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**DIRECTORATE FOR EDUCATION AND SKILLS
EDUCATION POLICY COMMITTEE**

The Inclusion of LGBTQI+ Students across Education Systems: An Overview

Fourth Meeting of Country Representatives, 18 March 2022

This paper explores the needs of LGBTQI+ students in education to feel safe and included. It identifies particular challenges these students face, policy approaches and gaps, and initiatives that aim to enhance the goals of equity and inclusion for LGBTQI+ students across OECD education systems.

This draft paper is part of Phase II of the OECD Strength through Diversity Project: Education for Inclusive Societies and is meant for comments at the upcoming Fourth Meeting of Country Representatives on 18 March 2022. Countries are invited to provide comments by 1 April 2022.

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Abstract

Students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex or somewhere else on the gender/sexuality spectrum (LGBTQI+) are among the diverse student groups in need of extra support and protection in order to succeed in education and reach their full potential. Because they belong to a minority that is often excluded by heteronormative/cisgender people, they are often the targets of physical and psychological harassment. Such discrimination places them at risk for isolation, reduced academic achievement, and physical and mental harm.

This paper provides a brief history of how the LGBTQI+ population has been misunderstood and labelled in order to understand challenges faced by students who identify as a part of this population. It continues by considering supportive educational policies and programmes implemented from national to local levels across OECD countries. Finally, the paper considers policy gaps and provides recommendations to strengthen equity and inclusion for LGBTQI+ students.

Introduction

Over the past 50 years, both research and activism have continued to examine a spectrum of gender identity and expression that does not fall neatly into labels. Additionally, internationally and in many countries, there are increased demands that people with gender identities and sexual orientations that differ from the dominant norm be protected and their inclusion be promoted by national policies and in schools. These demands have caused some controversy across OECD countries and are met with various levels of support. Nevertheless, a small percentage of students, often beginning at very young ages, do not identify in the traditional conceptions of being a girl or a boy. These students experience greater amounts of discrimination, violence, isolation and lack of sense of belonging in schools, which, in turn, affect their educational attainment and opportunities in later life.

This paper contributes to the OECD Strength through Diversity project by examining the role of non-conforming gender identity and sexual orientation – lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (or questioning), intersex and gender fluid (LGBTQI+) – in schools as it affects individual students, school practices and system policies. The Strength through Diversity project uses LGBTQI+. However, other institutions, organisations, country policies and researchers use many variations on this acronym. To remain faithful to the intentions of those others, the paper uses the acronym used by the particular institution, organisation, policy or researcher being described. These may include the following:

- LGB (lesbian, gay, bisexual).
- LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender).
- LGBTQIA+ (the A stands for “asexual”).
- TQI+ (transgender, queer (or questioning), intersex).

A brief overview of historical attitudes, research and activism is included to provide context. Using the analytical framework developed by the Strength through Diversity project (Cerna et al., 2021^[1]), the paper examines ways to govern and develop capacity to create equitable and inclusive environments for LGBTQI+ students, promote school-level interventions to support them, and collect data to evaluate and monitor policies and practices, using examples from OECD countries. It concludes with suggestions for future policies.

1 Who are LGBTQI+ students and why promote their inclusion?

Concepts related to gender identity and sexual orientation are complex and still in the process of being defined. Notions central to the analysis are sex, gender and sexuality, which are still often used without distinction. However, works in medical and psychological sciences in the 1950s, followed by increasing research in the social sciences, have established fundamental differences (Bullough, 2003^[2]). Despite ongoing controversies, literature increasingly acknowledges that one's sex, the biological sex assigned to an individual at birth, does not necessarily determine and is separate from one's gender (Ibid.). Sexuality is a broader and multi-dimensional concept, characterised by complex interactions between physical, emotional and social, historical and even political factors (Alldred and J. Fox, 2020^[3]).

How one identifies with gender and sexuality is deeply personal. As such, social judgment and stigmatisation against one's gender and sexual identity is associated with psychological stress and even self-harm (Almeida et al., 2009^[4]). Additionally, negative social judgments can limit a person's potential in school and society. Numerous studies show that LGBTQI+ students suffer from multiple forms of discrimination, which often have significant impact on their health and educational outcomes (Baruch-Dominguez, Infante-Xibille and Saloma-Zuñiga, 2016^[5]; Berry, 2018^[6]; Formby, 2013^[7]). This section provides context for challenges faced by students who do not identify within the traditional binary definitions of gender as well as those who do not identify as heterosexual. It also gives attention to research on the intersections of gender identity, sexual orientation and other aspects that shape one's identities, and how these intersections might create specific challenges for a group or individual.

There are often common misunderstandings and confusions regarding the definition of sex and the definition of gender. These terms are frequently used interchangeably, and boundaries between both concepts can be blurry. Nonetheless, sex and gender are distinct notions, albeit closely related (See Box 1.1). An understanding of these categories is a necessary step to better understand issues faced by LGBTQI+ students and, in turn, to design and implement effective policies and practices. For example, a student may say, "That's so gay!" without realising that the expression is hurtful and stigmatising to a peer who is gay. Because the emphasis in this paper is on education of LGBTQI+ students, detailed historical information on the development of terms and attitudes towards non-binary gender attitudes, expressions and sexual orientation can be found in 6Annexe A. The authors recommend reading Annexe A to understand the trajectory of thought with respect to LGBTQI+ individuals.

1.1. Understanding sex and gender

The terms "sex" and "gender" are frequently used interchangeably. However, their definitions differ, as do the ways in which individuals understand them. Medical professionals assign "sex" at birth based on physical characteristics and sexual organs of the newborn. Even then, there is a small percentage of the population (about 1.7%, comparable to the amount of people born with red hair (Amnesty International, 2018^[8]) born as "intersex" babies; that is, infants who present with both male and female physiological, hormonal or genetic characteristics.

The term “gender” is a relatively new term in the discussion on sexuality and identity. Originally used to discuss linguistic differences in nouns that were classified as feminine, masculine, or neutral, “gender” was first introduced in the 1950s to refer to a human identity and not commonly used until the 1970s, then by feminist scholars (Bullough, 2003^[2]). As opposed to the biological term “sex”, gender has developed to be a psychosocial construct (Council of Europe, 2022^[9]). However, many use the terms “gender” and “sex” interchangeably (Ibid.). Gender includes how individuals relate to and express their masculinity and femininity. Although variation from strict cisgender identification and attraction has always been in evidence throughout history, social movements demanding rights for same-sex couples and non-traditional gender identities emerged slowly in Western Europe in the late nineteenth century (Schlagdenhauffen, n.d.^[10]), and more definitively as a global movement from the Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969 (Blakemore, 2020^[11]). That event, at which police raided a gay bar, initiated the Gay Pride movement, which is now celebrated in numerous countries.

Sexuality is now acknowledged as a multi-dimensional concept, which is characterised by complex interactions between physical, emotional and social, historical and even political factors. For example, according to Jourian (2015^[12]), it is possible to differentiate between four components of sexual identity: (1) sex, (2) gender identity, (3) sexual orientation, and (4) gender expression. According to Dorlin (2021^[13]) who analyses feminist philosophies from the past 50 years, “sex” can be associated with three different concepts: (1) biological sex, which we are attributed at birth (male or female); (2) gender, which corresponds to social norms, roles, experiences and perceptions; and (3) sexuality, which correspond to sexual practices of sexually active individuals. A widely used definition of sexuality that encompasses its different aspects comes from the World Health Organisation (2006^[14]):

Sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all of these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual factors.

Box 1.1. Concepts of gender identity and expression, and sexual orientation

Gender identity refers to an individual’s deeply felt internal experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with his/her sex at birth. A cisgender individual is a person whose gender identity matches his or her sex at birth (Valfort, 2017^[15]). A transgender individual is a person whose gender identity differs from his or her sex at birth. Transgender people may be male-to-female (transgender/trans woman) or female-to-male (transgender/trans man) (UNESCO, 2016^[16]).

Gender expression relates to how a person expresses his/her own gender to the world, such as through names, clothes, how he/she walks, speaks, communicates, etc. (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). The notion of gender non-conforming is used for a person who does not conform to either of the binary gender definitions of male or female, or whose gender expression may differ from standard gender norms (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). Recent literature from the past ten years also points to the concept of gender fluidity, which reaches beyond binary categories of gender (Diamond, 2020^[17]; 2016^[18]), although non-binary and gender fluid individuals can be found across cultures and throughout history (Jourian, 2015^[12]; Feinberg, 1996^[19]). Those identifying as gender fluid typically identify as being gender non-conforming and relate to multiple conceptions of gender.

Sexual orientation is related to an individual’s romantic, emotional and/or sexual attraction to others. An individual can feel such attraction to other individuals of a different gender, the same gender or more than one gender (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). Although the most common sexual (UNESCO, 2016^[16])

orientation is heterosexuality (emotional/sexual attraction for the opposite sex), sexual orientation also encompasses other categories, which include homosexuality (sexual/emotional attraction for heterosexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning and intersex individuals. Recent literature points to the concept of gender fluidity that reaches beyond these categories (Diamond, 2016^[18]). Those identifying as gender fluid relate to multiple conceptions of gender.

It should be kept in mind that these categories can be limited to Western conceptions of sex and gender. Finally, sexual orientation and gender identity are non-exclusive concepts, and, as mentioned earlier, one does not determine the other. For example, a trans woman can be heterosexual, lesbian, bisexual, etc. A cisgender male can be gay, asexual, etc. A growing number of children and adolescents identify with gender identities and sexual orientations different from cisgender and heterosexuality (Diamond, 2020^[17]).

Sources: Feinberg, *Transgender warriors: Making history from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (1996^[19]); Jourian, Evolving nature of sexual orientation and gender identity, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20142> (2015^[12]); Diamond, Gender fluidity and nonbinary gender identities among children and adolescents, doi <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12366> (2020^[17]); Diamond, Sexual fluidity in males and females, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11930-016-0092-z> (2016^[18]); UNESCO, Out in the Open: Education sector responses to violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression, https://www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attachments/UNESCO_out_in_the_open_2016_En.pdf (2016^[16]); Valfort, LGBTI in OECD countries: A review, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/d5d49711-en> (2017^[15]).

In much literature and in common parlance, the term “gender” is used in a binary sense to refer to either girls or boys (Goemans, Koester and Loudon, 2021^[20]; OECD, 2012^[21]). The binary concept of gender includes expectations about how boys and girls, men and women ought to behave within cultural settings (Hentschel, Heilman and Peus, 2019^[22]). For those identifying as LGBTQI+, gendered behaviours and expression are far more complex, typically pushing against traditional expectations. Sexual orientation, or attraction, is an added dimension. For example, those not fully identifying with the sex they were assigned at birth may be sexually attracted to women, men or both sexes. Because individuals and cultures tend to hold rigid stereotypes about behaviours and expectations for boys and girls, women and men (Brussino and McBrien, forthcoming^[23]), students who fall outside of the traditional gender expectations are often excluded, belittled or shamed.

Since the 1990s, LGB (lesbian, gay and bisexual) and, slightly later, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) became the most commonly used acronyms to name individuals whose sexual orientation and/or gender identity is not heterosexuality or cisgender. The use of these acronyms has, nonetheless, been criticised for being exclusive of many individuals that LGBTQI+ movements are supposed to serve (George, 2021^[24]). It is, however, challenging to quantify the number of LGBTQI+ individuals, mainly due to a lack of available data and inconsistencies in data collection processes (see Box 1.2).

Box 1.2. How many LGBTQI+ people are there?

An uncertain calculation

Estimates on the size of the LGBTQI+ population vary significantly. Determining LGBTQI+ population figures is difficult for a variety of reasons. One issue involves differing definitions. For example, on surveys, many more people identify as having engaged in same-sex relations or having some same-sex attraction than identify as being LGBTQI+ (Gates, 2011^[25]). Defining members of the transgender community may include gender identity, gender expression and/or non-conformity. Gates points out that a lack of reliable data makes it difficult to produce research that can lead to public policy recommendations regarding issues such as health, economic disparity, and discrimination.

Survey methods also affect how people respond in identifying as LGBTQI+. Computer surveys and anonymity tend to increase the percentages identifying with the LGBTQI+ community; face to face surveys tend to produce lower numbers (Gates, 2011^[25]; Valfort, 2017^[15]). Estimates of the LGB population are significantly higher when they originate from surveys where the question on sexual, self-identification is completed by the respondent, rather than by the interviewer (OECD, 2019^[26]). Gates (2011^[25]) points out that a lack of reliable data makes it difficult to produce research that can lead to public policy recommendations regarding issues such as health, economic disparity, and discrimination.

As of 2019, only 14 OECD countries had estimates about their LGB populations (OECD, 2019^[27]). Figures were estimated at 2.7% of the adult population. Acknowledging the existence of different definitions and survey methods across countries, the OECD (2019^[26]) found that the percentage of adults self-identifying as lesbians, gay men or bisexuals is about 1.2% in Norway; 1.6% in Italy and Sweden; 1.8% in France; 1.9% in Chile, Germany and Mexico; 2.3% in the United Kingdom; 2.8% in Iceland; 3.3% in Canada and New Zealand; and 3.8% in the United States. Similarly, an examination of nine (older) surveys from Australia, Canada, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States indicated a range of self-identified LGB individuals, with Norway's survey at 1.2% and a United States survey at 5.6%. However, when asked about same-sex attractions or behaviours, all countries except Norway (at 1.8%) showed significantly higher figures, ranging from 6.9 to 11% (Gates, 2011^[25]).

Data show that, apart from Chile, Germany and Sweden, there is a fairly equal breakdown across homosexual and bisexual individuals (OECD, 2019^[26]). In recent study conducted in France (IFOP, 2019^[28]) among 13 346 people over 18, 82.7% identified as being strictly heterosexual and 5.6% as being heterosexual attracted by the same sex. Among the 8.9% of people identifying as LGB, 3.2% identified as being homosexual and 5.7% as being bisexual.

While an increasing amount of data (although still not systematic) is available on sexual orientation, there are few estimates of the share of TQI+ people. There are no existing studies that provide a comprehensive estimate of the intersex population. Overall, data on gender identity are scarce. According to the OECD (2019^[26]) only three OECD countries collect information on gender identity in one of their nationally representative surveys: the United States since 2013, Chile since 2015 and Denmark since 2017. In available studies, the share of transgender people varies from 0.1% to 0.3% (Gates, 2011^[25]; OECD, 2019^[26]). To the author's knowledge, no nationally representative surveys ask questions related to queerness or to gender non-binarity, non-conformism or fluidity.

The share of people who self-identify as LGBTI is on the rise in nearly all countries where data is available. For example, in the United States the percentage of people identifying as LGBT in surveys increased from 3.5% in 2012 to 4.5% in 2017. This trend is likely to continue driven by younger cohorts. In 2017, while 1.4% of US respondents born before 1945 said being LGBT, this share was of 8.2% among millennials (OECD, 2019^[26]).

While there are significant gaps in estimates of the LGBTQI+ adult population, these are even greater regarding LGBTQI+ children and adolescents (below 18). To the authors' knowledge, there are no nationally representative surveys that estimate the share of LGBTQI+ people under 18 among the general population. For example, in Latin America, Barrientos and Lovera (2020^[29]) highlight that no country has specific survey information on LGBTQI+ children and adolescents, while nearly all have surveys on children and youth in general.

Source: Gates, How many people are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender? (2011^[25]); Valfort, LGBTI in OECD countries: A review, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/d5d49711-en> (2017^[15]); IFOP, Observatoire des LGBTphobies : État des Lieux 2019 [LGBT-phobia Observatory: Situation in 2019 (2019^[28]); OECD, The LGBT challenge: How to better include sexual and gender minorities?, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/c64c3d3f-en> (2019^[26]); OECD, Society at a Glance 2019: OECD Social Indicators, https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/soc_glance-2019-en (2019^[27]), Barrientos & Lovera, Diversidad Sexual y Educación en América Latina y el Caribe [Sexual Diversity and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean] (2020^[29]).

1.2. Gender norms, heteronormativity, discrimination and LGBTQI+-phobia in education

According to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA), heteronormativity corresponds to cultural and social practices where men and women are led to believe that heterosexuality is appropriate sexuality, implying that heterosexuality is the only way of being “normal” (ILGA Europe, n.d.^[30]). Heteronormativity includes “the belief that people fall into distinct and complementary genders, man and woman, with natural roles in life” (Valfort, 2017^[15]). For the minority population that identifies as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, asexual, queer or gender fluid, heteronormative bias is exclusionary and judgmental, often contributing to discrimination and exclusion (OECD, 2020^[31]). In spite of significant recent support and protection in some OECD countries, LGBTQI+ people tend to suffer from greater exclusion in various areas of life, including health, housing, employment and education (OECD, 2020^[31]; FRA, 2020^[32]). In 71 non-OECD countries, homosexuality is a criminal offense, punishable by death in 11 countries (Human Dignity Trust, 2021^[33]). Unfortunately, even in countries that have made progress with laws supporting the LGBTQI+ community, individuals identifying as such are harassed, taunted, bullied, beaten and even killed. Because individuals are often made to feel that they are offensive and wrong, suicide figures are high for this population, especially among young people (Lipson et al., 2019^[34]; OECD, 2019^[26]).

