THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF BISEXUAL, PANSEXUAL, QUEER AND NON-LABELLING WOMEN IN EVERYDAY UK SPORT: PROBLEMATISING THE REPRESENTATION AND PERPETUATION OF BINARIES

REBECCA HOUSE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Brighton for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2023

ABSTRACT

The identities, experiences and perspectives of people with multiple gender attractions in sport have been largely marginalised within the wider field of sexualities. As a response, this research examined the lived experiences of bisexual, pansexual, queer and non-labelling women in everyday UK sport. In particular, it explored and analysed the existence and reinforcement of a multitude of binaries and how these impact on the participants' mundane experiences in sport as women with multiple gender attractions. This study ensured the voices of women with multiple gender attractions are heard, represented and valued in sport research.

A qualitative approach was used where 25 women with multiple gender attractions (aged 19-62) were interviewed based on their everyday experiences in recreational sport. Five themes were developed using thematic analysis and in particular, the research demonstrated that binaries are ingrained in these women's experiences in sport and play a central role in how the participants navigate and make sense of such spaces. Specifically, the three initial themes were called: *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport, Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit* and *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. Furthermore, the two overarching themes were called: *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport* and *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport.*

By centralising the broad sporting experiences of women with multiple gender attractions, the difficulties the participants faced *as well as* the forms of inclusion experienced in such settings, are made apparent and examined. This is currently overlooked specifically within research which exclusively includes participants with multiple gender attractions in sport, as such research tends to only focus on the influence of prejudice and discrimination. This study's core conceptual contribution is the problematisation of the representation and perpetuation of the multitude of binaries in sport settings. Consequently, this research demonstrated that the influence of binaries is central to understanding these women's lives in the context of sport. At its core, this research represents a call to make a difference and contribute toward the visibility, understandings and analysis of those with multiple gender attractions in sport research.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

PUBLICATION

Aspects of the literature review within this thesis have been published in the *Journal of Homosexuality*. Currently eight authors have referenced the article. Below is the reference of the publication.

- **House, R., Jarvis, N., & Burdsey, D. (2022). Representation matters: Progressing research in plurisexuality and bisexuality in sport. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *69*(8), 1301-1321. https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2021.1913916**

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

I have presented elements of my thesis at a range of conferences. Below is the list of conferences I was involved in to gain feedback from peers and colleagues based on my research.

March 2022	**Lesbian Lives Conference** University College Cork, Ireland 'The Experiences of Bisexual+ Women in UK Sport: Research Findings'
May 2019	**Sport and Leisure Cultures Research and Enterprise Group** University of Brighton, UK 'The Experiences of Bisexual+ Women in UK Sport: Preliminary Findings'
June 2018	**Festival of Postgraduate Research Annual Conference** University of Brighton, UK 'The Experiences of Bisexual+ Women in UK Sport: Methodology'
June 2017	**Festival of Postgraduate Research Annual Conference** University of Brighton, UK 'The Experiences of Bisexual Women in UK sport: Current Literature'

DEFINITIONS

Although some of the core terms in this section are discussed in more depth throughout the thesis, this aspect provides an initial overview of such definitions. This allows for a range of audiences to become familiar with the terms before reading the thesis. Please note, the sexual identity labels in this section are my interpretation and understanding of such terms and they are not universally accepted definitions as these labels are personal to each individual.

Asexual – an individual who experiences little or no sexual attraction to any genders.

Bi+ – an individual who has, or has the potential to be, attracted (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) to more than one gender. This includes a range of people who may use different sexual identity labels to describe their multiple gender attractions. This includes, but is not limited to, identities such as bisexual, pansexual and those who do not use a label.

Bisexual – an individual who has attractions (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) to more than one gender. This term can be used as an individual's identity label or as an umbrella term to refer to people with multiple gender attractions.

Gender-blind – an individual who experiences attractions (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) in which gender is not a factor.

Gender-diverse – an individual whose gender identity does not conform to the male-female binary.

Homonormativity – homosexuals and/or homosexual culture being the norm in certain spaces.

LGBTQ+ – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer and other minority sexual and gender identities unspecified within the acronym.

Monosexual – an individual who is exclusively attracted (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) to one gender.

Panromantic – an individual who has romantic attractions to people of all genders, where gender does not play a part in one's attraction (gender-blind).

Pansexual – an individual who has attractions (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) to all genders, where gender does not play a part in one's attraction (gender-blind).

Plurisexual – an umbrella term which refers to individuals who are, or who have the potential to be, attracted (sexually, romantically and/or emotionally) to more than one gender. This includes, but is not limited to, identities such as bisexual, pansexual and those who do not use a label.

Polyamorous – an individual who has, or has the potential to have, consensual relationships (sexual and/or romantic) with multiple partners at the same time.

Queer – an umbrella term, historically used as an insult or slur towards people who were LGBTQ+. The term queer has since been reclaimed by some in the LGBTQ+ community and used with pride. The term queer is a rejection of specific sexual orientation and/or gender identity labels (see, Queer Theory on page 43). Therefore, some LGBTQ+ people prefer to use this term to identify as an individual who is non-heterosexual and/or non-cisgender. I use the word queer in this study when discussing sexual identities and the participants who identify with the term.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing a PhD has been a rollercoaster of a journey. However, the support of those around me was pivotal in enabling me to reach this stage. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my academic supervisors, Dr Nigel Jarvis and Dr Daniel Burdsey. Both Nigel and Daniel have continually provided essential and detailed feedback, guidance and support throughout each stage of my PhD. Furthermore, they have gone above and beyond their supervisory duties by preparing and supporting me into the career as an academic outside of the PhD itself. This included support through the publication process, providing feedback on job applications and supplying interviewing advice. So, a huge thank you to you both and I am forever grateful for all that you have done to help me start my career as an academic.

To the committee at The American Institute of Bisexuality (AIB), thank you for the research grant of £3,054. This grant demonstrates that those at the AIB recognise the importance and value of my original research. This grant contributed to travel and accommodation costs when conducting face-to-face interviews and university based fees. I am very grateful for this financial support.

To the participants in this study, thank you for volunteering your time to discuss your experiences as women with multiple gender attractions in sport. This study could not have been conducted without you, so I am grateful of your participation.

Thank you to my sisters and best friends, Claire and Debbie. You have both always believed in me, been there for me and consistently provided encouragement throughout the entire process. I am eternally lucky to have you both as my biggest supporters and appreciate all that you do for me. Thank you to my mum (Nikki) and dad (Alan). As a child, you both encouraged and installed the belief that I can do anything I put my mind to as long as I have a strong work ethic and believe in myself. This belief enabled me to get to where I am today. Your support has been remarkable, and I am incredibly appreciative of all you have done. Although she is no longer here with us in person, I would also like to thank my nan (Sylvia). She always took the time and interest to ask about my PhD and career goals. She was the most selfless person I have ever met, and I hope I have made you proud nan.

Lastly, I must thank my partner, Robyn. She has been understanding of me having to work weekends and during the holiday periods in order to complete this. She has been there during the highs and the lows of completing this PhD and always provided encouragement. So, thank you Robyn. I am very grateful to have had you by my side throughout this journey.

DECLARATION

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed: ***Rebecca House***

Dated: ***04/10/2023***

1.0 CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION

"In order to be recognised, I have to actively come out. I can be fairly certain that if I don't, I will be misread. Bi folks share the challenge of holding a non-binary identity in a culture that leans heavily on binary assumptions."

Robyn Ochs (2022a, para.1)
(Bisexual Activist)

Binaries are all around us and "we are all living in this binary world" (Barker & Iantaffi, 2019, p. 18). Much of culture surrounding binaries refers to gender and the politics encompassing trans and non-binary people. However, binaries also affect those with multiple gender attractions. Navigating through life with a non-binary sexual identity can pose challenges, which are commonly not recognised or discussed enough in United Kingdom (UK) culture. Bisexual voices are consistently erased, marginalised and overlooked in sport research. This is entirely unacceptable. As a consequence, this research acts as a propelling foundation to create the necessary change whereby, in this case, bisexual women's voices are heard, represented and valued in sport research. This chapter starts by examining the current impacts of female bisexuality in popular culture and thus, its influence on UK culture. This is then followed by a segment on bisexual women in sport within the media, the rationale and importance of this study, an overview of each chapter, a reflexivity account and a section based on politics of terminology.

1.1 Female bisexuality in popular culture

UK sport is a subculture of UK culture. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge and examine female bisexuality from a broader cultural perspective due to its interconnectedness and influence in bisexual women's lives, before exploring the topic in the context of sport. Understanding what makes a culture is complex and messy, and is influenced by numerous factors. Within popular culture specifically, a primary influencer is the existence and consumption of media. The media, not limited to television and the internet, impacts people's everyday lives in UK culture. Consequently, though not the only influence, popular culture, through media

consumption, significantly influences much of what we know and understand in society (Corey, 2017; Johnson, 2016). Consequently, it is highly likely to affect how female bisexuality is seen as a society and in the daily lives of bisexual women. Johnson (2016, p.379) stated,

> Music, film, pornography, and television are all examples of media that can have a subconscious effect in shaping the way we look at the world, and through these outlets, oppressive ideologies can casually become a part of our point of view.

The way female bisexuality is viewed is still influenced by porn. Female bisexuality is still oversexualised (Johnson, 2016; Johnson & Grove, 2017) and those in popular culture may engage in performative bisexuality for the male gaze, especially within porn. Performative bisexuality is when a heterosexual-identified woman engages in a same-sex sexual behaviour with another woman in front of non-homosexual men to attract or please such audiences (Fahs, 2009). This can cause inaccurate representation of bisexual women and reinforce the damaging and incorrect notion that any same-sex female sexual interactions only occur for the male gaze rather than for one's own desires. As music, TV and film are three elements which are strongly consumed by the majority of western cultures, further examination of female bisexuality in such aspects of popular culture are explored.

In the past decade, there have been well-known female celebrities in western societies who have self-identified as bisexual to the public. To date, this includes, but is not limited to, actors Evan Rachel Wood and Stephanie Beatriz, YouTube personality Lilly Singh, and singer Lady Gaga. Furthermore, the actor Shailene Woodley and singer Paris Jackson have implied having attractions to more than one gender but, from what I am aware of, do not self-identify as bisexual. Other well-known people in the public eye self-identify as pansexual. This includes actors Bella Thorne and Madison Bailey. From the surface, female bisexual representation in popular culture is growing in recognition and consequently, promotes bisexual visibility. However, when looking deeper at the type of female bisexual representation which is showcased, it is not always so encouraging.

GLAAD (2023) (previously known as the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation), is the American media monitoring organisation for the Lesbian, Gay,

Bisexual, Trans, Queer and other minority sexual and gender identities unspecified within the acronym (LGBTQ+) community. American TV and films are showcased on international media-streaming apps including Amazon Prime Video, Apple TV+, Disney Plus, Netflix and NOW, which are all commonly used in the UK. Netflix has over 17 million subscribers in the UK and is the leading subscription video on demand service in the UK (Kunst, 2023). Therefore, American TV and films are largely watched in the UK and thus has an influence on UK culture. According to GLAAD (2023, p.35), in their most recent findings from the 2022-23 television season, "of the 596 regular and recurring LGBTQ characters across broadcast, cable and streaming programming counted this year, 149 (25 percent) are bisexual+ … and of those 104 are women." Although improvements can be made, this is a progressive and positive finding in relation to bisexual representation.

Female characters who demonstrate behavioural bisexuality, imply attractions to more than one gender or self-identify as bisexual in mainstream television include Rosa Diaz in *Brooklyn Nine-Nine*, Alison DiLaurentis in *Pretty Little Liars*, Piper Chapman and Lorna Morello in *Orange is the New Black*, Delphine Cormier in *Orphan Black*, Yara Greyjoy in *Game of Thrones* and Annalise Keating in *How to Get Away with Murder*. However, of these characters currently only one (Rosa Diaz) uses the term bisexual to identify herself, similarly mentioned by Crump (2018) and GLAAD (2023). So, although demonstrating behavioural bisexuality among female characters is visible, the use of the term itself or the characters explicitly identifying using the term bisexual is still a rarity. Consequently, this protects the societal message that it is fine for woman to demonstrate or imply behavioural bisexuality but questionable whether it is okay for them to *identify* as bisexual. In agreement with Hayfield (2020), while bisexual validation cannot be assumed through bisexual visibility, awareness of bisexuality can be increased with the hope of better and more accurate recognition and representation taking place.

Despite many celebrities publicly identifying as bisexual or being open regarding having multiple gender attractions, there is a lack of celebrities who are specific bisexual activists. However, actors Evan Rachel Wood and Stephanie Beatriz are both self-identified bisexual women who use their platform, including through videos, interviews, social media and speeches, to passionately discuss issues specifically affecting bisexual people. In 2016, Beatriz publicly came out on Twitter (the social

media platform once called Twitter is now called X) and continues to use her platform to discuss her own bisexuality and explicitly reinforces that who one is partnered with does not change a bisexual individual's sexual orientation by saying, "I'll be bi till the day I die" (BBC, 2018, para.3). This supports the online campaign #StillBisexual. In 2017, Wood delivered a powerful speech at the Human Rights Campaign gala when honoured with a Visibility Award, where she discussed statistics and issues which bisexual individuals face (Allen, 2017). Additionally, Sara Ramirez is non-binary (this was disclosed to the public in 2020) and also advocates for bisexual people. In 2017, Ramirez was honoured with a Trailblazer award at the Women's Event in New York and spoke passionately about recognition and change for bisexual individuals, and more recently has given a donation to BiNet USA (a nonprofit bisexual organisation) to promote bisexual visibility and distribute educational information in relation to bisexuality (Gilchrist, 2019). In relation to bisexual celebrities from the UK, none seem to have a strong bisexual activist presence like Beatriz, Ramirez and Wood.

Although there is a clear increase of characters with multiple gender attractions in TV and film, more needs to be done to ensure the inclusion of the term bisexual as an identity is increased to normalise and validate self-identifying bisexual people. Few celebrities are bisexual activists who use their platform to educate and change societal views on bisexuality for the better. Despite this, there are more now than ever before. Hopefully with strong bisexual activists like Beatriz, Ramirez and Wood, it is the start of a shift in culture to better recognising, understanding and examining bisexual difficulties and issues in western societies, and hopefully more UK based bisexual celebrities will follow suit. Now the topic of female bisexuality in popular culture has been explored, the next section is specific to sport by delving into bisexual women in sport within the media.

1.2 Bisexual women in sport within the media

It is important to understand and analyse bisexual women in sport within the media as this may influence bisexual women in everyday, grassroots, UK sport. Much like the previously mentioned celebrities, there have been some female athletes (commonly elite athletes) who have come out specifically as bisexual to the public and had an element of online media attention surrounding their sexual orientation. In 2012, Jessica

Aguilar, a mixed martial artist (MMA) came out as bisexual to the public (Zeigler, 2012). More recently in 2019, Piper Niven, a Scottish World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) wrestler, also came out as bisexual (Bell, 2019). However, there was more online media attention based on Ireen Wüst's (speed skater) and Nicola Adams' (boxer) bisexuality in comparison to Aguilar and Niven. However, the amount of online media attention Adams and Wüst received was significantly less compared to their male counterparts who suggested having multiple gender attractions or came out specifically as bisexual.

Ireen Wüst is a Dutch long track speed skater, who has won the Allround World Champion seven times (Dutch News, 2020), and has broken numerous records when she won her tenth Winter Olympic medal (Zeigler, 2018). Nicola Adams is a former British boxer who won the Olympic gold medal in the women's flyweight division in both 2012 and 2016 (White & Thomas, 2016). She was also the World, Commonwealth and European Games titleholder in 2016 (Press Association, 2016). Adams' and Wüst's achievements were outstanding and consequently the athletes received more general online media attention due to their successes and achievements compared to other female athletes who had multiple gender attractions. Therefore, it seems likely that by these athletes receiving more online media attention based on their achievements, that this contributed to more online media attention in relation to their sexual orientation. Though Nicola Adams did identify as bisexual in the past, in 2020 she said that she is a lesbian (Wakefield, 2020). Recently, in August 2023, Sha'Carri Richardson, an openly bisexual US sprinter (Schultz, 2023), won the women's 100m event at the World Athletics Championships. Such an achievement may result in an increase of media attention surrounding her sexual orientation as found with Adams and Wüst.

It seems the dominant factor as to why some female bisexual athletes receive more online media attention surrounding their sexual orientation compared to other female bisexual athletes, is due to their ability level and achievements. However, this is not the only reason why a female bisexual athlete can receive online media attention based on their sexual orientation. In 2018, former US ice dancer Karina Manta came out to the public as bisexual (Linnell, 2018), and in 2019, Amber Glenn, a US figure skater, announced to the public that she is specifically bisexual/pansexual (Maurice, 2019). However, Glenn and Manta have not won an international championship to date.

Therefore, perhaps now in 2023, there are at least some more online media companies who value and celebrate female athletes who come out with sexual identities surrounding having multiple gender attractions regardless of whether they are international champions in their sport or not. Based on scanning online media content from the last five years on websites, including *OutSports* and *PinkNews*, there is slightly more recognition of female athletes who have multiple gender attractions in online media articles, though this is still minimal especially in comparison to their bisexual male counterparts. This slight improvement in recognition contributes marginally to more female bisexual visibility in sport within the media, though more is needed.

Despite no longer being a professional football player, Alex Scott is now a well-known English sports presenter and pundit. According to Billson (2022), Scott has not labelled her sexuality publicly, although has openly discussed having relationships with men and women. Although Scott is no longer a professional athlete, her presence as a sports presenter and pundit gains media attention in the UK, and as a consequence, media attention surrounding her sexual orientation (see, e.g., Billson, 2022; Leigh, 2022). This demonstrates it is not only professional athletes in sport who can gain media attention surrounding their sexual orientation but also people who work within sport media and are in the public eye.

While not based on her own sexual orientation, Scott received significant online media attention (online articles and social media), when she wore the One Love armband when presenting at the Qatar World Cup: Qatar being a country where same-sex relationships are illegal (Davies, 2023). This could be perceived as brave and meaningful action to represent solidarity for the LGBTQ+ community in Qatar and globally. Her actions of support for the LGBTQ+ community are inspiring and provide LGBTQ+ representation in the media. However, she is yet to use her platform to further support specifically those who are attracted to more than one gender and the barriers and issues they can face in UK sport and society more generally. It seems there are no famous people in sport in the UK who are explicit bisexual activists, however, such individuals are needed to further educate our society surrounding bisexuality. As bisexual women in sport within the media has been explored, the next section specifically provides an overview of the current (lack of) existence of bisexuality and sport research, and the importance of this study.

1.3 Rationale and importance of the study

Early in the 1990s, the essential area of homosexuality and sport started to become more recognisable in academic literature (see, e.g., Blinde & Taub, 1992; Griffin, 1992; Lenskyj, 1991; Pronger, 1990). During the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, a key concept which many sport scholars explored in the area was hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic Masculinity Theory explained and analysed the practices of masculinity in order to understand the power inequality amongst the hierarchy of masculinities, where hyper masculine men held power and dominance over less masculine heterosexual men, women and gay men (Connell, 1995). Much of the research surrounding hegemonic masculinity and sport identified sport as a non-welcoming space for gay men due to the homophobia which existed in such settings (see, e.g., Pronger, 1999; Robertson, 2003). In regard to lesbians, outside of hegemonic masculinity, it was also a common finding that gay women faced homophobia in sport or purposely hid their sexual orientation to avoid such discrimination (see, e.g., Baird, 2002; Griffin, 1998).

In 2009, Eric Anderson created Inclusive Masculinity Theory which contradicts Hegemonic Masculinity Theory. Inclusive Masculinity Theory suggests in cultures where homohysteria is not prevalent/is less prevalent, the hierarchy amongst masculinities does not occur due to the existence of more inclusive and softer masculinities (Anderson, 2009). Therefore, homophobia in men's sport loses its power, where being a gay man in such sporting space is acceptable (Anderson, 2009). Since then, academics have conducted important contemporary studies with an emphasis on homosexuality (men and women) and sport (see, e.g., Anderson & Bullingham, 2015; Hamdi et al., 2017; Quinton & Rich, 2023; Vilanova et al., 2018).

Amongst the LGBTQ+ community in sport research, homosexuality and sport still receives the most academic attention. However, particularly in the last twelve years, there has been an increase in studies surrounding trans people in sport (see, e.g., Ballantyne et al., 2012; Barras, 2021; Hilton & Lundberg, 2021; Tagg, 2012). There are mixed findings relating to the topic and which involve a range of disciplines. While some academics including Hilton & Lundberg (2021) propose reasons to exclude trans women from participating in sport with cis women, others support the social justice-based argument that everyone has a right to participate in sport (Ballantyne et al.,

2012). Within sociological research specifically, it has been found that trans people can face barriers in sport. For example, in the work by Tagg (2012), in order to be included in women's netball trans women needed to pass as cisgender women. Alternatively, Barras (2021) commonly found that the trans participants in her study gave accounts of active support and encouragement by their teammates, thus creating an inclusive environment for them when in the sport. While homosexuality and trans identities have received a considerable amount of visibility in academia, the study of bisexuality and sport remains minimal.

Throughout the researcher's academic and practical development in physical education (PE) and sport, the subject of bisexuality has rarely been acknowledged, discussed or examined. This must change. Just under a fifth (19%) of British people suggested their sexuality was on a spectrum and was not solely homo– or heterosexual (in the binary) compared to 4% who reported being exclusively homosexual (Dahlgreen, 2015). Furthermore, the Office for National Statistics (2020) found 8% of people aged 16 – 24 years identified as LGB and of that percentage, 5.3% identified as bisexual compared to 2.7% whom identified as gay or lesbian. This demonstrates there is a larger population of people, at least within the 16 – 24 age category, with multiple gender attractions in the UK compared to homosexual people. Furthermore, these findings only referred to those who *identified* as bisexual. As those with multiple gender attractions may use different labels (if any) including, but not limited to, pansexual, fluid, or queer, such participants would not have been calculated in the statistics relating to identifying as bisexual. Therefore, the report carried out by the Office for National Statistics (2020) regarding the population of people who are attracted to more than one gender, could be even larger if other identities based on multiple gender attractions were specifically included and the research involved aspects based on attractions and not just identity. Despite the evidence of more people having multiple gender attractions than exclusively same-sex attractions in the UK, the topic of bisexuality has been continually overlooked in sport research, both generally and in direct comparison to the study of homosexuality and sport.

It cannot be assumed that those who are bisexual in sport have the same experiences as those who are homosexual. Although there has been a growth of contemporary LGBTQ+ studies in sport (see, e.g., Anderson, 2014; Anderson & Bullingham, 2015; Cunningham & Pickett, 2018; Symons et al., 2017; Vilanova et al., 2018), there is

limited academic attention which is exclusively based on the lived experiences of bisexual people in the practice of sport. Specifically, homosexuality and sport is the most popular researched area within studies based on LGBTQ+ people in sport. Some academics whose research focuses more generically on the LGB or LGBTQ+ community in sport have included bisexuality in their studies (see, e.g., Anderson, 2014; Griffin, 1999), however the bisexual individuals and/or the topic of bisexuality were often marginalised, through lack of discussion, in comparison to homosexuals despite the use of the inclusive LGB or LGBTQ+ acronym. Furthermore, although research into the broad categorisation of LGB or LGBTQ+ people is representational in academia and can be influential, it can often miss the differing details of experience based on one's specific sexual orientation. Although both homosexual and bisexual individuals may face challenges in mainstream sports environments, Anderson & McCormack (2016) stated bisexual people can face issues which homosexual people do not, which they refer to as the 'bisexual burden'. This includes, but is not limited to, bisexual erasure and negative bisexual stereotypes. It is not suggested bisexual people face *more* issues than homosexual people, but rather they can face different challenges which are specific to being bisexual. Therefore, it is vital to also have research which has an entire focus precisely on the experiences of each identity group within the LGBTQ+ community in sport, which in relation to bisexual women, this study demonstrates.

Maddocks (2013), Magrath (2022), Magrath et al. (2017), Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) and Xiang et al. (2023) are some of the few academics who have demonstrated a clear, specific and substantial emphasis explicitly on bisexuality in sport in their research, whilst Barak (2019) wrote a chapter based on elite bisexual athletes, stereotypes and sport. Barak's (2019) chapter was not based on her own research but rather shared similarities of a literature review, whilst Magrath et al. (2017) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) analysed the media outcomes of male athletes publicly expressing that they have multiple gender attractions or are bisexual. Furthermore, in 2022, Magrath conducted research based on the experiences of bisexual football fans in the UK. In regard to such research, it demonstrates a significant absence in studies based on the everyday and usually mundane lived experiences of grassroot bisexual people participating in sport, which is why this study is both essential and needed.

The most closely related research regarding this PhD topic is the work of Maddocks (2013) and Xiang et al. (2023). Maddocks (2013) completed a PhD which focused on biphobia and homophobia in sport and found inclusion in football culture was dependent on the normative, regarding sexual identity, where often heteronormativity was identified in men's mainstream football and homonormativity was identified in LGBT and women's football. Based on a sample which included a range of sexual identities, the reinforcement and reproduction of biphobia occurred as within homo- and heteronormative (binary) spaces bisexual individuals were often excluded, marginalised or silenced by others in the space. Although Maddocks (2013, p.30) created a solid foundation, the research had a clear emphasis in collecting data in relation to homophobia *and* biphobia, led by the use of the predominant research question "How does homophobia operate in the context of sport?" This suggests other experiences, other than homophobia or biphobia, regarding being a bisexual person in sport were missed.

Differing from Maddocks (2013), this study's research aim is to critically examine the everyday lived experiences of women with multiple gender attractions in UK sport and the implications of conceptual binaries from a sociological perspective. This research takes a sociological approach due to analysing how the impact of society can affect a particular group (in this case, women with multiple gender attractions). To comparatively summarise, this study only has a sample of women who are attracted to more than one gender, takes a more open approach to examining the participants' everyday and usually mundane lived experiences in sport, centralises only bisexual women's lived experiences, and provides an analysis through the influence of conceptual binaries. The limited research in relation to bisexual women's everyday lived experiences in sport demonstrates there is a research gap. This research gap must be explored to further understand and examine the everyday lives of women with multiple attractions in sport through a conceptual lens surrounding binaries. Consequently, this study is both contemporary and unique.

Another closely related project to this research, is the work of Xiang et al. (2023). Xiang et al. (2023) explored the experiences of female bisexual college (university in UK terms) students in China. They conducted semi-structured interviews with four female bisexual students and analysed the data using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Their two research questions for the study were: "1) What are the

perceptions of female bisexual student-athletes within sports context regarding bisexual identity? [and] 2) What are the experiences of being a female bisexual student-athlete in China?" (Xiang et al., 2023, p. 4). The three themes developed in the research were: 1) what bisexual identity means, 2) invalid identity and 3) perceptions of sports context on sexual fluidity. Among each of the three themes were also relevant sub-themes.

All of the four participants participated in volleyball, and some participated in additional sports as well. Therefore, the findings from Xiang et al.'s (2023) research may be more specific to the context of volleyball in China than sport more broadly. Differing from Xiang et al. (2023), this study includes more participants from a range of different sports. Therefore, unlike Xiang et al. (2023), this study has the opportunity to distinguish between the influence of specific sport cultures (e.g., football culture, roller derby culture) and the broader similarities found across different sports in regard to the participants in this study.

Despite there not being a 'correct' number of participants to be interviewed in a qualitative based study, having more than ten interviews allows for more prominent themes to be established amongst the participants. Therefore, only interviewing four participants does not seem substantial and is highly unlikely to allow for data saturation. This is a limitation of the work of Xiang et al. (2023). This study differs to Xiang et al. (2023), as there are 25 participants involved in the interviewing process as opposed to just four. Furthermore, the research by Xiang et al. (2023) took place in China. The culture within the UK in comparison to China is significantly different due to dissimilar laws, beliefs and practices (Zhuang et al., 2019). Therefore, the findings of this research are likely to differ considerably compared to Xiang et al. (2023) due to taking place in the UK. Therefore, by interviewing 25 participants, only involving participants living in the UK and examining not just the participants' everyday lived experiences but also analysing the implications of conceptual binaries within such experiences, provides a contemporary and distinctive contribution to academic knowledge in the field of sexualities and sport.

This study specifically delves into the everyday lived experiences of bisexual women in UK sport as opposed to a range of genders. This decision was made because despite sharing the same sexual orientation, bisexual women, bisexual men and non-binary

bisexual people can be viewed differently within the social world due to the intersection of their gender. Therefore, each gender within the bisexual community deserves specified recognition and in-depth attention within research to avoid surface-level and bisexual generic findings. Due to my own gender as a woman, the difficulties in recruiting bisexual men and non-binary bisexual people, and the marginalisation women in general can face, this study's specific sample includes women only. Research consistently shows bisexual women have poorer mental health in comparison to heterosexuals and homosexuals (see, e.g., Bostwick & Harrison, 2020; Kiekens et al., 2021; Nelson et al., 2023). Therefore, the examination of how the space of sport may or may not influence bisexual women is essential. For these reasons, it is vital to have an entire focus precisely on the everyday lived experiences of bisexual women in sport as opposed to bisexual people more broadly. Consequently, this study provides the needed bisexual representation in sport research and offers a contemporary and original contribution to the academic field of sociology, sexuality and sport, and bisexuality studies by exploring the topic through the conceptual lens of binaries. Bisexuality as a topic and bisexual women specifically, will no longer be overlooked and sidelined in sport research.

1.4 Overview of thesis chapters

Chapter one, the introduction, analyses the current impacts of female bisexuality in popular culture and thus, its influence in UK culture. This is then followed by a segment on bisexual women in sport within the media, the rationale and importance of this study, an overview of each chapter, a reflexivity account and a section based on politics of terminology. Chapter two, the literature review, examines the study of bisexuality which specifically centres on the history of studying bisexuality, the complexities of the word "bisexual", sexual identities and labels, and key concepts in (bi)sexuality studies. The latter end of chapter two examines academic literature surrounding bisexuality and sport, though this is sparse. Core findings surrounding bisexuality and sport research include the homo– heterosexual binary and silencing of bisexuality, and inclusive attitudes among sports participants.

Chapter three, methodology and methods, delves into and critically engages with the research philosophy of the scholar. This includes ontology, epistemology and

paradigm as well as a qualitative versus quantitative debate. The specific research methods and processes are then explored. This includes the use of interviews, the sample, recruiting participants, research ethics and safety, and thematic analysis. Chapter four, the findings and discussion chapter, starts by sharing and exploring the range of bi+ identities among the participants. This is followed by the first initial theme called *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*. This aspect examines types of outness and rationales for not disclosing one's sexual orientation. The second initial theme titled *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit*, examines types of bi+phobia experienced by the participants in sport: most of which were implicit rather than explicit. The third initial theme is called *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*, which explores the range of positive feelings most of the participants had in relation to being a bi+ woman in sport. When examining why the participants felt such a way, there were a rage of inclusive outcomes and actions which centred LGBTQ+ representation and as a consequence, led to positive feelings for the participants in sporting spaces.

Throughout the three initial themes in chapter four, two overarching themes were developed. These overarching themes are titled *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport* and *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport*. Many of the findings relating to the initial three themes are also more broadly related to one or both overarching themes, which are then examined. *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport* was the most dominant theme in comparison to the other themes (initial and overarching themes). The author ends the chapter by problematising the constant reinforcement of binaries and the need for society to have an awareness of how certain binaries can harm minority groups. The final chapter, the conclusions, starts by presenting a thesis summary before showcasing the original contributions to knowledge based on the findings in the study. A reflections and limitations aspect is then presented followed by a section based on recommendations for future research.

1.5 Reflexivity and positionality

Reflexivity is the ability to be self-critical in relation to identifying and reflecting on one's own beliefs, judgements and behaviours during the research process, and establishing how these beliefs may impact the research (Dean, 2017). Those who

engage in reflexivity acknowledge a researcher cannot be a detached observer (Blaikie, 2000) and consequently, the practice involves openness and acceptance regarding the researcher being a part of the research (Finlay, 2002). According to Dean (2017), to engage in reflexivity, one must reflect on one's positionality. Positionality is establishing one's gender, ethnicity, sexuality, social class and other aspects of our self and lived experience, which shapes one's identity and consequently affects the way in which research is conducted (Dean, 2017; Moore, 2012). Therefore, reflexivity as a practice helps lead to or understand one's positionality.

According to England (1994), reflexivity can be misunderstood and dismissed as a distraction or a narcissistic exercise. Furthermore, some academics perceive the process as stressful as it can unsettle previous thoughts (Dean, 2017). It can also provide a similar experience to a confession where an individual must share their inner-most thoughts and allow these to be criticised (Forber-Pratt, 2015). Nevertheless, in agreement with Dean (2017), to not recognise subjectivities or to deny the effects of subjectivities is problematic. Thus, reflexivity is a tool used by a variety of academics who conduct qualitative research. This is highlighted in both bisexuality studies, including Castro & Carnassale (2019) and DeCapua (2017), as well as in the field of sexualities and sport, including Maddocks (2013) and Magrath et al. (2015).

This reflexivity account has specifically been placed in chapter one of the thesis for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it allows the reader to have an insight into the researcher and the researcher's positionality before engaging with core elements of the study. Secondly, it became apparent when conducting the research that people made assumptions based on the researcher's sexual orientation which were inaccurate and at times, led to confusion. Therefore, establishing the researcher's sexual orientation at the start of the PhD avoids this. Lastly, one's subjectivity and interpretation should not be seen negatively but instead embraced and therefore have a strong stance. Consequently, being at the beginning of the PhD rather than in the methodology and methods chapter, enables the reflexivity account to be bold and powerful.

1.5.1 My journey so far

In my reflexivity account, I acknowledge who I am and the relevant experiences I have been through in relation to my own connection with my sexual orientation and sport. The purpose of this reflexivity account is not to produce a self-absorbed piece of

writing. It is rather an attempt to gain insight into and examine the relationship between the PhD project and myself, and how it affects the subjectivities and interpretations of the data. Consequently, both the reader and I will have a greater understanding of how I see the world, my relationship with my research and how this may influence the study. Please note, different tenses are used in this reflexivity account as one aspect was written prior to the research taking place and the other was written after the research had taken place. This has allowed for a well-rounded reflexivity account to be demonstrated.

I am a white, British, gay, cisgender woman, currently aged thirty-one. I was born and raised in the South of England and now live in the West Midlands. I was a PE teacher from 2014 until 2019 and am now a Lecturer in Initial Teacher Education (ITE). Since coming out as gay in my teens, I have always identified as gay. For me, I believe I was born gay as ever since I can remember I have experienced attraction to only women. However, I recognise people's experiences and feelings based on their sexual orientation are not the same for all. For example, although I believe I was born gay, it is not to say everyone is born with a certain sexual orientation based on my own feelings and experiences. For some, sexual orientation is flexible, adaptable and fluid and this is equally as legitimate. This should be seen as such by all, although unfortunately this is not always the case. So, while there is a binary nature vs nature debate surrounding sexual orientation, where people often fall on one side or the other, to me people's attractions are complex and messy and there is not just one answer. I became interested in the possibility of conducting research based on a sexual orientation which was not my own due to being open, understanding and intrigued about various sexualities and experiences.

I have never experienced sexual, romantic or emotional attractions to men. Furthermore, I have never been in a relationship with a man, nor have I engaged in any sexual activities with men throughout my life. Even slow dancing with a male peer in my early teens did not feel right and made me feel incredibly uncomfortable. To be clear, platonically I love men. In fact, my best friend is a man and I am fortunate to be surrounded by some fabulous men in my life. Unfortunately, gay women, especially those who have never engaged in sexual activities with men, can be portrayed as man haters. This is not the case with me and, quite simply, I am just attracted to women. Consequently, I will never know what it is like to have multiple gender attractions and

therefore, I cannot fully relate directly with the participants regarding their sexual orientation in this study.

Early within starting my PhD, I even questioned if I am the right person to be conducting this research and whether I had the right to carry out this research seeing as I do not have multiple gender attractions myself. This was both a personal insecurity as well as trying to respect the topic by not taking up a space of a bisexual academic. After discussions with two of my close friends who both have multiple gender attractions, they assured me it was meaningful that I, as a gay person, was conducting the study as commonly in their words it is *only* bisexual people who look into bisexual experiences. They suggested I was therefore an ally for those with multiple gender attractions by contributing to the awareness of experiences which such individuals can face. This conversation allowed me to feel that despite not having the same sexual orientation as the participants, I could still make a positive contribution to the study of bisexuality and perhaps even to bisexual people's lives through conducting this research as an ally.

Although I do not have multiple gender attractions, by being gay I am also an oppressed sexual minority and there may be some similarities based on feelings and experiences, including feelings of pride and shame, a lack of a sense of belonging and broader identity struggles which non-heterosexual people can face. Although I am aware there *could* be shared similarities which both the participants in this study and I have experienced as sexual minorities, I have consciously ensured this is not assumed. In relation to the work of Hayfield & Huxley (2015), they discussed being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' as a researcher in relation to the topic being explored: another example of a binary found in our social world. Hayfield & Huxley (2015) reflected on the insider/outsider notion establishing that based on intersections of people's identities, a researcher can be both an insider *and* an outsider. This is what resonates with me. I am an 'outsider' in relation to having multiple gender attractions, but I am an 'insider' regarding being a woman in the LGBTQ+ community. It seems, for me, I exist within the middle ground or a ground completely outside of the insider/outsider binary.

I knew in myself I was gay and what that meant when I was approximately 11 years-old, yet I felt constant shame and did not tell anyone until I was 14. I would commonly cry myself to sleep based on the fear my family would hate me. People at school and

even distant family members made snide comments implying about my sexual orientation to my face or within ear shot, and some even explicitly asked me if I was gay. These interactions sent me into panic – having to hide and deny my true self was a constant and isolating challenge I carried around with me each day. I felt really segregated from those around me because at that time I did not know of anyone who was gay.

One night my two sisters heard me crying in my room. After some time of me trying to convince them nothing was wrong, I came out to them. They created a safe space for me to come out and their reactions and support gave me the strength and the confidence to start very gradually coming out to others. Just hearing the words, 'We don't care Becs, you're still our little sis' along with a big hug made a huge difference as I did not feel quite as alone. The shame did not go in that moment, but rather slowly reduced over time throughout my teens since that point. Some people might refer to me as a 'gold star lesbian': a lesbian who has never had sex with a man. In my late teens I would refer to myself as this as if it was a badge of honour. However, the phrase is clearly extremely problematic – it demeans lesbians who have had sex with men and women who sleep with multiple genders including men. Growing up and getting an education certainly did me wonders! In my late teens, I think I used such phrases and terms as I was trying to grab onto and express a sense of pride based on my sexual orientation (not that I am excusing myself), due to the years of feeling constant shame. Now on reflection, such problematic phrases should cease to exist.

I have never felt a full sense of belonging. I have always been an outsider or an outcast, at least to some degree for some reason. At least, that is how I have always felt. Not necessarily a loner, but never fully emerged in a group. The closest I have ever felt to feeling a sense of belonging in relation to my sexual orientation was when I was 18, 19 and 20 years old. I became a part of a big group of predominately gay women (approximately 30 people), and we would commonly go to our local LGBTQ+ club. During those years, I finally felt free, I could be who I am, and I had others around me who were the same as me. Such friendships were really important to me, and I thought I had finally 'found my group' and 'found where I belong'.

However, I placed such importance on these friendships that when 'friends' would betray me or not treat me with respect in which I demonstrated for them, it really hurt.

I soon learnt although they had the same sexual orientation as me and I could be fully open about myself around them, not all shared the same values as me. For example, I experienced situations where people were nice to my face but spread rumours behind my back, where they would pick me up and just drop me when they felt like it, and even kissed my girlfriend at the time behind my back. It is probable this was due to a lack of maturity at that age. I am not suggesting all lesbians or only lesbians demonstrate these behaviours, but rather I realised I equally did not fully belong in that group either. In relation to this research, perhaps having or not having a sense of belonging may play a part in the participants' experiences, but this awareness has ensured I am not specifically searching for this in my analysis.

Since that period in my life, I have surrounded myself with people who are accepting of me, place the same importance as I do into our friendship and are simply overall inclusive and nice folks. I still attend pride events but rarely go into LGBTQ+ spaces anymore. Most LGBTQ+ spaces are night clubs anyway and I am getting far too old for all of that! My pool of friends is now significantly smaller. The friends I am closest to I could count on one hand, and they have different genders and sexual orientations. This includes a bisexual trans man, a pansexual cisgender woman, a heterosexual cisgender man, a heterosexual cisgender woman and a cisgender gay woman. Through my experiences, I have seen first-hand how lesbians can negatively treat other people (the same as anyone with any sexual orientation can). Therefore, I do not get instantly defensive or ignore the topic if there has been a problematic issue within the lesbian community. I am open to hearing about negative experiences people have had with lesbians despite being gay myself. That is why for me, it is important I create a safe space for the participants which I interview so they feel comfortable to share their experiences in regard to lesbians with me (if any), even if these were negative.

If I am honest, I am still figuring out my sense of identity. I never went through the experimental stage including the 'emo stage', having my hair different styles, different trends or getting piercings in my teens. Furthermore, sometimes I do not feel strongly about certain aspects of myself. For example, what is my favourite TV show? Well, there is no way I could pick just one. I would even struggle to narrow my answer down to five options. Another example is, I am not passionate about one particular hobby. Sometimes I go to the gym or play football, but I would not say these were integral to my identity. The only part of my identity which I have been sure of and felt so strongly

about is being gay. That is not to say other parts of my identity are not important, but rather being gay is so central to my being. This is why I am drawn to and so passionate about conducting research surrounding minority sexualities as my sexual orientation is so fundamental to my identity, while other aspects of my identity are not. Therefore, I know how impactful one's sexual orientation can be on an individual, especially oppressed sexual minorities.

Readers of this thesis will notice the next segment based on my relationship to sport also crosses into my connection with my education and specifically engaging with LGBTQ+ studies in sport. Therefore, my education is not singular to just sport or my sexual orientation but is rather a complex mesh of both. When I was younger, I was the 'sporty girl' who loved most sports although I did not 'look' like a traditional 'sporty girl' as I was an overweight child and teenager (and am still). The two main sports I participated in were football and table tennis. At the age of 11/12 I had to make a decision between which of these two sports I wanted to continue playing due to clashes on the weekends; I chose table tennis, which was significantly influenced by my dad. He believed I had more chance of being successful in table tennis than in football and his voice was always the loudest in our family. I think I chose table tennis to please my parents because if I am honest, I preferred football more. Nevertheless, I committed to playing table tennis and began to significantly progress competitively. From age 13 – 18 I was competing in national competitions, international training and consistently representing my county. I was consistently within the top 15 and at times top 10 in my age group nationally, but never made it to the top 5.

At school, I was known as Becky House, the table tennis girl – in a positive light. I think I may have even used table tennis to distract others off the fact I was gay at school. So, if everyone was so focused on my table tennis ability then hopefully, they would not recognise or question my sexual orientation. This was not always the case though. Interestingly, the 'sporty boys' showed me a certain level of respect due to reaching a high standard in my sport, which they did not show towards other girls. Although I gained some form of respect by some peers at school, I never fitted into one particular group. This was also the case with the table tennis community too. I was a fat girl who expressed emotions during matches when most girls did not – perhaps that was or contributed to why I felt as though I did not fit in or/and because the girls around me were straight (or at least, I perceived them to be straight) and I wasn't.

My dad was my biggest cheerleader but also my biggest enemy. If I won a competition, he was full of praise but usually ended the conversation with something along the lines of, 'Now you need to win [name of tournament] or now you need to move up to [number in ranking] in the rankings.' It was like he was never content with what I achieved, and I was never good enough. When I lost a game where I did not play up to my potential, those were the worst times. He would be silent with me until we were in the car and would then shout about all of the mistakes I made, repeatedly. In my younger years, I did not say anything in response but around the age of 16/17, I would retaliate and shout back. Around this time, my performances and my enthusiasm for the sport declined significantly until I finally gave up the sport at 18. These experiences have made me aware that parents can hugely influence children and young people who participate in sport and not always in a good way. Furthermore, although I experienced issues due to one of my parents, it may not be the case for all. Even for those who faced similar parental experiences, examining my positionality has allowed me to make sure I do not make any assumptions based on the participants' feelings and experiences relating to the topic of parents and sport, if it is raised.

Due to my 'sporty' background and because PE was my most enjoyable and successful topic at school, I based my career around PE and followed the educational path to becoming a PE teacher. I completed the relevant qualifications at college and in 2010 I started a BA (Hons) in Physical Education with Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) at the University of Brighton (of course, I chose Brighton out of all of the places because it was and still is known for having a large LGBTQ+ population). I did trial for the women's football team at university in my first year, but after going to a couple of their socials, again, I did not feel I fitted in. People were kicking in doors, offensive chants were centralised and big personalities in the group were always fighting for the limelight. It just was not for me. So, I removed myself from that.

At this point, I was not playing any competitive sport during my undergraduate degree. So, it felt as though my connection to sport was not as prominent as previously in my life but still present to a point through my degree. It was in my last year of this degree where I was given an opportunity to take a sociology based module based on gender and sexuality in sport. It was here where I discovered a desire to gain further knowledge regarding the LGBTQ+ community in sport. There was not just one aspect of the topic I preferred but rather I enjoyed all of the sub-topics in the module. I

pursued this further by taking a master's degree in sport sociology at the University of Winchester in September 2014, where much of the content included the area of sexualities and sport. It was here, during my MA, where I really began to see that sport is not always a fully positive arena for all and in fact sport can be damaging for some. This included topics such as sexual abuse in sport, depression from injuries, homophobia in sport and exclusion for trans people in sport. As a consequence, I was more critical of sport. Sport is not always positive and beneficial for all as I was led to believe when I was younger. This allowed me to be reflective and although having to justify the benefits of PE and sport constantly when I was PE teacher, I now equally identify the negative impacts sports can bring.

During my MA, I read the book called *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*. Within the book, there were sections on homosexual and transgender people in sport. However, there were no sections or even chapters specifically based on bisexuality/people with multiple gender attractions and sport. This shocked me especially as this book was known to be high-profile in the field. Although it was not my sexual orientation which was being disregarded, I could not help but feel irritated that such a big aspect of the LGBTQ+ community was being completely overlooked. Perhaps I was more prone to identifying this form of invisibility due to two of my closest friends having multiple gender attractions and at the time, both identifying as bisexual. Therefore, I had an insight into challenges which bisexual people could face. After some further research, it became clear there was a lack of research in the area of bisexuality and sport. Although I am gay and do not have multiple gender attractions, I strongly believe all identities in the LGBTQ+ community should be represented in all spheres of academic literature, and this made me want to explore the area. Although it might sound cliché, representation matters! I instantly knew this was the topic not only that I wanted to conduct but *needed* to be researched.

After completing my MA and what I had gained from the year, this led me to starting my PhD on my specific topic. Originally, my research was based on the experiences of bisexual people in sport. Before I changed my topic and sample from 'bisexual individuals in sport' to 'bisexual women in sport', all of the participants I had interviewed had been women and the majority were in their late teens/twenties. My positionality as a woman myself, which would have been clear on the recruitment poster, may have made female participants feel more at ease and potentially more

comfortable in being involved in the research. Additionally, it could simply be that it is perceived as more acceptable for women to be bisexual compared to men in the UK and/or to be a bisexual woman in sport compared to men. So, that influence in itself could be a key factor as to why more women volunteered to participate in this research compared to men at the earlier stage. It is also understandable why no non-binary bisexual people reached out to be in the study due to the significantly small percentage of non-binary people in the UK.

I had wanted to delve into the experience of bisexual individuals when I started my PhD, but the difficulty in recruiting bisexual men and those who identify with gender-diverse identities resulted in the change of direction of my research. Although I had intended to include all individuals who identify as bisexual, and therefore represent them in academic sports research, I also wanted the understanding of their experiences to be as in-depth as possible. I knew by recruiting limited bisexual men and non-binary people, this outcome would be unlikely, so I decided to only include bisexual women in this research project. It is possible that if I were a man or identified with an alternative gender, this may have altered the number of men and gender-diverse individuals who would volunteer to participate in the study. In addition, I believe being within a similar age range to most of the participants thus far may have helped create a form of connection. Consequently, this potentially created a better chance of building a successful rapport. Therefore, being within the same age category probably allowed me a greater chance of generating in-depth data with those in their 20s and 30s than an individual who was not in my age category.

When I started to engage with literature on the topic, what amazed me at first was the lack of knowledge I had surrounding bisexuality and the experiences of bisexual people, despite having friends who have multiple gender attractions. Writing a literature review enabled me to gain an insight into what it may or can be like to identify as bisexual or have multiple gender attractions. Discussions with these friends also facilitated this on a more personal level as I was able to have conversations with them about their experiences and how they navigate through the world as someone with multiple gender attractions. Unfortunately, this insight highlighted some negative experiences, including forms of erasure, exclusion and discrimination, which I was previously oblivious to. This was not because I chose to ignore these issues, but because I was not aware of them. It seems likely this was because such issues did not

affect me personally as a gay woman. By having this better awareness of discrimination and prejudice which bisexual people can face, I consciously ensured my research enabled me to discover positive and neutral, as well as negative, experiences which bisexual women have in sport.

During a similar time, I began posting, reposting, liking and sharing social media articles or posts which were supportive of bisexual visibility and reducing biphobia. Despite having never questioned my own sexual orientation, I developed a strong connection to individuals who had multiple gender attractions due to my involvement as a researcher in the subject area. In addition to this, I have become very aware of most of the inequalities and discriminative actions people with multiple gender attractions can face. Now I am aware of negative experiences which bisexual people and those with multiple gender attractions may encounter, it is important for research purposes that I still look at all of the individuals' experiences in sport and not focus just on the negative elements. My desire to understand the experiences of bisexual individuals has led me to promote visibility and representation and attempt to contribute towards the elimination of biphobia as much as possible. I have never identified as an activist who participates in protests with big signs, probably due to my fairly reserved nature. My research into this area, however, has enabled me to identify a personal responsibility to contribute towards bringing social change to those who are attracted to more than one gender in my own small way.

During the interviewing stage, at first, I did not discuss my own sexual orientation with the participants unless they directly asked me at any stage prior to or during the interview (which some did). I had a personal fear the participants may feel disconnected to me due to my sexual orientation differing to theirs, which may affect the depth to the answers they gave and hinder the rapport. I now understand this was only a personal fear because when the participants did ask about my sexual orientation, they responded positively but, in most cases, appeared slightly surprised. This has affected my research because it is possible some had assumed that I also had multiple gender attractions because of my research topic. In fact, most people initially make this assumption about me, both in my personal and professional life, when I discuss my research with them. This made me feel like a fraud.

After the completion of the first eight interviews and upon reflection, I decided to be open about my own sexual orientation prior to the interview so it prevented any confusion and gave the participants a bit more of a clear insight about me. I felt sharing this personal information about myself also created an atmosphere of trust. Furthermore, I did not want participants to feel as though they had been misled, despite it being some of the participants themselves who made such an assumption. In addition to telling the participants my sexual orientation, I also explicitly made them aware I would not be upset or offended if they had negative experiences involving lesbians, in fact, I encouraged hearing about *all* of their relevant experiences with or without lesbians. I aimed to create a sense of solidarity for the participants which unfortunately is not always demonstrated with the LGBTQ+ community itself. Although members of the LGBTQ+ community may have different experiences depending on their identity, how they see the world and how they are seen in the world, we are one community. For me, solidarity and its relationship to a sense of belonging is essential. No one deserves to feel isolated, alone or misunderstood. I am an ally and want to contribute towards making the world a better, safer and more accepting place for people with multiple gender attractions both inside and outside of sporting contexts.

Prior to this research, the recognition and understanding of binaries and binary based thinking was not a part of my personal experiences unless I was involved in discussions surrounding gender identities – in particular, non-binary people. However, on reflection, most of my existence, especially the bigger aspects of my identity, exist in a socially constructed binary. For example, by identifying as gay, I fit into the gay/straight binary and by identifying as a woman, I fit into the man/woman binary. Consequently, in many cases the impact of binaries and binary based thinking did not negatively impact me as that aspect of my identity was securely visible in society due to the reinforcement of that particular binary. However, with non-binary sexual orientations, it is not the case and further challenges can exist for such individuals due to the influence of the straight/gay binary. Furthermore, conducting this research has educated me in regard to identifying binary based thinking, being aware of potential effects of binary based thinking and challenging binary based thinking, where relevant, throughout my life (personal and academic).

For me, this reflexivity account is only the beginning of identifying how my positionality influences my current and future research and I will continue to engage

with this practice throughout my academic career. I am also aware my positionality can and will change as I am constantly evolving in terms of understanding myself and the world around me. I am aware my academic journey has many more steps to go, and I will change and grow as a researcher, thus in some respects possibly change my positionality throughout my life. I look forward to continuing this challenging, yet exciting academic journey.

1.6 The politics of terminology

One of the biggest challenges I have found emotionally, politically and intellectually during writing this thesis is the politics of terminology. Due to not having multiple gender attractions myself but as an ally, I especially held huge importance on researching responsibly to ensure the representation of the topic is contemporary and accurate. Throughout this thesis, I have wrestled with terminology, especially relating to identities. Reflecting, examining and deciding upon what, why, how and when to use certain terminology, although challenging has been critical and core to the growth of this research. I developed this through the study; therefore, changes in language are identifiable throughout the thesis. For example, I predominantly use the terms bisexual/bisexuality when referring to people with multiple gender attractions within the literature review or if other academics have done so. Then, later in the thesis I use the specific sexual identity labels which the participants chose for themselves and predominately use bi+ as an umbrella term. One clear conclusion from conducting this research is how people identify themselves must be prioritised and valued in sociology research. Accurate recognition for minority groups is essential and meticulous considerations of how to demonstrate this through the use of language in research should not be overlooked or undervalued. Any scholar conducting research which involves people who are attracted to more than one gender must engage with the examination surrounding the politics of terminology. This concludes the end of chapter one and following this, is the literature review.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW

"Despite a significant increase in studies of bisexuality, there remains a relative lack of meaningful inclusion of bisexuality within academic research and writing. This in itself serves as an example of the erasure and invisibility of bisexuality."

Dr Nikki Hayfield (2020, p.13)
(Senior Lecturer)

In agreement with Hayfield (2020), more research is vitally needed within the specific area of bisexuality. This literature review examines the current and relevant research based on the topic and emphasises the need for further bisexual based research, particularly in the context of sport. Due to the limited research which centres bisexuality and sports within sociology, it was a necessity that a range of literature from different disciplinaries (e.g., law and psychology) also needed to be incorporated within this chapter. The literature review is divided into two sections: the study of bisexuality and bisexuality and sport. The aspect on the study of bisexuality facilitates an in-depth analysis of core academic literature and concepts surrounding (bi)sexuality before moving onto bisexuality and sport, which examines academic literature within the specific area. This was purposely structured in this manner to assure the reader has a secure understanding of bisexuality literature first before exploring bisexuality specifically in the context of sport.

2.1 The study of bisexuality

Studies surrounding those with multiple gender attractions still predominately centre on bisexuality. Therefore, bisexuality takes a central focus within this section, however, reference to other sexual identities based on having multiple gender attractions are made, where relevant. The study of bisexuality is further divided into four subcategories: 1) the history of studying bisexuality, 2) the complexities of the word "bisexual", 3) sexual identities and labels, and 4) key concepts in (bi)sexuality studies.

2.1.1 The history of studying bisexuality

It is vital to acknowledge and analyse the history of studies based on bisexuality in academic literature to established how the topic was developed and how its history can play a part in how bisexuality is understood and examined currently. This element has been completed to gain an insight into how bisexuality became understood in academia as this may influence the topic of bisexuality more currently in the subculture of sport.

Despite a variety of studies which have been conducted based on the history of studying bisexuality, including the Multidimensional Scale of Sexuality (see, Berkey et al., 1990) and Sexual Configurations Theory (see, van Anders, 2015), three core studies are included in this section. These are The Kinsey Scale, The Klein Sexual Orientation Grid and The Erotic Response and Orientation Scale which are presented in a chronological order. The rationale for focusing on these three particular studies is due to such research being the most influential and well-known in studies based on bisexuality in their eras.

In 1886, the Austrian psychiatrist and sex researcher Richard von Krafft-Ebing suggested people who have sexual contact with both sexes or/and were sexually attracted to both sexes, had a condition named psychosexual hermaphroditism (Elia et al., 2018). This was classified as a condition where, "an individual experiences the psychological equivalent of physical possession of both male and female sex organs" (Elia et al., 2018, p.3). In 1897, Havelock Ellis, a British sexologist, also used the term psychosexual hermaphroditism to refer to bisexual individuals in *Studies in the Psychology of Sex.* Similarly to Krafft-Ebing, Ellis also referred to bisexual people as 'inverts' (Elia et al., 2018). Garber (1995, p.239) summarised the meaning of inverts as:

> [t]he "invert" was part male, part female, or rather part "masculine" and part "feminine." The male invert's feminine side desired men; the female invert's masculine side desired women. Thus, human sexuality could still be imagined according to a heterosexual model.

During this era, the understanding of gender was very binary based, which influenced understandings and definitions at the time. For example, in such an era, the only genders discussed were men and women (a binary) and being part masculine and part feminine, which also reinforces a binary. Nevertheless, approximately in 1915, Ellis

cast aside the term psychosexual hermaphroditism and began to use the term *bisexuality* to describe attraction to and/or sexual contact with both sexes (Storr, 1999). Even with this progression, through using the term 'both sexes' the male-female binary is reinforced and as a consequence non-binary gender identities were invisible. The term bisexuality was coined and used because it was acknowledged as, "the existence of two biological sexes within a species, or the coincidence of male and female characteristics within a single body" (Storr, 1999, p. 15).

The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud originally agreed with both Ellis and Krafft-Ebing and supported the notion of a bisexual individual holding both male and female (binary) qualities (Elia et al., 2018; Maddocks, 2013). However, Freud later parted from this idea and stated bisexuality was a phase between homosexuality and the supposedly 'correct' heterosexuality, where eventually individuals would either be homosexual or heterosexual (Fox, 2003). Consequently, bisexuality was recognised as a non-permanent, fleeting sexual identity (Fox, 2003). According to Elia et al. (2018), these sexologists were immersed in a 'monosexual paradigm'. As a monosexual individual is someone who is only attracted to others of one gender (heterosexual or homosexual) (Hemmings, 2002), a monosexual paradigm is the concept that there are only two sexual identities: heterosexual and homosexual (Elia et al., 2018). Therefore, a monosexual paradigm reinforces the homo– heterosexual binary and consequently, bisexuality at the time was used to try and explain homosexuality, rather than being its own concept (Goob, 2008).

The Kinsey Scale

Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin first created The Kinsey Scale in 1948 (see, Kinsey et al., 1948), where homo– and heterosexuality were at opposite ends of the spectrum with different variations of bisexuality in between, promoting a non-binary perspective of sexual orientation and an attempt to abolish the monosexual paradigm (Kinsey et al., 1948). This is known as one of the most influential and noteworthy studies in relation to the history of research surrounding bisexuality. The scale was used in 1948 to study sexual behaviour among men and in 1953 to study the sexual behaviour among women (Jackson & Scott, 2010). The scale was based on sexual behaviour and ranged from 0-6, where each participant was given a 'rating'. The Kinsey Scale was identified as:

0 = Exclusively heterosexual behaviour with no homosexual
1 = Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual
2 = Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual
3 = Equal heterosexual and homosexual
4 = Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual
5 = Predominantly homosexual, but incidentally heterosexual
6 = Exclusively homosexual behaviour with no heterosexual

(Kinsey et al., 1948, p.638)

The results of the seminal research frequently highlighted shades of bisexuality amongst men and women, which challenged views regarding a binary perspective of sexual orientation at the time (Bohan & Russell, 1999). Thus, the work of Kinsey and colleagues is a key influencer in relation to the acknowledgment of bisexuality as well as sexuality more broadly. Sexuality as a spectrum rather than a binary is still familiar as Anderson & McCormack (2016, p.35) concluded, "17785 subjects in the United States and 47 other countries" strongly agree with and support the hypothesis that sexuality is based on a continuum rather than separate categorisations. According to Diamond (2008), The Kinsey Scale promoted sexual fluidity and variety among sexual orientations and further acknowledged bisexuality more positively when compared to previous research in the area. However, although those who are between the rating of 1-5 may be perceived as bisexual, the terms bisexual or bisexuality never appeared on the scale (Elia et al., 2018). Therefore, despite Kinsey et al.'s acknowledgement of bisexuality, the scale in itself is an example of where the term was still erased. Furthermore, according to Serovich et al. (2012), Kinsey et al. (1948) did not take into consideration emotional preference or varying sexuality throughout a lifetime in their research, which hindered the validity of the results.

The Klein Sexual Orientation Grid

Other academics built upon The Kinsey Scale, including Storms (1980) who included asexual participants equally within his model (Kim, 2014). However, according to Anderson & McCormack (2016), The Klein Sexual Orientation Grid (KSOG), which was created in 1978 (see, Klein, 1978), was the most beneficial research for studying bisexuality. While the KSOG was created in 1978, it was developed more fully in 1980 (see, Klein, 1980) and results were finalised in an academic journal in 1985 (see, Klein et al., 1985).

The KSOG included emotional preferences and varying sexuality throughout a lifetime, which was not identified in The Kinsey Scale (see, Klein, 1980). The purpose of the grid was to capture and understand the multi-dimensional aspects surrounding sexuality more than the previous Kinsey Scale did, and to be used as a self-analytical tool to self-identify oneself (Klein, 1980). Included in the scale was the past, present and the idealised future, along with seven questions to assess the seven variables: sexual attraction, sexual behaviour, sexual fantasies, emotional preference, social preference, heterosexual/homosexual lifestyle, and self-identification (Klein, 1980). The participants were asked to complete a self-assessed questionnaire and rate themselves using the grid descriptions. The research based on the KSOG, similar to The Kinsey Scale, discovered individuals can be within a spectrum in relation to their sexuality (Klein et al., 1985). It is believed by Anderson & McCormack (2016) to be the most significant study as it expands on the previous findings from the research of Kinsey et al. (1948) to gain further in-depth understanding surrounding sexuality.

Although the KSOG identified and overcame feedback in relation to The Kinsey Scale to better the research, as recognised by Serovich et al. (2012), some academics, including Anderson & McCormack (2016) and Lovelock (2014) were still critical of the grid. Lovelock (2014, p.458) investigated, "how sexuality affects the emotional connection between young men and musical theatre", using a similar questionnaire to the initial survey used by Klein and colleagues. Lovelock (2014) highlighted several participants needed clarification of the term 'emotional connection' as it was not clear whether it referred to love interests, friendship or both. Lovelock (2014), thus, suggested as both his and Klein's (1978) research projects were self-assessed, the interpretation of the questions may differ from person to person and impact the responses. Additionally, Anderson & McCormack (2016, p.37) said the grid does not take into consideration "how gender identity intersects with sexual identity", as similarly discussed by Galupo et al. (2014). Both of these critiques could result in the results being less reliable.

The Erotic Response and Orientation Scale

In 1980, Michael Storms developed The Erotic Response and Orientation Scale (EROS) (see, Storms, 1980). Storms (1980) criticised The Kinsey Scale's single dimension to measure sexual orientation, where homosexual and heterosexual were

opposites (a binary) and implied if an individual was more *heterosexual*, it meant an individual was less *homosexual*. Furthermore, individuals who were strongly dissimilar could conclude to be on the same section of the scale (Storms, 1980). For example, an individual with a high sexual desire for men and women and an individual with a low sexual desire for men and women would both be in the middle of The Kinsey Scale (Swan, 2018). Therefore, to combat this issue, Storms (1980) developed the two-dimensional model of sexual orientation: The Erotic Response and Orientation Scale.

Storms based his model on the belief that an individual's erotic fantasies were the main factor needed to measure sexual orientation (Storms, 1980). The EROS consisted of a seven-point scale (1= never to 7 = almost daily), and sixteen questions (Storms, 1980). Eight questions measured individuals' male targeted erotic fantasies while the remaining eight questions measured individuals' female target erotic fantasies (Storms, 1980). Storms (1980) highlighted different variations of the degree of fantasies: 1) low intensity (feeling sexually attracted to a male/female), 2) moderate intensity (daydreaming about being sexual with an individual), and 3) high intensity (masturbating whilst fantasising of being sexual with an individual). Storms (1980) discovered self-identified bisexual individuals reported heteroerotic fantasies at the same level as those who were heterosexual and had just as many homoerotic fantasies as homosexual individuals (Swan, 2018). According to Weinrich et al. (2014, p.350), the EROS found, "bisexuality is the combination of homoerotic and heteroerotic attractions, not a compromise between the two", which is identified by Storr (1999) as the greatest strength of the study.

However, there are many limitations of the EROS, which according to Swan (2018) may be the reason why it is not as widely acknowledged compared to The Kinsey Scale and the KSOG by academics. One of the main methodological issues with the EROS is the sample used was small and according to Swan (2018, p.28) "highly skewed", which greatly limits its generalisability (Swan, 2018). Additionally, as Storms (1980) placed equal importance on all items irrespective of their intensity, Swan (2018) questioned whether this would result in a different impact on a measure of sexual orientation. Another crucial limitation is Storms (1980) expressed fantasies are the only element involved in determining sexual orientation, which according to Swan (2018) has never been identified as a valid statement and is consequently, problematic.

Further academic literature, which took place since the publication of the EROS (see, e.g., Mustanski et al., 2014; Swan, 2018), suggested there are at least three other components which are vital when measuring sexual orientation: self-identity, behaviour and affect.

Each of the three historic studies produced scientific quantitative results through pathologically studying bisexuality. These studies helped the concept of bisexuality gain its existence, and consequently are contributing factors as to why bisexuality is now used in contemporary language. Furthermore, the three studies provided evidence that there is not only the binary notion of homosexual and heterosexual people in society, and different sexual orientations exist outside of the homo– heterosexual binary. However, the persistent use of quantitative methodologies, through the use of scales and grids, in an attempt to 'measure' sexual orientation accurately is problematic and arguably unethical. Furthermore, these studies contradict the contemporary understandings surrounding bisexuality where fluidity is usually identified over fixed number based positionings. Therefore, although the studies helped the term bisexuality become a recognised word in western societies, and in other countries globally, the studies are not beneficial to reuse in contemporary research. Now the historic account of the study of bisexuality has been completed, the next element focuses specifically on the word *bisexual* and the complexities which come with it.

2.1.2 The complexities of the word 'bisexual'

The term *bisexual* is complex and arduous to define due to the large range of opinions regarding what it means to be bisexual. This has been acknowledged by multiple academics including Ross et al. (2018), Swan, (2018) and Weinrich et al. (2014). According to Eisner (2013), before the 1990s bisexuality was commonly defined or described as having attractions to both men and women. This is less common now in 2023, however, bisexuality can still be defined in this binary manner (see, e.g., Lloyd, 2017). However, there is still a misconception by people outside of the bisexual community that the binary definition of bisexual is the *only* way in which bisexuality can be defined. The findings of Galupo et al. (2017) showed some people who identified as bisexual did not define their attractions in a binary form, only based on men and women. Therefore, the misconception that being attraction to both men and

women is the only way to define bisexual is inaccurate. The binary definition of bisexuality disregards people with gender-diverse identities. As a consequence, since the 1990s, the term for many people has altered, especially among those with multiple gender attractions (Eisner, 2013).

Eisner (2013) and Swan (2018) proposed that a more contemporary definition of bisexuality is attraction(s) to more than one gender as there are multiple genders, not just men and women. Such attractions can include sexual, romantic and/or emotional affections (singularly or as a combination). Furthermore, the degree of such attractions may differ dependent on gender or based on each individual one is attracted to. Barker et al. (2012) stated for some people, bisexuality involved the attraction to a person rather than someone's gender (this is known as being 'gender-blind'). Therefore, for these individuals, a person's gender is not the force of attraction. However, Belous & Bauman (2017, p.58) suggested the term pansexual, "derived from the Greek prefix 'pan' meaning 'all'", means a pansexual person has the potential to be attracted to anyone irrespective of genders. This results in a similar definition some use when referring to bisexuality and showcases the similarities and intersections found among the terms bisexual and pansexual. Some may try to distinguish only the differences between the terms bisexual and pansexual and as a consequence, create a binary. However, the similarities of the words cannot be disregarded, therefore, it would be inaccurate to place the terms as opposites. Furthermore, it is evident that the term(s)/definition(s) people use to self-identify their sexual orientation is extremely personal.

Another aspect influencing the complexity of bisexuality is self-identity, sexual behaviour and attractions are not necessarily parallel (Baldwin et al., 2017). For example, a person may feel an attraction to more than one gender, but they may not self-identify as bisexual. Those who engage in sexual practices with more than one gender but who do not self-identify with a multi-gender attraction identity are referred to as demonstrating 'behavioural bisexuality' (Monro, 2015). Swan (2018) suggested there are a range of reasons as to why people who are attracted to more than one gender choose not to label themselves as bisexual. This includes, but is not limited to, dealing with bisexual stigmas, people misunderstanding what bisexuality is, and wanting to fit into either heterosexual or homosexual communities. Additionally, it could also be that

using the specific term bisexual to identify with does not feel right for them and they may wish to use a different label or simply no label at all.

As self-identity, sexual behaviour and attractions are not always parallel, scholars can disagree in regard to what it means 'to be bisexual' and who should define it (Ross et al., 2018). Therefore, some scholars prioritise adopting a self-identity definition, a sexual behaviour (practice) definition or an affect/emotion (attractions) definition within the research they conduct (Swan, 2018). Implementing a behaviour definition or affect/emotion definition of bisexuality is suitable for some scholars. However, I prioritise a self-identity definition because people should have the power, ownership and respect to self-identify with a term which feels right to them. By using a self-identity approach, it reduces the inaccuracies of mis-identifying people who choose to self-identify with a term other than bisexual. The variety of perspectives in regard to bisexuality and the different ways the term bisexuality is used in academic work can make identifying and researching bisexuality complex and challenging (Barak, 2019). Though the word bisexual is frequently used to describe an individual's sexual identity, it can also be used as an umbrella term to categorise those who have, or have the potential for, multiple gender attractions (Flanders, 2017).

Some academics who produce work on the topic of bisexuality use bisexual as an umbrella term (see, e.g., Serpe et al. 2020; Torres 2019). Therefore, for example, those who self-identify with other sexual identities relating to their non-binary sexual orientation such as pansexual and queer, would be grouped as 'bisexual.' There are a range of rationales as to why researchers use bisexual as an all-encapsulating term. First, using bisexual as an umbrella term could enable researchers to recruit a larger sample (Flanders et al., 2017) in comparison to recruiting only self-identifying bisexual people. This is more likely to be considered among those conducting quantitative research. Second, it has been confirmed that some people who have multiple gender attractions use different labels depending on social contexts (see, e.g., Galupo, 2011, 2018), or use multiple sexual identity labels (see, e.g., Barker et al., 2008; Mitchell et al., 2015), so using bisexual as an umbrella term allows for flexibility and interconnectedness of labels. Third, the term bisexual is more widely known to the general public compared to other words in relation to having multiple gender attractions. Thus, academic work which includes bisexual as an umbrella term may be more accessible to a breadth of audiences at this point in time.

