of fear of being judged, stereotyped or treated differently. The diversity training based on age, sex, race, religion that is lacking in many corporations can often be addressed through workplace training, and sexual diversity and gender non-conformity training should be considered as well. As we saw from Participant D, he felt he could get away with making certain comments because of his sexual orientation, but he was also asked many inappropriate questions in return, which colleagues felt comfortable asking due to his sexual orientation.

Questions and comments inappropriate at work based on sexual orientation should be addressed, applicable to all sexual orientations. In a globalized world, where people of all backgrounds are moving to different locations, and with the addition of more women in the workforce, along with the aging population working longer, diversity training is key in the corporate world. The visibility of the LGBTQ community plays a part in the evolving landscape of the Canadian population, and therefore sexual diversity should also be included in all workplace sensitivity training.

5. Revise the teacher education curriculum to equip teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills to develop curriculum units to teach about LGBTQH.

Given the heteronormative nature of the current curriculum, training both university students (i.e., teachers in training) and full-time teachers would be beneficial to change the framework around sexual diversity. Training is needed to move away from the heteronormative nature of sex education and create an equality of sexualities approach. The current re-introduction of sex education expects the school boards to train teachers on how to approach the different mandatory topics with support from the MEESQ (MEESQ, 2018e), but without a broader LGBTQH framework and perspective from these training sessions, it cannot be guaranteed that sexual diversity will have its equal weight and space within the sex education topics.

Keeping in mind the purpose of education is to create social human beings and future citizens (Davies & Guppy, 2006), education should not be constrained to reading, writing and math, but also a discussion on the array of people in this world. This should not be something students learn very briefly in secondary high school or are exposed to only when they move on to post-secondary education. UNESCO's four pillars of learning, which are fundamental principles

for reshaping education for the 21st Century are: Learning to know, Learning to do, Learning to be and most importantly within the current context, Leaning to live together (UNESCO, 1996).

Limitation

The major limitation to this research is the small sample size with all four participants from an English-speaking background. This study gives us a glimpse into the lives of four young gay men in Quebec following the sex education reform. Follow-up studies representing the diversity of the LGB community are needed, including lesbian and bi-sexual participants and participants belonging to the French speaking community. Participants from other cultural communities would also be needed to provide a collection of cases with wider resonance that can be used in curriculum units for discussion.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Information and Consent Form

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Exploring experiences of young-adult Quebec gay men in the workplace after the sex-education reform by Quebec's Ministry of Education
Researcher: Lucy Makdessian

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Faculty Supervisor: Prof Arpi Hamalian, Education Department arpi.hamalian@concordia.ca

Faculty Supervisor's Contact Information: (514) 848-2424 ext. 2014

Source of funding for the study: n/a

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to explore the lived experiences of young adult-male gay men (ages 20-30) working in Quebec as it relates to the expression of sexual orientation and sexual diversity education provided during high school years.

B. PROCEDURES

If you participate, you will be asked to take photographs that represent what it means to you in your daily life, struggles and successes as a young homosexual in Quebec. This study aims to explore what it is like to be a young-adult working gay professional in Quebec. How does being gay affect the work experience and relationships at work? How comfortable is it for young Quebec gay men to express their sexual orientation? What can the experiences of young Quebec working gay men tell us about the best ways to promote sensitivity and awareness of sexual diversity in the high school curriculum? What resources have been helpful in dealing with workplace incidents (whether from high school or other)?

You can take as many photos as you would like, but you must submit a minimum of 4-5 photos. For each photo, you will be asked to provide answers to the following questions in writing: What do you see here? What is really happening here? How does this relate to your life? Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist? What can we do about it? Does this make you recall any experiences or discussions from high-school? Do you have any other comments? Any other information or contribution you deem important?

Due to confidentiality, faces or identifiable characteristics must be excluded from the photos.

In total, your participation in this study will be spread over six to eight weeks and includes:

a) One initial in person meeting or telephone meeting (45 to 60 minutes) to explain the data collection method and the questions for which this research is seeking answers as well as some background information.

b) four to six weeks' time to take the photos and complete answering the questions, followed by a final meeting in person or via telephone (45 to 60 minutes) to discuss the photos and descriptions in the form of the answers to the questions you were provided to you at the first meeting.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

No major risks are anticipated in participating in this study. If you experience any emotional discomfort during participation in this study, a list of Montreal island CLSC addresses have been provided on the last pages of this form to help seek medical assistance if needed at your nearest location.

Please note, that all the photos submitted will be published and your name will **not** be associated with the photos. However, there is a possibility to be identified by your close relationships if photos provided

include identifiable places such as your workplace or home. Please ensure that such identifiable signs or photo details do not appear in the photos you submit.

A potential benefit includes being able to express your point of view of being a young adult gay man in Quebec and any sexual diversity education you were exposed to during your High School studies.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will gather the following information as part of this research: During the first meeting: Name, age, contact information, field of work, number of years of work experience, sexual orientation, and during the second meeting: photos and answers to the questions you were provided with in the first meeting.

We will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research (I the researcher and my thesis supervisor). We will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form.

The information gathered will be anonymous. That means that your name will be replaced by a pseudonym. The researcher will have a list that links the pseudonym to your name.

We will protect the information by saving it electronically on the researcher's computer protected by a password. We intend to publish the results of the research. However, it will not be possible to identify you in the published results.

We will destroy the information five years after the end of the study.

F. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

You do not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If you do participate, you can stop at any time. You can also ask that the information you provided not be used, and your choice will be respected. If you decide that you don't want us to use your information, you must tell the researcher and or her supervisor two (2) weeks after you have submitted your photos and answers to the questions. (Contact information provided at the top of this form).

