

Dancing Queer Tango: An Experience of Queer Pedagogy in PESTE

Sofía Pereira-García and Elena López-Cañada Agnes Elling-Machartzki
Universitat de València Mulier Instituut

Purpose: The lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual, and queer/questioning students normally occupy a marginalized and at-risk position in classes and especially in physical education. In this paper, the authors explore the ways in which queer tango can contribute to counteracting heteronormativity and opening up students to new interactions and identifications through the performance of different gender performances in Physical Education and Sport Tertiary Education. **Method:** A queer tango session was carried out with 111 university students (91 men and 19 women aged 19–22 years). Data were obtained from interviews, video records, and open questionnaires about the practice. **Results:** The findings reveal that the performance of dance roles that are contrary to the heteronormative order reinforced both heteronormativity and queer embodiments in Physical Education and Sport Tertiary Education. **Conclusion:** An isolated activity is not enough, and more queer pedagogical practices should be introduced in order to make meaningful changes to mainstream students' ideology and behaviors.

Keywords: education, embodiment, genders, heteronormativity, pedagogical practice

Physical education (PE) and Physical Education and Sport Tertiary Education (PESTE) are conservative fields that naturalize and reproduce heteronormativity (Lisahunter, 2019; Light, 2008). This system, which sustains patriarchal gender binaries and “normal” sexuality, negates gender and sexual diversity through the regulation of interactions among students and teachers and influences its policies and institutional practices (Toomey, McGuire, & Russell, 2002; Wright, 1995). Students that defy this order, especially lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender/transsexual and queer/questioning (LGBTQ+ [encompassing all spectrums of sexualities and genders]), often experience hostility, harassment, and marginalization in heteronormative PE and PESTE programs (Clarke, 1998; Devís-Devís, Pereira-García, López-Cañada, Pérez-Samaniego, & Fuentes-Miguel, 2018; López-Cañada, Devís-Devís, Pereira-García, & Pérez-Samaniego, 2019; Sykes, 2011). In this environment, there is little room for their subject positions, and many LGBTQ+ students are forced to remain silent about their diverse genders or sexualities (Lisahunter, 2019; Saraç & McCullick, 2017; Sykes, 1998).

Many teachers reinforce heteronormativity with their teaching decisions (López-Cañada et al., 2019). Others, however, have recently expressed interest in how they can change their classes to make them more inclusive to sexual and gender diversity (Larsson, Quennerstedt, & Öhman, 2014; Luhmann, 1998; Ward & Schneider, 2009). As heteronormativity is “encoded in the different kinds of movement, spaces, content and pedagogical practices that constitute physical education” (Coll, Enright, & O’Sullivan, 2014, p. 101), some teachers have focused on adapting content and class organization to disrupt its construction and reproduction. For example, Gard (2003) proposed using activities that do not convey traditional hegemonic masculine values or skills (e.g., dominance,

force, and aggressiveness typical of many sports) to disrupt traditional gender roles in PE and PESTE classrooms. As dancing is considered in Western cultures to be an aesthetic activity that requires flexibility, an attribute conferred on women, dance has been considered one way to disrupt male dominance and challenge heteronormativity in schools (Blume, 2003; Gard, 2008; Kleinubing, Saraiva, & Francischi, 2013; Risner, 2007). The benefits for students seem obvious regardless of the kind of dance to which the scholars refer, such as folk, hip hop, or other more creative forms of dance (Gard, 2003; Garrett & Wrench, 2016; Larsson et al., 2014).

Against this background, in noneducational contexts, some studies have emphasized the relevance of approaching non-heteronormative dance or queer dance (e.g., queer salsa or queer tango; Batchelor, 2015; Schneider, 2013). In contrast to mainstream dances, which are based on the assumptions that everyone is heterosexual, gender is a binary, and “masculine and feminine occupy oppositional positions” (Butler, 1990, p. 52), queer dance applies the fluidity of gender identities and sexualities that queer theory proposes. In doing so, queer dance aims to liberate people from heteronormative rules and codes that constrain how people communicate and interact with each other (Davis, 2015). Moreover, queer dance also aims to create safe and nonjudgmental spaces welcoming all people regardless of genders and sexualities and contributes to restoring their agency (Batchelor, 2018; Blume, 2003; Havmoeller, Batchelor, & Aramo, 2015). According to Landi (2018), PE also needs to be a place where students with mainstream gender expressions can experience their benefits but in which “queers can flourish, experience pleasure, and be successful” (p. 11). Despite these suggestions, as far as we know, queer dance has not been introduced in PE and PESTE.

In this paper, we embrace the pedagogical (im)possibilities of embodied pedagogy and queer theory, or what is called *queer pedagogy*, to explore the ways in which queer tango can contribute to opening up students to new interactions and identifications through the performance of different gendered dance roles in PE and PESTE. Considering different scholars' contributions (e.g., Blume, 2003; Clarke, 1998; Coll et al., 2014; Doan, 2010; Flintoff, 2000; Sykes, 1998, 2011) to queering pedagogies in PE and

Pereira-García is with the Departament de Treball Social i Serveis Socials, Universitat de València, Valencia, Spain. López-Cañada is with the Departament d'Educació Física i Esportiva, Universitat de València, Valencia, Spain. Elling-Machartzki is with the Mulier Instituut, Utrecht, The Netherlands. López-Cañada (Elena.lopez-canada@uv.es) is corresponding author.

building on Landi, Flory, Safron, and Martinen's (2020) call for using queer pedagogies, we present a pedagogical practice of queer tango aimed at creating safe spaces where students can explore different identities and encourage queer flexibility in the classroom (Azzarito & Katzew, 2010; Landi et al., 2020; Stone, 2013). We studied the implications of queer tango through the following questions: What experiences and feelings emerge from the performance of roles as men/leaders and women/followers in queer tango? Can this pedagogical practice produce queer embodiments among students? Is queer tango a potentially valuable educational tool to deconstruct the gender and sexual binaries in PESTE? In order to set a pedagogical context of reference, we previously examined queer and embodied pedagogy literature.

Queering Pedagogy: An Embodied Approach

The term queer pedagogy, originating from queer theory, was used in the late 1990s in the United States by Deborah Britzman (1995) in order to open up identity terms and normalize diversity. From then on, authors have approached queer pedagogy from two perceptions. In one way, queer pedagogy focuses on the marginalized genders and sexualities of people who are outside the hegemonic model (Shlasko, 2005). In the second, queer pedagogy does not refer to subjects but to a political stance that focuses on everything considered inappropriate, abnormal, and uncomfortable. Queer pedagogy "is one that refuses normal practices and practices of normalcy" (Britzman, 1995, p. 165) and seeks to reflect on the processes of oppression and the construction of a heteronormative society. Therefore, queer pedagogy refers to radical performative practices that are potentially liberating (Britzman, 1995; Bryson & de Castell, 1993).

Since the 1990s, scholars have provided teachers with different examples of queer pedagogy, tools, and guides about how teachers can queer their classes (Murray, 2015; Fuentes-Miguel, Pereira-García, López-Cañada, Pérez-Samaniego, & Devís-Devís, 2016). These queer pedagogical practices have been developed at different levels and in different contexts and academic subjects. Despite their differences, these pedagogies all aim to disrupt the reproduction of normalizing practices in educational contexts. Many of these pedagogies do this by uncovering students' taken-for-granted assumptions about genders and sexualities (Pinar, 1998; Shlasko, 2005). These taken-for-granted assumptions are produced by processes that negate and abjectify different identities through "othering" based on race, class, sexuality, or gender differences (see Lisahunter, 2019).

