LESBIANS, BISEXUALS, CISGENDER, PROFESSORS: NOTES ABOUT SCHOOL DAILY ROUTINE

Ariane Celestino Meireles¹
Marcelo dos Santos Mamed²
Lucimary Hoffman³

ABSTRACT
This paper presents dialogues between researcher-activists of gender matters and sexuality with lesbian and bisexual teachers of the public education system of Vitória in the state of Espírito Santo in Brazil regarding themes related to sexual diversity at school. It presents reports of cisgender teachers about their difficulty in dealing with sexual diversity at school. This paper reports the impressions of teachers about this theme focusing on the implications of belonging to certain sexual groups and categories of gender and how it affects their teaching performance. It also shows that the school environment is permeated with prejudice where lesbian-homo-trans-and bisexual phobias are part of heteronormative discourses that oblige lesbian and bisexual teachers to hide their sexual orientation as a sort of protection and strategy to gain professional respect.

KEYWORDS
Sexual diversity, lesbian visibility, sexual education, school routine, lesbian phobia.

This research will treat a group of different people, different in many aspects, but with at least two common aspects between them: they are all women and teachers. Some of them work with children, others with adolescents and others with young adults. Some of them live in Espírito Santo’s capital, Vitória. Others live and work in the countryside of the state in different cities. Some of them claim themselves as lesbians or bisexuals, while others claim themselves as heterosexual still, and another one who does not feel like she belongs in the LGBT⁴ letters. They are women who talk about themselves, their work field, the students they have to deal with almost every day, the situations in the school that intimidate or encourage them, the situations that make them think, that urge them to study, that boost them to live non-normative sexual expressions, that make them infer and interfere. This paper gathers fragments of stories of professionals that were collected in the last decade and that allow a reflection and other questions,

[...] about dimensions of heteronormativity present in daily school routines that impregnates the curriculum, create power nets, control and surveillance, that promotes the frontier of hetero(normality), produces classifications, tiering, privileges, stigmatization, marginalization, that compromises the right to quality education and involve the exercise of a mutilated citizenship (Junqueira, 2014, p.100)

¹ PhD student in Educational Sciences (University of Porto); Master in Social Policy (UFES); teacher of the municipal system in Vitória; Activist in the movement of black women and Santa Sapata - lesbians and bisexuals of the state of Espírito Santos. <arianemeireles@globo.com>
² PhD student in Psychology and Master in Psychology; Clinical Psychologist, Linguist (University of Lausanne);
³ PhD student in Educational Sciences and Master in Educational Sciences (University of Lausanne); pedagogue; teacher; activist in social movements for racial and gender equality. <lhoffman@hotmail.fr>
⁴ Lesbian, Bisexual, Transsexual, Transgender.
The hereby presented have occurred on different occasions, some of them being established dialogues in informal circles, in conversation circles promoted by social movements and also in formation courses about gender and sexuality, in which we act as trainers.

Our route is marked by personal interest in the gender and sexuality theme and by the professional involvement as professors and psychologists; we also belong to the homosexual and cisgender category, which we do not adopt as a political statement any longer.

To register the sexual identities of teachers as well as ours, as authors, make us restless from what we understand about the fluidity of these identity markers, in line with what Tomás Tadeu da Silva (2000), Guacira Louro (2010) Stuart Hall (1999), Fernando Pocahy (2013) and many others think, that understanding that identity affirmations are part of a questionable political orchestration. We realized the need to refer to them to make us understand. Therefore, we will use the expressions lesbians, bisexual, transsexual and cisgender in this text.

We spoke with teachers to get to know what they bring in terms of findings, omissions, conflicts and leanings about sexual diversity.

Sapa\textsuperscript{5} teachers, some stories

We call sapa teachers, lesbian and bisexual women, with whom we talked to in Vitoria, in circles of conversations we promoted for the social movements between 2008 and 2012. These dialogues about Sexual Diversity at the School were open to all the education professionals and, in some of them there was a huge attendance of lesbian and bisexual teachers that we’ve known.

We use the expression “sapa”, a term reinterpreted by Brazilian’s lesbian and bisexual activists, and it is a reduction of the expression ‘sapatão’, frequently used in Brazil to stigmatize women that relates affectively and sexually with other women. The expression lesbian to most of the teachers we talked to, sounds uncomfortable.