In developmental research, studies examining sexual attraction often find that youth report same-sex attractions by 8–10 years of age with 1–2.6% identifying as gay or lesbian, 3–5% as bisexual, and 1.3–4.7% as unsure of their sexual orientation (Ghavami, Katsiaficas and Rogers, 2016^[35]). Gender nonconformity often begins at a younger age and is more common among females (gender assigned at birth), perhaps because it is less stigmatised, less likely to be treated as an indicator of psychiatric disturbance and less strongly associated with same-sex sexual orientation (Anderson and Holland, 2015^[36]). For example, girls who enjoy playing sport and do not play with dolls or like jewellery are often labelled “tomboys” (Bailey, Bechtold and Berenbaum, 2002^[37]). These behaviours do not typically cause parents to be concerned about their daughters' gender identity or sexuality (Ibid.). Craig and LaCroix (Craig and LaCroix, 2011^[38]) even argue that the tomboy identity serves as a protective label for girls both in reducing presumptions about their sexual orientation and by providing limited access to masculine privilege. However, boys who exhibit behaviours and interests associated with girls are often labelled “sissies” or “mama’s boys”, both negative labels (Schope and Eliason, 2008^[39]; Coyle, Fulcher and Trübutschek, 2016^[40]).

Defining oneself is a major task that begins in childhood and develops throughout the lifespan. Psychologist Erik Erikson proposed eight stages of psychosocial development, but saw adolescence as the critical time in which individuals address the question, “Who am I?” (Erikson, 1968^[41]) (See Box 1.3). Beliefs, values, choices, sexuality, viewpoints, culture, personality and more all contribute to the formation of identity. Identity is both psychological and sociological because not only do individuals define themselves; others draw conclusions about who individuals are. Individuals develop within the context of their society.

Box 1.3. The lifespan of psychosocial development

Erikson believed that personality and identity developed through eight predetermined stages in a particular order, beginning in infancy and continuing through adulthood. He maintained that individuals face a kind of crisis in each phase (see “psychosocial tasks” in the table) that would result in positive or negative outcomes in each phase.

Stages	<Age range>	Psychosocial task	Positive Outcome	Negative Outcome
<1>	<Birth to 18 months>	Trust/mistrust	When caregivers provide reliable basic needs and affection, infants come to trust and feel that their world is safe	When care is inconsistent and/or harsh, infants may come to fear and to mistrust future events
2	18 months to 3 years	Autonomy/shame	When toddlers accomplish basic tasks such as toilet training and dressing, they gain a sense of self-control and capability	Failure to reach basic milestones may cause toddlers to feel inadequate and ashamed, doubting their abilities
3	3 to 5 years	Initiative/guilt	Young children who successfully exert some control over their environment gain a sense of purpose and resilience	Young children who attempt to exert too much power may experience disapproval leading to a sense of guilt
4	6 to 12 years	Industry/inferiority	Successful coping with new social and academic experiences leads to feelings of competence	Failure at new social and academic experiences can lead to feelings of inferiority
5	13 to 18 years	Identity/role confusion	When adolescents gain a coherent, affirmed sense of self and personal identity, they gain confidence as a well-integrated person	When adolescents are confused about who they are or not affirmed, they may experience role confusion and a weak sense of self
6	19 to 25 years	Intimacy/isolation	Forming successful close relationships with others provides confidence to love and value intimacy	Failure in close relationships can lead to loneliness and isolation
7	26 to 64 years	Generativity/stagnation	Creating or nurturing things that are likely to outlast them (children, work accomplishments) helps adults to feel useful and accomplished	Failure to create or accomplish can lead to lack of involvement in the world
8	65+ years	Integrity/despair	The ability to reflect on one's life as fulfilling leads to wisdom and peace	Failure to see one's life as fulfilling can lead to regret and despair

Source: Adapted from Sutton, J. (2021). Erik Erikson's stages of psychosocial development explained. PositivePsychology.com. Retrieved 20 December 2021 from <https://www.positivepsychology.com/erikson-stages>.

More recent research has problematized the expectation of linear development as explained by Erikson. People's life situations, experiences and identities may result in confronting stages of development and life

crises at various ages and/or more than once during their lives (van Geert, 2009^[42]). People identifying as LGBTQI+ often state an awareness that they were not heterosexual or cisgender well before they reach adolescence, for example (Olson, Key and Eaton, 2015^[43]; Institute of Health (US), 2011^[44]).

Students whose appearance, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression does not conform to traditional social or gender norms are often negatively affected by heteronormativity (OECD, 2020^[45]). Discrimination based on gender identity and sexual orientation is common in schools and manifests through different forms, including bullying, the denying of basic rights such as dignity and security, degrading remarks, physical and psychological abuse and sexual harassment (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). According to the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), “violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity/expression in educational settings targets students who are, or who are perceived as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender; and others whose gender expression does not fit into binary gender norms (masculine and feminine) such as boys perceived as ‘effeminate’ and girls perceived as ‘masculine’” (UNESCO, 2016^[16]).

Bullying against LGBTQI+ students is common in OECD countries and requires specific interventions to build capacity and create safe school climates (more information in Sections 3 and 4). In France, a recent survey on LGBTI-phobia shows that in 2020, 25% of respondents said they were frequently harassed for being LGBTQI+. After the neighbourhood, school and the workplace are the places where this most happens (SOS Homophobie, 2021^[46]). In another study from France in 2019 on LGBT-phobia, 17% of respondents said they suffered from LGBT-phobia in the past year, most of them under 25 years olds (30%) and between 25 and 34 years old (26%) (IFOP, 2019^[28]).

In a survey conducted by the European Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA, 2020^[32]), 19% of respondents felt discriminated against when in contact with school or university staff. Furthermore, across all LGBTI groups, about 53% of young adolescents who participated in the survey (aged 15-17) felt discriminated against in at least one area of life in the 12 months before the survey, compared to 41% adult respondents. Again, data suggest that LGBTQI+ adolescents are more exposed to discrimination. Studies often show a higher degree of discrimination, violence and exclusion, against trans and intersex people, which suggests a strong need to design and implement policies and initiatives targeting children and young people belonging to these groups (OECD, 2020^[31]; FRA, 2020^[32]; Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[47]).

1.3. Why does inclusion of LGBTQI+ students matter? A focus on outcomes

From a human rights-based perspective, inclusion and support for LGBTQI+ students is an ethical mandate. LGBTQI+ students often face negative academic, well-being and economic outcomes to a greater degree than their non-LGBTQI+ counterparts. Additionally, lack of support and encouragement results in a great loss of human resources, economic loss and a reduction in social cohesion. Creating inclusive environments for LGBTQI+ students is, therefore, an important policy goal based on several outcomes.

1.3.1. Academic well-being

Research on academic achievement and attainment of LGBTQI+ students is mixed. Valfort’s (2017^[15]) literature review examining the association between educational outcomes and LGBTQI+ students provides an extensive overview of the existing research. She finds that, according to the available data, gay males may often achieve higher marks in school compared to their heterosexual counterparts, while also providing a possible theoretical explanation related to gender norms. She argues that male students identifying as gay may feel less restricted by norms of masculinity, which can be counterproductive to academic achievement, as supported by previous literature on the subject (Morris, 2012^[48]; Pascoe, 2007^[49]). Conversely, the same dynamic may result in lower educational achievement for lesbian females

as their lower likelihood of conforming to norms of femininity can play negatively in educational environments (Mickelson, 2003^[50]; Orr, 2011^[51]).

Similarly, the available data suggests a higher likelihood of earning a college degree for both gay men and lesbian women in a variety of national contexts (Valfort, 2017^[15]). Highlighting the lack of representative data for some sub-groups within the LGBTQI+ community, data on educational achievement for bisexuals is “scarce and inconsistent”, with conflicting studies showing both increased and decreased levels of attainment compared to heterosexual students (Valfort, p. 92^[15]). Pearson and Wilkinson (2017^[52]) found that same-sex sexuality is associated with lower secondary school graduation rates, though after graduating, lesbian women are less likely to enrol in post-secondary education with no lower likelihood for gay men. In fact, men who report same-sex sexuality for the first time after high school are more likely to earn a college degree than heterosexual men. This may suggest distinct differences in regards to the academic effects of same-sex sexuality at different educational levels. Valfort (2017^[15]) succinctly explains that “experiencing same-sex attraction or sexuality at any point in the life course until adulthood for women and in adolescence for men is associated with lower educational achievement” (p. 92^[15]).

Little evidence exists concerning other sub-groups of LGBTQI+ students as well. Jones et al. (2016^[53]) provide a rare examination of education outcomes for intersex individuals in Australia, finding that they are nine times as likely not to complete secondary education compared to the general population. Consistent with the literature on gay men and lesbian women, the authors found that despite low graduation rates at the secondary level, intersex people are slightly more likely to complete post-secondary education. Ullman (2017^[54]) examined data about effects of teacher attitudes towards transgender students and found that transgender and gender diverse students who perceived their teachers to be positive towards their nonconforming status reported higher academic self-concepts and were more motivated, confident learners than those who perceived their teachers to be negative towards them. Unfortunately, nearly 70% reported that their teachers did not hold positive attitudes towards gender diversity.

Additional data is necessary to assess the real impact of sexual orientation and gender identity on academic outcomes. While research identifies that some LGBTQI+ students, such as gay men, tend to have better results, data on these student’s dropout rates, grade repetitions and absenteeism, among other elements, would help capture a more complete picture of the situation (Asplund and Ordway, 2018^[55]).

1.3.2. Social and emotional well-being

Homophobic and transphobic bullying can manifest as physical violence, verbal abuse, sexual violence, and/or cyberbullying, all of which have distinct negative effects on the physical and mental health of victims (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). It is important to note that negative mental health outcomes for LGBT youth are not indicative of an intrinsic psychopathology associated with sexual orientation or gender identity, but rather can be explained as a result of social stigmatisation causing chronic stress and psychological vulnerability (Vincke and Heeringen, 2002^[56]). Being taunted and excluded because of an LGBTQI+ identity can lead to social isolation as well as emotional challenges.

Physical and sexual violence have explicit negative health outcomes, but the other forms of psychological and emotional abuse are associated with physical and mental health problems as well. Romo and Kelvin (2016^[57]) analysed data from Global School-based Student Health Surveys from 14 560 students across five Latin American countries (Bolivia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Peru and Uruguay) and found that “all bullying types were associated with similarly increased odds for all measures of suicide ideation and behavior” (p. 351^[57]). Furthermore, increased experiences of bullying significantly corresponded to health-risk behaviours such as smoking, fighting other students, and engaging in unprotected sex (Romo and Kelvin, 2016^[57]). The authors of this study acknowledge the lack of segregated data in Latin American countries on types of bullying and motivation for specific groups, including LGBT students.

It is well documented that LGBTQI+ students face higher rates of bullying, discrimination and social exclusion than heteronormative students (Almeida et al., 2009^[4]; Formby, 2013^[7]; Berry, 2018^[6]) (see Box 1.4). Specific rates can vary by country, but a UNESCO review concluded that across national contexts, LGBT students experience higher rates of bullying than non-LGBT students, and that this bullying is more likely to occur in school than at home or outside of school (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). Higher rates of physical and especially verbal and psychological abuse against those perceived as sexually diverse are consistent across countries (UNESCO, 2016^[16]; Valfort, 2017^[15]). An Australian study (Jones et al., 2016^[53]) found that 75% of intersex students interviewed reported being victimised by peers. This data also support previously mentioned disparities in bullying based on gender, with male LGBT students more likely to experience bullying. Survey data from 8 500 New Zealand secondary students revealed that students identifying as either “same or both-sex attracted” were nearly three times more likely than students identifying as “opposite-sex attracted” to report being bullied at school at least once a week (Lucassen et al., 2014^[58]). Of those who reported weekly bullying at school, 46.1% of LGBT students and 5.4% of heterosexual students reported that their bullying was motivated by being perceived as gay, which “suggests that same/both-sex attracted students are subjected to additional harassment, ‘over and above’ the bullying related to their sexuality” (Lucassen et al., 2014^[58]). This disparity in rates of bullying can have both short-term and long-term effects on LGBTQI+ students’ health and well-being, academic performance, and economic outcomes (See Section 1.3).

Box 1.4. Bullying, defined

Researchers have defined bullying as “unwanted aggressive behavior(s) by another youth or group of youths who are not siblings or current dating partners that involves an observed or perceived power imbalance and is repeated multiple times or is highly likely to be repeated” (Vivolo-Kantor and Gladden, 2014^[59]; Vaillancourt et al., 2008^[60]).

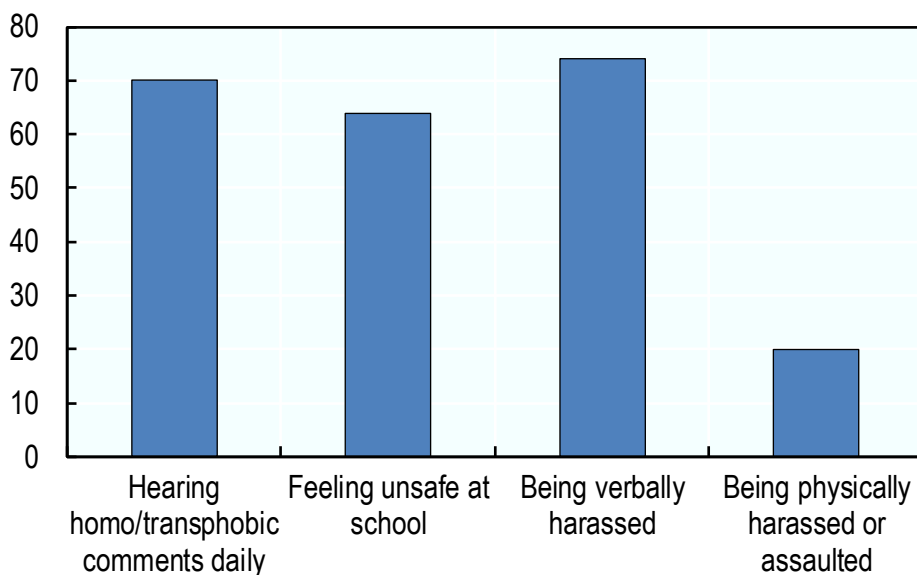
However, research with adolescents indicates that their understanding of bullying goes beyond this definition to include health effects of bullying (Hellström, Persson and Hagquist, 2015^[61]). Additionally, the adolescents interviewed felt that single events could be defined as bullying. Older students included social exclusion and verbal aggression as bullying more than younger students, who tended to report physical aggression as bullying. Additionally, girls tend to report cyberbullying and peer group aggression as bullying more than boys did. In other words, the students focus more on the victim’s experience than the bully’s intent. A 2020 study in Sweden found that descriptions of bullying varied based on students’ ages, with younger students finding bullying in private settings more severe, and older students finding repetitive bullying in public settings more problematic. These findings indicate that student beliefs must be incorporated when studying bullying and its potential affects.

Source: Vivolo-Kantor and Gladden, What is bullying? A new uniform definition for research, <https://www.stopbullying.gov/blog/2014/02/10/what-bullying-new-uniform-definition-research> (2014^[59]); Vaillancourt et al., Bullying: Are researchers and children/youth talking about the same thing?, doi 10.1177/016502540809555 (2008^[60]); Hellström, Persson and Hagquist, Understanding and defining bullying - adolescents' own views, doi 10.1186/2049-3258-73-4 (2015^[61]).

In all countries where data are available, the data show that LGBTQI+ students suffer from high levels of discrimination and multiple forms of bullying. For example, in a study conducted in Latin America in 2019, 74% of Chilean students, 82% of Mexican students and 86% of Colombian students reported that they had sometimes, often or frequently heard homophobic comments in the previous year (Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[62]). A 2015 study conducted with teachers and students on homophobic bullying in Lithuania found that while 24% of LGBT student respondents feel safe or very safe regarding their sexual orientation in school, over 30% feel partially or totally unsafe, with girls overall feeling safer than boys. In addition, 5% of LGBT student respondents hide their sexual orientation in school and only come out to close relatives,

and 19% said that no one in their school knows about their sexual orientation. Nearly 79% of respondents said that they face bullying based on their sexual orientation in school (Gasinska, 2015^[63]). A Canadian survey provided similar results (see Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1. Canadian survey of LGBTQ students



Note: Survey was of 3700 students across Canada. Ten percent of students said they also heard teachers make homo/transphobic remarks. Heterosexual students also reported being verbally harassed about their perceived sexual orientation (1 in 12) or gender expression (1 in 4). Source: Taylor and Peter (2011^[64]), *Every class in every school*, 2011

Where this type of specific data on anti-LGBT bullying exists, the results reflect similar negative effects on health and wellbeing. Self-reported data from high school students in the United States show a statistically significant association between “perceived discrimination” based on LGBT identity and higher rates of depression in both boys and girls, with a higher risk of suicide and/or self-harm for boys (Almeida et al., 2009^[4]). Similar trends can be seen in Europe, where a 2013 study found that 53% of LGBT-identifying students report feeling depressed and 33% have considered suicide in response to homophobic or transphobic bullying at school (Formby, 2013^[7]).