However, using bisexual as an umbrella term creates an unequal power dynamic among identities of those with multiple gender attractions as bisexual is positioned as the overriding and principal sexual identity. By doing so, this is likely to marginalise and possibly erase other identities and experiences of those who are attracted to more than one gender. Furthermore, those who identify with other labels based on having multiple gender attractions may not wish to be categorised under the dominant term bisexual. In her concluding thoughts, Flanders (2017, p.5) questions whether adopting a different word as an all-encompassing term for those with multiple gender attractions would, "alleviate the tension that occurs with the constant shape shifting of the umbrella."

Non-monosexual, defined as individuals who are not exclusively attracted to only one gender, has been used as an umbrella term by a variety of academics (see, e.g., Brown et al. 2017; Dyar et al. 2017; Lim & Hewitt, 2018). However, the term plurisexual, being or having the potential to be attracted to more than one gender, differs from the term non-monosexual as it describes what an individual *is* as opposed to what they are not. Galupo (2018, p.61) also importantly stated the term plurisexual "does not linguistically assume monosexual as the ideal conceptualisation of sexuality", as the term non-monosexual does. Increasingly, especially in the last five years, academics are starting to use the term bi+ as an umbrella term to refer to people who are, or have the potential to be, attracted to more than one gender (see, e.g., Bartholomay & Pendleton, 2023; Davila et al., 2019; Feinstein et al., 2023).

The use of the term bi+ seems to align more with those with multiple gender attractions outside of academia because many networks, spaces and events are increasingly labelled as bi+ (see, e.g., Bi+ Visibility, 2023; Scottish Bi+ Network, n.d.). Yet, it is extremely uncommon for such networks, spaces and events to be titled with non-monosexual or plurisexual as such terms are less common knowledge outside of academia. Therefore, using the term bi+ rather than non-monosexual or plurisexual, at least at this point in time, may connect with more audiences outside of academia. However, the use of bi+ as a term is also problematic. The '+' implies, 'and others with multiple gender attractions who use or do not use other identity labels', which is more inclusive than using bisexual as an umbrella term. However, bi, to mean bisexual, is the centralised dominant identity in the term and therefore other identities relating to having multiple gender attractions are still not given equal weighting within the

word. This in itself is still marginalising such identities involving multiple gender attractions which are not bisexual. Therefore, although not as popular outside of academia, the terms non-monosexual and plurisexual as umbrella terms provide more equality among identities relating to multiple gender attractions in comparison to bi+. On the other hand, as the term bi+ is becoming more recognised outside of academia, it could be argued the language bi+ people use themselves should be the terms academics use in research. As there is an increase of people with multiple gender attractions using the umbrella term bi+ and as I believe those within a categorised social group should have the power to use whatever language they see fit to refer to themselves and their community, I prioritise using bi+ to refer to those with multiple gender attractions. As the complexities of using different umbrella terms for those with multiple gender attractions has been explored, of equal importance is the examination of the specific differing sexual identities of those with multiple gender attractions.

2.1.3 Sexual identities and labels

This section focuses on non-binary sexual identity labels other than bisexual and examines the rationale and politics associated with using them. Please note, although this section focuses largely on the identities pansexual and queer, crossovers of other identities occur where relevant. Sexual identity refers to how one labels themselves based on their sexual, romantic and/or emotional attractions (Morandini et al. 2017). According to Moskowitz et al. (2022), within the last decade, there has been an increase in non-heterosexual people using sexual identities which fall outside of lesbian, gay and bisexual. This is supported by the Office for National Statistics (2021) census report which took place in England and Wales, where 3.2% people identified as ‘gay or lesbian’, ‘bisexual’ or ‘other sexual orientation’. Of the 3.2%, the next popular identity label following ‘gay and lesbian’ (1.54%) and ‘bisexual’ (1.28%) was ‘pansexual’ (0.23%) and ‘queer’ (0.03%). This is the first time pansexual and queer (as well as asexual) have been distinguished identities within the broader category ‘other sexual orientation’ in a UK census report, due to commonality found among answers. Despite such identity labels not being as prominently used compared to the more traditional minority sexual identities (gay, lesbian and bisexual), people using non-traditional non-binary sexual identities is increasing and becoming more visible.

There are a range of identities which relate to having, or having the potential for, multiple gender attractions. These include, but are not limited to, ambisextrous, bi+, bi-curious, bidyke, bisensual, bisexual, bisexual-lesbian, byke, fluid, gender-blind, heteroflexible, homoflexible/lesbiflexible, non-monosexual, omnisexual, pansensual, pansexual, plurisexual, polysexual and queer (Eisner, 2013). Hayfield (2020) and Hayfield & Křížová (2021) also explored the rise of panromantic identities due to the existence of asexual identities more broadly. Outside of the identity bisexual, commonly the most popular identity labels found among those with non-binary sexual identities in academic research are pansexual and queer (Kuper at al., 2012; Morandini et al., 2017). However, there are not universally agreed definitions of such identities. For example, pansexuality can be defined as attraction to all genders or/and attraction regardless of gender (Feinstein et al., 2023) and queer can be defined as anyone who is not heterosexual or/and not cisgender (Kolker et al., 2020). Nevertheless, some people choose to use these labels with the definition they see fit for them. The most closely linked term with bisexuality in research is commonly pansexual.

Pansexual

A range of academic work in sociology and psychology, both qualitative and quantitative based, have studied pansexual identities or included pansexual participants in their studies. This includes Callis (2014), Galupo et al. (2017), Hayfield & Křížová (2021) and Morandini et al. (2017). Specifically, Callis (2014) conducted participant observations and interviews with people with a range of sexual identities and genders in the United States (US). Callis (2014) suggested those who choose to identify as pansexual as opposed to bisexual may do so as it feels a better fit to their identity or to avoid the stigma and stereotypes associated with bisexuality.

Outside of using the term bisexual, those with multiple gender attractions used pansexual and queer as sexual identities in Callis's (2014) study. One of the female participants only used pansexual as a sexual identity to represent being open to being with someone regardless of their genitalia. This aligns with the 'regardless of gender' element surrounding pansexuality which is commonly found. Another participant in the study said they would not use pansexual as an identity as it confuses them. Perhaps not having one universal definition of pansexuality could contribute to such confusion. Callis (2014) encouraged the study of pansexuality to be visible in academic research,

which was usually not seen prior to her research. However, although Callis (2014) analysed different sexual identity labels relating to those with multiple gender attractions and the participants' rationale for using such labels, it did not examine how labelling themselves with a specific identity influenced the participants' lived experiences.

As some people, including those with multiple gender attractions, can still use and reinforce the binary definition of bisexual to mean being attracted to men and women (see, e.g., Galupo et al., 2017), people can hold the view that bisexuality is binary based and pansexuality is not. Therefore, bisexuality and pansexuality can be positioned as in opposition to each other especially if such notion is seen as a 'bisexual vs pansexual debate' (Hayfield & Křížová, 2021). This in itself can create another binary. This also demonstrates how one defines bisexual and pansexual may affect their choices in regard to identifying as bisexual or pansexual.

Galupo et al. (2017) found those who identified as bisexual were more likely to describe their attractions in a binary manner compared to those who identified as pansexual. This could demonstrate one's politics can play a part in identity choices. This is supported by Greaves et al. (2019), as they concluded those who identified as bisexual tended to be more politically conservative and of an older generation in comparison to those who identified as pansexual. In a different study, Morandini et al. (2017) found on average those using pansexual as an identity were younger than those using lesbian, gay, bisexual or queer as an identity. The work of Galupo et al. (2017) provides further understandings of how specific similarities and differences are found amongst self-identified bisexual, pansexual and queer people. However, the research took place in the US so may not fully correspond with research conducted in the UK.

Hayfield & Křížová (2021) conducted predominantly UK based research where they examined how pansexual and panromantic individuals experienced and understood their own sexual identities. This research is commended for the inclusion of panromantic people, however, for this paragraph, the focus remains on those who identified as pansexual in their study. Similarly, to the work of Galupo et al. (2017), one of the authors' core themes was the participants used different sexual identities based on their multiple gender attractions depending on their context. For example, many of the participants in Hayfield & Křížová's (2021) research usually identified as

pansexual but used the term bisexual when with people outside of the queer community, due to anticipating a context where those around them did not know of or understand pansexuality. For some, the fear pansexuality would not be taken seriously contributed to such decisions. Therefore, context and the audience involved in such contexts can affect what sexual identity term an individual with multiple gender attractions uses. The work of Hayfield & Křížová (2021) is an exceptional contribution to research based on sexual identities outside of those who self-identify as bisexual and as a consequence, creates an awareness for future studies on the topic. For example, a future study could comprise of examining the influence of context for those who identify as queer and specifically have multiple gender attractions.

Queer

The term queer was originally used as a derogatory expression towards the LGBTQ+ community by heterosexual individuals (Worthen, 2023). However, in recent times especially within western societies, the term queer has been reclaimed by the LGBTQ+ community and is now an umbrella term for non-heterosexual and/or non-cisgender identities (Callis, 2014; Morandini et al., 2017). Therefore, queer is not an exclusive identity for those with multiple gender attractions as it can be used by others outside of those with multiple gender attractions. For example, an individual whose sexual orientation is homosexual may specifically identify as queer for political causes to showcase solidarity of the LGBTQ+ community and support for modern understandings of gender and sexuality (Morandini et al. 2017). For others in the LGBTQ+ community, the term queer is not deemed an appropriate identity due to the history of the term and prior negative connotations (Feinstein et al., 2023). Therefore, this can result in pushback for those who do use queer as an identity label (Feinstein et al. 2023). Nevertheless, increasing the identity of queer is gaining popularity as a self-identity label (Morandini et al., 2017).

There are a range of factors which can influence if those with multiple gender attractions use queer as their only or main identity. Galupo et al. (2015) found the term queer is commonly used by those who have multiple gender attractions. In the work of Morandini et al. (2017), they established despite those who identified as queer sharing similarities regarding sexual and romantic attractions with those who identified as bisexual, the differences in identities were based on their sexual politics. Therefore,

using queer as an identity may be preferred as it challenges the traditional categories of homosexuality, heterosexuality and bisexuality which can be seen as limited and oppressive (Morandini et al. 2017). This was also found later by Morandini et al. (2023), where it was established those who used queer (and pansexual) as a self-identity label commonly rejected essentialist beliefs surrounding biological determinism as a way to conceptualise sexual identities.

For those who have experienced changes in their sexual orientation within their lifetime, queer may be more relevant in capturing the sexual fluidity they have experienced (Morandini et al., 2017). Furthermore, the term gay and lesbian can be challenging for a non-binary person as such labels assume self-identification as a man or women (binary), whereas queer does not (Morandini et al., 2017). Therefore, if wishing to use an identity label, it has been found people who are non-binary commonly preferred to use the term queer as an identity (see, e.g., Morandini et al., 2017). This establishes intersections of one's fuller identity can influence specific personal identity selection. In this case, one's non-binary gender and one's sexual orientation can influence the self-identity label chosen. Consequently, as queer can encompass non-heterosexuality *and* being non-cisgender, for non-binary people this may be the most appropriate identity. This is supported by Feinstein et al. (2023) who in their research found having a queer identity was more common amongst transgender women, transgender men and non-binary people compared to cisgender women and cisgender men.

Galupo et al. (2017) investigated how 172 self-identified bisexual, pansexual and queer people conceptualised their sexual identities. The authors found similarities among self-identified bisexual, pansexual and queer people, which included making distinctions between their sexual and romantic attractions. However, there were also differences found. The participants who identified as queer or bisexual were significantly more likely than their pansexual counterparts to state a preference for one gender group over another (Galupo et al., 2017). Furthermore, commonly those who identified as queer did not associate their identity *only* based on their sexual orientation unlike some of the other participants in the study (Galupo et al., 2017).

In relation to differences found amongst self-identified queer people in comparison to self-identified bisexual people, Feinstein et al. (2021) found self-identified queer

people disclosed more often than self-identified bisexual people. The authors suggested this may have been due to being more comfortable disclosing being queer as opposed to bisexual as it did not equate with certainty to having multiple gender attractions. Additionally, research by Mitchell et al. (2015) found those who self-identified as bisexual received more discrimination from homosexual people than those who self-identified as queer. Therefore, it cannot be assumed those who self-identify as bisexual, pansexual and/or queer always share the same experiences because despite having shared similarities, there are also distinct differences.

Similarly to how bisexual and homosexual experiences need to be examined separately, as do the subcategories of the sexual identities used by those with multiple gender attractions. Therefore, it cannot be assumed those who self-identify as bisexual, pansexual and queer all share the same lived experience due to the influence of the label(s) which is (are) used. As clarified so far in this section, there are a range of identities people with multiple gender attractions may use to label themselves. This has been in relation to the use of one singular sexual identity. However, those with multiple gender attractions may wish to use more than one sexual identity label.

Multiple sexual identity labels

For those who are attracted to more than one gender, they may choose to use multiple sexual identities as opposed to just one (Flanders, 2017). For example, some people with multiple gender attractions may choose to use bisexual *and* pansexual (Hayfield, 2020), and others may use bisexual *and* queer (Flanders, 2017). These identities may be used at the same time, at different times or a combination. For example, Hayfield & Křížová (2021) found in their study that multiple participants used pansexual and bisexual terms interchangeably.

Of the 917 participants in her study, Rust (2000) found 60% of the participants with multiple gender attractions used more than one sexual identity. This included one in five of the participants identifying as bisexual as well as identifying as gay, lesbian, homosexual and/or dyke. Furthermore, 44.8% of the participants used individually created identities which comprised of a plurisexual identity with a monosexual identity to make one term. For example, “bisexual lesbian” or “gay bisexual” (Rust, 2000, p.39). Perhaps these compound identities were created due to the invisibility of bisexuality or shame surrounding only identifying as bisexual due to negative

stereotypes and stigma at that time. As the work of Rust (2000) was published in the year 2000, it is probable cultural developments, changes and/or shifts have occurred since the study took place. Therefore, more recent research based on people with multiple gender attractions having more than one sexual identity is now explored.

In contemporary research, there is now less recognition of compound identities which combine identities based on multiple gender attractions and monosexual elements as Rust (2000) found. Perhaps this is the due to the range of identities based on multiple gender attractions, including pansexual, queer and fluid, becoming more popular and visible (Morandini et al., 2017). Nonetheless, more recently, in the work of Dyar et al. (2014) and Galupo et al. (2015), those with sexual identities based on having multiple gender attractions, were less likely to acknowledge an accurate and suitable fit based on their identity compared to their monosexual counterparts. Galupo et al. (2015) found because of this, such individuals were more likely to use multiple identities.

Galupo et al. (2015) established the complexities of multiple identities and found those with multiple gender attractions were more likely to have a primary and secondary sexual identity than monosexual people (Galupo et al., 2015). This involved a multitude of different primary and secondary labels including queer (primary) and bisexual (secondary), pansexual (primary) and polyamorous (secondary), and bisexual (primary) and biromantic (secondary). This suggests sexual identity labels do not just involve who one is attracted to but also one's own gender and how one's gender fits in with a sexual identity, the type of attraction (e.g., homoromantic and demisexual), and the type of sexual relationship one identifies with (e.g., kinky and polyamorous). Therefore, this creates more complexity surrounding what labels to use.

Hayfield & Křížová (2021, p.178) similarly found people with multiple gender attractions who used more than one identity term seemingly "because neither pan or bi terms alone were adequate to sufficiently represent the specificities and complexities of their identities", where a range of asexual and gender terms were included in sexual identity descriptions. Referring back to the work of Galupo et al. (2015), although the authors suggested possible reasons as to why those with multiple gender attractions and monosexual people relate to identities differently, their research did not evidence such explanations. Furthermore, Galupo et al. (2015) did not provide an examination of when, why and how people discuss their primary and secondary

sexual identity labels, if discussed at all. So far in this section, the use of sexual identities by those with multiple gender attractions has been explored. However, of substantial merit is also the phenomenon of not using labels.

Non-labelling

Whilst Queer Theory has the term 'theory' within its title, it can be viewed as a perspective rather than a theory itself (Yep et al., 2003). According to Halperin (2003), Teresa de Lauretis invented Queer Theory in the early 1990s, but the development of the concept was heavily influenced by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Judith Butler (Halperin, 2003). Queer Theory emerged as a resistance to the supposedly 'stable' relations between chromosomal sex, gender, and sexual desire (King, 2008). Queer theorists reacted to the attempt to 'normalise' homosexuality in mainstream society, where instead they advocated and celebrated separation and difference to heterosexuality and the normativity which comes with it (Barker & Scheele, 2016). Four key elements to Queer Theory are to: 1) resist categorising individuals, 2) challenge essential identities, 3) question binaries, and 4) examine the power relations regarding understandings around identities and categories (Barker & Scheele, 2016). In relation to labels, due to queer theorists' philosophy regarding resisting labelling of sexual identities, those within education who have learnt about Queer Theory or academics in agreement with applying Queer Theory in their personal lives, may have and may still choose not to label their sexual identity. Therefore, the existence and influence of Queer Theory may play a part in why some people with multiple gender attractions do not label their sexual identity.

Some studies have acknowledged or somewhat examined people with multiple gender attractions deciding not to use sexual identity labels to refer to themselves. This includes Callis (2013), Galupo et al. (2017) and Overton (2006). In comparison to the academic research surrounding the use of a range of sexual identity labels, it is more common for those with multiple gender attractions to use one or more sexual identities than choosing not to use a sexual identity label (see, e.g., Callis 2014; Galupo et al., 2017). It seems not using a label as a sexual identity was more popular when bisexual was, for most people, the *only* identity relative to having multiple gender attractions and where there was very little knowledge of other relevant terms (see, e.g., Overton, 2006). However, since the increase of a vast range of terms to use to label one's

multiple gender attractions and the visibility of such terms (Galupo et al., 2015), perhaps it is now more common for those with multiple gender attractions to find a label or labels which best suits their feelings and experiences with their own sexual identity. Nevertheless, there are still people in more recent times who have multiple gender attractions and wish not to label themselves.

In the work of Galupo et al. (2017), when the participants were asked to describe their sexual identity, some rejected the use of labels. This was also found by Callis (2014) where five of the participants rejected the use of labels or preferred not to use labels for differing reasons. One of the participants said [labelling their sexuality] is not something she thinks about, whilst another participant named Sydney said, "I feel like it's more important to other people, that they need to know what's going on. It doesn't really matter to me" (Callis, 2014, p.73). Therefore, having and using a sexual identity label simply was not of importance to her. The remaining three participants did not reject the use of labels entirely but rather simply preferred not to label themselves.

In her article surrounding a personal narrative regarding sexual identity, Overton (2006) said she had multiple gender attractions and referred to labels as stagnant and unable to change. Despite trying different sexual identity labels for herself, she concluded she felt labels were restricting and did not represent the fluidity of her sexual orientation. Consequently, Overton (2006) continued not to use labels in regard to her sexual identity. Additionally, there was a participant in the work of Callis (2013) who choose not to use a label as there was not an identity which fitted with her feelings and experiences accurately. Furthermore, two other participants choose not to publicly label their sexual identity but internally did so as bisexual (Callis, 2013). The reason for this was to avoid potential discrimination or prejudice from heterosexual and homosexual communities (Callis, 2013).

In relation to the topic of non-labelling and the exploration as to why those with multiple gender attractions now in society do not label their sexual identity, there is a lack of depth as there is little research which exclusively examines why people choose not to label themselves in relation to their sexual identity. Although such research in this section acknowledged people who are non-labelling exist and demonstrated some analysis, further examinations of those who choose not to label their sexual orientation is needed to gain richer knowledge surrounding their lived experiences through not

using sexual identity labels. In relation to binaries, those who choose to label themselves and those who choose not to label themselves creates a binary in itself. Subsequently, core concepts (including the concept of binaries) in academic literature surrounding those with multiple gender attractions may provide a further insight on the topic.

2.1.4 Key concepts in (bi)sexuality studies

This aspect of the chapter examines key concepts in studies surrounding (bi)sexuality. Most of the concepts in this section are specific to bisexuality but on occasions, where relevant, wider sexuality research and discussions are presented. Furthermore, once some of the concepts have been explored, significant conceptual frameworks which align with the concept are incorporated and analysed. Such frameworks are not necessarily directly related to the study of sexuality or bisexuality specifically, but provide a deeper understanding based on the concept which is examined.

There are a range of academics whose essential work has contributed to the development of studies based on bisexuality (see, e.g., Eisner, 2013; Hayfield, 2020; McLean, 2007). Key concepts have been selected to critically analyse within the topic, where conceptional frameworks are presented when appropriate. As most research focuses on bisexuality specifically, bisexuality is central in this section. However, reference to other sexual identities based on multiple gender attractions is made where relevant. The key concepts which are examined in this section are: binaries, passing and privilege, biphobia, double discrimination, disclosure and outness, and inclusion. Please note, many of the core concepts cannot be examined singularly and in many cases intersections, overlapping and intertwining of concepts occurs.

Binaries

Binaries (also known as dichotomies) refers to two opposing parts. Binaries are commonly found and referred to within everyday life. Examples of binaries include yes/no, good/evil, black/white, home/away, leisure/work, light/dark, life/death, active/passive, visible/invisible, man/woman, masculine/feminine and gay/straight. Society implements and reinforces a range of binaries and Barker & Iantaffi (2019, p.16), who encourage a non-binary way of seeing the world, acknowledged “even binary/non-binary is a binary in itself.” The term ‘binary systems’ refer to the use of these oppositions in our culture (Kang et al., 2017). Subsequently, binaries can still be

used as a means of understanding and making sense of the social world. Specifically, in relation to this research, different social groups can be placed as complete opposites with nothing in common and consequently defined against each other (Kang et al., 2017). Therefore, binary-thinking does not allow for variations and mixtures which can occur (Bradford, 2004). Furthermore, according to Kang et al. (2017, p.40), "binary thinking works strategically such that the dominant groups in society are associated with more valued traits, while the subordinate groups, defined as their opposites, are always associated with less valued traits." Barker & Iantaffi (2019, p.20) refer to this as "them-and-us" and "insider-vs.-outsider understandings of relationships." Therefore, power dynamics cannot be ignored or downplayed through the application of binary thinking.

The implementation of binary thinking can be extremely problematic. Kang et al. (2017) suggested simplistic comparisons can be made which rely on and reinforce stereotypes regarding a social group. For example, the stereotype that men are strong, and women are weak. In reality, people and their identities are multi-faceted and binary notions mask the complexities and fuller understandings of identities (Kang et al., 2017). Additionally, due to the understanding that identities are multi-faceted, such identities may not be as in opposition as binary thinking implies. Furthermore, the implementation of binaries can erase or invalidate individuals' identities if they do not fall within a specific binary (Hayfield, 2020). For example, in relation to gender, those who identify as non-binary would therefore not fit into the man/woman binary and in relation to sexual orientation, those who have multiple gender attractions do not fit into the straight/gay binary. Academic literature surrounding gender and binaries is more prominent than sexualities and binaries. However, this should not be mistaken for holding more importance in comparison. Conceptual binaries can negatively affect people's lives and social groups. One social group is not necessarily hindered more by binaries than another, but rather binaries exist for different social groups and intersectional identities.

Hayfield (2020, p.2) stated "binary understandings of sexuality arise from binary understandings of sex and gender." Therefore, the binary found amongst sexualities cannot be solely understood separately from gender. Eckert (2014) added gender and sexuality binaries commonly exist in proximity where interlapping and intertwining occurs. For example, "gay men are assumed to be more 'feminine' than their straight

peers, while lesbians are assumed to be more 'masculine'" (Eckert, 2014, p.531). Nelson (2020) conducted research with a focus on how those with multiple gender attractions represent themselves in UK culture, which involved 30 semi-structured interviews and nine photo diaries. They found those who presented as overtly masculine or feminine led to others assuming the individual was gay or straight depending on if they were gender conforming or not. The feminine/masculine binary is also being perpetuated through stereotypes based on one's homosexuality. This leads to the continuation of sexual orientation stereotypes for gay men and lesbians. It is evident such gay stereotypes can lead to negative outcomes including a decrease in mental well-being (see, e.g., Hinton et al., 2019) and exclusion or avoidance from heterosexual groups (see, e.g., Hunt et al., 2016). Therefore, the influence of negative stereotypes, created through the feminine/masculine binary, can be harmful for some homosexual people.

The main binary influencing bisexual people within research is the homo–heterosexual binary. Hayfield et al. (2018) conducted twenty interviews with bisexual men, women, trans and genderqueer/non-binary people in relationships in the UK. The two core themes examined were: "1) The case of the disappearing bisexual: Invisible identities and unintelligible bisexual relationships and 2) That's not my bisexuality and not my bisexual relationship: Defending self, relationships, and partners against bisexual negativity" (Hayfield et al., 2018, p.221). Within the first theme, one's bisexual identity was often invisible when in monogamous relationships as their sexual orientation was assumed based on the gender of their partner, where the homo–heterosexual binary was reinforced. Consequently, it was perceived one had 'chosen a side' (either gay or straight).

This was similarly discussed by Feinstein & Dyar (2018). They wrote a review of empirical literature based on bisexual people's experiences of being in romantic and sexual relationships. They also concluded based on their examination of literature (see, e.g., Hequembourg & Brallier, 2009; Ross et al., 2010), one's bisexuality became invisible when in a monogamous relationship as bisexual people were either assumed to be gay or straight due to the gender of the person they were in a relationship with. In reality, the gender of one's partner does not determine one's sexual orientation for bisexual people. Basing the assumption that someone is either gay or straight depending on the gender of their partner perpetuates bisexual erasure in society.

Consequently, bisexuality continues to be invisible. Specifically, the research which was conducted by Hayfield et al. (2018) provided evidence that the perpetuation of the gay/straight binary based on the gender of a partner one is in a relationship can still exist in the UK.

The homo– heterosexual binary is not only reinforced based on the gender of a bisexual person's partner, but also their appearance. Bisexual people being perceived as gay or straight based on one's appearance has been acknowledged by some academics including Hayfield (2013) and Nelson (2020). In the work of Hayfield (2013), 36 university students completed a qualitative survey based on a 'typical appearance' of gay, lesbian, bisexual and heterosexual people. The participants were commonly unable to describe how a bisexual man or woman may appear. Even when participants attempted to describe a bisexual appearance, homo– heterosexual binary based language was often used in comparison of one another. For example, bisexual women would look 'more heterosexual than lesbian.' Thus, Hayfield (2013, p.21) concluded, in accordance with the survey responses, "bisexual people might look 'straight' or 'gay', but they *cannot* look 'bisexual.'"

Referring back to the work of Nelson (2020), due to the reinforcement of the masculine/feminine binary and its connectedness with the gay/straight binary, commonly people with multiple gender attractions in their study did not know how to express their sexual orientation through their appearance. Therefore, an understanding of what bisexual looks like appearance-wise was found to be invisible among those with multiple gender attractions *and* monosexual individuals. This links to a statement made by Kwok et al. (2020) who said if bisexual-identifying people cannot find a way to assert their self-identity, they will have to cope with and manage the invisibility this brings. Amongst research based on the homo– heterosexual binary being enforced due to a bisexual person's appearance, there is little research which delves into examining why monosexual people continue to reinforce this binary. Such research could help make sense of the perpetuation of the homo– heterosexual binary but also educate monosexual people on why implementing the binary is problematic.

Differing to the homo– heterosexual binary being used to assume one is either gay or straight depending on certain factors (e.g., gender of partner and/or appearance), instead the binary can be enforced by describing people with multiple gender

attractions' sexual orientation. Specifically, Nelson (2020) acknowledged those with multiple gender attractions can be perceived or described as half-gay/half-straight. This was similarly discussed by McLean (2007). She conducted research where 60 Australian bisexual men and women were interviewed based on their coming out narrative and sexual identity development. In the research, McLean (2007) described the 'part heterosexual and part homosexual' notion as a construction of a hybrid identity. However, being bisexual is a complete identity in itself and it is not a combination of homosexual and heterosexual.

McLean (2007) further suggested the notion of a hybrid identity assumed bisexual people can switch on or off different aspects of their sexual orientation due to the context they are in. Rather than being able to switch parts of their identity on or off, McLean (2007) found the bisexual people in her study felt it was necessary to hide aspects of their identity and as a result, a lot of bisexual people did not come out at all. McLean's research was an essential contribution to the field of bisexuality studies, in particular due to the study's in-depth findings surrounding bisexual people's coming out narrative. However, the study was conducted in 2007 and therefore could lack currency. Furthermore, although Nelson (2020) stated those with multiple gender attractions can be described as half-gay half-straight, there was no evidence in their research to support this claim. Therefore, it is unclear whether using the homo–heterosexual binary as a description of one's sexual orientation still exists in UK society.

For those who have attractions to more than one gender, there is no stereotype which exists relating to them specifically based on the gay/straight binary as their identities are erased due to the implementation of the binary. To clarify, bisexual people do experience negative stereotypes, but they do not experience negative stereotypes as a consequence of the reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary. To some degree, this could be seen positively as the influences of stereotypes can be damaging and problematic to those facing sexual identity stereotyping. Therefore, through non-binary sexual identities being acknowledged, it erases the opportunity of negative stereotyping and the negative effects which can come with it.

However, the erasure of one's sexual orientation, through the perpetuation of the gay/straight binary, could negatively influence one's sense of self, sense of belonging

and heighten feelings of isolation (Barker & Iantaffi, 2019). Furthermore, although those who have multiple gender attractions do not explicitly experience stereotypes through the implementation of the straight/gay binary, stereotypes, especially surrounding bisexuality, do exist. Such stereotypes include but are not limited to bisexuality just being a phase, being a stepping-stone to coming out as gay and being an immature sexual identity (Barker & Iantaffi, 2019). Although these stereotypes did not necessarily develop from the gay/straight binary, they reinforce the gay/straight binary by undermining and questioning the existence of bisexuality. Therefore, this encourages the notion that homosexuality and heterosexuality are 'real' or 'more real' than bisexuality.

According to Weier (2020, p.1309), "passing and biphobia are interconnected in that they work together to (re)produce the gay/straight sexuality binary." Consequently, the gay/straight binary specifically cannot be examined in isolation to passing and privilege, biphobia and double discrimination due to its presence within these different concepts. I argue binaries also have a presence within the concept of disclosure and outness and therefore, specific links to binaries are also established in the section based on disclosure and outness. Therefore, despite the next parts of this section specifically relating to differing concepts than binaries, connections to the gay/straight binary or binaries more broadly are established where relevant.

Passing and privilege

'Passing' refers to "being perceived by others as a member of a dominant group" (Eisner, 2013, p.102). Passing can be examined within a range of topics, however, the most common areas in sociology research include race, gender and sexual orientation groupings (Eisner, 2013). In relation to this thesis, passing is where an individual with multiple gender attractions is assumed to have a certain sexual orientation (usually either heterosexual or homosexual based on binary monosexual assumptions) (Maliepaard, 2017). Therefore, for example, a bisexual individual could pass as either a heterosexual or homosexual person in specific contexts in their lives. Due to the difficulties in knowing and expressing a bisexual identity through appearance (see, e.g., Hayfield, 2013; Nelson, 2020), and the cultural binary thinking of gay men being associated to femininity and lesbians being associated with masculinity (see, e.g., Eckert, 2014), it is very likely women with multiple gender attractions cannot be

visible through their appearance. Consequently, in a space which is seen as feminine or masculine (binary), or gay or straight (binary), it is understandable that those with multiple gender attractions are likely to pass as gay or straight in certain contexts.

The act of passing can be intentional or unintentional (also known as active or passive) (Lingel, 2009). For example, if a women demonstrated a more masculine appearance or was open about being in a relationship with another woman, a bisexual woman could be assumed to be a lesbian by others and therefore, would pass as gay. This could be unintentional and just simply an outcome of existing within a dominant straight/gay culture, where bisexuality is erased or overlooked. Alternatively, some bisexual people seek to, as McLean (2008) suggested, 'blend in' within straight or gay communities. Consequently, in McLean's (2008) research, some bisexual people passed as gay or straight and/or did not challenge assumptions made about them being gay or straight (McLean, 2008). Therefore, bisexual people can deliberately enhance passing as gay or straight through actions in which they take.

McLean (2008) conducted a research project in Australia based on the impact of anti-bisexual attitudes on 60 self-identified bisexual men and women regarding their participation in the gay and lesbian community through structured interviews. In her findings, it was established several of the participants said they passed as homosexual but felt it was crucial to do so as they wanted to avoid being disliked or excluded from the gay and lesbian community. Although understandable in their rationale to pass as gay, people with multiple gender attractions purposely wanting to pass as gay or straight perpetuates the gay/straight binary and as a consequence, contributes to the continuation of bisexual erasure. Therefore, bisexuality continues to be invisible or unnoticeable. Along with the difficulties found with heterosexual and homosexual people surrounding perpetuating the gay/straight binary, those with multiple gender attractions themselves can also contribute to the dominant existence and reinforcement of the gay/straight binary. However, as the research by McLean was conducted in 2008 which is over 15 years ago, it cannot be assumed such findings align now in western societies in 2023.

There is limited contemporary UK published research with an emphasis on bisexual people passing. However, Maliepaard (2017) conducted research in the Netherlands (specifically Rotterdam and Amsterdam) where he interviewed 31 self-identified

bisexual and pansexual people regarding their sexual identity, where all but one of the participants were between 18-35 years of age. He found most of the participants did not pro-actively communicate their bisexuality to others, which led to them passing as gay or straight depending on the context (although usually straight as the default).

Reasons why the participants did not pro-actively communicate their bisexuality to others included: due to sexual identity rarely getting discussed and therefore a lack of opportunity, not wanting to explain themselves to others, and it not being relevant to disclose their sexual identity (Maliepaard, 2017). However, it was not clear why the participants did not want to explain themselves to others or why discussions of one's sexual identity were seen as irrelevant. The outcomes surrounding passing and the participants' reasons for passing differed to McLean (2008), as none of the participants in the research by Maliepaard (2017) discussed avoiding disclosure of their sexual orientation in order to prevent harm. It is hoped this outcome is due to less (perceived) harm through being bisexual now in western societies than what was identified by McLean in 2008. However, the countries these research projects were conducted in may also influence the differences in findings.

Despite not always being their intention, by people with multiple gender attractions passing as straight they can avoid homophobia presented to them and may access institutional and interactional privileges especially if married into a man/woman relationship (Bartholomay & Pendleton, 2023). This privilege is heavily influenced by heteronormativity, where man/woman relationships are predominately normalised and centralised and where bisexuality is invisible (Bartholomay, 2018; Bartholomay & Pendleton, 2023). Bartholomay & Pendleton (2023) found bisexual people in mixed-gender marriages usually have heteronormative privilege due to being able to selectively decide if, when and in which environments they wished to be open about their sexual orientation. Therefore, they had the option to pass as heterosexual if desired. This heteronormative privilege is also the case with monogamous man/women relationships where the couples are not married (Goldberg et al., 2017). Reasons why some bisexual participants in the study by Bartholomay & Pendleton (2023) choose to pass as straight included feelings of being unwanted or of being imposters in queer spaces, despite no cases of exclusion or harassment from the LGBTQ+ community being reported.

Nonetheless, in relation to privilege, Eisner (2013) suggested if bisexual people are privileged then they would benefit from such privileges where they would be 'better off' than gay people. Yet, contemporary research consistently demonstrates bisexual people have poorer mental health compared to those who are gay and straight (see, e.g., Bostwick & Harrison, 2020; Schulz et al., 2022), which is likely linked to identity marginalisation and erasure (Hayfield, 2020). However, having privilege *and* facing oppression can co-exist in one's life as opposed to only one or the other in a binary format. From the findings regarding bisexual people having poorer mental health, this suggests the weighting of erasure and oppression influences the lives of bisexual people (and perhaps others with multiple gender attractions) far more than privilege does. However, it is not to say those with multiple gender attractions do not experience any privilege at all.

Eisner (2013, p.99) acknowledged three forms of heterosexual privilege: "the privilege of being seen as straight, the privilege of being in a man/woman relationship, and the privilege of knowing oneself to be straight." First, due to the influence of heteronormativity, being seen as straight is still the default in UK culture (Thorne et al., 2021). Therefore, anyone presenting in a gender confirmative manner is likely to be assumed as straight. This includes some lesbians, including femme lesbians, who do not express queerness (associated with masculinity) in their appearance. Therefore, if it is established that bisexual people can benefit from heteronormative privilege by looking/seeming/passing as straight, then equally some lesbians also benefit from such privilege. Second, the privilege of being in a man/woman relationship would only apply to bisexual people *if* they were in a man/woman relationship which not all are or will be (as they are or could be either single or in same-sex relationships). Last, for self-identified bisexual people, as they know themselves they are bisexual, they would not have privilege of knowing oneself to be straight. Consequently, in this case, self-identified lesbians and bisexual people cannot benefit from the heteronormative privilege.

The only form of heteronormative privilege those with multiple gender attractions would benefit from which lesbians cannot, is if they were in a man/woman relationship where their sexual identity is unknown to others. However, the influence of privilege for those with multiple gender attractions, which although exists, is significantly minimal compared to the erasure, discrimination and oppression which can be faced

on a daily basis. Although bisexual people may pass as straight to avoid homophobia or biphobia, if open about their sexual identity/identities, they can experience different forms of bisexual specific discrimination.

Biphobia

Biphobia refers to the hatred, dislike, or prejudice against bisexual people or bisexuality as a sexual orientation more broadly (Mulick & Wright, 2002). According to Barker et al. (2012), there are different forms of biphobia including bisexual denial, bisexual erasure, bisexual exclusion and negative stereotypes. In addition, Hayfield et al. (2018, p.222) suggested the term bisexual erasure stems from bisexual invisibility and captures "the overlooking and dismissal of bisexual identities which render bisexuality invisible or invalid." According to Fox (1995), biphobia can create difficulties for bisexual individuals including alienation from both straight and gay communities, the feeling of isolation because of a lack of community, apprehension to come out, and the fear of being honest regarding their sexual orientation when in relationships. Although biphobia is not usually discussed as much as homophobia in academia, it is prevalent and negatively affects many bisexual individuals emotionally and mentally (Barker et al., 2012).

Some scholars use different terms in replacement of the term biphobia including bisexual negativity (bi-negativity). Barak (2019) and Eliason (2000) prefer to use the term bi-negativity in their work in place of biphobia. Eliason's (2000) main justification for the use of bi-negativity in comparison to biphobia was because biphobia, similarly to homophobia, was not a true phobia in a psychological sense of the word. This is because a phobia is an irrational fear which leads to psychological distress. Subsequently, actions of homophobia and biphobia are usually rational and deliberately driven by hostility or hatred rather than fear (Eliason, 2000). However, from a sociological perspective rather than a psychological standpoint, the meaning of the term in UK popular culture, similar to homophobia, has shifted. Although the definition of biphobia being a fear of and/or hatred of bisexual people is its historic meaning, in UK popular culture biphobia is known as prejudice and discrimination against those who are bisexual or of bisexuality more broadly. Therefore, due to this research being sociological based, I use the term biphobia as opposed bi-negativity. Debates relating to key terminology in bisexual studies can be an issue as the lack of

consistently among language could further prevent the area being acknowledged in- and outside of academia. However, the language scholars use and rationales behind using such language are essential and cannot be ignored. Therefore, I personally use the term biphobia throughout this study unless the academics I am referring to state otherwise in their work.

In regard to Barker et al.'s (2012) breakdown of types of biphobia, bisexual exclusion is identified as when an individual claims to represent LGBTQ+ issues, however, does not explicitly acknowledge bisexual issues or subjects surrounding bisexuality. Barker et al. (2012) further suggested this can be identified in research where bisexual participants are included but scholars amalgamate their responses with homosexual men and/or women. Barker (2007) conducted an analysis of psychology based higher education textbooks and concluded bisexuality was rarely mentioned in such textbooks and when it was, there was no explicit knowledge specifically surrounding bisexuality when on the topic of the LGBT community. However, these were only psychology based books and therefore, they do not take into consideration different disciplines.

Another piece of research which demonstrated bisexual exclusion was that of Pallotta-Chiarolli (2014). She completed a literature based analysis on bisexuality in education systems in western societies. One of the main aspects examined was bisexual exclusion whereby bisexuality as a topic was included within the gay and lesbian categorisation as opposed to its own. However, both projects did not take place recently (within the last five years). Therefore, due to shifts in culture which can occur over time, cases of bisexual exclusion may be less common now. In comparison to other types of biphobia, bisexual exclusion has received the least academic attention. Perhaps this is, at least partly, due to other scholars perceiving bisexual exclusion as a form of bisexual erasure and therefore, using the phrase bisexual erasure over bisexual exclusion in their research. This again highlights the difficulties and issues which can emerge due to language selection and how such choices effect the field of study. Another form of biphobia which has been studied more than bisexual exclusion is negative stereotypes.

Stereotypes are oversimplified beliefs about a particular group of people which are usually widely accepted in a society (Kanahara, 2006). According to McCormack et al. (2018, p.9), stigma is defined as "a social attribute, behaviour or reputation that is discrediting in some way." Despite the terms being close in descriptions, they are not

interchangeable. For example, stigma often exists due to the influence of negative attitudes and stereotypes (Bostwick, 2012), and stereotypes are not always negative whereas stigma is (Biernat & Dovidio, 2000). Negative stereotypes can be used in relation to bisexuality (Barker et al., 2012; Hayfield et al., 2014). Studies have shown the validity of bisexuality can be questioned (see, e.g., Alarie & Gaudet, 2013; Fahs, 2009), which is referred to by Barker at al. (2012) as bisexual denial. To confirm, bisexual denial was referred to by Barker et al. (2012) as individuals who genuinely believe bisexuality does not exist. In relation to this, usually such individuals say bisexual individuals are 'confused' about their sexuality (Barker et al., 2012), and do not perceive bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation (Barak, 2019). Therefore, the negative and inaccurate stereotype that bisexuality is 'not real' through bisexual denial can be reinforced.

Attitudes based on sexual desires and practices include the stereotypes that bisexual people are promiscuous, greedy, sexually available to all (Barak, 2019; Barker, et al., 2012) and hypersexual (Hayfield et al., 2014). Moreover, attitudes regarding one's loyalty as partners includes the stereotype that bisexual people are more likely to cheat if they are in a monogamous relationship compared to heterosexual and homosexual people (Burke & LaFrance, 2016). In addition, Angelides (2001, p.1) highlighted bisexuality can be frequently described as "a form of immaturity, a transitional phase, a self-delusion or state of confusion, a personal and political cop-out, a marketing tool and even a superficial fashion trend." Therefore, such perspectives can lead to the creation and perpetuation of negative bisexual stereotypes. As negative stereotypes can influence the development of a stigma (Bostwick, 2012) and stigma can harmfully affect bisexual women's mental health (Pistella et al., 2023), the existence and perpetuation of such stereotypes should not be taken lightly. Another form of biphobia which must be treated seriously due to its effects on the lives of bisexual people is bisexual erasure.

Bisexual erasure is defined as assuming individuals are either homosexual or heterosexual, especially by being presumptuous that an individual's sexual orientation is based on the gender of their current partner (Brennan & Behrensen, 2012). Bisexual erasure is one of the key concepts in studies surrounding bisexuality which has been continually explored in academic literature (see, e.g., Alarie & Gaudet, 2013; Hayfield et al., 2018; Magrath et al., 2017; Yoshino, 2000). According to Hayfield et al. (2018),

in 2015, the campaign #StillBisexual (see, Still Bisexual, 2022) was created to dispel the assumptions that bisexuality is temporary and that if a bisexual individual is in a monogamous romantic relationship, their bisexual identity is abandoned and is replaced with a homo– or heterosexual identity (depending on the gender on their partner). Consequently, the campaign was created as an attempt to break the silence of bisexual erasure by homosexual or heterosexual assumptions made. Similarly, the #BSeen campaign was created in 2018 in Australia with the purpose for bi+ people to show and celebrate who they are and be visible (Bi+ Visibility, 2018). Despite all efforts among bi+ activists to gain greater bi+ visibility, bisexual erasure is still prevalent in different spheres in western cultures (see, e.g., Hayfield et al., 2018; Kirby et al., 2021; Mosley et al., 2019).

Two core contemporary studies can provide a further insight into the study of bisexual erasure: these are Morgenroth et al. (2022) and Serpe et al. (2020). Serpe et al. (2020) qualitatively analysed the sexual objectification of 12 bisexual women. Commonly amongst these women's experiences, they found the participants described examples of bisexual erasure from interactions with others. This included some of the participants' own partners suggesting they were now either gay or straight (depending on the partner's gender). For six of the participants, such erasure became internalised. For example, some second guessed themselves in relation to being bisexual and some questioned if in the future they would become gay. However, Serpe et al. (2020) used 'bisexual' as an umbrella term for those who have multiple gender attractions. Therefore, there could have been further nuances among the participants experiences and the specific labels they use to identify themselves, which were not examined. Nevertheless, the work of Serpe et al. (2020) importantly found the influence of bisexual erasure from others can play a part in bisexual women internalising biphobia or questioning themselves: all of which only perpetuates bisexual erasure further.

Morgenroth et al. (2022) also completed research which surrounded bisexual erasure. They conducted three studies where they analysed perceptions of bisexual men and women. They found homosexual people usually perceived bisexual men as 'actually gay', but this was not the case for bisexual women. Instead, there were mixed results regarding the perception of bisexual women and their attractions. However, there may be other forms of bisexual erasure bisexual women face but were not captured in the study due to the focus only being on perceptions. Nonetheless, the work of Morgenroth

et al. (2022) is an important contribution to the field of bisexuality studies as it demonstrates bisexual erasure through perceptions may differ for bisexual men in comparison to bisexual women. Therefore, the intersection of one's gender can influence perceptions and potentially one's lived experiences as a bisexual person.

As previously acknowledged, Barker et al. (2012) categorised the types of biphobia which can be found. However, through undertaking this aspect of the literature review, the different types of biphobia cannot be fully explored singularly as the categorisations imply. For example, cases of bisexual denial can influence negative bisexual stereotypes, and bisexual exclusion may be perceived as a form of bisexual erasure. Therefore, although Barker et al. (2012) highlighted each of the types of biphobia as individual subcategories of biphobia, the academic literature surrounding the topic is evidence that forms of biphobia are complex as they can be intertwined and overlapping of one another. A framework which includes some interconnectedness of different forms of biphobia, although with a main focus on bisexual erasure, is The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure by Yoshino (2000). Despite being created in 2000, this is still a relevant framework to include and examine in this thesis due to the evidence from contemporary research which shows bisexual erasure still exists in western societies.

Despite bisexual erasure being examined in a range of research, there are a lack of frameworks which conceptualise bisexual erasure. However, a specific framework used to analyse forms of bisexual erasure was created by Yoshino (2000) called The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure. This is not a sport specific framework. The framework is a political model used to analyse different forms of bisexual erasure and has been categorised into five parts. Yoshino's work is from a legal-research context and consequently has sound arguments which are thorough in detail. Since writing the framework, Yoshino has written books surrounding inclusion and diversity in law, yet The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure is his only academic publication with a sole focus on bisexuality.

In part one, Yoshino (2000) explained and provided evidence to propose bisexuality invisibility is a result of bisexual erasure rather than bisexual nonexistence, an argument which is also supported by Hayfield et al. (2018). In part two, Yoshino (2000, p.3) argued bisexual erasure (also known as bi erasure) is due to the two

dominant sexual orientation groups (heterosexuals and homosexuals) holding shared investments within that erasure, where both self-identified straight and gay people deploy the same three strategies of bi erasure: "class erasure, individual erasure and delegitimation." In part three, Yoshino (2000, p.3) described the investments that self-identified homosexual and heterosexual individuals have in relation to bisexual erasure, which are: "1) an interest in stabilising sexual orientation, 2) an interest in retaining sex as a dominant metric of differentiation, and 3) an interest in defending norms of monogamy." Part four is an examination of how self-identified bisexual individuals have been affected by the epistemic contract. Lastly, in part five, Yoshino (2000) examined how bisexual in/visibility affect legal outcomes. Although all parts of Yoshino's research are essential in their own right, the elements which are most relevant to examining why bisexual erasure exists is found within part two and three. These are now explored in further depth.

In part two, Yoshino (2000, p.18) specifically used the coined term epistemic contract, which he explained, "is not a conscious arrangement between individuals, but rather a social norm which arises unconsciously." Yoshino examined, in depth, the three strategies of bisexual erasure (class erasure, individual erasure and delegitimation). Class erasure can occur explicitly and implicitly by homo– and heterosexual individuals, where the existence of bisexuality is denied. Yoshino continued and highlighted that although the explicit claim 'bisexuality does not exist' was still identified, the implicit form of denial, through the use of the homo– heterosexual binary, was more prominent. Another form on implicit class erasure is the description of bisexuality as 'bisexual chic', which suggests bisexuality is only visible as a phase, a fashion statement or a fad (Yoshino, 2000). Additionally, behaviourally bisexual people being referred to as gay or lesbian is also an example of implicit class erasure.

Individual erasure is where people believe bisexuality does exist, but contest a specific individual is bisexual (Yoshino, 2000). Individual erasure can be present when specific individuals who identify as bisexual are described as going through a 'phase' and where it is assumed at some stage a more stable monosexual identity will be chosen by the individual. Furthermore, bisexuality was acknowledged by some as a stepping stone for coming out as homosexual, especially as among the gay community some may have gone through this 'phase' themselves. Finally, delegitimation is present when people acknowledge the existence of individuals who are bisexual, but also

assign stigma(s) to bisexuality. Yoshino specified that often the stigmas attached to bisexuality, from both hetero– and homosexual individuals, include being promiscuous, deceitful and fence-sitters.

In part three, Yoshino begins by discussing how bisexuality threatens the stabilisation of orientation, which both homo– and heterosexual people have shared investments in, and consequently affects bisexual erasure. Bisexuality destabilises sexual orientation as it is not possible to provide evidence that an individual has a monosexual identity. According to Yoshino, it is likely both homo– and heterosexual people share some comfort from social orderings. For example, no amount of romantic attention a male gives a female in a relationship can prove he does not lust after other men (Yoshino, 2000). Therefore, a strategy where 'straightness' or 'gayness' can be proven, can be identified by repressing bisexual existence by monosexuals (Yoshino, 2000). Furthermore, those who are gay often defend homosexuality by saying it is an immutable trait (Yoshino, 2000); in other words, they were born as gay. Although bisexuality and immutability may in fact align for some, for others their sexual orientation can change over a lifetime, which consequently threatens the immutability defence (Yoshino, 2000).

Yoshino suggested another cause for bisexual erasure from those who self-identify as straight and gay is due to bisexuality destabilising the importance of gender or sex. For example, some bisexual individuals are gender-blind, meaning they are attracted to someone as a person rather than their gender, and even bisexual people who do not see themselves as gender-blind usually do not reject one gender from their erotic prospect (Yoshino, 2000). Yoshino argued whether bisexual people are gender-blind or not, gender or sex matters less in comparison to monosexuals. Yoshino (2000, p.29) continued and stated "monosexuals routinely discriminate on the basis of sex in choosing their erotic partners." This statement is bold and problematic. Instead of monosexuals discriminating on the basis of sex/gender regarding their erotic partners, it is believed it is simply a preference instead.

Yoshino then discussed the influence of the title 'lesbian' porn where in fact bisexual actions can occur in this form of porn for the male gaze, where consequently the 'lesbians' in the porn are actually demonstrating (behavioural) bisexual practices but are labelled as lesbians. In this respect, bisexuality may threaten lesbians as when non-

homosexual men think of 'lesbians' in porn and their craving for all the women in such porn to also desire male attention, they may be of the assumption that "there is no woman who does not desire men" (Yoshino, 2000, p.419), despite their lesbian label. Consequently, this perpetuates the patriarchy (Yoshino, 2000). Yoshino indicated the final investment monosexuals have in relation to perpetuating bisexual erasure is that bisexuality is viewed to threaten the dominant norms of monogamy. For monosexuals, bisexuality can raise sexual jealousy due to the potential an individual's partner may leave them for someone of a different sex/gender and can consequently be read as one's erotic inadequacy (Yoshino, 2000).

Yoshino's framework of The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure analysed different forms of bisexual erasure in great depth and usually used evidence based justifications. A variety of scholars whose work surrounds LGBTQ+ based laws have used or cited Yoshino's framework within the last decade (see, e.g., Clarke, 2018; George, 2021; NeJaime, 2016). Therefore, the work of Yoshino (2000) is still prevalent and used within contemporary law. However, there are some limitations regarding the framework. At times, there were some bold claims which could be identified as opinion based as they did not have evidence to support them. Furthermore, the article itself is one hundred and three pages long and composes of almost fitty-seven thousand words. Consequently, the length of the article may have hindered how frequently the text has been used outside of research in law.

Nevertheless, academics outside of the field of law have cited or used Yoshino's (2000) framework in their research. For example, Gonzalez et al. (2017) examined the narratives of bisexual erasure and bisexual marking through 53 videos associated with the #StillBisexual campaign. The authors discussed Yoshino's (2000) argument regarding monosexual people's aims through reinforcing bisexual erasure. More recently, Serpe et al. (2020) conducted research based on bisexual women's experiences of coping with objectification, prejudice and erasure. The authors linked their findings to Yoshino's framework where individual erasure was common among the participants in their study because they were labelled as gay or straight by others based on the gender of their romantic partner.

Although Yoshino's model was created in 2000, it cannot be assumed it is not relevant to the current day as evidenced by the work of Gonzalez et al. (2017) and Serpe et al.

(2020). Furthermore, as academics have identified or examined bisexual erasure in their research findings within the last five years (see, e.g., Hayfield et al., 2018; Magrath et al., 2017; Morgenroth et al., 2022), it suggests bisexual erasure still occurs in western societies. Therefore, Yoshino's framework is likely to still be of relevance. On reflection of Yoshino's (2000) framework, as monosexual people can have a shared investment in erasing bisexuality, it is probable such forms of erasure may be presented through double discrimination.

Double discrimination

Even if those with multiple gender attractions are recognised, the dominance of the binary gay/straight culture can encourage bullying and discrimination from both gay and straight people (Barker & Iantaffi, 2019). This is referred to as 'double discrimination', where bisexual people experience discrimination from both heterosexual people as well as from those who are gay or lesbian (Hayfield, 2020). There are various reasons why double discrimination is damaging for those with multiple gender attractions including: creating a sense of isolation and loneliness (Stonewall, 2020), making people want to hide their sexual identity (Monaco, 2021), feeling rejected from cultures surrounding both homosexual and heterosexual people (Hayfield et al., 2014), and promoting internalised biphobia (Arriaga & Parent, 2019). According to Hayfield (2020), Robyn Ochs (1996) was known for being one of the first scholars to discuss double discrimination found in her essay *Biphobia: It Goes More Than Two Ways.* As a consequence, this distinguishes biphobia from homophobia (Nagoshi et al., 2023). This section examines two core studies based on the understandings surrounding double discrimination since the introduction of the term by Ochs (1996).

Mohr & Rochlen (1999) created a scale based on measuring attitudes of lesbian, gay and heterosexual college students regarding bisexuality; they referred to this as the Attitudes regarding Bisexuality Scale. Five studies were conducted on the subject and in the finalised scale there were 12 statements based on stability and tolerance of bisexuality (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). A five-point Likert scale was presented to the participants based on agreeing or disagreeing with the statements provided (Mohr & Rochlen, 1999). Mohr & Rochlen (1999) found across all three sexual orientations participants usually agreed that bisexual people could not be monogamous, and

bisexuality was not a valid identity. Therefore, double discrimination was demonstrated. As the sample was specifically based on college students, this was not representative of a wider societal perspective at that time. However, Herek (2002) expressed how Mohr & Rochlen (1999) having a multiple-item scale was more reliable in comparison to other methods such as feeling thermometers. The foundation of the attitudes regarding the scale has been applied since the study took place in other quantitative research (see, e.g., Arndt & De Bruin, 2011; Lytle et al., 2017).

After the research of Mohr & Rochlen (1999), Mulick & Wright (2002) developed the Biphobia Scale: a 30-item instrument which measured negative attitudes and behaviours regarding bisexuality. The participants used a 6-point Likert scale which ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree). The sample included homosexual, heterosexual and bisexual college students. From their results, Mulick & Wright (2002) concluded biphobia was present amongst both the heterosexual and homosexual communities, therefore demonstrating double discrimination. They also concluded bisexual individuals can receive homophobia *and* biphobia from heterosexual people as well biphobia from the gay community (Mulick & Wright, 2002). The authors divided the results into three categories regarding the biphobic range: mild, moderate and severe. They found 42% of the sample were within the moderate to severe ranges. Therefore, not only was the existence of biphobia evidenced through the work of Mulick & Wright (2002), but also was the severity of biphobia. However, one criticism is the study did not differentiate based on the gender of the bisexual people, though this consideration was acknowledged and revisited in 2011 (see, Mulick & Wright, 2011). Nevertheless, similar to the impact of Mohr & Rochlen (1999), academics have applied the Biphobia Scale in their research (see, e.g., Yost & Thomas, 2012) or the scale has directly affected future studies surrounding biphobia (see, e.g., Hertlein et al., 2016; Nagoshi et al., 2023).

Despite the work of Mohr & Rochlen (1999) and Mulick & Wright (2002) being influential, in regard to the attitudinal nature of the projects, social desirability bias may have occurred. Therefore, the participants may have given the answers they thought the researcher wanted to receive or which society deemed acceptable as opposed to their true attitudinal reflections. Specifically in relation to these two studies, biphobic attitudes may have been even more severe than what was evidenced. To have prevented this possibility, a mixed-methods approach could have been applied (for

example, with the use of observations) to support the validity of the findings. While the existence of both studies was imperative to the development and understanding of double discrimination, also of importance is the examination of double discrimination closer to the current time.

Despite not being UK based, a range of studies in western societies have conducted research surrounding double discrimination closer to the present time. Doan Van et al. (2019) conducted research in the US where 442 people who had multiple gender attractions completed a survey based on their experiences surrounding discrimination, how discrimination affected their health and coping strategies of discrimination. The work of Monaco (2021) took place in Italy where a mixed methods approach was used (survey and interviews) based on the behaviours, habits and lifestyles of bisexual people. Furthermore, Arriaga & Parent (2019) explored how partner gender is associated with experiences of bi-negativity and internalised bi-negativity in the US. Although there may be some country or regional based differences, all of the studies share a similarity: double discrimination is still occurring in western societies based on their research findings.

Despite such studies taking place is western societies, it could be argued such findings are not representative specifically to UK culture. However, Stonewall, the leading UK LGBT rights charity, and YouGov, a British international research and data analytics firm, partnered to produce what they refer to as the *Bi report* (Stonewall, 2020). Please note, the term bi is used in this report as an umbrella term and refers to those who have attractions to more than one gender (Stonewall, 2020). 5,375 LGBT people in Britain were asked about their experiences, where 1668 of the respondents were those who were attracted to more than one gender (Stonewall, 2020). Many of these respondents did not find LGBT specific spaces welcoming and some experienced discrimination from others in the LGBT community based on their identity or attractions (Stonewall, 2020). From the report, 18% of bi men and 27% of bi women had experienced discrimination within the LGBT community based on their identity or attractions. Furthermore, 31% of the bi respondents had experienced hate crimes by heterosexual people (Stonewall, 2020). This included being, “insulted, pestered, intimidated or harassed in the year prior to being surveyed” (Stonewall, 2020, p.11). These findings provide evidence that double discrimination can still exist for people who are attracted to more than one gender in the UK. Therefore, further persistent education needs to be

put in place to reduce and hopefully eradicate bisexual double discrimination in the UK and internationally.

These forms of discrimination and prejudice should not be taken lightly as multiple studies have suggested bisexual individuals have higher rates of depression, anxiety, self-harm and/or suicide compared to homosexual and heterosexual people. The research of Ross et al. (2018, p.436) based on a "systematic review and meta-analysis of studies that reported bisexual specific data on standardised measures of depression or anxiety", identified equivalent or elevated rates of depression and anxiety among bisexual individuals in comparison to homosexual individuals. Furthermore, Chang et al. (2022, p.187) found bisexual/pansexual participants in their study "[had] greater emotion dysregulation[,] and rumination were associated with greater odds of lifetime suicide attempt for bisexual/pansexual individuals, but not for gay/lesbian individuals." Though such studies are essential, they focused on mental health and bisexuality broadly and may have missed niche aspects specifically relating to bisexual women.

Nevertheless, Bostwick (2012) found bisexual women had higher rates of depression and mental health issues than homosexual and heterosexual women as a result of stigma which bisexual women face. As Bostwick's research was conducted in 2012, its relatability to current times could be questioned. However, Ehlke et al. (2020) found bisexual women report more physical and psychological health problems than lesbians; Pistella et al. (2023) found bisexual women reported higher internalised sexual stigma than gay women; and Wittgens et al. (2022) found the risk for depression and suicidality was higher amongst bisexual people, particularly bisexual women, than for their homosexual counterparts. Consequently, the findings of Bostwick (2012) are relevant to current findings surrounding mental health issues amongst bisexual women today. Therefore, societal changes are still needed to prevent or at least minimise such damaging outcomes for bisexual women.

Specifically, when examining the intersectionality of being bisexual and being a woman, studies have acknowledged the increased vulnerability to sexual violence for bisexual women (Grove & Johnson, 2022). In alignment with past research, (see, e.g., Flanders et al., 2019; Sigurvinsdottir & Ullman, 2015), Grove & Johnson (2022) found 72% of bisexual women experienced at least one experience of sexual violence within

the last year. The authors' findings demonstrate the dehumanisation of bisexual women, hostile sexism and forms of biphobia were prominent factors regarding the increased vulnerability to sexual violence for bisexual women. Bisexual women having higher rates of, depression, broader mental health issues, suicidality, and sexual violence across different studies cannot be ignored. The research in the previous two paragraphs evidences the way bisexual women are seen in society and their daily experiences can cause damaging effects. Consequently, forms of prejudice and discrimination against bisexual women and other women with multiple gender attractions, cannot be seen as minor or trivial due to the damaging outcomes which can occur. More needs to be done to change societal perceptions of bisexual women and thus their experiences. Biphobia and specifically double discrimination can influence if, where and when bisexual women wish to disclose their sexual orientation. Therefore, the next aspect of this section examines the study of disclosure and outness.

Disclosure and outness

The concept 'coming out' is shorthand for the phrase 'coming out of the closet': a metaphor where the closet is a small imprisonment space and coming out of the closet symbolises freedom by walking out into a new, bigger and brighter area (Maliepaard, 2018). I continue to use the phrase 'coming out' from this stage on, however, both phrases can be used interchangeably by academics (see, e.g., Benozzo et al., 2015; Dank, 1971). Being 'in' or 'out' of the closet is a binary in itself and is another example of how conceptual binaries are incorporated in everyday lives. Commonly, academic literature relating to coming out refers to homosexual individuals although some refer to bisexual people's coming out experiences (see, e.g., Maliepaard, 2018; McLean, 2007; Wandrey et al., 2015).

Mosher (2001, p.164) refers to coming out as "publicly communicating one's sexual orientation." Although Maliepaard (2018) recognises its usefulness as a working definition, in agreement with Maliepaard (2018, p.145) he argues, "Mosher's formulation overlooks the complexity of, and possible meanings attached to, coming out." Specifically, McLean (2007) and Wandrey et al. (2015) have acknowledged sexual identity management strategies or stigma management strategies were used by those with multiple gender attractions as strategic tactics in relation to coming out or disclosing one's sexual orientation. In agreement with Maliepaard (2018, p.154), there

is a difference between the act of coming out and disclosing one's sexuality: coming out is a confession whereas disclosing one's sexual identity, in this example specifically relating to bisexuality, is "expressing one's bisexuality without confessing it and/or making one's sexuality a big deal." To be 'out' in relation to sexuality, refers to people knowing about one's sexual orientation. Therefore, 'outness' refers to the extent which one's sexual orientation is known by others (Giano et al., 2022), which is relational to context.

Some academics have measured outness through the use of scales in their research (see, e.g., Meidlinger & Hope, 2014; Miranda & Storms, 1989; Mohr & Fassinger, 2000). For example, Miranda & Storms (1989), one of the earliest research projects to use a scale based on outness, developed the Sexual Orientation Disclosure Scale (SODS). The participants completed a questionnaire which had 15 life areas (for example, family, employment and education) (Miranda & Storms, 1989). The participants marked on a scale from 1 = not out to 7 = entirely out on each life area, where an average was then calculated by the researchers to find the 'overall disclosure score' (Miranda & Storms, 1989). The SODS is very quantitative based and as a consequence, it is likely to miss the nuances found surrounding people's experiences with outness which qualitative research would provide. Furthermore, despite the authors taking into consideration different areas of one's life, they fail to acknowledge that within those life areas there are also a range of contextual variables which may change each time one is within them, thus affecting one's outness. Therefore, one quantitative measurement in each life area cannot be accurately given because of one's fluid and changing nature of outness. Furthermore, making an 'overall disclosure score' based on quantitatively averaging the results is dismissive of people's experiences and seeks to shun the influence of contextual factors instead of bringing these to the forefront.

From analysing the SODS as well as other outness scales including The Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000) and The Nebraska Outness Scale (Meidlinger & Hope, 2014), my ontology resists quantifying findings as there are too many contextual variables (e.g., time, space, people, feelings) which can influence if an individual comes out or discloses their sexual orientation. Therefore, the reliability and politics of measuring such experiences is problematic. Furthermore, some of the research projects involving outness scales perceive outness as a linear process, however, this

may not be the case. As stigmatised identities are commonly linked with the topic of disclosure and outness in academic literature (see, e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Feinstein et al., 2023; Goffman, 1963), the next element of this chapter focuses on how stigmatised identities can play a part in one's disclosure and thus, one's outness.

More broadly, there have been a variety of frameworks or theories used to analyse different disclosures in a range of contexts (e.g., work, home-life, social-life). These include Agency Theory (Urquiza et al., 2010), Communication Privacy Management Theory (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008) and Social Exchange Theory (Emerson, 1976). Specifically in relation to sexual minorities and disclosure, there has been a range of research (see, e.g., Lyons et al., 2020; Maliepaard, 2018; McLean, 2007), though not all relating to a theory or framework. Additionally, specific models have influenced the field. For example, the Cass Model (Cass, 1979) which is a six-stage linear based model, which Cass (1979) argued are the stages LGB people go through in formulating their identity. However, arguably the main influencer to begin the understanding and conceptualising of stigmatised identities and disclosure specifically is Erving Goffman.

Goffman's (1963) work on the management of a stigmatised identity laid the foundation for researchers to analyse difficulties which can be faced by LGB people (and other stigmatised identities) – including disclosure. Goffman (1963) described a stigmatised identity as one which is not accepted by society and had to be managed to gain social acceptance. In his work, three types of stigmatised identities were acknowledged: 1) physical stigmas (deformity of the body), 2) group identity stigmas (being a member of a discredited group), and 3) stigmas of character (traits regarded as unacceptable in society). Arguably, having multiple gender attractions could fall into the category of 'stigma of character' as an individual and 'group identity stigma' as someone within the LGBTQ+ community.

Goffman further divided these identities into two more groups – discredited (stigma is visible) and discreditable (stigma is hidden). He then outlined strategies individuals with stigmatised identities used to control the amount of information which was disclosed about their identity. These included complete concealment, selective disclosure and voluntarily disclosure to the world. Goffman's work has been integral to the area of stigmatised identities and disclosure in a variety of academic fields (see,

e.g., Brink, 1994; Orne, 2013; Whiteford & Gonzalez, 1995) and still influences current international research surrounding stigmas (see, e.g., Charmaz, 2019; Wilson & McGuire, 2021; Worthen, 2020). Therefore, Goffman's (1963) work deserves visibility in contemporary academic work within the topic. More specifically, Goffman's work was influential in the development of the Disclosure Processes Model (DPM) by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010).

Self-disclosure, where one verbally shares information with others regarding an aspect about themselves, is a fundamental part of social interaction (Masaviru, 2016). Disclosure can have various advantages and disadvantages, where the topic of the disclosure can vary. For example, it has been found by multiple researchers that disclosure can form deeper connections with others and/or further develop a sense of self (see, e.g., Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010; Derlega et al., 1993). Though, Phillips et al. (2009) found disclosure can also create distance as opposed to closeness specifically in the workplace. Furthermore, disclosing has also been shown to have negative psychological (Lehavot & Simoni, 2011) and physical (Huebner & Davis, 2005) implications. Therefore, one's context must be taken into consideration when researching disclosure.

Although positive effects can occur through disclosure, those with concealable stigmatised identities risk the possibility of prejudice (McLean, 2007). Therefore, the act of disclosing becomes more complex for such individuals as there is a possibility of benefit *and* harm (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). The DPM is centred around those with stigmatised identities, therefore when mentioning the 'discloser', I am referring to the person with the stigmatised identity specifically. The DPM is not a specific model based on sexual identity disclosure but instead is inclusive of any disclosure topics involving having a stigmatised identity.

On the topic of stigmatised identities, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) did not acknowledge what identities are classed as 'stigmatised'. Therefore, it is unclear *who* determines what stigmatisation is and thus, who would be classified as having a stigmatised identity. For example, in qualitative research, the researcher may class an individual as having a stigmatised identity while the participant may not. Thus, this criticism may impact the validity of the model. Furthermore, there may be differing degrees of stigmatisation which has been influenced by time (past and present). For example, with

an increase of same-sex rights in the UK within the last two decades, including equal rights for same-sex couples to adopt in the UK in 2002 (Tasker & Bellamy, 2019) and the legalisation of same-sex marriage in England and Wales in 2013 (Boyd, 2013), a gay man (UK) in the 1970s would presumably have had a more stigmatised identity than a gay man (UK) in the present. Therefore, although gay men can still be stigmatised in the UK now, the overall degree and volume of stigmatisation is likely to be less than in the 1970s. Therefore, at what point is someone not classed as having a stigmatised identity and how can this be identifiable? This is a problematic aspect of the model.

According to Chaudoir & Fisher (2010, p.237), there has been growing literature which suggested, "the reaction of the confidant is one of the most important factors predicting whether disclosure will be beneficial or not." However, other factors can play a part. For example, the discloser's desires (the goals of their disclosure), how the discloser communicates about their identity, and coping abilities (how to deal with any response) may feature in such decision (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). According to Chaudoir & Fisher (2010), research before 2010 separately analysed how people make decisions to disclose and how people are affected by their disclosure decisions. However, the DPM interlinks both components: the decision-making process and the outcome process.

The DPM develops previous disclosure theorising in three ways. First, the DPM centres the conceptualisation of decision-making *and* outcome processes as a single process (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). There are five main elements to this process: 1) antecedent goals, 2) the disclosure event itself, 3) mediating processes, 4) outcomes and 5) a feedback loop (see, Figure 1). Second, the DMP states that approach and avoidance goals align with disclosure behaviour and are affected at each stage of the disclosure process (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). Third, the DPM examines the correlation between disclosure and a breadth of various outcomes in a multiple mediated process. Therefore, "disclosure can affect individual, dyadic, and social contextual outcomes through three types of mediating processes: 1) alleviation of inhibition, 2) social support, and 3) changes in social information" (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010, p.239).