Regarding LGBTQ+ issues, queer pedagogy aims to disrupt normative assumptions around genders and sexualities (Pinar, 1998; Trujillo, 2015). It aims to modify "the modes of making selves and making sense by refusing stable identities and by producing new identifications that lie outside binary models of gender and sexuality" (Luhmann, 1998, p. 151). This capacity of queer practices to move students outside their comfort zones becomes paramount in challenging dominant beliefs and normative practices that sustain social inequities (Zembylas, 2015). Feelings of discomfort and anxiety can disrupt the students' sense of identity and create openings for individual and social transformation (Devís-Devís & Sparkes, 1999; Gard, 2003). Regarding this, Gard (2008) suggests that helping students understand their own fear and rejection toward activities like dance can be useful for addressing issues such as homophobia and gender stereotypes.

Queer pedagogy encourages teachers to create spaces in which the infinite proliferation of new identifications could emerge (Britzman, 1995). For this, some teachers have brought fluid and multiple identities and knowledge into the classroom through the reading of LGBTQ+ literature, first-person narratives, or the visualization of queer videos (Murray, 2015; Shlasko, 2005; Trujillo, 2015; Waite, 2017). Some teachers have focused on the presence of queer people in classrooms to teach queer theory and addressing queer students' needs, while others have centered on their own experiences as queer teachers and queer bodies to disrupt heteronormativity (Murray, 2015; Waite, 2017).

The predominance of a general "blindness" on critical reflection on dominant conceptualizations of genders and sexualities in PE affects the studies carried out in this field, most of which were conducted with a "straight" or heteronormative approach that encourages particular forms of embodied movements and reactions (Fitzpatrick & McGlashan, 2016; Landi et al., 2020). Despite this, some remarkable experiences have been discovered in PE and PESTE. For instance, Pérez-Samaniego, Fuentes-Miguel, Pereira-García, and Devís-Devís (2016) and Devís-Devís, Pereira-García, Fuentes-Miguel, López-Cañada, and Pérez-Samaniego (2018) have used a fictional tale to delve into a trans girl's experiences in heteronormative PE to promote empathetic imagination with gender-oppressed students. Chapman, Sykes, and Swedberg (2003) produced a theatrical performance on the real-life experiences of five nonheterosexual PE teachers to discuss homophobia and heterosexism issues in the classroom. Other authors invited students to reflect on some terms (e.g., sex, gender, sexuality, and stereotypes) and pictures (real or imaginary) to challenge traditional femininities and masculinities (Coll, 2019; Harrison & Shipley, 2019).

Few teachers have focused on the bodies of students with mainstream gender expressions to problematize the heteronormative model and produce the proliferation of new identifications in PE. Teachers who do not consider students as embodied subjects and embodied learners rarely pay attention to the students' embodied experiences and the feelings that arise in classroom activities. If queer pedagogy considers the learning process as a physical and emotional act of knowledge construction, it should adopt an embodied pedagogy that delves into the potentialities of the students' bodies to get an awareness of their physical and social selves (McDonough, Forgasz, Berry, & Taylor, 2016; Nguyen & Larson, 2015). As oppressive discourses are embedded in bodies, this awareness is essential to obtain a critical consciousness of heteronormativity (Perry & Medina, 2011). In this embodied pedagogy, bodies are a means of making meanings, and students can get a more complex understanding of genders and sexualities through their sensations and feelings in different performances and activities (Perry & Medina, 2011).

Gender performances in PE and PESTE are a (compulsory) repetition of gender norms that can enhance the students' reflection on the very process of becoming gendered/sexualized embodied subjects and the questioning of the habitus or gender/sexuality dispositions they experience as natural (Butler, 1990). For instance, the kind of movements students think are (not) for them or identify with can reveal how hegemonic masculinities, normative femininities, and marginalized masculinities and femininities (e.g., gay or queer) are constructed (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Gard, 2008; Larsson, Redelius, & Fagrell, 2011). Delving into the reasons why many male students do not want to participate in an activity like dance can be necessary to dismantle gender/sexual stereotypes and facilitate their engagement with the activity (Gard,

2008). It is also important to work with students on the (dis)comfort feelings some bodies experience taking part in activities in PE and PESTE. Reflecting on why bodies are privileged and extended in these spaces while others are straightened and oriented toward normative ideals seems imperative to become aware of oppressive processes in these contexts (Ahmed, 2012; Standal, 2015).

Queering Dance and Queer Tango

In PE and PESTE, dance can be an activity in which gender performances may allow the proliferation of new ways of moving and behaving in heteronormative students. The study by Garrett and Wrench (2016) shows how dance lessons helped to broaden masculine associations in PE and took boys outside forms of movement identified and associated with hegemonic forms of masculinity. In tertiary education, the creation of dance compositions by male students in the dance section of the teacher education course also “made available new pleasures . . . and spaces for moving and ‘being’ in different ways” (Gard, 2003, p. 219).

The potential benefits of dance to perform genders in less prescriptive ways were not only appreciated in boys and heteronormative students. Devís-Devís, Pereira-García, López-Cañada, et al. (2018) describe a situation in which dance allowed Lucas, a trans boy in the closet, to perform the gender he identified with when there were not enough boys in PE to dance as leaders. This situation, which momentarily transgressed the heteronormative system, brought Lucas the opportunity to express his gender identity in a social context in which he normally could not. These examples provide us with a window into the potential of how dances with nonpredetermined gender roles can widen the students’ possibilities of body performances. On the other hand, man–woman roles that characterize many traditional dances, such as mainstream tango, can enforce the students to extremely embodied gender differences and heterosexual performance.

Queer tango, a modified version of tango, can offer PE and PESTE students the chance to embody new attitudes, gestures, and ways of moving and communicating with other people (DoCampo, 2015) by erasing gender restrictions and allowing same-sex participants to dance together. Queer tango has as a rule that each dancer should perform both leader and follower positions through dynamic exchanges of roles on the dance floor. Compared to traditional tango, queer tango also reduces the authority of the leader while empowering the follower, who has the privilege of initiating role exchanges. The job of leading is also shared between these two positions, or what is called “leading while following and following while leading” (Havmøller, 2018, pp. 29–30). These rules allow the dancers to achieve a power balance and fluidly experience roles associated with masculinities and femininities.

If mainstream PE and PESTE reproduce heteronormativity that can be incorporated and (re)produced by students, queer PE and PESTE based on embodied pedagogy promise to allow students to achieve a new type of situated and embodied knowledge through movement that enhances their awareness of this restrictive model and counteract it (Purser, 2018). Following Batchelor (2018), we consider that dancing queer tango, as a sociopolitical act in educational contexts, can challenge gendered power inequalities and promote new power relationships between students (DoCampo, 2015). Pedagogical experiences like queer tango may create spaces in which queerishness and diversity can flourish (Landi, 2018; Landi et al., 2020).

Methodology

Participants

A queer tango session of 90 min was carried out during 2016–2017 with four groups of 111 students (91 men and 19 women aged 19–22 years) who were studying “Movement Education,” a second-year subject in the Physical Activity and Sports Science Degree in Spain. In this subject, the students learn to identify the prevalent gender and sexual ideologies in sport and physical activities and the multiple mechanisms by which these ideologies are reproduced in these contexts.

The activity was led by a professional queer tango instructor who had been invited to the classroom to do an initiation queer tango class. The instructor and the students were strangers before the activity. Due to the large number of students, the session was done in four groups of approximately 25 students each on four different days. Most of the students had little experience of dance before the session, although some had limited experience dancing in organized classes, and some of them had studied Body Expression the previous semester, where they also had to dance with each other. As far as we know, no openly LGBTQ+ students attended the classes.