A 2014 study from New Zealand found that same/both-sex attracted students were nearly four times more likely to experience symptoms of depression than heterosexual students. LGB students were also over twice as likely to have “deliberately self-harmed” and nearly five times as likely to have attempted suicide in the last year (Lucassen et al., 2014^[58]). The same study found that students identifying as “same/both-sex attracted” were more likely to achieve lower well-being scores than their “opposite-sex attracted” peers based on the WHO-5 Well-being Index Score; 50.3% of same/both-sex attracted students were categorised as having “good emotional well-being” compared to 77.2% of opposite-sex attracted students (Ibid.). The results of a 2012 survey in Mexico about anti-LGBT bullying revealed that 74% of gay or bisexual men under the age of 30, 66% of transgender students and 50% of lesbian or bisexual women reported experiencing anti-LGBT bullying, with over half of victims experiencing depression as a result (Baruch-Dominguez, Infante-Xibille and Saloma-Zuñiga, 2016^[5]). This survey data also revealed that one in four LGBT students report having had suicidal thoughts. The Trevor Project has found that COVID-19 has increased the risks of mental health issues and suicide ideation in the LGBTQI+ population (see Box 1.5) (The Trevor Project, 2021^[65]).

Box 1.5. Being an LGBTQI+ student during the COVID-19 pandemic

Implications for mental health and safety

Even though rates of COVID-19-related illness and death are lowest for young people, they have been greatly affected by prolonged isolation due to lockdowns and school closures. Vulnerable student populations have been most at risk as they were deprived of physical learning opportunities and extra services (OECD, 2020^[66]). For LGBTQI+ students, isolation has included being cut off from affirming school organisations (such as gay-straight alliances), counselling and friends (DeMulder, Kraus-Perrotta and Zaidi, 2020^[67]). Some had to quarantine with family members who reject their sexual identity or gender expression. Such arrangements can lead to increased concerns for psychological and physical safety. The lack of services and support can increase the potential for mental health issues such as depression, anxiety and suicidal ideation. On the other hand, for some who were able to quarantine with supportive family members, quarantine offered some respite from bullying at school.

The Trevor Project, a United States-based suicide prevention and crisis intervention organisation for LGBTQI+ youth, described COVID-19-related challenges with respect to economic and housing instability (The Trevor Project, 2021^[65]). The organisation's research cited reduced positive social interactions, access to supportive teachers and school counsellors. Additionally, some LGBTQI+ students look forward to a brighter future in adulthood, but the pandemic has placed future goals into uncertainty, economic challenges and housing instability.

The Trevor Project has offered recommendations to support LGBTQI+ youth during the pandemic. They include online support communities, counselling, and access to virtual extracurricular activities. The organisation suggested that counsellors and teachers be available online to support students.

Source: DeMulder, Kraus-Perrotta, and Zaidi, Sexual and gender minority adolescents must be prioritised during the global COVID-19 public health response, <https://doi.org/10.1080/25410397.2020.180471> (2020^[67]); The Trevor Project, Implications of COVID-19 for LGBTQ youth mental health and suicide prevention, <https://www.thetrevorproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Implications-of-COVID-19-for-LGBTQ-Youth-Mental-Health-and-Suicide-Prevention.pdf> (2021^[65])

Within the LGBTQI+ population, there can also be disparities in terms of bullying and subsequent mental and physical health problems. For example, the limited data on transgender students suggest they are at a higher risk of bullying and negative health & well-being outcomes associated with bullying. Clark et al. (2014^[68]) found that among students in New Zealand identifying as transgender, 41% of respondents had experienced significant depressive symptoms and 45% had self-harmed in the past year. These various studies point to the need for designing legal and policy frameworks that fight against discrimination and bullying and, more broadly, promote inclusive school environments.

1.3.3. Socio-economic well-being

In addition to arguments based on human rights, health and well-being, there are also economic arguments regarding LGBTQI+ inclusion. Badgett, Waaldijk and Rodgers (2019^[69]) present several theoretical frameworks that link increased LGBT inclusion with improved economic indicators. One of them, the human capital framework, argues that when LGBT people are discriminated against or otherwise excluded from educational systems, they will see their skills, abilities and knowledge diminished due to lower educational attainment. The researchers argue that this diminished human capital is caused in large part

by the disproportionately high rates of bullying, harassment, mental health problems, school absences and social exclusion experienced by LGBT youth. The effects negatively influence their individual participation in the labour market as well as limiting the human capital of the workforce in the wider economy.

Social diversity and inclusion are increasingly important for attracting new talent to growing regional economies as “high human capital individuals” become more central to economic growth (Florida and Gates, 2003^[70]). Related to the human capital framework, the capabilities framework argues that LGBTQI+ people have their freedom to make social and economic choices restricted by exclusion in education, the workplace and the broader social sphere (Badgett, Waaldijk and Rodgers, 2019^[69]). This framework acknowledges both the larger economic impacts of restricting LGBTQI+ peoples’ human capital investments as well as their own lived experiences in terms of freedom to self-actualise.

Several studies support these arguments, finding positive correlations between levels of LGBT inclusion and indicators of economic prosperity (such as gross domestic product (GDP) per capita) in a variety of countries. Badgett, Waaldijk and Rodgers (2019^[69]) found a significant positive correlation between point values on the Global Index on Legal Recognition of Homosexual Orientation (GILRHO) (an 8-point scale measuring the level of legal LGBT inclusion in a country) and GDP per capita in 132 countries. Specifically, they found that a one-point increase on the GILRHO associates with a USD 2 000 increase in GDP per capita. It is important to note that a direct causal relationship cannot be identified with certainty, but the theoretical underpinnings mentioned previously provide context to the correlation.

Similarly, Vinska and Tokar (2016^[71]) found that a more LGBT-inclusive culture (measured by changes in answers to a World Value Survey question assessing tolerance of homosexuals) is positively associated with economic growth (measured by GDP) in the United States, China and Poland. Interestingly, this study found that the “elasticity” of this response is greater in less developed economies (Vinska and V., 2016^[71]). That is, the analysis indicates that less developed economies may see larger positive impacts on economic growth due to increased LGBT inclusion than more developed economies. In addition to GDP increases, there is some indication that LGBT inclusion positively correlates with levels of innovation in an economy. Using cross-country data, Vu (2021^[72]) linked increased LGBT tolerance with increased scores on the economic complexity index (ECI), which is a measure of national innovative capability developed by Hidalgo and Hausmann (2009^[73]). The theoretical explanation for this finding reflects the previously mentioned human capital argument, arguing that more inclusive educational environments allow LGBT people to invest themselves in ways that foster innovation in the economy.

On a more individual level, the existing literature points to varied and often negative effects of LGBTQI+ identity on labour market outcomes, suggesting negative human capital consequences of lower educational attainment. When LGBTQI+ people experience lower educational attainment as a result of bullying/discrimination, structural barriers to achievement and/or challenges with mental health or family life, they can experience downstream consequences in their economic outcomes. When examining this connection it is important to keep in mind the diversity of experiences and outcomes within the LGBTQI+ group. That is, the unique associations between specific sub-group identity (i.e. gay man, lesbian woman, transgender etc.) and academic outcomes explained previously (Pearson and Wilkinson, 2017^[52]; Valfort, 2017^[15]).

Valfort (2017^[15]) conducted an extensive literature review of the available observational and experimental data, which suggests a range of consistent penalties for LGBTQI+ individuals in labour market outcomes, including hiring discrimination, lower earnings and a higher likelihood of working part-time. Her analysis points to a consistent income penalty for gay men and a possible income premium for lesbian women. This difference is supported by a meta-analysis of 63 studies examining the effect of sexual orientation on earnings, with gay men earning less and lesbian women earning more on average than their heterosexual counterparts (Klawitter, 2015^[74]).

Similar studies looking at transgender individuals, although scarce, suggest further negative economic penalties for transgender identity. Carpenter, Eppink and Gonzales’s (2020^[75]) analysis of data from the

US Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System data from 2014-2017 reveals that self-identified transgender people achieve significantly lower levels of education, earn significantly less household income and are more likely to experience poverty compared to cisgender people. Additional studies suggest nuanced effects on individual earnings with distinct intra-group differences among transgender people. Geijtenbeek and Plug (2018^[76]) used available administrative registry data from Dutch national statistics to analyse the labour market outcomes of a large sample of “transsexual” individuals. The authors found nuanced effects on income that suggest specific intersectional differences between male-to-female (MTF) and female-to-male (FTM) individuals. Specifically, MTF individuals earn more than cisgender women but earn less after their transition and FTM earn less than cisgender men but earn about the same or marginally more after their transition. This conclusion that, on average, MTF individuals experience a higher economic penalty for their transition is supported by similar findings in a small-scale study of transgender people in the United States (Schilt and Wiswall, 2008^[77]). Geijtenbeek and Plug (2018^[76]) suggest two possible mechanisms for this disparity. A gender-based mechanism suggests transgender individuals may adopt the gender norms of their registered gender, thus resulting in lower income for MTF. The authors found that MTF individuals pursue lower paying jobs after their transition. Additionally, a post-transition mechanism mostly focuses on the role of discrimination in the labour market, specifically when someone’s physical appearance may not conform to stereotypes of what a certain gender “should” look like.

There are some conflicting findings suggesting different earnings outcomes for transgender individuals in different national contexts. Shannon’s (2021^[78]) analysis of United States national survey data of over 25 000 self-identified transgender individuals found that of those who have “socially transitioned” (not necessarily medical and/or legal transition), FTM individuals earn significantly less than MTF individuals. Interestingly, this difference in income disappears when looking only at those individuals who socially transitioned at a young age. This suggests that early social transitioning may mitigate some of the negative economic outcomes for transgender people. Furthermore, this study is unique in that the survey data included individuals identifying as gender-queer non-binary (GQNB) and found that they earn significantly less than and are more likely to work part-time than individuals identifying as transgender (MTF or FTM) (ibid.). This suggests further complexities in how gender identity and expression affect economic outcomes, continuing to support the importance of intersectional analysis.

There is also some indication that lesbian and gay individuals tend towards particular occupations (Baumie, Compton and Poston, 2009^[79]). The research has found that lesbian and gay workers often choose occupations that are traditionally associated with the opposite sex (Bérubé, 2011^[80]). In addition, Baumie, Compton and Poston (2009^[79]) found high representation of gay and lesbian individuals in the fields of psychology, law, counselling and social work. Drawing from theories on managing stigma, Tilcsik, Anteby and Knight found that gay and lesbian workers tend towards jobs that provide high task independence or require high levels of social perceptiveness (Tilcsik, Anteby and Knight, 2015^[81]).

Summing up

Identifying with the LGBTQI+ populations has been associated with indicators of well-being. They include the following:

Academic well-being

- Gay students often earn higher grades than heterosexual male students.
- Gay and lesbian college students are more likely to earn a college degree than their heterosexual peers.
- More research on LGBTQI+ students' dropout rates, grade repetition and absenteeism is needed for a complete understanding.

Social and emotional well-being

- LGBTQI+ students are more likely to be bullied than heterosexual students.
- Bullying is associated with lower physical and mental health for LGBTQI+ students.
- Bullying is associated with increases health-risk behaviours, self-harm and suicide ideation in LGBTQI+ youth.

Socio-economic well-being

- Increased inclusion of LGBTQI+ individuals in society is associated with increased economic prosperity.
- Increased inclusion of LGBTQI+ individuals in society fosters innovation in society.
- The LGBTQI+ populations are more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to face hiring discrimination, lower wages and part-time employment.

1.4. Diversity within diversity – LGBTQI+ individuals' intersectional identities

Initially introduced by feminist scholar Kimberlee Crenshaw, “intersectionality” is an analytical framework that emphasises the unique lived experiences of individuals based on the specific interactions of various aspects of their identity. For example, Crenshaw (1991^[82]) explains that racism and sexism intersect in the context of black women's lives “in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race and gender dimensions of those experiences separately” (p. 1244^[82]). That is to say, an analytical perspective that views a black woman as either solely black or solely a woman would render important aspects of their lived experience invisible due to the lack of attention to the intersection of those gender and racial identities. An intersectionality approach, therefore, provides a framework to analyse how different dimensions of diversity interact to create new dynamics, challenges and, sometimes, opportunities. This type of analysis can be helpful to utilise in several contexts of social policy, including LGBTQI+ inclusion.

LGBTQI+ individuals may face intersectional discrimination, which triggers specific challenges. For example, a lesbian woman can face discrimination both as a woman and as a lesbian. A gay adolescent with special education needs may experience discrimination based on their special education need and sexual orientation. A transgender young woman from an ethnic minority group can face discrimination as a transgender person, as a woman, and as a member of an ethnic minority group. In addition, LGBTQI+ individuals from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds and, in some cases, remote geographical locations, can experience intensified exclusion dynamics. In these contexts, it is important to consider how other identities may interact with a student's LGBTQI+ identity in specific ways that can affect their experiences in school.

In spite of significant gaps, emerging research shows that LGBTQI+ students are often more likely to experience multiple types of discrimination. Bucchianeri et al.'s (2016^[83]) analysis of data from over 160 000 students in the United States revealed that LGBQ students experience higher rates of other types of prejudice-based bullying (disability-based, weight-based and race-based) compared to heterosexual students. This indicates what the authors describe as “cross-harassment”, pointing to negative intersections between multiple aspects of identity.

Using an intersectional approach can help to inform policies which are better targeted to specific sub-groups within the LGBTQI+ community. In order to address issues like LGBTQI+ bullying, it is essential to have accurate and segregated data, which reveals a detailed picture of how specific groups experience specific challenges. As mentioned above, LGBTQI+ students face high risks of discrimination and exclusion in school. The literature on both adults and adolescents tends to show that attitudes towards boys perceived as gay are significantly more negative than attitudes towards girls perceived as lesbians (Ghavami, Katsiaficas and Rogers, 2016^[35]). Similarly, adolescents identified as males whose gender expression deviates from the norm face higher risk of discrimination and violence than those identified as females whose gender expression deviates from the norm (Ibid.). For example, Poteat and Anderson (2012^[84]), who studied the prejudice toward gay and lesbian individuals among adolescents from the ages of 12 to 18 years in the United States, found that boys reported much higher prejudice than girls did from the age of 12. While this phenomenon decreases among girls over time, it does not change among boys.

This research suggests that while discrimination and exclusion in school tends to be high for all LGBTQI+ students, boys may face specific and often more significant challenges than girls. Daley et al. (2007^[85]) conducted a qualitative study of the experiences of LGBT youth in terms of bullying and found that homophobic bullying can manifest in specific ways depending on the gender of the victim. Through in-depth interviews, the study found that gay males reported experiencing more physical bullying whereas lesbian females reported experiencing more sexually motivated bullying including harassment and assault. This specific form of bullying directed at girls can be motivated by the “eroticization of lesbian sexuality” which is distinct from most homophobic bullying directed at boys (Daley et al., 2007^[85]).

Although this last study confirms the findings of previous studies, that among LGBTQI+ youth, boys experience higher rates of discrimination and exclusion than girls, it emphasises the importance of using an intersectional perspective to better understand the unique experiences of all individuals rather than to create a hierarchy of discrimination. Gender (understood as a binary concept), gender identity and sexual orientation likely interact, creating new challenges and requiring additional targeted responses to fight against discrimination and exclusion.

1.4.1. Sexual orientation, gender identity and ethnicity

The intersection between sexual orientation, gender identity and ethnicity has been an increasingly mentioned topic within the literature. However, little empirical research has examined the role of race and ethnicity in shaping the experiences of students as part of a sexual or gender identity minority (Kosciw et al., 2020^[86]; Ghavami, Katsiaficas and Rogers, 2016^[35]). While available data and studies suggest that young people who identify or are perceived as part of an ethnic group and a gender or sexual minority suffer multiple discriminations, the specific challenges triggered by the intersection of these identities often remain unclear.