We noticed clearly this uncomfortableness every time that we used this expression. Some of them verbalized how awful the word sound for them, and other women in the group encouraged them to reinforce it. This makes us consider the use of the expression lesbian […] it seems to be a “privilege” of feminist homosexuals that, when they recognize one another, tend to emphasize the political aspect of the homosexual option: the denial, in practice, is related to the power status established by heterosexuality, where man dominates woman (Luis Octavio Rodrigues, AQUINO, 1995, p.34).

We take the chance of the concept of use to bring the point of view of a lesbian activist about this subject, rescued from a relic text: copy of Boletim Chanacomchana\textsuperscript{6}, 1982:

The word lesbian is derivate from Lesbos, an island in Greece where lived one of the greatest woman poets of the antiquity, Safo, whose work has survived to time and the repression of Christian misogyny, though fragmentary, but symbolized and still symbolizes not only the love between women, but also mainly the revolt against male oppression that always gave women

\textsuperscript{5} Sapa: A correspondent of this expression in English could be Butch, but Sapa has a lighter connotation.

\textsuperscript{6} The document does not record the activist’s name nor pagination.
the role of slaves and merely reproducing apparatus. Safo immortalized love between women through shiny poems that trespassed, widely, the preparation of objectives for marriage proposed by the feminine circles where they taught art to women in her time. From her courage and her love to women, on the island of Lesbos, came this word so damned that the patriarchal system constantly tries to misrepresent. For us, therefore, to self-denominate as lesbian is not only a form of affirmation of our specific sexuality, but much more than that, it means a refusal policy stance of the submissive and dependent role attributed to women and a proposal for disobedience and autonomy in the search new ways of seeing the world.

Continuing, then, talking about these teachers. In the perspective of a first encounter with only lesbian and bisexual teachers in the year of 2012, we counted with ten women and we managed to talk with nine of them to present the proposal of a dialogue that consisted in getting to know their impressions about sexual education. We were interested to know: do these teachers treat questions about sexuality openly? Do they face prejudice? How do they react face to lesbo/bi/homo/trans phobia in case they face it?

We talked to nine of them individually to invite them, five of them denied immediately after the first approach. In their justification, they claimed that they do not like the subject, that they have difficulty to talk about it and that they fear the risk of visibility, that is, that their identities were declared even accidentally, to cite one of them. Of the five teachers that denied, three of them work as physical educators, one is pedagogue and one teaches Portuguese. They all had, at least, three years of experience in municipal schools in Vitoria and all of them are teachers of the permanent board of Educational Secretary. We considered relevant this information, once one of the reasons presented by some lesbian women to keep their orientation in secrecy is related to the fear of being fired from their jobs. As all were employed of the municipal net, the fear of losing their jobs did not apply to group.

One of the teacher that denied was, at the time, a school principal whom we will name Ana, but did not declared openly that she refused to participate to the dialogue, but in other words she said it during a conversation. She revealed that she did not like this subject nor did she agree with the acts of the LGBT social movements. In her words:

“People involved in the LGBT movement lose track of things, not respect anyone, they want to go out kissing in the street, making a scene. For me this is ridiculous.”

I understand that Ana refused to participate in the dialogue in this first contact, we anticipated it and we asked if she had experienced some prejudice situation at school because of her sexual orientation. Ana said no, she had never gone through any situation like this, except when she applied as principal of that school.

“There was an opposing candidate who played fouly, talking to people, students and parents of the students a lot of bullshit.

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7 To work at the municipal schools in Brazil, one must pass a test of the government and once they are approved they have a indefinite position, which provides security and a certain stability.

8 Fictitious name
We asked her what did she considered to be “bullshit” and she answered that it was insinuations about her sexual orientation as a resource of the opponent to promote an positive evaluation of her own candidacy among the students and their relatives.

It caught our attention that at the same time she said she had never suffered prejudice, she also revealed an alarming situation where the opposing candidate used her lesbian sexual orientation to cast doubt on her professional competence. Furthermore, Ana had never been presented as a lesbian at school, as she reported. Distrust on her sexual orientation, we suppose, part from her masculine appearance.

Guilherme Almeida (2005) affirms, about this theme, that lesbian women with masculine appearances have more difficulty to establish themselves as subject of law and worthy of respect and admiration in comparison to the more feminine lesbians. In the social imaginary it is even common sense that it “might be gay or lesbian, but need not to be affected or butch” phrase commonly expressed when it comes to what Alexander Nortolini (2008, p.13) calls “conditional acceptance”. In other words, acceptance is even possible, provided they forego gender stereotypes that do not correspond to what is expected for a woman. In this sense, teacher Ana at least esthetically, seemed to bother the eyes and the conceptions of what is to be a woman of the opposing candidate, accused of being a lesbian and therefore less able to exercise the school’s principal function. At the time, Ana was in her second year as director at the same school.