Procedure and Data Collection

A triangulation that combines several research methodologies or data sources in a single investigation adds credibility, trustworthiness, and complexity to any inquiry (Denzin, 2015). We particularly employed several techniques of data collection as a strategy to capture different dimensions of the phenomenon and get an in-depth understanding (Fielding, 2009). A combination of video recordings, interviews, and questionnaires were used to get richer and more rigorous data. We videotaped the four sessions to access facial expressions, body gestures, and movements in detail, which could be difficult to appreciate using traditional systematic observation (Grimshaw, 1982; Lomax & Casey, 1998). The greater density of data provided by video records was useful to interpret the complexity of students’ social interactions and helped to temporarily order what happens in the activity (Grimshaw, 1982). As the felt aspects of embodied experiences could not be registered with this methodology, we used questionnaires and interviews to collect this information (Simpson, 2011).

The sessions began with a warm-up and relaxing exercises. Then the undergraduates were invited to walk around the gym in a tango style and imagine they all were men and women. They were then asked to randomly choose a leader or follower role. After choosing, the students dressed in the typical gendered clothing, such as dresses, skirts, bow tie, and hats in order to facilitate their immersion in the normative gendered performances. Once the students were prepared, the leaders stayed at one end of the room and the followers at the other as in mainstream “tango salons” (Davis, 2015). With a gaze and a nod, the leaders chose their followers and walked toward them to embrace. In that position, the undergraduates learned the basic tango steps and arm positions. At first, they danced a “soft queer tango” (SQT), characterized by dancing both leader and follower roles following a traditional tango style and dancing in nonheteronormative couples. In this stage, students could opt to change dance roles and gender performances. A “hard queer tango” (HQT) version was then performed by the students, in which they incorporated other transformative queer elements into the activity, such as introducing a third dancer into the couple and diluting the leaders’ authority by sharing the

initiative between the dancers. These stages were based on two different pedagogical strategies employed during the session. The first was a linear model in which a director who gave instructions to the students was proposed in an SQT; this allowed the instructor to teach students the basic steps and parody, through exaggeration, the gender roles in tango. In the second, a nonlinear pedagogy was considered for an HQT to facilitate an independent learning environment in which the students could explore their own ways of moving without prescriptive and explicit instructions (Standal, 2015).

After the dance session, the students received a sheet of paper with open questions regarding their experiences and feelings about the performance. Some of the questions they answered freely and anonymously were: What do you think about the activity? What attracted your attention and why? How did you feel performing the roles of men/leaders and women/followers? Did you enjoy dancing in pairs? In which position? Why?

In this open-ended questionnaire, the students who wanted to participate in the second phase of the research could write down their email address or mobile phone to be contacted.

Finally, the undergraduates participated in an audio-recorded group debate about how the gendered dance roles were experienced and any other situations that arose during their performance.

In order to get their in-depth impressions of their experiences in dancing queer tango, we face-to-face interviewed 16 students (three women and 13 men) individually, in pairs, or in trios in a total of nine interviews following a semistructured script. To facilitate the remembrance of their experiences, the interviews started with the students watching some parts of the video records. Interviews were focused on their individual feelings and emotions in the session. Some relevant questions we asked them were: Did you feel uncomfortable or violent at any point of the session? How did you perform the men/leaders and women/followers roles? How did you feel wearing skirts/dresses/hats/bow tie in the queer tango session? What did you express through your body movements?

The interviews lasted an average of an hour and were transcribed verbatim. At the end, a total of 10 interviews (INT-1 to INT-10), four video recordings (VR-1 to VR-4), four audio recordings of the final debate (AR-1 to AR-4), and 111 questionnaires (Q-1 to Q-111) served as empirical data for the study.

Analysis

An inductive thematic analysis of the data set was carried out to organize, describe it in rich detail, and find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The visual and text-based data were both manually analyzed following the six phases of thematic analysis suggested by Nowell, Norris, White, and Moules (2017). First, we watched and read the empirical data sources several times to get familiar with the data and general impressions. Following an interpretative approach (Kaley, Hatton, & Milligan, 2019), we identified significant sections of the questionnaires, interviews, and video records and annotated the transcripts and visual material, including body movements and face gestures. After identifying topics in each of these sources, the research team discussed them until consensus on the most interesting and relevant aspects was reached. Preliminary themes were reviewed, combined, and renamed, and four key themes were finally identified: (a) (heteronormative) contact, (b) the queer tango in the curricula of Physical Activity and Sports Degree, (c) imagining being a different person, and (d) the performance of gender roles through dance. We agreed that the last was a topic that should be examined more in-depth, and

the first author carefully reread several transcriptions and questionnaires and watched the video recordings to encode the data.

Codes were assigned to each data unit using different coding methods as filters. The video recordings were analyzed by Descriptive Coding to get a general overview. An eclectic code based on Emotion and Values Coding was then used to analyze the interviews, the recordings of the final debates, and the questionnaires due to their appropriateness to explore interpersonal and intrapersonal experiences (Saldaña, 2013). After generating the initial codes to relevant text and video fragments relative to the performance of gender roles, codes were combined, sorted, and collated into potential provisional themes as to how they related to each other. The themes were named, defined, reviewed, and refined in an interactive process of constant moving back and forward between the coded data extracts and the entire data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell et al., 2017). Final themes were established through the writing process. The final report was written considering the notes collected throughout the whole process of analysis and articulating themes to ensure they fitted together.

The rest of the authors acted as critical friends that encouraged reflection throughout the critical dialogues that took place in regular meetings and enhanced in-depth reflections about the interpretations and explanations previously developed (Smith & McGannon, 2018). The use of different researchers, or what is called investigator triangulation, provided multiple viewpoints that contributed to understanding the complexity of the data (Denzin, 2015).

Ethical Issues

Ethical approval for this research was obtained from The Ethics Committee of the University of Valencia. Before the session, the students were informed about the voluntary nature of the activity and that they could withdraw at any point without further explanations to the teacher or queer tango instructor. Students were also guaranteed they would not be assessed by their (non)participation in the activity. For those who wanted to participate, an informed written consent was requested to record and use the data for research purposes. Although we assured the participants of anonymity and confidentiality in the written research reports, we explicitly notified them that they could appear in visual presentations in which fragments or video recording images were used to illustrate the session.

Apart from our ethical concern as researchers, as teachers we also acquired the obligation to provide safe and helpful spaces for students (Kumashiro, 2002; Saldaña, 2015). It is not always easy to create these spaces, and dilemmas and challenging circumstances for teachers emerge in unexpected situations. We were especially concerned about the possible negative impact of the session on unnoticed queer or nonheteronormative students. When some students reinforced some heteronormative attitudes, we had to face the ethical dilemma of interrupting the activity or letting them happen, in order to make stereotypes and oppressive gender ideologies emerge. In these situations, we assumed the impossibility of creating safe spaces for all the students and opted to focus on the value of the performative activity to stimulate debates and create sites for understanding daily experiences (Allen, 2015; Sutherland, 2013). Despite this, we asked the students to adjust their behavior according to their feelings, and the instructor recommended them not to participate if they felt very uncomfortable performing a particular gender (role). Even though some of us identified ourselves as heterosexual and cissexual teachers, we tried

not to reproduce heteronormativity during the session. We used neutral or queer formulas to refer to the students, and we avoided mentioning our sexualities to give the students the opportunity to imagine us as queer and be positive examples for them.

In a final debate, all the students were listened to without judgment, and we analyzed the diverse situations produced in the classroom with the students from a queering perspective (Saldaña, 2015). This way, we contributed to restoring queer agency while diminishing restrictive heteronormative behavior (Blume, 2003). At the end of the session, the queer tango instructor also apologized to the students in case any of them were negatively affected by the performance.

Results

The particular focus in our analysis of the findings was on the nuances and complexities that entail performing genders as well as on potential “risks” and “benefits” of reconstruction and deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities and normative femininities in queer tango.