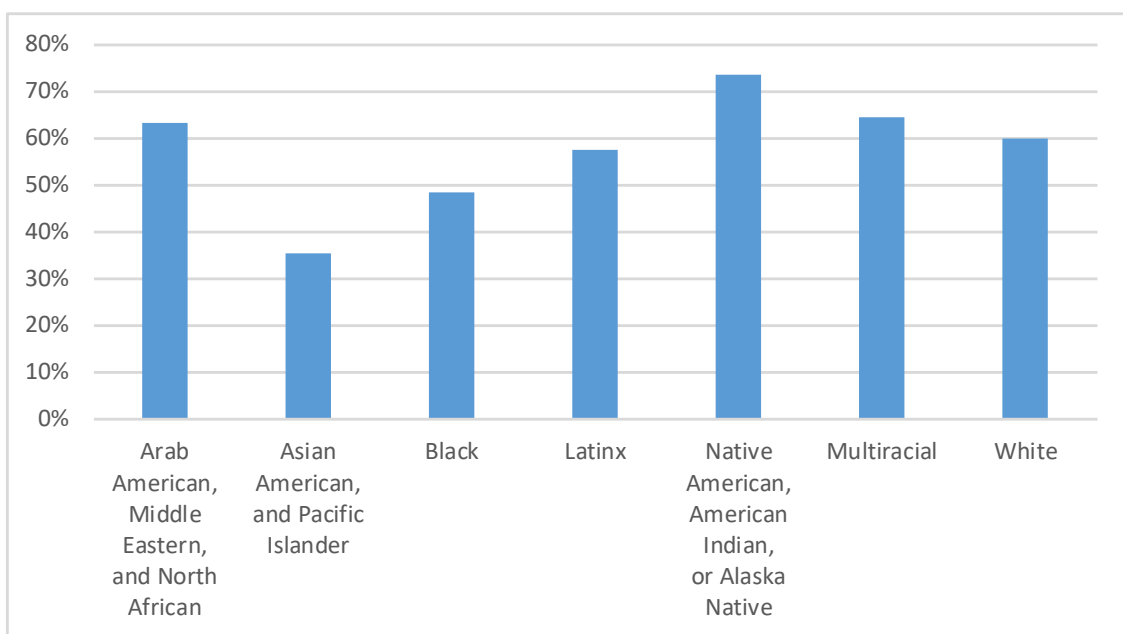
In the European Union, a recent survey from the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) (2020^[32]) found that four in 10 LGBTQI respondents (40%) who self-identify as members of an ethnic minority or have an immigrant background indicate ethnic origin or immigrant background as an additional ground for discrimination. Furthermore, data from a study conducted in France on LGBT-phobia (IFOP, 2019^[28]) systematically show that non-White respondents face higher rates of discrimination and exclusion dynamics in relation to their sexual orientation or gender identity than White respondents. For example,

among respondents identifying as White, 12% said that they had been assaulted within the past 12 months, versus 29% of respondents identifying as non-White.

In the United States, the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), a national non-profit organisation, collects disaggregated data by race¹ on the percentage of LGBTQ students experiencing anti-LGBTQ discriminatory school policies and practices. The organisation found that in 2019, Native American, American Indian and Alaska Native students experienced a higher rate of discrimination (73.6%), closely followed by Arab American, Middle Eastern and North African students (63.3%), multiracial (64.4%), and far ahead from White (60%), Latino (57.4%), Black (48.30%), Asian American and Pacific Island (35.5%) students (see Figure 1.2 below). The Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network points out that all LGBTQI+ youth of colour were at greater risk of experiencing multiple forms of victimisation than their White LGBTQI+ peers and the lowest levels of well-being and feelings of safety. The organisation also stresses that more research is needed to explain differences between sub-groups, examine the interconnection of dimensions of diversity and, ultimately, design good practices to respond to the specific challenges faced by these students (Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[62]).

Figure 1.2. Experiences of anti-LGBTQ discrimination by race/ethnicity in the United States

Percentage of LGBTQ students experiencing anti-LGBTQ discriminatory school policies and practices



Source: The 2019 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer youth in our nation’s schools (Kosciw et al., 2020, p. 111^[66]).

1.4.2. LGBTQI+ refugees and asylum seekers

Some LGBTQI+ individuals seek asylum out of their home countries due to severe persecution they or their families endure for non-binary gender identity or sexual orientation, which can include rape, imprisonment, torture and/or death (UNHCR, 2012^[87]; Piwowarczyk, Fernandez and Sharma, 2017^[88]).

¹ The OECD Strength through Diversity project to use the term “ethnicity” rather than race. However, to preserve the integrity of the work done in countries that refer to “race”, we have maintained the language used by those researchers/organisations, just as we have with varying terms used to refer to LGBTQI+ populations.

Hopkinson et al. (2017^[89]) found that they were more likely than other asylum seekers to have experienced sexual violence, childhood persecution and mistreatment by family members. They also tend to have higher rates of suicidal ideation. Although persecution based on LGBTQI+ status is not new, claims for asylum and refugee status based on this have only become common in recent years (UNHCR, 2016^[90]; Alessi et al., 2018^[91]). As a result, there is little research available to know which countries accept LGBTQI+ persecution as grounds for asylum and how LGBTQI+ refugees are faring.

What research there is indicates cause for concern for the wellbeing of LGBTQI+ refugees and asylum seekers. They face issues of intimidation, fear and humiliation that differs from challenges faced by other refugees and asylum seekers. For instance, proving grounds for asylum based on LGBTQI+ status can be a humiliating experience, as claimants may be asked for evidence such as compromising photographs, medical reports and support letters (Sari, 2020^[92]). Lesbian women who have been forced to marry in their home countries may be labelled as “fake” lesbians (Ibid).

En route to another country, LGBTQI+ refugees may need to conceal their identities, as other refugees they travel with may be hostile to their sexual and/or gender status, as may authorities they encounter (Alessi et al., 2018^[91]). Many have experienced harassment and assault by detention centre staff, translators and other asylum seekers who are detained while waiting for host country approval (ibid). In addition, they may arrive in a new country, only to discover that there is widespread discrimination against LGBTQI+ individuals. In such cases, they may experience not only cultural discrimination, but also ostracism from the local LGBTQI+ population because of their ethnicity or inability to speak the local language (Alessi et al., 2018^[91]). In addition, homophobic views may be held by other immigrants from their home countries, resulting in their inability to associate with people from their native cultures (Piwowarczyk, Fernandez and Sharma, 2017^[88]).

1.5. Geographical population distributions

Data tend to show that LGBTQI+ individuals prefer to live in big cities rather than rural and/or remote areas. For example, the European Commission (EC) highlights that, in European countries surveyed, “geographical remoteness can be an additional vulnerability factor. Forty-seven per cent of the LGBTI respondents across all groups in the EU live in a big city, 11% in the suburbs or outskirts of a big city, 30% in a town or small city, and 13% in a rural area” (European Commission, 2020, p. 5^[93]). This might be because major cities tend to have more spaces where LGBTQI+ people can identify and participate in the life of the community. For example, Salinas (2007^[94]) highlights that, although there are great variations between and within regions in terms of gay visibility, the main Spanish cities offer a “wide visibility” (*visibilidad amplia*) to the gay community, while some smaller cities are characterised by a “medium visibility” (*visibilidad media*) and smaller cities by a “reduced visibility” (*visibilidad reducida*). For diverse student groups, geographical location can be a factor that exacerbates discrimination and creates additional challenges.

Research on the impact of geographical location on LGBTQI+ discrimination and minority stress² is rather scarce. Most quantitative studies available on the topic since the 1990s stress that rural locations tend to be less welcoming and more oppressive than cities that are considered as safer and more hospitable (Swank, Fahs and Frost, 2013^[95]). While they note that quantitative studies show less consistent results, most research focusing on LGBTQI+ youth show that exclusion dynamics are more common in rural areas, especially regarding homophobic bullying (Ibid.). For example, a study conducted in Canada on LGB students showed that young people in rural areas suffered from higher rates of verbal bullying and physical assaults than young people in urban areas (Poon and Saewyc, 2009^[96]). Another study highlights that

² Minority stress is a term applied to added stress faced by minority populations as their values conflict with those of the dominant culture (Dentato, 2012^[269])

urban LGB upper secondary students heard less homophobic remarks and suffered from less sexual harassment related to sexual identity (Kosciw, Greytak and Diaz, 2009^[97]). More broadly, Swank, Fahs and Frost (2013^[95]) research shows that LGB people living in rural and small town contexts have a higher chance of being victimised and discriminated against in several areas of life such as work and housing. There are nonetheless a few studies that show that geographical location does not have a significant impact on minority stress (Gonzalez et al., 2009^[98]) and the well-being (Wienke and Hill, 2013^[99]) of LGB individuals, although almost none focus on children, youth and education.

2 The governance of LGBTQI+ inclusion in education

The OECD Strength through Diversity project considers governance as the first key component in providing for an equitable and inclusive education for diverse groups (Cerna et al., 2021^[1]). The roles of governance include creating goals and regulatory frameworks to support all students as well as insuring that educational provisions, such as diverse educational offerings, learning settings and equitable choices are available. It includes legislation that protects and provides for people belonging to diverse minority groups. It also involves allocating responsibility and insuring administrative support, from the national level to the local school level. This section will consider ways in which governance can support LGBTQI+ students in OECD countries.

2.1. Methodology

Unlike many fields of research, the field of sexual studies is less than 100 years old (Clay, 2015^[100]). Education on sexuality did not begin until the late 1960s in most OECD countries. Currently, sexuality education in many OECD countries is not necessarily inclusive of LGBTQI+ gender and sexuality concerns. As a result, there is a short history of research on this topic. This is additionally a reason why there is a dearth of monitoring and evaluating programmes intended to include and protect LGBTQI+ students.

Mapping of policies and practices for Sections 2-5 of this paper has been conducted through desk research, using keywords related to the topic and found in international and national policies, LGBTQI+-related programming for students and information found on governmental websites and in research databases. Wherever possible, evaluations are included. The paper uses the STDP framework of governing, resourcing, developing capacity, promoting school-level interventions, and evaluating and monitoring programmes for effectiveness (Cerna et al., 2021^[1]), although some of these processes, such as evaluating and monitoring, are not highly available. An attempt has been made to be comprehensive. However, it is likely that some effective policies and programmes may have been unintentionally overlooked.

2.2. The emergence of LGBTQI+ rights as a priority in the United Nations

Within the past 10 years, the UN has provided leadership for international recognition of LGBTQI+ rights. The former Secretary-General of the UN, Ban Ki-moon, urged nations to recognise the abuse of LGBTQI+ people and to provide for their human rights (Langlois, 2018^[101]). In 2012, the UN Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (OHCHR) published “Born Free and Equal” (see Box), revised in 2019, that declares the obligations of member states to protect the rights of LGBTQI+ people (United Nations, 2019^[102]) (see Box 2.1). This campaign includes a number of events and campaigns for LGBTQI+ students. The OHCHR also published a statement about the problems of discrimination against LGBTQ students and the need to protect their rights (Madrigal-Borloz and Boly Barry, 2016^[103]). In addition, following the Human Rights Council Resolution 32/2 in June 2016, a three-year mandate was created for an

Independent Expert on sexual orientation and gender identity. The mandate was renewed in June 2019 under resolution 41/18³. Furthermore, although it does not explicitly describe LGBTQI+ rights, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child declares the rights of children to be free from discrimination (Article 1) and to receive an education that respects their dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms (Articles 28 and 29) (OHCHR, 1989_[104]). Examples can also be found in other UN bodies. For example, the UN Security Council met in 2015 to address atrocities towards gay men committed by the Islamic State (Langlois, 2018_[101]; Reinl, 2015_[105]).

Box 2.1. Free and Equal: A UN initiative

In 2013, the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) created the Free and Equal initiative to promote a global information campaign supporting LGBTQI rights and safety (OHCHR, 2013_[106]). The initiative has included numerous materials that include over 90 videos, fact sheets and thematic events to inform the public about issues faced by the LGBTQI+ community. Since the 2013 launch, UN Free and Equal has supported national-level campaigns and events in over 30 countries to increase support for inclusive societies that protect LGBTQI people from discrimination and violence. Media products are inclusive of multiple languages. Programmes targeted at youth populations have included the following:

- An information campaign on homeless LGBTQI youth.
- A campaign targeted at parents on accepting and supporting their LGBTQI children in Albania.
- A survey of students in Timor-Leste that provided recommendations for students, teachers and families about creating inclusive, safe schools; a campaign providing information about the difficulty in accessing education faced by the LGBTQI community in Timor-Leste; and trainings for schools and community police in the country.
- A “Safer homes for LGBTIQ people” that addresses parents’ fears for their LGBTQI+ children and students’ fears of rejection.
- Participation in “Spirit Day”, a global campaign designed to reduce bullying of LGBTQI+ youth.
- A “Diversity Ball” soccer competition at Hanoi University with mixed gender teams that included booths where spectators could learn more about the LGBTQI+ community in Viet Nam.
- An exhibit documenting the lives of transgender people held at the Belgrade Youth Centre in Serbia.

These and other campaigns launched by UN Free and Equal have reached millions of viewers and participants in numerous countries and have increased awareness and advocacy.

Source: OHCHR, Stand up for equal rights and fair treatment for lesbian, gay, bi, trans and intersex people everywhere. <https://www.unfe.org> (retrieved 4 January 2022 (2013_[106])).

2.3. Regional initiatives

To continue efforts to promote the inclusion of LGBTQI+ people, the European Commission adopted on 11 November 2020 the “LGBTIQ Equality Strategy 2020-2025” (European Commission, 2020_[93]). The document recognises that discrimination against LGBTQI+ people across the European Union has actually

³ See: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/sexualorientationgender/pages/index.aspx> (accessed on 31 January 2022).

increased since 2012 and that transgender and intersex people face the greatest discrimination and violence. The Strategy adopts four main goals:

- addressing discrimination against LGBTIQ people
- providing safety for members of the LGBTIQ community
- creating societies inclusive of LGBTIQ people
- being a leader for global LGBTIQ equality.

Actions to address these goals include policies, legislation and funding. Although little of the document discusses children and youth, section 1.3 includes a paragraph recognising the importance of addressing challenges faced by LGBTIQ+ students. It also indicates increased attention for LGBTIQ+ students through Erasmus+ financed projects (European Commission, 2020^[93]).

At the European level, another key stakeholder is the Council of Europe (CoE), which comprises 47 countries of Europe and aims to promote democracy and protect human rights and the rule of law. The CoE is pioneer regarding the protection of LGBTIQ+ people's rights. Its commitment started in 1981, when the Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution urging Member Countries to stop human right violations against homosexuals. The Resolution was complemented by a 1989 Resolution on the condition of transsexuals and a 2000 Resolution on the situation of lesbians and gays (OECD, 2020^[31]). The CoE has since been key in the establishment of a normative framework to promote LGBTIQ+ rights and inclusion. In 2010, its Parliamentary Assembly adopted a resolution calling Member countries to end "discrimination on the basis of sexual and gender identity" and its Committee of Ministers issues a milestone documents providing recommendations "to combat discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation or gender identity". These documents include clear references to the right to education. In particular, the Committee of Ministers' recommendation stresses that States must safeguard "the right of children and young people to education in a safe environment, free from violence, bullying, social exclusion or other forms of discriminatory and degrading treatment related to sexual orientation or gender identity". It adds that "objective information with respect to sexual orientation and gender identity" must be provided, "for instance in school curricula and educational materials" (CoE, 2010^[107]).

The General Assembly of the Organisation of the American States (OAS) adopted in 2008 a resolution urging Member States to combat "acts of violence and related human rights violations committed against individuals because of their sexual orientation and gender identity" (OAS General Assembly, 2008^[108]). In 2013, the OAS adopted an Inter-American Convention against All Forms of Discrimination and Intolerance (A-69) (OAS General Assembly, 2013^[109]), signed by 11 member states (including OECD countries Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and Mexico; it has not been signed by the United States). Among other elements, the convention prohibits discrimination and marginalisation based on "age; sex; sexual orientation; gender identity and expression" (Article 1.1) and requires State Parties to develop legal and policy frameworks in different areas of life, including in education.

These regional frameworks indicate increased acceptance and protection for a population that continues to face discrimination and hostility, legally in many countries and socially even where there is legal protection. The development of frameworks for the promotion of the rights and inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people in different regions of the world have led many countries to intensify efforts to protect and include them in society and education.

2.4. National initiatives

There are promising trends with respect to LGBTIQ+ legislation in OECD countries. The OECD (2020^[31]) finds that although legal LGBTIQ+ inclusivity varies significantly by country, it has been improving in all OECD countries between 1979 and 2019, with increased progress since 1999 (OECD, 2020^[31]). Overall, in 1979, only 9% of laws passed in OECD countries were LGBTI inclusive. Forty years later, 53% of laws

were LGBTQI inclusive. For example, as of 2021, 29 countries have recognised same-sex marriage, most of which are OECD countries. As such, LGBTQI+ sexual relations are no longer criminalised in these countries, but afforded legal protection. At least 15 countries, 11 from the OECD, have also created a provision for gender-neutral passport identities (Fung, 2021^[110]). Still, there is still a long way to go to achieve LGBTQI+ legal inclusion in many OECD countries (OECD, 2020^[31]).

Likewise, the number of policy frameworks aimed at promoting LGBTQI+ inclusion have increased across the OECD, some of them having specific mentions to education, although clear strategies are still lacking in various countries. The Council of Europe created a compendium of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) legislation and policies that includes documentation of LGBT-supportive educational policies and practices in **Canada, Denmark, Flanders (Belgium), Iceland, Ireland, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom** (Council of Europe, 2022^[111]). This section presents some examples of promising governance initiatives in OECD countries that aim to enhance the safety and inclusion of LGBTQI+ students.

2.4.1. LGBTQI+ inclusion in education frameworks in Europe

Denmark put in place its “Action plan to promote security, well-being and equal opportunities for LGBTI people 2018-2021” (Government of Denmark, 2018^[112]). Within this framework, the Danish government aims to combat prejudice among young people and promote openness in education. Some of the initiatives taken in this direction are evaluation of health and sex education as well as family education, the launch of a preliminary study on monitoring the well-being of LGBTI students, preparation of inspiration and guidance materials for schools and upper secondary education institutions, discussion of the LGBTI areas at higher education institutions, creation of an application pool to combat prejudice and inclusion of sex education in teacher training programmes.