We saw the refusal to join the conversation circle with concern. The fear of being discovered, shame, denial of lesbianism / bisexuality, the masks used to hide sexual orientation (use of female accessories, fake stories about boyfriends or a fiancé), in short, the everyday stress due to fear of discover their secret greatly affect the mental health of lesbian women.

We conduct the dialogue, then with four teachers, who are named as follows: Sol (physical education), Mel (history), Purpurina (Portuguese) and Flor (pedagogue). Here the teachers, by themselves, starting with the Sol:

“I’m gay, white, Christian, and I work with children’s education. I never spoke openly that I am gay, but people are suspicious and there is gossiping in the school. That bothers me a lot. It’s happened twice in different schools, the principals call me to ask me if I was, saying that there was much gossip with my name. I have never denied. In both cases I said yes, I was.”

Sol continues her presentation talking a little about the everyday routine in preschools of Vitória:

“When there is any subject about sexuality, the teachers immediately tell the children to shut up, telling them that this is not child’s issue. I don’t. I let it go naturally and I talk, I explain, I encourage the children to think. This also helps my fame, I know, but I do not let go unnoticed anything that seems prejudice, any prejudice. I think this also helps them to think something of me.”

Louro (2010, p.138) about this subject, comments that “if a person speaks, in a sympathetic way about gays and lesbians, they become suspected of being gay,” and that feeling

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of fear of exposure can result in inhibition to discuss the subject in school. Teacher Sol said that she does not bother with it.

Let’s see what teacher Mel says about her:

“I’m history teacher. I declare myself as white, non-practicing Catholic. I find it funny that, this story of non-practicing Catholic, but that’s how I want to introduce myself. I have my faith in some saints. I do not fit into any of these little letters that boxes people. I do not want to be boxed into anything. What I know is that I like to relate to men and women it depends on who I meet, how I feel with the person. I hate patterns”

Mel reports that she did not like to touch the issue of sexuality in school directly, but she talks about it within the perspectives of the discipline she teaches. This is the way for her to speak of respect for diversity.

When asked if she witnessed any prejudice situation on sexual orientation in their school, she revealed:

“We had a teacher there who had a very quick passage. The teacher even had a very good training, master degree ... Portuguese teacher. He was a homosexual teacher, gay, in a very gay way, with all the stereotype, characteristics, traits, right? And I remember that the students thus ended with him ... like every gay teacher suffers it. Students ridiculed him. I think he was not even a week. It reached a point, he left, and he ran out of the school and left, just left. Did not stay. Dropped. “I won’t stay in this place!” He shouted. He left agenda, left everything, he went away and then I had mutual friends with him. They said he was traumatized. He said: “I never want to teach children again, I’ll never again set foot in that place, I never want to go through that again.” [...] He came out of that danger situation ... what every teacher goes through, what is to a gay teacher to begin to teach ... because the boys they are mean with them.”

Mel continues the story saying that no one at school again broached the subject. She discussed the topic in a class of seventh grade, but the school, as a whole, “did not give importance that the fact demanded,” in her words. “The teacher was a weak he could not stand the heavy bar that is the school,” it was what she heard from some colleagues at work.

This silence about the fact revealed in the words of Louro (2010), the invisibility of gay people, the clear intention of eliminating them from the school environment. In this reasoning, Deborah Britzman (1996, p.80) alert to the myth that arises from the silencing discussed here: discuss the issue of homosexuality at school can encourage homosexual practices and identifications among students. The school, when it omits to discuss this issue, despite the serious situation occurred with the teacher, it indicates a political position “do not know” to “protect” that denounces Britzman.

From silence to silence, let’s hear what says Purpurina about herself:

“I am Portuguese language teacher, I work in elementary education and Youth and Adult Education (EJA)\(^{10}\). I am currently director of the school. I am a white woman with straightened hair. Religion? I like Kardecism. As for my sexual orientation, I think, so far I have not figured out if I am lesbian or bi, yeah, I’m still trying. And I do not think I have to also set no. I think

\(^{10}\) Acronym used in Brazilian Portuguese.
we’re at a time when we have to make choices: is he nice guy? Okay. The girl is cool? Ok. I do not have to say anything, to set anything. For some, it is easier - like this: I just want woman, I just want boy - and others are on the fence. I was always a person on the fence about it.”