Performing Hegemonic Masculinities

In a heteronormative and sport-based PESTE, male students usually adopt the domination, competitiveness, and authority that characterize hegemonic notions of masculinity. Thus, the queer tango session was an “out-of-place activity” that limited men’s abilities to perform masculinities in normative and desired ways. As tango organizes relationships between men and women (Savigliano, 2010), male students were involved in new negotiation processes of the hierarchical meanings of masculinities and femininities in contact and relation with other male and female students but also in contact with the instructor and the activity (Azzarito & Solmon, 2009; Davis, 2015; Wright, 1995). Many of them showed qualities related to dominant masculinities as a way of inhabiting the space and reproducing the regulative notions of heteronormativity. These men expressed attitudes of domination over others using physical strength even though strength was not really required for the activity. In a warm-up exercise, all of the students had to walk around the room, touch another person’s hand, and gaze into each other’s eyes. In response, some male students behaved roughly with shoves and pinches, even though the instructor made it clear that the touch should be friendly and not violent (VR-4). A student, Roberto, explained his behavior: “If you saw someone was going to push you, then you pushed at the same time to see who made the other move, to see who dominated and who turned away first” (INT-8). The male students ignored the instructor and demonstrated behavior that worked to define what was acceptable for boys in this lesson. In doing these performances, they silenced alternative expressions of masculinities and hindered the production of new masculinities.

When the instructor started the SQT activity, she aimed to use mimicry to perform hypermasculinity as a form of critique. She did this by overly exaggerating the meanings ascribed to the “leader” in traditional tango. In this dance, the leaders are expected to dominate and command the followers. The instructor explained the characteristics of students who danced as men/leaders: “[the man] who leads has to be stronger than the follower but has to be subtle. He has to order her without her noticing it” (VR-1). Many male students who had interiorized and identified with these premises actually felt more comfortable dancing in this position and dominating their partners (e.g., Q-10, Q-22, Q-30, and Q-33). They

moved in the space with ease and “extend their shape” (Ahmed, 2012, p. 40). Hegemonic masculinities are also characterized by performances that are overtly heterosexual and dominating during sexual performances. The students performed these attributes by simulating erections and penetrating movements to other male students, who were assigned the women/followers dance role (VR-1 and VR-4). According to Flintoff (2000), such displays of normative heterosexuality are common for male students in practical classes such as gymnastics or dance to deliberately “sexualize” situations by introducing sexual innuendo. This heterosexual “desire” was performed with giggles, and it was only possible insofar as the dancing couple had agreed that the follower was performing normative femininities. These students’ behaviors became the model for the rest of the people attending the session and reproduced regulatory heterosexual norms that govern relationships between students.

As there is never a single story, the male students presented a wide range of leader performances in complex and contradictory ways. Queer tango provided the men multiple opportunities to challenge hegemonic masculinities. For example, men are often expected to show no fear in the face of failure. These male students, however, showed moments of vulnerability where they could have lost social positioning because of their nonhegemonic performances (Jackson, 2010; Savigliano, 2010). For some of them, they started the activity not even imagining dancing with someone of the same sex. Yet, the queer tango challenged them to perform masculinities differently. The relevance of dancing in a close embrace and maintaining visual contact was emphasized by the instructor throughout the session. As the proximity with another man could be interpreted as a homosexual sign and a “lack of masculinity,” they often danced at a distance from their male partners. Some, such as Timoteo, found discomfort “to have to dance with his mates . . . be in contact with them” (INT-1). Although men had the opportunity to create new relationships with classmates, it was limited by the discomfort generated through touching other male bodies.

When the leaders had to invite the followers to dance with a *cabeceo* or nod of the head, some male students feared being rejected to the point of preferring not to dance as leaders (AR-4). Roberto (INT-8), who had fun performing heterosexual “desire,” did not fully fit into the ideal and behaved in contradictory ways to hegemonic masculinities, for example, by rejecting the leader’s control. For him, it was “violent” to perform that role: “One thing is that we both were doing it [leading] and a different thing is it was only me . . . I prefer it to be a matter of two.” Another student rejected hegemonic gendered notions when he confessed that he preferred to follow because he “usually had trouble making decisions for himself” (Q-86).

Masculinities are not bound to male students in queer tango, and female students also had the opportunity to perform in different ways. Women had to deal with power relationships, and most of them adopted a shy attitude and more constrained movements in the space (Standal, 2015). When asked to “walk like men,” they generally did not perform “masculinities” and stuck to previous embodied movements. Only two female students for a few seconds exaggeratedly moved their shoulders (VR-1).

Dancing in the leader’s position did not directly empower women. Most of the women preferred to dance as followers and recognized feeling less comfortable as leaders (INT-1). For instance, Anabel admitted feeling embarrassed acting as a leader (AR-3). Only one or two female students in each group freely opted to dance in this new role (VR 1–4). In this position, most women

felt more comfortable leading other women. Furthermore, male students who were followers of female leaders raised concerns about their leadership ability: “When girls are performing the male role, they have more difficulties in taking the initiative and inviting someone to dance. They are used to being invited by boys at parties” (AR-3). This sexist statement exemplifies how some male students attributed lower abilities and laziness to their female classmates’ behavior and left the responsibility for fighting against “gender tyranny” (Doan, 2010) to women.

Looking for more comforting practices, many female students preferred to remain invisible in the classroom and behaved not against the flow but subordinately, as women are expected to be. They accepted dominant gender hierarchies embodied in men’s leading (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The representation of dominant masculinities in the figure of the leader also made it difficult for women to identify with this role or produce alternative versions of masculinities. Some female students, however, felt comfortable leading, and their peers noticed their change of attitude. A surprised Alex said that the leader with whom he was dancing “was very demanding and she put me in my place” (INT-5). For some women, leading meant embodying men’s privileges in social relations in PESTE. For Marisa, “you feel you have the power” in this role (INT-9). Unfortunately, the qualities related to hegemonic masculinities are also more embedded in a certain kind of body (large and strong), and even if she felt comfortable leading, Marissa experienced that her short stature was an unexpected hindrance that made it difficult to succeed in her desire to perform that role: “I didn’t see what was behind, so I was afraid [the follower] would crash into somebody” (INT-9).

Performing Normative Femininities

In traditional tango, femininities are expressed through the follower role. In opposition to the role of men/leaders, the kind of femininities represented by followers is characterized by docility, low power, and initiative. This representation was equally highlighted by the instructor in an SQT, who explained that at *milongas*, the social events in which people are gathered to dance tango, “no woman complains because the consequences are terrible and the risk of not being led onto the dance floor again is high.” According to her “explanations,” women are “sensitive” and “too delicate to lead someone” (VR-1 and VR-3). These instructions were not well-accepted by all female students. Marisa, for instance, questioned the rigidity of gender roles in dance: “It cost me a lot because I thought why do I have to let someone lead when I could do it better than the one who is leading me?” (INT-9). Most of her peers, however, felt comfortable or enjoyed performing traditional femininities in which they did not have to lead (e.g., Q-5, Q-14, Q-24, and Q-34.). As the instructor did not emphasize seduction as an essential characteristic of the follower’s role, women moved “naturally” in the space without extra “feminizing” their movements or doing it seductively (VR-1). Many male students also chose to perform the follower role when they had the chance. Most of them preferred it because of its simplicity in comparison with the leader’s role and because this way they did not have to think of the steps they had to dance (e.g., Q-12, Q-26, Q-49, and Q-54). Some male students also felt comfortable performing some features attributed to femininities, and they chose to perform feminine gender expressions throughout the session. For many men, it did not mean a real exercise of empathy. In fact, one of the students explained that they did it “to laugh for a while” (AR-4). As “the ability and willingness of boys to have fun, joke, and display