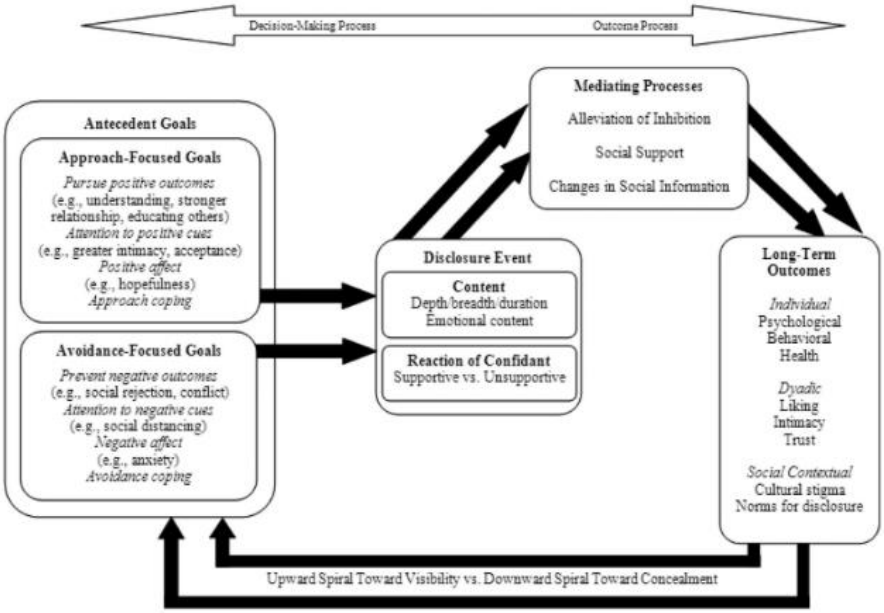

Figure 1: Disclosure Processes Model by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010)

Within the model, disclosure starts with decision-making relating to one's goals. This category is split into two: approached-focus (also called appetitive) goals and avoidance-focused (also called aversive) goals. There are a range of approach-focused goals which individuals may have to pursue disclosure, including self-expression, enhancing closeness in relationships (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010), and social support (Luo & Hancock, 2020). However, Maliepaard (2018) acknowledged disclosing one's sexuality can be spontaneous or reactive. Thus, it is uncertain if goals are *always* an aspect of disclosure, or at least if conscious goals are.

Nonetheless, in relation to goals, individuals may have avoidance-focused goals and conceal their identity due to fear of negative outcomes including social rejection, conflict and discrimination (Chaudoir & Fisher, 2010). This model did not only recognise types of goals and their influence on disclosure decisions, as found by other academics (see, e.g., Berg & Archer, 1982; Derlega et al., 2004), but also explored how such goals may affect what happens during the disclosure process. Once a goal is initiated, the person decides if disclosure is the appropriate method for achieving the goal, chooses a suitable confidant, and evaluates the potential benefits and harm of the disclosure. It is unclear by the authors if the goal and decision-making are always

conscious thoughts or not. Therefore, if the goals and decision-making are not always consciously recognised, it cannot be certain such goals or decision-making takes place.

Once an individual decides to disclose, they discuss information about their identity to the chosen person/people. This can be a one-time occurrence where the discloser clearly discusses their identity. However, disclosure events can also happen over a longer period of time. For example, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) said some people choose to 'test the waters' – an action also discussed by McLean (2007) in relation to disclosure among the bisexual community. For this event to have taken place, the confidant is now fully aware of the individual's former concealed identity and has responded in a supportive or unsupportive way. The statement of someone being supportive or unsupportive is another example of a binary which exists in everyday lives. In relation to disclosure by bisexual individuals, it is questionable if the confidant is always *fully* aware of the concealed identity. For example, some people with multiple gender attractions may disclose their attractions but not their identity. In this example, disclosure would have taken place but without confirmation of one's identity to the confidant. Therefore, not aligning with Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) description of being *fully* aware of one's identity.

Along with Omarzu (2000), Chaudoir & Fisher (2010, p.239) "identified depth, breadth, and duration as critical aspects of the disclosure event itself." Depth is the degree regarding how private or intimate the information is. Breadth is the amount, or different selection of topics, used within the disclosure event. It is here where Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) highlight expressions of emotion may occur and the degree in which one expresses emotion may differ. People can vary based on the descriptive extent of different aspects of their identity. Duration is specifically recognised by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) as the time spent by the discloser talking about information regarding disclosing their identity. However, this implies a one-way form of communication and as it is an interaction with one or more others, it cannot be assumed a conversation would not take place between the discloser and the confidant(s) on the topic. Therefore, it seems the definition of disclosure would be better suited to, the time spent whilst the discloser and confidant have a conversation surrounding the discloser's information provided.

Despite mediating processes and outcomes being separate elements in the visual diagram, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) combine the components within the discussion aspect due to their connectiveness. Consequently, both aspects are combined as one during this paragraph. Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) acknowledged disclosure can cause individual, dyadic and social contextual level consequences. There are a variety of potential mediating processes which allow disclosure to affect such outcomes; these are: 1) alleviation of inhibition, 2) social support and 3) changes in social information. Therefore, a variety of outcomes can occur through disclosure as it can alleviate negative psychological and/or physiological suppression, accumulate (further) social support and, impact the social context and how the people involved in the disclosure interact with each other.

The feedback loop is included in the DPM to demonstrate the disclosure process does not always finish based on the outcome of the disclosure event. The DPM promotes the outcome that a single disclosure event can affect future disclosure processes and therefore, the implementation of the feedback loop is vital within the model. In addition, a disclosure event is only one part of the ongoing process and Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) suggested disclosure is only one aspect of the greater process of stigma management.

Despite my criticisms of the DPM, overall, it is one of the most beneficial models to use when exploring and examining disclosure due to its connectiveness between the decision-making process and outcome process. As highlighted in the model, although negative outcomes after disclosing can be feared, positive outcomes can arise. Specifically, forms of inclusion may take place.

Inclusion

Inclusion as a concept refers to the act or practice of including all individuals within a group (Jagoo, 2021). The benefits of inclusion are both powerful and meaningful. By inclusion being demonstrated, people can feel a greater sense of belonging (Jagoo, 2021), reduce the fear of being ostracised (Makinde, 2021), and it can help some people develop a positive self-image (Bakker & Bosman, 2003). There are a range of contexts where inclusion has been explored in research, including the workspace (see, e.g., Brimhall & Mor Barak, 2018; Miller & Manata, 2023), education (see, e.g.,

Ainscow, 2020; Francisco et al., 2020) and sport (see, e.g., Adams, 2011; Cunningham & Nite, 2020).

Inclusion as a concept can involve the study of different groups in society. Some of the more popular topics within the study of inclusion involve those with special education needs and disabilities (see, e.g., Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2018), minority races (see, e.g., Bhopal & Rhamie, 2014) and LGBTQ+ people (see, e.g., Cunningham & Nite, 2020). Studies surrounding research which includes bisexuality and inclusion commonly uses the LGB, LGBT or LGBTQ+ community as one categorisation as opposed to focusing on people from each aspect of the community singularly. This is problematic as it can portray that all people within the LGB, LGBT or LGBTQ+ community experience inclusion and exclusion the same, when this cannot be assumed due to the differences those within the community can face. Therefore, careful consideration must be applied by researchers based on the language used, how the research is conducted and the analysis of the study to avoid this assumption. Additionally, some research in this section relates to the LGBTQ+ community more broadly, though two of the three studies are bisexual specific.

There are a variety of inclusion initiatives which are implemented with an attempt to create a safe and inclusive space for all in a range of environments. Specific LGBTQ+ inclusion initiatives include, but are not limited to, inclusive LGBTQ+ policies, encouragement to wear rainbow products (e.g., lanyards or laces), providing LGBTQ+ inclusion training, creating an LGBTQ+ network, and celebrating LGBTQ+ history and events (Brouard, 2022). Day et al. (2019) specifically conducted a study based on LGBT inclusive policies and its benefits for LGBT youth in schools in California (US). The authors argued that due to the well-documented problem of bullying and discrimination of LGBT individuals in schools, school policies are crucial in helping eliminate or at least reduce bullying and discrimination for LGBT youth. Day et al. (2019) suggested such policies must include: policies which prohibits discrimination and bullying based on being LGBT, training for staff based on LGBT issues, interventions of harassment, and identification of safe spaces where LGBT people can go for support. The authors found having multiple LGBT inclusive policies in schools was associated with positive school experiences for LGBT pupils.

Although not acknowledged by the authors, the visibility and implementation of such policies is essential to the positive influence on LGBT youth. For example, if the policies are in place but not explicitly known by the pupils it may not have the desired effect, as found in the work of Day et al. (2019). Equally, if the policies are known by pupils but some of the policies are not consistently followed by the staff at the school, this could also hinder the positive experiences of LGBT youth. As the work of Day et al. (2019) specifically focused on LGBT youth, differences may exist among LGBT adults in various contexts. One criticism of the research is the authors did not distinguish the differences between the bisexual participants and the gay and lesbian participants. Therefore, it is unclear if there were any nuances found amongst different sexual identities in the study or not. However, one study which explicitly involved the experiences of bisexuality and inclusion, is the research conducted by Calvard et al. (2020).

The work of Calvard et al. (2020) is one of minimal projects which focused exclusively on bisexuality and inclusion. Their study is based on a bisexual woman working as a student support officer in a UK university and her experiences of LGBT inclusion in her work environment. Calvard et al. (2020) started by establishing the necessity of inclusion for those with minority sexual identities, including to avoid stigma and stress of disclosure. Calvard et al. (2020) also stated bisexual people can experience misconceptions and phobias specifically relating to a bisexual identity and therefore, the authors acknowledged not all experiences of those in the LGBT community are the same. Hannah, the pseudonym given by the authors, said actions such as people wearing rainbow lanyards and flying the rainbow flag during Pride Month is positive and demonstrates attempts of inclusive practice. However, she also had her concerns. Hannah believed it could be detrimental if people who are not good LGBT allies are only wearing a rainbow lanyard for performative reasons. This suggests some people want to be perceived as inclusive and therefore wear a rainbow lanyard, but do not demonstrate allyship in their day-to-day lives.

LGBT inclusion workshops were also integrated within the university which demonstrated visibility of the community as well as providing an opportunity to educate those who work in the university on LGBT inclusion. This again, is an inclusive practice. However, Hannah felt it was common that people wanted a short (two hour) training session and saw it as a tick box exercise; that they had finished the

workshop and now know everything related to LGBT inclusion. This attitude is problematic due to not acquiring the depth of knowledge surrounding the complexities of LGBTQ+ experiences. Furthermore, due to a two-hour workshop being limited in time, commonly Hannah said there was not time to distinguish the nuances between homophobia and biphobia. Therefore, homophobia had a bigger focus in the training sessions than biphobia. This in itself is marginalising bisexual experiences, and by prioritising discussions about homophobia, a hierarchy is created when both topics should be included equally. Hannah summarised by saying inclusive initiatives have their value, but she was sceptical of the wider impact of their implementation. Although Calvard et al's. (2020) project provides an insight into a bisexual person's experience of LGBT inclusion, in this case in higher education, it is only one person's opinion on the topic and does not evidence the (lack of) impact of such inclusive initiatives in that particular setting. Another study based specifically on bisexuality which included aspects of inclusion, is the work of Rankin et al. (2015).

Rankin et al. (2015) are a part of the Equality Network in Scotland who designed the report titled *Complicated?: Bisexual People's Experiences of and Ideas for Improving Services*. Barker at al. (2012) inspired the Equality Network team to continue conducting research specifically based on bisexual people's experiences within the UK. The research of Rankin et al. (2015) examined bisexual people's general experiences as well as their experiences of services in the UK. Some of the respondents felt welcomed, accepted and included within the LGBT community, though most of the participants responded to the question: "How much do you feel part of an LGBT community?" with "a little." Specifically, within the National Health Service (NHS), four participants said they experienced good examples of bisexual inclusion which involved not defaulting someone as gay or straight (binary), using inclusive language, being at ease when talking about sexual relationships, and being non-judgemental about one's sexual orientation.

In relation to LGBT services, 59 respondents provided examples of good bisexual inclusion which included: making bisexual people feel welcomed and accepted, working in partnership with specific bisexual groups, displaying bisexual specific posters, delivering bisexual inclusive workshops, having staff trained on bisexual specific issues and needs, and supporting bisexual specific events such as BiCon. Though bisexual inclusion in the UK and more specifically in UK services can

evidently exist, only receiving approximately 65 examples of good bisexual inclusion from 720 responses demonstrates there needs to be a greater emphasis and focus on increasing inclusive experiences for those who are bisexual or who have multiple gender attractions in the UK.

The core suggestions from the participants on how organisations and services can provide inclusion for those who are bisexual are to: increase the knowledge and understanding of bisexual experiences and needs, avoid making assumptions (especially gay/straight binary assumptions), work in partnership with bisexual organisations, have bisexual people represented in the space, include explicit bisexual inclusion policies, have a process for dealing with bisexual discrimination and exclusion, and support bisexual events. As the work of Rankin et al. (2015) took place in 2015, it is hoped that now in 2023 there are more examples of inclusion for those with multiple gender attractions generally in the UK and more specifically within services in the UK. However, based on the lack of literature surrounding bisexual inclusion, perhaps it suggests forms of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion which those with multiple gender attractions can face are more prominent in comparison to experiences of inclusivity in the UK.

When exploring the concept of inclusion, it led me to the discovery of the Action-effect Role Model (AERM) by de Queiroz et al. (2021). Simplistic in its design, the AERM (see, Figure 2) provides a clear breakdown on how inclusion can be demonstrated (through actions) and the effects it can have on the group needing/seeking inclusion. The AERM is not a sport or LGBTQ+ specific model but was instead developed through the study of workplace inclusion involving 145 professionals in Brazil. Despite not being a sport or LGBTQ+ specific model, it is a helpful tool in understanding how and why people feel included. The content in each boxed component in Figure 2 is specific to de Queiroz et al.'s research findings, which may not be specifically relevant in other studies on inclusion. However, it is the development of the concepts: agent, action and effect, and how they link, which may be transferable in other studies surrounding inclusion.

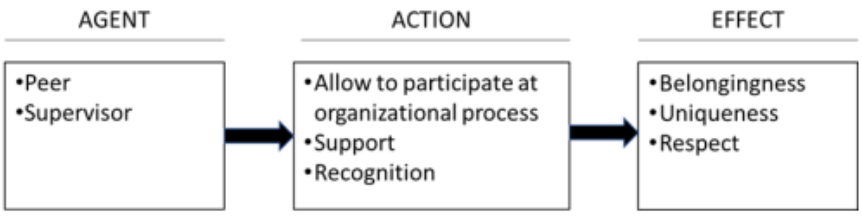

Figure 2: Action-effect Role Model by de Queiroz et al. (2021)

The model has three key elements. The first is the agent. This refers to who the person is in relation to the action which takes place (de Queiroz et al., 2021). In the case of sport research, an example of agents could be teammates, coaches, sport committee members or/and staff within National Governing Bodies. The second aspect of the model refers to what specific inclusive actions the agent puts in place in a particular context (de Queiroz et al., 2021). For example, in relation to sport research, this could include implementing policies or celebrating specific events. Lastly, once the agent has put certain inclusive practices into place, the model acknowledges the effect it has on the person they are being inclusive for (de Queiroz et al., 2021). Examples of this might include feelings of belonginess, safety or/and respect. As de Queiroz et al. (2021) concluded, inclusion is a multifaceted construct where the three facets (agent, action and effect) were consistently demonstrated in their research. It could be argued the AERM is too simplistic in order to understand the complexities of human experiences surrounding inclusion. However, just because a model is simplistic does not mean it is not useful, reliable or applicable to link to research findings.

The AERM has rarely been cited or applied in other research. This is likely to be because the type of publication which was released. The AERM is a conference edition publication which comprises of many different research pieces in one booklet. Therefore, it is easy for articles to get missed due to the large volume of articles in one booklet in comparison to usual journal articles, which centres on only one piece of research. Furthermore, the publication of the AERM was only released in 2020, therefore arguably has not had much time to gain attention. It is important for researchers to acknowledge that just because a framework has not been used or used much in other research, does not mean it is not applicable to one's own research.

Overall, the AERM provides a clear, concise and relevant breakdown of how inclusion can exist and the effects it can have on particular people or groups of people. The study of bisexuality in the literature review is now complete and the next element of the literature review specifically focuses only on bisexuality in the context of sport.

2.2 Bisexuality and sport

This aspect of the literature review explores research which centres on bisexuality and sport. The study of bisexuality and sport is limited. Therefore, due to a lack of academic literature within the topic, all of the avenues of research explicitly based on the bisexuality and sport more broadly are examined to promote bisexual visibility. This includes research based on bisexual women as well as men in sport. Furthermore, although there may be differences between bisexual people in sport and their experiences (e.g., fans, elite athletes and recreational participants) in each research project, it cannot be assumed there are not similarities in relation to being bisexual. As there is a lack of literature in the area of bisexuality and sport compared to the study of bisexuality, this aspect of the literature review is smaller. The section on bisexuality and sport is divided into two subcategories: 1) athletes, fans, bisexuality and the media and 2) experiences and understandings of bisexuality in grassroots sport.

Within the late 1990s and during the 2000s, the field of sexualities and sport was dominated by Hegemonic Masculinity Theory by Connell (1995). Around a similar period, Queer Theory, which was coined by de Lauretis (1991), had some visibility within sexualities and sport research. Since approximately 2010, the core theory implemented within the field of sexualities and sport has been Inclusive Masculinity Theory by Anderson (2009). In addition to the lack of research surrounding bisexuality and sport, there is also a lack of these theories application to the topic of bisexuality and sport. Nevertheless, despite core theories in sexualities and sport studies having little association to the topic of bisexuality and sport, perhaps some of the main contemporary books provide visibility on the topic.

Three of the most well-known contemporary academic books in the field of sexualities and gender in sport in western societies are the: *LGBT Athletes in the Sports Media*, edited by Magrath (2019); *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Hargreaves & Anderson (2014); and *Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in Sport: Queer*

Inquiries, edited by Krane (2019). However, the second of these books failed to include a segment explicitly on bisexuality (or based on those with multiple gender attractions more broadly) in sport, despite including sections on 'Homosexuality: issues and challenges' and 'Questioning and transgressing sex.' The lack of acknowledgment, representation and visibility of bisexuality in the book is extremely problematic especially considering it is a high-profile and ostensibly expansive book in the field of sexualities and gender in sport and reaches global audiences. Contrastingly, the other more contemporary edited books each include a chapter exclusively on the topic of bisexuality and sport. This includes Barak (2019) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019). As the work of Barak (2019) is not research based, reference to her work is demonstrated when relevant. In regard to the work of Ogilvie & McCormack (2019), this is examined within the subcategory 'Athletes, fans, bisexuality and the media.' Though the work of Barak (2019) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) gives some visibility and representation of bisexuality in the field of sexualities and sport literature, further work is necessary. By doing so, this will enable work involving those with multiple gender attractions to become a more prominent area in the field where further knowledge and understanding can be acquired.

2.2.1 Athletes, fans, bisexuality and the media

The impact of the media can affect those who are bisexual in sport, including fans, athletes and recreational sports participants, as can seeing athletes (commonly elite athletes) disclosing they have multiple gender attractions in the media. Therefore, an examination of such athletes in academic literature is essential to explore. This element of the chapter first examines current research based on athletes with multiple gender attractions publicly disclosing their sexual orientation and the media's response, followed by academic work based on the experiences of bisexual fans.

A number of male athletes have openly expressed they identify as bisexual to the public within their careers. These have received a diverse range of media attention. These include "Orlando Jordan, a former US professional wrestler, in 2010 (Zeigler, 2010); Jack Woolley, an Irish taekwondo athlete, in 2016 (Kelleher, 2020); and Nile Clark, a US National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) tennis player, in 2017 (Barak, 2019; Hall, 2017)" (House et al., 2022, p.1305). While these athletes received

some online media attention based on their sexual orientation, the coverage on each athlete is minimal. Since the start of 2020, "Zach Sullivan, a British professional ice hockey player (Parsons, 2020); Levi Davis, a British professional rugby union player (Reimer, 2020); and Luke Strong, a British professional trampoline gymnast (Padgett, 2020), have all publicly come out as bisexual" (House et al., 2022, p.1306). Despite Davis, Strong and Sullivan attracting more online media attention in comparison to Clark, Jordan and Woolley, Tom Daley (British diver) drew substantial media (print and online) and public attention when he suggested publicly that he had multiple gender attractions. Magrath et al. (2017) examined the British print media's responses to Daley's 'coming out' announcement in their research.

Daley, who has won three World Championships and one Olympic gold medal, posted a YouTube video in 2013 where he expressed having multiple gender attractions. This attracted considerable media coverage. In the YouTube video, he discussed being in a relationship with a man and then after implied he had multiple gender attractions by saying, "Of course I still fancy girls" (Daley, 2013, 3:05). At the time, he did not publicly use a sexual identity label in regard to his sexual orientation (Magrath et al., 2017). He may not have wanted to be associated with a sexual identity label or he may have preferred to use a different sexual identity relating to having multiple gender attractions other than bisexual but did not want to share such information with the public.

According to Magrath et al. (2017, p.300), Daley was the "highest profile male athlete" to publicly reveal he had multiple gender attractions. Whilst Daley received forms of discrimination through social media posts, he also received huge amounts of support within the media (print and online). However, although such attention was commonly supportive and positive, many people (the public and journalists) misrecognised his sexual orientation: a core finding in the work of Magrath et al. (2017). By Daley expressing multiple gender attractions, some would suggest he implied he was bisexual. However, numerous journalists used expressions such as Daley is in a 'gay relationship' (see, e.g., CNN, 2013), and continued to mislabel him as homosexual (Hodgson, 2013; Magrath et al., 2017).

Specifically, Magrath et al. (2017, p.310) stated "only four of the 43 print media articles explicitly referred to bisexuality." As acknowledged by Magrath et al. (2017),

this is an example of bisexual erasure, where individuals are allocated into being either straight or gay, and bisexuality is invisible. Due to the large volume of media attention, which was gained through Daley's disclosure, the impact of bisexual erasure is extremely harmful for those with multiple gender attractions. This is because it implies to the public that one is either gay or straight, and multiple gender attractions are not real or not real enough. This preserves the inaccurate myth that bisexuality is not a legitimate sexual orientation, thus influencing biphobia in society. A criticism of the work of Magrath et al. (2017) is the research only involved analysing print articles rather than print *and* online articles. Therefore, to narrowly focus on only print media does not provide a holistic approach regarding the media's responses to Daley's 'coming out' announcement because the influence of online articles could have influenced such findings. It must be noted that Daley later came out (five months after the release of the YouTube video) as gay (Magrath et al., 2017). Nonetheless, Daley is one of two athletes whose disclosure of multiple gender attractions has been examined in research. The other male athlete is Connor Mertens.

The NCAA Division Three American football player at the time, Connor Mertens, came out publicly as bisexual in January 2014 (Billings & Moscowitz, 2018), just under two months after Daley publicly implied he had multiple gender attractions (see, e.g., Zeigler, 2014). Mertens received considerably less coverage than Daley, where Ogilvie & McCormack (2019, p.199) considered this outcome to be because Daley was already a "star in the UK." This relates to Daley's success in the Olympic Games and World Championships and significant television presence in the UK. Nevertheless, by Mertens coming out as bisexual, it made him the first NCAA American football player to publicly announce a non-heterosexual identity whilst still competing in American football (Billings & Moscowitz, 2018; Ogilvie & McCormack, 2019).

In 2019, Ogilvie & McCormack completed a content analysis of online articles written about Mertens from the day he disclosed being bisexual (January 2014) until June 2018 (see, Ogilvie & McCormack, 2019). The authors found the media's responses to Mertens disclosing his sexual orientation publicly was generally supportive. However, they also found there was evidence of the media *downplaying* Mertens' bisexuality. Ogilvie & McCormack (2019, p.201) described downplaying as, "a lack of mainstream, colloquial language to refer to bisexuality." Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) specifically found only 6 of the 13 articles mentioned Mertens' bisexuality in

the headline, whilst the other articles said Mertens 'came out' but failed to specify that Mertens came out as bisexual. Therefore, when comparing the work of Magrath et al. (2017) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019), bisexual erasure was frequently found in the case of Daley, but bisexual downplaying was found in regard to Mertens.

According to House et al. (2022, p.1307), "while bisexual downplaying is not seen to be as harmful as bisexual erasure, the impact is still damaging for those who are bisexual as it can undermine their identity." It seems competing at different sporting levels affected how the athletes' multiple gender attractions were portrayed in media articles, and by whom, despite it being within a similar time frame where both athletes disclosed their sexual orientation to the public. Furthermore, according to Ogilvie & McCormack (2019), another crucial part in understanding the differences in research findings regarding Daley and Mertens and the media, is likely because Mertens explicitly self-identified as bisexual whereas Daley did not use a sexual identity label for himself. The work of Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) provided evidence that the media responses to an athlete coming out regarding having multiple gender attractions in a similar time frame, does not equate to the same type of responses occurring. However, the authors did not examine or even mention the impact of where the online articles were written (e.g., UK, US etc). Consequently, where the articles were written and by whom could have influenced the degree of downplaying or erasure found.

In a different bisexual specific study, Magrath (2022) examined the experiences of English bisexual football fans by conducting 25 semi-structured interviews, where he found the majority of the fans interviewed viewed the stadium environment as inclusive or more inclusive than at an earlier stage in their lives. Some of the participants thought this was due to a shift in attitudes which is now more positive and accepting of LGBT people in such environments. Magrath (2022) also found the participants experienced hearing less (commonly no) anti-LGBT chanting in the stadium in recent times. Furthermore, almost half of the participants identified the growth of LGBT football fan groups, which contributed to a more positive and inclusive environment when in football stadiums.

Magrath (2022) also examined how social media played a part in these fans' experiences. Half of the participants discussed how social media positively influenced the inclusion of LGBT fans due to the players or clubs themselves making social media

posts supporting the LGBT fan groups or the LGBT community more generally. However, all of the participants said anti-LGBT discrimination was more prevalent by other football fans on social media than in football stadiums. So, whilst the football stadiums were deemed inclusive by most of the participants, social media was mostly not. Magrath's (2022) study addresses a research gap based on exploring the experiences of bisexual fans: in this case, football fans. However, none of the findings related to the fans specifically being *bisexual*. The findings only relate to anti-LGBT discrimination as opposed to bisexual discrimination. This is no surprise seeing as bisexual erasure still exists in the UK (see, e.g., Hayfield et al., 2018; Marcus, 2018; Morgenroth et al., 2022).

Therefore, with the erasure of bisexuality which is influenced by the homo– heterosexual binary, the topic of bisexuality is unlikely to be present or considered in some contexts. Consequently, it is important not to assume the lack of bisexual discrimination found in Magrath's research is due to people having bisexual inclusive attitudes because bisexuality as a topic may not be raised or even thought of due to bisexual erasure. Magrath (2022) allowed for bisexual football fans to have a voice in academic work. Despite such research being the first to crucially enable this, the project did not determine all avenues regarding why and how UK football stadiums were inclusive spaces for bisexual fans. Knowing *why* and *how* the environment is becoming more inclusive is essential to examine. This is because actions and strategies could be implemented in different contexts in UK culture with the hope of improving inclusion for bisexual and LGBTQ+ people more broadly in other spheres in society.

2.2.2 Experiences and understandings of bisexuality in grassroots sport

This section concentrates on participants' experiences and/or understandings of bisexuality in grassroots sport. The participants in these studies are non-elite sports participants. Consequently, the research in this aspect of the chapter explores the participants' everyday non-elite experiences in sport in comparison to elite athletes and their disclosure event to the media. The three key findings from relevant research are: 1) the homo– heterosexual binary, 2) the silencing of bisexuality, and 3) bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation. Please note, the homo– heterosexual binary and silencing of bisexuality interlink within this section, therefore both fall under one subcategory rather than two separate subcategories.

The homo– heterosexual binary and silencing of bisexuality

The work of Maddocks (2013) took place in the UK where she conducted 13 semi-structured interviews: 12 of these involved interviewing male and female sports participants and one involved interviewing a Sport Equalities Manager. The study included participants with different sexual orientations, where the focus was placed on homophobia and biphobia in sport. Maddocks found six of the seven female footballers described witnessing or experiencing female football players being pressured to choose their sexual orientation by their teammates based on the homo– heterosexual binary. Consequently, the participants who described such experiences did not think being bisexual or sexually fluid fitted within the dominant culture of the sports clubs. These actions, therefore, perpetuated the homo– heterosexual binary in sport contexts.

The reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary was also identified in other sport studies. Despite not using the terms binary or dichotomy, Xiang et al. (2023) found among the four participants in their study, bisexual was an invalid identity and one had to either be gay or straight within sport contexts in China. Rather than any verbal pressure as found by Maddocks (2013), the binary occurred due to a non-verbal expectation found in the clubs. The reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary was also acknowledged by Ravel & Rail (2008), where the authors analysed the narratives of 14 non-heterosexual sportswomen in Quebec (Canada). However, instead of being directly questioned and/or influenced by other teammates as found in the work of Maddocks (2013), those who identified as bisexual or did not label their sexual orientation, perceived the sporting environments as gay. Consequently, the participants silenced their sexual orientation differences and passed as lesbians. This was similarly found in the study by Xiang et al. (2023), as three of the participants within their study said it was easier to be seen as a lesbian. They therefore passed as a lesbian and did not talk about being bisexual. Consequently, this is another example of how bisexual people have been silenced in the context of sport.

These projects demonstrate how the influence of sports contexts can reinforce the homo– heterosexual binary and as a consequence silence one's own bisexuality. Ravel & Rail (2008) mentioned how the participants in their study who passed as lesbians could have destabilised the gay normativity in their club but instead contributed to its perpetuation by passing as gay. However, the lack of participants' agency must be

considered as arguably the participants were prohibited from contesting the binary as opposed to having an opportunity to challenge the binary and deciding not to. Nonetheless, the work of Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023) confirms an interconnectedness between the homo– heterosexual binary and the silencing of bisexuality can exist in sporting contexts.

Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023) were not the only scholars to have acknowledged the silencing of bisexuality in sport. Likewise, Maddocks (2013) found two self-identified bisexual men in her study persisted in staying silent regarding their sexual orientation because of the impact of their sport club environments. After several attempts to come out as bisexual in his sports club, one participant believed his teammates on an LGBT football team did not perceive bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation. Consequently, it led to him staying in the bisexual closet. In a powerful statement, Maddocks (2013, p.80) said, "Tom's bisexual identity is sayable, but not necessarily hear-able, within his LGBT club culture." The other participant, a male body builder, stayed silent about his bisexuality because of the frequent homophobic language and beliefs which were constantly presented in the body building environments which he was involved in.

Caudwell (2007) examined sexual identities and relationships found in a lesbian identified football club in Britain. She found there was silencing surrounding bisexuality and a form of invisibility despite there being self-identified bisexual players on the team. Specifically, Caudwell (2007, p.193) said the dominance of lesbians on the team had seemingly "rendered bisexuality invisible." Similarly, Drury (2011) conducted research exploring the use of sexuality and gender based discourse within a lesbian identified football team. Drury found the subject of bisexuality was only sometimes acceptable depending specifically on the context, but overall, the topic stayed predominantly unspoken. In the context of lesbian sports teams, Drury (2011, p.433) argued the silence surrounding bisexuality, due to the absence of heterosexual women, allowed homosexuality to uphold a "privileged discursive position." This, consequently, resulted in the silencing of bisexuality.

However, now in UK society, exclusively lesbian identified sports clubs are rare and instead more sports clubs are titled as LGBT sports clubs. Perhaps being specifically labelled as a lesbian sports club enabled the silencing of bisexuality to occur in

comparison to if the club was advertised as an LGBT sports club. Even though Caudwell (2007), Drury (2011), Maddocks (2013) and Ravel & Rail (2008) provided a valuable foundation surrounding the homo– heterosexual binary and the silencing of bisexuality, their findings may not align with research now in 2023. Furthermore, although the work of Xiang et al. (2023) is contemporary, due to the research being conducted in China it cannot provide an understanding of bisexuality and sport in UK society, or even more broadly within western societies due to cultural differences. In contrast to the reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary and silencing of bisexuality in sport research, is inclusive attitudes surrounding bisexuality.

Inclusive attitudes among sports participants

There has been a sizable body of research in the last ten years which has found comparable levels of inclusivity when examining sport and sexuality (see, e.g., Adams, 2011; Cunningham & Nite, 2020; Magrath et al., 2015). Yet, these studies either had a principal focus on exploring homosexuality and sport or included homosexuality and bisexuality as one group. It is hoped that if inclusivity is becoming more prominent for homosexual people who participate in sport in western societies, that such inclusivity also occurs for those with multiple gender attractions. However, there is yet to be evidence to confirm this. Therefore, due to the lack of research centralising people with multiple gender attractions who participate in sport within the last decade, this assumption cannot be made. Nonetheless, in 2011, Anderson & Adams proposed their research provided evidence of straight male sports participants having inclusive attitudes toward bisexuality.

Anderson & Adams (2011) conducted participant observations and interviewed 60 male football (soccer) players from three different universities in the US to analyse the participants' perspectives on bisexuality. Anderson & Adams (2011) found most of the athletes considered bisexuality as a legitimate sexual identity. Moreover, 48 of the participants acknowledged some aspects of bisexuality within themselves, though none self-identified as bisexual and only a minority of the participants had been involved in sexual practices with other men.

University settings, in western societies, are commonly associated with progressive LGB attitudes – even in the era of 2011. Therefore, displaying discriminatory attitudes or practices against those who are LGB or simply not demonstrating positive attitudes

regarding the LGB community was, and still is, likely to be disapproved of in university contexts. Consequently, during the interviews, the participants may have held discriminatory or less positive opinions in regard to bisexuality but gave inclusive replies to the questions being asked, as they did not want to be seen as discriminatory or going against the norm of the university culture. If this was the case, this would have been an example of social desirability bias (Groves et al., 2009). This is deemed likely to have occurred as Anderson at the time was (and still is) a well-established openly homosexual researcher who mostly conducted research on sexualities and sport prior to the 2011 study being conducted. Though Anderson & Adams (2011) included the possibility of social desirability bias occurring in their research, their attempt to avoid this bias was problematic. They incorporated conversations in their observations in an attempt to eliminate social desirability bias. However, as the observations were only over ten days, it is likely they were still seen as researchers by the participants and consequently, biased conversations would have likely taken place within the observations.

Ghaziani (2014) coined the term 'performative progressiveness.' This means that despite straight people displaying inclusive and supportive attitudes towards homosexuals/homosexuality, they do not demonstrate inclusive practices in their daily lives. In this case, in the work of Anderson & Adams (2011), the participants in their study may have demonstrated performative progressiveness but instead of it being centred surrounding homosexual communities, it was instead focused on bisexuality. Thus, while the participants in Anderson & Adams' (2011) study may have had inclusive attitudes surrounding bisexuality, the study does not provide evidence such attitudes led to inclusive practices for bisexual people when participating in sport.

2.3 Concluding thoughts

The history surrounding studying bisexuality allowed for the recognition of the term 'bisexual'. However, the focus on pathologically classifying bisexuality was problematic and to continue doing so is unnecessary. Bisexuality is difficult to define due to the variations of meaning which is associated with the term. Therefore, scholars must be clear about their interpretation of the word. Through analysing the challenges and limitations found with using the term bisexual, for me as a researcher, importance

should be placed on how participants self-identify. This could include a range of identities who experience multiple gender attractions including but not limited to queer or pansexual. Prioritising self-identity definitions in research allows the participants to be self-expressive and have ownership and power over their own identity. Consequently, leading into conducting my research, one question used centres on how the participant self-identifies in relation to their sexual orientation.

Core concepts surrounding the study of bisexuality which were examined included: binaries (commonly the homo– heterosexual binary), passing and privilege, biphobia (especially bisexual erasure), double discrimination, disclosure and outness, and inclusion. Three conceptual frameworks were examined and are useful tools when understanding and analysing particular concepts (bisexual erasure, disclosure and outness, and inclusion). These included the Disclosure Processes Model by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) (disclosure and outness), The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure by Yoshino (20000 (bisexual erasure), and the Action-effect Role Model by de Queiroz et al. (2021) (inclusion). As the research has demonstrated that disclosure and outness is a common theme found among those who are sexual minorities, a question surrounding disclosure and outness is incorporated into my research.

The existence of binaries and biphobia are not new concepts currently influencing the lives of those who are bisexual or have multiple gender attractions. The influence of binaries and biphobia has been present, at least in academic research since the start of the twenty-first century. Binaries cannot be examined singularly and through the literature review, it became clear that binary based thinking is prominent across most of the key concepts explored. Consequently, binaries through a conceptual lens must be incorporated in my research.

The fact that such concepts still exist and influence the lives of those with multiple gender attractions now in 2023, demonstrates not enough has been done to challenge binary based thinking surrounding bisexuality and biphobia in western societies. We cannot allow another twenty years of this outcome, therefore more must be done to challenge and consequently eliminate the homo– heterosexual binary and biphobia. As research demonstrates binaries and biphobia in western societies are still prominent, an open-ended question based on the participants' experiences in sport is beneficial to incorporate in my study. I have also incorporated further prompts after

this open-ended question is asked which surround the core concepts of this literature review, if needed.

This chapter established there is a limited amount of research based on those with multiple gender attractions and sport. Of such research, Magrath (2022) examined the experiences of bisexual football fans in the UK whilst two other studies (see, Magrath et al., 2017; Ogilvie & McCormack, 2019) focused on the impact of athletes in the media publicly coming out as bisexual or implying they have multiple gender attractions. Bisexual erasure (Tom Daley) and the downplaying of one's bisexuality (Connor Mertens) by the media were found in the studies. Sadly, it seems such research surrounding elite female athletes with multiple gender attractions does not yet exist. Therefore, the importance of examining the media responses to female athletes with multiple gender attractions is stressed. Furthermore, there is a need to examine the media's responses to athletes who publicly self-identify using different sexual identities relevant to having multiple gender attractions other than the bisexual label for comparing and contrasting purposes. As athletes with multiple gender attractions may influence women with multiple gender attractions in grassroots sport, a question surrounding the topic is applied in my research.

Academics such as Caudwell (2007), Drury (2011), Maddocks (2013) and Ravel & Rail (2008) provided valuable groundwork into the experiences and understandings of bisexuality and sport. Such studies found the homo– heterosexual binary and the silencing of bisexuality existed. However, as such research is aging, it is unclear whether such outcomes still exist in sports contexts or if shifts have occurred. As such, specific questions surrounding the work of these academics are presented in my research. Contemporary research by Xiang et al. (2023) also found the influence of the homo– heterosexual binary and silencing of bisexuality occurred in their study. However, the study took place in China. Therefore, as the UK and China have vastly different cultures, it is still unclear if the reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary and the silencing of bisexuality can still exist in UK sporting environments.

Based on their research findings, Anderson & Adams (2011) suggested bisexuality was seen as a legitimate sexual orientation and inclusive attitudes toward bisexuality were shown by heterosexual men in sport. With the increase of research within the last five years demonstrating inclusivity for those who are gay in sport, it is hoped bisexual

people also experience inclusivity based on their sexual orientation in sport. However, there is yet to be contemporary research which confirms or denies this. As such, a prompt is incorporated in my interview guide based on inclusion.

When comparing the concepts within the study of bisexuality and the main themes within the research involving bisexuality and sport, there were shared similarities. The homo– heterosexual binary and bisexual erasure were strongly present in both sections. Although not as strongly represented in research in comparison to the homo– heterosexual binary and bisexual erasure, both aspects of the literature review (the study of bisexuality and bisexuality and sport) also included the concept of inclusion. Perhaps this outcome demonstrates that although inclusion can exist for those who have multiple gender attractions, the homo– heterosexual binary and bisexual erasure is dominant within their lived experiences. Furthermore, perhaps this outcome also suggests what exists in society more broadly can filter into the subcultures in society, in this case in sport.

To conclude chapter two, it is evident there is currently no contemporary UK research with an explicit focus on the everyday lived experiences of women with multiple gender attractions in sport, which specifically examines the participants' lived experiences through binaries as a conceptual lens. By conducting a literature review, key concepts were examined which need to be explored in my research. The key concepts from the literature review are binaries, sexual identities and labels, bisexual erasure, double discrimination, disclosure and outness, and inclusion. Consequently, my research is needed not only to explore and fill a research gap and contribute original research to relevant fields in academia, but to also prioritise the voices of women who have multiple gender attractions in sport: voices which are continually overlooked but voices which need to be heard.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE:
METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

"Nothing has such power to broaden the mind as the ability to investigate systematically and truly all that comes under thy observation in life."

Marcus Aurelius

(Roman Emperor and Stoic Philosopher)

The purpose of this chapter is to justify the methodology and methods used in this study. As the philosophical stance of the researcher affects the methodological choices one selects when undertaking research (Blaikie, 2007; Creswell, 2013), these choices must be made clear and critically reviewed. The two main areas discussed in this chapter are: 1) research philosophy and 2) research methods and processes. The first section addresses my philosophical background in relation to this study, including the topics of ontology, epistemology and paradigm, and qualitative versus quantitative research. The second section defends the decisions made regarding the use of research methods for this study. The topics within the second section include interviews, sample, recruiting participants, research ethics and safety and thematic analysis. I refer to my audit trail in regard to my data analysis in the appendices throughout. Both sections provide clear definitions of the relevant terms, trends and shifts in bisexuality studies and in the field of sexualities and sport, and my decisions and justifications made throughout this research project.

3.1 Research philosophy

Although the terms 'methods' and 'methodology' are usually closely linked, the terms differ (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012). Methods are techniques or research tools which are used in research to generate data (Crotty, 1998). Conversely, methodology is the knowledge and philosophical justification of the use of the specific methods in the research (Clough & Nutbrown, 2012; Creswell, 2013). It is acknowledged by Killam (2013) both the methodology and method(s) which are used by researchers are driven by their ontological and epistemological positioning. According to Killam (2013, pp. 7 – 8), ontology "refers to the researcher's beliefs about the nature of reality" and epistemology, which is determined by ontological beliefs, "examines the relationship

between knowledge and the researcher during discovery." Thus, ontology is the study of reality, whilst epistemology is the study of knowledge which is dependent on what is perceived as reality (Creswell, 2013).

3.1.1 Ontology, epistemology and paradigm

I hold a relativist ontological positioning, interpretivist standpoint, and have adopted a subjectivist epistemological positioning in relation to my research. My knowledge and justifications surrounding the area are found below. The two main ontological positions which are commonly discussed and debated in academic work are realism and relativism (Blaikie, 2007; Crotty, 1998). Realists believe what is seen is what exists independently of the human mind (Blaikie, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Furthermore, realists believe reality is fixed, objective, and therefore, measurable (Killam, 2013). Conversely, relativism is the belief that there are many realities (Crotty, 1998) which depends on the perspective one has of the world (Costa, 2015). Therefore, relativists believe by humans being in the world and the meaning they bring by being in the world (for example, through relationships and language) reality can be subjective, dynamic and contextual (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

As previously acknowledged, epistemology can be defined as the theory of knowledge (Hasan, 2017), and refers to the relationship the researcher has with the project regarding one's beliefs relating to knowledge (Klenke, 2016). In other words, epistemology is what counts as knowledge to the researcher and consequently what knowledge is valued by the researcher. The two main epistemological positions are objectivism and subjectivism (Blaikie, 2007; Crotty, 1998). Those who hold an objectivist epistemological perspective believe knowledge emerges from the object which is being researched and only one truth can be discovered (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, objectivists suggest the researcher cannot and should not influence the object being studied (Krauss, 2005). In contrast, subjectivists suggest knowledge is a product of the mind, and, thus, knowledge is influenced by human perceptions and beliefs where multiple truths may exist (Crotty, 1998).

My epistemological perspective as a subjectivist means most of my literature review involved conceptual based literature as well as research which was qualitative based and therefore, such studies may have had many truths and was influenced by human perceptions. However, key research from historical studies with a focus on

(bi)sexuality was commonly objective but cannot be ignored due to its existence and influence at the time of being published. Therefore, on occasions, some objective studies which were quantitative based are included in my literature review, but these were in the minority. However, due to quantitative research and its objective nature, I was commonly critical of such studies as context and language could have played a part of the outcomes of the research, yet this was not acknowledged or considered by the scholars. My epistemological perspective as a subjectivist also affected my research results. By focusing on the lived experiences of people, not only is what is discussed in the interviews and how I have created my findings subjective, but equally the experiences themselves are subjective to that specific individual. As a result, if the same data from this research was analysed by another scholar, there could be at least some differences in the interpretation and themes developed. Therefore, highlighted that multiple realities may exist.

Closely linked to epistemology, according to Killam (2013) a paradigm is a set of beliefs or a vision one has of the world. By understanding the researcher's relationship with the world, and therefore, their beliefs, the actions of a researcher can be understood (Crotty, 1998). According to Collins (2010), there is a paradigm debate between positivism and interpretivism. A positivist approach suggests the researcher is objective and 'value-free' (Fine et al., 2000), which is defined as the researcher's ability to prevent all personal values from affecting the research process (Ritzer, 2018), and one truth can only be established with empirical evidence (Krauss, 2005). Positivist researchers usually engage in quantitative research to seek generalisability and test hypotheses by measurements (Kasi, 2009; Neuman, 1997). According to Kasi (2009), a positivist researcher sees the world as fixable, provable and definable. Conversely, interpretivism challenges positivist assumptions where it is believed knowledge attained is socially constructed in comparison to being objectively determined (Bartmanski, 2018). Interpretivism cannot be value-free as the researcher is involved in the process of the research and cannot be fully detached (Kasi, 2009; O'Donoghue, 2018). According to Kasi (2009), interpretivists contribute more to meaning rather than testing hypotheses. Consequently, interpretivists usually engage in qualitative research which is based on meaning and understanding commonly of the lived experiences of humans (Crotty, 1998).

Historically, in bisexuality studies key researchers were heavily driven by attempting to measure and quantify bisexuality, where it was imperative that the researcher did not influence the findings. This is evidenced in The Kinsey Scale (see, Kinsey et al., 1948), The Klein Sexual Orientation Grid (see, Klein, 1978), and The Erotic Response and Orientation Scale (see, Storms, 1980), where the researchers measured individuals' sexuality through the use of scales and grids. Consequently, between 1940 and 1990, it was a common trend in studies surrounding bisexuality that researchers had an objective epistemological position and a positivist approach as minority sexualities were seen as pathological. However, a shift emerged approximately around the start of the millennium, where politically minority sexualities were more commonly being celebrated and were not seen as pathological.

Currently, more researchers within the field of bisexuality prioritise holding a subjective positioning and acknowledge their research cannot be value-free. This includes Daly et al. (2018), Levy & Harr (2018) and Maliepaard (2017). Therefore, historically, all importance was placed on proving and measuring sexuality. Although there are still researchers with a range of epistemological and paradigm beliefs in the field, over the last twenty-years there is more importance placed on using qualitative approaches to investigate the meaning and understanding of the lives of people with multiple gender attractions in their own words and on their own terms. This acts as a political movement in order to empower and represent individuals from minority groups.

The topic of sexualities and sport started to become an influential topic in the social sciences around 1990, including the work of key academics Connell (1990), Messner (1990) and Pronger (1990). Since then, research has continued to grow in the area. Unsurprisingly, there has been a variety of different epistemological and paradigm positionings in the field. However, currently a significant amount of academics in the field tend to follow a subjectivist epistemological positioning and interpretivist approach. This includes the work of Anderson (2014), Anderson & Bullingham (2015) and Hamdi et al. (2017). Alternatively, there has also been research in the field where the researcher has clearly established an objectivist epistemological positioning and positivist approach. This includes the work of Bianchi et al. (2017), Roper & Halloran (2007) and Zamboni et al. (2008). Specifically, in relation to bisexuality and sport research, Magrath et al. (2017, p.306) said their approach "relies upon subjective

interpretation." Therefore, it can strongly be assumed a subjective and interpretivist positioning occurred.

Through researching the literature surrounding ontology, epistemology and paradigm in relation to studies based on bisexuality and sexuality in sport, the following conclusions have been made after careful consideration. My beliefs surrounding reality for this research project are as follows: reality is to experience and then interpret subjective knowledge, and findings regarding this research cannot be objective and measurable. Therefore, in relation to this research project, relativism is the ontological positioning which I hold. In addition, I believe a researcher cannot be fully detached from the research nor should seek to, and consequently I hold an interpretivist standpoint. Furthermore, as I believe knowledge is influenced by human perceptions and beliefs and multiple realities exist, I have adopted a subjectivist epistemological positioning in relation to this research project. Moreover, I believe it is imperative that knowledge must be uncovered through the participants' experiences and recollections, allowing a marginalised societal group to have a voice and to represent their experiences. Put simply, I cannot conduct research on the subject of women with multiple gender attractions without their words.

3.1.2 Qualitative versus quantitative

Through underpinning my ontology, epistemology and paradigm positioning, an understanding regarding the research approach is now acknowledged. I have used a qualitative approach to conduct my research, where the justifications of my decision can be found below. Quantitative researchers tend to seek understanding by being independent to the phenomenon being studied and seek generalisations from the conclusions discovered (Lapan et al., 2012). Consequently, quantitative data is established through a numerical form (Leavy, 2017; Punch, 2005). Qualitative researchers place far less value on making conclusions which can be generalised but rather are interested in understanding how individuals interpret their experiences and the meaning behind these experiences (Leavy, 2017). Therefore, whilst quantitative researchers attempt to discover what works 'best' or what variable is most suited to create a certain result, qualitative researchers strive to delve into human interactions and the meanings of experiences for the individuals involved (Lapan et al., 2012). Therefore, qualitative research is non-numerical based (Leavy, 2017). In addition,

usually due to the time constraints on qualitative researchers, the sample sizes are smaller in comparison to quantitative research samples (Punch, 2005). For this study, it was extremely clear using a qualitative approach was the only suitable approach for my research. This is because a qualitative approach allows for the best opportunity to examine people's lived experiences, give the participants a voice to express the complexities of such lived experiences, and provides an opportunity for the participants to share what they believe to be relevant to the topic being explored.

Historically, by measuring sexuality through the use of scales and grids, it is clear conducting quantitative research based on bisexuality was a popular trend between 1940 – 1990 (see, e.g., Kinsey et al., 1948; Klein, 1978; Storms, 1980). Although quantitative research is still recognised in relation to bisexuality studies, (see, e.g., Flanders et al., 2019; Katz-Wise et al., 2019), approximately at the start of the twenty-first century there was a shift towards qualitative research being conducted in the field, potentially influenced by the belief that sexuality should not be measured. Key publications in this shift included the work of Berenson (2001), Borver et al. (2001) and Dworkin (2000). Furthermore, since the start of the twenty-first century researchers conducting qualitative research in the field has continued to grow, as evidenced by the work of Daly et al. (2018), Hayfield et al. (2014), Maliepaard (2017) and numerous other scholars. Although bisexuality studies consist of a mixture of quantitative and qualitative research, the work of Hayfield et al. (2014) inspired me as their research project provided opportunities for an in-depth analysis of people's lived experiences.

When researching key journals which include the publication on topics surrounding sexualities and sport, including the *British Journal of Sociology, International Review for the Sociology of Sport, Journal of Gender Studies, Journal of Homosexuality* and *Sociology of Sport Journal*, it became apparent there was a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research based on the topic of sexualities and sport. However, the trend leans more towards qualitative methodology being used. Recently, whilst researchers such as Baiocco et al. (2020) and Pariera et al. (2021) conducted quantitative research in the field, others including Gaston & Dixon (2020), Halbrook et al. (2019) and Vilanova et al. (2018), have conducted qualitative research. Furthermore, research specifically in relation to bisexuality and sport by Maddocks (2013), Magrath et al. (2017) and Xiang et al. (2023) are qualitative based.

Maddocks' (2013) research particularly resonated with me as the use of qualitative research allowed for understanding from the participants based on their experiences, opinions and feelings, which created a greater insight into the subject being explored. This has also been recognised by methodology and methods academic Merriam (2009) as an advantage to conducting qualitative research. However, my research is based on the rich experiences of female sports participants with multiple gender attractions in sport instead of just a focus on experiences regarding homophobia and biphobia in sport. Nevertheless, both Maddocks and I have used a qualitative approach. Furthermore, qualitative research allows probing to occur where more in-depth data can be generated. An example of this occurred in the research by Jarvis (2015, p.293) where the participants were "probed to reflect on their masculinity and (hetero)sexuality since joining the gay sport clubs", which resulted in greater in-depth data being generated. Consequently, probing is also a clear advantage of conducting qualitative research if the desired outcome is to generate in-depth data. This is another core rationale of mine for using a qualitative approach.

The foremost disadvantage regarding conducting qualitative research is the findings cannot be generalised to the wider world and applied to a large population unlike most quantitative research (Merriam, 2009). However, the focus of this research is not to establish findings which can be generalised to the wider population but rather to generate in-depth rich data regarding the individuals' experiences. In addition, although my findings cannot be generalisable, as I am seeking patterns among the data collected, commonalities have been found. Specifically, this research enables the examination of women with multiple gender attractions and their sporting experiences in significant detail. As I do not wish to seek any form of worldwide generalisation from the research and do wish to gain an in-depth examination regarding individuals' experiences, the most suitable approach for this study is to conduct qualitative research. As my research philosophy has been established, the next section delves into the research methods and processes which I have used in my research.

3.2 Research methods and processes

It is essential to examine research methods prior to conducting research to ensure the most suitable method(s) is (are) selected based on what is being explored in the study.

Of equal importance is to analyse the research processes after they have taken place to establish the benefits and possible considerations to be noted for future research. This section examines topics surrounding the research methods and processes, which is divided into six subcategories. The section starts with a focus on the method, interviews and the sample. The latter aspects of the section then centres recruiting participants, research ethics and safety, and thematic analysis.

3.2.1 Method

The use of one-to-one interviews was concluded to be the most appropriate method for this study, although there are a variety of methods which can be used when conducting qualitative research, including observations, focus group discussions (Hennink et al., 2011), and written records (see, e.g., Daly et al., 2018). There are a variety to reasons why academics choose interviews as their research method, or main research method, in comparison to other qualitative based methods. For example, Bailey (2018) highlighted interviews allow for probing to take place, thus with the potential to explore a topic in more depth. Furthermore, Maddocks' (2013) main rationale for using interviews over questionnaires in her research is because it allowed for more spontaneity and flexibility. Though these arguments somewhat affected my decision to use interviews over other qualitative research methods, I have three main justifications based on using one-to-one interviews. These are: 1) I can investigate the topic in an in-depth manner which provides rich data, 2) interviews allow for a strong rapport to be built with the participants as only the researcher and the participant are present, and 3) interviews allow a greater possibility for the participant to openly discuss their experiences and feelings, especially as the topic may be sensitive for some.

Hartman (2013, p.39) explored "the ways bisexual identity is made visible outside of explicitly sexual behaviour, or outside the bedroom." She argued focus groups allowed interaction between participants, which she claimed produced a greater depth of information through discussion which one may not have thought of independently. However, in my study, there is a possibility that discussing one's own sexual orientation and the experiences surrounding it may be a sensitive topic for some, especially as some of the participants may not be 'out'. Consequently, the participant

may not feel comfortable and/or rarely contribute to the discussion if focus groups were to take place.

Therefore, I prioritise the participant's comfort and ensure the safest environment possible over potentially discussing topics which may not occur through one-to-one interviews. In addition, collecting in-depth data is at the core of this project, therefore with focus groups it seems probable the researcher may miss at least some individual experiences due to the group dynamics, especially as focus groups can be dominated by one or two individuals. Consequently, interviewing participants in a one-to-one scenario reduces the chance of an individual feeling uncomfortable and unable to contribute to the conversation as a result of being amongst a group, allows for a stronger opportunity for a rapport between the researcher and the participant to develop, and ensures in-depth data collection occurs from each of the participants. Therefore, the use of interviews is the appropriate method for my research.

3.2.2 Interviews

Originally, I used face-to-face interviews in my research as I wanted to build a strong rapport in order to make the participants feel at ease and as a consequence, increase the possibility of gaining in-depth data collection. During the last decade, the use of interviews has grown in popularity in the area of sexualities and sport and bisexuality studies. This is evidenced in the field of sexualities and sport as numerous academics (see, e.g., Halbrook et al., 2019; Maddocks, 2013; Xiang et al., 2023) have used interviews as a method in their research. Furthermore, this is also recognised in bisexuality studies, which includes the work of Daly et al. (2018), Francis (2017) and Hayfield et al. (2014). Although many scholars within my research area have used the method of interviews, it is not to say all interviews are conducted in the same way.

Face-to-face interviews is a popular type of interview in both bisexuality studies (see, e.g., Anderson et al., 2015; Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Hayfield et al., 2014), and in the field of sexualities and sport (see, e.g., Anderson, 2014; Anderson & Bullingham, 2015; Jarvis, 2015). In addition, specifically in relation to bisexuality and sport, Maddocks (2013) and Xiang et al. (2023) also conducted face-to-face interviews. For me, face-to-face interviews are the most effective method of interview, as a rapport is more likely to become established between the participant and interviewer. In agreement with Edwards & Holland (2013), face-to-face interviews allows the

participant to feel more at ease to freely discuss their life experiences in-depth. Additionally, as the interviewer is physically present, a variety of non-verbal communication cues can occur which can be a vital element of the interview. Such cues can play a part in understanding and examining the participants' responses and is one of the core reasons why I originally used face-to-face interviews.

For this study, a disadvantage of face-to-face interviews is the requirement for the researcher to travel to different areas of the UK, which unfortunately as a self-funded PhD candidate can lead to large financial outgoings. Room bookings are also usually required for the interviews to be conducted within. The financial implications are therefore higher than they would be compared to conducting interviews via other mediums such as video calls or telephone calls. However, I consider face-to-face interviews to be the most effective method of interview for this research, and the advantages therefore significantly outweigh the financial disadvantages.

Alternatively, Daly et al. (2018) predominately used telephone interviews within their research, with the justification that it avoids some social pressures and judgements based on one's physical appearance. Although telephone interviews were considered, building a strong rapport with the participant is crucial to generate the best and most in-depth data with the participants and this is believed to be most successful through physical presence. This was done by setting the tone for the interview; it was relaxed and similar to just having a 'chat'. Consequently, for me, building a strong rapport through face-to-face interviews holds far more significance than potentially avoiding social pressures and judgements of physical appearance.

The first eight interviews were conducted in a face-to-face manner, and the first interview took place on 8th March 2018. Unfortunately, Covid-19 arose and started heavily impacting the UK approximately around March 2020. Due to the pandemic, I had to adapt how I conducted my interviews due to the governmental policies and guidance at the time. Although this was not ideal, I concluded the best option given the circumstance of being unable to conduct face-to-face interviews was to conduct my interviews via video call using Microsoft Teams.

I specifically choose to conduct video call interviews as opposed to phone call interviews as having a video presence was the closest I could get to a physical presence. For example, the participants and I could see each other's facial expressions

and some body language, which helped towards ensuring a rapport was build. Therefore, conducting interviews through video calls is the strategy I used when Covid-19 occurred. After the first eight face-to-face interviews, the remaining 17 interviews were conducted via video call. The last interview took place on 12th August 2020. Before each interview, I ensured all participants there is 'no correct answer' before the interview took place and I simply wanted to hear about their own experiences and opinions. This was carried out to reduce as much social desirability bias as possible, although it is acknowledged this cannot be fully eliminated.

I approached each interview with an interview guide. The guide was created through a mixture of engaging with academic literature, predominately from bisexuality studies, and from a place of the unknown to seek understanding. I used a timeline of one's life as a structure of the interview. This allowed me to hear about their past and current experiences in relation to the topic. The predetermined questions were not required to be asked in a certain order. Usually, when the topic became relevant in the conversation, certain questions were asked. Though some predetermined questions were created, a range of other questions were also asked which were dependent on the content of the participants' responses in the moment. Further details, including the prompts on the interview guide can be found in Appendix D. For the first round of interviews, I had six predetermined questions; these were:

1) How do you identify in relation to your sexual orientation (in– and outside of sport)?
2) How open/'out' are you in relation to your sexual orientation (in– and outside of sport)?
3) How do you feel about your sexual orientation when at your previous or current sport organisation?
4) Please can you tell me about your experiences you've had in your sport organisation regarding your sexual orientation?
5) How, if at all, do bisexual elite sportspeople affect you?
6) Is there anything else that you would like to discuss regarding your experiences: in sport, your sexual orientation or your sexual orientation in sport, which could be relevant for this research?

Question one was built from being inspired by the literature based on multiple gender attractions and identities, which includes the work of Flanders et al. (2017) and Galupo (2018). Such literature demonstrated the term bisexual is not the only sexual identity label which can be used for an individual who has multiple gender attractions. Consequently, using or not using certain labels could result in differing experiences among those with multiple gender attractions. Question two and three were predominantly developed from a place of inquisitiveness to seek further understanding surrounding the participants' experiences of being open/'out' in sport and their feelings as a bi+ woman when in sport. However, the element surrounding outness and feelings within these questions were also somewhat influenced by the work of Maliepaard (2018).

Question four was created due to two factors. First, wanting to know of the experiences of bi+ women in sport was my core aim before even engaging with literature in the area. Therefore, this question was key in driving my research. Second, after I had examined the relevant literature, including but not limited, to Barker et al. (2012), Calvard et al. (2020), Hayfield et al. (2018) and Yoshino (2000), and key concepts became apparent (e.g., binaries, biphobia, passing and privilege, and inclusion), question four was needed to potentially explore such concepts in the participants' experiences. As a consequence, many of the concepts were used as prompts, if needed. I specifically did not use direct questions with all the participants based on the key concepts explored in the literature review as I wanted to find out if such concepts developed from their original reactive responses or not. By exploring research by Magrath et al. (2017) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019) in the literature review, I was inquisitive and wanted to examine how bi+ elite sports people may affect bi+ women in grassroots sport. Therefore, I created question five. Question six was created in order for the participants to discuss anything they felt was related to being bi+ in sport which was not yet discussed.

Before conducting the second round of interviews, I reviewed my interview guide. At this point in my study, I had developed further in-depth knowledge surrounding research projects which included those with multiple gender attractions in sport than when conducting my first round of interviews. Therefore, I added five more questions to the interview guide. These included:

7) Some research projects suggested women's sports teams and organisations can be viewed as a homosexual (gay) space. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?
8) In some research projects, it was found that those who had multiple gender attractions passed as gay and did not voice their sexual orientation differences in sporting environments. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?
9) A study found that some individuals who have multiple gender attractions felt pressure to 'choose' whether they were gay or straight in sporting environments. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?
10) How often is the topic of you being bi+ or the topic of multiple gender attractions more generally discussed in your sports organisation?
11) In a study, it was found out of 60 sport participants who identified as heterosexual, many of them viewed bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation. What are your experiences/thoughts, if any, regarding this?

Most of these questions were asked to examine the similarities or differences found among other research which included those with multiple gender attractions in sport. Furthermore, one of the questions was developed through analysing the preliminary findings in the first round of interviews. Question seven and eight were created predominately due to the work of Ravel & Rail (2008), whereby women's sport was seen as a gay space and consequently, bi+ women commonly passed as gay or straight. Consequently, by asking question seven and eight, I had the opportunity to examine whether these outcomes can still exist among the participants. Question nine was developed due to the outcome from the work of Maddocks (2013), where bi+ women in football were commonly explicitly pressured by others in the club to identify as either gay or straight. Therefore, I desired to see if this outcome also occurred for the participants, or some of the participants in my study.

Question ten was developed because after analysing the first round of interviews, it became very clear that the topic of one's bi+ identity was rarely mentioned in sport, and this needed further exploring. Question eleven was created due to the finding of Anderson & Adams (2011), which suggested bisexuality was seen as a legitimate sexual orientation by 60 male sports participants. Consequently, I wanted to analyse

the similarities or differences found among bi+ women in sport in relation to others seeing bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation in sport.

Although using a guide creates some form of structure, my interviews were mostly unstructured. This allowed for topical trajectory, where the participants were able to express themselves without being restricted by a fully regimented structure (Bernard, 2013). Furthermore, this allowed the opportunity for the discovery of new information or themes which I had not yet acknowledged. Additionally, this approach attempts to flatten out the power difference between the researcher and the participant to allow the participant's experiences to be heard in her own words. Furthermore, the use of an interview guide is advantageous as having key topics being discussed in all of the interviews is beneficial in relation to understanding, comparing and analysing the research data. Head & Milton (2014) and Murray & White (2017) also identified the use of a 'guide' or 'schedule' when conducting their interviews for similar purposes.

I mostly used open-ended questions as much as possible as it allowed for more in-depth discussions and the possibility of new discussion points, which I did not previously acknowledge. Some examples of open-ended questions from my research which I used included, "Can you please tell me about when you first started participating in sport?" and "How did it feel being a [insert sexual identity] woman in your particular sport?" However, although I used open-ended questions as much as possible, some academics do not do so. DeCapua (2017), who conducted research on the experiences of bisexual women in relation to bi-negativity in romantic relationships, predominately used closed questions in her research. Although the way DeCapua (2017) conducted the interviews was similar to the way I conducted my interviews (largely unstructured), the specific type of questions I used (usually open questions) differed to DeCapua. In her examples, DeCapua (2017, p.459) used closed questions and arguably loaded questions including, "Are you proud to tell people you are bisexual?" and "Has your current partner/did your last partner every judge you for being bisexual?" These closed questions would be less likely to gain rich in-depth data, which I desired. On the occasions where I did use closed questions, after the response, I would follow up with an open question such as, "Why do you think that is?" However, I started with open questions, where possible.

3.2.3 Sample

This aspect of the chapter is written in a chronological order so readers can gain a full understanding of the expectations of the sample at the beginning of the PhD, and the decisions made, followed by the sample which was recruited. At first, I set out to recruit bisexual people for my study. This was completed for a variety of reasons including the need to focus on the participants' experiences in their own words, to allow bisexual individuals in sport to have a voice, to make these voices heard in academia, and to try and improve the lives of these individuals to make the world a better place.

Originally, I wanted to recruit bisexual individuals who had participated in sport as I wanted to represent the broader range of bisexual people in my research. However, I soon discovered recruiting bisexual men and those with gender-diverse identities was difficult. None of the participants I recruited identified with a different gender other than male or female and this is believed to be mainly due to the small population of gender-diverse individuals in the UK. Unfortunately, only one bisexual man wanted to be a participant. There could be a range of reasons why this occurred, including the possibility of UK society not being accepting or as accepting of men being bisexual compared to women. Alternatively, perhaps my gender, as a woman, could have influenced men's decisions to not become participants. Regardless of the reasons, the population which I was successful in recruiting was bi+ women. As I did not want to misrepresent or fully delve into the gender differences which bisexual men and those of gender-diverse identities faced, I decided to only continue to recruit bisexual women.

Some academics who conducted interviews on the topic of bisexuality in their research recruited participants with a range of sexualities as opposed to just those who have multiple gender attractions, including Anderson (2014) and Maddocks (2013). However, it is more common now in bisexuality studies that academics only recruit self-identified bisexual participants with a focus on the participants' experiences. This is evidenced in the work of Daly et al. (2018), Hayfield et al. (2014) and Head & Milton (2014). Recruiting a range of sexualities and specifically only recruiting bisexual participants equally contribute to crucial research in the area of bisexuality studies. However, allowing a minority group to have a clear voice and representation in academic work is powerful.

Daly et al's. (2018) specific participant criteria used when recruiting participants included that they had to be a cisgender woman. Although it was not justified why this decision was made based on the participant's criteria, it is an understandable decision to make in order to be as specific as possible relating to the sample. However, I approached this project with an aim to research bisexual women and I strongly believe transgender women are women. It is understood that differences in relation to transgender women's identities may occur in comparison to cisgender women. However, I prioritised the inclusion of transgender women over the potential of differences and complexity in my findings. Therefore, the inclusion of transgender and cisgender women is identifiable in my research by stating on my recruitment poster (see, Appendix A), under the participant requirements, 'to be a woman (cisgender or transgender)'. Therefore, the inclusiveness of the study for transgender women was explicit. Despite my inclusiveness, I was unable to recruit any transgender women.

It was here where research surrounding the use of the term plurisexual as an umbrella term instead of bisexual was starting to be used more in academic literature (see, e.g., Flanders et al., 2019; Galupo, 2018). Whilst learning about the debates surrounding the use of non-monosexual, plurisexual, bisexual or bisexual+ (bi+) as an umbrella term to categorise those with multiple gender attractions, this made me consider who I recruited, why I decided to recruit them and what language to use in the recruitment process. Due to my inclusive philosophy and desire to not further sideline certain people with marginalised identities, any women who had multiple gender attractions (e.g., bisexual, non-labelling, omnisexual, pansexual, queer) could be a participant in my study, not just those who self-identify as bisexual. This ensured those who are marginalised in an already ostracised group, do not continue to get overlooked and instead had the opportunity to be involved in the study.

Despite the benefits of using the term plurisexual in academic writing due it its inclusive nature, I used the term 'bisexual+' on my recruitment poster with the hope to connect with potential participants by using appropriate language seeing as the audience was the general public. Bisexual+ (bi+) refers to those who have or have the potential to have multiple gender attractions and is more recognisable to the general public compared to plurisexual. Due to the terms such as plurisexual and non-monosexual being unlikely to be understood by the public, for the recruitment poster I used 'bisexual+' instead. Specifically, near the top of the recruitment poster, it reads:

‘Bisexual+ refers to individuals who are attracted to more than one gender. This includes, but is not limited to, those who identify as bisexual, pansexual or choose not to label themselves’. I specifically included this statement to ensure every person who read the recruitment poster understood the meaning behind the term ‘bisexual+’.

This sample was the most appropriate for my research in order to examine the lived experiences of women with multiple gender attractions, which was desired. Whilst looking into qualitative research which used interviews as a method when exclusively interviewing bisexual women (see, e.g., Castro & Carnassale, 2019; Daly et al., 2018; Hayfield et al., 2014), the number of interviews conducted varied between 10 and 20. Due to being unable to predict how many participants I would be able to recruit, I aimed to recruit anywhere between 10 and 20 participants to align with such research. However, unexpectedly, it became apparent I would be recruiting at the higher end of the prediction. At this point, I made a conscious decision to stop recruiting once I reached 25 participants.

The sample consists of 25 women with multiple gender attractions who live in the UK, are 18+ years old and who have either currently or previously participated in a sports setting. I specifically recruited 25 participants due to two reasons. Firstly, I predicted it would be difficult to recruit up to 12 participants, but this was not the case. Instead, all within two weeks of my second round of recruitment (in July 2020), 15 appropriate participants volunteered to be in the study. As there is little research based on those with multiple gender attractions and sport, and because my core purpose of the research is to give women with multiple gender attractions a voice within sport research, I had a moral duty to not turn anyone away who responded during that two-week period. There was only one person who emailed me at the end of August 2020 with an interest in being a participant, where I informed her the recruitment for the study had closed. Data saturation is acknowledged as when there are no new findings or insights from the data (McCormack et al., 2018). In this research, data saturation occurred after the examination of interview nineteen. However, because of the commitments made to the final six participants, it was essential to me to complete the remaining interviews.