France has been a 21st century leader in the fight against discrimination towards LGBTQI+ individuals. The country legalised same-sex marriage in 2013. Governmental programmes have included the 2012 Government Action Programme against Violence and Discrimination based on Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity and the 2016-2019 Government Action Programme against Violence and Discrimination based on Sexual Orientation or Gender Identity. The 2020-2023 National Action Plan includes goals for schools to reduce phobic attitudes towards non-heteronormative students with multiple, targeted and measurable interventions and goals (DILCRAH, 2020^[113]). Actions include staff training, raising awareness of the student population, recognising LGBTQI+ students’ preferred gender labels and acquiring library books that recognise non-heteronormative family situations. The initiative includes measures to create awareness about suicidal tendencies among LGBTQI+ youth and to support research on LGBTQI+ youth.

Finland has two laws from 2014 – a Non-Discrimination Act and a Gender Equality Act – that include protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). The Gender Equality Act also provides for promoting gender equality in education. The country has anti-bullying programmes, but none that are specific to LGBTQI+ students. There are no mandatory teacher training programmes with respect to LGBTQI+ students.

Iceland is known to be a “gay-friendly” European country, where 87% of Icelanders voiced support for same-sex marriage in 2004 (Chapman, 2022^[115]). The Icelandic National Curriculum Guide for Compulsory Schools specifies appropriate education and equal opportunities regardless of sexual orientation (Icelandic Ministry of Education, 2014^[116]). Additionally, educational materials “should appeal equally to both sexes and not discriminate between individuals or groups on the basis of their gender or sexual orientation” (p. 48).

Aside from not requiring teacher training on LGBTQI+ awareness, the **Netherlands** has countrywide policies applicable to education settings (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). They include the 1994 General Act for Equal Treatment (amended in 2015) that explicitly mentions homosexuality and the Safety at School Act of 2015

that explicitly mentions LGBT students and the need to prevent bullying. The Parliament made education about sexual diversity mandatory in 2012, although 2016 research by the Inspectorate of Education found that such education varied widely and 20% of schools were not including sexual diversity education.

The Gender and LGBT Equality Policy Plan 2018-2021 of the **Netherlands** included agreements by the national coalition government to improve inclusive education with respect to LGBT students. These include refining existing educational goals concerning sexuality and sexual diversity. Secondary teacher professional learning on providing safety and acceptance of LGBT students took effect in 2018 and was also to be implemented into the curriculum of primary teacher training colleges and vocational education and training (VET). The government also supported initiatives to prevent youth suicide.

Sweden has been one of the most progressive countries to institute protections for LGBTQI+ people through legislation. The nation legalised homosexual relations in 1944 (Sweden/Sverige, 2021^[117]). It became the first country in the world to allow gender change legally in 1972. Sweden scores higher than most OECD countries on acceptance and comfort with LGBTQI+ individuals as political figures, colleagues, and marital partners for their children (OECD, 2019^[26]). Sweden has an Education Act and a Discrimination Act that works to protect students from discrimination. It makes teachers responsible to protecting students from degrading treatment and discrimination, including mistreatment or exclusion due to LGBTQI+ circumstances (Diskriminerings ombudsmannen, 2008^[118]).

2.4.2. LGBTQI+ inclusion in education frameworks in Australasia

The Victorian Government in **Australia** established Safe Schools to ensure schools are safe places for all students, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and gender diverse, intersex, queer, asexual and questioning (LGBTIQ+) students, and are free of discrimination (Victoria State Government, Australia, 2010^[119]). A key part of the program is to provide professional development and training for secondary school teachers so that they are equipped to support LGBTIQ+ students. The Safe Schools programme is managed and delivered directly by the Department of Education and Training.

Health and Physical Education of the Australian curriculum is designed to allow schools flexibility to meet the learning needs of all young people, particularly in the health focus area of relationships and sexuality (Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), 2022^[120]). All school communities have a responsibility when implementing the Health and Physical Education curriculum to ensure that teaching is inclusive and relevant to the lived experiences of all students. This is particularly important when teaching about reproduction and sexual health, to ensure that the needs of all students are met, including students who may be same-sex attracted, gender diverse or intersex.

In 2015, **Japan's** Ministry of Education issued guidelines to allow students to wear clothing of the gender to which they identify (Dale, 2016^[121]). In 2016, it provided a pamphlet for teachers to provide them with information about sexual orientation and gender identity. These actions were followed in 2017 by the ministry's updated anti-bully policies to specifically include sexual orientation and gender identity (Human Rights Watch, 2017^[122])

New Zealand has protections for LGBTQI+ students stemming from its 1993 Human Rights Act (Rainbow Rights in Aotearoa, n.d.^[123]). The act does not explicitly mention "gender" as grounds for non-discrimination, but the Human Rights Commission of New Zealand has stated that the word "sex" in the act is inclusive of gender. Subsequent policies (such as the 2015 Ministry of Education Sexuality Education guide) have suggested that schools consider toilet facilities to ensure that students not conforming to traditional gender norms feel safe (ibid.). Both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Human Rights have suggested that school allow students to wear uniforms that affirm their gender identities, though this is not a legal requirement (NZ Human Rights Commission, n.d.^[124]; NZ Ministry of Education, 2020^[125]).

In addition, the Ministry's website on support includes four strategies to support and protect LGBTQI+ students. The first is building an understanding of concepts and terms through a multicultural perspective

(Ministry of Education, 2021^[126]). Second is to create school-wide systems and processes. This step is the result of engaging with the community; developing inclusive policies; determining safe, inclusive school environments; providing support systems to students through shared expectations, peer-to-peer groups and support agencies; implementing sexual education guidelines that do not marginalise LGBTQIA+ students; and providing for professional learning for all school staff. The third strategy is to address the immediate physical, social and environmental needs to LGBTQI+ students by creating an inclusive school culture. The final recommendation is for creating inclusive classrooms by using inclusive language and class routines, and by using LGBTQI+ inclusive classroom content.

2.4.3. LGBTQI+ inclusion in education frameworks in North America

A 2013 Pew Research Survey found that 80% of Canadians are accepting of homosexuality (Pew Research Center, 2013^[127]), with over 80% accepting of same-sex marriage and adoption by same-sex partners (Equaldex, 2022^[128]) **Canada** legalised same sex marriage in 2005. Since 2012, numerous provinces and cities in Canada have enacted laws to protect LGBTQ students. They include the following (Taylor et al., 2015^[129]):

- The Ontario Accepting Schools Act (2012): mandates school boards to develop equity policies and support inclusive student-led groups, including gay-straight alliances (GSA).
- Québec Act to Prevent and Stop Bullying and Violence in Schools (2012): requires public and private schools to develop and enact plans to prevent bullying, inclusive of LGBTQ bullying.
- Manitoba Public Schools Act: amended in 2014 to require all publicly funded schools to implement policies that are inclusive of LGBTQ students, providing safety.
- Vancouver School Board (2014): revised its LGBT-inclusive policies to accommodate transgender students.
- New Brunswick created a ministerial policy requiring schools to provide a GSA when one is requested by anyone at the school.

Canada has also banned conversion therapy for any citizen of any age (see Box 2.2). Policies and supports for LGBTQI+ students in the United States vary by the state. For example, only six states have legislation requiring the inclusion of LGBTQI+ history and social science curriculum (Prescott, 2021^[130]). However, the Biden administration issued an executive order in 2021 to guarantee an educational environment free of discrimination on the basis of sex, including sexual orientation and gender identity (White House Executive Order, 2021^[131]).

Box 2.2. Conversion therapies in OECD countries

Countries/Regions that have banned “conversion therapy”

Best Attempts to change the sexual orientation or gender identity or expression of LGBTQI+ individuals have gone by many names, the most common being “conversion therapy”. The ILGA points out that “therapy” is problematic, as it connotes a positive medical or psychological practice (Mendos, 2020^[132]). In fact, methods to “convert” LGBTQI+ individuals to a heterosexual orientation and cisgender identity have been carried out by non-professionals as well as by medical doctors, psychologists and counsellors. As explained earlier in this chapter, same-sex relationships and gender expression that deviate from the norms were initially seen as pathologies to be cured. This approach to homosexuality and gender identities different from the dominant norms has had long-lasting impacts. Some individuals and groups still aim to “cure” or “correct” people who are not heterosexual and cisgender. Methods have included extreme physical and psychological measures, which often result in depression, anxiety, fear, self-loathing and suicidal ideation (Graham, 2020^[133]).

Conversion therapy bans

In 2019, the UN Special Rapporteur on torture stated that these numerous methods to change people’s sexual orientation or gender identity or expression, especially when performed without consent, can amount to torture or other degrading, cruel procedures, as they can cause significant pain or suffering (Melzer, 2019^[134]). A year later, the UN Human Rights Council issued a report decrying the physical and psychological harm resulting from these practices (Madrigal-Borloz, 2020^[135]). Minors are especially vulnerable to undergoing conversion therapy without their consent, as parents may reject their non-cisgender identities due to religious beliefs, “family honour” or fears that family members or society will reject their children. An Outright International report indicated that 80% of individuals exposed to conversion therapy are under 24 years of age (Bishop, 2019^[136]). The Williams Institute at the UCLA School of Law (United States) (Mallory, Brown and Conron, n.d.^[137]) found that 73,000 LGBT youth would be subjected to conversion therapy from either licensed care professionals or religious/spiritual advisors before the age of 18, in spite of research indicating that this practice can lead to poor mental health and suicide ideation.

Specific laws banning conversion therapies countrywide are rare. Countries such as Canada and France voted to ban these practices for citizens of any age in December 2021 (Laviertes, 2021^[138]), Mexico in 2020. Germany bans the practice for minors. Twenty of the 50 United States also ban the practice.

Sources: Bishop, Harmful treatment: The global reach of so-called conversion therapy, https://www.outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/conversionFINAL_Web_0.pdf?_ga=2.233416601.62898879.1639744375-2031149983.1639744375 (2019^[136]); Melzer, Interim report of the Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, <https://undocs.org/A/74/148> (2019^[134]); Graham, Conversion therapy: A brief reflection on the history of the practice and contemporary regulatory efforts, dspace.creighton.edu:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10504/124721/CLR_52_4_Graham.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (2020^[133]); Madrigal-Borloz, Practices of so-called “conversion therapy”, https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/44/53 (2020^[135]); Mendos, ILGA World: Curbing deception: A world survey on legal regulation of so-called “conversion therapies”, https://ilga.org/downloads/ILGA_World_Curbing_Deception_world_survey_legal_restrictions_conversion_therapy.pdf (2020^[132]); Laviertes, Canada bans conversion therapy, joining a handful of nations, <https://nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-news/canada-bans-conversion-therapy-joining-handful-nations-rcna8253> (2021^[138]).

2.4.4. Laws and policies for the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students in Latin America

In Latin America, **Chile**, **Colombia** and **Mexico** are among the countries that have at least a law against discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. Colombia⁴ and Chile's⁵ anti-discrimination laws explicitly mention sexual orientation, while Mexico's⁶ mentions "sexual preferences". However, only Chile's anti-discrimination law mentions gender identity and expression.

In education specifically, there are no references to sexual orientation or gender identity in legal documents. For example, based on Article 5 of the country's General Law for Education, Chile has designed several documents to promote inclusion and fight against discrimination in education. Its Law 20.536 on School Violence in 2011, Law 20.845 in School Inclusion in 2015 and Law 20.609 establish measures against discrimination (Barrientos and Lovera, 2020^[29]). Although these laws provide a framework to fight against discrimination and violence in education, none of these documents explicitly mentions sexual orientation or gender identity. There is, nonetheless, a slow but increasing commitment to the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students. The three countries signed the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) 2016 call for a Global Action to Prevent Homophobic and Transphobic Violence in Schools. The Mexico Public Education Secretariat has also published books with LGBTQI+ themes (Barrientos and Lovera, 2020^[29]).

The Ministry of Education in **Chile** issued "Guidelines for the Inclusion of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Persons in the Chilean Education System in 2017" (Education, 2017^[139]). The guidelines propose initiatives to be taken by the main actors in the educational community, with the goal to reduce discriminatory practices against LGBTI students. Some of the initiatives are development, revision and updating of fundamental instruments for the construction of the training and regulatory framework of the institution; celebration and/or commemoration of the relevant days for the LGBTI people; usage of an inclusive language; and mainstreaming the curriculum in different disciplines and areas of experience for learning topics like equality and non-discrimination in relation to sexual diversity and gender.

2.4.5. Variations of frameworks for LGBTQI+ inclusion within countries

Although there are not always countrywide policies, in many cases there are state or local examples within countries. While the existence of regional and local initiatives is encouraging, where a system-level inclusion in education framework is lacking, there can be significant disparities across locations. In **Austria**, for example, Vienna is the only state to have a specific policy protecting individuals against gender identity discrimination (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). Vienna has also established the Viennese Antidiscrimination Unit for Lesbian, Gay and Transgender Issues, which has held 31 trainings at schools. A recent study conducted in **Spain** showed significant disparities across regions regarding the levels of protection for transgender children and youth (FELGTB, 2020^[140]). Barrientos and Lovera (2020^[29]) point out that in **Colombia**, only Bogota has a curriculum that tackles LGBTQI+ topics.

⁴ See Law 1482 of 2011 of 30 November (Spanish): <https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=44932> (accessed on 3 February 2022).

⁵ See Law 20609 of 24 July 2012 (Spanish) : <https://www.bcn.cl/leychile/navegar?idNorma=1042092> (accessed on 3 February 2022).

⁶ See Federal Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination of 11 June 2003 (Spanish): <http://www.conapred.org.mx/userfiles/files/LFPED%284%29.pdf> (accessed on 3 February 2022).

2.5. Creating an LGBTQI+ inclusive curriculum

Governance includes providing educational opportunities that are inclusive and supportive of LGBTQI+ students. What follows is a discussion of opportunities to help LGBTQI+ students feel safe and supported through inclusive sexuality education curriculum.

2.5.1. Inclusive national curricula in OECD countries

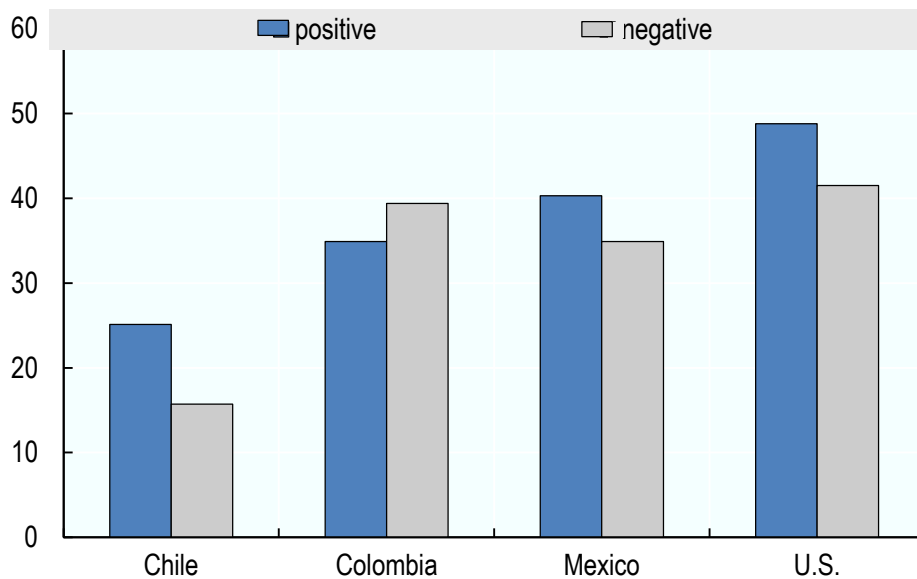
The International Bureau of Education/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (IBE-UNESCO) defines inclusive curriculum as that which considers “diverse needs, previous experiences, interests and personal characteristics” of all students (IBE-UNESCO, 2022^[141]). Along with providing curricular materials that are accessible to all students, this element of teaching and learning includes designing content, activities and assignments that help all students see themselves reflected in curricular materials. The inclusion of LGBTQI+ students can also be promoted by using an inclusive curriculum. An inclusive curriculum should have references to LGBTQI+ topics, such as historical and current events and human rights in citizenship education and/or across disciplines. Other elements can be to have LGBTQI+ references in textbooks (Brussino, 2021^[142]).

Having positive examples in the curriculum can lead to positive outcomes for LGBTQI+ students. For example, studies in the **United Kingdom** (Stonewall, 2017^[143]) and in Latin American countries (Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[144]) show that curricula that are LGBTQI+ inclusive can lead to increased attainment and a stronger sense of belonging to the school community for LGBTQI+ students. Furthermore, including LGBTQI+ topics can help to normalise these identities, encourage a more accepting school culture, and contribute to creating a positive school climate (Snapp et al., 2015^[145]). A hostile school climate, on the contrary, has been shown to have a negative effect on both academic outcomes and measures of self-confidence in LGBTQI+ students (Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[62]; Toomey et al., 2011^[146]).

In spite of these considerations, evidence shows that positive references to LGBTQI+ issues in the curriculum are still lacking in several countries. It is, nonetheless, encouraging to see that many countries have such references. For example, in a report on inclusive education, the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex Youth and Student Organisation (IGLYO) (2018^[114]) noted that among the European countries surveyed, 19 have LGBTQI+ issues embedded throughout the curriculum or compulsory, including 14 OECD countries (**Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France**, some Länder in **Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway**, the **Slovak Republic**, some regions in **Spain, Sweden** and the **United Kingdom**). A majority of these countries have a curriculum inclusive of both sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, while some are only inclusive of sexual orientation.