We asked the teacher if she discusses issues related to sexuality in school especially when there are egregious cases of prejudice, she said:

“I think, by the fact that I was lesbian/bi\textsuperscript{11} it catches me a little, because then the person will say: she’s defending because she’s part of it.”

Also in this issue, Purpurina comments on a schoolteacher discussing issues related to sexuality openly in any space, even in the staff room. She reports that, once this teacher caught the attention of colleagues about the treatment they were giving a guy called gay by the group. The teacher spoke with property that was a lack of respect for what happened there, and that all should be more responsible that matter. Purpurina reports the episode with a lot of admiration for the courage of the teacher in addressing the issue in this way, while justified:

“This teacher is married, attends church regularly, which I do not, she has a little daughter. [...] I found it very beautiful. I recognized myself in her speech, not with the same competence.”

The declared heterosexual matrix of the teacher in question, in this case, is the protection of any suspicion of sexual deviation that could denounce her: married (to a man), goes to church, has a daughter. Prerogatives of normality above any suspicion and that allow the approach to the theme of sexuality without risk, without raising doubts about her morals.\textsuperscript{12}

Let’s get to know teacher Flor:

I am 45 years old, light brown color; I am an educator and teacher with experience of early childhood education to higher education. Currently working with early childhood education. I do not have religion. I believe in life, the universe, the positive thinking, but religion, no. Regarding to sexual orientation, I am considered a homosexual person, but I do not identify myself as bisexual.

Teacher Flor coincides with other teachers interviewed when asked about lesbian or bisexual visibility: they do not openly take their lesbianism or bisexuality in public. So whenever she goes out with her girlfriend, both behave like friends. At work, she never takes her to the year-end parties nor boasts couple of photographs on desks, personal wallets or cell phone. However, concealment of lesbianism does not always guarantee the tranquility in school, since any suspicious attitude like to be seen with a butch kind of friend or even use clothing that are not considered as feminine enough, can cause bullying, as revealed teacher Sol, paragraphs ago.

“But there is also has something else, right? I also sought to leverage my feminine side, my woman side. Just because there is a stereotype that a lesbian woman is very masculine,

\textsuperscript{11} In Portuguese she used the expression “entendida” this expression was widely used in the 1980s and 1990s to refer to lesbian and bisexual women. Still used by some people.

\textsuperscript{12} We suggest visiting the page of Dr. Leticia Lanz, who reports many privileges that cisgender people enjoy when compared to transgender people: <http://www.leticialanz.org/cisgenero/>.
right? So this was a side of me that I worked hard, worked very much to be feminine, and it may also be a way to hide the other side too, because when people see an extremely feminine woman it does not go through their heads that there is another sexual expression being experienced there, right?"

Also intimidated by a school principal who invited her to talk about the suspicion of their sexual life, Flor says:

“Look, I had a personal experience as well as a kindergarten teacher. While a kindergarten teacher I was victim of a very large bias of a school in the city of Vitória. A school full of professionals with extremely Christian characteristics, right ... this time I had met my partner, and she was going to pick me up at school. Usually in the late afternoon, it was not every day, but once in a while she would pick me up. So I was called in the principal’s office and she said to me that I had to be very careful with my attitudes in the school because the teachers were making comments about me, many unpleasant comments, even in the staff room. And then my position that day was ... I asked her if she had a complaint to make about my work as a professional in that school. She said no, that I was a great professional, very competent, I belonged to the school board and I was a reference in the school. Then I asked her, which was the day I arrived late at school? She said none. What was the day I was absent and I did not warn you, I did not communicate to school? There is also no record of it. I told her, then, look, what concerns my private life only matters to me. In what moment did I have any attitude that would discredit my character here at school, to put people in difficulty? She said never. And I said, and what was the day that the person to whom you refer (I said it was my companion right?) Entered the school? Again, never. I said then, look, you go and give the message to those teachers who are making comments that if this keeps happening, I will file a lawsuit against the school, against your administration and against these teachers. Because there is nothing in my conduct that could discredit my image. Now, my personal life belongs to me and I do not admit anyone to meddle.”