confidence” is important in affirming masculinities (Fitzpatrick, 2013, p. 179), many male students had fun parodying hypersexualized and stereotyped femininities. Through the mockery of these femininities, male students demonstrated their lack of commitment in a “girly” activity such as dance (Flintoff, 2000), reconstructed heteronormative hierarchies, and created a simplistic representation of women (Schneider, 2013). As in Landi (2019) and Larsson et al. (2011), most male followers assumed certain ascribed materiality and simulated femininities with large breasts with socks as bra padding and performing “feminine” movements. These parodies, rather than destabilizing heteronormativity, reidealized it, consolidating the perceived naturalness of sex and gender (Lloyd, 1999; Shogan & Davidson, 1999). Jokes and laughs were especially present in the *cabeceo*, in which they had to “attract their [leader’s] attention without taking the initiative” (instructor in VR-1). Instead of a subtle seduction, some male students showed explicit sexual intentions that were not typical of the follower’s role. Lifting their dresses or skirts and showing their legs, opening their legs, moving their pelvis, or holding their “artificial” breasts were some of their behaviors to attract leaders (VR 1–4, INT-5, and INT-8).

The mockery of femininity censured and left little room for nontraditional gender performances and deconstruction in the PESTE classroom. Jokes are one way to police gendered expressions. In this class, jokes were widely accepted, and it was evident that heterosexual embodied performances of femininities and masculinities held greater capital in PESTE (Fitzpatrick & McGlashan, 2016). As PESTE is still a relatively “masculine” context, the pressure for women to adapt to dominant masculine ideals was present. Throughout the session, the social fear of being perceived as “other” reinforced power relations reinscribing dominant and heterosexual gendered performances (Jackson, 2010). One female student even showed a complicit masculinity, making fun of a sexualized role of women. She showed her leg and moved her hips imitating her classmates. This behavior motivated the rest of the students to continue performing this hypersexualized femininity: “I was one of the first boys to do it but she followed me At the beginning I was sorry but I saw that she was not sorry so . . . neither was I!” (AR-4). Apart from reproducing gender stereotypes, her behavior also could have enabled a certain sort of resistance. Her ability to joke about a sexualized femininity and distance herself from that role could mean a resistance to the norms that inhibit or constrain women’s bodies and physicality, “concomitantly constituting subjectivities relationally to masculine-like (albeit not altogether masculine) physicality” (Wrench & Garrett, 2017, p. 329).

The performance of other feminine attributes such as passivity was experienced differently by male students. Men felt uncomfortable when other male students approached them as objects of sexual desire. Arturo explained the reaction of one of his classmates: “I like [physical] contact and it happened to me that [when I got close] they moved backwards . . . [and said] ‘Don’t get too close, you like contact too much’” (INT-4). This rejection rendered homosexuality as illegitimate, unthinkable, and unviable in the classroom. As homosexuality represented the radical otherness and the violation of a heteronormative prohibition (Butler, 1993, 1995; Prieur, 1994), the homoerotic desire was repressed or hidden in PESTE (Landi, 2019).

The adoption of a docile and subordinate role of woman/follower prevented many male students from dancing. Some of them preferred to remain seated and refused the leaders’ request to dance in order to avoid this situation (INT-4). As performing

femininities meant losing power, dominance, and advantage in interpersonal relations, some students did not enjoy it, even those who freely decided to perform it: “What I do not want is to be led, at least [I would like] to have some initiative in dancing” (AR-3). Raúl also wanted to have control of the steps, and Jorge stated: “Basically, I do not feel good as a follower, not for being a woman but for letting someone lead me” (INT-6). In order to avoid feeling uncomfortable, some students adopted strategies to return to a secure and comfortable position. For instance, Jaime, as a follower, danced giving instructions to the leaders; “in the couple’s dance, the leader was the one who felt best acting as the leader [and not according to predetermined roles]” (Jaime, INT-6).

Blurring Genders: Toward a Nonrestrictive Tango

How students experienced gendered dance roles in SQT was influenced by how gendered they defined the activity and how they embodied, lived, and constructed femininities and masculinities outside it. The students who did not believe in restrictive gender expressions tended to enjoy performing both roles. For instance, Arturo, Blanca, and Diego, who believed that each person embodies feminine and masculine qualities, really appreciated the opportunity to dance both roles (INT-2, INT-3, and INT-4). Other students also felt comfortable focusing on role techniques and not perceiving them as gendered. For instance, Roberto stated: “I made some typical tango movements, such as throwing back my head, thinking that I was a follower but not thinking I was a woman” (INT-8). Moving this way, the student could express delicacy, softness, and kindness, attributes not generally ascribed to men in PESTE. Alex said, “As I had danced as a woman [in the follower role] many times before, I did it as a man. What is important is not to be more feminine or masculine” (INT-5). Blanca explained these feelings as follows:

Me too [in both roles]. In fact, it didn’t make a difference, if you are a man you have to act like a person, if you are a woman you have to act like a person. There are many stereotypes but, in the end, you are one, a person. I tried to be natural. (INT-8)

Some students really appreciated the opportunity to express diverse gender performances in SQT in contrast to the traditional tango, in which dancers are encouraged to conform to stereotyped binary gender/sexual roles (Beggan & Scott, 2014). Particularly, two students used the opportunity to recalibrate the power dynamics between gender on the dance floor: “This way we could interact with each other and be in other gender positions” (Q-64), and “Queer tango has taught me something else about tango, which is that is two people dance regardless of anything else” (Q-75).

During the sessions, the instructor herself also contributed to queering the activity by performing femininities and masculinities. She changed her clothing from a more “masculine” one based on baggy pants and jacket to a traditional tight feminine tango dress and make-up. Some students found it shocking and illustrative about what the queer tango session was: “When she changed [her clothes] I was surprised but I realized about what it was about and it wasn’t about dancing” (Timoteo, INT-1). What shocked the students most and what made her a queer instructor for them was she had not shaved her legs and armpits. As Timoteo explained: “It affected me. Especially because she wore that dress. It’s weird that a well-dressed girl comes without shaved armpits” (INT-1). The instructor contributed to subverting gender expectations, which motivated some students to perform in their own “queer” behaviors. For instance, Arturo found an accomplice in the instructor for

the performance of nonhegemonic aesthetical practices: “I like to shave. It is very comfortable, although it may seem weird . . . but if you don’t want to, don’t shave” (INT-4).

In an HQT, power relations were more easily blurred when students could dance in trios and groups. If at the beginning the person who was in the middle commanded, later no one was in charge of this role. The progressive disappearance of the follower and leader roles also contributed to blurring gender differences linked to dance roles. As the instructor explained, it was “a more complex way to dance” queer tango, in which the gender binaries were disrupted because “there were people with many different genders or people without gender” (VR-1). Thus, students could experience that something queer happened to them (Britzman, 1995). Breaking dance couples and dance binary roles that maintain and reproduced heteronormativity produced its symbolical final rupture in the queer tango session. Some students preferred to dance this HQT with no defined roles (Q-89), and other students, such as Alberto, considered “breaking up the couple scheme” as really shocking, as it implied breaking up the traditional couple relationship: “It is curious to change from couples to trios. I had not thought about sentimental relationships that wanted to be three or four [in dancing]” (INT-4).

At the end of the session, students and the instructor embraced in a communal hug “to be only one body” (Q-98). In this embrace, they could recognize other bodies touching and feeling theirs (INT-4), and they finally rocked together at the same time, intensifying this sense of unity: “I lived it as a moment of reflection in silence She tried to create a team atmosphere . . . , a very close group . . . sharing the living space” (INT-3). This final embrace questioned the relevance of gender identities and disrupted the power relations between the students in queer tango. If this last moment did not break real gender differences that contribute to creating the “Other” as distant and opposite (Butler, 1990), it broke the physical distance that separated the students in these PESTE sessions.