However, data show that LGBTQI+ issues are still often mentioned through a negative lens (see Figure 2.1). Kosciw and Zongrone (2019^[144]), who surveyed students in seven Latin American countries, found that 25% of students in Chile, 35% in Colombia and 40% in Mexico said that classes have positive references to LGBTQI+ issues. Respectively 16%, 39% and 35% of students said that classes have negative references to LGBTQI+ issues. In a similar survey in the United States in 2019, 33% of students said that LGBTQI+ topics had been discussed in at least one of their classes. Among these students, 49% indicated that LGBTQI+ topics were covered in a positive manner, 42% said that they were covered in a negative manner and 10% said that they were covered both in a positive and negative manner (Kosciw et al., 2020^[86]).

Figure 2.1. Percentages of positive and negative LGBTQ remarks made by peers in classes, according to student surveys



Note: LGBTQI students surveyed stated that school staff in the United States intervened only 9% of the time when negative remarks were about gender expression and 14% when remarks were homophobic. Educator intervention regarding homophobic remarks made in Chile, Colombia and Mexico were at 64%, 60% and 48%, respectively.

Sources: Kosciw & Zongrone (2019^[62]); Kosciw et al. (2020^[86]).

In recent years, there have been growing attempts to advocate for and research LGBTQI+ inclusive materials in school curricula (Camicia, 2016^[147]; Page, 2017^[148]). In the **United States**, California was the first state to legislate the inclusion of LGBT Americans, as well as people with disabilities and members of minority cultural groups in its Fair Education Act of 2011. For example, elementary school students learn that families are formed not only by a mother, father and birth children, but also through adoption, as one-parent households, as households led by grandparents and by families with two mothers or two fathers. California students learn not only that Sally Ride was the first woman in space, but also the first lesbian in space (Rancaño, 2017^[149]). Since 2019, five other states – Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, Nevada, and Oregon, – have instituted similar laws (Prescott, 2021^[130]). Furthermore, some civil society organisations have been developing LGBTQI+-inclusive curriculum guides that can be useful for governments (see Box 2.3).

Box 2.3. Creating an inclusive curriculum in the United Kingdom

Stonewall's guides for primary and secondary students

In a 2017 survey of over 3 700 students in the United Kingdom, the Stonewall organisation found that two in five LGBTQI+ students were never taught about LGBTQI+ issues, three in four never learned about or discussed bisexuality in school and three in four were never taught or discussed gender identity and what transgender means (Stonewall, 2017_[143]). Furthermore, the survey noted that among students who had learned about LGBTQI+ issues, most reported that this was limited to specific curriculum areas. Almost half (45%) of the students, including 64% of transgender students, were bullied for being LGBTQI+.

Following the results of the survey, Stonewall developed two guides to support teachers with simple tools to include LGBTQI+ issues in various school subjects in primary and secondary schools (Stonewall, 2019_[150]). The guides also include a child and adolescent friendly glossary to use definitions in an appropriate way.

For example, for the subject of English in secondary schools, the guide advises, among other elements, to introduce LGBTQI+ authors and themes and explore representations of genders, set up speeches, discussions and writing activities on LGBTQI+ topics. To teach mathematics in primary school, the guide advises to build LGBTQI+ visibility through, for example, the use of LGBTQI+ characters in mathematics problems.

Source: Stonewall, Creating an LGBT-inclusive curriculum: A guide for secondary schools, https://www.stonewall.org.uk/system/files/inclusive_curriculum_guide.pdf (2017_[143]); Stonewall, Creating an LGBT-inclusive primary curriculum, <https://www.stonewall.org.uk/resources/creating-lgbt-inclusive-primary-curriculum> (2019_[150]).

Including inclusive sexuality education in the curriculum

Sexuality education refers to “the range of pedagogical interventions with children and young people around sexualities, reproduction and reproductive biology and rights, sexual health, and issues concerning sexual consent and protection” that can be delivered by different actors, including teachers and health workers (Allred and J. Fox, 2020_[3]). While the terminology varies across countries (sex education, sexuality education, sexual and reproductive health education, etc.), the terms “sexuality education” is here used to reflect a sexuality education curriculum that includes diversity of gender identities and sexual orientations. What should be taught, and at what ages, have been contentious topics among parents, politicians and educators (Grace, 2018_[151]). However, students often have difficulties finding accurate information (see Box 2.4). Schools can be places where they are able to obtain accurate, unbiased information.

The shift towards comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) is reflected in some national frameworks that attempt to include references to gender identities and sexual orientations in the teaching of sexuality education. A 2020 publication of the European Union indicated that 16 member states include information about LGBTI issues in their sexuality education courses (Picken, 2020_[152]). In December 2012, the **Netherlands** adopted the “Law on Education Goals” for primary and secondary that promotes comprehensive sexuality education. For both primary and lower secondary students, the goal is to “learn to respectfully deal with sexuality and diversity in society, including sexual diversity” as a core objective (Ketting and Ivanova, 2018, p. 133_[153]). Sexuality education has been compulsory in the **Netherlands** since 1993, and the education begins at the age of four. Gender identity and homosexuality are treated as natural lifestyles in the curriculum (Weaver, Smith and Kippax, 2005_[154]). As such, they are not stigmatised

(Bell, 2009^[155]). Teachers receive training in sexuality teaching, as do teachers in **Sweden**. Sweden's comprehensive sexuality education has been mandatory since 1956.

Denmark has had compulsory sexuality education since 1970 (Roien, Graugaard and Simovska, 2022^[156]). It is inclusive of LGBTQI+ issues. The Danish Family Planning Association (FPA) is a private non-governmental organisation (NGO) that collaborates with the Danish Board of Health to develop activities for the sexuality education curriculum in Denmark (Danish Family Planning Association, n.d.^[157]). According to the NGO, the approach to sexuality education in Denmark is not moralistic, but democratic. The aim is not to change behaviours as much as to provide appropriate and accurate information so that students can make well-informed choices. The Danish FPA also points out ongoing challenges of lack of teacher education on teaching sexuality education, a lack of local guidelines, inadequate up-to-date resources and student dissatisfaction with teaching of the subject. The NGO has worked to increase new materials and trainings to assist teachers with these challenges.

Portugal's 2017 National Strategy for Citizenship Education makes it mandatory for schools to teach topics such as Human Rights and Gender Equality at all levels of education. Sexuality should be taught in at least two years in the primary and lower secondary levels, and the law states that "sexuality education should aim at the respect for the difference between people and for the different sexual orientations" (Law 60/2009, Art. 2, par. b.). **Austria's** 2015 Fundamental Decree on Sexual Pedagogy requires that sexual education be taught inclusively across the school curriculum in different subjects. It is important to note that there are no specific requirements for how much time is spent on LGBTQI+ topics, with much of the implementation left to individual teacher discretion, thus resulting in regional variation (IGYLO, 2018^[114]).

In 2020, **United Kingdom** made relationships education in primary and "relationships and sex education" (RSE) in secondary, mandatory (UK Department for Education, 2019^[158]). Both curricula are inclusive of LGBT relationships. The government has provided an implementation guide, training modules for teachers and guides to assist schools in communications with parents and caregivers. Parents do not have the right to withdraw their primary-age children from the relationships education. They can withdraw their secondary-age children from sex education up until the age of 16 (after which it is up to the student), but not from relationships or health education.

Box 2.4. Student challenges to finding accurate, unbiased information

Including LGBTQI+ topics in sexuality education curricula is an effective way of combatting heteronormativity within school environments. When sexuality education curricula are heteronormative (which they often are), LGBTQI+ identities can be implicitly presented as excluded or non-preferential. This can create a hostile school environment for LGBTQI+ students, which highlights the importance of inclusive sexuality education. For example, Baams et al. (2017_[159]) found that CSE that included LGBTQI+ topics in Dutch schools was associated with a long-term improvement in school climate in terms of perceived hostility and safety.

Although there is growing recognition that students need information about multiple aspects of sexuality (cognitive, physical and socio-emotional), there remain significant differences about how and what nations provide to students on the topic (Picken, 2020_[152]). The topic is sensitive, as parents and teachers hold diverse and often contradictory beliefs about what should be taught, at what ages students should receive information and who should be responsible for the teaching.

Within the family circle, talking about sexuality can be difficult. Malacane (2016_[160]) explains that on the one hand, parents are often uncomfortable or believe that their children are not ready (OECD, 2020_[45]). This may lead to a problematic lack of communication and/or to talking about sexuality after their children are sexually active. On the other hand, children and adolescents are not necessarily inclined to tackle sexuality matters with their parents and might look for information outside their family circle. Moreover, there exists significant challenges in terms of information access, discomfort and misperceptions when it comes to sexuality, which tends to be more severe for LGBTQI+ individuals (Kubicek et al., 2010_[161]). Therefore, many young LGBTQI+ individuals seek information through online communities on the internet and social media (OECD, 2020_[45]). For example, according to Mandulay et al. (2018_[162]), LGBTQI+ youths in the United States are on average five times as likely as their heterosexual counterparts to seek sexual health information online. Digital spaces can help these youths by creating a sense of community (*ibid.*), providing an immense pool of information and reaching the most marginalised groups (Jolly et al., 2020_[163]). Nonetheless, they can also be disruptive and convey mistaken information. Some digital media may present obstacles in reaching LGBTQI+ groups due to stigmatising content, technological barriers and risks of exposure (*ibid.*). In this context, schools can have an important role in informing students about the range of sexualities.

Sources: Kubicek et al., In the dark: Young men's stories of sexual orientation in the absence of relevant sexual health information, doi 10.1177/1090198109339993 (2010_[161]), Malacane, A review of parent-based barriers to parent-adolescent communication about sex and sexuality: Implications for sex and family educators, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2016.1146187> (2016_[160]); Mandulay et al., The role of social media in sex education: Dispatches from queer, trans, and racialized communities, doi 10.1177/0959353517717751 (2018_[162]); Jolly et al., A review of the evidence: Sexuality education for young people in digital spaces, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373885> (2020_[163]); OECD, Over the Rainbow? The Road to LGBTI Inclusion, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/8d2fd1a8-en> (2020_[31]); Picken, Sexuality education across the European Union: An overview, doi 10.2767/869234 (2020_[152]).

In many countries, sexuality education programmes have been primarily designed to inform students about their bodies and to prevent, or reduce, the transmission of sexual diseases, including HIV/AIDS, as well as unwanted pregnancies (Ketting and Ivanova, 2018_[153]). In some contexts, however, it has moved from mere concerns with health and hygiene to a rights-based and a multidimensional focus based on anti-discrimination frameworks, and the acknowledgment of the diversity of experiences in relation to gender and sexuality (Aldred and J. Fox, 2020_[3]).

Recently, research and international guidelines have shifted towards the notion of CSE, which, according to UNESCO (2018_[164]), aims at:

(...) teaching and learning about the cognitive, emotional, physical and social aspects of sexuality. It aims to equip children and young people with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that will empower them to: realize their health, well-being and dignity; develop respectful social and sexual relationships; consider how their choices affect their own well-being and that of others; and understand and ensure the protection of their rights throughout their lives (p. 16_[164]).

While the focus of most studies is on health outcomes of sexuality education, it is increasingly recognised that CSE can also contribute to wider long-term outcomes such as gender equitable attitudes, confidence and self-identity, though evidence remains scarce (UNESCO, 2018_[164]; Allred and J. Fox, 2020_[3]). Such an approach tends to trigger outcomes that are even more positive when it takes into account the actual social contexts of students and moves beyond mere biological/medical concerns to tackle issues around norms (OECD, 2020_[45]). Schools can also constitute a safe space for some LGBTQI+ students, and may be the only place beside the Internet where they can learn and discuss education-related sexuality issues.

2.5.2. Ongoing gaps and challenges to strengthening governance for LGBTQI+ student inclusion

Despite increasing attention to LGBTQI+ inclusion in legal and policy frameworks, there remain significant gaps. In the European Union, the Employment Framework Directive 2000/78/EC is legislation that protects employees from workplace discrimination. While the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, effected in 2009, prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation (Article 21), ILGA points out that there are not wider protections for LGBTQI+ people in areas such as housing, social protections, education and healthcare (International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, 2019_[165]). In its Final Report 2015-2019 on the list of actions to advance LGBTI equality, the EC highlights remaining gaps regarding LGBTQI+ rights and inclusion. In particular, it notes that "in many Member States, sexual orientation, gender identity and sex characteristics are grounds of discrimination that are not yet covered in all areas of legislation, such as education, social protection and access to goods and services, to protect against discrimination" (European Commission, 2019_[166]). As noted in the previous section, although various Latin American countries give increasing attention to the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students, they still lack comprehensive inclusion strategies, especially in education.

In its 2018 Inclusive Education Report, IGLYO (2018_[114]), which surveys 49 European countries, found that over 69% had implemented some anti-discrimination laws or action plans. At the same time, major areas in need of improvement were curricula, mandatory teacher training and data collection on bullying/harassment due to an LGBTQI+ identity. The report also noted that 11 EU countries have not instituted any measures to support or protect LGBTQI+ students. Among the findings:

- 31 have anti-discrimination laws applicable to education of LGBTQI+ students.
- 22 have action plans to address/prevent LGBTQI+ discrimination.
- 20 have services or funded support projects for LGBTQI+ students.
- 19 have compulsory education that is inclusive of LGBTQI+ representation.
- 4 have mandatory teacher training on LGBTQI+ issues and support.
- 4 have specific policies allowing students to determine their gendered pronouns, names and gendered spaces of their choice.
- 5 are systematically collecting data on LGBTQI+-related bullying or harassment (IGYLO, 2018_[114]).

There remain social and political tensions regarding what measures should be or not be implemented to promote the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students. Some political and religious leaders and organisations argue it is wrong or immoral to support LGBTQI+ lifestyles and inclusion, particularly in education (Mendos,

2020^[132]). Some health care practitioners also continue to believe in conversion therapy, including for adolescents. For example, a 2015 United Kingdom study found that 10% of health and social care workers there believed that LGBTQI+ individuals could be “cured” (Somerville, 2015^[167]).

In the **United States**, some states had laws that explicitly denounce non-heterosexual relationships until recently. For instance, Alabama law stated that classes must teach both that “homosexuality is not a lifestyle acceptable to the general public” and that “homosexual conduct is a criminal offense under the laws of the state” (GLSEN, 2018^[168]); this law was not repealed until 2021 (Thoreson, 2021^[169]). However, similar laws remain in Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas (Ibid.). The Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) notes that states with negative portrayals of LGBTQI+ students tend to have more hostile environments than states offering support, and LGBTQI+ students may feel invisible because they are not represented in curriculum and are less likely to find support from teachers or staff. Texas and five other states have also passed legislation that have limited or prohibited transgender students from using the bathroom that they identify with by gender or from playing sports according to their gender identity (Waller, 2021^[170]). The Sexuality Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) additionally lists seven states that require instruction that is discriminatory towards LGBTQI+ people (SIECUS, 2021^[171]).

Arguments against LGBTQI+ inclusion often centre on opinions that such inclusion is contrary to parental (or societal) beliefs regarding sex and gender and that inclusion infringes on the rights of heterogeneous and cisgender students and their parents (Higa et al., 2014^[172]). In particular, mandatory sexuality education is still a topic of passionate debate in many countries. In Europe, for example, “ever since it was first introduced in European school curricula in the 1970s, parents, religious leaders and politicians have been arguing, often in highly polarised debates, about how much, and what should be taught at what age” (Council of Europe, 2020^[173]). Similar dynamics take place in other regions such as in Latin America where various individuals and groups fight against the inclusion of sexual orientation and gender in legal and policy frameworks, including in the area of education (Barrientos and Lovera, 2020^[29]). Comprehensive sex education has long been contended in the United States as well, with many groups and state policies stressing sexual abstinence or advocating for “abstinence only” education that deprives students of information about contraception and sexualities that are not heterosexual (SIECUS, 2021^[171]).

The continuous opposition to sexuality education is even stronger when it comes to a CSE that would include knowledge related to gender identity and sexual orientation. In most cases, it is not mandatory. In many contexts, sexuality education remains an area of the curriculum where parents retain a right to withdraw their children from lessons on moral, cultural or religious grounds. In the United Kingdom, for example, though “sexual and relationships education” has been made mandatory, schools may adapt curricula to meet their religious or ethical frameworks (Alldred and J. Fox, 2020^[3]). Common arguments made in opposition to including LGBTQI+ topics in sexuality education curricula include concerns that schools are forcing a perspective incongruent with that of students’ parents or communities and, in turn, may encourage students to ‘change’ their sexual orientations or gender identities” (Gegenfurtner and Gebhardt, 2017^[174]). Yet a systematic literature review of the “biological roots” of sexual orientation and gender identity conducted by Gegenfurtner & Gerhardt (2017^[174]) concluded that the overwhelming biological evidence suggests both traits have strong genetic components and thus are unlikely to be influenced by inclusive sexuality education.