It was important to me to include participants who may not currently participate in sport as well as those who do currently participant in sport because those who do not

currently participate in sport may have done so in the past. Although the results may not entirely be based on the lived experiences in the present society, historic experiences are equally as valuable as present experiences in my research as there may be links or changes between present and historical experiences, which have yet to be highlighted in academic work.

The participants' ages ranged from 19 – 62 years old. However, the majority of the participants were in their 20s and 30s. All of the participants were cisgender and either previously attended university or were currently attending university. Therefore, my sample is an educated one. Out of the participants, 23 were white and two were mixed race. Consequently, regarding race, it could be argued that the sample was not diverse enough. This is discussed further in chapter five. All of the sample participated in mainstream sport and not LGBTQ+ specific sport organisations. All of the sample apart from one participant (Chloe – semi-professional) had only participated in sport at a grassroots level. Chloe had participated in semi-professional football in her past and currently participates in grassroots football. The sample had a range of core sexual identities; these included: bisexual (18), pansexual (1), queer (4) and no label (2). The participants engaged in a range of sports. As it is essential for the reader to have background knowledge of each participant, I have created and included a 'Table of participants' which can be found below (see, Table 1). This highlights the main characteristics and important information of each participate, which clearly establishes the similarities and diversity of the sample.

Please be aware of the abbreviations in the table:

W = White, MR = Mixed race (specifics not specified)

UG = Completed an undergraduate degree, UG (C) = Currently completing an undergraduate degree

PG = Completed a postgraduate degree, PG (C) = Currently completing a postgraduate degree

Table 1: Table of participants:

Order of interviews	Date of interview	Pseudonym name	Brief overview of the participant	Age (at the time of interview)	Race	Main sexual identity	Highest education level	Sport(s) participated in	Sport participation (previous or current)
1	8/3/18	Grace	Grace was the first participant in the study. Despite not currently participating in sport, she drew upon her previous experiences when playing rugby, which provided a valued in-sight into her experiences as a bisexual woman in rugby.	24	W	Bisexual	PG	Rugby	Previous
2	15/3/18	Chloe	Chloe approached the interview with what seemed to be complete openness. She referred to her experiences in both semi-	23	MR	No label (Bisexual if	UG	Football	Current

			professional and grassroots football, and what commonalities she found as an individual with multiple gender attractions in such contexts.			*had* to choose)			
3	20/3/18	Summer	Summer had a background of enjoying watching ice hockey when she was younger. Once at university, she took up the opportunity to play ice hockey. She referred to her experiences of being an individual with multiple gender attractions in the sport and its effects.	19	W	No label (Bisexual if *had* to choose)	UG (C)	Ice hockey	Current
4	28/3/18	Laura	Laura discussed her experiences of being bisexual both in– and outside of pole dancing. She was a confident individual in relation to her own sexual orientation and was not afraid to challenge what she believed in.	26	W	Bisexual	PG	Pole dancing	Current
5	30/3/18	Kat	Kat was a more introverted person in comparison to other participants. However, she had a strong awareness of current problems and barriers which bisexual people can face both in– and outside of sport.	19	W	Bisexual	UG (C)	Football	Current

6	2/4/18	Alice A	Alice A was a very open individual. She delved deep into her experiences as a bisexual woman in sport and some issues she had faced outside of sport as well. She was kind enough to give over two hours of her time for the interview.	24	W	Bisexual	UG	Fencing	Current
7	4/4/18	Georgie	Georgie was very hospitable from the moment we met. As Georgie was 46 at the time of the interview, she had a wealth of experiences to share about her late teens and early twenties. As this was a different era to most of the participants, it was interesting to hear about the differences in experiences based on time.	46	W	Bisexual	UG	Football Tennis	Previous Current
8	11/4/18	Rachael	Rachael was a confident person who liked to use humour during the interview, when appropriate. Despite her confidence, she bravely shared some of her own insecurities surrounding her sexual orientation due to the influence of others in society.	27	W	Queer	PG (C)	Boxing Roller derby	Previous Current

9	17/4/20	Alice B	Alice B was very strong in her beliefs. Hearing her experiences as a bisexual woman throughout her lifetime was fascinating and intriguing.	62	W	Bisexual	PG	Power lifting Weightlifting	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
10	10/7/20	Brid	Brid was a very kind and friendly individual. As she had lived in different areas in the UK and participated in different sports, it was important to hear about the contextual differences she had faced and their effects on her as a bisexual woman.	35	W	Bisexual	PG	Rugby Kick boxing	Previous Previous (only due to Covid-19)
11	21/7/20	Joanne	Joanne specifically identifies as pansexual, which differed to all of the other participants. It was enlightening to hear about her experiences as a pansexual woman both in– and outside of sport.	30	W	Pansexual	UG	Hockey Stoolball	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
12	28/7/20	Sophia	Sophia came across as a very professional individual and was clear with her responses. She had a lot of interest in relation to the research I was conducting and was keen to hear about the findings once completed.	35	W	Bisexual	PG	Roller derby	Previous (only due to Covid-19)

13	28/7/20	Maria	Maria was a very open person who spoke from the heart. She kindly shared the barriers she came across in life, both in– and outside of sport, and how she dealt with and still deals with such barriers.	28	MR	Bisexual	PG	Football Running	Previous Previous (only due to Covid-19)
14	29/7/20	Steph	Steph previously took part in roller derby and at the time of the interview was involved in scuba diving. It took 10 minutes or so for the conversation to flow with in-depth responses, but after the initial 10 minutes, Steph provided rich and sometimes academic specific responses during the interview.	39	W	Bisexual	PG	Roller derby Scuba diving	Previous Previous (only due to Covid-19)
15	29/7/20	Ivy	Ivy did not turn her camera on for the teams meeting, simply due to a personal preference. Despite not being involved in football or gymnastics for over a decade, she wanted to contribute to the study and shared her experiences of being a bisexual woman in those sports.	26	W	Bisexual	PG	Football Gymnastics	Previous Previous
16	30/7/20	Billie	Due to Billie being an academic, rich intellectual conversations took place. These did not just involve her experiences	36	W	Queer	PG	Football Rugby	Previous Previous

			as a queer woman in football and rugby but also about core concepts surrounding bisexuality.						(only due to Covid-19)
17	30/7/20	Kay	Kay had a huge passion for roller derby. She also expressed discovering her sexual orientation later in life (late thirties). Consequently, Kay was very up-front about still processing and making sense of her sexual orientation.	41	W	Queer	PG	Roller derby	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
18	31/7/20	Charlie	Charlie was an individual who was to-the-point in regard to her responses. One aspect which stood out during the interview with Charlie is she played hockey because of the sport itself and not because of the social factor.	29	W	Bisexual	UG	Hockey	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
19	3/8/20	Robyn	Robyn participated in rowing during her time at university. Robyn was really reflective during the interview, especially in regard to why she felt certain ways during sport and what influenced how she felt.	20	W	Bisexual	UG	Rowing	Previous (only due to Covid-19)

20	3/8/20	Alex	Alex participated in roller derby. She spoke of the intricate details of her identity and demonstrated openness and honesty in relation to her experiences as a queer woman both in– and outside of sport.	28	W	Queer	UG	Roller derby	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
21	4/8/20	Jane	Jane had previously participated in football, kung fu and more recently, in muay thai. She was able to provide a comparison between sports and physical activities based on her experiences of being a bisexual woman.	38	W	Bisexual	PG	Muay thai Kung fu Football	Previous Previous Previous
22	5/8/20	Anna	Anna participated in rugby throughout her time living in the UK. She shared her frustrations based on her experiences surrounding what bisexual people can face both in– and outside of sport.	31	W	Bisexual	PG	Rugby	Previous (only due to Covid-19)
23	6/8/20	Molly	Molly was a keen rower. She started rowing when she started university. Molly spoke of her growth in confidence at university and how this impacted her sexual identity development and openness in relation to being bisexual both in– and outside of sport.	21	W	Bisexual	UG	Rowing	Previous (only due to Covid-19)

24	10/8/20	Rosa	Rosa was involved with dance when she was a teenager and rowing when she went to a university. She drew on the difficulties she faced being bisexual particularly in relation to interactions with her family.	28	W	Bisexual	PG	Dance Rowing	Previous Previous
25	12/8/20	Nicola	Nicola had a clear passion for cricket. She had played cricket from a young age and consequently discussed a range of her experiences as a bisexual woman in different cricket contexts.	26	W	Bisexual	PG	Cricket	Previous (only due to Covid-19)

3.2.4 Recruiting participants

I conducted two rounds of interviews as part of the study. The first round of interviews took place between 8th March 2018 – 11th April 2018 and included interviews 1 – 8. The second round of interviews took place from 17th April 2020 – 12th August 2020 and involved interviews 9 – 25. I purposely decided to conduct two rounds of interviews due to a variety of reasons. After conducting the first round of interviews, I had the opportunity to become familiar with using thematic analysis which helped in building my confidence for when analysing all of the data later in the study. Having two rounds of interviews also allowed me time between the interview rounds to be reflective in regard to my interviewing techniques. Consequently, I was able to examine my interview techniques and recognised strengths and potential changes to make for the second round of interviews.

Due to having the time to examine the input of the first round of interviews, I reconsidered the language I was using in my recruitment poster. For example, my original recruitment poster only included the word 'bisexual' and based on the participants' responses in round one, it could not be assumed the participants identified as bisexual. Therefore, when recruiting for the second round of interviews, I used the term 'bisexual+' on the recruitment poster along with the specific descriptive statement next to it. Therefore, this adaptation ensured any women who met the participant requirements and had multiple gender attractions could be a participant. This demonstrated I was being representative and inclusive of a range of identities surrounding having multiple gender attractions.

Furthermore, by having time to examine the input of the first round of data, I was able to review my interview guide and add five more questions as well as further prompts to help add to the richness of the data. Additionally, after the first round of interviews, I examined the sample and concluded the sample was heavily white. In order to attempt to have more Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) participants in the study, I shared my poster with some specific BAME based groups on Twitter. Despite my attempts to recruit more BAME participants, the finalised sample still involved predominantly white participants. This could be due to a range of factors including my own positionality or the effects of snowball sampling.

Hartman (2011) specifically wrote an article based on the difficulties of recruiting self-identified bisexual people which was also was also acknowledged by Maliepaard (2017). Therefore, though my recruitment was based on women with multiple gender attractions rather than just self-identified bisexual women, it was still predicted recruiting women with multiple gender attractions who have taken part in sport would be a challenge. Originally, for the first round of recruitment, I attempted to recruit participants from mainstream sports organisations and LGBTQ+ specific sports organisations. Therefore, I made links through personal contacts with LGBTQ+ inclusive sports organisations including Brighton Lesbian and Gay Sporting Society (BLAGSS) and London Lesbian Kickabouts (LLKA), where the research advertisement was shared with their members. Furthermore, I also approached London Cruisers Basketball Team and Grace's Cricket Club (Time Out London, n.d.), who also shared the poster with their members.

I also shared my poster on Facebook and Instagram but only had one person respond to such advertisement (Facebook). I believe this is due to my small pool of individuals on such sites, especially as my profiles on these sites are set as private. Therefore, only those I accept can see the content on my social media pages. The most effective strategy I used for recruiting the first round of participants was through the use of Twitter, though I did also send emails to specific organisations and groups. Despite my attempts in recruiting participants from LGBTQ+ sports organisations, all the participants (from round one and round two) were only involved in mainstream sports clubs. However, this was a strength as the data could be analysed with an explicit focus on mainstream sports contexts.

Before releasing my recruitment poster for the second round of interviews, I ensured it was as successful as possible at reaching a wide audience. Therefore, I created a list of Twitter handles of bisexual+ organisations (including BiUK), LGBTQ+ organisations and sports organisations which were relevant and may retweet or like my tweet. Then, I posted my poster on my Twitter account (which I made open access) and tagged all of the relevant Twitter handles I had made on the list. This created a snowball sampling effect, where the organisations would share the research advertisement on their Twitter page. To recruit bisexual women, Hayfield et al. (2014) placed advertisements in a UK bisexual magazine called *Bi Community News*, whilst Daly et al. (2018) placed an advertisement in *Diva Magazine*: a popular UK magazine

designed for gay, bi+ and queer women. I would have resorted to these forms of advertisement, but due to the success of the Twitter post they were not needed. Overall, the post received 70 likes, 115 retweets and 12 quoted tweets. This reached a large and relevant audience as a further 16 participants were recruited just within two weeks of the post. This was either through seeing the post directly on Twitter or from others informing them of the post. I will continue to use X (formally known as Twitter) as a platform to share research posters in future studies, however, I am aware it may not always be as useful depending on the sample one is looking to recruit. In comparison to Hartman (2011), Hayfield et al. (2014) and Maliepaard (2017), recruiting participants was not as difficult in comparison to what they experienced.

3.2.5 Research ethics and safety

Ethics are essential and mandatory to consider for all research projects. This is of particular importance for studies involving humans or animals (Bailey, 2018). Topics including legal restrictions, confidentiality and anonymity, consent and safety must all be considered prior to conducting research (Bailey, 2018). In relation to this research, all of the participants had to be 18+ years of age for ethical purposes, particularly because the topic of one's sexual orientation can be sensitive for some. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in a public building where the participant felt most comfortable, at ease and safe, especially as discussing their sexual orientation for some was a sensitive topic. The comfort of the participant was important and is believed to have encouraged the interviewee to openly discuss their experiences based on the subject, as recognised by Edwards & Holland (2013).

The participant was given an option whether to conduct the interview in a public place with other people within the specific room, for example a café, or a separate room within a public building, for example booking a private room in a university. Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the topic, prior to the interview taking place the 'Participant information sheet' (see, Appendix B) and 'Participant consent form' (see, Appendix C) was shared with the participants. This included information based on the possible risks resulting from discussing a negative experience. Furthermore, it was clearly identified within both documents that the participant could stop the interview at any point and withdraw, if desired.

In July 2017, ethical approval was obtained based on the outcome of an ethics panel at the University of Brighton. All doctoral students at the University of Brighton must go through this process surrounding ethics in research. Each potential participant was given a 'Participant information sheet' when they contacted me to establish their interest in participating in the research. The participant then read the information sheet and asked any additional questions they had concerning the research. At this stage, the individual either chose to continue to participate, and a date, time and place (if face-to-face) of the interview was then discussed, or they chose to no longer continue as a participant in the research. All participants who agreed to continue with the interview after reading the 'Participant information sheet' had the option to ask me any further questions at that stage.

On the day of the interview, the participant was given the 'Participant information sheet' again, in case they wanted to discuss any information on the sheet beforehand, which was followed by them reading and signing the 'Consent form'. In order for the interview to begin, the participant had to have signed and dated the specific consent form. In agreement with Seidman (2013), not only is supplying the participants with a consent form an ethical requirement, but also allows the individual to feel free to make a choice about continuing to remain in the study without feeling forced or pressured. For the participants involved in video call interviews, they needed to have had completed the consent form and emailed it back to me at least one hour before the interview took place. There were no issues with the participants' reactions to the ethical procedures and all of the participants consented. The interviews were then voice recorded (both the face-to-face and the video call interviews) and I then transcribed these at a later date.

All of the participants' details given are anonymous throughout the thesis, where the participants are referred to by a chosen pseudonym in the research for confidentiality and consistency purposes. The only instance where a participant's real name is present (first name and surname) is when they signed the 'Consent form'. This form only requires the participant's name (first and surname), a signature and the date, which is made clear in the 'Participant information sheet'. It is highly likely I will be the only person to see the completed consent form, however, there is a possibility this form will need to be seen by staff at the university (including examiners and supervisors), which was also explained in the consent form. Any team mentioned has been replaced with

‘[*a club name*]’ in the research. Any other names discussed throughout the interview have been changed to pseudonyms. I am the only individual with access to the confidential data, where it is stored and saved on OneDrive and my OneDrive account is password protected. I will keep the data for ten years, after the completion of my PhD in accordance with the University of Brighton’s guidelines. There may be a possibility where I would like to use the data which is generated in this research in a different research project. If this is the case at any point in my career, I will contact the participants immediately to discuss whether they agree for me to use their interview data for another project.

Safety for both me and the participants has been taken into consideration. As previously mentioned, all face-to-face interviews took place in a public building. The participant was free to bring a ‘buddy’ along if they wanted to, however, the buddy could not contribute to the interview discussion. None of the participants decided to bring a buddy for the interview. My safety was also taken into consideration. This is evidenced by the interviews being conducted in a public space rather than an individual’s home. Although many academics including Beyer (2016), Hayfield et al. (2014) and Jarvis (2015) feel comfortable conducting interviews in participants’ homes, for my own safety it was important to me to conduct the interviews in a public building, so I was sure other people were nearby if needed. Furthermore, after 1.5 hours of the commencement of each face-to-face interview, I specifically rang a particular individual to clarify my safety. Once the interviews began to take place via video call, these strategies were no longer needed. Now the method, sample, recruitment, and ethical and safety procedures have been established, the next element of this chapter focuses on data analysis.

3.2.6 Thematic analysis

Although there are a range of different qualitative data analysis approaches, including grounded theory, narrative and discourse analysis, I used thematic analysis in this study, which includes aspects of descriptiveness. According to Braun & Clarke (2006, p.79), thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” Thematic analysis is a popular research approach amongst qualitative researchers (Braun & Clarke, 2022), as evidenced in bisexuality studies (see, e.g., Bostwick et al., 2019; Galupo et al., 2019; Hayfield et al., 2014) and equally

in the field of sexualities and sport (see, e.g., Anderson, 2014; Jarvis, 2015; Murray & White, 2017). Castleberry & Nolen (2018) are sceptical of thematic analysis because some scholars have claimed to use thematic analysis in their work but not showcased the rigour which is required. Nonetheless, using thematic analysis has many advantages including being accessible to researchers with limited experience of conducting qualitative research, allowing for social and psychological interpretations of data, and it is a fairly easy method to learn about and apply practically (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, Xu & Zammit (2020) said using thematic analysis allows for interpretation of the data, which aligns with my interpretivist approach.

Though these advantages did somewhat influence my decision to use thematic analysis, my two core reasons for using thematic analysis are because it is a flexible approach which is guided but not linear, and it can generate insights which are unanticipated. Rigid constraints in analysis could hinder the development of themes, thus the flexibility of thematic analysis is an advantage (Braun & Clarke, 2022). Due to the messiness and changes which can occur when conducting qualitative research, this flexibility is of great value and importance to me. Furthermore, I prefer the themes to mainly develop from the data as opposed to being predetermined to ensure that the possibility of theme developments, which were not considered previously, can occur. To miss these insights would hinder research as not all avenues in relation to theme development would be explored. Therefore, as thematic analysis can generate unanticipated insights from the data, this is a huge advantage within this research.

Braun & Clarke (2006, p.87) designed a guideline for researchers using thematic analysis, which I have used and applied throughout my data analysis journey. The phase-by-phase guide includes the six following aspects:

1) Familiarising with data
2) Generating initial codes
3) Searching for themes
4) Reviewing themes
5) Defining and naming themes
6) Producing the report

Before delving into each phase of the guidance, it must be noted that although the six-phase guide was applied, it was not a linear journey when conducting the analysis. Braun & Clarke (2022) recognised this is to be expected when using thematic analysis.

I continually fluctuated between the phases depending on feelings, understandings and contextual influences. Furthermore, at times, two of the phases merged as they took place within the same period and on other occasions, I revisited a phase. Therefore, although the guide was my basis, movement in different directions along the trajectory of the guideline occurred throughout the data analysis process. This non-linear movement during the analysis process was not a limitation, but rather a strength as it demonstrates I was meticulous, consistently reflective, and able to adapt to the individualised requirements of my research project. Below is a more detail account of my fluid experience of applying the guideline during my data analysis journey.

Familiarising with data

Phase one requires the researcher to transcribe the data, familiarise themselves with the data by reading and re-reading the data, and write about any initial ideas (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During this phase, I firstly ensured the participants all gave consent to the interviews being recorded for these to be transcribed. I transcribed the recordings word-for-word into Microsoft Word documents (see, Appendix E). For each transcription, I ensured margins were incorporated on each page to allow for note taking. In previous experiences when completing research, I experimented with using software, such as Dragon Dictate, to complete my transcripts. However, I found such software made me feel very distant from the data and did not allow for immersion to occur. Therefore, for that reason, I purposely transcribed the recordings organically myself by listening to the recordings and typing the content into Microsoft Word documents. Despite the time-consuming process of this, the benefits outweighed the negatives as even during phase one, I felt immersed in the data.

As recognised by Matheson (2007), by transcribing the interviews myself without the use of external factors provided the opportunity for me to be reflective and be critical of my own interviewing presence and techniques. For example, after the first round of interviews, I acknowledged that through my welcoming and open manner, the participants were usually very open about their thoughts and experiences. I felt privileged that they felt able to openly discuss their thoughts and experiences, and this also benefitted the research as rich data was accumulated. Therefore, I continued with this approach going forward.

Once I had finished writing a transcription, I would read through the document and make initial comments as seen on page 292 in Appendix F. This included brief notes based on analytical ideas or insights which were incorporated in the document (individual content in the transcript) and on the back of the document (relating to the content as a whole). The purpose of this was to make notes in relation to the specificity found in the transcription as well as broader key insights (Braun & Clarke, 2022). I then re-read the transcript on one last occasion and applied any further initial comments, where necessary.

Generating initial codes

Phase two involved me generating initial codes. Braun & Clarke (2006, 2022) regard this phase as coding the data in a systematic manner across the whole data set. According to Braun & Clarke (2022), this is completed by identifying parts of the data, by using code labels, which are potentially relevant or meaningful to one's research focus or question(s). Due to the openness of hearing about and examining the participants' lived experiences, it was preferred the analysis developed predominately from the data as opposed to being determined by certain questions. However, it is acknowledged the questions I asked, at least to some degree, influenced the participants' responses and thus, what was discussed.

I used a combination of semantic (analysing the explicit content) and latent codes (analysing the sub-text or assumptions of the data). Furthermore, some of the codes are neither one nor the other in a binary form, but rather include aspects of both (see, Appendix F). Originally, my plan was to only use semantic codes to ensure the exact wording from the participants was the focus of coding. This supports my moral value of giving the participants a voice in this research and thus, using *their* words directly. However, when involved in the interviewing practice, it became clear that on occasions a conceptual or implicit meaning was present which were not based on the participants' direct words. For example, some of the participants would not explicitly mention bisexual erasure in their interviews but discussed experiences of such erasure which they had faced. Therefore, based on the data, latent codes were necessary to use as well.

Although some qualitative researchers use computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis software, including NVivo (see, e.g., Ohl et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2023),

I completed phase two entirely by hand rather than electronically as I felt more present and closer to the data when completing the analysis manually. During this aspect of the analysis, if the content had or had the potential to be relevant to my research question, I underlined, circled or put a marking by the code content and placed a code label next to it on the document (see, Figure 3).

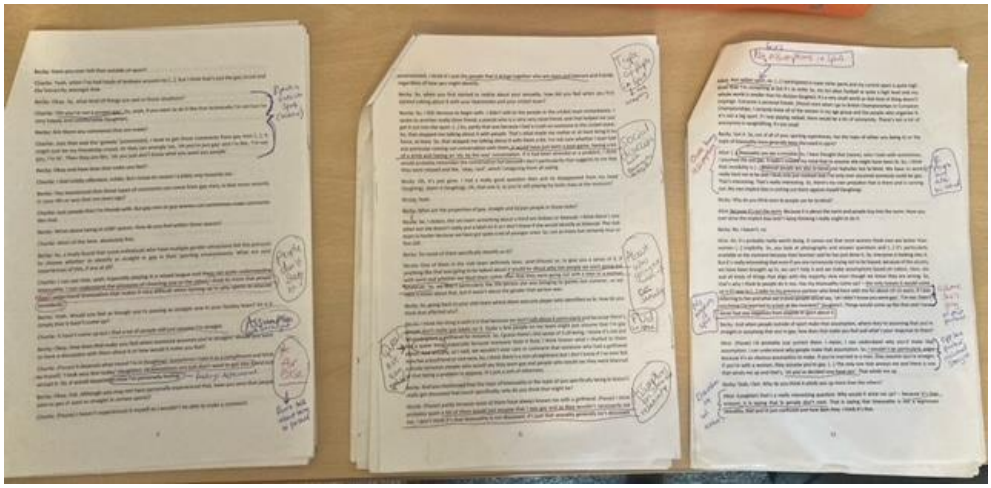

Figure 3: Examples of coding (original in colour)

‘Homo– heterosexual assumption based on looks’ and ‘inclusive sexuality banter in sport’ are examples of such coding. As suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006, 2022), I then systematically worked my way through the entire dataset again and made any edits, adaptions or insertions to ensure rigour. The finalised codes were then written up on an A1 sheet in relation to the relevant interview number (see, Figure 4 and Appendix G).

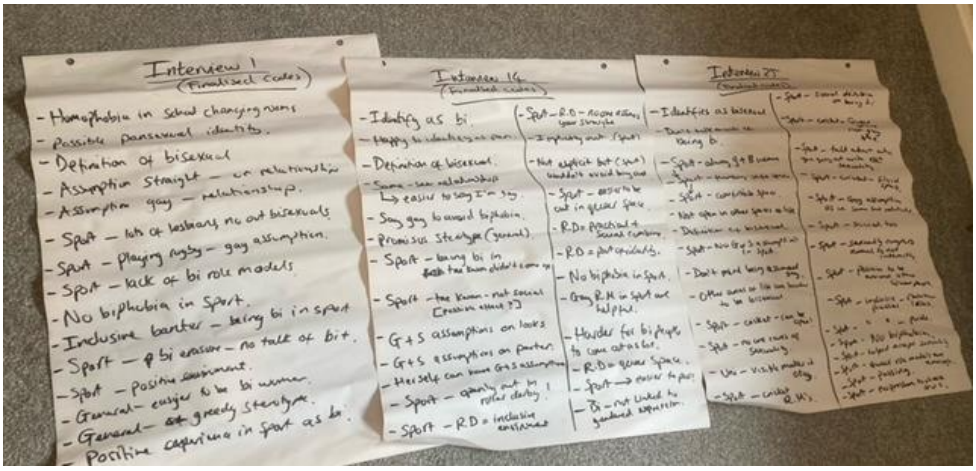

Figure 4: Examples of code labels per transcript (original in colour).

Searching for themes

The aim of phase three is to identify themes through understanding, organising and combining the codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This phase was also completed by hand as opposed to electronically for the same reason established in the paragraph above. When organising my codes, I created a document titled 'Common codes'. This incorporated a list of codes which were found on more than one occasion within the dataset with the transcript numbers of where they were found next to it. I then analysed these 'common codes' and organised them by connectivity and relevance by comparing the data (see, Appendix H). Once this occurred, I developed the potential theme titles. This phase was time-consuming and messy but also rewarding when potential themes were developed. At this stage, the concepts of binaries, bisexual erasure, outness, quietness and inclusion were dominant.

Reviewing, defining and naming themes

Phase four requires the researcher to review the themes in order to refine, combine or separate the themes discovered, whilst phase five is the fine-tuning of the themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2022). Inadvertently, for me, both phases (four and five) happened within the same period in an intertwined manner. When reviewing the themes, the aspect of sport in the research was not always a central focus in the themes and to some degree became lost. Although the participants' experiences outside of sport cannot be solely separated, my research question prioritises their experiences *in* sport specifically. So, the potential content included within each theme was edited by ensuring a central focus on sport but still referring to other aspects of their lives, through comparisons if relevant. Through this process, I also reconsidered the themes, revisited the data and reconsidered the themes again.

As interpreting data can be argued as a limitation due to researcher bias, I engaged in a process to increase the validity and credibility of the finalised themes. Once I had titled my themes, I sent my supervisors a sample of eight transcripts. At this point, they both independently read through and made notes based on the transcripts and possible suggestions of themes. I then organised a meeting with my supervisors, which I led. Within the meeting, I first introduced my theme titles and subcategories within the themes. Both supervisors then singularly gave input on their interpretation and possible theme suggestions, and we discussed any similarities and differences. Though the

specific words of my theme titles were not the same as my supervisors, many of the concepts surrounding the analysis of data (e.g., binaries, assumptions and outness) aligned with the interpretation of one or both of my supervisors. Therefore, engaging in this process increased the validity and credibility regarding the development of the themes. I then reviewed my themes again after the meeting took place, where only minor changes were made. My finalised initial three theme titles were and still are *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit* and *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. Furthermore, my finalised two overarching themes titles were and still are *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport* and *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport.*

Producing the report

Many of the themes (initial and overarching) intersected and intertwined with each other. Therefore, having one findings and discussion chapter as opposed to separate findings and discussion chapters allows the reader to see the complexities, messiness and interconnectedness of the themes. Chapter four, the findings and discussion chapter, first introduces a finding and follows by relating the finding back to the literature (usually) explored in the literature review for the discussion aspect. This structure is then repeated throughout the chapter. The rationale for this decision is so it is clear to the reader what my findings are and where my findings do and do not align with prior literature (Ritchie et al., 2014). It also avoids the potential of repetitiveness if findings and discussion aspects are separated in different chapters. Even within the 'producing the report' phase, I referred to prior phases when needed. In particular, some finer details relating to terms used were adapted and edited. As highlighted at the start of the thematic analysis section, my experience of completing thematic analysis was not linear. Instead, I fluctuated between phases, completed some phases together within one period of time and commonly re-visited phases. However, engaging in this form of procedure ensured the analysis was conducted with meticulous examination.

I decided to incorporate simple numerical counts in relation to the similarities among the participants in the findings by using bracketed numbers as opposed to only using terms such as 'usually', 'most' and 'some'. Though there are mixed perspectives among qualitative researchers surrounding this decision (Maxwell, 2010) but my main

justification for incorporating bracketed numbers in the findings is because it gives a clearer and more precise account of what is being explored. This has also been recognised as an advantage by other scholars, most of whom engage in qualitative research, including Chivanga (2016), Maxwell (2010) and Neale et al. (2014). It was especially beneficial to use this strategy in this study due to having a sample size of 25 participants, which is a large sample size for qualitative research. Therefore, by not including the simple numerical counts it would make it incredibly difficult to define what is considered as 'most' and 'some'. Furthermore, it has been argued by Neale et al. (2014, p.175) that incorporating simple numerical counts in qualitative research can enable patterns in the data to be developed with greater transparency and clarity, and that it can "increase the meaning of key findings by providing focus."

3.3 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has explained the methodology and method used for this study. The first section, research philosophy, recognised a range of ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives, and justified my philosophical positioning. It was identified my ontological stance is as a relativist and my epistemological positioning is as a subjectivist. Furthermore, I have adopted an interpretivist paradigm, sharing the belief this research cannot be value-free and there is a need to understand the social world from those who are in it. Through the acknowledgements and understanding of my own philosophical stance and the influence of this on the research project, it was concluded this research would be qualitatively based.

The second section, research methods and processes, included clear justifications for using largely unstructured interviews and thematic analysis. Furthermore, details in relation to who and how the participants were recruited was analysed and an examination of the research ethics and safety procedures applied in this study was demonstrated. After the completion of the data analysis, there are three initial themes and two overarching themes. The three initial themes are *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit* and *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. The two overarching themes are *The quietness*

of bi+ identities in sport and *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport*. These themes are now examined in detail within the next chapter.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR:
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

"Research is creating new knowledge."

Neil Armstrong

(Astronaut)

This chapter's purpose is to present the findings and discussions from this study. The three initial themes developed are called *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit* and *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. Furthermore, two overarching themes were developed and these are titled *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport* and *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport*. A magpie approach is incorporated where different frameworks have been used in relation to my findings, where relevant. Such frameworks include the Disclosure Processes Model by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010), The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework by Yoshino (2000) and the Action-effect Role Model by de Queiroz et al. (2021), which were all examined in the literature review. At the beginning of each initial theme there is the clear and main point of the theme and why it matters. The findings and discussion are presented as one whole chapter as opposed to smaller separate chapters as many of the themes (initial themes and overarching themes) interconnect or intertwine. Prior to delving into the themes, an introduction based on the participants' bi+ identities is presented as such knowledge is required by the reader before engaging with the themes.

4.1 Introduction: Bi+ identities

The section titled *Introduction: Bi+ identities* is not a theme. Though similar to a theme in its written structure, it is rather an insight into the identities of the participants and their understandings of such identities, and is shorter in comparison to the initial themes. Though this aspect of the chapter is not a theme in itself, the existence of this element is imperative. This is because the knowledge surrounding the participants' identities feeds into the themes, so such information needs to be known to the reader prior to engaging with the themes. Furthermore, when I first started this research, I thought all of the participants would self-identify as bisexual, but this was not the case.

As inclusion is core to my philosophy and values, it was essential all participants' identities are presented in a way which cannot be overlooked. Too often can certain identities of those with multiple gender attractions be unrepresented. I was not going to let that be the case with my research. As a consequence, the introduction to the participants' identities was developed.

The first core question I asked all of the participants was, "How do you identify in relation to your sexual orientation?" Chloe (23, non-labelling, football) said, "I don't like to put a label on it because then it puts you into a box." But she later discussed if she was in a position where she *had* to identify with a specific term, she would use bisexual. However, it is not a term she would commonly use as an identity in all aspects of her life. Summer (19, non-labelling, ice hockey) responded to the same question with, "I guess I can say I'm bi but generally I don't come out to people saying I'm bi", which she continued to discuss is an outcome of what she believes are the difficulties surrounding how bisexuality can be defined.

Therefore, two of the participants in the study preferred not to have a label based on their sexual orientation but if they *had* to choose a label, they would use bisexual. Both participants confirmed they did not use a sexual identity label in sport or outside of sport. By Chloe saying she did not want to be put in a box, she meant that she did not want to be categorised in relation to her sexual orientation. Though Chloe did not at any point in the interview explicitly discuss being political or having a political stance in regard to her sexual orientation, her response aligns with one of Queer Theory's main emphasis: to resist categorisations. For Summer, she recognised the complexities of defining bisexuality, including that both binary and non-binary descriptions can be used. This aligns with the findings of Galupo et al. (2017) where those who are bisexual can use binary or non-binary descriptions of the term. As a consequence, for Summer, such difficulties led to her avoiding using bisexual as a sexual identity label and any other sexual identity label.

In response to my initial core question regarding how one identifies, others did use a sexual identity label. For example, Ivy (26, bisexual, football and gymnastics) said, "I identify as bisexual", whilst Nicola (26, bisexual, cricket) said, "I'm bisexual." Those who identified as bisexual usually gave short and concise answers to the question. Out of all of the participants, 18 of the 25 said their main sexual identity is bisexual. All 18

confirmed they use bisexual as their main sexual identity in– and outside of sport. This demonstrates amongst the participants in this study, using the identity label bisexual was the most popular. After asking the initial identity question, I would usually prompt the participants by asking, "How would you describe the term bisexual?" Some of the responses included,

> I can find males and females both attractive (Charlie, 29, bisexual, hockey).
>
> I would say bisexuality is an openness to being intimate and having a relationship with either a male or a female (Georgie, 46, bisexual, football and tennis).
>
> I'd say I'm bisexual and for me that means I'm attracted to men and I'm also attracted to women (Laura, 26, bisexual, pole dancing).

The similarities of these three responses include that each of the participants explicitly used binary language relating to gender when referring to bisexuality, including the use of 'men and women' or 'both' in their definitions. Out of the 25 participants, nine used explicit binary language when relating to gender in their descriptions of bisexuality. This supports the work of Galupo et al. (2017) as this finding also demonstrates people can still define bisexuality in a binary form based on gender. However, it is not just those who identify as bisexual who describe the term using binary language based on gender.

Although during her time at university Joanne (30, pansexual, hockey and stoolball) identified as bisexual, she more currently self-identifies as pansexual. She said, "…my other half started transitioning [and] that then opened up my world a little bit further and has kind of landed me with what I would call pansexual." Therefore, Joanne is suggesting by her partner transitioning (gender transition) and Joanne staying in the relationship with her partner, is a key reason which shifted her sexual orientation from bisexual to pansexual. When asked what she believed the difference between bisexual and pansexual is, Joanne said,

> Bisexuality is labelling that you like men and women, and pansexuality is opening up that field to 'I don't mind what your gender identity is'…and that I could have a physical attraction to anyone regardless of how they identify. That pretty much sums it up for me.

Here, Joanne used gender binary language to refer to bisexuality and gender non-binary language to refer to pansexuality in order to distinguish the differences between the terms. However, for others within the study, this was not the case.

Other responses to my prompt question, "How would you describe the term bisexual?" included,

> The opinion of having a sexual or romantic relationship with someone who […] shares gender with you or doesn't share gender with you (Grace, 24, bisexual, rugby).
>
> Being attracted to somebody of your own and of another gender or no gender (Kay, 41, queer, roller derby).

The similarities in these two responses are they explicitly used non-binary language when referring to gender in their definitions and descriptions of bisexuality. Overall, 16 of the 25 participants used non-binary language in their descriptions of bisexuality, where many of these (8) specifically used the contemporary definition: *being attracted to more than one gender*. Therefore, amongst the participants, using non-binary language based on gender in descriptions of bisexuality was more popular than using binary language. This aligns with the statement made by Eisner (2013), which suggested more people with multiple gender attractions are describing bisexuality in more contemporary and gender inclusive, non-binary ways. This also supports the work of Galupo et al. (2017) as bisexuality can still be identified in a binary and a non-binary form in regard to gender, which has been demonstrated in this research as well. Other definitions of bisexuality when using non-binary gender based language, which differed slightly to Grace and Kay included,

> Where gender doesn't play a part in what I'm attracted to (Molly, 21, bisexual, rowing).
>
> For me personally, it's about being attracted to people regardless of how they identify their gender (Nicola).
>
> For me, it's attraction regardless of gender and attraction to multiple genders (Summer).

Therefore, Molly, Nicola and Summer used non-binary language when referring to gender in their definitions and included specifically being gender-blind. This aligns with the claim by Barker et al. (2012) who suggested for some who use bisexual as an

identity, gender is not a factor in their attractions. This research demonstrates not only can people's identities and descriptions of bisexuality include binary or non-binary based language based on gender as also found by Galupo et al. (2017), but such definitions can also include variations in regard to if gender is an influence of attraction. The range of different definitions of bisexuality found in this research, supports the notion that the term bisexual is complex and arduous to define as also recognised by Ross et al. (2018) and Swan, (2018). Consequently, there is not just one 'correct' way of defining bisexuality and it is hugely dependant on a variety of factors including perspectives in relation to gender and one's own feelings.

Anna (31, bisexual, rugby), Grace and Kat (19, bisexual, football) identify using the term bisexual but at one point had contemplated it. Grace said,

> Maybe pansexual is a more appropriate way to describe how I feel because I don't care who you are, what you've got and where, there's potential I can work with that. But bisexual has been such a strong part of my identity for such a long time, I'm not sure I can let go of it.

Therefore, the term bisexual and the use of it to identify herself has become such a strong element of her identity, the use of it is prioritised over other labels even if they are, according to Grace, better suited in terms of describing her sexual orientation. Both Anna and Kat also debated using the term pansexual (pan), where Anna said,

> I think it's the case of preferring the label bisexual because, as bad as it is, it's more widely known despite all of the erasure and everything. You still require less explanation when you tell someone you're bi than if you tell someone you're pan.

Kat similarly said,

> I didn't want to label myself as pan because people didn't know what that was, and I didn't want to bring more attention to it to explain it to them. So, I think bi is widely known by a lot of people.

Therefore, the assumption that most people in UK society do not understand what pansexual means, has affected, at least to some degree, or stopped Anna and Kat identifying with the term and they instead use the more well-known term bisexual. The general public having more understanding of bisexuality than pansexuality currently

in the UK was also acknowledged or implied by a further ten of the participants. Specifically, Rosa (28, bisexual, rowing and dance) said, “I think people would be less likely to immediately understand and be comfortable with the term pansexual.” Whilst Jane (38, bisexual, muay thai, kung fu and football) said, “I would imagine pansexuality is not in people’s awareness as much [as bisexual].”

Twelve of participants said that the term pansexuality is less known and understood by the UK general public. Consequently, although individuals identifying as bisexual can experience having to explain their sexual identity to others within the general public, in direct comparison with pansexuality, it is anticipated by many of the participants (12) that the use of pansexual would require even more explanation. The influence of pansexuality being unknown or the fear it would not be taken seriously was also recognised by Hayfield & Křížová’s (2021). However, the difference is in this research the participants were put off entirely from using pansexual as an identity in all spheres of life, whereas in the work of Hayfield & Křížová’s (2021), some of the participants used pansexual as an identity in certain contexts.

Bisexual and pansexual were not the only identity labels used amongst the participants. Kay and Rachael (27, queer, boxing and roller derby) expressed the term queer was their most dominant sexual identity but acknowledged they would sometimes use bisexual depending on the context. Similarly, Alex (28, queer, roller derby) said, “I kind of blanket label everything as queer. Like, I call my gender queer and I call my sexuality queer”, but if asked specifically by someone if she is bisexual, she would respond with yes. When asked how Billie (36, queer, football and rugby) personally identifies in relation to her sexual orientation she said,

> It depends on the manner in which it’s asked is the honest answer, I think. So, if it was an open question, I tend to write queer… But if it’s for monitoring things then I understand the need for that, so I would sometimes report bisexual… But for me personally, queer sums up everything.

For Alex, the influence of Alex’s gender influenced the sexual identity label chosen. Alex did not identify as non-binary but still felt the term queer represented her connection with her gender. Despite Alex not identifying as non-binary, the intersection of her gender and sexual identity influenced her decision regarding the main sexual identity she uses. This slightly differs from the work of Feinstein et al.

(2023) where having a queer identity was more common amongst transgender women, transgender men and non-binary people compared to cisgender women and cisgender men. However, the similarity between my research and Feinstein et al.'s (2023) research is gender and feelings surrounding gender can play a part in which main sexual identity label those with multiple gender attractions select.

In relation to using queer as her main sexual identity, Rachael said, "I personally feel that queer resonates more because it's also about the politics and I'm very much part of queer circles in (area in England) and online." Thus, Rachael's political stance influenced the term used as her main sexual identity. This aligns with the findings by Morandini et al. (2017), who found political causes can be central to identity selection. Kay had only recently come out during the time of the interview and said, "I think with queer it's just a gentle step (laughter). Like, easing my way into what makes sense […]. But bi feels more proactive and more confident." This perhaps suggests, for Kay at least, particular terms (in this case 'queer') hold certain meaning and power and are used based on how one is feeling about their sexual identity and the expression of that identity to others. Perhaps Kay perceived using the term queer as an identity as a gentle step because it is not an exclusive identity for those with multiple gender attractions, as it can be used by anyone in the LGBTQ+ community without specifying finer and personal meanings behind using the term.

Though it was not formally expressed, Alex, Billie and Rachael used multiple sexual identities, which were used depending on context. This supports the work of Flanders et al. (2017) who also found people with multiple gender attractions can have multiple sexual identities. Furthermore, it was apparent that when bisexual and queer were both used by the three participants, queer was used more frequently. As a consequence, these participants had a primary and a secondary sexual identity. This was similarly found in the work of Galupo et al. (2015), where numerous people with multiple gender attractions discussed their primary and secondary sexual identities. Differing from Galupo et al. (2015), in this study, only queer (primary) and bisexual (secondary) were represented in relation to using multiple sexual identities, whereas in the study by Galupo et al. (2015) there were numerous primary and secondary sexual identities which were found. Before delving into the first initial theme, it must be acknowledged for the reader that the topic of being bi+ was commonly acknowledged by the

participants to never or rarely be discussed in sport (17). This finding was the start of the development of an overarching theme, which is developed as the themes progress.

4.2 Initial theme one: Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport

This initial theme explores types of outness and reasons for not disclosing one's bi+ identity in sport. Most participants do not generally disclose their sexual orientation unless reacting to particular situations. Therefore, this significantly contributes to bi+ identities remaining quiet and largely invisible in sporting contexts. When I asked Charlie if she was out in her hockey team she said, "Not really because they don't know me very well and everybody is straight on the team." Similarly, when I asked Laura the same question, she said, "Not necessarily actually… so, I don't necessarily say when I'm at pole dancing but equally if someone was asking about it or the conversation was happening… I wouldn't shy away from it." These two examples demonstrate it is not as simplistic as being in– or outside of the, in their case, bisexual closet and one's outness is more complex than the binary 'in or out' notion. Consequently, this conceptualisation contributed to the discovery of types of outness in this study.

4.2.1 Types of outness in sport

I asked all of the participants if they were 'out' in sport, with the anticipated response being a simple yes or no. However, there was far more complexity found in relation to the participants' outness. In response to the question, "Are you open about your bisexuality in sport?", Georgie said,

> I never have [been]. I have never [been out] in the past during any sports and certainly not now. Even though some of the people I play tennis with know I'm in a relationship with a woman, I'm not even going to go down that route that actually I'm bisexual. I can't because it's just too problematic and it makes me feel uncomfortable and it means that I'd be questioned and judged.

Therefore, Georgie was not out in her current tennis club, nor has she ever been out in relation to being bisexual in her past sports organisations. For Georgie, it was clear she did not want to come out or disclose her sexual identity due to the possibility of experiencing biphobia through being questioned and judged. In relation to the

Disclosure Processes Model (DPM) by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010), within the decision-making process, Georgie concealed her identity due to her avoidance-focused goal to prevent being questioned or judged. For Georgie, the prediction of possible harm from disclosure outweighed the potential positive outcomes.

Bisexual people not coming out due to fear of discrimination or rejection from others has also been recognised by McLean (2007). McLean (2007) specifically recognised bisexual stereotyping and bi-negativity can prevent bisexual people from coming out or disclosing their sexual orientation, which is found with Georgie. Furthermore, Georgie had received biphobic comments in the past, outside of sport, when she told individuals she was bisexual. So, previous negative experiences may have affected her current decision not to come out or to disclose her bisexuality to others in her current tennis club, despite the previous experiences being outside of sport. This relates to the DPM and its importance of the feedback loop aspect of the model. The DPM recognises that the outcome of a single disclosure event can affect future disclosure processes and therefore, incorporates a feedback loop in its design. For Georgie, prior experiences of disclosure and the negative outcomes which occurred affect her disclosure processes now. Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) describe this as the downward spiral towards concealment.

Within a discussion with Joanne about her stoolball team and being pansexual, she said,

> …there's so much homophobia that you hear. So, comments about other teams, other players or even within our own team guessing that somebody might be gay, just because of their hair length or something. It just makes you cringe to the point where you're on a social level with these people not at a work level, where you need to address it as a formal issue. You just want to get along with life and I don't think it's ever been an environment that we've ever felt comfortable in really telling people much about our [Joanne's and her husband's] lives.

In relation to the DPM, in the decision-making process, Joanne used avoidance-focused goals to conceal her identity. However, differing to Georgie whose rationale of concealment was based on *predicted* negative outcomes, Joanne's goal was based on current negative actions already found at her stoolball club. Despite the comments being homophobic and not panphobic or bi+phobic, this caused enough of an impact for Joanne not to be out in her team. Although Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) suggest a

goal is first initiated in the DPM, as Joanne described herself as being 'out' in her previous hockey teams, it seems an assessment of one's surroundings is completed *before* establishing one's goal. For example, Joanne's surroundings in stoolball where homophobia was present differed to her surroundings in previous hockey teams where homophobia was not present. Thus, her goal being approach-focused or avoidance-focused differed due to her surroundings. Therefore, it is proposed an 'assessment of surroundings' is acknowledged in the DPM, before goals are established.

When I asked Joanne, "Who usually says those types of comments as it's a mixed environment? Does it tend to be men, women or a mixture?", she responded,

> It's always the guys, yeah. Don't get me wrong, some of the people they speak to, so some of the women on the team might engage a little bit in that conversation but it's always driven by the men on the team. They are very much 'lads lads football builders' kind of people. Probably, their whole day is spent with other heterosexual probably cis men, and I can imagine that kind of conversation is a part of that lifestyle that they lead.

Not coming out or disclosing having multiple gender attractions due to hearing homophobic comments in a sporting environment was also recognised by a participant in Maddocks' (2013) research. However, the participant in the research by Maddocks (2013) was a male body builder predominantly surrounded by other males. The similarity between Joanne's comment and the participant in Maddocks (2013) research is both cases recognise it was men in these sporting spaces who were driving the homophobic comments. Although current research has established a shift from identifying Hegemonic Masculinity Theory to Inclusive Masculinity Theory and consequently, less homophobia in sport among male sports participants (see, Adams, 2011; Adams & Anderson, 2012; Magrath et al., 2015), cases of homophobia by men were found for Joanne in her stoolball team. In addition, Georgie and Joanne not disclosing their sexual identities in their sports environments restricts any opportunities to discuss their sexual orientation in a sporting space. Therefore, as their sexual orientation is not known, no discussions on the topic occurred.

Both participants in these contexts can be seen as hiding and being self-silent in relation to their sexual identities, thus taking a passive positioning. Although by no means ideal, it is a positive finding that only two of the participants within the last five years felt they could not be out in their sports club(s). Although it is hoped that one

day in UK society this would be none, it is an improvement since the work of Caudwell (2007), Drury (2011), Maddocks (2013) and Ravel & Rail (2008), where commonly those with multiple gender attractions felt they could not be out in their sporting contexts.

When in a discussion with Chloe about being 'out' in sport she said,

> I know a couple of girls on the team and they know I hook up with girls. So, they just told people that I'm gay and that's nothing I have an issue with, but it's nothing I would correct because they're going to be my teammates for the next couple of months but they're not going to be my 'friend friends'. So, I'm not going to sit down and open up to them. So, they can think I'm gay if they want to and I'm not going to be like 'No, no, no, I'm not gay'.

Here, due to her sports peers *only* being people she plays football with and not her close friends, Chloe does not mind that they think she is gay rather than an individual with multiple gender attractions. Thus, for Chloe, the closeness of friends played a part in the importance of them knowing or not that she has multiple gender attractions. For Chloe though, the reason for passing was because telling her sports peers about her sexual orientation was not important to her because of who they were to her. Although not based on sport settings specifically, women with multiple gender attractions passing as gay or straight was also found in the research by McLean (2008), who found this occurred in order to blend in with a straight or gay community. Therefore, passing was intentional. However, with Chloe, she did not mention about the desire to fit in. It seems, similarly to Maliepaard's (2017) findings, Chloe remained passive and therefore did not proactively communicate her sexual orientation to others in her team, which led to her being assumed to be gay.

In relation to the DPM, Chloe had an avoidance-focused goal which allowed her to pass as gay. Differing to Georgie and Joanne who predicted or saw discriminative practices in their sports clubs, Chloe simply did not value disclosing in that context due to the people she surrounded. Therefore, she did not engage with disclosure practices specifically regarding having multiple gender attractions. However, contradictory to understandings acknowledged by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) regarding why individuals have avoidance-focused goals, disclosure in itself being unimportant to the participant was not recognised but was found in Chloe's case.

When discussing current sporting sessions Maria (28, bisexual, football and running) said,

> …many people will just assume I'm a lesbian and I don't say, 'no'. If you assume, why would I try to change your mind? […] I don't feel like I want to be a warrior 24/7. It's my recreational time.

Those with multiple gender attractions passing as gay or straight or letting such assumptions go unchallenged was also recognised in the work of McLean (2007). However, the conclusion regarding why this occurred in her research highlighted that it was seen as a necessary action to protect the participants from discrimination and conflict (McLean, 2007). However, from Maria's response, she sees her sporting space as a place to go and engage in an activity which she enjoys without the need to educate or address misconceptions from others who also attend. Consequently, for Maria, not addressing assumptions regarding being gay is prioritised in comparison to potential benefits of being an out bisexual woman.

In relation to the DPM, Maria has an avoidance-focused goal, not out of fear of discrimination or negative outcomes, but simply because she does not want to have conversations surrounding her sexual identity as she does not want to keep educating others on the topic. Therefore, for Maria, non-disclosure of her bisexual identity to avoid educating others on the topic outweighed the potential benefits of being out. Furthermore, in the DPM, 'educating others' was only acknowledged under 'approach-focused goals', when for Maria educating others was a reason for avoidance-focused goals.

Although not directly from their own experiences, two other participants mentioned comments in relation to passing. When talking about her most recent rugby team before hanging up her boots, Brid (35, bisexual, rugby and kick boxing) said, "But if I hadn't been married, I probably would have just gone, 'Yeah, I'm a lesbian – fine.'" Although slightly differing from Brid, Alex said, "I don't have a problem being called straight. I'm like, 'Okay, fine.'" This implies Alex would not explicitly correct someone if she was called straight, thus passing as a straight individual. For each of these participants, their decision to pass as gay or straight and/or not correct assumptions based on being gay or straight is personal and shaped by attitudes, beliefs and context. However, passing as gay or straight does not allow for opportunities of

their sexual identities to be acknowledged or discussed. Although the action of passing is not necessarily purposeful concealment, the participants in this section are at least inadvertently concealing their sexual orientation.

Although Chloe and Maria said they were 'out' in their sports settings, passing as gay and not correcting others suggests they were not out in relation to their *specific* sexual orientation through taking a passive positioning. However, perhaps the meaning of being out to them was being recognised as under the LGBTQ+/queer/non-heterosexual categorisation as opposed to their more specific sexual orientation based on having multiple gender attractions.

Addressing mistaken sexual orientation assumptions allows opportunities to break down the homo– heterosexual binary and promote bi+ visibility. However, unfortunately, by Chloe and Maria not correcting gay and straight assumptions from others in their sports context, although inadvertently, the homo– heterosexual binary is perpetuated and thus, contributes to the continuation of bi+ erasure. Therefore, as marginalised individuals, they are also contributing to the reinforcement and reproduction of dominant discourse (homo– heterosexual binary and bi+ erasure). However, there are likely reasons that explain why this is the case. As six female footballers in the work of Maddocks (2013) witnessed or experienced being pressured by others in the team to identity as gay *or* straight, it is likely these individuals would have chosen one of the two options to avoid being othered in that environment. These actions would also perpetuate the homo– heterosexual binary and thus, contribute to the reinforcement of bi+ erasure. However, in comparison, Chloe and Maria were not pressured or forced by others to choose to pass as gay or straight as found in Maddocks' (2013) research. Therefore, although it cannot be claimed Chloe and Maria had full autonomy of their choice to pass, they had *more* autonomy compared to the bi+ women in Maddocks' (2013) study who faced pressure to choose if they were gay or straight.

When passing was a focus of discussion, four participants responded differently to Chloe and Maria. For example,

> Yeah, I passed as gay and I passed as straight. […] If someone said, 'Are you gay?', I wouldn't lie about it, but I would be happy for assumptions to be made, just like they are usually made that I'm straight. But I wouldn't

> confirm those assumptions if I was asked. I'd be happy to pass but I wouldn't lie (Alice B, 62, bisexual, powerlifting and weightlifting).

> Yes, I would definitely pass as gay. Would I correct someone? – yeah, I probably would correct someone. I'd say, 'Yeah, I've got girlfriend but I'm bisexual'. But that would only be if they specifically asked me or specifically labelled me and as I said, it doesn't happen very much. So, whilst yes, I would pass for gay and yes, I wouldn't necessarily make a point of saying that I wasn't, that wouldn't be because I felt uncomfortable or that I thought that it would reflect negatively on me in some way. It would simply be because I know that there is a sense that it's more fluid (Nicola).

Four participants in total said they would likely pass as either gay or straight but if in a position where someone directly wrongly assumes their sexual orientation, the participants would *reactively* correct these individuals in their sports environments. Therefore, only if a person explicitly asks or incorrectly labels these participants within their presence would they react and disclose their sexual identities. Reactively expressing one's bisexuality is also identified in Maliepaard's (2018) research. However, doing so due to being in a scenario where someone incorrectly assumes one's sexual identity was not found specifically in his research, as found here. In relation to the DPM, I question whether these participants had any pre-conceived goals as their responses were reactive to the moment as opposed to pre-planned or analysed. The DPM places the discloser as the only person involved in whether one discloses or not. However, in these cases, it was largely due to the impact of others who incorrectly assumed one's sexual identity which influenced these participants in disclosing their sexual identity. If these inaccurate assumptions were not made, disclosure would not have occurred. Therefore, in these cases, the differing of outcomes was not based on pre-planned conscious goals but rather spontaneous situations by reacting to others.

Although these were predictions of their responses and not drawn from their own experiences, this can still relate to the DPM. In the disclosure event aspect of the model, both the breadth and duration of these four disclosures are predicted as brief and concise. As these four comments were based on predictions as opposed to experiences, the remaining aspects of the DPM cannot be applied to these examples.

Only disclosing one's sexual orientation when correcting wrong assumptions is determined by the conversation being raised by others. Therefore, as 17 participants said their sexual orientation was never or rarely discussed in sport, the prospect of this

occurring is unlikely. Furthermore, from the interviews, this situation did not occur in their experiences but instead was only a prediction if in that particular context. Consequently, by the scenario being determined by others and such circumstances rarely occurring, this contributes to the quietness of bi+ identities within sport contexts.

This is the first type of outness so far where the participants have not been silent about their specific sexual identity. It must be noted both Alice B and Nicola went on to discuss that they would disclose their sexual identities and/or their attractions if a relevant conversation was raised (reactive disclosure based on relevant conversations). This supports my claim that factors such as context, people, interactions and time affect the type of outness which is demonstrated and thus, outness is fluid and changeable.

There was a prominent similarity based on the topic of disclosure among the participants. Below are extracts from two of the participants.

> I didn't necessarily come out to everybody, but it was no secret and if I was talking about my ex-girlfriend, I would say ex-girlfriend and not partner. Well, actually, very occasionally I'd say partner because I couldn't be bothered but it never felt like a secret […]. I never spoke to people like they didn't know if that makes sense. So, I never formally sat down and said, 'Guys, I'm this'. Just if it came up, it came up. I assume people knew but [I] didn't feel the need to tell them (Molly).
>
> Again, because it's a uni thing there's quite a quick turnover of people as it were. So, I wouldn't go up to people who weren't there last year and be like, 'I'm bi', it's more if it comes up. So, it's not like coming out to every person (Robyn, 20, bisexual, rowing).

Most of the participants (14), said they would disclose or discuss their attractions, behaviours and/or mention their sexual identity when a relevant conversation occurs. These examples demonstrate disclosing one's sexual orientation as opposed to engaging in the formal coming out practice. Similarly to Maliepaard (2018, p.156), the majority of participants "do not, or rarely, disclose their bisexuality as sexuality is often not discussed." Nevertheless, the participants in this category recognised if a relevant conversation arose surrounding their sexual identity, behaviours and/or attractions, they would engage with that conversation.

This was the most common type of outness found in this study. This also aligns with the findings of Maliepaard (2018), where commonly preference to disclosing one's

multiple gender attractions was in a more casual manner as opposed to the more formal coming out practice. In addition, this commonality found supports Alex's statement when she said, "I feel like a lot of bisexual people don't feel the need to out themselves as bisexual unless it naturally comes up in conversation or unless they need to advocate for another bisexual or queer person."

In this section of outness, the participants commonly mentioned they would talk about their sexual identity, attractions, behaviours and/or experiences *if* the conversation came up. This led to the analysis of *who* is bringing up the conversation when it does occur; the participant or those around them. The passiveness of the statement implies the participants will engage in the conversation if the topic is raised by others. Therefore, the participants would reactively disclose their sexual orientation or aspects of their sexual orientation, if it was relevant to the conversation which emerged. This, again, demonstrates the influence of those around them can affect the type of outness which is presented in that context; in this case, depending on relevant conversations arising. Furthermore, it was unclear as to what constituted a relevant topic. For example, for some, if they have a same-sex/gender partner, discussions of partners may be relevant to discussing their sexual orientation, thus leading to disclosure by necessity. However, for those who are not in a same-sex/gender partnership or are single, perhaps discussions of partners would not be classed as a relevant conversation for discussing one's sexual orientation or aspects of it. Therefore, there may be differences among the participants regarding what comprises a conversation being relevant to discuss their sexual orientation or aspects of their sexual orientation.

In relation to the DPM, again, due to disclosure being reactive based on others raising a conversation, I question if approach-focus goals are consciously developed due to the reactive nature. Therefore, if these participants did have approach-focused goals, why would they not disclose on their own accord as opposed to just if a relevant conversation arises? Arguably, perhaps the approach-focus goals were specifically centred around disclosure through a relevant conversation for the participants. Regarding the disclosure event, it was commonly unclear of the depth, breadth and duration of the event. Additionally, none of the participants described these experiences as emotional or of them being emotional during disclosure events. Furthermore, with these participants, there were no unsupportive reactions from the

confidants discussed, therefore suggesting the confidants' reactions were likely to have been either supportive or neutral.

At times, it was unclear whether the participants only specifically talk about their sexual identity if the conversation arises, only discuss their attractions if the topic is mentioned, only mention their sexual behaviours if the conversation arose or have an openness to discuss a combination of the three. However, Sophia (35, bisexual, roller derby) specifically said, "…if it was relevant to the conversation, I would be more than happy to talk about my own experience and identity." Brid disclosed her bisexual identity to someone in her sports club and explained the scenario by saying,

> I think a conversation comes to mind for me [that] I had early in my kickboxing, where [a peer] was a brown belt or something and I was a yellow or orange belt, so [I was] really low down on the belts. So, I really looked up to this person and she was just about to go into a class and train, and she was like, 'Oh yeah, I'm getting really muscular. People are going to start thinking I'm a lesbian' and I said, 'Well, I think you look really good and what's wrong with being a lesbian? (laughter). I said, 'I'm bi' and she said, 'Oh'. Then she just walked off.

Although this one experience is an example of Brid disclosing her sexual identity as a bisexual woman, this was not consistently demonstrated when in sporting contexts for her. For example, when talking about her most recent rugby team Brid said, "I think they probably knew I was queer, but in terms of explicitly knowing I was bi, probably not." This demonstrates she did not consistently disclose her bisexual identity in sporting settings. Therefore, this is evidence that contextual influences affect one's outness and one can showcase various types of outness in different situations in their lives. However, there were very minimal accounts of confirmation or examples among the participants regarding specifically disclosing their *sexual identity*.

Despite not disclosing their sexual identity/identities if a relevant conversation arose, other remarks were made. This included comments from Alice A (24, bisexual, fencing) and Summer.

> So, if it came up, I would probably say something like 'They're a very pretty lady' and they'd go 'Huh?' and then they'd go 'Oh!' [said in an accepting manner] (laughing). And that's my preferred style because it's funny to watch your friends face or new friends face drop and go 'Oh right', but people don't do that so much anymore these days because people are much more used to it (Alice A).

> I do want to feel out without hiding it from everyone and without actively mentioning it. It's more like I'd rather it comes up in conversation and I be like, 'Yeah, I was totally in love with this girl, but it didn't work out' (Summer).

More commonly in comparison to disclosing one's sexual identity/identities if a relevant conversation arose, six participants in total implied they would disclose their sexual orientation, specifically through a discussion based on their *attractions*. Maliepaard (2018) and McLean (2007) refer to bisexual individuals hinting about their same-sex/gender attractions without mentioning their sexual identity as 'testing the waters'. Both of these scholars propose this is a strategy to discover if the straight people in their context are accepting of same-sex/gender attractions. McLean (2007) concluded this as a rational decision-making strategy in order to reduce any possible harm. Yet, for these two participants there was no indication of their actions being put in place to avoid harm. In fact, for Alice A, she enjoyed the reaction from others by using such an approach. For Summer, she wanted to be 'out' but without being explicit. Therefore, although those with multiple gender attractions using this approach to reduce possible harm cannot be discounted entirely, for both of these participants at least, there were more prominent reasons for applying this approach surrounding attractions.

In relation to the DPM, it is unclear what Alice A and Summer's specific goals were. However, in the disclosure event, in relation to depth, the disclosure of information was not highly private or intimate due to their casual manner of disclosure and not asking the confidant(s) to keep it a secret. From the fragments of Alice A and Summer's disclosures, the breadth of what was discussed was minimal. The duration of the disclosure events were both fairly short by just expressing their attractions to the confidant(s). There were also no difficult emotions discussed through these disclosures expressed by the discloser or the confidant.

As these participants only disclosed their *attractions* based on one gender and not their sexual identity, the confident may not be aware or fully aware of the discloser's identity as Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) claim. In this case, the confidant in these disclosures is only aware of the discloser's attraction to one gender. Therefore, the confidant is not fully aware of the discloser's bi+ identity specifically and may assume they are homosexual. Additionally, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) have not taken into

consideration the approach the discloser takes during the disclosure event. Both of these participants took a casual, light-hearted approach to disclosure. Therefore, one's approach to disclosure is also a critical aspect of the disclosure event itself and should also be recognised along with depth, breadth, duration and emotion. One's approach to disclosure can affect the depth, breadth, duration and emotion found within the disclosure event, therefore, this is a contribution which needs to be incorporated in the DPM.

Disclosing one's same-sex/gender attractions without disclosing one's bi+ identity itself, can promote bi+ erasure. If only one set of attractions were being discussed at one time, due to the bi+ erasure which can be found in UK society (see, e.g., Hayfield et al., 2018; Kirby et al., 2021; Mosley et al., 2019), others may assume one is gay or straight without this being addressed. This, inadvertently, perpetuates the homo– heterosexual binary. Therefore, only disclosing same-sex/gender attractions without disclosing one's sexual identity/identities specifically could contribute to the reinforcement of homo– heterosexual binary and, thus bi+ erasure.

The findings of a more casual disclosure through conversation arising as opposed to engaging in the coming out practice, was also recognised and applied by 12 of the participants in their lives outside of sport. Casual disclosures were also found in the work of Maliepaard (2018), which were not sport specific. Therefore, due to the commonality found among 12 of the participants in this study, where the focus was not on settings outside of sport, and Maliepaard's (2018) findings, it seems probable that if disclosure does occur, it is a casual form by bi+ women. Furthermore, this demonstrates casual disclosure can exist in– and outside of sport.

At this point in the chapter, the participants either did not disclose or only disclosed their sexual orientation due to the influence of others (wrong assumptions made or if a relevant conversation arose), therefore taking a passive positioning due to the conversation being determined by others. Therefore, as the topic of multiple gender attractions (the concept itself and one's own sexual orientation) never or rarely gets discussed (17) or only sometimes gets discussed (2), it is probable these disclosure incidences do not occur often. By disclosure occurring if others raise the topic and the topic being raised by others is a rarity, this contributes to the quietness found surrounding women with multiple gender attractions in sport.

Furthermore, if disclosure of multiple gender attractions/bi+ identities in sport does not occur often and outness refers to people *knowing* about one's sexual orientation, I question if some of these participants are 'out' specifically as a bi+ women as most of the participants claim. However, as mentioned in the passing section, although they may not have been out specifically regarding their bi+ identity, they may have felt out in relation to being a queer individual. Nevertheless, due to these findings, I propose there is a difference between 'outness' and 'openness' for bi+ individuals.

Meidlinger & Hope (2014) referred to openness and outness as interchangeable. However, based on this study's findings, I am in disagreement. For me, openness refers to being open to discussing one's sexual orientation. Yet, outness refers to people *knowing* about your sexual orientation (Poteat et al., 2021). Therefore, due to most of the participants being passive with their disclosure of their sexual orientation and such conversations rarely occurring, it is probable others do not know they are bi+. However, most of the participants mentioned in the sub-sections titled 'Reactive disclosure: Assumptions' and 'Reactive disclosure: Relevant conversations', that they are open to discuss at least aspects of their sexual orientation. This demonstrates these participants are *open* although not necessarily *out*.

There is a common disconnect regarding what the participants think being out means to them (not concealing their sexual orientation or aspects of their sexual orientation) and the understanding I have of what being out as a bi+ woman means (people *knowing* about one's sexual orientation). At least since the 1990's, academics in a range of fields have discussed or included the notion of being inside or outside of the closet in their work (see, e.g., Hartman, 1993; Sykes, 1998; Torales et al., 2022), and the concept is well-known in the present UK culture. Therefore, it is understandable through the reinforcement of such discourse over decades, that someone who is not specifically concealing their sexual orientation would view themselves as being out. However, I question if an individual can be 'out' regarding their specific sexual orientation if others do not know of their sexual orientation. Therefore, the binary notion of being either in or out of the closet does not accurately represent the majority of this study's participants' experiences.

Leading on from the concept of in and out of the closet came the phrase the glass closet (Griffin, 1998). The glass closet refers to those around the individual knowing of their

sexual orientation yet the individual not speaking of it and remaining silent on the topic (Anderson et al., 2016). In relation to lesbians in sport, in the 2000s, this phrase was associated with the 'don't ask, don't tell' climate, where due to heterosexism, lesbians were silenced (Anderson et al., 2016). Originating from the US, the 'don't ask, don't tell' climate was not specific to sport as it was identified in other contexts in society, one being in the US armed forces (Burks, 2011). However, in relation to my findings in this section of the chapter, the participants are not in a glass closet either.

Most of the women in this section described themselves as being out or implied they were out, yet rare cases of discussions surrounding their sexual orientation occurred. Thus, knowledge of their sexual orientation to others in sports contexts is unlikely and minimal. So, what defines someone in a glass closet is others *knowing* their sexual orientation, which is not the case in this study. Furthermore, there was no mention of 'don't ask, don't tell' nor any pressure to remain silent about their sexual orientation as associated with the glass closet. Instead, the participants are open to discuss, at least aspects of, their sexual orientation, yet opportunities rarely arise for these discussions as they are dependent on others raising relevant conversations for this to occur. Therefore, the information of one being bi+ is not widely known, yet is accessible through an individual's openness. However, such opportunities and occurrences are rare. As these findings do not align with the binary notion of in or out of the closet or the glass closet, I created a new phrase which is relevant to this study's findings and therefore, is a contribution to the field of sexualities and sport and bisexuality studies.

So far in this study, commonly the participant's specific bi+ sexual orientation seems unknown to at least most of those within their sports contexts. Therefore, if someone is in a context where one's bi+ sexual orientation is unknown or incorrectly known by others, but the bi+ individual is not specifically concealing or hiding their identity, I refer to this as 'invisible bi+ open outness'. It seems there are three ways in which one's sexual orientation based on having multiple gender attractions is known to others: 1) if the person discloses their bi+ identity, 2) if the person discusses their multiple gender attractions in one conversation or 3) if the person discusses engaging in romantic and/or sexual behaviours with different genders in one conversation.

As found by Alice A and Summer's responses, if only attractions based on one gender are discussed in a conversation, it could be assumed one is straight or gay.