Although the students participated in a very queer activity, some male students found strategies to perform and reconstruct hegemonic forms of masculinities in HQT at the end of class. As “gender is stabilized through the installation of a firm heterosexuality” (Butler, 1995, p. 169), the previously mentioned mockery of femininities was accompanied by some offensive comments on homosexuality. For instance, when dancing in trios, some male students jokingly asked if the trio necessarily had to be between two men and a woman (VR-1 and VR-4). Some of them also made fun of homosexuality, simulating anal penetration while dancing in trios when they were behind one of the other two persons (VR-1). With these comments and behaviors, they attempted to straighten the activity using heterosexuality and validate their masculinities in PESTE.

Discussion

Queer tango was proposed in PESTE as an innovative queering pedagogical method to reflect upon and deconstruct traditional gender-normative and heteronormative behaviors and identities. The students were asked to perform indistinctly leader and follower roles in order to produce new relationships and open up to new identifications that contravene traditional heteronormative tango based on the men/leaders and women/followers binaries. The results supported Kumashiro’s (2002) warning regarding the assumption that only the performance of different roles can easily lead to queering is pretentious. Heteronormative values and expectations are imprinted on bodies, and findings reveal that

encounters between students on the dance floor were full of heteronormative behaviors and power relationships (Thorpe, 2009).

Some female students avoided performing the role that did not correspond to their gender identities, and many male students used jokes to perpetuate stereotypes and their gender privileges in a context in which they could lose power and their status as men. These jokes illustrated that the identification with masculinities required the primitive prohibition of homosexuality and femininities (Butler, 1995). In these situations, the students contributed to a heteronormative system in PESTE when they reproduced gender inequities (Kumashiro, 2002).

Pedagogical actions produce numerous potential effects (Lloyd, 1999). The queer tango session produced an opportunity for queer embodiment among the PESTE students that opened up “the possibility for new kinds of queer relationships with oneself and others and to the creation of queer spaces themselves” (Rodríguez, 2016, p. 411). As queerness (as well as straightness) can be embodied in diverse ways (Lloyd, 1999), maybe the mockery of femininity and homosexuality could have provided male students a safe context in which to perform nonheteronormative behaviors without losing their privileges. The physical contact between male students specifically could have allowed them to re-think masculinities in PESTE and create new relations between them. In the session, some female students also experienced the power of performing masculinities and leadership in tango. Another transformative element of the practice was the instructor, who contributed to unpacking and deconstructing genders and creating moments of abjection from which the students could also emerge as queer (Waite, 2017). Additionally, the discomfort students felt performing some gendered dance roles turned out to be pedagogically valuable (Zembylas, 2015). The students reflected on how genders were inscribed in their body-selves, “challenging dominant beliefs, social habits, and normative practices that sustain social inequities” (p. 170).

The main limitation of this study is its limited knowledge of the students’ background and sexualities in the interview and questionnaire. Such information would have allowed us to better understand the experiences they had in queer tango sessions in order to design more accurate future queer activities for the four groups. Following Devís-Devís and Sparkes (1999), we think that creating transformative practices in meaningful ways requires having an understanding of students’ biographical experiences. Another important limitation is the reduced presence of female students in PESTE and queer tango activity that affected the amount of data collected according to participants’ genders. The smaller amount of data collected regarding women’s experiences may have led us to give more attention to men’s views and ways of (re)constructing traditional gender roles. Future studies should overcome this limitation and focus particularly on women’s views and performance of genders.

It is difficult to say how effective the sessions were in deconstructing genders in the long term or in students acquiring a critical view of heteronormativity, as we do not exactly know what students actually learned, and there was an absence of existing instructions to easily develop queer pedagogy (Kumashiro, 2002). In any case, activities like queer tango may encourage students to adopt “embodied models of less prescriptive attitudes which are also desirable in life” (Batchelor, 2015, p. 117) and encourage them to “queer” their understanding of themselves, widening their possibilities of being in the world. Queer tango has also been a useful tool “to interrogate epistemological, empirical and pedagogical ethics and practices”

(Inkle, 2002, p. 159). In this queer pedagogical practice, the use of heteronormativity as the base for deconstructing gender roles was paradoxical. Stereotypes offered us good opportunities to indicate to the students how heteronormativity acts through people’s beliefs and behaviors (Larsson et al., 2014). However, the risk of perpetuating and reinforcing stereotypes existed. In the light of the results, we consider that developing mechanisms to reduce manifestations of hegemonic masculinity is an important future challenge that PESTE teachers should face up to. As PESTE is a realm traditionally reserved for men in which male students and masculine-considered values predominate, the space for femininities and other nonhegemonic masculine behaviors is limited (Wrench & Garrett, 2017). In this context, stereotypes and mockeries could discourage and undermine those students who do not perform hegemonic masculinities in these sessions.

This does not mean that the queer tango session was a failed queer pedagogical practice or that substantial changes should be made to the practice. We mainly conclude that an isolated activity is not enough, and more queer pedagogical practices should be developed in order to make meaningful changes to mainstream students’ ideology and behavior. The support of educational centers is essential to develop queer pedagogical practices and queering policies, curriculum, and spaces (Toomey et al., 2002). We consider that social justice should be placed at the core of PE and PESTE (Walton-Fisette, Richards, Centeo, Pennington, & Hopper, 2019) and that queer pedagogies can persuade heteronormative or non-queer students to welcome others’ diversity and approach a just PE and PESTE (Britzman, 1995). These practices should be aimed at enhancing the empathic imagination of the “Other” through embodied pedagogies that improve the students’ capacity to approach other genders, embrace vulnerability and dependence on others, and reduce other oppressive behaviors (Zembylas, 2015). Following Taylor and Cuthbert (2019), we consider that only the queer pedagogy that does not directly affirm students’ sexuality or identity can provide supportive space for queer students. Finally, the queer tango sessions revealed the challenges we confronted to provide a context for opening up gender restrictions and reducing heteronormative privileges. We hope this study gives rise to new ideas and reflections on how to further develop queer pedagogy in PESTE and broaden societal transformation.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the reviewers and the associate editor of *JTPE* for their excellent comments and feedback that have helped us to improve this paper.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included. Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Allen, L. (2015). Queer pedagogy and the limits of thought: Teaching sexualities at university. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 34(4), 763–775. doi:10.1080/07294360.2015.1051004
- Azzarito, L., & Katzew, A. (2010). Performing identities in physical education: (En)gendering fluid selves. *Research Quarterly for Exercise & Sport*, 81(1), 25–37. PubMed ID: 20387396 doi:10.1080/02701367.2010.10599625
- Azzarito, L., & Solmon, M. (2009). An investigation of students’ embodied discourses in physical education: A gender project. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 28(2), 173–191 doi:10.1123/jtpe.28.2.173