There are no consequences for not participating, stopping in the middle, or asking us not to use your information up to two (2) weeks after you submit your photos and answers to the questions at which time the data will be analyzed and included in the final thesis document. There will be no way to identify your information in the thesis document – it will be part of the general data base and will be protected by the use of a pseudonym.

G. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME (please print) _____ _____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact the researcher. Their contact information is on page 1. You may also contact their faculty supervisor.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.

Montreal-area CLSC

CLSC d'Ahuntsic 1165, boulevard Henri-Bourassa Est Montréal (Québec) H2C 3K2	**CLSC Olivier-Guimond** 5810, rue Sherbrooke Est Montréal (Québec) H1N 1B2
CLSC de Dorval-Lachine 1900, rue Notre-Dame Lachine (Québec) H8S 2G2	**CLSC de Benny Farm** 6484, avenue de Monkland Montréal (Québec) H4B 1H3
CLSC de Montréal-Nord 11441, boulevard Lacordaire Montréal-Nord (Québec) H1G 4J9	**CLSC de Pierrefonds** 13800, boulevard Gouin Ouest Pierrefonds (Québec) H8Z 3H6
CLSC René-Cassin 5800, boulevard Cavendish Bureau : Y-201 Côte-Saint-Luc (Québec) H4W 2T5	**CLSC de Parc-Extension** 7085, rue Hutchison Montréal (Québec) H3N 1Y9
CLSC Saint-Louis-du-Parc (55 Mont-Royal) 55, avenue du Mont-Royal Ouest Montréal (Québec) H2T 2R9	**CLSC de Saint-Léonard** 5540, rue Jarry Est Saint-Léonard (Québec) H1P 1T9
CLSC Métro 1801, boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest Montréal (Québec) H3H 1J9	**CLSC de Saint-Henri** 3833, rue Notre-Dame Ouest Montréal (Québec) H4C 1P8
CLSC de Rivière-des-Prairies 8655, boulevard Perras Montréal (Québec) H1E 4M7	**CLSC de Saint-Michel** 3355, rue Jarry Est Montréal (Québec) H1Z 2E5
CLSC de Côte-des-Neiges (Outremont) 1271, avenue Van Horne Outremont (Québec) H2V 1K5	**CLSC de Bordeaux-Cartierville** 11822, avenue du Bois-de-Boulogne Montréal (Québec) H3M 2X6
CLSC du Lac-Saint-Louis programme Ensemble 2840, boulevard Saint-Charles Kirkland (Québec) H9H 3B6	**CLSC de Villeray** 1425, rue Jarry Est Montréal (Québec) H2E 1A7
CLSC de Côte-des-Neiges (Maison de Naissance) 6560, chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges Montréal (Québec) H3S 2A7	**CLSC de Pointe-aux-Trembles-Montréal-Est** 13926, rue Notre-Dame Est Montréal (Québec) H1A 1T5

CLSC de Rosemont (Village Olympique) 5199, rue Sherbrooke Est Bureau : 3175 Montréal (Québec) H1T 3X2	**CLSC des Faubourgs (Larivière)** 2187, rue Larivière Montréal (Québec) H2K 1P5
CLSC de Ville-Émard-Côte-Saint-Paul 6161, rue Laurendeau Montréal (Québec) H4E 3X6	**CLSC des Faubourgs (Sainte-Catherine)** 66, rue Sainte-Catherine Est Montréal (Québec) H2X 1K6
CLSC des Faubourgs (Saint-Denis) 5800, rue Saint-Denis Bureau : Bureau 1002 Montréal (Québec) H2S 3L5	**CLSC des Faubourgs (Parthenais)** 2260, rue Parthenais Montréal (Québec) H2K 3T5
CLSC Saint-Louis-du-Parc 15, avenue du Mont-Royal Ouest Montréal (Québec) H2T 2R9	**CLSC de Verdun** 400, rue de l'Église Verdun (Québec) H4G 2M4
CLSC de Saint-Laurent 1055, avenue Sainte-Croix Saint-Laurent (Québec) H4L 3Z2	**CLSC de Mercier-Est-Anjou** 9503, rue Sherbrooke Est Montréal (Québec) H1L 6P2
CLSC des Faubourgs (Papineau) 1200, avenue Papineau Bureau : Bureau 380 Montréal (Québec) H2K 4R5	**CLSC du Lac-Saint-Louis** 180, avenue Cartier Pointe-Claire (Québec) H9S 4S1
CLSC de Côte-des-Neiges 5700, chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges Montréal (Québec) H3T 2A8	**CLSC de la Petite-Patrie** 6520, rue de Saint-Vallier Montréal (Québec) H2S 2P7
CLSC des Faubourgs (Visitation) 1705, rue de la Visitation Montréal (Québec) H2L 3C3	**CLSC de Hochelaga-Maisonneuve** 4201, rue Ontario Est Montréal (Québec) H1V 1K2
CLSC du Plateau-Mont-Royal 4625, avenue de Lorimier Montréal (Québec) H2H 2B4	

Appendix B

Photovoice Form

Study Title: Exploring experiences of young-adult Quebec gay men in the workplace after the sex-education reform by Quebec's Ministry of Education

Researcher: Lucy Makdessian

Researcher's Contact Information: Lucy.makdessian@gmail.com

Code Name: _____

Age: _____

Field of work: _____

Number of years of work experience: _____

Sexual orientation: _____

Instructions: For each photo provided, please provide the name or number of the photo and answer each of the questions listed below for each of the photos. Please remember to exclude faces or other identifiable marks.

Photo #:

Questions:

1. What do you see here?
2. What is really happening here?
3. How does this relate to your life?

4. Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?
5. What can we do about it?
6. Does this make you recall any experiences or discussions from high-school?
7. Do you have any other comments?
8. Any other information or contribution you deem important?