Furthermore, even if an individual discusses multiple gender attractions or romantic and/or sexual behaviours with different genders in one conversation, the impact of past and present could influence if someone knows a person is currently bi+. For example, if one is talking about a romantic relationship in the past with a man and then discusses their current romantic relationship with a woman, without specifying they are bi+, those involved in the conversation may think the individual was straight and they became gay. Therefore, others may unintentionally believe the bi+ person has a monosexual orientation. As bisexual erasure still exists in western societies (see, e.g., Hayfield et al., 2018; Kirby et al., 2021; Mosley et al., 2019), this may be likely to occur. In accordance with my research, there are difficulties in bi+ women being out whereby those in their context know of their sexual orientation. It seems the best way in which to ensure visible bi+ outness is to explicitly inform people of one's bi+ identity. However, as found from my research, if such discussions surrounding sexual identities rarely occur in sports context and when they do, they are dependent on others raising a relevant conversation first, it is understandable why invisible bi+ open outness is prominent amongst the participants in this study.

None of the participants mentioned initiating disclosure or discussions of their sexual orientation at any time recently within the last 10 years. However, Rosa drew on a singular experience which possibly demonstrated her initiating disclosure of her sexual identity in the past.

When discussing her dance experiences as a teenager, Rosa said, "I don't think anybody throughout my whole dance (from ballet, tap and all the way through to theatre dance), no one assumed I was anything but straight until I told them." By the term *them*, it was unclear who she was referring to (peers, instructors) but nevertheless, this demonstrates she disclosed her sexual identity. It is difficult to determine with certainty if this was initiated disclosure or a form of reactive disclosure, as further context is needed for confirmation purposes. However, it was placed in this category due to the possibility of being an example of initiated disclosure. The DPM cannot be applied in this circumstance due to the lack of context and depth regarding this experience of disclosure.

From the 25 interviews, there was not one clear example where a participant initiated disclosure based on their sexual orientation. This demonstrates it is a commonality

amongst the participants that they are not active in raising discussions of their sexual orientation but are instead passive by only engaging in disclosure if the topic is raised by others. The lack of activeness in disclosure is contributing to the perpetuation of bi+ identities and the topic more broadly remaining quiet and rarely mentioned in sports contexts. If bi+ women did initiate disclosure based on their sexual orientation more, it is predicted the topic would not be as quiet as currently identified.

Many of the participants' (12) discussions involved engaging in, or potentially engaging in, different forms of outness in different situations. Therefore, depending on the contexts (e.g., setting, interactions, people, feelings, time in one's life), someone's outness can differ compared to other situations, times, places and networks which one has in their life and for various reasons. Consequently, one is not static within a type of outness, but instead can fluctuate within the types depending on each scenario. Furthermore, despite having categories of types of outness, this is not a Likert scale or any form of measurement. Instead, types of outness are fluid and non-linear as they include intertwining, overlapping and changing based on contexts. Consequently, research findings based on types of outness do not align with quantitative based research including the Sexual Orientation Disclosure Scale by Miranda & Storms (1989), The Outness Inventory by Mohr & Fassinger (2000), and The Nebraska Outness Scale by Meidlinger & Hope (2014). Although the types of outness for this study focused on the participants' outness in sport, the concept of outness being fluid is also applicable in other areas of their lives. For a more visual representation of types of outness in sport based on this study's findings, please see Figure 5 below. When the types of outness were examined, it led to the question: Why are bi+ women not disclosing their sexual orienation or not initiating disclosure surrounding their sexual orienation in sport?

Figure 5: Visual representation of the findings surrounding types of outness in sport

4.2.2 Why not disclose or initiate disclosure in sports contexts?

In the previous section of this chapter, three core reasons for not disclosing one's sexual orientation in sport were discussed by some of the participants: 1) fear of discrimination or being judged (Georgie), 2) hearing homophobic comments in the sport setting (Joanne) and, 3) not feeling a need for others in sport contexts to know (Chloe). Some of the participants struggled to articulate why disclosure of their sexual orientation rarely occurred or why they did not disclose or initiate disclosure. Nevertheless, some of the participants in this study were able to elaborate. Therefore, this section further explores why some bi+ women did not disclose their sexual orientation or initiate disclosure in sport. Due to the fluid nature of outness recognised earlier in this chapter, it would be inaccurate to assume rationales for engaging in one type of outness is only singular. For example, one may hold the same rationale for engaging in different types of outness. Therefore, the focus remains on reasons for the participants not disclosing, or not initiating, their sexual orientation when in sport.

When discussing outness in sport with Maria, she said,

> Maybe not everybody comes out publicly and is willing to share their narratives because you still have to explain a lot… Politically speaking, I see how important it is to voice out my experience and I know this, but I feel like there is a specific time and place of activism in my life. I don't want to do this 24/7 because it's really tiring. I admire people who dedicate their lives to do this, but you don't want to educate people all of the time.

Furthermore, when discussing the topic of bisexual role models, Rosa said,

> Sometimes I feel that I have to justify my experiences as a bisexual. I think one of the reasons I wouldn't always necessarily actively bring up my sexuality is that the number of times I have to explain things to people.

A common finding acknowledged by the participants is having to explain to or educate others in relation to one's sexual orientation because, as commonly expressed in some of the participants' words, 'they do not get it'. This, consequently, can deter some of the participants from raising their sexual orientation in sport settings and other settings in their lives. Eleven participants discussed this in contexts outside of sport, whilst seven discussed this inside of a sporting context. This demonstrates this is not just an outcome found in sport. Therefore, it is likely this is a wider societal influence which affects some bi+ women outside of sport as well as in sport.

Explaining to or further educating others in relation to their sexual orientation was seen as an annoyance and a topic these participants wanted to avoid. Therefore, due to having to, or anticipating having to further explain or educate individuals surrounding their sexual orientation, these seven participants avoided the topic in their sports environments. Bi+ people not wanting to explain themselves and therefore deciding not to proactively communicate their sexual orientation to others was also recognised in the work of Maliepaard (2017). In comparison to the work of Maliepaard (2017), the difference in this research is often explaining to others and educating others often merged within the same response. On Twitter (now known as X), Robyn Ochs (2022b, para.1) said, "Every time a bisexual person makes their bi+ identity known, that is a form of activism." Therefore, perhaps disclosing or initiating disclosure for bi+ people is seen as an activist's role – something which was not desired by these participants. Therefore, although it is not claimed these individuals are not political surrounding their sexual orientation, perhaps they did not want to engage with bi+ activism.

Therefore, it seems for some of the participants, politics with a small 'p' was shown in terms of being an activist in comparison to politics with a capital 'P'.

Joanne, who currently identifies only as pansexual, also shared this issue but differed slightly as she said,

> I think partly on the basis of 'I have no idea what you're talking about' (laughter) kind of line and having to explain yourself. But I also feel like sometimes, I think it's me rather than them but I'm not sure. But I feel like I'm making something up. That I'm not just bisexual, I'm pansexual. I just get that feeling sometimes that people are like, 'Surely you can just call yourself bisexual and that's pretty much the same thing'.

Joanne is thus suggesting she also has to explain herself in regard to her pansexual identity. However, Joanne explains herself in a slightly different way compared to those who identify as bisexual specifically as some people do not know of or recognise the term *pansexual* unlike *bisexual*, as she alluded to in the quote. Although slightly differing from the remaining six participants in this category as they all identified as bisexual, the outcome of not disclosing her sexual orientation for Joanne remained because of the same outcome of having to answer questions/educate others, as well as her previous reasoning to avoid discrimination. One other difference Joanne alluded to, which the other six participants in this section did not, was the fear the term pansexual would not be taken seriously by others or would not be fully accepted. This aligns with the research by Hayfield & Křížová's (2021) who also found some of the participants in their study shared a fear pansexuality would not be taken seriously by others.

As the development of pansexuality began later in comparison to bisexuality (Hayfield, 2020) and was not as prominent (Callis, 2014), perhaps it is understandable that some people in society need further educating on the topic. However, seeing as bisexuality has been recognised in wider culture since 1990s and 2000s (Hayfield, 2020), it may be a surprise that others outside of the bi+ community still need further explanations or educating based on bisexuality. However, House et al's. (2022) review of literature highlights how the word bisexual and its many meanings can be complex.

In the work of Caudwell (2007), Maddocks (2013), Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023) where silencing of bi+ people was commonly recognised, the bi+ individuals had a lack of autonomy due to cultural influences and actions found within the clubs.

In comparison to this research, the participants who did not discuss their sexual orientation due to having to explain to or educate others, had more autonomy than in such prior research. This is because there was not the same cultural pressure to either identify as straight or gay, nor were the clubs lesbian only cultures. However, that is not to say these participants had full autonomy. Past experiences and predictions of having to answer questions based on their sexual orientation affects whether they choose to discuss their sexual orientation. Therefore, they do not have *full* autonomy due to the influence of this barrier. If this barrier is removed, this would allow for the participants to have more autonomy with the opportunity to discuss one's bi+ identity without the prediction of having to explain to or educate others.

In relation to the DPM, in the diagram of the model, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) proposed educating others as a reason to seek positive outcomes through an approach-focused goal. However, in this study's findings, the opposite was found. Instead of educating others being a reason to apply an approach focused goal, instead it was seen to cause a negative outcome and therefore, was more commonly used as an avoidance-focused goal. So, this study has demonstrated educating others can influence individuals to apply avoidance-focused goals which was not identified by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010). Explaining to or educating others is one contributing factor as to why bi+ women do not disclose or do not initiate disclosure of their sexual orientation.

When discussing outness with Alice B, she said, "Well, fitting into my 'why is it relevant?' [philosophy], it would only have been relevant if people were talking about their partners." Alice B shared a strong philosophy that those who are LGBTQ+ should not have to come out or disclose their sexual orientation, as straight people do not have to do so. This philosophy was also identified by some bisexual women in Khuzwayo's (2021) research. It appears Alice B's philosophy is the main reason as to why it would not be relevant to bring up her sexual orientation in a sport setting. Bisexual participants rejecting engaging in the coming out and disclosure notion was also identified in the work of Khuzwayo (2021) and Wandrey et al. (2015). Alternatively, Charlie said, "We are just more focused on the game really than people's personal lives… we just turn up and play." This suggests attending her hockey club is for the sole purpose of participating in the sport rather than, or in addition to, the social component(s). Neither Alice B nor Charlie disclosed their bisexuality as they did not feel it was relevant in their contexts. Six participants overall discussed how bisexuality

(specifically) in sport settings was not relevant and consequently, they did not disclose their sexual orientation.

In relation to the DPM, not disclosing one's sexual orientation due to the topic being perceived as irrelevant in a specific setting was not discussed as an example within the model. Arguably, not disclosing one's sexual orientation due to the topic being perceived as irrelevant in a specific setting could be identified as an avoidance-focused goal. However, among the categorisation of avoidance-focused goals, Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) highlighted negativity as the strong rationale at the surface of avoidance-focused goals. However, none of the six participants discussed negativity or fear of negativity. For Alice B and Charlie, the topic was just irrelevant when in sport. Therefore, this suggests either relevance and non-relevance needs to be taken into consideration in the DPM model or perhaps relevance is not a factor in goal development, and therefore these participants did not start with a goal as the model suggests.

The outcome Alice B and Charlie discussed differs from other participants' experiences including Alex, Kay and Steph (39, bisexual, roller derby and scuba diving). Alex, Kay and Steph confirmed discussions of queerness did occur in their roller derby spaces, thus in their case, discussions of their sexual orientation and more broadly queerness were relevant in these spaces. So, the sport and the sporting space can influence if the topic of one's sexual orientation is relevant or not. However, similarly, even within what is deemed a 'queer space', none of the participants discussed initiating disclosure of their sexual orientation. However, Alex, Kay and Steph all said they have or would discuss their sexual orientation if a relevant conversation arose, which in comparison to other sports, occurred more commonly.

Although roller derby was first created by Leo Seltzer in the 1930s (English, 2020), and reached its peak in popularity in 1960s/1970s (Strübel & Petrie, 2016), in the 2000s roller derby was revived via a volunteer operated route predominately in western societies, originally for women which did and still does centre inclusion and embraces quirkiness (Strübel & Petrie, 2016). Since its revival, roller derby has been acknowledged to take a feminist positioning through its practices, policies and values (Pavlidis & O'Brien, 2017), and is now recognised as a queer subculture predominately for women and gender-diverse individuals (Pavlidis & Fullagar, 2016).

Therefore, due to roller derby being acknowledged as a queer subculture, the discussions of the participants' sexual orientation became more relevant in that sporting space in comparison to the other sporting spaces in this study. Furthermore, for both Alice B and Charlie, their main/only purpose of participating in a sports club was to play the sport, whereas for those involved in roller derby the social aspect was as strong if not stronger than the participation aspect of the sport for them. Therefore, what individuals want out of attending a sports club (i.e., to improve skills, to socialise with others, to develop one's fitness), influences if they think discussions of one's sexual orientation is relevant in their sporting space or not.

Bi+ identities not being seen as relevant to discuss in sports contexts contributes to the rarity of such conversations occurring and the quietness of bi+ women in sport. This finding is not a direct barrier as found with explaining to and educating others, but rather a personal perspective held by some of the participants. This raises the question: "Do bi+ identities need to be known in sport?" Despite some participants arguing the topic is not of relevance in sport and therefore they would not disclose their specific sexual orientation, without bi+ visibility and representation, this encourages the perpetuation of bi+ erasure in sport.

4.2.3 Concluding thoughts (initial theme one)

Based on my research findings, the binary understanding of being in or out of the bi+ closet was not found among most of the participants. Instead, outness was far more complex and fluid. There were five types of outness in sport found among the participants: not out, passing, reactive disclosure: assumptions, reactive disclosure: relevant conversations, and initiated disclosure. Reactive disclosure by relevant conversations was the most common type of outness found among the participants. Although most of the participants claimed to be 'out' in their sports environments, by using the definition of being out as the extent in which their sexual orientation is known by others, I argue for many of the participants in this study, this was not the case. On reflection, being out may represent a feeling to the participant rather than based on an outcome of others knowing of their bi+ identity. So, perhaps for the participants, not concealing their sexual orientation equalled being out. Nevertheless, based on the finding that most of the participants said they were out yet their sexual orientation was rarely known by others in the context, I coined the phrase *invisible bi+ open outness*.

This phrase refers to bi+ people who are not concealing or hiding their bi+ identity, yet their sexual orientation is unknown or incorrectly known by others in a particular context. Therefore, one's bi+ identity is invisible.

The use of the Disclosure Processes Model (DPM) by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) allowed for an examination of the disclosure process amongst the participants. The first aspects of the model (antecedent goals and disclosure event) were usually the most relevant based on the data. That is not to say the model is problematic but rather as this study used a predominantly bottom-up approach, there was little context based on the outcome process aspect of the model for it to be applied. It was found in the 'Reactive disclosure: Assumptions' sub-section, that individuals reactively revealed their sexual identity based on other people's incorrect assumptions. Furthermore, in the 'Reactive disclosure: Relevant conversations' subcategory, some participants reactively disclosed their sexual orientation, or aspects of their sexual orientation, when a relevant conversation arose. Therefore, as their response was reactive in the moment, it is questionable if these participants did have any goals at all seeing as disclosure was dependent on others which was unpredictable. Therefore, the responses were reactive, not predetermined. This needs to be taken into consideration in future research when using the DPM.

Still linking to the DPM, a commonality amongst the participants regarding the disclosure events when they occurred, is that they were brief, concise and lacked seriousness and emotion. This suggests the participants prefer and can engage in a subtle and relaxed form of disclosure in comparison to the more traditional serious or traumatic coming out event seen historically. Furthermore, from the findings, it is clear some participants made an assessment of their surroundings prior to having particular goals because their surroundings may influence their goals. Therefore, it is suggested an 'assessment of surroundings' prior to the antecedent goals aspect of the model is included to better analyse contextual factors which could influence one's goals.

There were five factors as to why others did not know specifically of one's bi+ identity based on this chapter's findings. Firstly, it was commonly found discussions of one's bi+ identity rarely occurred in sport. Therefore, rare discussions on the topic mean others in the context are less likely to be aware of one's bi+ identity. Secondly, as some of the participants were not out in relation to their bi+ identity or passed as gay or

straight, others were not aware of their bi+ identity. Thirdly, most participants would only reactively disclose their bi+ identity when relevant. As discussions of one's bi+ identity was a rarity, others raising the subject was almost non-existent. Fourthly, even when some of the participants did reactively disclose aspects of their sexual orientation, it was usually based on attractions only involving one gender. Therefore, others may assume the participant is gay or straight depending on the gender being discussed. Lastly, only potentially one participant initiated disclosure of their bi+ identity in sports contexts. This demonstrates that out of the participants in this study's sample, it is extremely rare for participants to initiate disclosure of one's bi+ in sports contexts. This all contributes to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport.

After the types of outness had been examined came the question: "Why are bi+ women not disclosing or not initiating the disclosure of their sexual orientation in sport?" Therefore, an analysis regarding this was presented. The two main reasons why the participants did not disclose their bi+ sexual orientation included avoidance of explaining to and educating others, as well as the perception of irrelevance regarding sexual orientation in sporting contexts. To confirm, it is not suggested these are the *only* reasons why bi+ women do not disclose their sexual orientation in sports environments, but rather these are the findings found from this study. Both findings contribute to bi+ identities rarely being discussed in sport, and therefore perpetuate bi+ invisibility.

In relation to the DPM, where educating others was identified in the model as a reason for having approach-focused goals, the opposite was instead found in this study. The thought of having to explain to or educate others in fact promoted avoidance-focused goals, and thus avoidance of disclosure. This needs to be taken into consideration in future studies using the model. Two participants who expressed not disclosing their sexual orientation in sport, suggested sport was not a relevant space to have such discussions. There were no positive or negative connotations relating to such views. Consequently, in these cases, these participants did not start with certain goals as suggested in the model.

It is clear from these findings that one can be 'out' or feel as though they are 'out' without being visible in relation to their specific sexual orientation (invisible bi+ open outness). From a broader perspective, the concern is if bi+ women continue not to be

known as bi+, this inadvertently perpetuates bi+ erasure in sport and possibly in broader society. However, it is evident that there are reasons from this research and perhaps additional explanations outside of this research, as to why bi+ women are not or do not want to be known as bi+. Society as a whole has a responsibility to respond to bi+ erasure, the same as for other forms of erasure, in order to make UK sports settings more inclusive for bi+ women. On the topic of bi+ erasure, the next initial theme surrounds bi+phobia.

4.3 Initial theme two: Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit

This initial theme examines the bi+phobia the participants experienced in sport, ranging from explicit to implicit forms of bi+phobia. There was little evidence of bi+phobia, but it was seemingly present at a more implicit level through the homo – heterosexual binary still being reinforced. This meant that bi+ erasure was still perpetuated in sporting contexts.

4.3.1 Rare explicit bi+phobia in sport

When I asked the question, "Have you experienced any biphobia in sport?", some responses included: "I honestly don't think I have to be honest. Not at all" (Nicola); "No, I don't think so" (Robyn); and "I wouldn't say I have, no" (Summer). A total of 23 of the participants said they had not personally experienced any biphobia in sport and their responses were mostly short and concise as found with Nicola, Robyn and Summer.

With some of the participants (5) including the phrase, 'I don't *think* so' in their responses, this could suggest they are not certain on what biphobia meant as a specific form of discrimination. If this is the case, perhaps not knowing what consists of biphobia means one would not know when biphobic actions were taking place. Alternatively, the participants may not have perceived certain actions to be biphobic which I do. Nevertheless, Alice A was one of two participants who differed to the majority of the interviewees and did experience what she referred to as biphobia in sport.

> Becky: Have you ever experienced biphobia in sport generally?
>
> Alice A: In sport generally, yeah?

> Becky: Yeah.
>
> Alice A: (Pause) I think when I was a teenager. Like, when you're in the changing rooms and people know you're gay or bi, people don't want to change anywhere near you because in their head you're a pervert. It's obviously bollocks because I didn't want to go near any of them as I didn't trust them (laughter), but it always hurt me that people thought I was promiscuous when I really wasn't. So, as I said before I'm not that sexual and I'm not that interested in that sort of thing. So, that really hurt. That assumption is quite hurtful to be honest. (Pause) that was the main one […] and I used to get pushed into the unisex changing rooms as if to say, 'That's where you belong!'

Alice A's response surrounds her past school experience, and she did not discuss any current cases of biphobia in sport. Though for Alice A, this was an example of biphobia some could argue this is an example of homophobia. To clarify, biphobia refers to the hatred, dislike, or prejudice against bisexual people or bisexuality as a sexual orientation more broadly (Mulick & Wright, 2002), whereas homophobia is negative behaviours and attitudes towards individuals who are homosexual (Symons et al., 2017).

Biphobia and homophobia, although different, can share similarities and even overlap when prejudice and discrimination occur. For example, in Alice A's case, she specifically stated if people were bisexual *or* homosexual, it resulted in others not wanting them in the changing rooms. This demonstrates it was not due to specifically being bisexual or homosexual as to why this action occurred but rather it would have occurred to anyone who was non-heterosexual. Therefore, the term queerphobia, meaning negative behaviours and attitudes towards individuals who are queer, is better suited in this case. Furthermore, although this is a case of queerphobia, similar to this scenario, bi+ people can also experience homophobia especially if their sexual identity is unknown to others and they are assumed to be homosexual. This was recognised specifically in sport in the work of Maddocks (2013).

In contrast, biphobia and homophobia can exist as distinct from one another because as Anderson & McCormack (2016) suggested, those who are bisexual can face issues which homosexual people do not. Alice A mentioned the assumption was that she was promiscuous and historically, the assumption of someone being promiscuous has been strongly associated specifically with bisexuality (Hayfield et al., 2014). Therefore, if

it was the assumption of Alice A being promiscuous because she was bisexual which drove the discriminative action to occur, this would be biphobia.

In relation to The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework by Yoshino (2000), I propose the 'delegitimation' categorisation aligns more with negative stereotypes as a category of biphobia, or in this study's case bi+phobia, as opposed to bisexual erasure (I refer to as bi+ erasure). However, Yoshino applied this to his framework as negative stereotypes can lead to bisexual people not feeling safe in certain spaces, therefore not speaking out or being out and, consequently bisexual erasure becoming an outcome. Nevertheless, others calling Alice A promiscuous due to being bisexual is a form of stigmatisation, which according to Yoshino is an example of delegitimation.

When given the same question surrounding biphobia, Brid drew on an experience she had in her kickboxing club. This is the same passage found on page 147. The action of walking away once hearing Brid was bisexual demonstrated biphobia for Brid. This non-verbal experience does not relate to aspects in The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework, but it raises the need for more non-verbal forms of prejudice or behaviour to be incorporated in the framework. This also highlights the importance for researchers to take into consideration contextual influences in experiences (e.g., what was said, how it was said, how people respond verbally and non-verbally and one's body language).

Only two of the 25 participants had experienced what they considered biphobia in sport, and of those experiences none occurred within the last decade. This is a positive outcome. It suggests at the present time, based on the participants in the study, overt biphobia did not occur in their current experiences in sport. However, this finding could be influenced by at least some of the participants not knowing what biphobia is or the finer specifics of what it entails. Furthermore, Joanne raised an important point when she said,

> …as soon as you label yourself as bi+, the amount of biphobia towards you can sometimes lessen because you are that person. So, sometimes people don't want to have that conversation but before that when I identified as gay, I'd hear a little more of it in a social sense of 'You can't make your mind up' and […] 'Having your cake and eating it' thing (laughter) […]. But I haven't had too much to be honest, not since coming out as pan and looking down that line.

This raises the point that biphobia or bi+phobia may occur in sport settings, but such conversations potentially only happen when those who are bi+ are not present. Despite a focus on race rather than sexualities, Picca & Feagin (2007) referred to this as the backstage. Picca & Feagin (2007) suggested in the frontstage, the majority of white individuals know obvious forms of racism are generally frowned upon. Yet, in the backstage where only white individuals are present, openly racist jokes or comments can occur. Using the idea of frontstage and backstage in research is another example of a binary. Furthermore, the conceptualising of frontstage and backstage is transferable to minority groups outside of race and in this case, is relatable to those who are bi+. Therefore, in contemporary UK society where explicit forms of discrimination are generally frowned upon, backstage where bi+ people are not present, such discriminative comments may exist. From the experiences of all of the participants in sport, recent overt biphobia in sport was not identified. However, forms of implicit bi+phobia was experienced.

Although originally saying she has not experienced biphobia in sport, later Grace referred back to her past rugby experiences and said,

> I guess the only biphobia [I experienced] would be bi erasure because there was a lot of talk about lesbians but no talk about bisexual people. Maybe there weren't any there, maybe there were, but it never came up – ever.

Similarly to what Grace stated, it was consistently found amongst the participants that the topic of the participants' sexual orientation were rarely mentioned (17) or were only sometimes discussed (2) in sport. This in itself is a form of bi+ erasure if other sexual orientations were discussed with more presence in such settings. Furthermore, this comment also demonstrates the quietness found surrounding bi+ identities in sport. This explanation was one case of bi+ erasure, however different forms of bi+ erasure were found among the participants.

4.3.2 Implicit bi+ erasure in sport

There were many discussions centred around bi+ erasure. For example,

> …I've never felt discriminated against or anything like that for my sexuality. It's more of a case like the things you get in your everyday life as a bi person. If you're with a girl, people assume you're gay and if you are with a guy,

> then people assume you are straight. It's the same that you get on a rugby team. I don't know if it's any different in other sports but that's from what I've gathered from rugby (Anna).
>
> So, although I'm open about being with a woman, I let them think that I'm gay. You know, all the people I play tennis with apart from a couple of friends, one of which questions it anyway, all just assume that I'm gay. I allow that and I don't do anything to challenge that because it's easier (Georgie).
>
> …For example, in muay thai, I'm pretty sure they all thought I was straight and even in kung fu, the teacher thought I was straight until I told her I wasn't because I mentioned in passing my partner and people go, 'Oh, you're gay' and I'm like 'No, I'm bi'. Usually that's what happens: 'Oh, you're gay', 'Actually no, I'm bi' (laughter) (Jane).

All of the participants discussed experiencing the homo– heterosexual binary assumption based on a current partner in their lives. The homo– heterosexual binary refers to if they are in a relationship with a man, they are assumed to be straight and if they are in a relationship with a woman, they are assumed to be gay. Correspondingly, specifically in sport, the homo– heterosexual binary assumption based on one's partner was also recognised or was anticipated to have occurred in sports contexts, which was discussed by 14 of the participants. Consequently, as sport is a subculture of UK culture and many of the participants experienced these binary assumptions outside of sport, it is probable the bi+ erasure, which was found in sport, stemmed from everyday culture. Anna summarised this well by saying,

> I think it's just society doesn't really think of bisexuals in general. There's this thing where you are nothing until you gain a relationship and therefore, you start being whatever it is that your partner would make you pass as. So, if you're in a relationship with a woman, you're suddenly gay and if you're in a relationship with a man then you're suddenly straight. […] I don't think a lot of people actively think that way but it's like a subconscious thought where they don't think about bi people in general… At the end of the day, people play sport which is a part of society so whichever biases you have as a general member of society get into the sport.

In relation to The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework, the enforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary through sexual orientation binary based assumptions depending on the gender of one's partner, is a form of class erasure. This is not to suggest individuals purposely reinforce the homo– heterosexual binary (Yoshino, 2000). In most cases it was suggested or implied this was done inadvertently. Therefore, it seems it is not people's conscious choice to erase discussions on bi+

identities, but rather the homo– heterosexual sexual binary is so ingrained as a norm in UK society, that monosexual individuals subconsciously engage in these binary practices.

Homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on the gender of one's current partner is not a new finding amongst academic literature. Ochs (1996) acknowledged this in her work, and it continues to be a common theme in bi+ people's experiences now (see, e.g., Feinstein & Dyar, 2017; Serpe et al., 2020; Xavier Hall et al., 2021). However, this is a new finding based on research in the context of sport. This demonstrates there is still a need for campaigns such as #BSeen and #StillBisexual to reduce bi+ erasure and encourage more bi+ visibility both in– and outside of sport.

Homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on the gender of one's current partner, from in– and outside of sport, was a consistent and prominent finding throughout the interviews. However, this was not the only form of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions found in– and outside of sport.

When asked if anyone on her rugby team has ever assumed her sexual orientation before, Anna responded with,

> So, people tend to consider that. I had a very gay hair cut because I used to have a full-on side cut and I've got a nose ring. And I've been told that people would assume I was a lesbian until they met my partner and then they assume I'm straight, but I'm not. [I'm] neither one nor the other.

This comment suggests sexual orientation binary based assumptions regarding one's partner overrides sexual orientation binary assumptions based on appearance. Therefore, there seems to be a hierarchy in relation to others' perceptions of validity amongst these binary assumptions, where the gender of one's partner is seen as the most valid 'evidence'. It was acknowledged by eight of the participants that they have experienced or recognised a binary based assumption which suggests a woman who is *more* masculine ('masc') presenting is a lesbian and a woman who is *more* feminine ('femme') presenting is straight in sport. Furthermore, even within the LGBTQ+ inclusive space of roller derby, when discussing a period when Alex was more 'masc' presenting, she said,

> …some people in roller derby were like, 'Are you gay now?' sort of thing… it was like, 'Oh, you've gone full gay on us' or 'Full lesbian on us.' It's like,

> ‘Well, I haven’t but okay’ (laughter). So, I think there’s always going to be assumptions based on stuff like that.

This demonstrates even within a queer inclusive environment where people are very supportive of a range of queer identities (Pavlidis, 2021), the homo– heterosexual binary through appearance can still be found. In relation to The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework, this again is another form of class erasure due to the perpetuation of the homo– heterosexual binary through assumptions being based on one’s appearance. Being perceived as straight or gay for bi+ individuals based on their appearance has been acknowledged outside of sport, including in the work of Hayfield (2013) and Nelson (2020). Therefore, this finding aligns with and supports such research.

Hayfield (2020, p.2) stated “binary understandings of sexuality arise from binary understandings of sex and gender”, which is what is found within this finding. The gender binary where men are expected to be masculine, and women are expected to be feminine, and where heterosexuality is then assumed plays a part in the finding of the reinforcement of homo– heterosexual binary based on appearance. In this case, if a woman’s appearance is masculine or more masculine presenting, they are assumed to be gay and if a woman’s appearance is feminine or more feminine presenting, they are assumed to be straight.

When discussing visibility, Rachael said,

> I feel like the assumption is that I’m straight or gay, which happens all the fucking time, all the time. That feels like a kind of exclusion because it’s a kind of invisibility and there’s no way to claim that space. Like, how do you be in the middle? Yeah, I struggle with that a lot. I have this like war between my femmeness and my visible queerness because I feel like so much of being visible is more of a masculine aesthetic. Like, wearing more masculine clothing and having a more masculine style is a way that we signal, on a female bodied person like me, queerness. I also feel like I’m losing a really big part of me in that process and I don’t know how to bring those parts together and somehow straddle both whilst looking bisexual. I mean, what does it even mean to look bisexual? Like, I have no idea what that means.

For three of the participants, the impact of the homo– heterosexual binary affected their expression of appearance more widely in their lives because they did not know how a bi+ person can be visible appearance-wise, thus they could not express this part

of their identity. Therefore, an understanding of what being bi+ "looks like" appearance-wise can also be invisible among bi+ people *and* monosexual individuals alike. The binary of masculinity and femininity and its usual association with being heterosexual or homosexual thus perpetuates bi+ erasure. Aligning with the outcomes from the work of Hayfield (2013) and Nelson (2020), this creates uncertainty for some bi+ women on how to express their sexual orientation through their appearance.

The homo– heterosexual binary assumption based on appearance was also discussed outside of sport by four of the participants. Although not as much of a prominent finding as sexual orientation binary assumptions based on the gender of one's partner, homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on an individual's appearance still plays a part in the bi+ erasure which occurs in sport among the participants in this study. Although sexual orientation binary assumptions based on the gender of one's partner and based on one's appearance were acknowledged both inside and outside of sport, another form of homo– heterosexual binary assumption was found which was sport specific.

In the interview with Anna, she said,

> I think because I've only played a sport where people assume you're gay by playing football and rugby, I think it's more annoying in the sense that actually 'No, I'm bi'. The same way it would annoy me if people assumed I was straight in a different setting. It just annoys me more in the sense that 'Why do you assume that anyone who plays this sport is gay when they could be bi, straight, ace, anything.' There's a whole lot of sexualities that they could be.

A similar discussion took place with Chloe.

> Becky: If I was literally to say to you when thinking about your sexuality in sport what are the experiences which would come straight to mind? Are there any you'd think of straight away?
>
> Chloe: I think especially being in England when you play football, people assume you're gay, especially at a higher level. It is more prominent, so I think being in a sport like football, it is assumed you're gay. Especially when I've played netball as well, people assume you're straight if you play netball. But like if you meet a girl rugby player, you assume they're gay and if you meet a dancer, you assume you're probably straight. I guess there's still stereotypes and I'm aware of them and I buy into them as well, which isn't a good thing obviously but it's there.

Rosa said,

> I think it does happen. It's one of those weird simplistic things that people do. I often find this about sports that require a lot of physical strength rather than physical dexterity. I find it interesting that rowing doesn't figure in that because rowing requires a huge amount of physical strength. And actually, when you look at really great rowing women, they are often big, solid and made of muscle. But I haven't experienced the same kind of assumption that, 'Oh, you look butch to me, so you must be a lesbian.' Whereas I do think that does happen with things such as weightlifting in particular. There's this, 'You look butch and you have quite a muscular body, so you must be a lesbian.' That I can see definitely does happen. I don't think anybody throughout my whole dance (from ballet, tap and all the way through to theatre dance), no one assumed I was anything but straight until I told them.

This demonstrates certain sports are perceived to be associated with femininity or masculinity (a binary in itself) and as a consequence, assumptions based on the homo– heterosexual binary due to the sport one participants in, are made. The enforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary in this case suggests if a woman participates in a sport which is seen as masculine, they are assumed to be a lesbian and if a woman participates in a sport which is seen to be feminine, they are assumed to be straight. However, other sports are not put into this homo– heterosexual binary, as found by Rosa in regard to rowing. Furthermore, Rosa's response drew upon one's appearance *and* the sport one participates in. Therefore, these binary assumptions about appearance *and* particular sport one participates in can be interlinked. Removing the element relating to the effects on bi+ identities, these straight and gay assumptions have been found in historic sport research (see, e.g., Griffin, 1999; Krane, 1997).

Although not as frequently discussed compared to sexual orientation assumptions based on the gender of partners, homo– heterosexual binary assumptions were found based on the sports in which some of the participants were involved. Eight participants (5 football, 2 rugby and 1 cricket) had noticed the existence of the homo– heterosexual sexual binary assumption based on the sport they played in. A further six participants had recognised homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on sport, although not from their own experiences. The participants in sports such as rowing, fencing and tennis had not experienced this homo– heterosexual assumption in their sport, whereas predominantly those in football, rugby and cricket had. Therefore, perhaps the individual nature of rowing, fencing and tennis compared to team sports may play a

part as to why the lesbian assumption was only found within certain sports in this study.

Although most of the participants involved in what are perceived as 'traditional masculine' sports have recognised the homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on the sport they play, not all of them did. Furthermore, since the interviews in this study took place, the women's England football team won the Euro 2022 Championship (Wrack, 2022), which helped excel the popularity and media coverage of women's football in the UK. Due to the substantial media coverage during the tournament, more Lionesses were (and still are) in the limelight in relation to their careers as well as their personal lives, including sexual orientations and love lives (see, e.g., Fletcher, 2023; Robinson, 2022). First team players including Alex Greenwood, Ella Toone, Georgia Stanway and Millie Bright were all publicly known to be in romantic relationships with men (see, Fletcher, 2023). Though it cannot be assumed these players are straight and not bi+, their public existence of being in romantic relationships with men does dent the perception that women who play football are gay. Due to their visibility in UK media, perhaps a shift is taking place where the stereotype of women in traditional masculine sports being gay, or at the very least in football, is being dismantled.

Homo– heterosexual assumptions (especially lesbian assumptions) based on a sport or physical activity in which a woman participates has been acknowledged in research across western societies for over two decades (see, e.g., Cox & Thompson, 2001; Kauer & Krane, 2006; Pistella et al., 2020). However, such research has not examined the influence of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions for those with bi+ identities in sport as this research has. When analysing this finding through the lens of the Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework, the existence and perpetuation of the homo– heterosexual binary based on the sport one participates in, is another form of class erasure.

Referring back to Chloe's quote, not only does she recognise the homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on sports, but she also buys into and perpetuates such assumptions. Two other participants, including Alice B, also openly admitted to implementing homo– heterosexual binary assumptions. For example,

> Alice B: …bisexual people are also bi-blind, not biphobic but bi-blind. We have to work really hard not to be, and I've only just realised that I've even assumed someone could be gay. That's interesting. That's really interesting. So, there's my own prejudice that is there and is coming out. My own implicit bias is coming out there against myself (laughter).
>
> Becky: Why do you think even bi people can be bi-blind?
>
> Alice B: Because it's the norm and people buy into the norm.

However, for Alice B it was not clear why she made these assumptions (one's sport, one's appearance, one's partner or a combination). Nevertheless, due to the perceived wider cultural norm described by Alice B surrounding the homo– heterosexual binary assumptions, perhaps this contributes to the practices of some bi+ individuals themselves also engaging in homo– heterosexual binary assumptions. From my knowledge, there is no academic literature based on bi+ people themselves contributing to the perpetuation of bi+ erasure in sport. Therefore, this is an original finding and contribution to the field of sport and sexualities as well as bi+ studies more broadly. Furthermore, from a wider theoretical perspective, it is not just monosexual people who perpetuate class erasure as Yoshino (2000) suggested, but also bi+ people can also inadvertently contribute to reinforcing homo– heterosexual binary assumptions and thus, class erasure too.

An original finding from my research is when assumptions relating to a sport a woman participates in were found, they were *only* based on the homo– heterosexual binary. When discussing why there are not any bi+ assumptions based on sports, Steph concisely summarised by saying,

> I think [it's] because the stereotypes of bi people are not tied to… gender expression. So, the stereotype of lesbians tends to be linked to the butch expression and masculine expression, whereas stereotypes of straight women tend to be about femininity.

This suggests because there is not a particular form of clear physical expression for bi+ women, no sporting activity is associated with having a bi+ identity. Where the gender binary structure of sport is prominent (Phipps, 2021), this is another form of binary found in the context of sport. Reflecting on this comment, from the participants' prior responses suggesting the homo– heterosexual binary can be reinforced based on appearance, it is perhaps possible such binary assumptions based on appearance and

sport may interlink. To summarise, if any of the homo– heterosexual assumptions (based on partner, appearance or sport) go unchallenged, this further perpetuates bi+ erasure and the quietness found surrounding bi+ identities in sport. Though bi+ erasure through the influence of homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions (class erasure) were dominant in this initial theme, individual erasure was also demonstrated.

When discussing her old football team from over ten years ago, Jane spoke about comments her teammates made.

> Jane: …The reason why my football team got together was because of an LGBT charity event. I was volunteering for (name of company). So, we got together so obviously we all knew [that I was bi]. I'm still friends with them but even jokingly they'd be like 'Hmmm you're not really bi'.
>
> Becky: Were there any other comments you've had, even if it's in a joking way?
>
> Jane: Well, usually the comments are, 'Well, you're not really bi.' That's the usually comment I get. Either 'You're not really bi' or that I'm not really bi because I'm gay […]. We'd go out and we'd go to gay places, and I'll make comments about how attractive a woman is.

In relation to Yoshino's (2000) framework, this is an example of individual erasure. From how Jane explained these experiences, these comments were made in a form of 'banter'. Caudwell (2011) distinguished in her work that there is a fine line between bullying and banter in relation to sexual orientation discussions. Based on the contextual factors where Jane explained the closeness she shared with her former teammates and the way she described the experiences, it seems probable this was received as banter to Jane although with a bi+ erasure undertone. According to Maddocks (2013), four female football participants in her study, some of whom were bisexual, acknowledged banter surrounding their sexualities as a form of inclusion as opposed to exclusion. As Jane's feelings of hearing those comments were not delved into further, it is difficult to conclude if these were cases of inclusive or exclusive practices. However, what can be concluded is this example is a form of individual erasure. Furthermore, such comments regardless of whether they were seen as bullying or banter, may have affected Jane in regard to not discussing her sexual orientation in that space and therefore, contributed to the quietness founding surrounding bi+ identities in sport.

4.3.3 Concluding thoughts (initial theme two)

There were two participants who experienced explicit forms of bi+phobia in sport, both of which were from an historical context (over 10 years ago). Amongst all of the participants in this study, no explicit forms of bi+phobia in sport occurred in a more recent period (within the last five years). However, implicit forms of bi+phobia in sport, specifically bi+ erasure, did occur for many of the participants in their recent experiences.

In relation to the three forms of bisexual erasure (class erasure, individual erasure and delegitimation) which Yoshino (2000) acknowledges in his framework Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure, I argued delegitimation was better suited and categorised outside of bisexual erasure and instead categorised under 'negative stereotypes'. Nevertheless, in relation to class erasure, individual erasure and delegitimation, there was only one case of individual erasure found in a sports context and this was not a recent experience. Initially, this finding seems positive by demonstrating no individual erasure in contemporary sport was found amongst the participants in this study. However, due to the topic of one's bi+ identity arising being a rarity, if people surrounding these participants did not know they were bi+, the opportunities for individual erasure are reduced. Therefore, if bi+ identities were more known and visible in the context of sport, there would have been more opportunities for individual erasure to occur. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed just because there would have been more opportunities for individual erasure to occur that there would have been more cases of individual erasure. I am simply arguing there would be more opportunity for individual erasure to occur.

Class erasure was the most common form of bi+ erasure found in this study. However, there were no experiences in sport based on 'bisexual chic', which refers to bisexuality only being visible as a phase, fashion statements or fad (Yoshino, 2000). However, there were other forms of class erasure found in sport though homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions. There were two specific homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions which were found in– and outside of sport in current times: 1) binary assumptions based on the gender of one's romantic partner and 2) binary assumptions based on one's appearance. Due to recent literature outside of sport recognising these assumptions (see, e.g., Daly et al., 2018; Hayfield, 2013; Serpe et al., 2020), it is

probable these binary assumptions are still perpetuated in UK society. Therefore, as sport is a subculture of UK society, it is likely such assumptions filter into sporting contexts as well.

The last homo– heterosexual binary assumption discussed was sport specific: the binary assumption based on what sport in which a woman participates. This was also examined to be a form of class erasure. For some of the participants, if they participated in a sport which was deemed a 'traditional male sport' they were assumed to be gay and if they participated in a sport which was seen as a 'traditional female sport' they were assumed to be straight. This binary notion stems from the traditional gender binary expectations. The perpetuation of this binary assumption in itself is a form of bi+ erasure as none of the participants could name a sport where one is assumed to be bi+ if they participate within it. However, though most of the participants who participated in football, rugby and cricket did experience the existence of the homo–heterosexual binary assumption based on the sport they participated in, many others did not. This particularly included those from individual based sports. Furthermore, the influence of many women footballers who play for England being in relationships with men in the public eye may contribute to dispelling the assumption that women who play football are gay and as a consequence, further breaks down the homo–heterosexual binary based on sport or at the very least within women's football. The findings surrounding the binary assumptions found in this research adds to the work of Yoshino (2000), as these assumptions should be their own branch off of the category of class erasure.

Yoshino (2000) claimed bisexual erasure (I refer to it as bi+ erasure) is due to heterosexuals and homosexuals holding shared investments within such erasure, where both self-identified straight and gay people deploy the same three strategies (individual erasure, class erasure and delegitimation). However, this study's findings suggest it is not just heterosexual and homosexual people who can invest in bi+ erasure in their lives, but bi+ individuals themselves can also inadvertently perpetuate bi+ erasure, in this case in sport contexts. This was specifically found in this research within the homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions. Therefore, this research demonstrates bi+ people themselves can also engage in marginalising practices, which reinforces and perpetuates bi+ erasure in sport.

As bi+ women can also perpetuate homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions in sport, perhaps this could occur in other contexts. Therefore, although practices promoting bi+ erasure may have started due to heterosexuals and homosexuals holding shared investments within such erasure, by being bi+, bi+ people would not share that particular investment. Therefore, there must be another reason or reasons why bi+ people engage in practices involving bi+ erasure, which Yoshino (2000) did not consider or include in his framework. As a consequence, this also demonstrates it may be possible for some heterosexual and homosexual people to also engage in practices which promote bi+ erasure but are doing so due to another reason other than for a shared investment to maintain their societal power. This was not acknowledged or included in the work of Yoshino (2000), and therefore knowing bi+ people can also perpetuate bi+ erasure themselves provides contemporary knowledge particularly in the field of bi+ studies.

4.4 Initial theme three: Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality

This initial theme explores how the participants feel as bi+ women in sport as well as examining why they feel such a way. Bi+ women felt that their sporting contexts were a safe space when their environment met particular criteria (e.g., being comfortable, inclusive, welcoming or demonstrating inclusivity more widely). These conditions allowed these bi+ women to feel that they were a part of safe sporting spaces.

4.4.1 Positive feelings in sport as bi+ women

In the interview about her most recent rugby team, Billie stated,

> I think my latter experiences have been more inclusive, irrespective of whether the team is predominantly straight or not which is quite rare in women's sport. Actually, that has operated in a very safe space as people just have other bigger things that they worry about in their lives than your romantic or sex life. It's something that's just another aspect of what you do.

Therefore, for Billie, her most recent rugby team provided a safe space for her as a queer woman. Seven other participants also explicitly viewed their sporting environments as a safe space for them as bi+ women. Billie had played football when

she was at university and has participated in rugby for a range of different clubs. Her experiences of being in a safe space as a queer woman have differed throughout her life, so it is important to note her experiences are very clearly multi-dimensional within this topic. In her prior experiences in university football during the 2000s, the homo–heterosexual binary was very present where bisexuality was invisible to sporting spaces, which aligns with the research findings by Maddocks (2013), Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023). Accordingly, although not explicitly discussed by Billie, this may affect the degree of safeness felt in her university football team in comparison to her current rugby team experiences. Furthermore, this demonstrates contextual factors (e.g., date, sport, area, people, culture) can all contribute to one's experiences, and in this case, how safe a space can be.

In relation to the Action-effect Role Model (AERM) by de Queiroz et al. (2021), the effect found by Billie was her rugby club was a safe space. She suggests other aspects of her life in her most recent rugby team are of more meaning than one's sexual orientation. However, it is unclear what (if any) actions were put into place to ensure this outcome within the club's culture. Therefore, perhaps there were not any specific actions put in place. Perhaps this occurred more naturally from the general culture in society, which then affected her club as a subculture. In this example, the AERM cannot be fully applied due to the lack of finer details.

For Jane, she did not feel safe to come out in muay thai but felt her previous football club provided safety in relation to coming out as bisexual. Despite occasional bisexual stereotypes and forms of bi+ erasure based on 'jokey' comments from those in her football team, Jane felt safe (effect) in that space. It was clear Jane enjoyed and valued the connectivity and subculture surrounding her then football team. So, perhaps for her, safety is based on if you are safe to *come out in that space* and, for her, the occasional bi+phobic comments with the sporting space did not equate to that space being or feeling unsafe. This also demonstrates the importance of what the phrase 'safe space' means to each individual, which can differ.

A similarity was found amongst Alex and Molly in relation to discussions surrounding a safe space: both used the word *quite* before the term safe in their interviews. Below is an extract from Molly's interview.

> Becky: So, out of all of the different environments in your life, which one would you say makes you feel the most comfortable and positive as a bisexual person in that space?
>
> Molly: Probably with my close friends but that's probably what everyone feels. At college, definitely rowing, [being with] close friends and (a drama based activity) was pretty good. Because no one is over 25 there and therefore you assume that everyone is liberal and it's quite a safe environment.

Perhaps by using the term *quite* in this context, Molly is acknowledging that just because her rowing club is usually a safe environment for her to be bisexual in, due to only having peers under the age of 25, it cannot be assumed the space is or will always be a safe space. In relation to the AERM, it is clear Molly's effect is the feeling that her rowing club is quite safe. She describes it being quite a safe space as no one over 25 attends. Therefore, simply by the club only having peers who are under 25 and Molly's assumption they are all liberals, allowed for this outcome. This does not align with the AERM as there are no particular actions which have been put into place to create the effect of the space being quite safe. Instead, it is more of a coincidence, due to it being a university club, which only under 25s attend. Therefore, this demonstrates it is not only actions which can lead to inclusive effects, but also simply the culture and design of the club and who it attracts. Furthermore, the use of using *quite* may suggest a certain degree of safety was felt as opposed to feeling completely safe as a bi+ woman.

Differing from Molly, the impact of using the word *quite* before *safe* by Alex is predicted not to be for the same reasons. Alex expressed,

> So, a lot of people who perhaps are in relationships with men or whatever will be like, 'Yeah, I'm queer'. It might just be my roller derby team but quite a lot of us who started together and were in relationships with men at one point and now we are not, or they still are, it's quite a welcoming environment for people to just be quite open about what's going on with them. It's also quite a fluid environment for people to question their gender or sexual identity within quite a safe space. I would say we are quite inclusive most of the time which is nice. So, […] I've had friends in other sports, and it may have been a bit more difficult or where they have been outed or had to out themselves. Whereas we don't really have that at roller derby.

Through the analysis of Alex's interview, Alex says the word *quite* 30 times throughout the interview. Even within this extract, the word quite is used six times. In

relation to Alex, it seems as though the word quite is a subconscious expression or possible filler word used in her everyday language or at least, for the interview. Therefore, it would be inaccurate to assume the word 'quite' on this occasion is of any meaning to the contexts in which it is used and consequently, the AERM will not be applied. Another term which was explicitly used by some of the participants, and which falls under the umbrella of 'positive feelings' is the word, comfortable.

When in discussion with Billie about her most recent rugby club, the following was said.

> Becky: So, if I was literally just to say to you, tell me about your experiences which come to mind straight away when thinking about your sexuality in sport, what do you think would come to mind straight away?
>
> Billie: (Pause) That's an interesting question. I think maybe because it's most recent in my thoughts and I have just left that club to move so you look back quite fondly, I would say the strongest experience I've had with my sexuality in sport is just that it hasn't mattered. That's not the right phrasing. That I felt completely comfortable in my most recent club and the diversity of people there.

Specifically, seven of the participants, including Billie, used the term *comfortable* when referring to their feelings of being a bi+ woman in their sport. However, the term comfortable can have different meaning based on one's contexts. For example, in a medical context a doctor may ask, "Are you comfortable?" Therefore, in the doctor example, being comfortable could suggest 'putting up with something'. However, based on the context and the content surrounding the term by the participants, it seems highly likely they use comfortable to relate to being at ease in sports contexts.

When relating this example to the AERM, the effect is Billie felt completely comfortable in her most recent rugby club. This was due to the diversity of people at the club. Therefore, due to a range of diverse teammates (the agents) attending the club (action), where some of which are openly queer (action), allowed for Billie to feel completely comfortable as a queer woman in that space (effect). De Queiroz et al. (2021) refers to the agent and action both being singular in their model. However, in this example, due to having agents and actions, these were instead plural. Therefore, a criticism of the AERM is each category may not be singular and can be plural.

In the interview with Kat, when asked if she is open about her sexuality in her most recent football team, she said,

> I think that is somewhere where I knew lots of people were gay. It felt fine and natural to just talk about it. A lot of other people on the team were in relationships with each other so it was very open. Even the coaches knew about all [of] the girl drama. So, yeah, quite open about that as well. So, yeah, it was a lot easier to be open and also, more comfortable.

By Kat saying 'more comfortable' suggests sport is a more comfortable space for her to be bisexual than in other spaces in her life. However, although she felt *more* comfortable, it cannot be assumed she felt *fully* comfortable. I raise this point as later in the interview, Kat said,

> …because a lot of the girls are gay, I wouldn't feel gay enough. There were a few times where they'd all be talking about something and I kind of wanted to be like 'Woo - yeah, I agree' but they were happy with all the open gay girls being together.

So, although the representation of gay women in Kat's football team made her feel more comfortable than in other spaces, by her not feeling 'gay enough', perhaps further actions could be put in place for her to feel *even more* comfortable as a bisexual woman in that space. This example suggests the terms the respondents use, and the experiences they have are not always binary – i.e., positive or negative. In this case, just because sport is more comfortable than other spaces, does not mean it is faultless in how comfortable it *can* be as a space for bi+ women. Although based on LGBTQ+ youth and not adults, Clark et al. (2021) also acknowledged, despite more inclusivity for LGBTQ+ people in sport, especially in the last decade, improvements are still needed to make sports safer and more inclusive for those in the LGBTQ+ community. In this particular case, further changes, adaptions and actions could be implemented to make the space even more inclusive and safe and in turn, more comfortable than currently for Kat.

In relation to the AERM, some of the gay women (agents) in her football team were openly gay (action). Therefore, due to those teammates being explicitly open about their homosexuality, this caused Kat to feel more comfortable (effect) than in other settings of her life. However, it cannot be assumed one feels either fully included or not in a space. Although not specifically stated in the AERM, this aligns with de

Queiroz et al. (2021) as they suggested an individual perceives their form of inclusion as high, moderate, low or none. So, due to some of the gay women (agents) in her football team only talking to other gay women in the team (actions), Kat at times was made to feel not 'gay enough' (effect). Bi+ people not feeling 'gay enough' or 'queer enough' has also been recognised in research outside of sport, including in the work by Evans et al. (2017), Roberts et al. (2015) and Sin (2015). This example demonstrates the concepts involved in the AERM are not just suitable for conceptualising inclusive but also exclusive effects too. Another common positive term to explain one's feelings of being bi+ in sport which was found is, inclusive.

Rachael had been involved in boxing and roller derby. She spoke passionately about how inclusive her roller derby club was for her. Specifically, she said,

> So, I've recently joined a roller derby team, which I don't really see as a sport because I'm really bad at it (laughing). But it is a sport for some people, and I've joined this league which is gender and sexuality inclusive and it's the safest space not just in sport but that I've ever been in in my life. It's fucking amazing… It's the most wholesome and inclusive space surrounding gender and sexuality. I think it's amazing. I find it so joyful to be there. I feel completely seen and that no one is going to make any judgements about me. And I don't have to explain myself, and it would be so nice if there were more spaces like that.

A similar discussion was also had with Steph.

> Becky: So, when you then moved onto roller derby, were you out?
>
> Steph: Yeah. Yes, definitely. The community was far more LGBT inclusive anyway. So, roller derby does have a lot of gay and bisexual women in it already and certainly now it's far more trans inclusive as well. So, it's a very inclusive community.

Six of the participants described their sporting space as inclusive based on being a bi+ women in such spaces. This was a common finding amongst those who have participated in roller derby, as all of the other participants who been involved in roller derby, said for them as bi+ women, their sporting space is inclusive. In relation to the AERM, Rachael identified many effects from being in the roller derby environment including it being inclusive and feeling completely seen. This demonstrates there can be multiple effects based on actions as opposed to just one as implied by de Queiroz et al. (2020) in the AERM. At this point with Rachael, it was unclear what specific

actions were put in place in the environment and by whom (agents) to allow for feelings of inclusion. Steph also used the term inclusive (effect) to refer to her prior roller derby club, despite at this point it being unclear what actions were made and by whom to make her feel it was an inclusive space for her as a bisexual woman.

Rachael specified at the end of her statement that she does not have to explain herself in her roller derby environment, therefore, suggesting in some spaces she does have to explain herself. This relates to this study's findings surrounding outness, where explaining to or educating others is seen negatively by the participants and can lead to them deciding not to disclose to or to avoid initiating disclosure regarding their sexual orientation. Therefore, providing a space which feels inclusive and where one does not have to explain oneself is a positive outcome, at least for Rachael.

Although all of the participants who explicitly said their sporting setting was inclusive for them as bi+ women were those in roller derby, arguably this was implicitly suggested by other participants (3) in different sports (1 cricket and 2 rowing) as well. Another common positive term to explain one's feelings regarding being a bi+ woman in sport which was found is, *welcoming*.

For Rosa, despite her undergraduate rowing club involving negative experiences for her, she went on to say,

> … I think if I hadn't have continued with rowing when I got to (university 2), I would have a really negative general feeling about it. But because I was in that very welcoming environment where I could be myself when at (university 2), I have a positive feeling about it and pushed the (university 1) stuff to the back of my mind. I think, 'Well, if I had started rowing when I was a child and had a really welcoming and positive experiences then maybe I would have carried on rowing forever.' To be honest, I'm planning to start rowing again because I miss it so much. But I might have gone on to have been in a professional capacity, who knows. That's my thoughts (laughter).

The term welcoming was also used by four other participants. In this example, Rosa explicitly associates being in a welcoming environment with positive feelings (effect) about her experiences within that particular rowing club. Similarly to other participants at this stage, it is unclear as to what specific actions were put in place (actions) and by whom (agents) to create this effect. On the topic of feeling welcomed, when discussing her sexual identity, Nicola delved into feelings of being welcomed and of her own comfort in her cricket space,

> So, I don't know about other sports, but my experience of cricket, well cricket was the reason I realised [I was bisexual] basically. Because a situation where every team I've played, there have always been lesbians and bisexual people or however they want to identify... It doesn't define anyone because it's so common. No one ever assumes or is surprised, in my experience. So, [with] my friends, I never really talked about it because it's not an issue but there are other parts of my life that I don't talk about [her sexual orientation] because I don't know how people would react. So, I think cricket is a welcoming space where I feel really comfortable, and I don't have to talk about it if I don't want to. I do if I chat with my friends but there are other bits of my life where I'm not really open about it.

Here, Nicola is making interconnections between her sport as a welcoming space and her comfort based on her sexual orientation in that space. This interrelation of positive feelings was also recognised with other participants throughout this aspect of the analysis. Specifically relating to the AERM, it is clear the effect is Nicola's cricket club is a welcoming space for her. In accordance with the model, by many of her teammates (agents), being openly and explicitly queer (actions), allowed Nicola to feel as though her cricket club was a welcoming space as a bisexual woman (effect).

Below is a fragment of the interview with Sophia.

> Becky: So, if I literally said to you and this is quite broad (laughing), tell me about your experiences regarding your sexuality in sport, what would be the first thing which comes to mind?
>
> Sophia: (Pause) definitely that I've found acceptance in roller derby and that feels like a really safe space to be out and open about my sexuality. I think that as a younger person, team sports […] felt so alien from that side of my life and my identity. I thought in order to be good at sports and to enjoy sports, that you had to fit a certain mould and I was definitely not a part of that. I love being involved in a sport that is so overtly inclusive. We've got really strong inclusion and diversity policies and that feels really powerful to me. I think there are so many issues in how we view ourselves and our bodies, that sport can be really helpful, but you've got to find what works for you and it took me a really long time to find something where I felt really comfortable.

In this example, Sophia discussed feelings of sport being a safe and inclusive space and feelings of comfort when involved in her sport, all of which were within the same paragraph. Although other participants' responses surrounding such positive feelings may not have been as concisely used as found with Sophia, the interconnection and overlapping of such feelings were clearly apparent. Of the 25 participants, 15 described

or specified having positive feelings as a bi+ woman in sporting spaces. Commonly, of the fifteen participants, ten used at least two or more of the terms (comfortable, inclusive, safe and welcoming) together as opposed to singularly when discussing their feelings as bi+ women in sport. Furthermore, there were no distinct commonalities regarding *which* terms were used and for what reason(s). Therefore, certain single terms expressed cannot be associated alone with direct reasons regarding why they felt such a way. Instead, due to the interconnectedness of these four words, a more holistic approach is taken where the umbrella phrase 'positive feelings' is used, which encompasses all four words. Research by Storr & Richards (2022) based on LGBTQ+ tennis participants in Australia acknowledged feelings of belonging and acceptance in order to be their authentic selves. Despite feelings of belonging not being explicitly expressed by the participants in this study, the similarity found in this research in comparison to the work of Storr & Richards (2022) is that positive feelings were expressed when being in a sporting space.

4.4.2 Inclusive outcomes in sport

When discussing the sexual orientation of those in her roller derby organisation, Steph had some valuable insights. Below is an extract from the interview with Steph.

> Becky: (Pause) have you ever experienced any really positive experiences from you being bi in sport? If so, please tell me about these experiences.
>
> Steph: I think in roller derby there's this sense of community which has come from having a lot of people having the same sexuality or having similar sexualities, making a lot more friends who had these experiences and can relate to you. So, I think it comes to finding that space that is very inclusive and finding people who you can relate to in that way.

Similarly, during the interview with Rosa, the following was discussed.

> Becky: Were there any other bi people in that rowing club?
>
> Rosa: Yeah. Yeah. So, one of my friends tried it out for a bit and was like, 'I don't like rowing, it's too much hard work'. But yeah, there were. There were bi men as well as bi women there.
>
> Becky: How did the representation of bi men and bi women in that rowing club affect you?
>
> Rosa: It just made me feel so much more comfortable. I think not just having bi people but also having gay people. It was that 'We are all one thing.' Whereas if you're different then everyone is going to be uncomfortable

> which is how I felt at (university 1) apart from when around friends. There was never that feeling [at university 2], and I think it was because everyone was in an environment where they felt comfortable. It was just completely different.

This finding demonstrates having non-heterosexual people within the participants' sporting spaces contributed to positive feelings regarding being bi+ in that space. By applying the AERM, due to teammates/people at the club (the agents), being openly and explicitly queer and visible (actions), allowed for these participants to experience positive feelings in their sporting spaces as bi+ women (effect). However, there are factors which this model does not take into consideration. Of the 25 participants, 17 explicitly discussed or implied having those around them who were visibly non-heterosexual in their sporting environments was positive, and for most of these 17 participants (15), this contributed to positive feelings as a bi+ women in their sporting space.

As highlighted in the work of de Queiroz et al. (2021), the agent purposefully decides to engage in an action with the hope of inclusive effects occurring. Although it can be argued the teammates/people in the club (agents) did engage with actions to show their queer visibility, it seems unlikely they did so with the sole purpose of ensuring bi+ women felt positive feelings in that space. Instead, it is likely the teammates/people at the club were just being their authentic selves and unaware of this consequence of bi+ women feeling positive feelings due to their queer visibility. This demonstrates there is not always intent or awareness from the agents in order for positive and inclusive effects to occur.

Furthermore, it was unclear from the participants how they knew of others being queer and therefore what specific actions were involved by the agents. For example, this could include disclosure of one's sexual orientation, visibility of same-sex/gender partner or different actions. Therefore, without this knowledge it cannot be determined what were the most effective actions shown by the agents to demonstrate their queer visibility, which consequently made bi+ women have positive feelings in that space. This finding also demonstrates, in this case, only non-heterosexual people can be the agents in order for this particular effect to occur. Therefore, who an agent is can be a factor in whether an effect occurs.

It was not just being amongst other bi+ people which created such positive feelings, but any individuals who were non-heterosexual. This seems to link to the broader debate surrounding whether being amongst those in the LGBTQ+ community is 'enough' for bi+ people or whether a specific bi+ community is required. I refer to this as the bi+ specific or LGBTQ+ general debate. No academic literature was found based on this topic. However, the BBC (2019) documentary *Battling to be Bi* referred to a specific Bi Pride with a group of bi+ people. The organisers of the event suggested LGBTQ+ pride events are not fully inclusive for bi+ people, where prejudice against bi+ people still occur in LGBTQ+ spaces, and consequently there is a need for specific bi+ spaces: in this particular case, a Bi Pride.

In relation to the *Battling to be Bi* documentary (BBC, 2019), other bi+ people who were not involved in the organising of Bi Pride were also in the documentary. Specifically, Lulu Newton said, "[the] Pride that we have now is enough and I don't crave a special occasion just to represent my part of the community." Therefore, for some bi+ individuals, there is not a need for bi+ specific spaces and being within LGBTQ+ spaces and being a part of the LGBTQ+ community is sufficient. In relation to this study, having LGBTQ+ others in their sporting space contributed to positive feelings regarding being bi+ women in such spaces. Therefore, these spaces were not only sufficient for the participants but brought them positive feelings as a bi+ woman in their sports space. Consequently, a bi+ specific sporting space would not be needed based on the participants' responses in this study. Another factor which is connected to representation of visible non-heterosexual people in sport in regard to positive feelings as a bi+ woman in sporting spaces, is the 'no one cares' attitude.

When discussing why Billie felt such positive feelings when in her most recent rugby team, she said,

> It's almost like people don't really care. So, I don't care how that person defines themselves, they are a good laugh and they'll have fun on a night out. They will talk about who they are with whether it's a guy or a woman. It doesn't really matter.

Then, Billie later in the interview stated,

> I would say the strongest experience I've had with my sexuality in sport is just that it hasn't mattered. That's not the right phrasing. That I felt

> completely comfortable in my most recent club and the diversity of people there.

Similarly to Billie, Nicola said,

> So, I think part of it is that there are people like me and there are people like me in every single team that we play and in every single team that I've ever played in. So, I think it's just developed as a culture where it's not that it's expected but it's not entirely surprising. So, […] it doesn't make you stick out in anyway which it might do in other kinds of situations or with other people. And it really doesn't define you at all. I mean, we have girlfriends coming to watch, we have wives and boyfriends coming to watch. No one really cares.

Billie, Jane, Kay, Nicola and Robyn all shared a similarity within their experiences whereby their sexual orientations do not often get discussed in their sporting space because the space is so inclusive of a diverse range of individuals that one's sexual orientation simply does not matter. In turn, this allowed the participants to feel positively regarding their sexual orientation when in such sporting spaces. Consequently, based on Billie's and Nicola's account, the 'no one cares' attitude found in sporting spaces by these participants is connected by having non-heterosexual visible people in their sports club, as identified earlier in this chapter. Therefore, this can be conceptualised as having a diverse range of sexualities amongst participants in sports clubs where one's sexuality 'doesn't matter', which creates a sexual orientation normality. As a result, people with all types of sexual orientations are normalised and accepted.

This is a normality which has not always been present. For example, this outcome differs to the research findings by Caudwell (2007), Drury (2011), Maddocks (2013), Ravel & Rail (2008), Xiang et al. (2023), where discussions surrounding lesbianism were at the forefront of discussions and bisexuality was usually dismissed, silenced or overlooked. However, in comparison to such research, there has been a shift for some bi+ women where their sexual orientation is normalised, as well as other sexual orientations, due to the diverse range of people from the LGBTQ+ community in sporting spaces. Although relating to lesbians and not bi+ women, Bullingham (2015) found among heterosexual and lesbian women in sport, one's sexual orientation also did not matter. This similarly aligns with the 'no one cares' attitude expressed by five

of the participants in this study. Therefore, it seems the ‘no one cares’ attitude is recognised by and effects bi+ and homosexual women in sport.

In relation to the AERM, it has already been analysed that teammates/people at the club (the agents) being openly and explicitly queer and visible (actions), allowed for these participants to experience positive feelings in their sporting spaces as bi+ women (effect). However, there is a clear link between representation of visible non-heterosexual people and the ‘no one cares’ attitude. I propose there are different forms of effects: individual effect(s), club effect(s) and sport effect(s).

In this example, teammates/people at the club (the agents), being openly and explicitly queer and visible (actions), contributed to the development of the ‘no one cares’ attitude (club effect) as well as bi+ women from an individual perspective having positive feelings based on their sexual orientation in that space too (individual effect). However, it is unclear if representation of non-heterosexual people was the *only* action which contributed to the club effect as it is probable there were other contributing factors, but which were not discussed by the participants. From this particular analysis, there were two types of effects found: club effect and individual effect. Therefore, this demonstrates the AERM needs to be adapted and take into consideration different types of effects as opposed to just individual based effects.

The ‘no one cares’ attitude may have been used negatively to silence individuals regarding their sexual orientation in the past. However, in this research, the ‘no one cares’ attitude contributed to having positive feelings for these participants because being amongst people with a range of sexualities was positive and was their norm. Additionally, for these participants, sexual orientation in their sporting spaces was not hierarchical unlike in the findings of Caudwell (2007) and Drury (2011). The ‘no one cares’ attitude is another finding relating to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport. Furthermore, though not fully aligning with Queer Theory, some aspects of this finding relate. Through the social acknowledgment and perpetuation of ‘no one cares’ what one’s sexuality is in such settings, the use of sexual identity labels is reduced and can even be eliminated due to its lack of purpose for recognition or discussion. Resisting categorisations based on sexual orientation is one of the core elements of Queer Theory (Barker & Scheele, 2016). Therefore, due to the ‘no one cares’ attitude, this leads to the reduction of sexual identity labels as important or as a topic for discussion.

When discussing the culture of her roller derby club, Steph said,

> I would use the term queer a lot. I would say it's a queer space. We've got non-binary players, trans women players and there is bi, pan, gay and straight people who play as well. So, it's very inclusive in terms of that.

Unsurprisingly due to the strong links to the LGBTQ+ community and queer culture (Pavlidis & Olive, 2014), the remaining four participants who are/have been involved in roller derby all unanimously identified roller derby for them as a queer space and explicitly used such language.

For Jane, although she did not use the term *queer space* in relation to her previous football club, it was implied.

> Jane: …In the other sports I didn't know because people didn't come out so who knows. But football was maybe better phrased as the space where women were happier to come out about their sexuality.
>
> Becky: Rather than just being a lesbian space?
>
> Jane: Yeah.
>
> Becky: How did that affect you?
>
> Jane: That feeling of being relaxed and that you could just be open about your sexuality.

In addition, although Billie did not acknowledge her most recent rugby team as a queer space, she instead labelled it as a *diverse space*. Six of the 25 participants referred to their previous or current sporting environment specifically as a queer space. It is unclear according to the participants what constitutes as a queer or a diverse space and what the differences are. However, according to Carter & Baliko (2017, p.696), a queer sports space "can offer resistance to compulsory heterosexuality and cissexism as well as places of comradeship and comfort." So, a queer space is designed to promote queerness more generally, whereas a diverse space involves differing individuals (in this case, people with a variety of sexualities) being in the space without queerness being central to the space's existence. Nevertheless, regardless of whether the participants referred to their sporting space as queer or diverse, all seven participants acknowledged how their sporting spaces led to positive feelings as a bi+ woman in those spaces.

In relation to the AERM, it was not mentioned by the participants exactly *who* and *what* actions were put in place to make their sporting space a queer space specifically and therefore, have positive feelings as a bi+ woman in that space. However, with the definition provided by Carter & Baliko (2017), it is likely many factors contributed to the outcome of a space being a queer space. Thus, this would include a range of different types of actions. For example, the representation of openly non-heterosexual individuals at the club is an individual action and having LGBTQ+ inclusive policies is a macro action. Furthermore, explicitly integrating LGBTQ+ inclusive policies in the practice of the sport is a sport action and the clubs themselves being involved in LGBTQ+ events is a club action. It seems likely a combination of types of actions have at least contributed to the development of a queer space.

There is a connection between roller derby unanimously being regarded as a queer space and positive feelings as a bi+ woman in that space. Therefore, despite being unable to specify who the agents are within roller derby teams and pinpoint exact actions applied in such spaces, the sport effect is it became a queer space. Consequently, the space being a queer space (sport effect) and bi+ women from an individual perspective having positive feelings based on their sexual orientations in that space (individual effect), demonstrates these effects can co-exist at the same time.