- Batchelor, R. (2015). Queer tango as tool for change: A case for the sharing of insights with others. In B. Havmoeller, R. Batchelor, & O. Aramo (Eds.), *The queer tango book ideas, images and inspiration in the 21st century* (pp. 113–117). Aarhus, Denmark: Birthe Havmoeller/Queertangobook.org. ISBN 978-87-998024-1-8.
- Batchelor, R. (2018). Dancing to change the world: Is the dancing of queer tango good politics? Paper presented at the PoP MOVES Conference “Memory, Migration & Movement.” Paris: Université de Paris Nanterre.
- Beggan, J.K., & Scott, A. (2014). Leading, following and sexism in social dance: Change of meaning as contained secondary adjustments. *Leisure Studies*, 33(5), 508–532. doi:10.1080/02614367.2013.833281
- Blume, L.B. (2003). Embodied [by] dance: Adolescent de/constructions of body, sex and gender in physical education. *Sex Education*, 3(2), 95–103. doi:10.1080/14681810309035
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Britzman, D.P. (1995). Is there a queer pedagogy? Or, stop reading straight. *Educational Theory*, 45(2), 151–165. doi:10.1111/j.1741-5446.1995.00151.x
- Bryson, & de Castell, S. (1993). Queer pedagogy: Praxis makes im/perfect. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 18(3), 285–305. doi:10.2307/1495388
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble. Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter. On the discursive limits of “sex”*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1995). Melancholy gender-refused identification. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 5(2), 165–180. doi:10.1080/10481889509539059
- Chapman, J., Sykes, H., & Swedberg, A. (2003). Wearing the secret out: Performing stories of sexual identities. *Youth Theatre Journal*, 17(1), 27–37. doi:10.1080/08929092.2003.10012548
- Clarke, G. (1998). Queering the pitch and coming out to play: Lesbians in physical education and sport. *Sport, Education and Society*, 3(2), 145–160. doi:10.1080/1357332980030202
- Coll, L. (2019). ‘Somewhere over the rainbow’: Queer(y)ing physical education teacher education. In J.L. Walton-Fisette, S. Sutherland, & J. Hill (Eds.), *Teaching about social justice issues in physical education* (pp. 241–254). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Coll, L., Enright, E., & O’Sullivan, M. (2014). The dangers of a single story: Heteronormativity in physical education. In S.B. Flory, S. Sanders, & A. Tischler (Eds.), *Sociocultural issues in physical education: Case studies for teachers* (pp. 101–114). New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Connell, R.W., & Messerschmidt, J.W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity. Rethinking the concept. *Gender and society*, 19(6), 829–859. doi:10.1177/0891243205278639
- Davis, K. (2015). *Dancing tango. Passionate encounters in a globalizing world*. New York: New York University Press.
- Denzin, N.K. (2015). Triangulation. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology* (pp. 5083–5088). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Devís-Devís, J., & Sparkes, A.C. (1999). Burning the book: A biographical study of a pedagogically inspired identity crisis in physical education. *European Physical Education Review*, 5, 135–152.
- Devís-Devís, J., Pereira-García, S., Fuentes-Miguel, J., López-Cañada, E., & Pérez-Samaniego, V. (2018). Opening up to trans persons in Physical Education–Sport Tertiary Education: Two case studies of recognition in queer pedagogy. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 23(6), 623–635. doi:10.1080/17408989.2018.1485142
- Devís-Devís, J., Pereira-García, S., López-Cañada, E., Pérez-Samaniego, V., & Fuentes-Miguel, J. (2018). Looking back into trans persons’ experiences in heteronormative secondary physical education contexts. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 23(1), 103–116. doi:10.1080/17408989.2017.1341477
- Doan, P.L. (2010). The tyranny of gendered spaces–Reflections from beyond the gender dichotomy. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 17(5), 635–654. doi:10.1080/0966369X.2010.503121
- DoCampo, M. (2015). What is queer tango? In B. Havmoeller, R. Batchelor, & O. Aramo (Eds.), *The Queer tango book; Ideas, images and inspiration in the 21st century* (pp. 13–18). Aarhus, Denmark: Birthe Havmoeller/Queertangobook.org. ISBN 978-87-998024-1-8
- Fielding, N.G. (2009). Going out on a limb postmodernism and multiple method research. *Current Sociology*, 57(3), 427–447. doi:10.1177/0011392108101591
- Fitzpatrick, K. (2013). *Critical pedagogy, physical education and urban schooling*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Fitzpatrick, K., & McGlashan, H. (2016). Rethinking “straight pedagogy”: Gender, sexuality and physical education. In D.B. Robinson & L. Randall (Eds.), *Social justice in physical education: Critical reflections and pedagogies for change* (pp. 102–121). Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Scholar Press Inc.
- Flintoff, A. (2000). Sexism and homophobia in physical education: The challenge for teacher educators. In K. Green & K. Hardman (Eds.), *Physical education: A reader* (pp. 291–313). UK: Meyer & Meyer Sport.
- Fuentes-Miguel, J., Pereira-García, S., López-Cañada, E., Pérez-Samaniego, V., & Devís-Devís, D. (2016). Orientaciones para una educación física trans inclusiva [Orientations for a trans inclusive physical education]. *Tándem: Didáctica de la Educación Física*, 54, 45–50.
- Gard, M. (2003). Being someone else: Using dance in anti-oppressive teaching. *Educational Review*, 55(2), 211–223. doi:10.1080/0013191032000072236
- Gard, M. (2008). When a boy’s gotta dance: New masculinities, old pleasures. *Sport, Education and Society*, 13(2), 181–193. doi:10.1080/13573320801957087
- Garrett, R., & Wrench, A. (2016). Redesigning pedagogy for boys and dance in physical education. *European Physical Education Review*, 24(1), 97–113. doi:10.1177/1356336X16668201
- Grimshaw, A. (1982). Sound-image data records for research on social interaction: Some questions answered. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 11 (2), 121–144. doi:10.1177/0049124182011002002
- Harrison, R., & Shipley, C. (2019). Disrupting the heteronormative and homophobic culture within physical education: Creating inclusive spaces in the gymnasium. In J. L. Walton-Fisette, S. Sutherland, & J. Hill (Eds.), *Teaching about social justice issues in physical education* (pp. 255–266). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Havmøller, B. (2018). 10 Dogme rules for the dance style of ‘Queer tango’. In B. Havmøller (Ed.), *Queer tango Salon London 2017* (pp. 28–33). Aarhus, Denmark: Birthe Havmøller, Queertangobook.org. ISBN 978-87-998024-2-5.
- Havmoeller, B., Batchelor, R., & Aramo, O. (2015). *The queer tango book: Ideas, images and inspiration in the 21st century*. Aarhus, Denmark: Birthe Havmoeller/Queertangobook.org.
- Inkle, K. (2002). Embodying diversity: Pedagogies of transformation. In Y. Taylor (Ed.), *Educational diversity* (pp. 159–179). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jackson, C. (2010). Fear in education. *Educational Review*, 62(1), 39–52. doi:10.1080/00131910903469544
- Kaley, A., Hatton, C., & Milligan, C. (2019). More than words: The use of video in ethnographic research with people with intellectual