Sol, Mel Purpurina and Flor, with their fantasy names, are flesh and bone teachers, working in public schools in the city of Vitória, they did not know each other before the dialogue and they revealed very similar stories about issues of sexuality, fundamentally about hiding their sexual identities as a resource to ensure some peace at work. This omission often results in a failure to act against egregious situations of prejudice and discrimination by non-normative sexual orientation, or the mere suspicion of non-heterosexuality teacher or student.

All, in their own way, reveal that they excel in their professional lives. The words of Sol show clearly this kind of moral armor.

“Because I know that as a professional, a physical education teacher, I excel. [...] So I give my best all the time, I am an excellent teacher. No one can say bad things about my professional competence.”

13 On the subject, we suggest reading: NATIVIDADE, Marcelo; OLIVEIRA, 2009.
The painstaking commitment to educational tasks, thus functions as a resource to compensate for “moral failure” of lesbianism (Marina Castañeda, 2007). On this, Paula Ribeiro (2009, P.2004) argues that: “a teacher who, among many other features, is a lesbian, run the risk of being seen, first of all (or only) as ‘lesbian teacher’ - and who knows therefore less professional [...] “.

The following talks were experienced at different times in training on sexual diversity promoted by Municipal Education Departments of cities in the state of Espírito Santos between 2008 and 2012. The majority of the teachers claimed to be heterosexual and they were situated in cisgender category. There will not be here a detailed description on each one of them, neither the use of fictitious names to represent them. The approach aims to be more widespread but the reflections no less profound than before.

By talking with these teachers, which is the posture we perceive as they face the issues related to sexuality at school. Let us listen to these women.

**Cisgender teachers and other stories**

**Rodrigo**

“The girl arrived at school and just said: “My name is Rodrigo\(^{14}\) I want to be called that Put that my name is Rodrigo on the agenda, teacher. That’s how I want to be called…” Frankly, I was helpless, but I wrote down the name. In pencil, but I wrote it.”

To continue this conversation, we present here three other teachers who work in different regions of the state of Espírito Santo in kindergarten, primary and secondary school.

The passage that opens this section comes from a high school teacher. She described Rodrigo as “a girl who turned into boy” in her words. She said she knows him since he was a child because they live in the same small city in the south of Espírito Santo state, with most of German and Italian descents. Rodrigo is a white boy. Thus she describes him:

“A girl or a boy, who knows, my God! Well, we know her since her childhood, and she always had a boyish manner. Everyone knows she’s dating girls and all the boys respect it too. They get a bit upset, so I heard, because Rodrigo gets more girls than them, who were born real men. But they get along well; I never saw any confusion or anything. But I was taken by surprise, to be honest. I never expected that she wanted to be called by a man’s name. I wrote the name down but I do not know if that’s right. I was very surprised to see his courage to come looking at me like, open chest, claiming a man’s name. I’ve never seen anything like it and I did not know what to do, honestly. I appealed to the good sense and wrote the name down in pencil. I already got used to his male presence, but I still get confused to refer to him, because I knew him as a girl, you know? It is difficult, but I’m carrying on.”

When asked if there was split of the case at school, she said no. The case had happened three months before\(^{15}\) and she was waiting for the formation meeting to bring it to light and know what to do.

\(^{14}\) Fictitious name

\(^{15}\) This report was collected in October 2011.
Bathroom

“Well, the thing is that he or she, I do not know, at first wanted to use the girls’ bathroom because he claims to be a girl. The girls complained, and then she had to stop using it. In the bathroom of the boys he did not even try, because you know how boys are, right? Poor thing, he decided to not go to any bathroom. He spent all mornings without going to the bathroom.”

We bring here the bathroom use by transgender people and to follow this conversation, we bring the words of Junqueira (2014, p.116) when he states that:

[…] The spatial, crucial procedure of power devices, accompanied by naturalization that turns imperceptible (and legitimate) interdictions and segregations

[…] When informed by gender norms, implies the denial of the right of use of the bathroom to transvestites and transsexuals.

This conversation happened also in a city in the south of the state, with a strong Italian presence in the population. The student whose name was mentioned, according to the teacher who reported, it is black, “a bit mixed, because it has fine features” in her words. Obviously we take the chance of the use of fine features to discuss issues related to racial stereotypes and their direct connection with racist practices, this subject is difficult to discuss within the group of teachers and teachers in the region which prevented us to comment it in this article, considering also the page limitation required.

The teacher reported that she also knows the kid since childhood and that she always noticed a boyish in her little way. She said that her mother

“[…] I put on girl clothes on her since childhood because she asked for it. But at school she has always wanted boy’s clothes. Only now that she was teenager she is that open.”