Even though there are sports which run on strong feminist and inclusive philosophies at the heart of the sport and encourage the sport to be a queer space, as roller derby does, this is not common amongst mainstream sports in the UK. Thus, roller derby is unique in comparison to other sports played in the UK. For most sporting National Governing Bodies, queerness is not at its core as found in roller derby, but inclusive policies for LGBTQ+ people do exist. While having more sports as queer spaces is encouraged, perhaps it is more practical for all sports clubs in the UK to strive to create a *diverse space* for all as opposed to a *queer space*. So, realistically, to ensure bi+ women have positive feelings when in sporting spaces, there is a need for sports clubs to focus on creating an inclusive environment through promoting and providing a diverse space. Perhaps such inclusive outcomes found in roller derby were at least partly due to LGBTQ+ inclusive actions found in the sport.

4.4.3 LGBTQ+ inclusive actions in sport

When discussing what makes roller derby so inclusive, Sophia said,

> We've got really strong inclusion and diversity policies and that feels really powerful to me. I think there are so many issues in how we view ourselves and our bodies, that sport can be really helpful. But you've got to find what works for you and it took me a really long time to find something where I felt really comfortable.

In comparison to the participants in other sports, none acknowledged explicit LGBTQ+ inclusive policies in their sports. 'New' roller derby differs to most sports in that it is not motivated by profit but instead by providing a space where all women can come, enjoy and compete in a contact sport, and resists becoming a sporting National Governing Body (Pavlidis, 2017, 2021). Therefore, much of roller derby's purpose is centred on feminist principles and providing a non-normative space for minority groups; a sport which is organised by skaters for skaters (Pavlidis, 2021). Consequently, inclusive policies are not only made explicit but are continuously integrated within the culture of the sport (Pavlidis, 2021). This was a commonality amongst the five participants who participated in roller derby as they all mentioned how explicit the LGBTQ+ inclusive policies were within the sport.

Perhaps National Governing Bodies for other sports should follow suit as found in roller derby and explicitly integrate LGBTQ+ policies. Consequently, National Governing Bodies should further promote a safe and positive space for bi+ women and more broadly, for all in the LGBTQ+ community. However, it is recognised this is not a simplistic suggestion, nor can it be implemented easily in other sports because of the culture of roller derby and what influenced such a culture to be developed.

Through the analysis of this finding, a macro action and sport action have been identified. I refer to macro actions as a large-scale action made across a variation of sports internationally and/or nationally. Sport actions refers to an action which is consistently found within clubs across the same sport. In this case, explicitly integrating LGBTQ+ inclusive policies in the practices found in roller derby, is roller derby specific and thus, a sport action. In this example, the roller derby policy makers are the agents. By them creating LGBTQ+ inclusive policies (macro action) *and* explicitly integrating these policies in the practice of the sport (sport action), bi+ women were allowed to feel positive feelings relating to their sexual orientation when involved in the sport. This example draws on two types of actions: macro and sport. Furthermore, I propose *club action(s)* can exist, referring to actions a singular sports

club makes. These different types of actions can exist at the same time, exclusively or within a combination, all of which depends on the context.

No other participants from other sports acknowledged how explicit LGBTQ+ inclusive policies created positive feelings when in the sport as a bi+ woman. This outcome demonstrates the sport action is more powerful regarding bi+ women having positive feelings based on their sexual orientation in their sport, than the macro action of sports simply having LGBTQ+ policies. Therefore, regarding this finding, without the sport action it is far less likely the individual effect would have occurred. Though, in this case, it is acknowledged the macro action needs to exist in the first place in order for the sport action to then exist. If more sports were explicit regarding their LGBTQ+ inclusive policies *and* explicitly integrated these policies in the practice of the sport, it is probable bi+ women would feel (more) positive feelings relating to their sexual orientation when involved in the sport. It is important to note, although representation of people was not involved in this element, representation of LGBTQ+ inclusive policies was. The commonality here is LGBTQ+ representation through different means.

In relation to positive feelings in sport, Sophia said,

> In my previous team, it would be the same thing: we had events, we would go to pride, we would have a stool for recruitment and there were same-sex couples. There was actually a wedding. Two of my teammates got married and they had a skating themed wedding which was lovely. So, the supportiveness and the inclusion were definitely there.

Amongst the roller derby participants, four of the five participants mentioned their current or previous club(s) were involved in attending or being involved with pride events. Additionally, Molly, Nicola and Summer mentioned they attended pride events with people from their sports clubs but attending the event was never tied to the club itself.

For these participants, the social aspect of being involved in a sports club was at least of some importance to them. This, coupled with similar attitudes amongst the club, provided opportunities to be social and therefore attend pride events outside of the sports club. The positive impact of LGBTQ+ sports participants attending pride events with those from one's sport club has similarly been recognised by Melton &

MacCharles (2021), where they suggested this is an LGBTQ+ inclusive signal. However, Alice B and Charlie did not attend or wished to attend pride events as their main purpose was *just* to participate in the sport and their sexual orientation to them was not of relevance in that space.

For Alice B and Charlie, the social aspect of sport, which could encompass discussions of one's personal life and, thus their sexual orientation, was not desired. Therefore, it is of no surprise that Alice B and Charlie were not motivated to be involved in extra events outside of the sports club: in this case, pride events. However, neither of the two participants mentioned or described any LGBTQ+ events or inclusive practices, which were attended through or in additional to their sports clubs. Perhaps if Alice B and Charlie's sports clubs did engage with such practices, possibly the rationale for engaging with such sports organisations may change where the social aspect holds stronger value than currently. Alternatively, perhaps it is one's own philosophy based on their rationale for engaging in sport which maintains the driving force regardless of the societal space.

In relation to the AERM, the agents for those in roller derby were committee members in charge of the club. Their actions were organising the roller derby club being involved in pride events. Consequently, bi+ women felt positive feelings relating to their sexual orientation when involved in the sport. For Molly, Nicola and Summer, their clubmates were instead the agents. In their case, the action by the agents was inviting them to go to a pride event together outside of their sport clubs. This led to the effect of them as bi+ women having positive feelings relating to their sexual orientation when involved in the sport. Therefore, although being involved in pride events happened outside of the sport, it still benefited how these bi+ women felt *in* their sports environments. Therefore, factors from outside of sport can affect how bi+ women feel when in sport contexts. The LGBTQ+ representation in this aspect was through the means of pride events. Another common action of LGBTQ+ inclusion found in sport clubs was based on the involvement in the Rainbow Laces campaign.

Nicola expressed how she felt when being involved with the Rainbow Laces campaign.

> Nicola: So, there's that Rainbow Laces campaign which I think was cricket specific. Actually, I can't remember. Actually, maybe not. Anyway, we all got rainbow laces and did that. Sadly, pride is outside of term otherwise we

> would have definitely gone as a group. A few of us went but it couldn't be a big club thing because most of the undergrads go home.
>
> Becky: How do you think getting involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign affected those in your club?
>
> Nicola: So, I think it was more of an affirmation and confirmation if anything. Like, confirming the fact that it was okay and that everybody understood and that it was a thing that it was okay to be open about. I think for me, because at that stage I was happy and open about it, that's what I felt – affirmation. I can't speak for other people who might have been less comfortable with it or might be on a bit of a journey. But I have to guess that certainly would have helped me if I was going through that at that stage, definitely.

Created as an awareness campaign, Rainbow Laces was designed to showcase LGBTQ+ visibility and allyship in the hope to contribute to reduced cases of discrimination against the LGBTQ+ community in sport (Lawley, 2019; Spurdens & Bloyce, 2022). Kat and Nicola identified their most recent clubs were involved with the Rainbow Laces campaign and they wore rainbow laces when participating in their sport during Pride Month (June). For both Kat and Nicola, the influence of the Rainbow Laces campaign did create the visibility and the positive effect which it was designed for. Nicola used the word *affirmation* to express how she felt about her club being involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign. Although this term was not found amongst other participants regarding their feelings as a bi+ woman in sport, this word would be another example of 'positive feelings'. From the responses of Kat and Nicola, the impact of others wearing rainbow laces can have a significant positive effect on how bi+ women feel in their sporting space. This is despite team members only wearing rainbow laces during LGBTQ+ History Month and thus, the campaign being applied on a short-term basis (Phipps, 2020). However, despite the Rainbow Laces campaign being a well-known LGBTQ+ sports campaign, only two participants refer to it in their interviews. Perhaps this suggests the campaign is not as dominant and renowned as one might hope.

In relation to the AERM, it was unclear who specifically were the agents in the decisions for the clubs to be involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign. However, as both Kat and Nicola acknowledged the whole club engaged with the campaign as opposed to just individuals in the clubs, it is likely to have involved club committee members. Regardless of who specifically the agents were, the action was signing up

and involving the clubs in the Rainbow Laces campaign. This is not a macro action as it is not a legally bounded or a societal expectation for sports clubs to be involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign. However, it cannot be confirmed if this was a sport action as there were no other cricket participants in the study and only one other football participant discussed her contemporary experiences in football. Therefore, this could also be what I refer to as a *club action*, meaning an action which takes place through the influence of an individual club. For example, if one football club was involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign but ten others were not, this would be a club action as opposed to a sport action. This is because in this example, not all football clubs were involved, thus it could not be a sport action. Therefore, the categorisation of actions can further be divided and include a club action as well as a macro action and sport action.

Molly and Robyn, who went to the same rowing club, mentioned their rowing clubs fly the Pride flag during the entirety of Pride Month. Robyn said,

> Yeah, I think it's cool. I rate it especially as compared to my college they only fly the Pride flag for the first day and last day of the month because they have old rules about flag flying or something (laughing). Whereas rowing does it for the whole month and I rate that. It's also cool that if you go along the river, you can see lots of boathouses with all of their little flags.

Later in the interview, Robyn then discussed how her club flying the Pride flag for Pride Month made her feel in that sporting space.

> Becky: So, if I was just to ask you, how do you feel about your sexuality when involved in your sport, how do you think you'd respond to that?
>
> Robyn: It's not something I think about when actively doing the sport. So, in that [respect], I don't really think about [it]. I think again seeing flags and representation and that sort of thing, that it is positive and I'm like, 'Woo!' Otherwise, it's just if someone is cute, I think (laughter)… Like, when I'm doing the sport it's not something I think about, it's more that social aspect like [I] said and that it's been positive.

The visibility of flying the Pride flag provided positive feelings for both Molly and Robyn as bi+ women in their rowing club. Despite Robyn not using any of the terms in this study which fall under the 'positive feelings' umbrella, it is clear by her using the term 'positive' and her expression of 'Woo!', that these portray positive feelings.

Even though the research of Storr & Richards (2022) is not bi+ specific and instead relates to the LGBTQ+ community more broadly in sport (tennis specifically), the visual and physical representation of the Pride flag created a feeling of safety in those sporting spaces among the LGBTQ+ participants involved in their study. This highlights the similarity found in this study when comparing the work of Storr & Richards (2022) and establishes the importance of visible LGBTQ+ representational symbols in sporting environments.

For Robyn, the amount of time the Pride flag was flying was also of importance for her. She described how the Pride flag being flown for the entirety of the month provided more visibility as opposed to just the first and last day of the Pride Month. Similarly to the aspect based on wearing rainbow laces, flying the Pride flag, which requires minimal effort, positively impacted upon how these two participants felt as bi+ women in sport.

In relation to the AERM, similar to the Rainbow Laces campaign, it was unclear who made the decision to fly the Pride flag during Pride month (the agent). Nevertheless, it was decided by at least one person involved in the club. Again, as there were only three participants who were involved in rowing clubs, and two of whom were at the same rowing club, it is likely it was a club action. Consequently, the LGBTQ+ representation shown through this action at least contributed to the positive feelings these participants felt as bi+ women in their rowing club.

There were no inclusive actions which took place which were bi+ specific. Although Kay did mention that her roller derby club becomes involved with visibility days, it was not confirmed if this included bi visibility day or/and pan visibility day. Nevertheless, the predominant actions which were demonstrated by club organisers and/or participants within the clubs, which made these bi+ women experience positive feelings in these spaces, was through general LGBTQ+ inclusive actions as opposed to specific bi+ inclusive actions.

Though sports clubs engaging with actions which are bi+ specific may make these participants feel even more positive in their sporting spaces, the participants did not desire or seek such actions. Again, similar to the point raised earlier in this section, the broader category of LGBTQ+ inclusion was enough for participants to experience positive feelings as a bi+ woman in their sports clubs. However, bi+ specific actions

could further improve bi+ women's positive feelings in sporting contexts. One example would be sports clubs celebrating Bi Visibility Day on September 23 (Maliepaard, 2017). Perhaps those in sports clubs and maybe even some bi+ women themselves are not familiar with actions of bi+ visibility. Therefore, perhaps such actions are not missed or desired by the participants due to the lack of visibility and therefore, lack of awareness.

Through my analysis and conceptualisation, I have edited and adapted the AERM by de Queiroz et al. (2021) to specifically align and apply to the findings in this initial theme. I have adapted the model and re-named it as the Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM) (see, Figure 6). In comparison to AERM, the IASM is specifically related to inclusion in sport rather than inclusion generally and encompasses multiple sport specific categorisations under each core aspect based on the findings in this initial theme. Multiple agents, actions and effects can exist at one time, overlap and even combine. This is what is symbolised by the blue arrows. The orange arrows represent the direction of the golden thread needed for inclusive effects to occur.

By conceptualising this chapter's findings and critically engaging with the AERM, the IASM was created. I am not proposing the model is generalisable as there is no evidence to suggest this at this point in time. Furthermore, the model was not created with the intention of being static. I encourage scholars to apply and examine the model, or aspects of the model, in their research if such studies surround inclusion in sport. I seek for academics to adapt, edit and add to the model as they see fit based on their research findings. My hope is for my contribution of the IASM to act as a beneficial foundational tool for those who use it in their research, similarly to how the AERM worked for me.

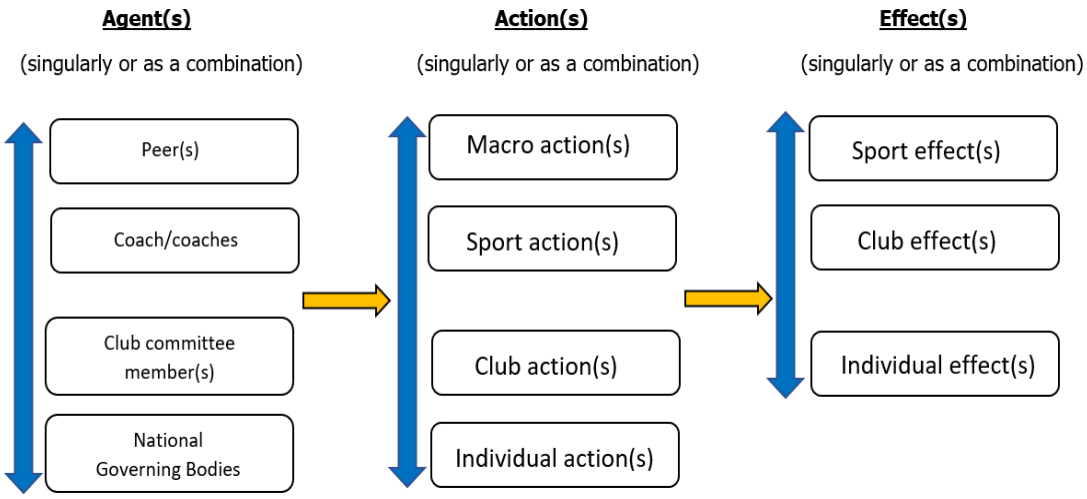

Figure 6: Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM) (original in colour)

4.4.4 Concluding thoughts (initial theme three)

For many of the participants, positive feelings surrounding their sexual orientation when in sporting environments were acknowledged. The four common positive feelings explicitly raised were: safe, comfortable, inclusive and welcoming. As each positive feeling term was rarely used singularly, a holistic approach was taken to analyse why the participants felt such a way through the use of the blanket phrase 'positive feelings'. It was discovered these feelings were developed due a range of factors. This involved inclusive outcomes which included: 1) representation of non-heterosexual individuals in sporting spaces, 2) the 'no one cares' attitude and 3) sport as a queer space.

The most common of the three inclusive actions found amongst the participants (15) was the representation of visible non-heterosexual individuals in the sporting spaces. Within bi+ politics, for some people there is a need for bi+ specific events and spaces. However, this was not acknowledged amongst the participants in this study based on sporting spaces: the opposite was instead found. The representation of non-heterosexual individuals in sporting spaces provided positive feelings regarding being a bi+ women in such spaces. Therefore, it was not *just* representation of other bi+ women in the space which caused these positive feelings, but rather representation of

anyone who was non-heterosexual. Consequently, no bi+ specific events or spaces in relation to sport were desired by the participants.

The ‘no one cares’ attitude was identified by five of the participants as contributing to positive feelings as a bi+ woman in sport. As all sexual orientations were normalised in these sporting spaces, it ‘did not matter’ what one’s sexual orientation was as all were accepted and normalised. Furthermore, due to the normalisation of different sexual orientations in the spaces and the ‘no one cares’ attitude, bi+ identities and any other sexual orientations were rarely mentioned. This contributes to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport. From historical sport research which included bisexuality conducted before 2014 (see, e.g., Caudwell, 2007; Drury, 2011), based on this study’s participants’ experiences, a shift has occurred where there is no longer one sexual orientation dominating a sporting space.

Sport as a queer space was explicitly identified by all of the roller derby participants (5) and implied by one other participant when she was involved in football. All of these participants discussed experiencing positive feelings as a bi+ woman in such spaces. Billie used the term diverse space as opposed to a queer space to describe her most current rugby club. This was then analysed where I proposed a queer space promotes and seeks to recruit and promote queerness, whereas a diverse space has a range of sexual orientations in the club without queerness being central to the organisation’s existence. Regardless of whether the space was queer or diverse, as a consequence, the seven participants all felt positive feelings based on being a bi+ women in these spaces.

There were LGBTQ+ inclusive actions which also contributed to bi+ women having positive feelings about their sexual orientation when in sport settings. This included: 1) explicitly known LGBTQ+ inclusive policies, 2) attending pride events, 3) wearing rainbow laces and 4) flying the Pride flag. Explicit LGBTQ+ inclusive policies were found by all of the participants (5) who have participated in roller derby, but by no other participants in other sports. Having and explicitly embedding LGBTQ+ inclusive policies is an action other sports outside of roller derby could incorporate to make their sporting spaces more inclusive and representative of bi+ people and the LGBTQ+ community more widely.

Attending pride events with peers from a sports organisation, sports clubs being involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign and/or sports organisation flying the Pride

flag during Pride Month, all contributed to positive feelings as bi+ women in sport. The participants who discussed these inclusive practices also had agency to engage with one or more of them. For example, attending a pride event with sporting peers or wearing rainbow laces during Pride month. These are examples of small 'p' political actions. However, rarely did the participants engage in big 'P' political actions. Furthermore, bi+ visibility was not required or desired by the participants. However, the visibility of more bi+ specific actions would make sport environments even more inclusive and representative for bi+ women and bi+ people more generally.

The Action-effect Role Model (AERM) by de Queiroz et al. (2021) was originally helpful to analyse the influence of agents, actions and effects in relation to bi+ women experiencing positive feelings based on their sexual orientation when in their sports clubs. However, through examining the findings from this research, I made many adaptions based on my findings and as a consequence, created my own model called the Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM). To gain inclusive effects, it was found there is not always intent from the agent(s). The AERM refers to agent, action and effect all as singular, however, this research demonstrates there can be plural agents, actions and effects. Most commonly the agents were teammates and none of the participants referred to coaches as agents in the inclusive outcomes section or the LGBTQ+ inclusive actions section. The lack of mention of coaches and how they specifically made the club inclusive is a concern.

I further divided the category 'actions' into three subcategories in the IASM based on the findings: macro action(s), sport action(s) and club action(s). Additionally, multiple effects can occur at one time and can be related to different forms of effects. The effects found in this study included sport effect(s), club effect(s) and individual effect(s) which have been incorporated into the IASM. I am not proposing the IASM is generalisable as it is not. Rather, it was created through the conceptualisation of this initial theme's findings and is hoped to be a helpful starting foundational model for those researching into inclusion in sport.

In comparison to research surrounding bisexuality and sport by Caudwell (2007), Drury (2011), Maddocks (2013), Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023), the findings in this initial theme demonstrate more inclusion and consequently positive feelings of one's sexual orientation regarding being a bi+ woman in sport than in such

previous studies. However, due to the bi+ erasure in sport found from the participants' experiences within the initial theme called *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit*, it would be inaccurate to portray sport as flawless for bi+ women. Whilst most research based on LGB participants in sport only centres on and examines inclusion (see, e.g., Adams, 2011; Cunningham & Nite, 2020; Magrath et al., 2015), my research differs as the findings of this study demonstrate forms of bi+phobia and inclusion can co-exist at the same time within sport. Overall, whether it is based on people (representation of visible non-heterosexual people), policies (LGBTQ+ inclusion policies) or symbols (Pride flag, rainbow laces), explicit LGBTQ+ representation and consequently LGBTQ+ normalisation is at the heart of why bi+ women experience positive feelings relating to their sexual orientation when in sporting spaces. While sport has a long-standing stereotype of being traditional and conservative, it can also be seen as a positive space for people who are LGBTQ+, as found in this theme in relation to bi+ women.

4.5 Overarching theme one: The quietness of bi+ identities in sport (summary)

Two overarching themes were developed throughout the three initial themes: *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit*, and *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. This overarching theme is called *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport*. This section is a summary of all the different elements found within the initial three themes which contribute to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport. The first finding which captured the development of this overarching theme is when 17 of the participants said topics surrounding bi+ identities either never or rarely get discussed in sports contexts. This raised the question: Why is the topic of bi+ identities rarely discussed? When examining the three initial themes, it became clear there was a quietness surrounding bi+ identities, and the findings within the three initial themes provided an understanding as to why.

Within the first initial theme, *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, the types of outness found are significant in why the topic of bi+ identities are quiet within the context of sport. Two of the participants said they were not out in relation to their specific sexual orientation. By not being out, this prevents the opportunity for one's own bi+ identity to be discussed. Therefore, by not being out is a factor in the quietness surrounding bi+ identities. Some participants said they passed as either homosexual or

heterosexual and would not challenge such assumptions from others. By passing as gay or straight, means one's bi+ identity is not raised. As a consequence, this contributes to why there is a quietness surrounding bi+ identities in sport.

The sub-sections 'Reactive disclosure: Assumptions' and 'Reactive disclosure: Relevant conversations', both rely on others raising certain discussions first, then the bi+ participants being reactive to such discussions. As most of the participants already said discussions around bi+ identities rarely occurred, it would be rare for others to raise a discussion on the topic. Therefore, as others raising a discussion surrounding bi+ identities is unlikely and there is a passiveness by the participants, this contributes to the quietness in relation to bi+ identities. There was only one participant who potentially initiated disclosure. Therefore, 24 of the participants did not initiate disclosure in sport. As discussions regarding bi+ identities are rare, the quietness surrounding bi+ identities in sport is perpetuated. More specifically, for some of the participants, having to explain to or educate others about their bi+ identity made them avoid disclosure. Furthermore, for others, discussions in regard to one's sexual orientation were irrelevant in their sports context. Therefore, conversations about sexual orientation did not take place. Consequently, both of these findings contribute to the quietness surrounding bi+ identities in sport.

In the second initial theme, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit*, there were only rare cases of explicit bi+phobia in sport. One hopes this is due to more inclusive attitudes within UK sporting culture. However, by bi+ identities rarely being discussed in sport, this outcome could also be due to the quietness of bi+ identities. Though, no one should ever feel pressure to come out or disclose their sexual identity nor it is only the responsibility of bi+ people to combat bi+ erasure. If bi+ identities had a louder presence in sport, perhaps more explicit forms of bi+phobia would increase. Nevertheless, the existence and reinforcement of the homo– heterosexual binary based on the gender of one's partner, one's appearance and the sport one participates in, was found. Therefore, through these actions, bi+ erasure was perpetuated, thus removing the opportunity for bi+ identities to be spoken of. One participant described experiences of individual erasure. If one allows individual erasure not to be challenged, this will promote bi+ erasure. Again, this would contribute to the quietness of bi+ identities.

Within initial theme three, *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*, some participants said the 'no one cares' culture was represented in their sports organisation. Though this is seen positively as it accepts and normalises a range of sexual orientations, it also limits discussions surrounding bi+ identities. Furthermore, there were no clear examples of bi+ specific inclusive actions which took place within the participants experiences in sport. Both of these findings contribute to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport.

When examining all three initial themes in relation to the quietness of bi+ identities in sport, further analysis occurred. Bi+ women are challenging traditional norms of sport merely by their presence of participating in sport. Furthermore, by bi+ women engaging in some conversations (although minimal) surrounding their sexual orientation, and engaging with some LGBTQ+ inclusive practices in their sports clubs, they are challenging traditional norms of sport but in more quiet ways than those who adapt a more radical political stance. Across the participants it was common that the type of political actions they participated in were small 'p' political based actions. Therefore, due to this form of political stance not being loud, it contributes to the overall quietness of bi+ identities in sport. I have now examined how findings across the three initial themes have contributed to the overarching theme, *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport.* However, this was not the only overarching theme which was found.

4.6 Overarching theme two: The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport (summary)

The most dominant and pressing finding from this study is the constant existence and perpetuation of binaries, in both implicit and explicit forms. In its most explicit form, three homo– heterosexual binary assumptions were found. These homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions were based on the gender of one's partner, one's appearance and the sport one participants within when in a sports context.

In agreement with Hayfield (2020), the existence of the homo– heterosexual binary can be understood through the influence of the gender binary. For example, being masculine or feminine is a binary, as is being a man or woman. Historically, it was a societal expectation for women to be feminine and men to be masculine – positioning

genders as complete opposites (Eckert, 2014). Once homosexual people became visible, it was common that masculine women were assumed to be gay and feminine women were assumed to be straight (Eckert, 2014). In reality, everyone expresses different variation of masculinity and femininity and what is perceived as masculine or feminine may differ for each individual. Furthermore, non-binary gender identities are becoming more visible in the UK (Booth & Goodier, 2023). However, despite this, this study's findings demonstrate homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on one's partner, one's appearance and/or the sport one participants within, is still reinforced within UK grassroots sports contexts. Perhaps the historic, traditional and dominant binary influences of men and women, and masculinity and femininity still contribute to the existence of the homo– heterosexual binary, in this case homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions based on a partner's gender, appearance and sport. Furthermore, such binaries contribute to the perpetuation of heteronormativity traditionally associated with sport as an institution.

Though this study focused on bi+ women's experiences in sport, all of the participants in the research discussed being assumed by others to be gay or straight based on the gender of their partner outside of sport. Also, some of the participants have been assumed to be gay or straight based on their appearance outside of sport as well. As a consequence, both of these binary assumptions are perpetuated outside as well as inside of UK grassroot sport. The main issue with the existence and reinforcement of homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions, whether in– or outside of sport, is they perpetuate bi+ erasure. Therefore, bi+ identities become forgotten, ignored and overlooked. This in itself creates a hierarchy amongst monosexual and bi+ identities, where being monosexual is continually enforced and implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) recognised as the most dominant sexual identities. Any identity being forgotten or overlooked in society can cause harm to those who use the identity, whether this be physically or mentally. As a society, we have a responsibility to do no damage, yet the existence and perpetuation of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions can potentially cause harm for bi+ people.

The quietness of bi+ identities in sport (overarching theme one) also plays a part in examining homo– heterosexual binary assumptions. Some of the participants did not come out or passed as gay or straight in their sports clubs. These small political actions contribute to the perpetuation of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions through their

silence as such assumptions are not being challenged. Furthermore, by most of the other participants not initiating disclosure of their sexual identity/identities and therefore the topic rarely being raised, this allowed for the quietness surrounding bi+ identities to remain prominent in sporting contexts. Therefore, homo– heterosexual binary assumptions are rarely being challenged, and such assumptions are likely to continue to exist in UK grassroot sport, which perpetuates bi+ erasure. Furthermore, some of the participants perpetuated homo– heterosexual binary assumptions despite being bi+ themselves. This is contradicting but also demonstrates the influence and dominance of societal norms. Therefore, monosexual people and bi+ people (another binary), can all contribute to the perpetuation of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions and thus, bi+ erasure. Though it is not and should not only be the responsibility of bi+ people to address homo– heterosexual binary assumptions and therefore, bi+ erasure, by bi+ women being more vocal and visible in regard to their sexual orientation in sport, would hopefully reduce homo– heterosexual binary assumptions and the bi+ erasure it causes.

There was also evidence of implicit binaries within the findings. Where many LGBTQ+ studies focus on inclusion *or* exclusion (a binary), this study demonstrates inclusion *and* exclusion can co-exist within the participants sporting experiences. Specifically, many of the participants experienced bi+ erasure through the perpetuation of homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions, but also experienced inclusion through inclusive outcomes and non-heterosexual representation in sport. Therefore, for most of the participants in this study, their experiences did not solely align with inclusion or exclusion but instead incorporated elements of both.

In relation to implicit binaries, it was also found the binary of being in or out of the, in this case bi+, closet was not the case with most of the participants in this study. Instead, the participants' outness was often fluid, complex and dependent on contextual factors. Therefore, the binary understanding of being in or out of the closet was not helpful in examining the participants' experiences nor was it representative of those in this study. By outness not being based on the binary 'in or out' notion, flexibility among the types of outness pursed in sport by the participants was demonstrated. Additionally, some participants strongly expressed discussing one's sexual orientation either was or was not relevant to the contextual space (another binary). Furthermore, deciding to label or

not label one's sexual identity was another form of binary based thinking which was found. These are two further examples of the influence of binaries within the data.

When introducing the bi+ identities of the participants at the beginning of chapter four, some of the participants used binary based gender language within their definitions of bisexual. This included the phrases 'men and women' or 'both sexes.' This is another example of how a binary, in this case through gender based language, is used and reinforced. The same way in which the homo– heterosexual binary perpetuates bi+ erasure, the gender binary perpetuates the erasure of non-binary people. This was contradicting as two of the participants recognised and discussed bi+ erasure specifically yet erased non-binary people through their definition of bisexual. This demonstrates the language one uses in everyday life can impact minority societal groups, in these cases by implicitly erasing their existence. This finding prompted me to be reflective of the language I use in relation to binaries and examine the effects of using such binaries. This reflection is not a weakness but rather an analysis of how my research findings have affected me personally and academically in terms of applying binaries.

Commonly in society, people unconsciously use binaries in their lives and my findings support this statement. I cannot be disassociated with this statement as I also engage with and implement binaries in my life. Specifically in relation to this research, there have been times where I unintentionally used binaries in my writing. Examples include politics with a small 'p' instead of a big 'P', implicit and explicit, labelling and non-labelling, and bi+ specific vs LGBTQ+ general. From a personal perspective, this demonstrates how ingrained binaries are in UK society.

Rather than seeing binaries as good or bad (a binary in itself), I propose far more consideration of implementing binaries needs to be considered by all along with further education and where possible, apply non-binary based thinking. As a part of language, categories and labels are formed. Consequently, labels in opposition are created in a way to understand differences among categories. Therefore, it is understandable that categorising can be useful for academics within research, even with the awareness that people's lives are fluid and messy. However, as demonstrated in my study, binaries can marginalise and/or erase minority groups within society. As a consequence, everyone in society should have an awareness of the harm which binaries can cause.

My argument is not to stop thinking in binary forms entirely, as this perhaps is impossible, but to instead have an awareness of the harm some binaries can create for groups in society and move beyond binaries, where possible. Once one has an awareness of the impact of such binaries, harmful binaries can be eradicated instead of reinforced. However, this might be a challenging or even impossible task.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE:

CONCLUSIONS

"Life is not accumulation; it is about contribution."

Stephen Covey

(Author)

The purpose of this research was to identify and make sense of the experiences of bi+ women in UK sport. This chapter starts by summarising the thesis. Then, the original theoretical contributions to knowledge in the area of bi+ studies, sexualities and sport and the sociology of sport are identified. This is then followed by a reflections and limitations section based on the sample and further interview questions. I then discuss recommendations for future research with the hope that more academics will conduct studies on the topic of bi+ identities and sport and for it to no longer be a marginalised area. In the final concluding thoughts, I discuss how I will share the findings of this research with the wider world outside academia so positive changes for bi+ people in sport can occur. Specifically, I discuss contacting sporting National Governing Bodies, sports organisations, policy makers and LGBTQ+ charities to recognise the challenges bi+ people face in sport compared to others in the LGBTQ+ community. Specifically, I will also promote education which centres on awareness of bi+ language and identities, and encourage more explicit inclusive bi+ policies in sport to exist.

5.1 Thesis summary

In chapters one and two, I argued there is limited research based on bi+ people in sport and of the studies which have been completed, bi+ voices were commonly not the exclusive focus. Therefore, from a broad perspective, this research fills an essential empirical research gap by directly asking only bi+ women about their everyday mundane experiences in sport and thus, makes sense of and theorises their responses. There were a range of bi+ identities the participants used to refer to themselves in the study including bisexual (most popular), pansexual, queer and non-labelling. At the start of this study, my research aim was to critically examine the everyday lived experiences of women with multiple gender attractions in UK sport. This soon

developed to also examine the implications of conceptual binaries within their experiences. My findings demonstrate meeting this aim. Though the participants were involved in a variety of sports, sport cannot be seen as one homogeneous activity in regard to the participants' lived experiences. What leads to such experiences are complex as a variety of different influences can impact experiences on an individual level. This must be noted for future studies on the topic. For example, a bi+ women experiences on a football team may not be the same as those participating in tennis.

Three initial themes were developed in this research: 1) *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, 2) *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit* and 3) *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*. Furthermore, two overarching themes were also developed; these are called: 1) *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport* and 2) *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport*. Within the theme *Bi+ outness: Almost invisible in sport*, five types of outness were presented and examined. These were: not out, passing, reactive disclosure: assumptions, reactive disclosure: relevant conversations and initiated disclosure. Most of the participants demonstrated or said they would express reactive disclosure through relevant conversations emerging. However, often participants did not fall into one type of outness but instead their outness was more fluid, full of contradictions and dependent on context. Therefore, outness is not static but instead fluid for many of the participants. Two reasons for not disclosing one's sexual orientation in sport were explored, which included wanting to avoid explaining to or educating others and the perception that discussing one's sexual orientation in that space was not relevant.

In the second initial theme, *Bi+phobia in sport: Less explicit, more implicit*, it was found there were no cases of contemporary explicit bi+phobia in sport in regard to the participants' everyday experiences. However, implicit forms of bi+phobia did exist in sport. This included homo– heterosexual binary assumptions stemming from the gender of one's partner, one's appearance and the sport within which one participates. Furthermore, one case of individual bi+ erasure was also found. Of all of the homo– heterosexual binary assumptions found in sport, the gender of one's partner was most prominent, and all of the participants discussed experiencing homo– heterosexual binary assumptions outside of sport too. Consequently, it seems probable homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions exist outside of sport and thus, as sport is a subculture of society, these assumptions are also found within sport.

In the third initial theme, *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*, most of the participants described positive feelings regarding being a bi+ woman in sporting contexts. When exploring why the participants felt such a way, the most popular reason was due to seeing other visible queer (non-heterosexual) women in their sports clubs. Other reasons why the participants described positive feelings regarding being a bi+ woman in sporting contexts included the 'no one cares' attitude, sport as a queer space, explicitly known LGBTQ+ inclusive policies within their own clubs, attending pride events with peers from a sports organisation, wearing rainbow laces in sports clubs and sports organisations flying the Pride flag. However, within the participants' responses, there were no examples of expressed verbalised support from people within the sports clubs in everyday conversations surrounding being bi+. This is, at least to some degree, because of the preceding quietness of bi+ identities in sport and potentially bi+phobia. As a consequence, this is a contradiction from the inclusive practices found.

Though there were no bi+ specific inclusive outcomes or actions, the participants did not desire nor request any. Simply, the representation of the LGBTQ+ community (through people, policies, signs, symbols or events) was enough to make the participants have positive feelings as a bi+ woman in sporting contexts. The findings from the third initial theme challenge the long held conservative notions of sport as an institution in regard to dominant heteronormativity. However, within the second initial theme, some of the participants reinforced the homo– heterosexual binary. Therefore, this is a contradiction to the findings in the third initial theme as such actions are continuing to help maintain the conservative notions of sport prioritising heteronormativity.

It became apparent when engaging with the data analysis process that two overarching themes were present. The first overarching theme, *The quietness of bi+ identities in sport*, was recognised across all three initial themes. There was a quietness among the participants in relation to their bi+ identities in sport. The topic of one's bi+ sexual orientation rarely or never occurred for most of the participants in sport and the findings across the three initial themes gave an insight into this. Firstly, it was extremely rare for a participant to initiate disclosure of their sexual orientation. Therefore, as it was rare for discussions of bi+ sexual orientations to occur in the first place, and by not initiating disclosure, the quietness among bi+ identities in sport

remained. As homo– heterosexual binary assumptions were found in the second initial theme, the perpetuation of these assumptions removed the opportunity for bi+ centred discussions to take place. Additionally, although the 'no one cares' attitude found in the third initial theme is built on an inclusive philosophy, because sexual orientation was not discussed in sport, the quietness found among bi+ identities in sporting spaces was perpetuated. Furthermore, due to the non-existence of specific bi+ inclusive outcomes or actions found in sport, this also contributes to the quietness found surrounding bi+ identities, where such quietness does not overtly challenge heteronormativity in sport institutions. Most of the participants engaged in small 'p' political actions simply by existing in sport as a bi+ woman, which challenges heteronormativity in sporting contexts. However, by rarely being vocal about their bi+ sexual orientation and from examining their experiences discussed, there were no examples of big 'P' political actions whilst in their sports club or outside of these spaces. If more bi+ women in sport engaged in big 'P' political actions, perhaps the topic surrounding bi+ identities in sport would not be as quiet and forms of bi+ erasure would be reduced.

Of all the initial and overarching themes, the one which was the most dominant was *The existence and perpetuation of binaries in sport*. Throughout this thesis, the existence and reinforcement of conceptual binaries was constant and prominent. The explicit forms of binaries included the homo– heterosexual binary assumptions based on the gender of a partner, appearance and sport. Such binary assumptions surrounding the gender of a partner or one's appearance was also recognised outside of sport. So, this is not just a sport outcome. Some participants openly admitted to engaging with and using these assumptions themselves. Therefore, they are also perpetuating these homo– heterosexual binary assumptions and as a consequence, are contributing to the reinforcement of bi+ erasure.

Other implicit binaries included the finding that inclusive and exclusive practices in sport surrounding bi+ women can co-exist, and the 'in or out' of the closet binary notion is not representative in relation to the most of the participants' outness. Instead, outness is fluid. Not all binaries are problematic but those which erase groups in society or more broadly cause harm, need to be eradicated. Overall, the experiences of the participants were messy, complex and filled with contradictions. These included existing in sport as bi+ women but maintaining the quietness surrounding bi+

identities, as well as some of the participants recognising the negative effects of the homo– heterosexual binary but also engaging in perpetuating such binaries. The next section centres my original theoretical contributions to knowledge based on my research findings.

5.2 Original contributions to knowledge

This thesis is the first project, which I am aware of, to specifically examine the everyday mundane experiences of bi+ women in UK sport and the influence of conceptual binaries. Consequently, by existing, this research has developed new empirical findings which contributes original knowledge to the academic fields of bi+ studies, sexualities and sport and the sociology of sport. More specifically, I have five main original contributions to knowledge based on this research. These have been presented in order of significance and include the following:

1) The constant and dominating influence of binaries
2) The consistent quietness of bi+ women in sport
3) Modifying and adding to the Disclosure Processes Model (DPM) by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) and The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure by Yoshino (2000)
4) The creation of the Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM)
5) The existence of inclusive and exclusive practices co-existing in sport surrounding bi+ women

The constant and dominating influence of binaries

Since the 1990s, sexuality and sport research has been dominated by Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, Inclusive Masculinity Theory and Queer Theory. However, these theories were not central to the examination and understanding of this study's findings. Instead, this research is evidence that the existence, implementation and perpetuation of binaries is strongly present in the context of sport. Therefore, the influence of binaries is central to understanding these women's lives. As a consequence, the conceptual understanding and examination of binaries and how they affect people with different sexualities in sport is essential. Among the constant binaries, in particular, homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions were found in sport. Whilst

recognising the existence of homo– heterosexual binary assumptions in sport is an original contribution to knowledge in itself, equally is the analysis surrounding the problematic nature of such binaries and how these perpetuate bi+ erasure in the context of sport.

It is not only binaries in the context of sport which impacts bi+ women. Many of the participants in this study recognised homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions outside of sport as well as inside of sport. Binary thinking tends to avoid considering nuance in complex issues. Binaries can be harmful for people, in this case bi+ women. However, binaries do not just affect bi+ women. More broadly, in everyday language in the UK, there has been a fairly recent impetus in regard to using non-binary based language. For example, this includes using they/them pronouns for non-binary people, using the term actors as opposed actors and actresses, and using police officer instead of policeman or policewomen. Therefore, UK society is starting to move beyond binaries within everyday language, but more needs to be implemented to prevent harm especially towards minority groups. Though binaries impacted the lives of bi+ women in this study, in contradiction, none of the participants explicitly advocated to move beyond binaries.

Moving beyond binaries is dominantly associated with advocating for trans identities (see, e.g., Crasnow, 2021; Perez et al., 2021). There are many similarities in the rationale to moving beyond binaries for trans and bi+ people, including preventing societal groups being marginalised or erased. Though, I differ from Crasnow (2021) and Perez et al. (2021) as I am advocating to move beyond binaries for bi+ identities. However, this is not only about moving beyond binaries for bi+ people but encouraging to do so more broadly within society. For example, sociology scholars commonly use binaries as they help simplify concepts and phenomena, as well as assisting in understanding how groups of people behave. I propose academics too need to recognise when they are perpetuating binaries within their work and, at the very least, consider moving beyond binaries where possible. Binaries do not only affect those with bi+ identities, but other minority groups in society too. Therefore, moving beyond binaries would encourage society to embrace complexity, promote visibility and contribute towards preventing erasure and marginalisation of minority groups, such as bi+ people.

The consistent quietness of bi+ women in sport

This research found there was a consistent quietness surrounding female bi+ identities in sports contexts. There were various reasons as to why there was a quietness surrounding bi+ women in sport. To start, most of the participants said discussions of bi+ identities were rarely or never discussed in sport. Other reasons as to why there was a quietness surrounding bi+ women in sport included: not being out in relation to their bi+ identity, passing as gay or straight, most of the participants not initiating disclosure, the impact of the homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions being reinforced, and the 'no one cares' attitude.

While Maddocks (2013), Ravel & Rail (2008) and Xiang et al. (2023) are some of the scholars who said the participants in their studies were being silenced by others in relation to their bi+ sexual orientation, this study's findings differ. Rather than the participants being silenced by others, most of the participants did not initiate disclosure but confirmed if others in the sporting space raised a relevant topic, they would disclose their sexual orientation. Thus, most of the participants were passive, reactive and dependant on others in order to disclose their sexual orientation. This is a new finding among sexualities and sport research. Furthermore, this demonstrates most of the participants were not feeling forced to conceal their sexual orientation and thus silenced, but instead choose not initiate disclosure of their bi+ sexual orientation. This demonstrates the participants had at least some autonomy in relation to disclosing their sexual orientation.

It was evident most of the participants were not concealing or hiding their bi+ sexual orientation, yet their sexual orientation was unknown or incorrectly known to others in a particular context: in this case, in sports settings. Thus, one's bi+ sexual orientation was invisible and therefore contributed towards the quietness surrounding bi+ identities in sport. This is where I coined the phrase 'invisible bi+ open outness.' Though previous scholars including Caudwell (2007) and Drury (2011) identified that bisexuality (in their words) was largely unspoken in sport, they did not fully examine why this outcome occurred as I have. Therefore, by being specific in regard to what contributes to the constant quietness of bi+ women in sport, this is an original contribution to knowledge.

Modifying and adding to the DPM by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) and The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure by Yoshino (2000)

Within this research, I applied relevant aspects of the DPM by Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) to the first initial theme and The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework by Yoshino (2000) to the second initial theme. The work of Chaudoir & Fisher (2010) is commonly referred to in psychology and social issues fields surrounding stigmatised identities and coming out, whilst Yoshino's (2000) work is predominantly used in regard to law research. Therefore, both frameworks are well-cited and influential within their academic fields. However, neither of these frameworks are specific to sport. Furthermore, to my knowledge, neither of the frameworks have been applied to the topic of sexualities and sport until now. Therefore, I am adding to these concepts by applying them to the study of bi+ women in sport.

When conducting my analysis, it became apparent there were issues and limitations of both frameworks. For example, within my findings relating to outness, I found some of the participants made an 'assessment of surroundings' prior to establishing goals, which was not represented in the DPM but needs to be recognised for future research. Additionally, the DPM implies there are predetermined goals before any form of disclosure interaction. However, most of the participants in this study were reactive in their disclosure, whereby their disclosure occurred due to the influence of others communicating first. Therefore, it seems unlikely the participants had predetermined goals surrounding disclosure as their responses were spontaneous by reacting to others.

Within The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure framework, Yoshino (2000) claimed it is only monosexual people who have a shared investment in perpetuating erasure of those with multiple gender attractions. However, in this study it was found some of the bi+ women themselves also perpetuated bi+ erasure, specifically through using homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions. Therefore, as the participants did not share the monosexual investment in reinforcing bi+ erasure, it is probable at least some monosexual people do not perpetuate bi+ erasure due to the shared investment purpose either. This is an original critique which is beneficial for future scholars to be aware of if using Yoshino's (2000) framework in their research. These critiques are original and contribute towards other academics having a further

awareness of the critiques and limitations of each framework before engaging with them in in their work. Therefore, these critiques would be beneficial for scholars to be aware of across bi+ studies, sexualities and sport research as well as any other field which incorporates one or more of these frameworks.

The creation of the Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM)

The Action-effect Role Model by de Queiroz et al. (2021) was created based on workplace inclusion and exclusion in Brazil, and consequently was not specific to the context of sport. Due to my analysis and how the findings influenced missing aspects of the Action-effect Role Model, I created the Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM). For a visualisation of the model, as identified previously on page 198, see Figure 6 below. This model examines inclusive effects which take place within sport by analysing what actions have been put in place and by whom to create such inclusive effects. There are three categorisations in the model: agent(s), actions(s) and effects(s).

The agent refers to *who* is putting an action in place, which in turn, led to inclusive effects. Within this research, the agents were commonly peers in the organisation, but this can be anyone involved in the organisation (e.g., club committee members) or sport more widely (e.g., National Governing Bodies). Furthermore, a range of agents may be involved in a particular action or actions. There are a range of actions which can take place, singularly or as a combination, including individual actions, club actions, sport actions and macro actions. As a consequence, the actions the agents demonstrate lead to inclusive effects for some people within the sporting context. For example, in my research an inclusive effect was that commonly bi+ women felt positive about their sexual orientation when in their sporting space. The effects could be individual effects, club effects, sport effects or a combination. In this research, individual effects for bi+ women in sport were predominately identified, however club effects and sports effects did also exist.

Though the concept of inclusion is widely known and used in– and outside of sport sociology research, there are a lack of frameworks and models within sport sociology studies based on examining inclusion in sport. From my knowledge, this is the first model which has been created as a tool to help examine the inclusive practices which occur specifically in sport. Therefore, the IASM is an original contribution to knowledge as its purpose is to help make sense of how inclusion can be seen and felt

in sporting contexts, specifically through the actions implemented by agents. One core benefit of this model is that it can be used for a range of social groups within sport research. For example, although I implemented the model based on the findings of inclusion for bi+ women in sport, it could be applied based on the topic of gay men in sport. Other types of social groups which could be applied using this model include, but are not limited to, age, ability, class, gender, race or/and sexuality. Therefore, this is not only useful for sexualities and sport scholars but rather for any sport academics examining inclusion. Furthermore, by implementing this model in sports-based research (qualitative and quantitative) and examining the findings from such studies, it will create an awareness regarding what sports organisations are doing (and perhaps not doing) to make sporting spaces inclusive. Unfortunately, sport is not always inclusive for some people or social groups. Therefore, such findings can be shared with National Sporting Bodies with the hope they will then spread awareness and promote specific forms of meaningful and successful inclusive actions to make sporting spaces the most inclusive places possible for all.

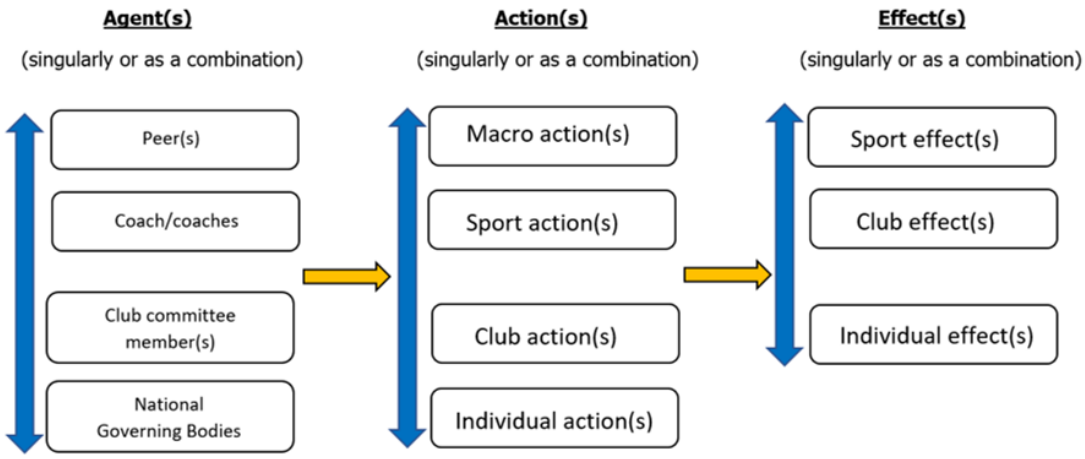

Figure 6: Inclusion Action-effect Sports Model (IASM)

The existence of inclusive and exclusive practices co-existing in sport surrounding bi+ women

Commonly, researchers who focus on the topic of LGBTQ+ people and sport, either centre on or find forms of inclusion *or* exclusion in their work (see, e.g., Anderson &

Adams, 2011; Maddocks, 2013). However, this research differs. As it was common for homo– heterosexual binary assumptions to be made by others in sport (especially based on the gender of one's partner), though usually implicit and without malice, it was still a form of bi+phobia. Furthermore, most of the participants felt positive feelings as a bi+ woman in sport due to inclusive outcomes and actions. Thus, sport can be a welcoming space for those with non-heteronormative identities, which contradicts the traditional notion of sport ostracising those who are non-heterosexual. My research demonstrates forms of inclusion *and* exclusion co-exist in sport at the same time, in this case in relation to bi+ women in sport. Therefore, this is an original contribution to research.

5.3 Reflexivity and positionality post-research

It is essential for the reader to understand how my positionality and reflexivity influenced the research prior, during and after the study took place. In chapter one, the introduction, I provided a detailed section in regard to my own positionality and reflexivity. Most of the section involved my positionality and reflexivity prior to the research taking place and during the study. However, of equal importance is my positionality and reflexivity after the research has been conducted as this may affect my thoughts in future studies. Therefore, this element of the chapter focuses on core and specific aspects of my positionality and reflexivity post-research. Relating back to the study by Hayfield & Huxley (2015) surrounding being an 'insider' or an 'outsider' as a researcher in relation to the topic being explored, I asked myself the question: What part did being a gay woman play when conducting interviews and analysing data about a group of people who are to some extent 'insiders' (non-heterosexual) but also 'outsiders' (bi+)?

As previously stated, in most of the first-round of interviews I did not disclose my own sexual orientation. However, due to this, some of the participants assumed I was bi+, which I am not. This created a situation where I had to correct them and disclose my sexual orientation (an awkward conversation at times, at least it was for me) and made me feel like a bit of an imposture ('outsider'). Due to this, in all of my interviews during the second-round, in the first few minutes of each interview I specifically disclosed that I was gay. There was never a problem when I disclosed that I was gay,

of which I was aware, however, on reflection some people may not have felt comfortable talking to a gay woman about their bi+ experiences. For example, this could have been due to having had experienced prejudice or discrimination from lesbians in the past. As a gay woman, I have not experienced prejudice or discrimination from others in the LGBTQ+ community, unlike what bi+ people can face, so I unconsciously and implicitly assumed the participants would feel fully comfortable talking with me as I am a part of the LGBTQ+ community (an 'insider'). However, I may have been perceived as an 'outsider' to some degree due to being gay and not bi+. In future research I will instead include different details of myself on the recruitment poster. This will include my name, my age, my race, the pronouns I use, my sexual orientation and my current job position. Not only may this allow for bi+ people to have a greater insight into who I am and therefore, decide if they feel comfortable and safe to be a participant, but also for trans people too. By specifically including my pronouns in the poster, it demonstrates that I am a trans ally. Unfortunately, due to some gay women being trans-exclusionary radical feminists (TERFs) and consequently, transphobic, some trans people may be sceptical of lesbians. Perhaps I did not recruit any trans women in the study due to not having such details on the recruitment poster, thus they were unsure if I was a trans ally or not. To summarise, during the interviews, I often perceived myself as an 'insider' by being a part of the LGBTQ+ community when to others, I may have been seen as an 'outsider.'

In relation to analysing the data, specifically in regard to initial theme two, I placed an importance on society to combat bi+phobia as well as suggested that bi+ people themselves could be more open and out in order to contribute towards fighting bi+phobia through being more visible. As a gay woman, and from an 'outsider' perspective, I found it difficult to accept that some bi+ women were fine with passing and not correcting someone if they were misidentified. Perhaps this reverts back to me and my strong sense of identity, which is linked, for me, with being gay and how I would have to correct someone if they misidentified me. However, I have never experienced prejudice or discrimination regarding being a lesbian from anyone from the LGBTQ+ community, unlike what some bi+ people have experienced by being bi+. Within the LGBTQ+ community, I feel as though being homosexual is the most privileged group within the community. I am not suggesting that gay people do not face difficulties but rather that, in the LGBTQ+ community itself my identity has never

been questioned, marginalised or erased, unlike bi+ identities. In that respect, perhaps it is easier for me to be more vocal and open about expressing my sexual orientation about my sexual orientation compared to bi+ people. Nevertheless, though I have some understanding of the reasons as to why bi+ people are not open and/or out regarding their sexual identity, I have never known how it feels to be bi+ in certain scenarios. Therefore, perhaps if a bi+ woman ('insider') was to conduct this research, they would not have made the same suggestion of bi+ people being more open and out in order to contribute towards fighting bi+phobia through being more visible because they themselves have experienced the difficulties and complexities surrounding openness and disclosure of their bi+ identity. I recognise, largely through conducting this research, that being open and/or out as bi+ has unique challenges but I still stand by my suggestion. To summarise, this suggestion seems likely to been made due to me being a gay woman (an 'outsider') and how I have experienced being open and out surrounding my own sexual orientation.

5.4 Reflections and limitations

Within all aspects in life, being reflective is essential to enable further growth and development. There is not one research project which is perfect or flawless to everyone in the academic community. Therefore, as with any research, there were two main limitations with this study, upon which I now reflect.

Firstly, the participants in the study were mostly white and all were cisgender and university educated, which does not reflect British society. This was not intentional but may have been an outcome from the sampling method which I used. I was worried about the potential difficulty of recruiting enough participants. Therefore, as long as the potential participants agreed to take part in the study and met the participant criteria, they were included in the research. However, on reflection, it would have been more inclusive to have had a more diversified sample especially in regard to race and the involvement of trans women. By doing so, further or different intersections and meanings could have been captured through the voices of women of colour and/or trans women who are bi+ and given further representation. On the other hand, the involvement of a more diverse sample would have included further complexities due to the range of intersections of identities. If I seek a diverse sample which is

representative of British society in the future, once I have recruited half of the sample size needed, I will review the background details of the current participants. Then, I will target a particular sample by adding a new criteria aspect to my recruitment poster.

Secondly, there was a specific concept which would have been beneficial to have also explored in this research: a sense of belonging. When conducting the analysis surrounding the third initial theme, *Inclusion in sport: The power of representation and normality*, it was unclear if the positive feelings the participants felt as bi+ women in sport automatically developed a sense of belonging in that particular space or not. Especially as there were inclusive and exclusive practices which were found surrounding being a bi+ woman in sport, perhaps experiencing positive feelings does not necessarily equate to the participants feeling a sense of belonging. Therefore, on reflection, it would have been beneficial to have included the following three questions: 1) What does a sense of belonging mean to you? 2) What spaces in your life do you feel a sense of belonging and why? and 3) What, if any, are the similarities and differences between having positive feelings and feeling a sense of belonging?

5.5 Recommendations for future research

While my PhD research has contributed originally to the field of sexualities and sport by centralising bi+ women and giving them a voice, there are still major research gaps in relation to the topic of bi+ identities and sport. My research has focused on bi+ women and their everyday mundane lived experiences in sport. However, there is also a need for research to delve into the sporting experiences of different genders within the bi+ community. Lived experiences surrounding bi+ men (cisgender and transgender) as well as non-binary individuals' experiences in sport need to be investigated for comparative purposes. Other intersections are also essential to examine. These include age, ethnicity, location (regions/countries) and race.

Furthermore, other intersections such as "sporting ability level, sporting roles, types of sports (individual or team based), sports with strong traditionally masculine or feminine notions attached to them, and the influence of being within a same or mixed gender sports organisation" (House et al., 2022, p.1315) are also crucial to explore. Studies based on one particular sport and bi+ people are essential to conduct in the future as different sports and the cultures of such sports can influence the experiences

and feelings of bi+ people, as found in this study. Though, there must be an awareness of the complexities which can influence experiences and that even with a focus on one sport, many factors can affect experiences and feelings when in a particular sport setting. Additionally, research based on differentiating bi+ identities need to also be investigated to establish the similarities and differences among people with multiple gender attractions but who identify with different sexual identity labels. For example, there is a need to examine the experiences of self-identified bisexual people (who use bisexual as their primary identity) in comparison to self-identified pansexual people (who use pansexual as their primary identity) in sport. While these proposals are broad, as there is such limited research within the topic of bi+ people in sport, these wider recommendations are needed in order to be acknowledged and subsequently explored.

There are many recommendations for future studies due to the findings in this research. The foremost recommendation is binaries should be centralised and used as a means of understanding, examining and making sense of sexual identities and sport. Though theoretical frameworks in the area of sexualities and sport including Hegemonic Masculinity Theory, Inclusive Masculinity Theory and Queer Theory, have predominantly dominated in the field of sexualities and sport, the strong influence of binaries which was found in this study cannot be ignored. Therefore, the conceptual lens of binaries needs more presence. There is an opportunity for the development of a specific framework surrounding binaries in relation to the field of sexualities and sport as well as the promotion of moving beyond binaries.

Further analysis is needed surrounding the quietness of bi+ women in sport, outness and why forms of reactive disclosure are more prominent than other types of outness (if other such findings suggest so as well). This topic also links to the phrase ‘invisible bi+ open outness’ and how this impacts bi+ people’s interactions with others in relation to their bi+ sexual orientation. Projects could be specific to the context of sport or outside of sport.

Another recommendation for future research is for other academics to apply the IASM which I designed, to their research to explore and examine what actions are taken, and by whom, for people in sport to feel forms of inclusion. This is not a bi+ specific model or even a sexualities and sport specific model. Instead, the IASM can be applied to any sport research which has a focus on analysing inclusion in sport. On the topic, this

research found forms of inclusion and exclusion can co-exist at the same time in sports context. Scholars should build on this finding and explore if this does or does not occur for other minority sexual orientations in sport. Last but not least, by developing the phrase bi+ specific versus LGBTQ+ general debate, it is strongly recommended other scholars examine why these viewpoints exist and how it impacts on the daily lives of bi+ people (in– and outside of sport).

In this study, amongst the participants, I found that there were a range of identities of women with multiple gender attractions in sport, though they predominantly self-identified as bisexual. I also found most of the participants did not discuss their sexual identity whilst in sport, experienced homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions in sport, and experienced positive feelings as a bi+ women in sport. It would be influential to explore if such findings are found amongst a generalisable UK population or not. Therefore, in order to seek generalisability, a quantitative research project based on bi+ women's identities in sport, how often they discuss their sexual orientation in sport, the occurrence (or lack of) of homo– heterosexual binary based assumptions in sport, and the degree of positive/negative/neutral feelings they experience within sport, should be conducted and examined. By such research being completed, this would aid the development of the topic in academia and after, based on the findings, a review of the understandings and needs of bi+ women in UK sport can be examined. Consequently, the findings of my PhD research as well as the findings from the suggested quantitative study could be shared more widely with National Governing Bodies and sports policy makers in the UK, to ensure all possible actions are put into place so UK sport is as inclusive as possible for bi+ women.

Recommendations are now explored which are not influenced by this study's findings but are relevant to the topic of bi+ people and sport. Expanding on the studies by Magrath et al. (2017) and Ogilvie & McCormack (2019), an analysis which compares recent bi+ male athletes coming out/being out in the media is needed. Studying such a topic is especially required as, since 2020, at least three male elite athletes have come out as bisexual, where their sexual orientation has been included in media reporting. Therefore, current research regarding analysing online media articles based on male sports athletes Levi Davis (rugby union player), Luke Strong (trampoline gymnast) and Zach Sullivan (ice hockey player) coming out as bisexual for example, would facilitate an understanding of whether bisexual erasure and/or bisexual downplaying

do or do not still occur. As it appears there are no contemporary studies which analyse media content regarding bi+ female athletes, such research needs to exist in order to examine the similarities and differences compared to bi+ male athletes in the media. Furthermore, in response to the research by Anderson & Adams (2011), a study is needed with a central focus on whether the inclusive attitudes surrounding bisexuality by heterosexual male sports participants, claimed in Anderson & Adams' (2011) study, lead to such straight men showcasing inclusive practices and behaviours for bisexual, and more broadly bi+, individuals in the context of sport.

5.6 Final concluding thoughts

This research contributes significantly to examining the challenges and forms of bi+phobia which bi+ women can face in sport. This study also analysed the practices and outcomes already in place in sport which allowed the participants to feel positively as bi+ women in sporting contexts. Consequently, I will share this research far and wide with those involved in sport, particularly those in positions of power in sport, with the hope to make a change, promote moving beyond binaries and at the very least, ensure the topic of bi+ people in sport is represented.

I have already disseminated my knowledge gained from this research within my teaching as a Lecturer. For example, I lead on the topic LGBTQ+ inclusion in secondary schools and as a part of the content, I include sections involving language surrounding bi+ identities, examples of bi+phobia and how to challenge bi+phobia in a secondary school setting. Therefore, the completion of this research has not only developed my own knowledge surrounding the topic but also helped the students I work with develop theirs. Furthermore, the students I work with can put this knowledge into action whereby they can confidently challenge bi+phobia in secondary school settings as teachers.

Aspects of this research have already been published in the *Journal of Homosexuality* in 2022 and been cited by eight other authors. This demonstrates how this research contributes to the awareness and importance of the study of bi+ people in sport. Further publications based on the findings of this research will be shared with Sport England, National Governing Bodies, sport policy makers and LGBTQ+ charities including Pride Sports and Stonewall. Specifically, I will strongly insist, if they are not aware

already, sporting organisations need to know of and acknowledge the differences bi+ people can face in sport compared to others in the LGBTQ+ community and therefore, ensure relevant and explicit inclusive policies are created based on these specificities.

I will also promote and encourage relevant organisations to be aware of the multitude of sexual identity labels those with multiple gender attractions can use and to ensure those within the organisations are specifically educated in regard to this. This will include me being involved in designing such educational material, if desired. Furthermore, I will strongly advise and advocate that when such organisations refer to people with multiple gender attractions (verbally or written), that they use the term 'bi+' rather than 'bisexual' to ensure those who use different terms but still have multiple gender attractions are not marginalised. This includes using 'bi+' consistently within policies, articles and reports which are open access to the public.

We as a community must ensure steps are taken to continually improve sports settings and not settle for anything less than full inclusivity for all. This includes moving beyond binaries. I hope this research acts as a starting point and similar studies on the area will begin to grow amongst current and future sexualities and sport scholars. The better understandings we have about bi+ people as a research community, the more likely we are to ensure actions are put in place to maximise inclusivity for bi+ people in sport, as well as more broadly in UK society.

For too long, the academic area surrounding bi+ identities and sport has been overlooked, underrepresented and marginalised. This research represents a call to scholars to make a difference and contribute toward the visibility of bi+ people in the context of sport in academic literature.

"Representation matters – so, please join me in building an established community which engages with and values academic work surrounding the topic of bi+ people and sport."

Rebecca House

(Lecturer)

REFERENCES

Adams, A. (2011). “Josh wears pink cleats”: Inclusive masculinity on the soccer field. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *58*(5), 579-596. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2011.563654

Adams, A., & Anderson, E. (2012). Exploring the relationship between homosexuality and sport among the teammates of a small, Midwestern catholic college soccer team. *Sport, Education and Society*, *17*(3), 347-363. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/13573322.2011.608938

Ainscow, M. (2020). Promoting inclusion and equity in education: Lessons from international experiences. *Nordic Journal of Studies in Educational Policy*, *6*(1), 7-16. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/20020317.2020.1729587

Alarie, M., & Gaudet, S. (2013). “I don't know if she is bisexual or if she just wants to get attention”: Analyzing the various mechanisms through which emerging adults invisibilize bisexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *13*(2), 191-214. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2013.780004

Allen, S. (2017, April). Evan Rachel Wood’s big bisexual moment. *Daily Beast.* https://www.thedailybeast.com/evan-rachel-woods-big-bisexual-moment

Anderson, E. (2009). *Inclusive masculinity: The changing nature of masculinities.* Routledge.

Anderson, E. (2014). *21st century jocks: Sporting men and contemporary heterosexuality*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Anderson, E., & Adams, A. (2011). “Aren't we all a little bisexual?”: The recognition of bisexuality in an unlikely place. *Journal of bisexuality*, *11*(1), 3-22. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2011.545283

Anderson, E., & Bullingham, R. (2015). Openly lesbian team sport athletes in an era of decreasing homohysteria. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(6), 647-660. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690213490520

Anderson, E., Magrath, R., & Bullingham, R. (2016). *Out in sport: The experiences of openly gay and lesbian athletes in competitive sport.* Routledge. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=4406448

Anderson, E., & McCormack, M. (2016). *The changing dynamics of bisexual men’s lives: Social research perspectives*. Springer. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-319-29412-4

Anderson, E., Scoats, R., & McCormack, M. (2015). Metropolitan bisexual men's relationships: Evidence of a cohort effect. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *15*(1), 21-39. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.994055

Angelides, S. (2001). *History of bisexuality*. University of Chicago Press.

Arndt, M., & De Bruin, K. (2011). Measurement of attitudes toward bisexual men and women among South African university students: The validation of an

instrument. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *58*(4), 497-520. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2011.555672

Arriaga, A. S., & Parent, M. C. (2019). Partners and prejudice: Bisexual partner gender and experiences of binegativity from heterosexual, lesbian, and gay people. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *6*(3), 382-391. https://web.s.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=7a9de2f8-fcd6-4dd3-b976-04b9b62913fe%40redis

Bailey, C. (2018). *A guide to qualitative field research* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Baiocco, R., Pistella, J., Salvati, M., Ioverno, S., & Lucidi, F. (2020). Sexual prejudice in sport scale: A new measure. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *67*(4), 489-512. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2018.1547560

Baird, J. A. (2002). Playing it straight: An analysis of current legal protections to combat homophobia and sexual orientation discrimination in intercollegiate athletics. *Berkeley Women's Law Journal*, *17*, 31 – 67. https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5ecc003be899466983185381/t/5eee69cd0106b74183eea552/1592682967807/Playing+It+Straight_Baird.pdf

Bakker, J., & Bosman, A. (2003). Self-image and peer acceptance of Dutch students in regular and special education. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, *26*(1), 5-14. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/stable/1593680?seq=1

Baldwin, A., Schick, V., Dodge, B., van Der Pol, B., Herbenick, D., Sanders, S., Fortenberry, J. (2017). Variation in sexual identification among behaviorally bisexual women in the Midwestern United States: Challenging the established methods for collecting data on sexual identity and orientation. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *46*(5), 1337–1348. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1914091440?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=YCsi9wTEtYSdCuk5VW3SxZOW7wb%2BuHJxvx3btTQe%2Bmw%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Ballantyne, K. N., Kayser, M., & Grootegoed, J. A. (2012). Sex and gender issues in competitive sports: Investigation of a historical case leads to a new viewpoint. *British Journal of Sports Medicine, 46*(8), 614-617. https://doi:10.1136/bjsm.2010.082552

Barak, K. (2019). Focusing on the B in LGBTIQ: Bisexual athletes and sport In V. Krane (Ed.), *Sex, gender, and sexuality in sport: Queer inquiries* (pp.107-122). Routledge. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/detail.action?docID=5606258

Barker, M. (2007). Heteronormativity and the exclusion of bisexuality in psychology In V. Clarke., & E. Peel (Eds.), *Out in psychology: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer perspectives* (pp. 86-118). Wiley.