- disabilities. *Qualitative Health Research*, 29(7), 931–943. PubMed ID: 30520345 doi:10.1177/1049732318811704
- Kleinubing, N.D., Saraiva, M.C., & Francisci, V.G. (2013). A dança no ensinomedio: Reflexões sobre estereótipos de gênero e movimento [Dance in high school: Reflections on gender stereotypes and movement]. *Revista Da Educacao Física/ UEM*, 24(1), 71–82.
- Kumashiro, K. (2002). *Troubling education. Queer activism and anti-oppressive pedagogy*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Landi, D. (2018). Toward a queer inclusive physical education. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 23(1), 1–15. doi:10.1080/17408989.2017.1341478
- Landi, D. (2019). Queer men, affect, and physical education. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11(2), 168–187. doi:10.1080/2159676X.2018.1504230
- Landi, D., Flory, S.B., Safron, C., & Martinen, R. (2020). LGBTQ research in physical education: A rising tide? *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 25(3), 259–273. doi:10.1080/17408989.2020.1741534
- Larsson, H., Quennerstedt, M., & Öhman, M. (2014). Heterotopias in physical education: Towards a queer pedagogy? *Gender and Education*, 26(2), 135–150. doi:10.1080/09540253.2014.888403
- Larsson, H., Redelius, K., & Fagrell, B. (2011). Moving (in) the heterosexual matrix. On heteronormativity in secondary school physical education. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 16(1), 67–81. doi:10.1080/17408989.2010.491819
- Light, R. (2008). Boys, the body, sport and schooling. *Sport, Education and Society*, 13(2), 127–130. doi:10.1080/13573320801957046
- Lisahunter (2019). What a queer space is HPE, or is it yet? Queer theory, sexualities and pedagogy. *Sport, Education and Society*, 24, 1–12.
- Lloyd, M. (1999). Performativity, parody, politics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 195–213. doi:10.1177/02632769922050476
- Lomax, H., & Casey, N. (1998). Recording social life: Reflexivity and video methodology. *Sociological Research Online*, 3 (2), 121–146. doi:10.5153/sro.1372
- López-Cañada, E., Devís-Devís, J., Pereira-García, S., & Pérez-Samaniego, V. (2019). Socio-ecological analysis of trans people's participation in physical activity and sport. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 1–19.
- Luhmann, S. (1998). Queering? Querying pedagogy? or, pedagogy is a pretty queer thing. In W.F. Pinar (Ed.), *Queer theory in education* (pp. 141–156). New York: Routledge.
- McDonough, S., Forgasz, R., Berry, A., & Taylor, M. (2016). All brain and still no body: Moving towards a pedagogy of embodiment in teacher education. In D. Garbett & A. Ovens (Eds.), *Enacting self-study as methodology for professional inquiry* (pp. 433–441). Herstmonceux Castle, East Sussex, England: Self-Study of Teacher Education Practice.
- Murray, O.J. (2015). *Queer inclusion in teacher education. Bridging theory, research, and practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Nguyen, D.J., & Larson, J.B. (2015). Don't forget about the body: Exploring the curricular possibilities of embodied pedagogy. *Innovative Higher Education*, 40(4), 331–344. doi:10.1007/s10755-015-9319-6
- Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E., & Moules, N.J. (2017). Thematic analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 16 1, 160940691773384. doi:10.1177/1609406917733847
- Pérez-Samaniego, V., Fuentes-Miguel, J., Pereira-García, S., & Devís-Devís, J. (2016). Abjection and alterity in the imagining of transgender in physical education and sport: A pedagogical approach in higher education. *Sport, Education, and Society*, 21(7), 985–1002. doi:10.1080/13573322.2014.981253
- Perry, M., & Medina, C. (2011). Embodiment and performance in pedagogy research. Investigating the possibility of the body in curriculum experience. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 27(3), 62–75.
- Pinar, W.F. (1998). *Queer theory in education*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Prieur, A. (1994). 'I am my own special creation': Mexican homosexual transvestites' construction of femininity. *Young*, 2(3), 3–17. doi:10.1177/110330889400200302
- Purser, A. (2018). Toward a queer phenomenology of queer tango. In B. Havmøller (Ed.), *Queer tango Salon London 2017*. (pp. 23–27) Queer tango Project Publication. Aarhus, Denmark: Birtne Havmøller, Queertangobook.org. ISBN 978-87-998024-2-5.
- Risner, D. (2007) Rehearsing masculinity: Challenging the 'boy code' in dance education. *Research in Dance Education*, 8(2), 139–153. doi:10.1080/14647890701706107
- Rodríguez, N.M. (2016). Trans generosity. In N.M. Rodríguez, W.J. Martino, J.C. Ingrey, & E. Brockenbrough (Eds.), *Critical concepts in queer studies and education. An international guide for the twenty-first century* (pp. 407–420). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (2nd ed.) London: SAGE Publications.
- Saldaña, J. (2015). *Thinking qualitatively: Methods of mind*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Saraç, L., & McCullick, B. (2017). The life of a gay student in a university physical education and sports department: A case study in Turkey. *Sport, Education and Society*, 22(3), 338–354. doi:10.1080/13573322.2015.1036232
- Savigliano, M. (2010). Notes on tango (as) queer (commodity). *Anthropological Notebooks*, 16(3), 135–143.
- Schneider, B. (2013). Heteronormativity and queerness in traditional heterosexual Salsa communities. *Discourse & Society*, 24(5), 553–571. doi:10.1177/0957926513486071
- Shlasko, G.D. (2005) Queer (v.) Pedagogy. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 38(2), 123–134. doi:10.1080/10665680590935098
- Shogan, D., & Davidson, J. (1999). Parody of the gay games: Gender performativity in sport. *Journal of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Studies Association*, 1, 87–108.
- Simpson, P. (2011). "So, as you can see . . ." some reflections on the utility of video methodologies in the study of embodied practices. *Area*, 43(3), 343–352. doi:10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.00998.x
- Smith, B., & McGannon, K.R. (2018). Developing rigor in qualitative research: Problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 11(1), 101–121. doi:10.1080/1750984X.2017.1317357
- Standal, Ø.F. (2015). *Phenomenology in physical education*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Stone, A. (2013). Flexible queers, serious bodies: Transgender inclusion in queer spaces. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 60(12), 1647–1665. PubMed ID: 24175886 doi:10.1080/00918369.2013.834209
- Sutherland, A. (2013). The role of theatre and embodied knowledge in addressing race in South African higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 38(5), 728–740. doi:10.1080/03075079.2011.593620
- 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. doi:10.1123/ssj.15.2.154
- Sykes, H. (2011). *Queer bodies: Sexualities, genders, & fatness in physical education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Taylor, Y., & Cuthbert, K. (2019). Queer religious youth in faith and community schools. *Educational Review*, 71(3), 382–396. doi:10.1080/00131911.2017.1423279
- Thorpe, H. (2009). Bourdieu, feminism and the physical culture: Gender reflexivity and the habitus-field complex. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 26(4), 491–516. doi:10.1123/ssj.26.4.491
- Toomey, R.B., McGuire, J.K., & Russell, S.T. (2002). Heteronormativity, school climates, and perceived safety for gender nonconforming

- peers. *Journal of Adolescents*, 35(1), 187–196. doi:[10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.03.001](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.03.001)
- Trujillo, G. (2015). Pensar desde otro lugar, pensar lo impensable: Hacia una pedagogía queer. *Educacao e Pesquisa*, 41, 1527–1540. doi:[10.1590/S1517-9702201508142550](https://doi.org/10.1590/S1517-9702201508142550)
- Waite, S. (2017). *Teaching queer. Radical possibilities for writing and knowing*. Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Walton-Fisette, J.L., Richards, K.A.R., Centeio, E.E., Pennington, T.R., & Hopper, T. (2019). Exploring future research in physical education: Espousing a social justice perspective. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 90(4), 440–451. PubMed ID: [31188074](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/31188074/) doi:[10.1080/02701367.2019.1615606](https://doi.org/10.1080/02701367.2019.1615606)
- Ward, J., & Schneider, B. (2009). The reaches of heteronormativity. *Gender and Society*, 23(4), 433–439. doi:[10.1177/0891243209340903](https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209340903)
- Wrench, A., & Garrett, R. (2017.) Gender encounters: Becoming teachers of physical education. *Sport, Education and Society*, 22(3), 321–337. doi:[10.1080/13573322.2015.1032922](https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2015.1032922)
- Wright, J. (1995). A feminist poststructuralist methodology for the study of gender construction in physical education: Description of a study. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 15(1), 1–24. doi:[10.1123/jtpe.15.1.1](https://doi.org/10.1123/jtpe.15.1.1)
- Zembylas, M. (2015). ‘Pedagogy of discomfort’ and its ethical implications: The tensions of ethical violence in social justice education. *Ethics and Education*, 10(2), 163–174. doi:[10.1080/17449642.2015.1039274](https://doi.org/10.1080/17449642.2015.1039274)