3 Capacity-building for the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students

In addition to inclusive legal frameworks and governance structures, it is essential for LGBTQI+-inclusive policies to be pursued that seek to build capacity within existing educational environments. That is to say, for LGBTQI+ inclusion to be both achieved and maintained, policies need to establish educational environments that foster inclusion through the structures that determine how students experience school. This includes policies such as public awareness campaigns to education communities on LGBTQI+ topics. Capacity building is a critical area for policy makers to consider in their pursuit to make educational systems more inclusive of LGBTQI+ students, as these policies seek to create structures that are explicitly designed to encourage and maintain inclusion. This component of inclusion involves a long-term commitment to needed changes and cooperation with all stakeholders. It includes assessing needs for training, engaging stakeholders on developing programmes to address needs and implementing strategies. It also involves engaging the cisgender, heterosexual community as allies and advocates. This last strategy is described in the discussion of GSAs (See Section 4.1.3). This section will focus on awareness campaigns and professional learning.

3.1. Raising awareness at different levels

One of the foundational steps towards building capacity for LGBTQI+ inclusion can be to simply raise awareness of LGBTQI+ topics and issues at the system and school-level for teachers, school staff and the wider school community. Teachers and staff may often not be adequately informed on LGBTQI+ topics related to terminology, common challenges and/or strategies to promote inclusion (Bradley-Johnston, 2017^[175]; Page, 2017^[176]; Tran-Thanh, 2020^[177]). Therefore, policy makers and other stakeholders at various levels could implement direct efforts to raise awareness and fluency with these topics as a productive step towards more specific inclusive policies. This can be done through government-produced information or partnerships with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as strategies promoted in **Scotland (United Kingdom)** (see Box 3.1).

Box 3.1. A national priority

Scotland's approach to LGBT inclusive education

The Scottish government announced work on creating LGBTI inclusive education in 2017 (lgbteducation.scot, 2021^[178]). In 2021, the country began a phased implementation approach and provided a toolkit for professional learning and cross-curricular resources to primary and secondary school teachers and staff. The goal is for all Scottish schools to embed LGBTI inclusive curriculum, making Scotland the first country in the world to do so (Scottish Government, 2021^[179]). Creation of training and resources is the result of a collaboration of numerous governmental and civic organisations. The working group also recommended that all institutions for initial teacher education include LGBTI inclusive training for teacher candidates. Additionally, school inspectors are to be trained to monitor for LGBTI inclusive practices when visiting and reviewing schools.

The website www.lgbteducation.scot provides a toolkit and certificates of achievement for schools when they successfully complete the criteria. The first stage of implementation is delivered in a five-part module delivered online through the website, which takes 60-90 minutes to complete. The second stage is an in-person professional learning opportunity for schoolteachers and staff to create action plans focusing on curriculum and interdisciplinary learning.

The Time for Inclusive Education (TIE) website (2021^[180]) offers numerous curriculum resources for primary and secondary levels as well as in-person workshops that schools can arrange for their students. Although the initiative is too recent for evaluations of effectiveness, early responses by teachers have been favourable. TIE's website states that 98% of teachers who have taken the professional learning module report a better understanding of how to implement LGBT inclusive strategies in their teaching. The site also includes comments from teachers stating confidence in implementing the goals and supporting LGBT students.

Complementary initiatives

Scotland also has a national anti-bullying initiative, Respect for All, that specifically includes gender identity, sexual orientation, and gender expression (Scottish Government, 2017^[181]). The country's sexual education programme, Relationships, Sexual Health and Parenthood (RSHP, 2019^[182]) is also inclusive of LGBTI information.

Sources: Scottish Government, Respect for all: National approach to anti-bullying, <https://www.gov.scot/publications/respect-national-approach-anti-bullying-scotlands-young-children-young-people> (2017^[181]); Scottish Government, Milestone for equality in schools, <https://www.gov.scot/news/milestone-for-equality-in-schools> (2021^[179]), RSHP, Relationships, sexual health and parenthood, Relationships, sexual health and parenthood (2019^[182]); TIE, Tackling education with an educational approach, <http://tie.scot> (2021^[180]); lgbteducation, <https://lgbteducation.scot> (2021^[178]).

Measures to increase capacity can exist in the form of government-published information, guidelines or resources as seen in several countries with variation in content (i.e., basic LGBTQI+ information, anti-homophobic-bullying campaigns, transgender awareness, etc.). For example, in **Ireland**, research generated between 2005-2011 provided evidence linking “coming out” with self-harm for LGBT children and adolescents that teachers' unions and NGOs presented to politicians and education leaders prior to an election, requesting action to support LGBT students and adults (UNESCO, 2016^[16]). As a result, the Minister for Education and Skills and Minister for Children and Youth Affairs jointly began the National Action Plan on Bullying, which specifically includes anti-LGBTQI+ bullying. The plan included financing for information campaigns, professional learning and school inspections sensitive to LGBTQI+ support. The **French Community of Belgium** published a teaching guide recommending supportive actions within the framework of extracurricular activities (IGYLO, 2018^[114]).

The US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (**United States**) provides an online factsheet about supporting intersex students, on addressing LGBTQI+ discrimination in schools, a video of support and legal rights for transgender students and more (US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2021_[183]). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) also provide a web page with resources on youth programmes for LGBTQI+ students, resources for teachers and school administrators and resources for parents (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2017_[184]). The Ministry of Youth Development in **New Zealand** published a document on valuing and supporting LGBTI+ youth (Ministry of Youth Development/Te Manatu Whakahaio Taiohi, 2015_[185]). This document also refers to other publications by the New Zealand government to prevent bullying, question gender stereotypes and create positive learning environments for all students.

In many countries, civil society organisations are instrumental in raising awareness and promoting LGBTQI+ rights and inclusion, including in education. Some NGOs also provide a variety of national awareness campaigns that can be implemented in schools. For example, Time Out Youth (**United States**) highlights 19 national events that occur throughout the year to draw attention to bullying, ignoring LGBTQI+ issues, celebrating allies, memorialising transgender individuals who lost their lives due to hatred, and more (Time Out Youth, 2022_[186]). The site also offers trainings for school staff and administrators, resources and professional learning for teachers, support for parents and services for LGBTQI+ students and adults. The (US) National Association of School Psychologists also provides a list of organisations and their websites that provide numerous resources for LGBTQ students, teachers, school administrators and families (National Association of School Psychologists, 2021_[187]). Egale, a leading **Canadian** NGO supporting LGBTQI+ people, provides webinars for educators to help them understand experiences of non-binary students, prevent cyber-bullying and build more inclusive schools (Egale, 2022_[188]).

3.2. Creating and implementing anti-bullying campaigns

Bullying LGBTQI+ students can reach extreme levels of abuse, resulting in physical and psychological harm and suicide ideation (see Box 3.2). The disproportionate rates of bullying faced by LGBTQI+ students can be addressed by targeted anti-bullying campaigns at the school-level. When well designed and consistently implemented, these campaigns have been shown to positively impact anti-LGBTQI+ bullying. Unfortunately, anti-bullying campaigns specifically targeting anti-LGBTQI+ bullying are relatively rare. Most schools that have established anti-bullying campaigns and/or policies do not explicitly mention anti-LGBTQI+ bullying. For example, a content analysis of school-level anti-bullying campaigns in **Northern Ireland** (United Kingdom) found that only 28% mentioned homophobic bullying as a distinct form of bullying to target (Purdy and Smith, 2016_[189]). A similar content analysis of 142 school-level anti-bullying policies in **England** (**United Kingdom**) revealed consistently infrequent mentions of homophobic bullying, with only 33% of policies in secondary schools and 7% of policies in primary schools including this form of bullying (Smith et al., 2008_[190]). However, the UK has implemented comprehensive anti-discrimination policies more recently, which include LGBTQI+ anti-bullying and inspections to monitor for bullying (ILGA Europe, 2020_[191]). **Sweden** has also passed legislation to implement targeted anti-bullying campaigns to support LGBTQI+ students (Ibid.).

The available research on specifically LGBTQI+-focused anti-bullying policies is currently limited, with the majority coming from the **United States**. The research from the United States examining the effects of explicitly LGBTQI+-focused anti-bullying campaigns provides promising support for their implementation elsewhere. This raises an essential point indicating the need for more focus on anti-LGBTQI+ forms of bullying (physical, verbal, cyber, etc.) as uniquely targeted. For example, Kull et al. (2016_[192]) analysed the relationship between US public school districts' anti-bullying policies and survey data from over 7 000 LGBT students. The authors found that in schools with LGBT-specific anti-bullying campaigns, LGBT students reported increased safety, decreased anti-LGBT victimisation, and decreased social aggression as compared to schools with generic (not specifically mentioning anti-LGBT bullying) or no anti-bullying

campaigns (Kull et al., 2016^[192]). Furthermore, the authors found no significant difference in LGBT student experiences between schools with generic anti-bullying campaigns and those with no campaigns at all, emphasising the importance of LGBT-targeted campaigns (Ibid.). These findings suggest that anti-bullying campaigns specifically addressing LGBTQI+ students may be more protective of these students than generic anti-bullying curricula and information.

The importance of designing anti-bullying campaigns that specifically define and prohibit bullying based on sexual orientation or gender identity is echoed by several other studies. A systematic meta-analysis of school anti-bullying campaigns and their measured effectiveness revealed the unique positive impact of anti-LGBTQ bullying campaigns, compared to having no campaign or one which does not specifically address anti-LGBTQ bullying (Hall, 2017^[193]). Specifically, six studies analysed that had large samples of LGBTQ students found that schools with comprehensive and explicitly LGBTQ-focused anti-bullying campaigns and policies saw lower rates of anti-LGBTQ bullying and higher rates of effective staff intervention in instances of LGBTQ bullying (Ibid.).

Box 3.2. Bullied: The story of Jamie Nabozny

Although the court case is now 25 years old, Jamie Nabozny's appeal in federal court (United States) on the grounds of gender and sexual orientation discrimination awarded him USD 962 000 in damages for ongoing abuse he endured in school with no protection from school officials and offered protection for future students enduring LGBTQI+ discrimination. When Nabozny and his parents reported instances of verbal and physical violence he experienced, school staff disregarded their appeals and even suggested that Jamie brought the abuse on himself for being openly gay. He suffered from physical attacks, and he both attempted suicide and ran away from home in attempts to relieve himself from the violence he was experiencing.

After losing an initial court case, Nabozny won an appeal in 1996, represented by the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, 1996^[194]). The case has become an important one for entitling students in the United States to protection against bullying (Speak Truth to Power, 2010^[195]). Nabozny's story was also made into a documentary film, "Bullied: A student, a school and a case that made history" (Learning for Justice, 2010^[196]) that continues to have relevance in the classroom for teaching about the pain endured by LGBTQI+ students who are harassed in school. Nabozny spent several years on the lecture circuit at high schools and universities. In 2011, he was named as a Defender of Human Rights by the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights (Millard, 2018^[197]).

Sources: U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh District, Jamie S. Nabozny, Plaintiff-appellant, v. Mary Podlesny, William Davis, Thomas Blauert, et al., defendants-appellees, 92 F.3d 446 (7th Cir. 1996), <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/F3/92/446/517449/> (1996^[194]); Speak Truth to Power, blogs.nysut.org/sttp/defenders/jamie-nabozny/ (2010^[195]); Learning for Justice, Fighting back against bullies: A new Teaching Tolerance documentary points the way, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/fall-2010/fighting-back-against-bullies> (2010^[196]); Millard, 2018 Business of pride: Jamie Nabozny, Sunrise Banks, <https://www.bizjournals.com/twincities/news/2018/06/12/2018-business-of-pride-jamie-nabozny-sunrise-banks.html> (2018^[197]).

3.3. Gaps and initiatives for teacher education and professional learning for LGBTQI+ inclusion

With a few notable exceptions, there is a significant shortage of mandatory teacher and educational staff training on topics related to LGBTQI+ inclusion in OECD countries. For example, while around half (20) of the Council of Europe Member States provide some professional learning on LGBTQI+ awareness, only three of them had made it mandatory in 2018: **France, Norway and Sweden** (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). Even among these states, the level of mandatory teacher and staff development varies and is often limited in terms of scope of topics covered and/or level of centralised standards for training programmes. In France, the only mandatory professional learning that includes LGBTQI+ topics focuses on sexual education curricula and does not specifically focus on LGBTQI+ inclusion (ibid.). This represents a larger gap in including LGBTQI+ topics across the school curricula and incorporating inclusive practices for teachers in all school environments.

Another common situation that may limit mandatory professional learning on LGBTQI+ awareness and/or inclusion regards the unique ways in which different national contexts design and implement programmes. For example, in the **Netherlands**, the content covered in initial teacher education programmes is determined at the discretion of the educational organisations that deliver them. These organisations are only required to commit to the standardised “national knowledge base” established by the Dutch Ministry (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). Notably, in 2018, the Dutch Ministry worked on a project for the School and Safety Foundation on teacher professional learning programmes including topics focused on sexual and gender diversity. This project successfully added sexual diversity to the official national knowledge base, meant to result in the inclusion of sexual diversity in a variety of topics within teacher training programmes (ibid.). This represents one of the most comprehensive examples of a state working within the national governance structures to introduce more professional learning on sexual diversity. Despite this, there is still a lack of standardised required content or lessons addressing LGBTQI+ awareness and/or inclusion. This is because the organisations running educational programmes are only required to use the “knowledge base” in developing their curricula, but are not explicitly required to include any specific topics (ibid.).

Lack of standardised content on LGBTQI+ topics is a common situation, with an analogous example in professional learning programmes in **Norway**. The Norwegian government published a national action plan for “improving quality of life among LGBT persons” in 2008, which stipulates that “equal opportunities and other gender issues” must be included in teacher training programmes at universities (Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality, 2008^[198]). This is similarly non-specific and leaves much to the individual discretion of universities designing educational programmes, resulting in variation between programmes in terms of topics covered. Sweden represents a relatively rare example of a country with mandatory professional learning on anti-discrimination practices and strategies, although this is not specifically focused on LGBTQI+ awareness and/or inclusion (IGYLO, 2018^[114]).

There are also examples of countries with no mandatory professional learning on LGBTQI+ awareness and/or inclusion but which have different optional components. In several countries, civil society organisations play a large (often dominant) role in providing optional educational programmes focusing on LGBTQI+ topics with varying state support. For example, the **French** government has provided direct support and official accreditation to organisations such as *SOS homophobie* to provide insight and involvement in professional learning along with curricula development (OECD, 2020^[45]). Representing another example of direct state support of these initiatives, the government in the **United Kingdom** provided funding for the National Children’s Bureau to provide professional learning programmes on LGBT issues (sexual education, bullying, etc.) to 1 500 teachers in 2015 (UK Government Equalities Office, 2015^[199]). However, in November 2020, the UK Department for Education decided to cut programmes targeting anti-LGBTQI+ bullying (Hunt, 2020^[200]). In **Luxembourg**, teachers are required to attend a

specific number of training hours each year and LGBTQI+-focused trainings are considered “priority” by the government in an effort to encourage teacher participation (IGYLO, 2018_[114]).

In other cases, universities with the discretion to include LGBTQI+ topics in their professional learning programmes have introduced optional courses for prospective teachers that focus on these topics. These are most often elective courses and therefore not mandatory to complete teacher certification requirements (Ibid.). One university in Nova Scotia, **Canada**, developed and implemented a comprehensive training programme (“Positive Space”) for pre-service teachers, which focused on improving their awareness of LGBTQ issues and strategies to create more inclusive classroom environments. The programme had positive effects on reported teacher confidence and understanding of LGBTQ issues (Kearns, Mitton-Kukner and Tompkins, 2014_[201]). This programme represents a promising example of how individual universities or other educational organisations could introduce initiatives to include LGBTQI+ topics in teacher education, despite a lack of national mandates.

In the **United States**, a number of universities provide “Safe Zone” workshops. These are open to everyone at the university – students, staff, instructors/professors, and administrators. The learning opportunities typically last several hours and are designed to help participants understand more about LGBTQI+ identities, gender and sexuality while exploring their own preconceptions, prejudices and privilege (Safe Zone Project, 2013_[202]). The Safe Zone Project site offers a 2-hour curriculum that can be downloaded for free, so it is available outside of the United States as well (Safe Zone Project, 2013_[202]). Live sessions typically offer a “Safe Zone Ally” sticker to participants who complete the training that they can post, for instance, on their office door. This sticker indicates to members of the LGBTQI+ community that the person with the sticker has received training to support and advocate for them in safe and appropriate ways.

Overall, there is a general lack of mandatory administrative and educational staff training on LGBTQI+ awareness and inclusion. As previously explained, the evidence demonstrates the positive impact that training on these topics can have and therefore supports the expansion of training programmes with specific inclusion of LGBTQI+ topics. National or regional governments may pursue initiatives that mandate the inclusion of these topics in accredited teacher training programmes, but there are also opportunities for individual universities/educational organisations to require prospective teachers be trained in LGBTQI+ issues. Additionally, new and continued collaborations between governments and civil society organisations focused on providing teachers with education on LGBTQI+ awareness and inclusion represent another promising opportunity for improvement in this area.