Barker, M., Bowes-Catton, H., Iantaffi, A., Cassidy, A., & Brewer, L. (2008). British bisexuality: A snapshot of bisexual representations and identities in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *8*(1-2), 141-162. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299710802143026

Barker, M. J., & Iantaffi, A. (2019). *Life isn't binary: On being both, beyond and in-between*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Barker, M., Richards, C., Jones, R., Bowes-Catton, H., Plowman, T., Yockney, J., & Morgan, M. (2012). *The bisexuality report: Bisexual inclusion in LGBT equality and diversity*. Centre for Citizenship, Identity and Governance, The Open University. http://www.bisexualindex.org.uk/uploads/Main/TheBisexualityReport.pdf

Barker, M. J., & Scheele, J. (2016). *Queer: A graphic history*. Icon. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=4782608

Barras, A. (2021). *The lived experiences of transgender and non-binary people in everyday sport and physical exercise in the UK* [Doctoral thesis, University of Brighton]. University of Brighton Theses. https://cris.brighton.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/31240349/BARRAS_thesis.pdf

Bartholomay, D. J. (2018). What, exactly, are we measuring? Examining heteronormativity in relation to same-gender marriage. *Sociology Compass*, *12*(3), 1-8. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1111/soc4.12563

Bartholomay, D. J., & Pendleton, M. (2023). Doing sexuality: How married bisexual, queer, and pansexual people navigate passing and erasure. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *64*(3), 520-539. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00380253.2023.2179951

Bartmanski, D. (2018). Social construction and cultural meaning: Reconstructing qualitative sociology. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, *6*(3), 563-587. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/s41290-017-0035-9

BBC. (2018, June 22). *Brooklyn Nine-Nine's Stephanie Beatriz: 'I'm bi till the day I die'*. BBC News. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-44575689

BBC. (2019, March 25). *Battling to be bi - a newsbeat documentary*. BBC News. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/newsbeat-47680969

Bell, B. (2019, September 24). *WWE's Piper Niven comes out as bisexual*. SB National OutSports. https://www.outsports.com/2019/9/24/20881374/wwe-piper-niven-coming-out-bisexual-lgbt-wrestling

Belous, C. K., & Bauman, M. L. (2017). What's in a name? Exploring pansexuality online. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(1), 58-72. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1224212

Benozzo, A., Pizzorno, M. C., Bell, H., & Koro-Ljungberg, M. (2015). Coming out, but into what? Problematizing discursive variations of revealing the gay self in the workplace. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *22*(3), 292-306. https://web-p-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=a48c71a0-4129-4b00-bd69-00b72c21033e%40redis

Berenson, C. (2001). What's in a name? Bisexual women define their terms. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *2*(2-3), 9-21. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v02n02_02

Berg, J. H., & Archer, R. L. (1982). Responses to self-disclosure and interaction goals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *18*(6), 501-512. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/0022103182900695

Berkey, B. R., Perelman-Hall, T., & Kurdek, L. A. (1990). The multidimensional scale of sexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *19*(4), 67-88. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1300/J082v19n04_05?needAccess=true

Bernard, H. R. (2013). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Beyer, M. (2016). Bisexual identities among women in Germany: A sociological approach toward obstacles and opportunities. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *16*(2), 209-232. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1165161

Bhopal, K., & Rhamie, J. (2014). Initial teacher training: Understanding 'race,' diversity and inclusion. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(3), 304-325. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/13613324.2013.832920

Bi+ Visibility. [@biplusvisibility]. (2018, November 1). *Today we launch the #bseen campaign to raise awareness for the bi+ community.* [Photo]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/p/BpnmxLYhzS9/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==

Bi+ Visibility. [@biplusvisibility]. (2023, February 25). *The team at BiCONIC with Bree Mountain, co-founder of Bi+ Visibility getting ready to watch the parade with our incredible bi+ community.* [Video]. Instagram. https://www.instagram.com/reel/CpE7efUDghP/?igshid=MzRlODBiNWFlZA==

Bianchi, M., Piccoli, V., Zotti, D., Fasoli, F., & Carnaghi, A. (2017). The impact of homophobic labels on the internalized homophobia and body image of gay men: The moderation role of coming-out. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *36*(3), 356-367. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/0261927X16654735

Biernat, M., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Stigma and stereotypes In T. F. Heatherton., R. E. Kleck., M. R. Hebl., & J. G. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 88–125). The Guilford Press.

Billings, A. C., & Moscowitz, L. M. (2018). *Media and the coming out of gay male athletes in American team sports*. Peter Lang.

Billson, C. (2022, November). Alex Scott 'fell madly in love' with ex-partner and lioness teammate: 'My first love'. *PinkNews*. https://www.thepinknews.com/2022/11/23/is-alex-scott-gay-partner/

Blaikie, N. (2000). *Designing social research: The logic of anticipation*. Polity.

Blaikie, N. (2007). *Approaches to social inquiry: Advancing knowledge* (2nd ed.). Polity.

Blinde, E. M., & Taub, D. E. (1992). Homophobia and women's sport: The disempowerment of athletes. *Sociological Focus*, *25*(2), 151–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.1992.10570613

Bohan, J. S., & Russell, G. M. (1999). *Conversations about psychology and sexual orientation*. New York University Press.

Booth, R., & Goodier, M. (2023, January 6). *England and Wales census counts trans and non-binary people for first time*. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2023/jan/06/england-and-wales-census-counts-trans-and-non-binary-people-for-first-time

Borver, J., Gurevich, M., & Mathieson, C. (2001). (Con)tested identities: Bisexual women reorient sexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *2*(2-3), 23-52. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v02n02_03

Bostwick, W. (2012). Assessing bisexual stigma and mental health status: A brief report. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *12*(2), 214-222. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2012.674860

Bostwick, W., Berger, B. M., & Hequembourg, A. (2019). A mixed-method inquiry of bisexual identity centrality among racially and ethnically diverse women. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *19*(2), 229-252. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2019.1617545

Bostwick, W., & Harrison, E. (2020). Bisexual mental health In E. Rothblum (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of sexual and gender minority mental health* (pp. 269-281). Oxford University Press.

Boyd, S. B. (2013). 'Marriage is more than just a piece of paper': Feminist critiques of same sex marriage. *National Taiwan University Law Review*, *8*(2), 263-298. https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/ntulr8&div=12&id=&page=

Bradford, M. (2004). The bisexual experience: Living in a dichotomous culture. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *4*(1-2), 7-23. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v04n01_02

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). *Thematic analysis: A practical guide*. Sage.

Brennan, S., & Behrensen, M. (2012). Margins within the marginal: Bi-visibility and intersexual passing In D. Cooley., & K. Harrison (Eds.), *Passing/out sexual identity veiled and revealed* (pp. 171-202). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315599601

Brimhall, K. C., & Mor Barak, M. E. (2018). The critical role of workplace inclusion in fostering innovation, job satisfaction, and quality of care in a diverse human service organization. *Human Service Organizations: Management,*

Leadership & Governance, *42*(5), 474-492. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Kim-Brimhall/publication/328797461_The_Critical_Role_of_Workplace_Inclusion_in_Fostering_Innovation_Job_Satisfaction_and_Quality_of_Care_in_a_Diverse_Human_Service_Organization/links/5bead621299bf1124fcf66df/The-Critical-Role-of-Workplace-Inclusion-in-Fostering-Innovation-Job-Satisfaction-and-Quality-of-Care-in-a-Diverse-Human-Service-Organization.pdf

Brink, P. J. (1994). Stigma and obesity. *Clinical Nursing Research*, *3*(4), 291-293. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/105477389400300401

Brouard, C. (2022, June 1). *LGBTQ+ inclusion in the workplace: A guide for employers.* My HR Toolkit. https://www.myhrtoolkit.com/blog/lgbt-inclusion-in-the-workplace

Brown, C., Montgomery, D., & Hammer, T. R. (2017). Perceptions of individuals who are non-monosexuals held by graduate students: A Q methodological study. *Journal of Bisexuality*. *17*(1), 73-87. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1276502

Bullingham, R. (2015). *Changing times: Discovering how openly lesbian athletes navigate team sport* [Doctoral thesis, University of Winchester]. University of Winchester Theses. https://cris.winchester.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/14779389/308Rachael_Bullingham_original_deposit_without_OA_embargo_form.pdf

Burke, S. E., & LaFrance, M. (2016). Stereotypes of bisexual people: What do bisexual people themselves think? *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *3*(2), 247-254. https://web.p.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=272ceee2-4f95-4cb0-bcdf-131e2a4c3bb3%40redis

Burks, D. (2011). Lesbian, gay, and bisexual victimization in the military: An unintended consequence of “don't ask, don't tell”? *American Psychologist*, *66*(7), 604-613. http://www.mopaonline.org/uploads/9/4/5/9/9459095/lesbian_gay_and_bisexual_victimization__in_the_military_an_unintended_consequence_of_dont_ask_dont_tell.pdf

Callis, A. S. (2013). The black sheep of the pink flock: Labels, stigma, and bisexual identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *13*(1), 82-105. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2013.755730

Callis, A. S. (2014). Bisexual, pansexual, queer: Non-binary identities and the sexual borderlands. *Sexualities*, *17*(1-2), 63-80. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1363460713511094

Calvard, T., O’Toole, M., & Hardwick, H. (2020). Rainbow lanyards: Bisexuality, queering and the corporatisation of LGBT inclusion. *Work, Employment and Society*, *34*(2), 356-368. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/0950017019865686

Carter, C., & Baliko, K. (2017). ‘These are not my people’: Queer sport spaces and the complexities of community. *Leisure Studies*, *36*(5), 696-707. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/02614367.2017.1315164

Cass, V. C. (1979). Homosexual identity formation: A theoretical model. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *4*(3), 219-235. https://www.brightfire.com.au/wp-content/uploads/Journal-of-Homosexuality-1979.pdf

Castleberry, A., & Nolen, A. (2018). Thematic analysis of qualitative research data: Is it as easy as it sounds? *Currents in Pharmacy Teaching and Learning*, *10*(6), 807-815. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/j.cptl.2018.03.019

Castro, A., & Carnassale, D. (2019). Loving more than one color: Bisexuals of color in Italy between stigma and resilience. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *19*(2), 198-228. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2019.1617548

Caudwell, J. (2007) Queering the field? The complexities of sexuality within a lesbian-identified football team in England. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *14*(2), 183-196. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/09663690701213750

Caudwell, J. (2011). ‘Does your boyfriend know you’re here?’ The spatiality of homophobia in men’s football culture in the UK. *Leisure Studies*, *30*(2), 123-138. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/02614367.2010.541481

Chang, C. J., Fehling, K. B., Feinstein, B. A., & Selby, E. A. (2022). Unique risk factors for suicide attempt among bisexual/pansexual versus gay/lesbian individuals. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Mental Health*, *26*(2), 176-195. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19359705.2021.1943733

Charmaz, K. (2019). Experiencing stigma and exclusion: The influence of neoliberal perspectives, practices, and policies on living with chronic illness and disability. *Symbolic Interaction*, *43*(1), 21-45. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1002/symb.432

Chaudoir, S. R., & Fisher, J. D. (2010). The disclosure processes model: Understanding disclosure decision-making and post-disclosure outcomes among people living with a concealable stigmatized identity. *Psychological Bulletin*, *136*(2), 236-256. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2922991/pdf/nihms-176480.pdf

Chivanga, S. Y. (2016). Qualitative research methodology and numbers. *Journal of social sciences*, *47*(2), 119-122. https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2016.11893551

Clark, C. M., Kosciw, J. G., & Chin, J. (2021). *LGBTQ students and school sports participation (research brief).* Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN). https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED617685.pdf

Clarke, J. A. (2018). They, them, and theirs. *Harvard Law Review*, *132*, 894-900. https://ir.vanderbilt.edu/bitstream/handle/1803/17213/They%20Them%20and%20Theirs.pdf?sequence=1

Clough, P., & Nutbrown, C. (2012). *A student's guide to methodology* (3rd ed.). Sage.

CNN. (2013, December 2). *Tom Daley: Olympic diver reveals he is in a gay relationship*. CNN. http://edition.cnn.com/2013/12/02/sport/tom-daley-dating-man-diving/

Collins, H. (2010) *Creative research: The theory and practice of research for the creative industries*. AVA.

Connell, R. (1990). An iron man: The body and some contradictions of hegemonic masculinity In M. Messner., & D. Sabo (Eds.), *Sport, men and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives* (pp.83-96). Human Kinetics Books.

Connell, R. (1995). *Masculinities*. Polity Press.

Corey, S. (2017). All bi myself: Analyzing television's presentation of female bisexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(2), 190-205. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1305940

Costa, P. (2015). Realism, relativism and pluralism: An impossible marriage? *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, *41*(4-5), 413-422. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/0191453714565501

Cox, B., & Thompson, S. (2001). Facing the bogey: Women, football and sexuality. *Football Studies*, *4*(2), 7-24. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Barbara-Cox-5/publication/242084098_Facing_the_Bogey_Women_Football_and_Sexuality/links/59cda7f7458515cc6aa4be5f/Facing-the-Bogey-Women-Football-and-Sexuality.pdf

Crasnow, S. (2021). Beyond Binaries: Trans Studies and the Global Contemporary. *Art Journal*, *80*(4), 82-90.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage.

Crump, J. (2018, December 22). *The State of bisexual representation in our pop culture: 2018 edition*. Film School Rejects. https://filmschoolrejects.com/bisexual-representation-pop-culture-2018/

Cunningham, G. B., & Nite, C. (2020). LGBT diversity and inclusion, community characteristics, and success. *Journal of Sport Management*, *34*(6), 533-541. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1123/jsm.2019-0338

Cunningham, G. B., & Pickett, A. C. (2018). Trans prejudice in sport: Differences from LGB prejudice, the influence of gender, and changes over time. *Sex Roles*, *78*(3-4), 220-227. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0791-6

Dahlgreen, W. (2015, August 16). *1 in 2 young people say they are not 100% heterosexual.* YouGov. https://yougov.co.uk/topics/lifestyle/articles-reports/2015/08/16/half-young-not-heterosexual

Daley, T. (2013, December 2). *Tom Daley: Something I want to say…* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJwJnoB9EKw

Daly, S., King, N., & Yeadon-Lee, T. (2018). 'Femme it up or dress it Down': Appearance and bisexual women in monogamous relationships. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *18*(3), 257-277. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2018.1485071

Dank, B. M. (1971). Coming out in the gay world. *Psychiatry*, *34*(2), 180-197. https://doi.org/10.1080/00332747.1971.11023666

Davies, H. (2023, February). Sorry not sorry: Alex Scott breaks silence over decision to wear one love armband at the Qatar World Cup. *The Sun*. https://www.thesun.co.uk/sport/21350584/alex-scott-one-love-armband-qatar-world-cup/

Davila, J., Jabbour, J., Dyar, C., & Feinstein, B. A. (2019). Bi+ visibility: Characteristics of those who attempt to make their bisexual+ identity visible and the strategies they use. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *48*(1), 199-211. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1284-6

Day, J. K., Ioverno, S., & Russell, S. T. (2019). Safe and supportive schools for LGBT youth: Addressing educational inequities through inclusive policies and practices. *Journal of School Psychology*, *74*, 29-43. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/j.jsp.2019.05.007

de Lauretis, T. (1991). Queer theory: Lesbian and gay sexualities an introduction. *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, *3*(2), iii-xviii.

de Queiroz, R., Hanashiro, D., & Roazzi, A. (2021). Theorizing the meaning of inclusion in the workplace from the facet theory perspective. *17th International Facet Theory Conference. Prague, Czech Republic*. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Paul-Hackett-4/publication/347841509_Chapter_10_Analysing_Bird_Behaviour_A_Revised_Facet_Theory_Analysis_of_Cognitive_Performance_in_New_Zealand_Robins_Petroica_Longipes_17th_International_Facet_Theory_Conference_Prague_Czech_Republic_Co/links/5fe4b40f299bf140883f2eff/Chapter-10-Analysing-Bird-Behaviour-A-Revised-Facet-Theory-Analysis-of-Cognitive-Performance-in-New-Zealand-Robins-Petroica-Longipes-17th-International-Facet-Theory-Conference-Prague-Czech-Republic.pdf#page=114

Dean, J. (2017). *Doing reflexivity: An introduction*. Policy Press.

DeCapua, S. R. (2017). Bisexual women's experiences with binegativity in romantic relationships. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(4), 451-472. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1382424

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The sage handbook of qualitative research*. Sage.

Derlega, V. J., Metts, S., Petronio, S., & Margulis, S. T. (1993). *Self-disclosure*. Sage.

Derlega, V. J., Winstead, B. A., Greene, K., Serovich, J., & Elwood, W. N. (2004). Reasons for HIV disclosure/nondisclosure in close relationships: Testing a

model of HIV–disclosure decision making. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *23*(6), 747-767. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.23.6.747.54804

Diamond, L. M. (2008). *Sexual fluidity*. *Understanding women's love and desire.* Harvard University Press.

Doan Van, E. E., Mereish, E. H., Woulfe, J. M., & Katz-Wise, S. L. (2019). Perceived discrimination, coping mechanisms, and effects on health in bisexual and other non-monosexual adults. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *48*(1), 159-174. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1254-z

Drury, S. (2011). 'It seems really inclusive in some ways, but… inclusive just for people who identify as lesbian': Discourses of gender and sexuality in a lesbian-identified football club. *Soccer & Society*, *12*(3), 421-442. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/14660970.2011.568108

Dutch News. (2020, March). Ireen Wüst, Patrick Roest takes world allround speed skating titles, again. *Dutch News*. https://www.dutchnews.nl/2020/03/ireen-wust-patrick-roest-take-world-allround-speed-skating-titles-again/

Dworkin, A. S. (2000). Bisexual histories in San Francisco in the 1970s and early 1980s. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *1*(1), 87-119. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v01n01_07

Dyar, C., Feinstein, B. A., & London, B. (2014). Dimensions of sexual identity and minority stress among bisexual women: The role of partner gender. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(4), 441-451. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/sgd0000063

Dyar, C., Feinstein, B. A., Schick, V., & Davila, J. (2017). Minority stress, sexual identity uncertainty, and partner gender decision making among nonmonosexual individuals. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *4*(1), 87. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/sgd0000213

Eckert, P. (2014). The problem with binaries: Coding for gender and sexuality. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, *8*(11), 529-535. https://doi.org/10.1111/lnc3.12113

Edwards, R., & Holland, J. (2013) *What is qualitative interviewing?* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Ehlke, S. J., Braitman, A. L., Dawson, C. A., Heron, K. E., & Lewis, R. J. (2020). Sexual minority stress and social support explain the association between sexual identity with physical and mental health problems among young lesbian and bisexual women. *Sex Roles*, *83*(5-6), 370-381. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1007%2Fs11199-019-01117-w

Eisner, S. (2013). *Bi: Notes for a bisexual revolution*. Seal Press.

Elia, J. P., Eliason, M., & Beemyn, G. (2018). Mapping bisexual studies: Past and present, and implications for the future In D. J. Swan., & S. Habibi (Eds.), *Bisexuality: Theories, research, and recommendations for the invisible sexuality* (pp.1-18). Springer. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=5357988

Eliason, M. (2000). Bi-negativity: The stigma facing bisexual men. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *1*(2-3), 137-154. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v01n02_05

Emerson, R. (1976). Social exchange theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *2*, 335-362. https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/stable/pdf/2946096

England, V. (1994). Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer*, *46*(1), 80-89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1994.00080.x

English, C. (2020). 'The fastest skaters in the world': The transcontinental roller derby, 1935–1937. *Sport in History*, *41*(1), 50-76. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/17460263.2019.1709889

Evans, R., Nagoshi, J. L., Nagoshi, C., Wheeler, J., & Henderson, J. (2017). Voices from the stories untold: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer college students' experiences with campus climate. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *29*(4), 426-444. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/10538720.2018.1378144

Fahs, B. (2009). Compulsory bisexuality?: The challenges of modern sexual fluidity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *9*(3-4), 431-449. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299710903316661

Feinstein, B. A., & Dyar, C. (2017). Bisexuality, minority stress, and health. *Current Sexual Health Reports*, *9*(1), 42-49. https://europepmc-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/backend/ptpmcrender.fcgi?accid=PMC5603307&blobtype=pdf

Feinstein, B. A. & Dyar, C. (2018). Romantic and sexual relationship experiences among bisexual individuals In D. J. Swan., & S. Habibi (Eds.), *Bisexuality: Theories, research, and recommendations for the invisible sexuality* (pp.145-163). Springer. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=5357988

Feinstein, B. A., Hurtado M., Dyar, C., & Davila, J. (2023). Disclosure, minority stress, and mental health among bisexual, pansexual, and queer (bi+) adults: The roles of primary sexual identity and multiple sexual identity label use. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *10*(2), 181-189. https://doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000532

Fine, M., Weis, L., Weseen, S., & Wong, L. (2000). For whom? Qualitative research, representations, and social responsibilities In N. K. Denzin., & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp.167-207). Sage.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: The opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, *2*(2), 209-230. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/146879410200200205

Flanders, C. E. (2017). Under the bisexual umbrella: Diversity of identity and experience. *Journal of Bisexuality*. *17*(1), 1-6. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1297145

Flanders, C. E., Anderson, R. E., Tarasoff, L. A., & Robinson, M. (2019). Bisexual stigma, sexual violence, and sexual health among bisexual and other plurisexual women: A cross-sectional survey study. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *56*(9), 1115-1127. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2018.1563042

Flanders, C. E., LeBreton, M. E., Robinson, M., Bian, J., & Caravaca-Morera, J. A. (2017). Defining bisexuality: Young bisexual and pansexual people's voices. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(1), 39-57. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1227016

Fletcher, M. (2023, July). The lionesses' very fit boyfriends and partners cheering on England as they begin their World Cup 2023 campaign in Australia and New Zealand. *Mail Online*. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-12323197/The-Lionesses-fit-boyfriends-partners-cheering-England-begin-World-Cup-2023-campaign-Australia-New-Zealand.html

Forber-Pratt, A. J. (2015). "You're going to do what?" Challenges of autoethnography in the academy. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *21*(9), 821-835. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1077800415574908

Fox, R. C. (2003). Bisexual identities In L. Garnets., & D. Kimmel (Eds.), *Psychological perspectives on lesbian, gay, and bisexual experiences* (2nd ed.) (pp. 86-129). Columbia University Press.

Fox, T. C. (1995). *Sexuality and catholicism*. George Braziller.

Francis, D. A. (2017). "I think we had one or two of those, but they weren't really": Teacher and learner talk on bisexuality in South African Schools. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(2), 206-224. https://doi.org/10.1080/15299716.2017.1326998

Francisco, M. P. B., Hartman, M., & Wang, Y. (2020). Inclusion and special education. *Education Sciences*, *10*(238), 1-17. https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci10090238

Galupo, M. P. (2011). Bisexuality: Complicating and conceptualizing sexual identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *11*(4), 545-549. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2011.620866

Galupo, M. P. (2018). Plurisexual identity labels and the marking of bisexual desire In D. J. Swan., & S. Habibi (Eds.), *Bisexuality: Theories, research, and recommendations for the invisible sexuality* (pp. 61-75). Springer. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=5357988

Galupo, M. P., Davis, K. S., Grynkiewicz, A. L.., & Mitchell, R. C. (2014). Conceptualization of sexual orientation identity among sexual minorities: Patterns across sexual and gender identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *14*(3-4), 433-456. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.933466

Galupo, M. P., Mitchell, R. C., & Davis, K. S. (2015). Sexual minority self-identification: Multiple identities and complexity. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *2*(4), 355–364. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/sgd0000131

Galupo, M. P., Ramirez, J. L., & Pulice-Farrow, L. K. (2017). “Regardless of their gender”: Descriptions of sexual identity among bisexual, pansexual, and queer identified individuals. *Journal of Bisexuality, 17*(1), 108-124. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1228491

Galupo, M. P., Taylor, S. M., & Cole, D. (2019). “I am double the bi”: Positive aspects of being both bisexual and biracial. *Journal of Bisexuality, 19*(2), 152-168. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2019.1619066

Garber, M. (1995). *Vice versa: Bisexuality and the eroticism of everyday life*. Simon and Schuster.

Gaston, L., & Dixon, L. (2020). A want or a need? Exploring the role of grassroots gay rugby teams in the context of inclusive masculinity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *29*(5), 508-520. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/09589236.2019.1621158

George, M. A. (2021). Expanding LGBT. *Florida Law Review*, *73*(2), 243-319. https://scholarship.law.ufl.edu/flr/vol73/iss2/1

Ghaziani, A. (2014). *There goes the gayborhood?* Princeton University Press.

Giano, Z., Currin, J. M., Wheeler, D. L., & Hubach, R. D. (2022). Outness amplifies the negative effect of gay related rejection in rural, but not urban sexual minority men. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *13*(2), 240-254. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19419899.2020.1765411

Gilchrist, T. (2019, March). Sara Ramirez refunded donation from NYC LGBT Centre after dearth of bi-plus support. *Advocate*. https://www.advocate.com/bisexual/2019/3/13/sara-ramirez-refunded-donation-nyc-lgbt-center-after-dearth-bi-plus-support

GLAAD. (2023). *Where we are on TV: 2022-2023*. GLAAD. https://assets.glaad.org/m/114d72edf8a779a6/original/GLAAD-2022-23-Where-We-Are-on-TV.pdf

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. Simon and Schuster.

Goldberg, A. E., Allen, K. R., Ellawala, T., & Ross, L. E. (2017). Male-partnered bisexual women's perceptions of disclosing sexual orientation to family across the transition to parenthood: Intensifying heteronormativity or queering family? *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*, *44*(1), 150-164. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1992208660?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=JNaOqkzmlpGdeMVSjiAORtsyS2BomLdlWg9nsu8X24U%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Gonzalez, K. A., Ramirez, J. L., & Galupo, M. P. (2017). “I was and still am”: Narratives of bisexual marking in the #stillbisexual campaign. *Sexuality & Culture*, *21*(2), 493-515. https://www.proquest.com/openview/0e0ec7fd77e13e5cc56cc134c65fe1a8/1.pdf?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=75938&casa_token=QjN-8tIFY-8AAAAA:lrsKFqMAqy6iZXxCGQdPpBPn66MW5gt6JgAJGutIqyksQfUNg9xIMZFKZvgTu7jMF7WXMIRGLA

Goob, U. (2008). Concepts of bisexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality, 8*(1-2), 9–23. https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/doi/epdf/10.1080/15299710802142127?needAccess=true&role=button

Greaves, L. M., Sibley, C. G., Fraser, G., & Barlow, F. K. (2019). Comparing pansexual- and bisexual-identified participants on demographics, psychological well-being, and political ideology in a New Zealand national sample. *Journal of Sex Research, 56*(9), 1083–1090. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2019.1568376

Griffin, P. (1992). Changing the game: Homophobia, sexism, and lesbians in sport. *Quest*, *44*(2), 251–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.1992.10484053

Griffin, P. (1998). *Strong women, deep closets: Lesbians and homophobia in sport*. Human Kinetics Publishers.

Griffin, P. (1999). Lesbians and bisexual women in sport. *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 70*(4), 53-55. https://www.proquest.com/docview/215765187?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=DRZ%2B6tLpTP9e2PrXudrexVfY5bl7v%2FwFuJFh66AixpA%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Grove, M., & Johnson, N. L. (2022). The relationship between social group prejudice and vulnerability to sexual violence in bisexual women. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*. Advance online publication. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/sgd0000561

Groves, R. M., Fowler, F. J., Couper, M. P., Lepkowski, J. M., Singer, E., & Tourangeau, R. (2009). *Survey methodology* (2nd ed.). Wiley.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences In N. K. Denzin., & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 191-215). Sage.

Halbrook, M. K., Watson, J. C., & Voelker, D. K. (2019). High school coaches' experiences with openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual athletes. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *66*(6), 838-856. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2017.1423222

Hall, E. (2017, May 29). *Univ. of Miami tennis player Nile Clark wants to end bisexual confusion*. SB National OutSports. https://www.outsports.com/2017/5/29/15711022/lgbt-miami-athlete-tennis-nile-clark

Halperin, D. M. (2003). The normalization of queer theory. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *45*(2-4), 339-343. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J082v45n02_17

Hamdi, N., Lachheb, M., & Anderson, E. (2017). Masculinity, homosexuality and sport in an Islamic state of increasing homohysteria. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *26*(6), 688-701. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/09589236.2016.1155979

Hargreaves, J., & Anderson, E. (Eds.). (2014). *Routledge handbook of sport, gender and sexuality*. Routledge. https://r3.vlereader.com/Reader?ean=9780203121375

Hartman, A. (1993). Out of the closet: Revolution and backlash. *Social Work*, *38*(3), 245-360. https://www.proquest.com/docview/215267831?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=sT7gTJIwHKTggmflE91euEgTpskcE0R%2BbRf9JCzRujU%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Hartman, J. E. (2011). Finding a needle in a haystack: Methods for sampling in the bisexual community. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *11*(1), 64-74. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2011.545306

Hartman, J. E. (2013). Creating a bisexual display: Making bisexuality visible. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *13*(1), 39-62. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2013.755727

Hasan, A. (2017). *A critical introduction to the epistemology of perception*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Hayfield, N. (2013). 'Never judge a book by its cover?': Students' understandings of lesbian, gay and bisexual appearance. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *4*(1), 16-24. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19419899.2013.748261

Hayfield, N. (2020). *Bisexual and pansexual identities: Exploring and challenging invisibility and invalidation*. Routledge. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=6196005

Hayfield, N., Campbell, C., & Reed, E. (2018). Misrecognition and managing marginalisation: Bisexual people's experiences of bisexuality and relationships. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *9*(3), 221-236. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19419899.2018.1470106

Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Halliwell, E. (2014). Bisexual women's understandings of social marginalisation: 'The heterosexuals don't understand us but nor do the lesbians'. *Feminism & Psychology*, *24*(3), 352-372. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/0959353514539651

Hayfield, N., & Huxley, C. (2015). Insider and outsider perspectives: Reflections on researcher identities in research with lesbian and bisexual women. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(2), 91-106. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/14780887.2014.918224

Hayfield, N., & Křížová, K. (2021). It's like bisexuality, but it isn't: Pansexual and panromantic people's understandings of their identities and experiences of becoming educated about gender and sexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *21*(2), 167-193. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2021.1911015

Head, S., & Milton, M. (2014). Filling the silence: Exploring the bisexual experience of intimate partner abuse, *Journal of Bisexuality*, *14*(2), 277-299. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.903218

Hemmings, C. (2002). *Bisexual spaces: A geography of sexuality and gender*. Routledge.

Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. Sage.

Hequembourg, A. L., & Brallier, S. A. (2009). An exploration of sexual minority stress across the lines of gender and sexual identity. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *56*(3), 273– 298. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918360902728517

Herek, G. M. (2002). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward bisexual men and women in the United States. *Journal of Sex Research*, *39*(4), 264-274. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490209552150

Hertlein, K. M., Hartwell, E. E., & Munns, M. E. (2016). Attitudes toward bisexuality according to sexual orientation and gender. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *16*(3), 339-360. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1200510

Hilton, E. N., & Lundberg, T. R. (2021). Transgender women in the female category of sport: Perspectives on testosterone suppression and performance advantage. *Sports Medicine*, *51*, 199-214. https://doi: 10.1007/s40279-020-01389-3

Hinton, J. D., Anderson, J. R., & Koc, Y. (2019). Exploring the relationship between gay men's self-and meta-stereotype endorsement with well-being and self-worth. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *10*(2), 169-182. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19419899.2019.1577013

Hodgson, N. (2013, December 2). *We shouldn't rush to define Tom Daley's sexuality*. The Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/02/tom-daley-bisexual-sexuality-diver-relationship-man

House, R., Jarvis, N., & Burdsey, D. (2022). Representation matters: Progressing research in plurisexuality and bisexuality in sport. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *69*(8), 1301-1321. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2021.1913916

Huebner, D. M., & Davis, M. C. (2005). Gay and bisexual men who disclose their sexual orientations in the workplace have higher workday levels of salivary cortisol and negative affect. *Annals of Behavioral Medicine*, *30*(3), 260-267. https://www.proquest.com/docview/274600175?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=Nk1HILOlEU%2BPDqnwUFNtXpQsfX3hYbttuv3TSux7HEk%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Hunt, C. J., Fasoli, F., Carnaghi, A., & Cadinu, M. (2016). Masculine self-presentation and distancing from femininity in gay men: An experimental examination of the role of masculinity threat. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *17*(1), 108-112. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0039545

Jackson, S., & Scott, S. (2010). *Theorizing sexuality*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Jagoo, K. (2021, April 30). *What is inclusion?* Very well mind. https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-inclusion-5076061

Jarvis, N. (2015). The inclusive masculinities of heterosexual men within UK gay sport clubs. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(3), 283-300. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690213482481

Johnson, H. J. (2016). Bisexuality, mental health, and media representation. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *16*(3), 378-396. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2016.1168335

Johnson, N. L., & Grove, M. (2017). Why us? Toward an understanding of bisexual women's vulnerability for and negative consequences of sexual violence. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(4), 435-450. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1364201

Kanahara, S. (2006). A Review of the definitions of stereotype and a proposal for a progressional model. *Individual Differences Research*, *4*(5), 306-321.

Kang, M., Lessard, D., Heston, L., & Nordmarken, S. (2017). *Introduction to women, gender, sexualities studies*. University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries.

Kasi, P. M. (2009). *Research: What, why and how?* Author House.

Katz-Wise, S. L., Stamoulis, C., Allison, C. M., & Hyde, J. S. (2019). Attitudes toward bisexuality and other beliefs and attitudes related to sexual fluidity in attractions among heterosexual and sexual minority young adults. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *19*(1), 1-22. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2019.1583150

Kauer, K. J., & Krane, V. (2006). “Scary dykes” and “feminine queens”: Stereotypes and female collegiate athletes. *Women in Sport & Physical Activity Journal*, *15*(1), 42-55. https://www.proquest.com/docview/230684430?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=ozxWymCoREK7ttA3%2BRUqvjpFTzCxbBOfCjZZt%2BBEg4U%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Kelleher, P. (2020, January). Bisexual Olympian reveals some athletes won’t even shake his hand since he came out. *PinkNews*. https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2020/01/24/bisexualolympics-jack-woolley-ireland-taekwondo-coming-out-homophobia-biphobia/

Khuzwayo, Z. (2021). “Why do I need to come out if straight people don’t have to?”: Divergent perspectives on the necessity of self-disclosure among bisexual women. *Frontiers in Sociology*, *6*. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.3389%2Ffsoc.2021.665627

Kiekens, W. J., la Roi, C., & Dijkstra, J. K. (2021). Sexual identity disparities in mental health among U.K. adults, U.S. adults, and U.S. adolescents: Examining heterogeneity by race/ethnicity. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *8*(4), 407-419. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/sgd0000432

Killam, L. (2013). *Research terminology simplified: Paradigms, axiology, ontology, epistemology and methodology*. Author.

Kim, E. (2014). Asexualities and disabilities in constructing sexual normalcy In K. Cerankowski., & M. Milks (Eds.), *Asexualities: Feminist and queer perspectives* (pp. 429-282). Routledge.

King, S. (2008). What's queer about (queer) sport sociology now? A review essay. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *25*(4), 419-442. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1123/ssj.25.4.419

Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1948). *Sexual behaviour in the human male*. Saunders.

Kirby, T. A., Merritt, S. K., Baillie, S., Malahy, L. W., & Kaiser, C. R. (2021). Combating bisexual erasure: The correspondence of implicit and explicit sexual identity. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *12*(8), 1415-1424. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1948550620980916

Klein, F. (1978). *The bisexual option: A concept of one-hundred percent intimacy*. Arbor House.

Klein, F. (1980). Are you sure you're heterosexual? or homosexual? or even bisexual? *Forum Magazine: The International Journal of Human Relations*, *10*(3), 41-45.

Klein, F., Sepekoff, B., & Wolf, T. J. (1985). Sexual orientation: A multi-variable dynamic process. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *11*(1-2), 35-49. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v11n01_04

Klenke, K. (2016). *Qualitative research in the study of leadership* (2nd ed.). Emerald Group Publishing.

Kolker, Z. M., Taylor, P. C., & Galupo, M. P. (2020). "As a sort of blanket term": Qualitative analysis of queer sexual identity marking. *Sexuality & Culture*, *24*(5), 1337-1357. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-019-09686-4

Krane, V. (1997). Homonegativism experienced by lesbian collegiate athletes. *Women in Sport & Physical Activity Journal*, *6*(2), 141-163. https://www.proquest.com/docview/230654021?accountid=9727&parentSessionId=JbK3dY0uF7OAuz5%2FpQ13tlXMyRicXqI7eeumI%2F4TDzE%3D&pq-origsite=summon

Krane, V. (Ed.). (2019). *Sex, gender, and sexuality in sport: Queer inquiries*. Routledge.

Krauss, S. E. (2005). Research paradigms and meaning making: A primer. *The Qualitative Report*, *10*(4), 758-770. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2005.1831

Kunst, A. (2023, May 25). *Netflix brand profile in UK 2022*. Statista. https://www.statista.com/forecasts/1304402/netflix-video-on-demand-brand-profile-in-the-united-kingdom

Kuper, L. E., Nussbaum, R., & Mustanski, B. (2012). Exploring the diversity of gender and sexual orientation identities in an online sample of transgender individuals. *Journal of Sex Research*, *49*(2-3), 244-254. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23249146

Kwok, C., Rostosky, S. S., & Riggle, E. D. (2020). Bisexual-identifying women's relationship expectations of female-and male-identifying partners. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *20*(2), 141-165. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2020.1755406

Lapan, S. D., Quartaroli, M. T., & Riemer, F. J. (Eds.). (2012). *Qualitative research: An introduction to methods and designs*. Jossey-Bass.

Lawley, S. (2019). Spaces and laces: Insights from LGBT initiatives in sporting institutions. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*. *33*(3), 502-514. https://www-emerald-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/insight/content/doi/10.1108/JOCM-11-2018-0342/full/html

Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. Guilford Publications.

Lehavot, K., & Simoni, J. M. (2011). The impact of minority stress on mental health and substance use among sexual minority women. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *79*(2), 159-170. https://europepmc-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/backend/ptpmcrender.fcgi?accid=PMC4059829&blobtype=pdf

Leigh, R. (2022, September 28). *Alex Scott book: Star 'fell madly in love' with fellow lioness amid claims she 'isn't coming out'*. Entertainment Daily. https://www.entertainmentdaily.co.uk/news/alex-scott-book-love-partner-gay/

Lenskyj, H. (1991). Combating homophobia in sport and physical education. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *8*(1), 61–69. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.8.1.61

Levy, D. L., & Harr, J. (2018). "I never felt like there was a place for me:" Experiences of bisexual and pansexual individuals with a Christian upbringing. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *18*(2), 186-205. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2018.1431169

Lim, G., & Hewitt, B. (2018). Discrimination at the intersections: Experiences of community and belonging in nonmonosexual persons of color. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *18*(3), 318-352. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2018.1518182

Lingel, J. (2009). Adjusting the borders: Bisexual passing and queer theory. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *9*(3-4), 381-405. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299710903316646

Linnell, C. (2018, November). Karina Manta is team USA's first out female figure skater. *Advocate*. https://www.advocate.com/sports/2018/11/09/karina-manta-team-usas-first-out-female-figure-skater

Littlejohn, S., & Foss, K. (2008). *Theories of communication* (9th ed.). Wadsworth.

Lloyd, S. L. (2017, September 10). *What does pansexuality mean?* Liveaboutdotcom. http://dating.about.com/od/glossarywordspq/g/pansexual.htm

Lovelock, J. M. (2014). Using the Klein sexual orientation grid in sociological studies. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *14*(3-4), 457-467. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.946197

Luo, M., & Hancock, J. T. (2020). Self-disclosure and social media: Motivations, mechanisms and psychological well-being. *Current Opinion in*

Psychology, *31*, 110-115. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.08.019

Lyons, B. J., Lynch, J. W., & Johnson, T. D. (2020). Gay and lesbian disclosure and heterosexual identity threat: The role of heterosexual identity commitment in shaping de-stigmatization. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *160*, 1-18. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/j.obhdp.2020.03.001

Lytle, A., Dyar, C., Levy, S. R., & London, B. (2017). Contact with bisexual individuals reduces binegativity among heterosexuals and lesbian women and gay men. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*(5), 580-599. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1002/ejsp.2241

Maddocks, K. (2013). *Biphobia in sport* [Doctoral thesis, Brunel University]. Brunel University Theses. https://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/7494/1/FulltextThesis.pdf

Magrath, R. (Ed.). (2019). *LGBT athletes in the sports media*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/lib/ubrighton/reader.action?docID=5603412

Magrath, R. (2022). The experiences of bisexual soccer fans in the UK: Inclusion, engagement, and digital lives. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *22*(4), 580-598. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2022.2065557

Magrath, R., Anderson, E., & Roberts, S. (2015). On the door-step of equality: Attitudes toward gay athletes among academy-level footballers. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *50*(7), 804-821. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690213495747

Magrath, R., Cleland, J., & Anderson, E. (2017). Bisexual erasure in the British print media: Representation of Tom Daley's coming out. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(3), 300-317. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1359130

Makinde, O. (2021, October 21). *Why is inclusion important?* Kaplan International Pathways. https://www.kaplanpathways.com/blog/why-is-inclusion-important/#:~:text=When%20people%20feel%20included%20they,from%20a%20completely%20different%20background.

Maliepaard, E. (2017). Bisexuality in the Netherlands: Connecting bisexual passing, communities, and identities. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *17*(3), 325-348. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1342214

Maliepaard, E. (2018). Disclosing bisexuality or coming out? Two different realities for bisexual people in the Netherlands. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *18*(2), 145-167. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2018.1452816

Marcus, N. C. (2018). The global problem of bisexual erasure in litigation and jurisprudence. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *18*(1), 67-85. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2017.1384423

Masaviru, M. (2016). Self-disclosure: Theories and model review. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*, *18*(1), 43-47. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234691127.pdf

Matheson, J. L. (2007). The voice transcription technique: Use of voice recognition software to transcribe digital interview data in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, *12*(4), 547-560. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2007.1611

Maurice, E. P. (2019, December). Elite US figure skater Amber Glenn comes out as bisexual/pansexual: 'I don't want to hide who I am'. *PinkNews*. https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2019/12/18/amber-glenn-us-figure-skater-comes-out-bisexual-pansexual/

Maxwell, J. A. (2010). Using numbers in qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry*, *16*(6), 475-482. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410364740

McCormack, M., Anderson, E., Jamie, K., & David, M. (2018). *Discovering sociology*. MacMillan International Higher Education.

McLean, K. (2007). Hiding in the closet?: Bisexuals, coming out and the disclosure imperative. *Journal of Sociology*, *43*(2), 151-166. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1440783307076893

McLean, K. (2008). Inside, outside, nowhere: Bisexual men and women in the gay and lesbian community. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *8*(1-2), 63-80. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299710802143174

Meidlinger, P. C., & Hope, D. A. (2014). Differentiating disclosure and concealment in measurement of outness for sexual minorities: The Nebraska outness scale. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*(4), 489-497. https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1875&context=psychfacpub

Melton, E. N., & MacCharles, J. D. (2021). Examining sport marketing through a rainbow lens. *Sport Management Review*, *24*(3), 421-438. https://doi.org/10.1080/14413523.2021.1880742

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A guide to design and implementation.* Jossey-Bass.

Messner, M. (1990). When bodies are weapons: Masculinity and violence in sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *25*(3), 203-220. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/101269029002500303

Miller, M. J., & Manata, B. (2023). The effects of workplace inclusion on employee assimilation outcomes. *International Journal of Business Communication*, *60*(3), 777-801. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329488420976805

Miranda, J., & Storms, M. (1989). Psychological adjustment of lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *68*(1), 41-45. https://web-s-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=bd454f0c-77b1-4a89-991d-eb11f9a5fd79%40redis

Mitchell, R. C., Davis, K. S., & Galupo, M. P. (2015). Comparing perceived experiences of prejudice among self-identified plurisexual individuals. *Psychology & Sexuality*, *6*(3), 245-257. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19419899.2014.940372

Mohr, J., & Fassinger, R. (2000). Measuring dimensions of lesbian and gay male experience. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*, *33*(2), 66-90. https://doi.org/10.1080/07481756.2000.12068999

Mohr, J., & Rochlen, A. B. (1999). Measuring attitudes regarding bisexuality in lesbian, gay male, and heterosexual populations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *46*(3), 353-369. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-0167.46.3.353

Monaco, S. (2021). Being bisexual in contemporary Italy: Between stigma and desire of visibility. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *41*(5-6), 673-688. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-05-2020-0157

Monro, S. (2015). *Bisexuality: Identities, politics, and theories.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Moore, J. (2012). A personal insight into researcher positionality. *Nurse Researcher*, *19*(4), 11-14. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1095359521/fulltext/9DD1AA33D253419FPQ/1?accountid=9727

Morandini, J. S., Blaszczynski, A., & Dar-Nimrod, I. (2017). Who adopts queer and pansexual sexual identities? *The Journal of Sex Research*, *54*(7), 911-922. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1249332

Morandini, J. S., Menzies, R. E., Moreton, S. G., & Dar-Nimrod, I. (2023). Do beliefs about sexual orientation predict sexual identity labeling among sexual minorities? *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *52*(3), 1239-1254. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-022-02465-7

Morgenroth, T., Kirby, T. A., Cuthbert, M. J., Evje, J., & Anderson, A. E. (2022). Bisexual erasure: Perceived attraction patterns of bisexual women and men. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*(2), 249-259. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1002/ejsp.2773

Mosher, C. M. (2001). The social implications of sexual identity formation and the coming-out process: A review of the theoretical and empirical literature. *The Family Journal*, *9*(2), 164-173. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480701092011

Moskowitz, D. A., Rendina, H. J., Alvarado Avila, A., & Mustanski, B. (2022). Demographic and social factors impacting coming out as a sexual minority among generation-z teenage boys. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *9*(2), 179-189. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/sgd0000484

Mosley, D. V., Gonzalez, K. A., Abreu, R. L., & Kaivan, N. C. (2019). Unseen and underserved: A content analysis of wellness support services for bi+ people of color and indigenous people on U.S. campuses. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *19*(2), 276-304. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2019.1617552

Mulick, P. S., & Wright Jr, L. W. (2002). Examining the existence of biphobia in the heterosexual and homosexual populations. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *2*(4), 45-64. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v02n04_03

Mulick, P. S., & Wright Jr, L. W. (2011). The biphobia scale a decade later: Reflections and additions. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *11*(4), 453-457. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2011.620486

Murray, A., & White, A. (2017). Twelve not so angry men: Inclusive masculinities in Australian contact sports. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *52*(5), 536-550. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690215609786

Mustanski, B., Kuper, L., & Greene, G. J. (2014). Development of sexual orientation and identity In D. L. Tolman, L. M. Diamond, J. A. Bauermeister, W. H. George, J. G. Pfaus, & L. M. Ward (Eds.), *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology: Vol. 1. person-based approaches* (pp. 597-628). American Psychological Association. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/14193-019

Nagoshi, C. T., Bechky, A., Nagoshi, J., & Pillai, V. K. (2023). For straight persons, correlates of biphobia are mostly the same as for homophobia. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *23*(2), 115-125. https://doi.org/10.1080/15299716.2022.2106607

Neale, J., Miller, P., & West, R. (2014). Reporting quantitative information in qualitative research: guidance for authors and reviewer, *Addiction*, *109*, 175 – 176. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/add.12408

NeJaime, D. (2016). Marriage equality and the new parenthood. *Harvard Law Review*, *129*(5), 1186-1266. https://openyls.law.yale.edu/bitstream/handle/20.500.13051/4770/DouglasNeJaimeMarriageEqu.pdf?sequence=2

Nelson, R. (2020). 'What do bisexuals look like? I don't know!' Visibility, gender, and safety among plurisexuals. *Journal of Sociology*, *56*(4), 591-607. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1440783320911455

Nelson, R., Robards, B., Churchill, B., Vivienne, S., Byron, P., & Hanckel, B. (2023). Social media use among bisexuals and pansexuals: Connection, harassment and mental health. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *25*(6), 711-727. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/13691058.2022.2092213

Neuman, L. W. (1997). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (3rd ed.). Allyn and Bacon.

Ochs, R. (1996). Biphobia: It goes more than two ways In B. Firestein (Ed.), *Bisexuality: The psychology and politics of an invisible minority* (pp. 217-239). Sage.

Ochs, R. [@robynochs]. (2022a, September 18). *In order to be recognized, I have to actively come out. I can be fairly certain that if I don't, I will be misread…* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/robynochs/status/1571332671632179200

Ochs, R. [@robynochs]. (2022b, September 24). *"Every time a #bisexual person makes their bi+ identity known, that is a form of activism." – Robyn Ochs* [Tweet]. Twitter. https://twitter.com/robynochs/status/1573458976624214034

O'Donoghue, T. (2018). *Planning your qualitative research thesis and project: An introduction to interpretivist research in education and the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Office for National Statistics. (2020). *Sexual orientation, UK: 2020*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/sexuality/bulletins/sexualidentityuk/2020

Office for National Statistics. (2021). *Sexual orientation, England and Wales: Census 2021*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/sexuality/bulletins/sexualorientationenglandandwales/census2021#:~:text=pansexual%20(112%2C000%2C%200.23%25),queer%20(15%2C000%2C%200.03%25)

Ogilvie, M. F., & McCormack, M. (2019). Conner Mertens and the muted media coverage of the first openly bisexual NCAA American football player In R. Magrath (Ed.), *LGBT athletes in the sports media* (pp. 189-206). Palgrave Macmillan.

Ohl, F., Schoch, L., & Fincoeur, B. (2021). The toxic doxa of "clean sport" and IOC's and WADA's quest for credibility. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *56*(8), 1116-1136. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690220977351

Omarzu, J. (2000). A disclosure decision model: Determining how and when individuals will self-disclose. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *4*(2), 174-185. https://web-p-ebscohost-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=b7c7ae7c-1093-4a4f-8f23-caaae74880a8%40redis

Orne, J. (2013). Queers in the line of fire: Goffman's stigma revisited. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *54*(2), 229-253. https://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12001

Overton, M. A. (2006). Playing with pieces of paper: The impact of non-labeled spaces on relationships. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *6*(3), 107-113. https://www-tandfonline-com.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/doi/abs/10.1300/J159v06n03_08

Padgett, D. (2020, July 28). Luke Strong, champion gymnast, comes out as bisexual. *Out*. https://www.out.com/sports/2020/7/28/luke-strong-champion-gymnast-comes-out-bisexual

Pallotta-Chiarolli, M. (2014). Erasure, exclusion by inclusion, and the absence of intersectionality: Introducing bisexuality in education. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *14*(1), 7-17. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.872454

Pariera, K., Brody, E., & Scott, D. T. (2021). Now that they're out: Experiences of college athletics teams with openly LGBTQ players. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *68*(5), 733-751. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918369.2019.1661727

Parsons, V. (2020, January). Zach Sullivan is the first-ever pro ice hockey player to come out as bisexual. *PinkNews.*

https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2020/01/28/zach-sullivan-first-ever-pro-ice-hockey-player-come-out-as-bisexual-manchester-storm/

Pavlidis, A. (2017). Affective and pleasurable bodies: Feminist joys through sport and leisure In M. Silk, D. Andrews, & H. Thorpe (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of physical cultural studies* (pp. 295-303). Routledge. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.4324/9781315745664

Pavlidis, A. (2021). "Introducing" roller derby: An old sport made new and innovations in gender policies In A. Tjønndal (Ed.), *Social Innovation in Sport* (pp. 227-244). Palgrave Macmillan.

Pavlidis, A., & Fullagar, S. (2016). *Sport, gender and power: The rise of roller derby*. Routledge.

Pavlidis, A., & O'Brien, W. (2017). Sport and feminism in China: On the possibilities of conceiving roller derby as a feminist intervention. *Journal of Sociology*, *53*(3), 704-719. https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783317721349

Pavlidis, A., & Olive, R. (2014). On the track/in the bleachers: Authenticity and feminist ethnographic research in sport and physical cultural studies. *Sport in Society*, *17*(2), 218-232. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/17430437.2013.828703

Perez, M., Friedman, R., & Lamothe, J. C. (Eds.). (2021). *Beyond binaries: Trans identities in contemporary culture*. Lexington Books.

Phillips, K. W., Rothbard, N. P., & Dumas, T. L. (2009). To disclose or not to disclose? Status distance and self-disclosure in diverse environments. *Academy of Management Review*, *34*(4), 710-732. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.34.4.zok710

Phipps, C. (2020). "We already do enough around equality and diversity": Action taken by student union officers to promote LGBT+ inclusion in university sport. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *37*(4), 310-318. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1123/ssj.2019-0119

Phipps, C. (2021). Thinking beyond the binary: Barriers to trans* participation in university sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *56*(1), 81-96. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690219889621

Picca, L. H., & Feagin, J. R. (2007). *Two-faced racism: Whites in the backstage and frontstage*. Routledge.

Pistella, J., Rosati, F., & Baiocco, R. (2023). Feeling safe and content: Relationship to internalized sexual stigma, self-awareness, and identity uncertainty in Italian lesbian and bisexual women. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, *27*(1), 41-59. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/10894160.2022.2087344

Pistella, J., Rosati, F., Ioverno, S., Girelli, L., Laghi, F., Lucidi, F., & Baiocco, R. (2020). Coming out in family and sports-related contexts among young Italian gay and lesbian athletes: The mediation effect of the "don't ask, don't tell" attitude. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *29*(1), 208-216. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01551-0

Poteat, P., Watson, R. J., & Fish, J. N. (2021). Teacher support moderates associations among sexual orientation identity outness, victimization, and academic performance among LGBQ+ youth. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *50*(8), 1634-1648. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-021-01455-7

Press Association. (2016, May). Nicola Adams wins world boxing title to complete full gold-medal set. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2016/may/27/nicola-adams-wins-world-boxing-title-full-gold-medal-set

Pronger, B. (1990). *The arena of masculinity: Sports, homosexuality, and the meaning of sex*. St. Martin's Press.

Pronger, B. (1999). Outta my endzone: Sport and the territorial anus. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *23*(4), 373-389. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723599234002

Punch, K. F. (2005). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Quinton, J., & Rich, K. (2023). Gay men, well-being, and sport participation: A phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2023.2255202

Qvortrup, A., & Qvortrup, L. (2018). Inclusion: Dimensions of inclusion in education. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *22*(7), 803-817. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/13603116.2017.1412506

Rankin, S., Morton, J., & Bell, M. (2015). *Complicated?: Bisexual people's experiences of and ideas for improving services*. Equality Network. https://www.equality-network.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Complicated-Bisexual-Report.pdf

Ravel, B., & Rail, G. (2008). From straight to gaie? Quebec sportswomen's discursive constructions of sexuality and destabilization of the linear coming out process. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *32*(1), 4-23. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/0193723507312022

Reimer, A. (2020, September 14). *Rugby star Levi Davis comes out as bisexual: 'I want people to feel they can be who they are'*. SB National OutSports. https://www.outsports.com/2020/ 9/14/21436131/levi-davis-rugby-bisexual

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Ritzer, G. (2018). *Introduction to sociology* (4th ed.). Sage.

Roberts, T. S., Horne, S. G., & Hoyt, W. T. (2015). Between a gay and a straight place: Bisexual individuals' experiences with monosexism. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *15*(4), 554-569. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2015.1111183

Robertson, S. (2003). 'If I let a goal in, I'll get beat up': contradictions in masculinity, sport and health. *Health education research*, *18*(6), 706-716. https://doi.org/10.1093/her/cyf054

Robinson, L. (2022, July). Lioness star Ellen White's marriage to husband Callum from Manchester move to shared love of football. *Ok!* https://www.ok.co.uk/lifestyle/ellen-white-england-football-relationship-27600316

Roper, E. A., & Halloran, E. (2007). Attitudes toward gay men and lesbians among heterosexual male and female student-athletes. *Sex roles*, *57*(11-12), 919-928. https://ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9323-0

Ross, L. E., Dobinson, C., & Eady, A. (2010). Perceived determinants of mental health for bisexual people: A qualitative examination. *American Journal of Public Health*, *100*(3), 496– 502. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.2105%2FAJPH.2008.156307

Ross, L. E., Salway, T., Tarasoff, L. A., MacKay, J. M., Hawkins, B. W., & Fehr, C. P. (2018). Prevalence of depression and anxiety among bisexual people compared to gay, lesbian, and heterosexual individuals: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *55*(4-5), 435-456. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00224499.2017.1387755

Rust, P. C. (2000). Two many and not enough: The meanings of bisexual identities. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *1*(1), 31-68. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1300/J159v01n01_04

Schultz, K. (2023, July 10). *Sha'Carri Richardson wins with a flourish at USA Track and Field Championships*. SB National OutSports. https://www.outsports.com/2023/7/10/23790235/shacarri-richardson-us-track-and-field-championships-100-meters-emma-gee-nikki-hiltz

Schulz, C. T., Glatt, E. M., & Stamates, A. L. (2022). Risk factors associated with alcohol and drug use among bisexual women: A literature review. *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology*, *30*(5), 740–749. https://doi.org/10.1037/pha0000480

Scottish Bi+ Network (n.d.). *About us*. https://scottishbinet.org/about-us/

Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (3rd ed.). Teachers college press.

Serovich, J., Grafsky, E., & Gangamma, R. (2012). Research on Reorientation Therapy In J. Bigner, & J. Wetchler (Eds.), *Handbook of LGBT-affirmative couple and family therapy* (pp. 433-442). Routledge.

Serpe, C., Brown, C., Criss, S., Lamkins, K., & Watson, L. (2020). Bisexual women: Experiencing and coping with objectification, prejudice, and erasure. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *20*(4), 456-492. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2020.1820421

Sigurvinsdottir, R., & Ullman, S. E. (2015). The role of sexual orientation in the victimization and recovery of sexual assault survivors. *Violence and Victims*, *30*(4), 636-648. http://dx.doi.org/10.1891/0886-6708.VV-D-13-00066

Sin, R. (2015). Does sexual fluidity challenge sexual binaries? The case of bisexual immigrants from 1967–2012. *Sexualities*, *18*(4), 413-437. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1363460714550901

Spurdens, B., & Bloyce, D. (2022). Beyond the rainbow: A discourse analysis of English sports organisations LGBT+ equality diversity and inclusion policies. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, *14*(3), 507-527. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/19406940.2022.2080245

Still Bisexual. (2022). *#Still bisexual*. https://stillbi.org/

Stonewall. (2020). *LGBT in Britain: Bi Report*. Stonewall. https://www.stonewall.org.uk/system/files/lgbt_in_britain_bi.pdf

Storms, M. D. (1980). Theories of sexual orientation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *38*(5), 783–792. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.38.5.783

Storr, M. (Ed.). (1999). *Bisexuality: A critical reader*. Routledge.

Storr, R., & Richards, J. (2022). 'The tennis club is my safe space': Assessing the positive impact of playing tennis on LGBT+ people in Australia. *Sport, Education and Society*, 1-14. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/13573322.2022.2034144

Strübel, J., & Petrie, T. A. (2016). 'Bout time! Renegotiating the body in roller derby. *Sex Roles*, *74*(7), 347-360. http://jvlone.com/sportsdocs/RollerDerbyAndWomensSelfEsteen2016.pdf

Swan, D. J. (2018). Models and measures of sexual orientation In D. J. Swan, & S. Habibi (Eds.), *Bisexuality: Theories, research, and recommendations for the invisible sexuality* (pp. 19-36). Springer.

Sykes, H. (1998). Turning the closets inside/out: Towards a queer-feminist theory in women's physical education. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *15*(2), 154-173. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1123/ssj.15.2.154

Symons, C. M., O'Sullivan, G. A., & Polman, R. (2017). The impacts of discriminatory experiences on lesbian, gay and bisexual people in sport. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *20*(4), 467-489. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/11745398.2016.1251327

Tagg, B. (2012). Transgender netballers: ethical issues and lived realities. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *29*(2), 151-167. https://doi:10.1123/ssj.29.2.151

Tasker, F., & Bellamy, C. (2019). Adoption by same-sex couples-reaffirming evidence: Could more children be placed? *Family Law*, *49*, 171-179. https://plus.lexis.com/uk/analytical-materials-uk/adoption-by-same-sex-couples-reaffirming-ev?crid=af60cbfa-33b7-45e5-a018-dabb40ce557e

Thorne, S. R., Hegarty, P., & Hepper, E. G. (2021). Love is heterosexual-by-default: Cultural heterosexism in default prototypes of romantic love. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *60*(2), 653-677. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1111/bjso.12422

Time Out London. (n.d.). *Gay sports clubs in London*. Time Out London. https://www.timeout.com/london/events/gay-sports-clubs-in-london

Torales, J., Castaldelli-Maia, J. M., & Ventriglio, A. (2022). LGBT+ medical students and disclosure of their sexual orientation: more than in and out of the closet. *International Review of Psychiatry*, *34*(3-4), 402-406. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540261.2022.2101881

Torres, J. G. (2019). A biopsychosocial perspective on bisexuality: A review for marriage and family therapists. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *19*(1), 51-66. https://doi.org/10.1080/15299716.2019.1596863

Urquiza, F. B., Navarro, M. C. A., Trombetta, M., & Lara, J. M. G. (2010). Disclosure theories and disclosure measures. *Spanish Journal of Finance and Accounting*, *39*(147), 393-420. https://doi.org/10.1080/02102412.2010.10779686

van Anders, S. M. (2015). Beyond sexual orientation: Integrating gender/sex and diverse sexualities via sexual configurations theory. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *44*(5), 1177-1213. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-015-0490-8

Vilanova, A., Soler, S., & Anderson, E. (2018). Examining the experiences of the first openly gay male team sport athlete in Spain. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *55*(1), 22-37. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1012690218780860

Wakefield, L. (2020, September). Strictly star Nicola Adams reflects on coming out as a lesbian after becoming ‘annoyed’ by incorrect bisexual label. *PinkNews*. https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2020/09/14/nicola-adams-strictly-come-dancing-lesbian-bisex ual-coming-out-ella-baig/

Wandrey, R. L., Mosack, K. E., & Moore, E. M. (2015). Coming out to family and friends as bisexually identified young adult women: A discussion of homophobia, biphobia, and heteronormativity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *15*(2), 204-229. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2015.1018657

Wang, B., Lin, Q., Wang, Y., & Tang, S. (2023). Policy analysis of the integration of sports and medicine against the backdrop of “healthy China”: A qualitative study using NVivo. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *20*(3), 2079-2094. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.3390%2Fijerph20032079

Weier, J. (2020). (Re) producing the sexuality binary: On bisexual experiences in US gay and heterosexual spaces. *Gender, Place & Culture*, *27*(9), 1308-1325. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1693341

Weinrich, J. D., Klein, F., McCutchan, J. A., Grant, I., & The HNRC Group. (2014). Cluster analysis of the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid in clinical and nonclinical samples: When bisexuality is not bisexuality. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *14*(3-4), 349-372. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2014.938398

White, J. & Thomas, C. (2016, August). Rio Olympics 2016: Nicola Adams becomes first female athlete to retain boxing title with Team GB's 26th gold. *The Telegraph*. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/olympics/2016/08/20/nicola-adams-v-sarah-ourahmoune-womens-olympic-boxing-at-rio-201/

Whiteford, L. M., & Gonzalez, L. (1995). Stigma: The hidden burden of infertility. *Social Science & Medicine*, *40*(1), 27-36. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/0277-9536(94)00124-C

Wilson, S., & McGuire, K. (2021). 'They'd already made their minds up': Understanding the impact of stigma on parental engagement. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *42*(5-6), 775-791. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/01425692.2021.1908115

Wittgens, C., Fischer, M. M., Buspavanich, P., Theobald, S., Schweizer, K., & Trautmann, S. (2022). Mental health in people with minority sexual orientations: A meta-analysis of population-based studies. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, *145*(4), 357-372. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1111/acps.13405

Worthen, M. G. (2020). *Queers, bis, and straight lies: An intersectional examination of LGBTQ stigma*. Routledge.

Worthen, M. G. (2023). Queer identities in the 21st century: Reclamation and stigma. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *49*, 1-6. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101512

Wrack, S. (2022, July). England crowned Euro 2022 champions after Kelly sinks Germany in extra time. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/football/2022/jul/31/england-germany-womens-euro-2022-final-match-report

Xavier Hall, C. D., Feinstein, B. A., Sales, J. M., Girod, C., & Yount, K. M. (2021). Outness, discrimination, and depressive symptoms among bi+ women: The roles of partner gender and sexual identity. *Journal of Bisexuality*, *21*(1), 24-41. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/15299716.2021.1886219

Xiang, M., Soh, K. G., Xu, Y., Ahrari, S., & Zakaria, N. S. (2023). The experiences of female bisexual student-athletes in China: An interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *14*, 1-14. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1129961

Xu, W., & Zammit, K. (2020). Applying thematic analysis to education: A hybrid approach to interpreting data in practitioner research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *19*, 1-9. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1177/1609406920918810

Yep, G. A., Lovaas, K., & Elia, J. P. (Eds.). (2003). Introduction: Queering communication: Starting the conversation In G. A. Yep., K. Lovass., & J. P. Elia (Eds.), *Queer theory and communication: From disciplining queers to queering the discipline(s)* (pp. 1-10). Routledge.

Yoshino, K. (2000). The epistemic contract of bisexual erasure. *Stanford Law Review*, *52*(2), 353- 461. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229482

Yost, M. R., & Thomas, G. D. (2012). Gender and binegativity: Men's and women's attitudes toward male and female bisexuals. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *41*(3), 691-702. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1013464167/fulltextPDF/C35F5A1B6038477DPQ/1?accountid=9727

Zamboni, B. D., Crawford, I., & Carrico, A. W. (2008). Predictors of sports motivation among gay and bisexual men. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *54*(4), 449-468. https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1080/00918360801991539

Zeigler, C. (2010, March 26). *Bisexual wrestler Orlando Jordan premieres on TNA*. SB National Outsports. https://www.outsports.com/2010/3/26/3863290/bisexual-wrestler-orlando-jordan-premieres-on-tna

Zeigler, C. (2012, May 22). *MMA fighter Jessica Aguilar comes out as bisexual*. SB National Outsports. https://www.outsports.com/2012/5/22/4053138/mma-fighter-jessica-aguilar-comes-out-as-bisexual

Zeigler, C. (2014, January 28). *Conner Mertens came out to his college football team. Now he comes out publicly*. SB National Outsports. https://www.outsports.com/2014/1/28/5348936/conner-mertens-willamette-football-kicker

Zeigler, C. (2018, February 12). *Ireen Wust wins gold, is most decorated speed skater ever*. SB National Outsports. https://www.outsports.com/2018/2/12/17004364/ireen-wust-gold-medal-olympics-1500-meter-lgbt

Zhuang, X., Yao, Y., & Li, J. (2019). Sociocultural impacts of tourism on residents of world cultural heritage sites in China. *Sustainability*, *11*(3), 840-859. https://doi.org/10.3390/su11030840

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Recruitment poster (original in colour)

Bisexual+ women invited for PhD research!

PhD research aim:

To understand the experiences of bisexual+ women in sport.

'Bisexual+' refers to individuals who are attracted to more than one gender. This includes, but is not limited to, those who identify as bisexual, pansexual or choose not to label themselves.




Participant requirements:

- To be 18 yrs +
- To be living in the UK
- To be a woman (cisgender or transgender)
- To be attracted to more than one gender
- To have participated in a sports club at some stage in your life (currently or previously)
- To be able to take part in a 1-1 video call interview (approximately lasting 1 hour)

All data is treated confidentially, including each participant being given a pseudonym (a different name)

If you would like to be a participant or receive more information, please email: R.House1@uni.brighton.ac.uk

University of Brighton

Appendix B: Participant information sheet

Participant's information sheet

Dear potential participant,

My name is Rebecca House and I am an PhD researcher at the University of Brighton. I would like to invite you to take part in my research regarding the experiences of bisexual+ women in sports settings in the United Kingdom (UK). Just to confirm, in this study 'bisexual+' refers to individuals who are attracted to more than one gender. This includes, but is not limited to, those who identify as bisexual, pansexual or choose not to label themselves. Before you make your decision whether or not you would like to take part, I would like to take this opportunity to give you a clear understanding of why this research is being conducted and what it could include for you personally. Feel free to talk to others about the research, if you wish, and please do ask if there is anything that you are unsure about or that is not clear. If you are still happy to participant in the research after reading this sheet, then you will be emailed a consent form to sign, and we will arrange a suitable date and time to conduct the interview.

Title of the study: The experiences of bisexual+ women in sports settings (in the UK).

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to discover, understand and analyse the experiences of bisexual+ women in sports settings (in the UK), as there is limited research that has solely discussed 'bisexuality+ and sport' in academic work. This research will: allow bisexual+ women to have a voice in sporting academia; contribute originality to academic research surrounding the subject of sexualities in sport and; may influence the topic of bisexuality+ to be included/more included in university courses relatable to the area (e.g., Sports Studies).

How and why have I been invited to participate?

The participants (including yourself) have been recruited through use of advertisements or by myself giving a talk regarding the research. In both instances, the potential participants either approach/contact me via: email, telephone, social media or face to face (depending on how they have come to hear of the research) and suggest they would like to be involved in the research. There is a specific sample of individuals that fit the criteria needed to carry out this research. These are: 1) to be 18 yrs +; 2) to be living in the UK; 3) to be a woman (cisgender or transgender); 4) to be attracted to more than one gender; 5) to have participated in a sports club at some stage in your life (currently or previously); 6) to be able to take part in a 1-1 video call interview (approximately lasting one hour). If you are unsure about any aspect of the criteria, please feel free to discuss it with me. The exact sample size will be dependent on data saturation, but it is estimated to be between approximately 20 and 25 interviews.

Do I have to take part? And what will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

Your participation is voluntary, and all participants are free to withdraw at any stage without stating a reason and without experiencing consequences from doing so. If you decide that you would like to withdraw from the research before or during the

interview, all information that is related will be removed or destroyed from the research. However, if you withdraw after the interview, it may not be possible or desirable for data to be removed or destroyed.

What is involved for the participants?

This research only includes interviews. The interviews will be via video call, which will involve a one-to-one scenario with the researcher (myself) and the interviewee (yourself). The software which will be used to conduct the interviews is Microsoft Teams due to the company's privacy ethos, design and execution. It is one of the most secure video call software for protecting one's privacy. For more information regarding privacy, security and compliance in Microsoft Teams, please visit https://www.microsoft.com/en-gb/microsoft-365/microsoft-teams/security. Before the day of the interview, you will receive a 'Microsoft Teams Guide' sheet from me (via email) with instructions on how to use Microsoft Teams in case you have not used it before. The video call interview can take place on any day and time which is convenient for both the researcher and participant.

On the day of the interview, I will have approximately ten questions which I will ask at some point during the interview, but the interview as a whole will be largely unstructured. Although the term 'interview' seems very formal, it is rather similar to having a conversation. It is predicted that the interviews will last for approximately one hour. Two audio recorders will be used in order to transcribe the interview at a later date for preciseness. The reason I will be using two audio recorders (phone and audio device) to record the interview, is in case of any technical problems with one of the recorders.

Will I be paid for taking part?

As this is voluntary, you will not get paid.

What are the potential disadvantages or risks of taking part?

As this research is based on discussing your experiences regarding your sexuality, it may be possible that a negative experience may upset or destress you. If this situation occurs, I will stop the audio recording and we will both take a break. After the break, it is your decision whether you would like to continue with the interview or end the interview.

What are the potential benefits of taking part?

Simply, by taking part in this research it allows the research to be conducted. So, your contribution will help towards promoting research in sporting academia regarding bisexuality+/bisexual+ individuals. As you will share your life experiences regarding the topic, you are also contributing to giving bisexual+ women a voice in sporting academia.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

All of your details given throughout the whole process will be confidential. You and all of the other participants will be referred to with a different first name (pseudonyms) in the research for confidentiality and consistency purposes. None of the participants' surnames will be included in the research either. The only instance where the participant's real name will be present is when they sign the consent form. The consent form will only require: 1) the participants name (first and surname); 2) a signature and

3) the date. It is highly likely that I will be the only person to see the consent form, however, there is a possibility that this form will need to be seen by staff (including examiners and/or supervisors) to confirm that all the consent forms have been completed. Any sports clubs which are mentioned in the interview will be replaced with '[*a club name*]' in the research. Any other names discussed throughout the interview will, again, be changed to different names. At no point will the participant be personally identifiable.

I will be the only individual with access to the data, where it will be stored and saved on One Drive (a Microsoft cloud-based storage repository). The data will be kept for ten years, by myself, after the completion of my PhD in accordance with the University of Brighton's guidelines. There may be a possibility where I would like to use the data collected in this research in a different research project. If this is the case, at any point, I will contact you immediately to discuss whether you would be happy for this to occur.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the research will be published in the PhD thesis. There will be five or more copies of the thesis that will be printed. At least one printed copy will be available at the University of Brighton. The thesis will also be available digitally via the British Library (open access) and may be accessible on other online open access platforms. The results may also be published through an academic journal article, a book and/or in a magazine. Once the results have been completed, you have the opportunity to see the results of the study, if desired. Again, all the results that are discussed are confidential and pseudonyms will be used.