The teacher reports that the girl never complained about the treatment she received from colleagues or teacher nor got in trouble at school, but she (the teacher) and some other colleagues when they learned of the situation (not using the bathroom), led the case to the school board to seek a solution. The collective decided that, facing the impasse, this student or any other trans student who was in a similar situation could use the bathroom in the teacher’s room. The measure received protest from the collective and decided, finally, that the bathroom to be used would be the school principal’s.

The student in question does not participate in any conversations about it, nor was consulted about the discussions on the use of the bathroom, as informed by the teacher. It reiterated further that the measure was celebrated by the student, who in fact, went on to use the bathroom designed for her.

It is important to note that the debate generated controversial positions by some participating teachers. Part of the group supported the idea of creating a third bathroom in school, exclusively for trans people. Other party understood that the trans person should choose the bathroom they want to use, and the school looked for ways to enforce that choice. Another group considered the school’s decision concerned the most sensible. Some people left out of the debate, explaining that they had no opinion to present.

The group of teachers participating in this conversation circle said this was the first time they debated the issue and suggested deepening with specific studies and discussions with
transgender activists. Fundamentally they agreed to discuss issues on transexuality and the rights of these people necessarily needs listening of the subjects themselves (PEDRINI, 2014).

**Gay diagnosis**

“During Carnival, we had a teacher at school that taught a dance from Bahia. He wiggled a lot, and I saw that the older boys, of the final years, did not participate and were even mocking. But the little ones danced a lot. One of them razed, danced like a pro, imitating the teacher perfectly, amazing. We all soon realized that he looked gay. We decided to talk to his mother, because it was clear he would turn gay.”

The teacher who brings tells us this fact works in a primary school in the central portion of the state of Espírito Santo. She specifically works with children in the early grades, and the child suspected of turning gay at the time, was seven years old. Junqueira (2014) calls insult pedagogy the use of disqualifications attributed to dissonant people with gender norms present at school every day. Jokes, insults, insinuations, nicknames and other dehumanizing and stigmatizing expressions are printed in this form of teaching, this pedagogy. Thus, the dance of a boy in a festive time of school triggers a speech homophobic (also educational) expressed in the hidden curriculum and legitimized by silences and positions of teachers and professors. “It would be necessary to realize that not only are the students who watch every boy ‘effeminate’, but the entire institution. And they all do as, capillary and permanently, they control others and themselves” (p. 109).

Commenting with colleagues about the idea to report the case to the child’s mother, the teacher immediately had the support of most of them. When asked about in which bases she supported to develop conjectures about the child sexuality and, in addition, what exactly she and other colleagues wanted teachers to communicate to the child’s family his alleged gay destination, the teacher replied that

“This was not God’s will. This child, like all gays, would suffer a lot, because we live in society full of prejudice. It was then the family that decided how to deal with it.”

Again we note the weight of moral values grounded in Christian religious belief invariably defining ways of acting in school. On this, Fernando Seffner (2011, p.368) reminds us that “the Brazilian state is secular, [...] and the exercise of public office cannot be done from private views in religious terms.”

**A pause in the conversation**

Names on the agenda, bathrooms and diagnostics aside, here we bring these issues to highlight the positioning of cisgender teachers facing situations involving non-normative sexualities at school. Dozens of other situations could be addressed about this issue, but the article writing limits do not allow registration here. What we bring in this article are subsidies to produce more questions than answers, more doubts than solutions, more concerns than facilities.

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16 Typical dance of the Brazilian state called Bahia. Considered to be a cultural patrimony.
Lesbian and/or bisexual teachers, because they fear negative consequences of visibility, omit themselves in front of themes related to sexuality in school? Or, just by living non-normative sexualities, they feel more willing to study and address the issue?

Cisgender teachers, for not having a suspected moral conduct, do they feel more encouraged to face the expressions of lesbo, bi, homo and transphobia in school? Or because they do not feel the situation under their skin the consequences of prejudice and discrimination spread by heteronormative values are less prepared for such questions?

Teachers, from any and all identities, are wondering about fairer ways of coexisting, dignified, respectable and fraternal coexistence among all people? Do they reflect on the consequences of racism and misogyny in submissive postures or rebellious students and co-workers? Do they see the school as a secular space where the truths in God’s name must necessarily be eliminated, giving way to secular liberties?

In addition to the answers, what do these questions have to teach us?

References