Who is organising and funding the research?

I am the organiser of the research and the only researcher on this project. I am currently self-funding my research.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any concerns or complaints, these will be addressed. Please contact Dr. Nigel Jarvis (Lead supervisor), Dr. Daniel Burdsey (Supervisor) or Dr. Mark Erickson (Director of Postgraduate Studies) if this is the case.

Contact details

Researcher's name: Rebecca House
Researcher's email: R.House1@uni.brighton.ac.uk
Researcher's work telephone: N/A

Lead supervisor's name: Dr. Nigel Jarvis
Lead supervisor's email: N.D.Jarvis@brighton.ac.uk
Lead supervisor's work telephone: +441273643628

Supervisor's name: Dr. Daniel Burdsey
Supervisor's email: D.C.Burdsey@brighton.ac.uk
Supervisor's work telephone: +441273643745

Director of postgraduate studies name: Dr. Mark Erickson
Director of postgraduate studies email: M.Erickson@brighton.ac.uk
Director of postgraduate studies work telephone: +441273641085

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed and approved by the relevant Research Ethics Committee at the University of Brighton. I was required to firstly pass a research plan approval (RPA). After this was passed, I completed an Ethical approval sheet with other relevant documents (including the information sheet for participants and the consent form for participants). The Ethical approval sheet and other relevant documents have now been passed by the relevant Ethics Committee.

Appendix C: Participant consent form

Participant consent form

Title of the study: The experiences of bisexual+ women in sports settings (in the UK).

Researcher: Rebecca House

University: University of Brighton

Consent Criteria	**Please tick the box if in agreement**
I agree to take part in this research project which is to understand and analyse the experiences of bisexual+ women in sporting settings.	
The researcher has fully explained to my satisfaction the purpose, principles and procedures of the study and any possible risks involved.	
I have read the information sheet and fully understand the principles, procedures and possible risks involved.	
I am aware that I will be required to discuss and answer questions regarding my experiences surrounding being bisexual+ and my experiences regarding being bisexual+ in sporting settings.	
I agree to the researcher taking an audio recording of the interview that I will participate in.	
I understand how the data collected will be used, and that any confidential information may be seen by the researcher and specific staff at the university if necessary.	
I understand the data from my participation will be kept for ten years, by the researcher, after the completion of the PhD in accordance to the University of Brighton's guidelines.	
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without stating a reason and without experiencing consequences from doing so.	
I agree that my real first name will not be used as part of the research results and that a pseudonym will be used.	

Name (please print):
…….

Signed: ……..…… Date: ……

Appendix D: Interview guide (original in colour)

Interview guide: Timeline/Key life junctures

Interview guide: Questions

These questions are to be asked at some point during each interview and will not necessarily be in this particular order or include the exact wording given in this guide.

The writing in red are prompts for the interviewer, if needed.

Questions (1) *Original questions based on the literature which was reviewed and inquisitively.*	Prompts
How do you identify in relation to your sexual orientation? **… AND IN SPORT?**	Why do you use multiple labels? Why don't you use a label? How do you define it? Have you always identified this way?
How open / 'out' are you in relation to your sexual orientation? **… AND IN SPORT?**	Why? Have people incorrectly assumed your sexuality before in sport before? Does everyone know in your sports organisation? If so, how and why?
How do you feel about your sexual orientation when at your previous or current sports organisation?	At training? At matches? Socially? Is it discussed? Comparison of organisations/sports.
Tell me about your experiences you've had in a sports club regarding your sexual orientation?	Biphobia (denial, invisibility, exclusion, stereotypes, binaries)? Is your sexual orientation or the topic of multiple gender attractions discussed? Neutral experiences?

	Positive/inclusive experiences? (How and by whom?)
How, if at all, do bi+ elite sportspeople affect you?	Who? (Tom Daley, Nicola Adams etc and their impact) Why do you think this outcome occurs?
Is there anything else that you would like to discuss regarding your experiences: in sport, your sexual orientation or your sexual orientation in sport which could be relevant for this research?	

Questions (2) *New questions created based on specific sport literature in the area or commonalities yet to be explored.*	Prompts
Some research projects suggested women's sports teams and organisations can be viewed as a homosexual (gay) space. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?	- How does this affect you? - What sexual orientations do those in your sports organisation have? - How often is the topic of those who are gay or being gay brought up? - How often is the topic of those who are straight or being straight brought up?
In some research projects, it was found that those who had multiple gender attractions passed as gay and did not voice their sexual orientation differences in sporting environments. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?	- Others? - Why do you think this may or may not happen in your sporting environment?
A study found that some individuals who have multiple gender attractions felt pressure to 'choose' whether they were gay or straight in sporting environments. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this?	- Why do you think that is? - Have you ever seen this occur or had this happen to you?
How often is the topic of you being bi+ or the topic of multiple gender attractions more generally discussed in your sports organisation?	- Why is that the case? - How often is the topic of homosexuality/ heterosexual participants discussed? And why?

In a study, it was found out of 60 sport participants who identified as heterosexual, many of them viewed bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation. What are your experiences/ thoughts, if any, regarding this?	- What about homosexual sports teammates…do they see bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation? - What about pansexuality?... Is that seen as a legitimate sexual orientation in your sport? - Leading on from other questions… why do you think that is?

Appendix E: Interview transcript example

Interview 25 – Nicola

Notes:

1) Some details have been omitted for anonymity purposes. All of the omissions are signalled with "(…)".

2) When the person who is speaking is laughing, the signal "(laughter)" will be used.

3) When both individuals laugh, the signal "(laughing)" will be used.

4) When someone pauses, the signal (pause) will be used.

4) Inaudible words are signalled with "xxxxx".

5) Incomplete and irrelevant sentences "[…]"

6) One or two words said by the researcher that are irrelevant to the conversation have been removed.

Becky: So, thinking back to when you were younger, around primary school, were you involved in sport then?

Nicola: I was, yeah. I went to a school from the age of 10 where everyone did lots and lots of sports.

Becky: What sort of sports did you do?

Nicola: So, my main sports were hockey, netball and cricket. Then, tennis I came to a little bit later but mainly them.

Becky: Would you say you enjoyed sport at that time?

Nicola: Yeah, definitely. Yeah. I really enjoyed it.

Becky: So, thinking about when you then transition into secondary school, were you still involved in sport then?

Nicola: Yeah. Again, it was the kind of school where you would play lots of sports. Until I was 16, I did really regular, four or five times a week of sports. So, it was hockey one term, netball in the other and then tennis in the summer. And cricket in the summer as well. But that wasn't as much of a school thing. It was an outside of school club.

Becky: Which one was your favourite?

Nicola: I got a bit short to be a netballer. Hockey – I really liked. So, I'm a musician as well and I went to a (company) in sixth form. So, I couldn't do team sports as I was playing on Saturdays so that's when cricket became the only thing that I was doing. Hockey and cricket.

Becky: And that was from 16 years old did you say?

Nicola: So, I started those when I was much much younger, and I played them all the way until 16. Then when I was 16, the team ones were all Saturday games and I couldn't play though anymore, that's when cricket became the only one that I did.

Becky: Oh, I got it. So, did you then go to college or sixth form?

Nicola: Yeah. So, I stayed at the same school, but I just played cricket in sixth form. That was both a school thing and a club thing at that time.

Becky: Then, did you go onto uni?

Nicola: Yeah. So, I played cricket as an undergrad and played cricket all the way through the years. I then had a year out where I just played some club cricket and then came back and again, played cricket all of the way through.

Becky: Were there any other sports you played or just cricket at uni?

Nicola: The odd bit of tennis but mainly cricket.

Becky: Are you still playing cricket now?

Nicola: Yeah, absolutely.

Becky: So, when did you first start realising about your sexuality?

Nicola: So, about two and a half years ago now. But as I've started to understand that more, I'm able to look back at bits of my life and understand those in a way that I didn't before, if that makes sense.

Becky: Yeah, absolutely. How do you personally identify in relation to your sexuality?

Nicola: I'm bisexual.

Becky: Have you ever used multiple labels to describe and identify your sexuality? So, some people say, 'yeah, I'm bi/pan' and some people use bi in some contexts and use pan in other contexts.

Nicola: I haven't really. But to be honest it's not something I really talked about that often. I could see myself using pansexual in certain contexts but like I said, I tend not to talk about it that much.

Becky: Why do you think that might be?

Nicola: […] So, I don't know about other sports, but my experience of cricket, well cricket was the reason I realised basically. Because a situation where every team I've played, there have always been lesbians and bisexual people or however they want to identify... It doesn't define anyone because it's so common. No one ever assumes or is surprised, in my experience. So, [with] my friends – I never really talked about it because it's not an issue but there are other parts of my life that I don't talk about it [sexuality] because I don't know how people would react. So, I think cricket is a welcoming space where I feel really comfortable, and I don't have to talk about it if I don't want to. I do if I had chatted with my friends but there are other bits of my life where I'm not really open about it.

Becky: So, […] over the two/two and a half year, have you always felt like that through playing cricket?

Nicola: So, in that time has that always been my experience of it?

Becky: Yeah.

Nicola: I think so. Being an undergrad, I was playing cricket and […] essentially a couple of people came into the club when I was a postgrad who opened the whole thing right up. From then in the club onwards, it was just never questioned or a problem. And if there was a problem, they weren't spoken about. The one thing I would say in my university club is that for some reason we have a big overlap between the cricket club and various Christian churches. And there are times where things are not said and when people don't engage in that sort of thing. It's not that they would say anything hurtful, but we know the types of things that they would be thinking. So, that would be the only thing but in my club team, [it's] never been an issue.

Becky: So, if I asked you, how do you define bisexuality, how do you think you'd respond?

Nicola: (Pause) that's a really good question. So, for me personally, it's about being attracted to people regardless of how they identify as a gender. I think that would be my experience of it. I wouldn't want to try and define it more broadly because it's that fluid thing and you wouldn't want to put a label on something that's actually a very personal thing to a lot of people. So, for me, being attracted to someone regardless of their gender that they identify as.

Becky: Would you say you're open and out about your sexuality in your current cricket team?

Nicola: Yeah, they all know I have a girlfriend.

Becky: Would you say everyone on your team would know or maybe not?

Nicola: (Pause) the trouble with it is that the season has pretty much been cancelled this year. So, if we were playing then some would definitely know. Some of them don't know me very well and my girlfriend doesn't play cricket. So, they might not know but they might do. I haven't stopped them from knowing.

Becky: Has anyone ever incorrectly assumed your sexuality before in sport?

Nicola: (Pause) that's a very good question. (Pause) not in sport, no. In other things, yes but not in sport.

Becky: What other areas of life where people may have assumed your sexuality?

Nicola: So, I spent a year teaching between my undergrad and my postgrad. I was teaching at a school in (city in the UK), working in the (subject) department but I was also doing lots of cricket. Well, looking back I had a conversation with one of the sixth formers who said something like, 'oh, Miss (Surname) can we ask you, do you have a girlfriend or what?' And I remember thinking at the time, 'oh, okay, why had they assumed that?' because at that time I didn't know that about myself. So, it was weird. I can't remember what I said. Probably something like, 'actually no, I've got a boyfriend'. There was that and there are people who assume that because I've got a girlfriend that I am gay. But I've never had that from someone at cricket.

Becky: How does it make you feel when people outside of sport might assume that you're gay for example? How does that make you feel?

Nicola: (Pause) to be honest, I don't really mind. As long as they are not being derogatory about that and I don't mind them misidentifying me as gay rather than

bisexual. That doesn't concern me. But if they were being nasty about it basically. To be honest, I'd rather them acknowledge it wrongly then just push it under the carpet or feel that they couldn't talk about it. I think especially in cricket because we play with a, well especially in my club team, but in uni as well to be honest, there were lots of younger ones. So, we have children playing with us. So, from 15 upwards and I think actually if I had been playing as a teenager in a club that I am now involved in, I might have come out of the whole thing a lot more differently and realised a bit sooner and felt more comfortable about it when I did realise it. So, if people ask I'm never not going to talk to them about it because it's important, especially in that environment where there are younger people around and that if people want to talk to you about it that you're open.

Becky: So, you mentioned you got your uni team and your club team, are there any similarities or differences in relation to you being bi in those?

Nicola: (Pause) Well, that's a good question. So, I have very different roles in the two clubs. So, I'm the captain at the uni club. It is a really strong side and there are also a lot of older people in the club. And lots more people with long-term partners and stuff like that. So, (pause) I don't think I've ever had a different reaction to it from anyone in the club or in the uni. I think the trouble is that some of the ones in the uni club find me a bit intimidating, so that might stop them asking or influence how they would react to it if they were to know. I did have one. So, I'm a (occupation) as well and I've lately done a project which is all about these two gay women from the 19th century: one a famous singer and one is a pianist. Basically, they are telling their story that hasn't been told before. I had one from the cricket club who is not interested in music at all and she watched our performance of it and I think it really helped her to see that and to know that I was talking about that because it's easy in the cricket club. I know that other women around me are the same and I know that I'm never going to have a problem. I think it is in other areas of my life that are harder. Wait, what was the original question? Have I ever had a different reaction from uni or club? I don't think so to be honest. So, that was a long-winded way of saying that (laughing). Sorry about that (laughing).

Becky: So, you mentioned that in other areas of your life there might be differences. What areas are you thinking about?

Nicola: So, I'm not open with all of my family. Also, my girlfriend's family are (nationality) and (religion) and quite scarily so in terms of their attitudes towards gay marriage in particular. So, whilst I'm at university, it's very easy to be open because I don't know anyone at university who would have a problem with it. And if they did, I wouldn't spend any time thinking about it. They would just need to go and sort out themselves. At home, it's harder. So, I haven't actually told my dad. That's a long time to have not told him but I haven't. And I haven't with my extended family either. So, cricket is a place where I can be open about it without worrying or it being stressful in any way.

Becky: Why do you think cricket as an environment has created that space for you, as you said to feel more comfortable?

Nicola: I think that's a really good question. I was actually reading an article the other day and they were talking about the over representation of lesbian and bisexual and pansexual women in sports like cricket and rugby. For instance, there are some really high-profile cricketers. I think there are 4 pairs in international teams, who are either

married or engaged. I mean, you probably know that (laughing). So, I think part of it is that there are people like me and there are people like me in every single team that we play and in every single team that I've ever played in. So, I think it's just developed as a culture where it's not that it's expected but it's not entirely surprising. So, […] it doesn't make you stick out in anyway which it might do in other kinds of situations or with other people. And it really doesn't define you at all. I mean, we have girlfriends coming to watch, we have wives and boyfriends coming to watch. No one really cares. We all just get on with it. I'm not sure why people like me would be attracted to cricket. That would be an interesting question to ask, I guess. Maybe it's something to do with not conforming to gender stereotypes in sport earlier on and then choosing to do a male dominated sport. I don't know. That's just a guess from me.

Becky: You mentioned that at uni, it's an open environment. How do you think your uni has created that environment?

Nicola: (Pause) we have really vocal societies in basically very college and in the university as a whole. Also, within our academic departments as well. So, there's always support there if you need it but also, it's the fact that it's visible that makes it relaxed and okay. I think our university, like other universities, is full of liberal left leaning younger people who are all fine with that kind of thing. I think everyone at university would have friends who identify as gay or queer or bi or whatever it is. So, if you're a younger student there's always people that you're coming into contact with who are older than you who are like a role model and you see them being open and that allows you to do that. (Pause) I'm not sure whether the system itself really does anything to make it okay and a supportive environment. I think it's just the people that it brings together who are open and tolerant and friends regardless of how you might identify.

Becky: So, when you first started to realise about your sexuality, how did you feel when you first started talking about it with your teammates and your cricket team?

Nicola: So, I felt nervous to begin with. I didn't talk to the people in the cricket team immediately. I spoke to another really close friend, a pianist who is a very very close friend, and that helped me just get it out into the open. […] So, partly that was because I had a crush on someone in the cricket team. So, that stopped me talking about it with people. That's what made me realise or at least bring it to focus, at least. So, that stopped me talking about it with them a bit. I'm not sure whether I ever had any particular coming out conversation with them. It would have just been a post-game, having a bit of a drink and having an 'oh, by the way' conversation. If it had been stressful or a problem, I would probably remember the conversation but because I don't particularly think that they were relaxed and like, 'okay, cool', which I imagine them all saying.

Becky: Oh, it's just gone. I had a really good question then and it's disappeared from my head (laughing), damn it (laughing). Oh, that was it, so you're still playing for both clubs at the moment?

Nicola: Yeah.

Becky: What is the proportion of gay, straight and bi/pan people in those clubs?

Nicola: So, I reckon, the uni team is something about a third are lesbian or bisexual. I think there's one other but she doesn't really put a label on it so I don't know if she would identify as bisexual. The club team is harder because we have got quite a lot of younger ones. So, not as many but certainly four or five still.

Becky: Do some of them specifically identify as bi?

Nicola: One of them in the club team definitely does, yeah. (Pause) so, to give you a sense of it, if anything like that was going to be talked about it would be about who the people we were going out with were and whether we liked them rather than that they were going out with a man or a woman whatever. So, we didn't particularly like the person she was bringing to games last summer, so we have a moan about that, but it wasn't about the gender that person was.

Becky: So, going back to your club team where there was one player who identified as bi, how do you think that affected you?

Nicola: I think the thing is, is that because we don't talk about it particularly and because there's people who don't really put labels on it. Quite a few people on my team might just assume that I'm gay because I have a girlfriend for instance. So, I guess there's this sense of it all being, I know it's not but like a queer thing, especially because everyone finds it fluid, I think from what I chatted to them about. And actually, as I said, we wouldn't ever care or comment that someone who had a girlfriend now has a boyfriend or vice versa. So, I think there's a non-straightness but I don't know if I've ever felt a divide between people who would say they were gay and people who would say they were bisexual or that being a problem in anyway. It's just a sort of otherness.

Becky: And you mentioned that the topic of bisexuality or the topic of you specifically being bi doesn't really get discussed that much specifically, why do you think that might be?

Nicola: (Pause) partly because most of them have always known me with a girlfriend. (Pause) I think probably quite a lot of them would just assume that I was gay and so they wouldn't necessarily ask me. I don't think it's that bisexuality is not discussed, it's just that sexuality generally isn't discussed. That would have been a clearer way of saying it, I would have thought. […]. So, I also occasionally play for a men's club in (city in the UK). Usually there's a maximum of two women in the team and there are a few more in the club. And I don't think they quite understand, not that anyone has ever said anything nasty to me. But I think some of them definitely know that I have a girlfriend but I'm not sure that they would know that I am bi or they would be confused because I joined the club when I didn't have a girlfriend. All of the younger members of the club flirt with each other at the pub after the game on Saturdays so they might be confused a bit by that if they now realised that I have a girlfriend. But again, actually they are such a diverse club. The age range is crazy. It's 15 up until 75 and we have hundreds of different people who do all different things with their lives and with different ethnicities and whatever. So, I mean being a woman marks me out, but my team is really welcoming. I have had comments from other teams about being a woman, but I think they might be a bit confused, but I don't think they would ever be nasty about bisexuality.

Becky: You mentioned that more generally, sexuality doesn't really get discussed in your cricket club, why do you think that might be?

Nicola: (Pause) I think it's two things. It's partly because we probably restrict the conversation slightly because of the younger ones in the club. Then, the other thing would be that it's more interesting to talk about other people that they are dating rather than the gender of those people, especially as it's so common and so accepted in the club that there will be lesbian, bi and pansexual people. I'm not really sure. We know each other well and we are good friends. So, in the uni club I have a couple of really close friends who I would talk to about it and who they talk about their sexuality with me, but I can't see that as something we would talk about in a larger group. Partly, because the turnaround in the uni club is really quick because even if they join in their first year, they're only here for 3 years mostly and because terms at my uni are ridiculously short, actually you barely get to know them. So, then they are about to leave sadly (laughter). So, both the fact that it's completely normal and completely accepted and therefore, not particularly interesting and the fact that actually in the uni club we have not that much time to get to know each other apart from the ones who have been there longer, like postgrads like me. Or in the club, we have the younger ones around making it slightly restricting the conversation.

Becky: So, if I was just to say to you, how do you feel about sexuality when involved in your sport, how do you think you'd respond?

Nicola: I think positive would be it because there are women around me who are like me and women around me who are in long-term relationships and are really happy with their partners and who I look to and think, 'that's great. I'm really pleased that you can do that. I hope I can do that'. Also, the fact that we may not know it but someone lower down the club might be thinking, 'okay, what's going on with me?' And being able to see people who feel comfortable about their sexuality in that environment might help them in what they are going through and realising about themselves. So, I think my experience and my sexuality with regards to cricket is a position one. Definitely.

Becky: Linking to that, you mentioned about representation and how people are openly out and how that helps others. Is there anything else that your clubs have specifically done? So, for example, I was talking to a participant before and they mentioned that they advertise about pride, they go to pride together and the month of pride they put out a Pride flag. Is there anything like that that your club does?

Nicola: …So, there's that Rainbow Laces campaign which I think was cricket specific. Actually, I can't remember. Actually, maybe not. Anyway, we all got rainbow laces and did that. Sadly, pride is outside of term otherwise we would have definitely gone as a group. A few of us went but it couldn't be a big club thing because most of the undergrads go home.

Becky: How do you think getting involved in the Rainbow Laces campaign affected those in your club?

Nicola: So, I think it was more of an affirmation and confirmation if anything. Like, confirming the fact that it was okay and that everybody understood and that it was a thing that it was okay to be open about. I think for me, because at that stage I was happy and open about it, that's what I felt affirmation. I can't speak for other people who might have been less comfortable with it or might be on a bit of a journey. But I have to guess that certainly would have helped me if I was going through that at that stage, definitely.

Becky: Was there any other things that your club specifically did?

Nicola: (Pause) that's a really good question. Not that I can think of. Not specific things. We would regularly chat and sort of celebrate. So, when Catherine Brunt and Nat Simmer announced their engagement, that was something we all chatted about and celebrated as a group. If something happened like that, that is something that we would want to chat about as a group. I'm not sure about any more specific events. But now you said it, it's a pretty good idea (laughing).

Becky: So, this is a really broad question, this one (laughter). So, if I was just to say what are your experiences you've had in sport regarding your sexuality, what would come to mind straight away?

Nicola: (Pause) cricket had given me the opportunity to realise something about myself that I didn't know and in realising that it's given me the support mechanism that I needed to feel comfortable in my journey is the things I think I would say.

Becky: Have you ever experienced any biphobia in sport?

Nicola: (Pause) I honestly don't think I have to be honest. Not at all.

Becky: Have you ever experienced any biphobia outside of sport?

Nicola: (Pause) I'm not sure phobia is the right word. I've definitely had people who said something like, 'oh, isn't it just that you're attracted to men or attracted to women' sort of conversation. But in most of those situations, I've just been able to say, 'no, it's just a fluid thing and I'm just attracted to who I'm attracted to. It doesn't matter to me what gender they are in my attraction to them'. And they kind of go, 'oh, okay' and they go off and think about it. I'm not sure phobia is the right word for that. More like questioning.

Becky: Have you come across any stereotypes about being bi or bisexual people?

Nicola: (Pause) again, a long way back now. I was working on a summer camp and we were doing lots of sports and one of the kids said something like, 'oh, well, if my partner was bisexual that would just make me feel like they would be more likely to be unfaithful to me' or something like that. And obviously that came from a place of total ignorance because they didn't understand anything. Actually, we then had a conversation. It wasn't led by me because I was only about 19 at the time but I was there, and it was led by one of the adults that brought it out in the open. I think we got to a stage where if questions hadn't been answered at least the right things were being asked in the kids' head […]. Otherwise, I think I've just been incredibly lucky to be honest. Because I realised at university and it was a university that I'd been at for a long time and I had my friends and my support there, I must be so lucky compared to other people that I've never really experienced anything, certainly not directed at me.

Becky: (Pause) so, you mentioned so far that being involved in cricket has been quite a positive environment for you, are there any specific experiences that really positively affected you?

Nicola: Yes. So, specifically one of our club members when I was just starting as a postgrad, so I was just starting to realise what was going on. She basically had been abroad for a year playing cricket and had a girlfriend there and her girlfriend, well it was complicated. It was like her ex-girlfriend – ish. Although that was complicated for her, it was nice for me because I saw in her a similar person because I knew that

she did have boyfriends as well. So, I think that was a moment where I was like, ‘actually I don’t need to be confused about this because you don’t have to be one thing or the other. These feelings are valid, and those feelings were also valid. You’re not going mad’. That would be one. It’s really hard to think of specific ones. So, I played for the (name of organisation). Have you heard of them?

Becky: No, I don’t think I’ve heard of them.

Nicola: So, the (name of organisation) xxxxx is basically a really really old club and especially in the women’s bit of the club, it’s all about growing the game. I play for them and I played for them against my old school. I wasn’t thinking anything of it at all, but I had a pride wristband on. We were just sitting down for lunch before we were playing and it came to a really random discussion about jewellery because the kids were complaining about it or something and he said, ‘oh, well, you wouldn’t be able to wear that’. Then he said, ‘oh, actually, you probably would be able to wear that’. Then, that all started a conversation with the kids which I really enjoyed because it made me think back to when I was at school and how totally and utterly not talked about [it was]. Anything like that was. And I know it’s better now but it made me think, ‘actually, there’s probably times in my life that I find it different but being open and fine with it will definitely be affecting other people even if I don’t know that at the time’. I think that’s another one.

Becky: What was said during that conversation?

Nicola: It was a really relaxed one where one of the kids asked, ‘so, why are you wearing that?’ and I said, ‘well, because I identify as bisexual’. Then, one of them asked me what that was, and I explained that. Then, I said, ‘so, I have a girlfriend and we went to pride last week, and this is why I have got the wristband on’. And it was nice because the teacher let me lead the discussion. They were kind of just inquisitive, which was nice. It was a curious ‘that’s interesting'. That’s not something we know about. Let’s learn about that’, kind of thing, which was nice. There were definitely feelings I had when I was back at school when I was younger that I explained were admiration for sixth formers or whatever. But if anything like that was discussed when I was at school, I might well have seen those in a totally different light, and it would have made things a lot easier, I think.

Becky: So, a couple of participants have spoken about how the topic of being gay or those who are gay on sports team can get discussed quite frequently. Is that something that you might have experienced or not really?

Nicola: (Pause) so, sorry. So, the other people say that the topic of sexuality comes up quite a lot?

Becky: Yeah. A couple of them said it does come up and when it comes up its usually about lesbians or being a lesbian as opposed to bisexuality.

Nicola: Okay, right. As I said, it doesn’t come up that much. I think that the particular people that I know through uni and club are either in a committed relationship with a woman and therefore no one would ever ask them, ‘oh, are you gay or bisexual?’ because they are committed to the person that they are with. Or we allow people to have a fluidity and that’s up to them. So, there are younger ones in our uni club who we definitely know identify as queer but unless they wanted to share with us, we wouldn’t ask them, ‘oh, what do you identify as?’. We might be like, ‘oh, do you have

a girlfriend?' or whatever unless they wanted to tell us. And if they wanted to tell us, we would totally have an open conversation about it, but I've never had that conversation and I can't really imagine having it to be honest.

Becky: So, some of the participants in this study so far that they think there is a lack of bisexual+ role models in sport. What is your perspective regarding this?

Nicola: That's a good question. So, if I think about the people I know, the role models I know, the reason I know of them is because they are in relationships with women. I wouldn't necessarily assume based on that that they were either gay or bisexual or however they wanted to identify. I just know that the person they are with happens to be a woman. So, for me, because for me there's not a strict division and because I've known so many people who would be fluid or are with a woman but might have had a boyfriend or whatever, and because we don't discuss it and form a divide it's just like a kind of queerness. I wouldn't say that I've ever thought of their being a lack of bisexual role models. I just see those women who are happily and openly with women are role models to me anyway. And actually, me being with a man, unless people wanted to ask or I wanted to tell them, no one would actually know that I was bisexual. It would be the being with a woman that would be making a statement. I don't know of those pairs of who would identify as gay and who would identify as bisexual, but just being women are being open and free to express that and show who they want to love, that to me is a role model regardless of how they identify.

Becky: Building on that, do you think there's a need for specifically bisexual elite sports role models to come out or do you feel that just simply seeing women who are open and in same-sex relationships is enough? What do you think?

Nicola: That's a really good question because I, myself, have had quite an easy journey because I've known bisexual women personally. If, on the other hand, I had been trying to figure out what was going on without those people in my life, I may well have found it harder and I may well have seen these women who – I mean I don't know which ones of them have openly said they are gay or bisexual – but in the media, that's not the thing that gets talked about, it's the fact that they are with a woman. So, if I wasn't as lucky as I was than yes. And also, not just bisexual women who are with women but also bisexual women who are with men and of course, bisexual people who are not with anyone as well. So, yes, I think it's a very good idea and it would be great but from personal experience, I find that isn't a problem because of who I have around me.

Becky: So, I've got a few questions here based on previous research. Like I said earlier, a lot of it looked into LGBT people in sport and then I would find a little bit about bisexuality, and I would be like, 'Yes, I'll keep hold of that' (laughing). So, of course, these are based on whether you have experienced what the people in the research had experienced or not. […] So, if you haven't experienced these, absolutely say so but even if you haven't experienced what the question is discussing it would still be really good to hear about your perspectives on them.

Nicola: Okay. Yeah, sure.

Becky: So, some research projects have suggested that some women's sports teams can be viewed as a homosexual space. What are your experiences, if any, and what are your thoughts surrounding this?

Nicola: I agree with that as a concept, especially traditionally male dominated sports are definitely viewed by the people that play them but also by everybody else. Did you say queer space or lesbian [space]?

Becky: Yeah, homosexual spaces. So, specifically gay spaces.

Nicola: Okay, so let me slightly start again then. I think women's sport is viewed from the outside as a specifically potentially homosexual space. From the inside, I wouldn't say that is true. I would say that there is definitely an acknowledgement that there are lesbians involved in cricket but there's also an acknowledgement that those women who are with women have the space to be fluid about that. So, if they came back with a boyfriend the next week that would be fine, and it wouldn't be worthy of comment because it was surprising. So, I definitely think there's a difference between those who experienced it from the inside and what has been shone on it. In the media as well, when they write about these high-profile couples, I mean you just have to look at the comments when it's shared on Facebook. I mean, I try not to because it doesn't help but there's definitely a sense from outside of cricket that it's just full of lesbians (laughter).

Becky: Why do you think that is from the outside perspective?

Nicola: So, from the outside, it's partly this sense of playing a 'men's sport'. That old style butch lesbian playing a male sport which is just horrendously outdated and actually not really anyone's experience of it. So, that's one thing. Also, partly it's because the media always jump on those female couples and it's actually good and positive what they do, especially the most recent Catherine and Nat. They did an amazing interview where they were really open, and it was done really nicely by the BBC and it was actually really inspiring and great. But, in shining that light and being really positive, it also perpetuates the idea that that's what goes on all the time in cricket. Which it isn't. In my experience there are more people in cricket than in other parts of my life who would identify as queer in some way. But it's not to the extent that it's sometimes claimed on the outside.

Becky: So, in some of the research projects it was found that those who were bisexual passed as gay and did not voice their sexuality differences in their sporting environments. What are your experiences? And what are your thoughts surrounding this?

Nicola: Yes, I would definitely pass as gay. Would I correct someone? – yeah, I probably would correct someone. I'd say, 'yeah, I've got a girlfriend but I'm bisexual'. But that would be only if they specifically asked me or specifically labelled me and as I said, doesn't happen very much. So, whilst yes, I would pass for gay and yes, I wouldn't necessarily make a point of saying that I wasn't, that wouldn't be because I felt uncomfortable or that I thought that it would reflect negatively on me in some way. It would simply be because I know that there is a sense that it's more fluid. And yeah, you can identify as a lesbian or as bisexual if you want, that's up to you. We will play cricket with you regardless and a great catch is a great catch whatever. Like, if your girlfriend comes to the pub after then great and if you have got a boyfriend who comes to the pub after then great. As long as they are nice to you then that's great. That kind of thing.

Becky: So, there have been a few participants who have mentioned that sometimes in their sports club and I quote them, they said they didn't feel queer enough. Have you ever felt like that in any sport?

Nicola: I think part of my answer to that would be influenced by the fact that I have never had a boyfriend whilst identifying as bisexual. If I had, my experience of that might be different. I can imagine a situation where potentially you could feel not queer enough or not seen in a way because you just look like 'normal' from the outside. So, no. Personally, I haven't experienced that but that might be because I've either been single or had a girlfriend in that period of time.

Becky: So, one study found that some individuals who were bisexual felt pressure to choose whether they identify as gay or straight in that specific sporting environment. What are your experiences, if any, regarding this? And what are your thoughts?

Nicola: (Pause) I haven't ever felt that pressure. I think because there have always been people who are openly bisexual in my teams, I think that's never been a problem. I can see how it would come about and that pressure one-way or another. But I think just in my particular set ups with the particular people that I've had, that's never been a problem for me.

Becky: Do you think if there weren't bisexual people on your team that that would affect that outcome or not really?

Nicola: I think if I wanted them not to assume I was gay, I would have to potentially be a bit more vocal about that. But if I was vocal about that, I don't think I'd face any pressure to decide or to be clear about what is going on, they'd be like, 'okay, cool'.

Becky: So, there was another study that found that out of 60 male straight sports participants, most of them apart from about 3 or 4 did view bisexuality as a legitimate sexual orientation. What are your thoughts regarding this?

Nicola: So, that was 60 straight men?

Becky: Yeah.

Nicola: I feel like that's hard for me to comment on because in my life, because of the university and the people that I'm with, I would be surprised that there would be 3 or 4 who didn't. I've never had anyone say or insist that it's not. I've had questions but no one has ever said, 'well, it's not valid is it'. So, that doesn't particularly surprise me. I mean, I can imagine it would depend on the 60 people that that study focused on. I can imagine that different parts of society, so different age groups, would be a different figure.

Becky: In what way do you think it would be different depending on who was interviewed?

Nicola: Well, my experience of older generations is more likely to question it. I think if that was done with a specifically older age group then you might get more people questioning it. I don't know from personal experience if that were different social groups or ethnicities or cultural groups. I'm sure there would be a variation there as well. But I mean, I can't comment on that because I haven't got experience of that.

Becky: Just say the same study was conducted in exactly the same way but instead of looking at bisexuality they were looking at pansexuality, do you think that would produce the same outcomes or not?

Nicola: I think that would very much depend on how the question was asked because I definitely think there would be people who would say, 'could you just explain that to me what pansexuality means.' I think if that was done then the answer to that would correlate with the people with the number of people who were happy with gender being fluid, I would dispute. Again, depending on the demographic, if it was explained then I would imagine you would get something similar.

Becky: What about if it wasn't explained?

Nicola: (Pause) then you could definitely end up with more people saying, 'what is that?' but whether that would translate into them thinking it wasn't legitimate, I don't know. So, potentially more. Definitely.

Becky: So, some of the participants so far have acknowledged that in traditional masculine sports, women are often stereotyped and assumed to be gay and in more traditional feminine sports, women are often stereotyped and assumed to be straight. What are your experiences or thoughts surrounding this?

Nicola: Yeah. I would agree with that. From my experience, I've definitely had comments along those lines. More along the lines of, 'well, female cricketers must be gay' than other sports but that's because I'm not involved in those types of sports anymore. I agree with that assessment. I'm not sure of how much more I can comment on it without personal experience of non-male dominated sports in a stage in my life where I was openly bisexual or at least realised I was.

Becky: Yeah, of course. How do you think these stereotypes and assumptions […], how does that affect you as a bisexual woman in sport?

Nicola: Actually, I think perversely, I think it actually helped because there's an assumption that there will be gay and queer people. So, that kind of helped me be like, 'well, I'm attracted to women and [that's] fine'. (Pause) I think it was helpful actually. The thing is, it is so simplified and inaccurate that once you experience it, I don't know that it affected me. What affected me is that there are gay and bisexual people that I play cricket with. Not that cricket itself is necessarily viewed as gay. I think.

Becky: I think it's really interesting because in assumptions and stereotypes that are made, I don't know about you, but I've not yet come across someone who has talked about their sport where someone is stereotyped or assumed to be bisexual.

Nicola: No. No, definitely not. It doesn't exist. You're right, it is interesting. I guess it's just about those assumptions but once we are actually there and experiencing it that's what actually matters. And if people assume cricket is gay means that those high-profile women who are in relationships with women get the spotlight put them in a positive way. Then I think that can only be helpful. […] To be honest, when I've read that type of thing I've never felt like an editor or reporter Is incorrectly assuming or incorrectly labelling because they tend not to deliberately. They would say something like 'LGBTQ+ women in sport' kind of thing. So, I think yeah fine but […] once you are actually there then, yeah.

Becky: I'm just going to quickly check over the questions I've got to make sure I haven't missed anything.

Nicola: Yeah, that's fine.

Becky: (Pause) so, in terms of being bi in sport compared to being bi in other areas of your life (so, work, family, studies) what are the similarities and differences do you think?

Nicola: That's a good question. The most obvious difference is that I have people like me in cricket and there aren't so many of them in the rest of my life. I also feel very comfortable in cricket and there are other areas of my life where I don't feel so comfortable, with family particularly. Similarities – it sounds stupid to say it, but I am me experiencing both and I'm not changing. I guess, (pause) the similarity is that most of my experiences are positive and that it's only on the odd occasion and in very particular areas of my life where I'm more hesitant about being open about it I would say.

Becky: This is quite a personal question, but if you don't want to answer it then that's absolutely cool, but why do you think you're not as comfortable around your family?

Nicola: So, my extended family I'm not particularly close with. They have quite a different political standpoint from me and my nuclear family. I'm open with my mum and my sister. My mum to begin with took her a while. So, if I was like, 'mum, I'm gay' she would be like, 'oh, okay'. But it took her a little while to get used to the bisexuality bit. Basically, with my dad, I am 95% sure that he will be absolutely fine and I'm 85% sure that he has already guessed. So, I know that he has male gay friends and has done so for a long time. I don't know if he's ever known any gay or queer women. So, I've just left it and left it and not had a conversation about it. So, it has got to a stage where it's easier just to keep going as it is and I've never really plucked up the courage to say, 'look, she's my girlfriend'. I will do it at some stage. I am sure there will be a crunch moment where we are definitely living together and not because Covid has chucked her out of her accommodation (laughing).

Becky: So, is there anything else based on just being bisexual, just based on sport or being bisexual in sport, that we haven't covered yet that you're thinking, 'right, Becky needs to know this, and it needs to be in her research'?

Nicola: (Pause) I don't think so to be honest. I'm expecting that my experience will contrast with others and be similar to others as well. I think it's just that cricket has been essentially completely positive in conjunction with my sexuality, which I'm sure is clear from what I have said.

Becky: Okay, well, is there anything else you would like to discuss?

Nicola: I don't think so (laughter).

Becky: Are you happy for me to stop the recording there?

Nicola: Yeah. Yeah.

Becky: [I'll be] two seconds.

Appendix F: Coding a transcript example (original in colour)

KAT Team Sport – Football

Transcript ~~[illegible]~~ — umbrella term 'gay'. or 'I'm queer.)

(Kat)

Notes:

1) Some details have been omitted for anonymity purposes. All of the omissions are signalled with "(...)".

2) When the person who is speaking is laughing, the signal "(laughter)" will be used.

3) When both individuals laugh, the signal "(laughing)" will be used.

4) When someone pauses, the signal (pause) will be used.

4) Inaudible words are signalled with "xxxxx".

5) Incomplete and irrelevant sentences "[...]"

Becky: Okay. So, thinking back to junior school and primary school, were you involved in sport then?

MA: Yeah, I've been in sport most of my life really. I think when I was about five or six, when I was quite young, my mum wanted me to do ballet. So, she took me to ballet and I just really didn't enjoy that. Then, my dad was taking me to ballet, and he was like 'oh, I'll take you to football instead'. So, since then I've just played football. So, all through school I played football. I think when I was in primary school, I was doing taekwondo as well at that age.

Becky: Okay, cool. So, football is your main sport?

MA: Yeah, football is my main sport.

Becky: Okay, fab. So, did you like PE lessons and things like that or?

MA: Yeah. A lot of people didn't enjoy PE and thought only the weird ones would do it. Well, I was always that weird one who loved it and took everything really seriously and was super competitive. But yeah, I really loved PE (laughter).

Becky: Okay, great. So, when you went up to secondary school were you still loving PE at this point or?

MA: Yeah (laughter), I was still just as competitive although I was more anxious to do things. So, I used to love sports day in primary school but in high school I didn't want people to look at me. I would still do it and I still enjoyed everything though. [...] I would also do competitions and stuff like that as well.

Becky: So, have you always been in a football club outside of school?

MA: Yeah. This season is the first season that I'm not actually, but I've been across three different teams. I was always at my home team from when I was five up until I was about fourteen or fifteen and then I changed to somewhere more in (an area) for one or two years. Then, I was with (team name) for two seasons and I'm nowhere at the movement.

Becky: Why do you think you've given it a bit of a break?

1

MA: Well, I haven't got injured but I tend to get a lot of pains for some reason. I remember last season when I was playing, and my pains were getting bad. I was quite ill and with uni as well, I decided to give it a break for this season, but I'm really missing it and I just want to back (laughing).

Becky: So, thinking around school time or after school time, was that when you started to realise about your sexuality or?

Realising

MA: I think I've always known really, even when I was a lot younger. I think I understood it around high school [...]. My group of friends were all boys and I kind of tried to fit in with everyone so I wouldn't have been like 'yeah, I like girls' or whatever. But all through school I had boyfriends, like you do in school but, it didn't count as anything. Even though I knew I liked girls, I wouldn't have gone down that route. It was only until year ten, so still in school, I was open to it especially online. I found that a lot easier to be like 'yeah, woo!' (laughing). Yeah, that was a lot easier and I think that's how my mum found out because she followed me on twitter and she saw that and I was like 'haha, surprise!' (laughing).

Becky: Okay, fab. So, around year ten then, did you come out to any of your friends? Was it known by the school or?

MA: I didn't really come out, I was just a bit more open. So, it wasn't like 'hi, I've got something to tell you. Oh, I'm bi', but if it would come up in conversation I would be like 'yeah, I fancied her for a bit'. Things like that. I think the main area is online though because it's still a lot easier. So, I'm thinking about the other day at uni. So, out of my circle of friends I think half of us are straight and half of us aren't straight. So, even the other day we were on about our dissertations and she said, 'what do you want to do?'. Then, me and the other two who aren't straight were like 'yeah, we are interested in gender and sexuality and stuff'. Then she was like 'oh, it's typical that the gays are doing that'. Then, there was another girl who's not in our group and she was like 'ah, are you then?' and I was like 'ah!'. I'm fine with it, I'm completely fine with it and it's not like she outed me but, I was still like 'oh my gosh'. But yeah, I wouldn't say to someone that I'm straight. I wouldn't say that but sometimes I'm a bit like [noise made].

Binary language

Fear

Becky: Yeah, okay, of course. Why do you think you feel like that?

MA: I don't know. I think it's because you don't know what some people think. In my head and in my circle of friends I know that everyone is happy and fine and are accepting, but some people aren't. Sometimes I do forget that. So, in real life I'm a bit warier, I think. But I'm usually fine. If someone doesn't agree with it, I'm like 'I don't really care about you'. I don't know [...] it's the not knowing what people will definitely think, that spooks me a bit.

Becky: Yeah. Okay, so have you had anyone given you a negative response or not really?

Sexualised

Relationship

MA: It's not like people are nasty about it but you get the typical things 'oh yeah, which one of your friends have you done this with?' and 'oh yeah, threesomes' and stuff. You get that when people just over sexualise you and you're like '(pause) I didn't ask for this'. You get that from a lot of people. One of my ex's did that with me, and I was like 'oh god, really? – that was gross'. This wasn't towards me, but I remember I was in a group of football fans from all over the UK. I was like 'yeah, great. Football people' which I can talk to from all over the UK from all these different clubs but then there were a few people that started saying some really homophobic things. So, I stood up for it, but I think I was the only queer one. Everyone else was straight in that group and there was about thirty people. So, I stood up for everything, but it was just constant. It became really horrible and I then left the group and I now don't speak to any of them. So, yeah. People can be awful, and they were my age as well.

homophobia

2

discrimination still occurs.

So, I think that kind of made me realise that there are people my age who are so closed minded and disgusted about it all. So, people can be gross but overall people tend to be nice, to my face anyway (laughter).

Becky: Okay, fab. So, as you know, this research is about bisexuality and those who feel they fit under the bisexual umbrella, would you say you identify as bisexual or do you use another term?

Bi Definition

MA: I do identify as bi. So, basically, I could just fancy anyone. So, yeah, I use the term bi.

Becky: How would you define that?

MA: I would say bisexuality is the attraction to [...] two or more genders. But a lot of people think bisexuality is just about male and female (attraction) but I would say, it's those and more. I can understand people who identify as just fancying cis females and cis males, but I know a lot of people who say they are bi and can fancy everyone regardless of gender, sexuality and stuff. That's how I would personally say that's I how I feel as well.

Becky: Awesome. So, have you always identified as bi or have you identified as gay or straight or?

labelling 'pan'

MA: Through school, I wouldn't have said I was straight, but I wouldn't have said anything else. It wasn't a big conversation area. I didn't have many conversations with people. Though, I can remember speaking with friends in high school in year eight or something and I remember saying 'yeah, I could just fancy whoever'. But that's the only conversation I can remember. But then, when I realised, I am bi I went through that 'no, I don't put a label on anything' and 'I don't like to label myself' and I know a lot of bisexual people who have said the same thing. Then after a while I was like 'no, no, I am bisexual, and I am fine with that'. I think at one point I thought 'maybe, I'm pan' but I didn't want to label myself as pan because people didn't know what that was, and I didn't want to have to bring more attention to it to explain it to them, for them [...] to be confused about it. So, I think bi is widely known by a lot of people anyway and that is how I identify anyway.

Becky: Have you had any partners?

MA: I've had three boyfriends. I've not had a girlfriend, but I've been with someone which wasn't official, and she was in my football team. So, two that you could count but we were never together.

Becky: Okay. How did they feel about you identifying as bi?

Accepting attitudes

MA: (Pause) well, one of the girls was gay. I think she was fine with it. I don't know, I think she was fine with it. Then, the other girl, she was fine with it as well. I kind of made her realise she was bi as well. We spoke about it a lot and I think that helped her come out. She really expressed her sexuality around the time when we were talking about it.

Becky: Cool. What about your boyfriends?

Sexualisation

MA: Yeah. As I said, that one ex was a bit strange about it. He was fine with it but in a way that he would sexualise it and at this time. I was fourteen or fifteen and he was a year older. I was like 'you can't say that about me'. So, that was a bit gross. (Pause) my current partner now, he's been completely fine with it and my previous partner was completely fine as well.

Becky: Okay, fab. So, do you tend to have monogamous relationships or?

MA: Yes, they all tend to be monogamous.

Becky: Okay, cool. So, are you open about your sexuality to everyone? So, family, friends, colleagues?

3

SPACE

Not being not fully coming

MA: In work, we have recently had a big turn over of staff [...]. Our store is a little store, so say there was six of us working, half of us were queer then and we were all open about it. But now, we are not all that close. If it was to come up in conversation, I wouldn't say I was straight though. Same with anyone really but there's certain people who i'd feel more comfortable saying it around. Even my family, even though they all know they haven't really acknowledged it. So, I'm like 'do they know?' because I don't want to say something and them to be like 'what?' or something. I just don't like having attention drawn to me anyway regardless of what I'm on about. So, I don't know. It just doesn't come up a lot with my family, with my close family anyway. I know that they are all straight so it's not like they will bring it up or anything. When I did come out, it was a few years ago. So, that was the main thing and now it's done. So, I think if it came up with anyone though I wouldn't say I was straight.

Becky: Okay. Have people incorrectly assumed your sexuality before? So, have they thought you were gay or straight or?

Stereotypes

Assuming straight

MA: I mean, because I play football there's that stereotype that all footballers are lesbians. So, you do get that. So, if I said to someone that I play football, they'd be like 'oh, are you a lesbian then? Have you slept with all your team?' and stuff like that. But, that's not a serious thing. I guess you do get a lot of people assuming I'm straight especially as I have a boyfriend but because of twitter and online presence where I'm so open about it, people tend to know that I am bi and I don't want people to assume I'm straight. If someone does assume I'm straight I'm like 'who? what? That's not me'. Again, it doesn't seem to come up in conversation in person and if it does, it's with people who already know.

Becky: So, when you tell men and women that you're bi, have you seen different responses, or have they been similar?

Girls responses to bi

Male attitude comments to bi

MA: No, they've been different. I think girls are like 'yeah, okay' and some dismiss it. So, you know you can get some girls who get a bit strange about it and they're all like 'okay, don't look at me then' (laughing). But most people are fine with it and I know they are. Sometimes I am worried that one of my girl friends do think something. With guys it tends to be all like 'who have you done this with then? what do you think of her?' and they think 'oh yeah bisexuals want everyone'. So, yeah, I do think there is a difference. (Pause) I think with girls they might think things but not say it but with guys they think it's hilarious to say the joke you've heard a million times. So, you're like 'haha, good one' [said in a sarcastic tone].

Becky: Okay. How do you respond when the guys do say stuff like that?

lack of understanding

MA: I don't know actually. I think I just laugh along. With the stereotype that all footballers are lesbians can't deny that to be honest. On my team, there wasn't any straight people. So, I was like 'yeah' and that was it [...]. I don't know. I don't know what they expect me to answer because obviously there are some people who don't express it, but I was like 'well, yeah. If I am bi and have fancied someone then I'm going to fancy them'. I don't know why it's all like 'oh, you've fancied someone'. I'm like 'well, yeah. That's what bi people do'. I think they are kind of amazed by it but in a confused way. I'm not too sure. I don't understand people sometimes.

Becky: Okay, fab. So, from school did you go onto college?

MA: So, yes. I went to do my A levels at college.

Becky: And you were still playing football then?

MA: Yes.

Becky: Were you doing any other sports or just football?

4

MA: I can't remember if it was at college or just before, but I was doing athletics for a bit. But I did that alongside football, and it was getting too much so I wasn't doing athletics for long. But yes, I was definitely doing football in college as well.

Becky: Okay, fab. Were you open about your sexuality in the sports settings that you were in?

lots of gays → natural → positive

MA: Yeah. I think that is somewhere where I knew lot of people were gay. It felt fine and natural to just talk about it. A lot of other people of the team were in relationships with each other so it was very open. Even the coaches knew about all the girl drama. So, yeah, quite open about that as well. So, yeah, it was a lot easier to be open. And also, more comfortable.

Becky: Brilliant. Were you the only bisexuall on the team or were there other bisexuals on the team?

Binary Language

MA: In my last team, my most recent team, I know a lot of them were gay and there were a few straight people. I can't really think of any who were bi. I can't quite remember but in my previous team, there were a few bi people but again a lot were gay, and a few were straight. I think a lot of people who are out are usually gay. So, a lot of people assume you are gay or straight there. Not many people are like 'oh yeah, I'm bi'. But then I also think a lot of people do use the umbrella term 'gay'. So, a lot of the time I'd be like 'yeah yeah, I'm gay' or 'yeah, I'm queer' or whatever. So, I think it could be that. I think people don't really think about it because bi people use the whole umbrella term rather than bi.

Becky: Okay, cool. So, on your team did they know you were bi or did they assume you were gay?

use umbrella 'gay'

MA: I don't know. I think a lot of people do assume but then they also knew that I had a boyfriend. So I think I can remember a few times something was said like 'oh, I didn't know you were gay?' and I was like 'oh yeah' and then they are like 'but you've got a boyfriend?' and I'm like 'yeah, I'm bi'. Then that's basically it. So, I think some people can assume because I have a partner, but in the football scene if I was talking to someone, I wouldn't assume anything because I know a lot of people are gay in football and straight. I don't know. But yeah, people would know I was bi especially because a lot of them knew me on twitter anyway where I just ramble about it (laughing).

online presence

Becky: Cool. So, everyone in your sport knows you're bi basically?

MA: Yeah. It's an area that a lot of people are open about it and it's easy to be open about it.

Becky: Okay. So, just to quickly go over this, do you identify the same in your sports clubs then in other areas of your life?

MA: Yeah.

Becky: Have you ever felt in an environment, whether that's sport or work or wherever, that you had to choose to be seen with a different sexuality to bi?

identity

MA: (Pause) I'm not sure about that. Well, because I'm not like 'everyone I'm bi!' wherever I go, I think I don't tend to have to hide it or show it. What was the question again sorry?

Not Explicit

Becky: So, have you ever felt pressure to be perceived as straight or gay in different environments?

MA: Okay. So, I know some lessons in school college and even in uni [...]. This term we had a lecture on sexuality and that's one where you didn't want people to know you were gay in case all of the attention would be on you and they'd be like 'how did you find this?'.

Becky: So, again, you didn't want the attention on you?

5

Not fear coming out

MA: Yeah, exactly. So, it's not like I'd be like 'yeah, I'm straight' but I wouldn't have been like 'yeah, I'm bi. Yeah, I know what you're on about. Yeah, you're wrong about this'. It wasn't a great lecture anyway and she started it off going 'as a straight woman, I'm going to be teaching this' and we were like 'okay'. But some of the things she said and some of the resources she's used were bad, I guess. So, I didn't want to be that person to go 'I know what you're trying to teach us but I'm bi and this is all wrong'. [...]. I was going to email about it, but I didn't, and I was like 'I'm just going to shut up about it'. But I think that's the only example in lessons where it has been about that and especially in schools because people weren't out. So, if you were out you'd probably be one of the only ones and you know if someone mentioned the word gay that everyone's eyes would be on you. [...]. So, I think that is the main example I can think about but other than that I don't think.

NOT Explicit

Becky: So, in your football team or athletics, was bisexuality as a topic ever discussed or mentioned?

MA: No, I don't think it has actually.

Becky: Okay. Has (the topic of) you being bisexual ever been discussed or mentioned?

MA: Well, not in athletics because I wasn't often talking about it but in football, yeah. I'm pretty sure in the changing rooms a few times, people were talking about their partners and they were all like 'oh, you're bi' and I'm like 'yeah, yeah'. Then, people would talk about it then. So, in football a lot of the conversations would take place but in athletics no. I didn't even know if we ever spoke about anything like that. But, yes in football.

Changing Rooms

Becky: So, why do you think in football you felt able to and were talk about it but not in athletics?

No fear changing rooms

MA: (Pause) I think because I knew a lot of the girls for a while. But, actually, even the girls I only knew when I went to my most recent team, even then it was just so easy to talk to them. I just think the football setting, just knowing that a lot of the girls are gay, it's just easier to talk about because you don't have that fear that people would be like 'oh god, a bi girl in our changing rooms [...]'. You just know it's going to be fine. With athletics, there wasn't much time where we would be together but not doing athletics. So, half the time we'd be sprinting or whatever so you wouldn't be like 'oh, by the way I'm bi' when sprinting (laughing). So, we had a lot more time to chat in football. We had our group chat and we did a lot of things outside of football. So, we were just a good team basically and I think the stronger team you are, the more chance you have of talking about it. But it definitely makes it easier if you know most of the others are queer as well.

Becky: Okay. What about going out socially? Do you go out with your teammates?

MA: (Pause) we did go out a few times but there a lot of us because there were two teams.

Becky: So, quite a lot then? (laughing)

MA: Yeah. One time we did all go out and there's been a few times where a few of us go out.

Becky: Okay. Does your sexuality get brought up when you're out with them socially?

MA: (Pause) not mine. I tend to be the quieter one and with this particular football team there were a lot of big loud characters and if there was a girl there, they'd be like 'go and talk to her' and all that but I would just sit back and watch everyone else. One of those social lurkers (laughing).

Becky: Did you ever go to LGBT clubs when you went out socially or?

MA: (Pause) when I've been out with my football group, no because there's so many of us that there probably wouldn't even be room as the gay clubs in town are tiny but with one of my uni mates, we

6

went to pride, and they closed off the one street where the gay clubs are. So, you would just go there. They're just so tiny so it's hard to get in anyway. So, I don't go in them often but it's quite a good place so if it was a bit bigger, I would drag my friends along. But it is good, and I have been there, and I do enjoy it and; I love cheesy songs, so you know that's always going to happen (laughing).

Becky: Always! (laughing). Cool. So, if I was to say to you, what's the first thing that comes to mind in relation to your sexuality in sport?

MA: I would just think football and that a lot of girls in football are going to be queer. Only the minority are going to be straight and you can't assume that but [...] because of all the teams I played against, I know a lot of the girls around (area). So, you can guarantee that the minority are straight. I would say that's a big thing in my area of sport anyway.

Becky: So, because you're bi and the majority of your team are gay, have you ever felt like slightly left out because you're not gay? Or have you always felt really included?

Attitudes

MA: I think it's quite easy to feel sort of excluded especially because I have a boyfriend now, so people can easily forget that but even if they haven't forgotten they are like 'yeah, she's basically straight'. I know a lot of people do think that and think 'oh, she's got a boyfriend so she's straight' or 'oh, she's got a girlfriend now, she's gay'. So, [...] people don't tend to acknowledge bisexuality as much as gay and straight. So, I don't understand why people just don't see it as one thing by itself, instead of it having to be gay or straight. So, I'm not sure about that one.

FORGET

Assumptions

Binary thinking

Becky: So, quite binary perspectives?

MA: Yeah. Definitely. I can't remember what I was saying (laugher).

Becky: Don't worry. So, does that happen based on the partner that you are with when they make an assumption?

MA: Yeah. There have been times when I don't have a partner and people were easier to talk to you about it. So, when I'm not in a relationship obviously I'm going to talk about whoever. So, if there's someone who is attractive, then I get to say that sort of thing [...]. So, I can just openly be bi I guess but now I'm with my partner I can't really talk about it sort of thing. I think that is the main type of conversation, not gossiping but going 'who's hot?' and stuff. I feel like I can't really contribute to that. I don't know.

Becky: Why do you feel like you can't?

MA: I don't know, I don't know (laugher). I was just trying to think about that. I don't know. I just feel like I wouldn't.

Becky: That's cool. Have you ever experienced any biphobia in sport?

MA: (Pause) I'm not sure about biphobia. No biphobia

Becky: Any homophobia?

MA: Yeah, there was homophobia in that group chat that I said about earlier. Basically, there were a lot of fans in this group from all football teams around the UK. The things people were saying started off with a tweet. I think one of them tweeted something [...]. I think he said a slur and something about gay marriage and I was like 'oh, what's this then?'. Then, someone backed it up by saying 'well, you shouldn't be able to adopt.' So, we got into this big thing about it because that is a very dated thing to say especially for someone my age. That was the angriest I've ever been actually, and I didn't know

7

homophobia

what to do. I was fuming especially because no one else was backing me up because I knew I was the only queer one. So that was horrible. That was a bad thing. There's been a few other times. So, I follow someone on twitter who does a lot of journalism and blogging about sexuality in sport and they were just doing something about the rainbow laces campaign and people were saying 'you don't need this in sport. We don't see any homophobia' and I was like 'I'm glad you don't see homophobia, but a lot of people do'. Then, they were like 'we're straight and we don't see it' and I was like 'yeah exactly, because you don't pay attention to it'. So, I go down the football as well and you do get chants, not targeted at players because I don't think there's any out (male) players in the championship or premiership football, but they will use a slur towards anyone. They are like 'haha, funny' and stuff like that. So, you do get homophobic slurs. You hear that at the football.

Becky: At a high level when you are spectating?

Crowds

MA: Yeah, in the crowds and it is quite a big thing, people using slurs. I feel like I'm seeing a lot more recently. I don't know why this is. Before it was just gay men slurs but recently, I've been seeing slurs towards lesbians. I don't know why this is because you'd think people would realise by now that it's disgusting, but I've seen a lot more of that from people our age who are quite young doing that. So, it's not great.

Becky: Okay. Has anyone sort of denied that you're bisexual or that bisexuality exists? So, has anyone ever gone 'oh you're just confused'?

Stereotypes

MA: Yes! Yes, definitely! Or they are like 'yeah, you're greedy and you're going to cheat on everyone then'. Yeah, a lot of people do say 'oh, you just need to come to terms with it' [...] and you're like 'or maybe I don't because I just fancy everyone so, leave me alone' (laughter). I haven't had that though for a while. I think you have that when you first come out and people are like 'no, no, no, just go back into the closet and stop talking about it'. People do see it as very binary. I think if you came out as gay, I think people are still like 'no, you just need to find the right guy' but they understand gay more than bi [...].

Becky: Have you ever had those comments in sport or a sporting setting before?

NOT IN SPORT.

MA: Not in sport, I don't think. (Pause) not that I can remember anyway.

Becky: Have you ever felt any form of exclusion from being bi in sport?

MA: (Pause) not really exclusion but like we were saying about [...] because a lot of the girls are gay, I wouldn't feel gay enough. There were a few times where they'd all be talking about something and I kind of wanted to be like 'woo, yeah, I agree' but they were happy with all the open gay girls being together, but they were quite loud. So, whether that was a difference of personalities maybe. Sometimes it is in conversation and I'm like 'I want to get involved in the gay talk' but I just sit back.

Becky: So, is it more that you can be or?

MA: Kind of but I do think I'm quite a quiet reserved person anyway so if I was like 'oh yeah, by the way...', people would be like 'what? She's chirping up'. But I don't know. I usually like to be quieter and more reserved anyway but there have been times where I've wanted to chat but not.

Becky: Have you had any stereotypes or stigmas in sport regarding being bi?

MA: No. I think that sport is a good place to be gay, well football anyway. I think football is a really good place but because I wasn't as open in athletics that could have been different. I feel like I would

8

have more fear about that. I don't think I would have wanted to have been out there but in football it is a good place to express your sexuality.

Becky: Have you had any stereotypes or stigmas outside of sport in any area of your life? Uni, work, family, whatever?

Stereotypes Stigmas

MA: I think you do get that thing where people are like 'do you fancy her? Her? Her? Him? Him? Him? Do you fancy everyone?' [...] and people do say about the confused or greedy stereotype and like to play on that a bit. I'm like 'no, no stop asking me this' [...]. You do get people like that but only in joke ways as well. I'm pretty sure my dad said something before. At one of my football teams, my dad made comments about me and one of the girls on my team like 'oh yeah, are you with her then?' or something and I was like 'no'. Then, one time I was, and I was like 'NO' (laughing). I think people do like to play on the whole 'oh you fancy everyone, everyone in the world. Every single person'. They play on that. Sometimes I think it's funny but it's one of those things that just gets boring so if you're going to try and be funny try and be a bit original; like, I've heard this before so make it good (laughing).

Becky: Okay. Mainly used as banter then?

MA: Yeah but you know sometimes you can tell if people are playing it off as a joke, but you know they're being serious. I find that a lot of the time, if people are joking, I know that they are joking. There are lines with jokes, I think. So, if people say those types of jokes with me, I can be fine with it if it's my close friends but if it was someone, I wasn't close with and they'd say that I'd be like 'okay, that's a bit rude'. I think if anyone says slurs then that is something I really don't tolerate and I know there have been some people who've said things and I've been like 'no, you don't say that. You're not allowed to say that, and we don't want to hear that' type of thing. Usually, if you tell someone not to use that slur and they respect you then they wouldn't say it again. I think so many people think it's fine to use slurs just because it's something that's always been said, and they don't really think. But when people do realise what it means they kind of stop. Well, hopefully they would stop anyway.

Becky: Okay. So, as you've said, your football team has been quite a good positive environment for you to express your sexuality. Would you agree with that?

MA: Yes.

Becky: And in what ways, apart from having other gay people on the team, have created that positive environment?

Supportive gay sports

MA: I think that is a massive thing because if you know people are queer in one setting then you know people's values and that they're going to be supportive about gay issues and stuff. So, with the rainbow laces, almost everyone in (area) all have that. Because all of the football girls in (area) do know each other, we've got each other on social media as well, you can see everyone support things like rainbow laces and any issues. So, I think that is a big thing. So, because everyone is gay, I'm not too sure what it would be like if they weren't, I guess.

Becky: Fab. So, as identifying as bi, do you think you are treated differently to those who are gay or straight in sport?

MA: (Pause) I'm not too sure. I know that when I am talking, I tend to use the umbrella term. It's only if I get into specifics that I'd say 'yeah, I'm bi' but a lot of the time I'd say 'I'm queer' and that's the whole umbrella. Sorry, what was the question? (laughing).

Becky: That's okay. Do you think you are treated differently because you're bi or?

9

MA: I mean, you get the jokes but so do gay people; they also get those banter jokes among each other as well. (Pause) I wouldn't say treated differently but I think people say jokes, but you'd get that at both ends, I guess.

Becky: Okay, cool. So, I imagine throughout the whole time playing football it's been single sex? So, just women's teams?

MA: Yeah.

Becky: Do you think if you were in a mixed sex environment that that would have affected your experiences?

MA: I think it would depend on the age. I think around year seven and eight, that was when people joke about everything, but I know a few people who have been in mixed teams when they were younger. I think it would be a good environment. I know you can get the 'lads, lads, lads,' environment especially in football but I'm not sure. I'm just trying to think of me and when I was playing football with the boys at school and it would be the only girl and it was still a nice environment. So, I would hope it would still be a nice environment, but I've never been with a mixed group at any age actually, only at primary school.

Becky: Okay. Do you think your gender has affected your experiences of being bi in sport?

MA: (Pause) I'm not sure. Could you repeat it?

Becky: Yeah, of course. Do you think it might be more difficult for a guy to be bi in sport than a woman or?

Gender

Harder for bi men in sport

MA: Yes, definitely! Especially in football anyway. As I said, I don't think there's any out players in the top two tiers of men's football and I remember last year in the papers they were saying 'oh, there's three gay footballers in the top league' and I saw a lot of people trying to guess like 'oh I bet it's this person' and making jokes. That's not a great environment to be open in especially because of the homophobic chants and stuff. I know a lot of the time when Brighton are playing, a lot of the chants there are towards them and is the biggest team where you find a lot of homophobia. Not even if it's homophobic but chanting lots of gay related things. It's not a great place for anyone to be gay but it's definitely going to harder for any man to come out. I think bi in general too, not just in sport but anywhere. I know loads of girls who are bi and are open bout being bi but I only know one guy that is bi and I only knew that because I used to be really good friends with him years ago. I've not seen him post anything about it since. I'm not sure if he's 'out out' properly. I just feel like coming out as a guy would definitely be so much harder, especially in sport. Well, football anyway.

Becky: Why do you think that might be?

Binary

MA: I think people are afraid. With football, people do see it as a 'boy' sport and when they think of boys they think 'yeah, straight'. People have their binary stuff like 'yeah, boys are straight and aggressive, and they got to be this'. Sorry what was the question again? – I'm awful (laughing).

Becky: That's okay. So, why would it be more difficult for a man to come out as bi then for a woman?

MA: (Pause) I totally forgot what I was saying. Sorry (laughing).

Becky: Don't worry, it's fine. No worries at all. So, do you think there's any other reasons why it might be more difficult for men who are bi to come out in sport?

Men

changing room issues / masculinity.

MA: Because they're all like 'manly manly' and stuff. Also, they share a dressing room. So, if anyone was to come out as gay or bi they would be like 'oh, of course, that's why he's here in the dressing room'. I feel like men's football is an area that wouldn't be great for someone to come out in. In the winter Olympics just gone there was a lot of people who were openly gay, but I'm not sure about bi actually. But I did see a lot of things about gay men in sport and that was really good to see. I think it depends on the sport. So, football and rugby are seen as really 'manly' sports and when that welsh guy, what was his name?

Becky: Gareth Thomas?

sports + expectations

MA: Yeah, that's it. When Gareth Thomas came out there was very mixed reactions. Some people were like 'oh but he plays rugby so he can't do that' [...] and then you get people saying, 'this is really good'. He then did a lot of things after that so that was really good. I couldn't imagine coming out as a man playing rugby: a sport that is deemed as manly with muscular guys. People don't want that and I'm not too sure why. I think it's fear, I guess. But with the winter sports, I don't think people have stereotypes with it. So, because there's not that stereotype, people don't expect all the athletes to be a certain way. So, it's fine for them not to be a certain way because there isn't such a thing. But because you've got those expectations in rugby and football and sports like that, anything out of place is going to be mocked.

Becky: So, how do you stand politically with your sexuality? So, do you do campaigns? Do you go to pride events? Or?

identity

MA: I go to pride. I went last year in the evening but didn't go to the day event. The year before that, I volunteered at pride and that was my first pride actually. That was a really good day because I was head to toe rainbow and I remember I met my family in Greggs, and it felt really good to be there and be all rainbow-y and stuff: being obviously queer. And to also be with my family because they're not going to think I'm straight and they have to acknowledge it and they can't ignore it. I remember I had a lot of stickers and I stuck one on my baby sister and my step-mum has two friends who are gay, and it was a really nice feeling knowing people are acknowledging it and are happy about it. On twitter, I'll always be thinking about it. It's what I speak about most if I'm honest. If there are any issues, I will talk about it. I try and do as much a as I can.

Becky: What about in sport if it's possible for you to be political?

MA: (Pause) I always support the rainbow laces, that's a big thing with sport. So, that's something. So, basically my twitter is mainly of football fans and of other gay people [...]. I mean, there can be a lot of queer people in football but sometimes it's the complete opposite so sometimes if I see people being really ignorant towards sexuality in sport, I will be like 'hey, you're being gross'. Stuff like I was saying before with the person who does sports journalism and stuff, a lot of his replies are from straight people disagreeing and I'll sometimes get involved with that. I think it's all about talking about things. People need to be explained too.

Becky: Do you think education helps?

education + masculinity

MA: Yeah. I think a lot of the time it's fear and not knowing like what I said with the slurs earlier. It's so ingrained and people don't sit down and think what the slur is and why it's being used, they just use it as a way to insult anyone. Well, it's not. It come from somewhere and you need to know that. It is easy to ignore issues if it doesn't relate to you, but I just think that people need to know that a lot of people around them are going to be queer and that they can't just openly be homophobic. I think people just need to talk more and be educated more.

11

Becky: Cool. So, is there anything else regarding your experiences in terms of your sexuality, or in sport or sexuality in sport that you think would be relevant for this research?

MA: (Pause) I think we've covered a lot. I think I tried to say as much as I can with each question. Just people need to be taught things and be open about things. You know, every queer person is going to fear, even if you are out it's still scary to say 'oh yeah, I'm bi' or 'I'm gay' or whatever. It will always be scary even if you know they are a good person because you don't know how they are going to think. So, it needs to be taught. I mean, with sport and sexuality I've never been taught anything, it's only been from social media where I've seen a lot of things. So, yeah, more needs to be done and it depends on what sport as well.

Becky: Okay, would you like to stop there then?

MA: Yes.

Becky: Okay, cool. Thank you very much.

Overview notes

* doesn't feel "gay" enough *
* Pan vs bi as an identity *
* online abuse *
* No explicit biphobia *

12

Appendix G: Finalised codes example (original in colour)

Appendix H: Comparing data example (original in colour)