3.3.1. Challenges for school staff not educated in LGBTQI+ inclusion

Teachers and school staff are at the front lines of promoting LGBTQI+ inclusion, as they are the individuals who work with LGBTQI+ students on a day-to-day basis. Unfortunately, when they have not been sensitised to the distress faced by many LGBTQI+ students, they may perpetuate a climate that feels unsafe to these students. For instance, in a 2013 survey conducted in 2 700 school districts in all 50 United States, the Gay, Lesbian, Straight Education Network (GLSEN) found that 51.4% of students reported hearing homophobic comments from teachers and educational staff, and 55% reported negative remarks about gender identity from teachers and school staff (Kosciw et al., 2014_[203]); these percentages increased to 52.4% and 66.7% respectively in the 2019 national school survey (Kosciw et al., 2020_[86]). Additionally, when homophobic language was used by a peer in the presence of teachers or other school staff, the majority of students who responded to the surveys said that the comments were not challenged. Therefore, it is important to equip teachers and staff with the tools to effectively promote LGBTQI+ inclusion within the classroom.

When teachers and staff are not equipped with both the awareness and skills to promote LGBTQI+ inclusion, the goals of inclusion are not furthered within the classroom, and students can suffer. For example, Bradley-Johnston (2017_[175]) conducted a mixed-methods study of LGBT experiences and approaches to inclusion by teachers in primary schools in **Northern Ireland (United Kingdom)**. The study

found a general lack of LGBT inclusive policies at multiple levels with little to no professional learning, curriculum resources or state plans/initiatives existing alongside widespread difficulties for LGBT students (discrimination, bullying, lack of teacher/parent support). Specifically resulting from the lack of professional learning, Bradley-Johnston (2017^[175]) found that although most teachers recognised the importance of including LGBT topics in the classroom, they were largely uncomfortable and/or lacked confidence in doing so.

These findings are supported by other studies on the subject. O'Donoghue and Guerin's (2017^[204]) qualitative study on the perceived barriers and supports for addressing anti-LGBT bullying in schools in **Ireland** revealed similar teacher perceptions of a lack of sufficient training on LGBTQI+ inclusion. However, some teachers involved in the study reported confidence in the effectiveness of training they received in preparing them to engage with LGBTQI+ inclusion.

Page's (2017^[176]) study investigating teacher attitudes to incorporating LGBT topics in the English language arts classroom in the **United States** found a similar disparity between motivation and implementation. Despite over 50% of teachers reporting feeling comfortable incorporating LGBT topics in assigned reading materials and classroom discussions, fewer than 25% were implementing these practices. The teachers reported that their perceived barriers to promoting inclusion included a lack of awareness, confidence and consistent school policies. Only 4% of teachers reported that their decision not to promote LGBT inclusion in their classrooms was motivated by conflicts with their personal belief systems (Page, 2017^[176]).

Another challenge of teacher training is finding adequate and appropriate training. Dankmeijer (Dankmeijer, 2008^[205]) conducted interviews with LGBT organisations in six European countries, two African countries, five South American countries, two Asian countries, and the United States to learn about how they work to provide educational services to school and informal education organisations. He concluded that LGBT organisations have significant experience on problems faced by LGBT people in daily life, but they are ineffective in translating this experience into educational objectives. Dankmeijer noted cultural differences in attitudes towards the LGBT population as well as differing educational priorities. For instance, although some organisations recognised the importance of educating school staff, those in some countries prioritised educating the media and police force, as they were seen to be most important in upholding the human rights and safety of the LGBT community. Dankmeijer recommends that LGBT organisations need professional development in educating others and in creating partnerships with mainstream organisations to become more effective. Further, he discusses needs to distinguish between internal (teaching the LGBT members of the organisation about their rights) and external education (which would work to reduce discrimination in the non-LGBT population) as well as formal versus informal education methods.

3.3.2. Promises of effective teacher and staff training

There are several examples of programmes that are specifically designed to focus on teacher strategies for LGBTQI+ inclusion, and the results largely support their effectiveness in improving outcomes such as developing an inclusive school climate, combatting anti-LGBTQI+ bullying and improving LGBTQI+ students' sense of well-being and belonging. Research by Greytak and Kosciw (2010^[206]) on a two-day and a two-hour (Greytak, Kosciw and Boesen, 2013^[207]) training they held for New York City (**United States**) teachers and administrators as a part of the Department of Education's "Respect for All" initiative indicated the following positive results from teachers six months after the professional learning took place:

- Increased knowledge of appropriate language.
- Access to resources.
- Recognition of how their past practices could negatively affect LGBTQI students.
- Increased empathy and engagement in activities to support LGBTQI students.

- Intervention in anti-LGBTQI remarks and bullying.

Some countries have promising strategies that include training of teachers and staff as well as other programmatic components to support LGBTQI+ students, but evaluations of their success are not yet available. One example is **Ireland's** LGBTQI+ National Youth Strategy 2018-2020 (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2018^[208]). This strategy by the Department of Children and Youth Affairs included a youth advisory group to consult on challenges, opportunities and priorities. Goals for creating safe, inclusive and supportive environments for young LGBTQI+ people included creating supportive educational environments for children and young people from 10-24 years old. The youth advisory group provided numerous comments for achieving safe and supportive educational settings, including the following:

- Including mandatory LGBTQI+ educational materials in primary and secondary education.
- Provisions for gender-neutral uniforms and toilets.
- Curriculum inclusive of gender theory and LGBTQI+ history.
- LGBTQI+ training for all staff.

Based on these recommendations, the strategy included recommendations for LGBTQI+ inclusion in the curriculum and updating professional development for teachers. Evaluations are not yet available.

4 Intervening at the school-level to foster inclusive environments for LGBTQI+ students

Beyond providing information in coursework for pre-service teachers, professional learning for teachers, and trainings for school staff and administrators, school-level interventions involve providing resources to LGBTQI+ students to support their safety and inclusion, and educating other students to reduce stereotyping, prejudice and bullying. Strategies include attention to school climate, counselling services, curriculum and gay-straight student alliances. This section will investigate ways in which these resources are helpful and provide examples from OECD countries.

4.1. Building an inclusive school climate: Creating a whole-school acceptance of LGBTQI+ inclusion

When working at the school-level to improve inclusion of all students, including LGBTQI+ students, policy makers may look towards improving the school climate. This concept has been widely discussed in education policy literature and has been recently applied to the goal of LGBTQI+ inclusion. The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) notes that a positive school climate is one of the most important elements parents look for in choosing a school for their children, and that it promotes academic achievement, wellbeing and self-esteem (OECD, n.d.^[209]). Additionally, PISA defines school climate as a place in which “students feel physically and emotionally safe; teachers are supportive, enthusiastic and responsive; parents participate in school activities voluntarily; the school community is built around healthy, respectful and co-operative relationships; and everyone looks after the school premises and works together to develop a constructive school spirit” (OECD, n.d., p. 37^[209]). According to PISA 2018 data, positive school climate relies more on co-operation than competition as well as safety from bullying.

The National School Climate Council (**United States**) defines school climate as “a multi-dimensional concept that reflects the norms, goals, values, interpersonal relationships, teaching and learning practices, safety, and organizational structures of a school community” (2012^[210]). That is, the concept describes how policies, practices and norms create unique school environments that can either encourage the inclusion of students or work against it. Creating an inclusive school climate that supports and accepts LGBTQI+ students can be an effective method to address the negative academic, health and socio-economic outcomes these students often face (See Section 1.3). Russel & McGuire (2008^[211]) describe the sociological and cognitive processes, which connect a positive school climate with improved experiences for LGBT students in terms of many of these outcomes. The authors apply Rogers’ (2003^[212]) Diffusion Theory to the case of creating an LGBT-inclusive school climate. This theory describes how changes or innovations in the climate of a social environment can be achieved when “individuals or groups become exposed to an idea, over time assimilate into their identity or culture, and ultimately experience the idea as their own” (Russell and McGuire, 2008, p. 134^[211]). This emphasises how through either top-down or

bottom-up processes, school communities can change the group's norms, ideas and behaviours in order to be more inclusive of LGBTQI+ students. The authors further explain how Diffusion Theory involves five distinct stages of innovation within a social climate (development, dissemination, adoption, implementation, and maintenance) and connect these stages directly to policy strategies aimed at improving LGBT-inclusion within school climates.

4.1.1. Effects of school climate on LGBTQI+ students

There is evidence from a range of national contexts that suggests school climates are lacking in LGBTQI+ inclusion, and in some cases demonstrate heteronormative, homophobic or otherwise hostile environments for LGBTQI+ students. For example, Bortolin (2012^[213]) conducted a small-scale qualitative study in Canadian schools using interview data with heterosexual male students to understand general school climates as related to LGBT identities. Specifically, the participants reported viewing gay male students as having lower social status and wanting to avoid association with them to avoid being viewed as gay themselves. The term “gay” was used as a general insult synonymous with “stupid” or “lame”, furthering the homophobic school climate. In addition, they reported that teachers rarely addressed anti-gay bullying. This represents the common reality of integrated homophobia within the culture of schools, importantly pointing to how homophobic language can be used without explicit intention of anti-LGBTQI+ sentiments (based on self-reported testimony). Despite this lack of intention, when homophobic language is used regularly within a school environment and is not addressed effectively by teachers or staff, a hostile school climate is perpetuated for LGBTQI+ students.

Bradley-Johnston's (2017^[175]) mixed-methods study found similarly when examining LGBT experiences & approaches to inclusion by teachers in primary schools **in Northern Ireland** (United Kingdom). The authors found an overall lack of LGBT inclusive policies at multiple levels (no teacher professional learning, curriculum resources, state plans/initiatives, etc.) alongside widespread difficulties for LGBT students (discrimination, bullying, and lack of teacher/parent support). Crucially to school climate, they also found that teachers were largely uncomfortable and/or lacked confidence in including LGBT topics in the classroom. This was despite the fact that most teachers reported recognising the importance of facilitating an inclusive school climate; they simply did not feel equipped to do so.

Kosciw and Zongrone (2019^[62]) conducted a cross-national analysis of survey data examining LGBTQ-inclusive school climates in seven countries in Latin America and found similarly negative environments. Across all seven countries, the most commonly reported reasons for LGBTQ students feeling unsafe were their sexual orientation and gender expression. For instance, they often avoided gendered spaces in schools, such as bathrooms or locker rooms (see Box 4.1). In addition, over 75% of students reported hearing homophobic statements from other students, with over 50% reporting hearing these remarks from teachers and school staff. On average, it was common for teachers not to intervene on homophobic remarks made by students (ibid.). The consistency of these findings across diverse national contexts emphasises the need for effective policies that can produce and maintain more inclusive school climates for LGBTQI+ students.

Box 4.1. Navigating sensitive school environments for transgender students

Safety fears in bathrooms and locker rooms

Heterosexual and cisgender students use school toilets and locker rooms with relative comfort. However, these spaces can result in great fear for transgender students. In 2017, the United States NGOs Movement Advancement Project (MAP) and GLSEN found that 70% of transgender students avoided school toilet facilities because they felt unsafe or uncomfortable, and 60% were required to use toilet facilities or locker rooms that did not match the gender that they identify with (MAP; GLSEN, 2017^[214]). This problem was exacerbated in 2017 when the federal government rescinded legal guidelines provided by the previous administration explaining that the Civil Rights Act protected transgender students' ability to use the facilities matching their gender identity.

These restrictions have implications for students' health, and they have resulted in increased absences from school and to school dropout as transgender students resist using toilets that are not aligned with their gender identity, in spite of need, due to increased risk of harassment and assault (MAP; GLSEN, 2017^[214]). Students stated that they would avoid eating or drinking to reduce their need to use restrooms. These habits can lead to dehydration and reduced ability to pay attention in school, due to hunger or thirst. Both MAP/GLSEN and the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS, United States) note that creating private bathrooms can be stigmatising, and such facilities are often in places too far for the students to use during short breaks (MAP; GLSEN, 2017^[214]; NAIS, 2017^[215]). Students face similar challenges using locker rooms for physical education and sports.

Many OECD countries in Europe have tolerant policies that allow students to use the toilet facilities and locker rooms that match their gender identity (Pogatchnik, 2017^[216]). These issues remain somewhat contentious in Australasia, and they vary in Latin America (Campbell, 2019^[217]).

Other challenges: Pronouns, clothing, books and sports

The same report by MAP and GLSEN that reported on transgender challenges with toilet facilities also noted that half of transgender students were not allowed to use the name or pronoun they chose in school, and 28% were not allowed to wear clothing conforming to the gender identity (MAP; GLSEN, 2017^[214]). Eckes (2020^[218]) reported on a lawsuit (ongoing at the time of publication) in which a US music teacher refused to use the preferred pronouns of transgender students because of his religious beliefs.

Records requests in Texas (**United States**) indicated 75 formal requests from parents or community members in the Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Austin regions to ban books dealing with racism or sexuality, the majority of which include LGBT characters (Hixenbaugh, 2022^[219]).

Participation in sports has been associated with increased opportunities for physical development, social skills, and overall wellbeing (Eime et al., 2013^[220]). However, a 2019 survey in the United States found that only 12.5% of transgender and non-binary students reported supportive school policies; and of those, less than half of the school policies provided for inclusive participation in athletics.

Sources: Eime, Young, Harvey, Charity & Payne, A systematic review of the psychological and ial benefits of participation in sport for children and adolescents: Informing development of a conceptual model of health through sport, <https://doi.org/10.1186/1479-5868-10-98> (2013^[220]); MAP/GLSEN, Separation and stigma: Transgender youth and school facilities, <https://www.lgbtmap.org/file/transgender-youth-school.pdf> (2017^[214]); Pogatchnik, Other nations shaking heads at US transgender toilet battle, <https://apnews.com/article/donald-trump-lifestyle-ireland-international-news-europe-c77488997596473a9355aaac0faca48> (2017^[216]); Campbell, Transgender-specific policy in Latin America, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1279> (2019^[217]).

Although the evidence is minimal, there is some research concluding that LGBTQI+-inclusive school climates can have positive effects on LGBTQI+ student well-being, sense of belonging, risk behaviour reduction and academic outcomes (Toomey, McGuire and Russel, 2012^[221]). An overview of the relevant evidence linking an inclusive school climate with positive outcomes for LGBTQI+ students is provided below, followed by an explanation of possible strategies that policy makers, school administrators and teachers can use to improve school climate for LGBTQI+ inclusion.

Ioverno, Bishop and Russell (2021^[222]) argue that a positive school environment for LGBT students takes place over time. They conducted research in California (**United States**), which has had state-wide non-discrimination laws for LGBTQI students since 2000. Their work produced evidence that advocacy by school administrators and professional learning for educators increases a positive school climate over time. Possible conclusions may be that all well-constructed professional learning and advocacy improves support for LGBTQI+ students, but that a sense of safety and belonging increases over time as policies are maintained.

Peter, Taylor & Campell (2016^[223]) analysed quantitative and qualitative survey data from **Canadian** schools and found that “even modest efforts to shift the balance of heteronormative discourse on behalf of [LGBTQ] students can have profound effects on the experiences and perceptions of sexual and gender minority youth” (2016, p. 206^[223]). This shift in discourse away from heteronormativity can be achieved through several interventions, such as incorporating inclusive curricula, establishing GSAs or other visibly supportive student groups, and teacher awareness/intervention in response to homophobic language. The authors further argue that the positive impacts on LGBTQ student experiences are important steps towards addressing the downstream issue of disproportionate suicidality⁷ among LGBTQ youth. Regarding these issues related to mental health and suicidality, Ancheta et al. (2021^[224]) conducted a systematic review of studies examining the relationship between LGBT-inclusive school climate and suicidality and mental health of LGBT students. The authors found that an inclusive school climate was associated with a lower risk of suicidality and fewer depressive symptoms among LGBT students.

There is also some evidence to show that an inclusive school climate can have a reducing effect on risk behaviours outside of school. For example, Coulter et al. (2016^[225]) compared data measuring LGBTQ-inclusive school climate from the 2010 School Health Profile survey and data measuring youth drinking behaviours from the 2005 and 2007 Youth Risk Behaviour survey to examine any associations. The authors found a significant association between an LGBTQ-inclusive school climate and fewer instances of heavy episodic drinking among both LGBTQ and heterosexual students, both inside and outside of school.

When school climates are not inclusive of LGBTQI+ students, these students often experience a wide range of negative effects. In their study of school climates in **Latin America**, Kosciw and Zongrone (2019^[62]) found the LGBTQ students reporting a more hostile school climate were twice as likely to miss school, had higher rates of depression and experienced decreased self-esteem and feelings of belonging at school. Conversely, there is substantial evidence from a variety of contexts connecting a supportive and inclusive school climate with positive effects for LGBTQI+ students. This same study found that more inclusive school climates are associated with a range of positive effects. The presence of supportive staff members or LGBTQ-inclusive curricula resulted in LGBTQ students reporting a higher feeling of belonging at school and lower school absences, while LGBTQ-inclusive anti-bullying policies resulted in decreased reports of homophobic remarks and anti-LGBTQ harassment as well as increased frequency and effectiveness of teacher intervention on anti-LGBTQ bullying (Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[47]).

Regarding bullying prevention, Gower et al. (2018^[226]) combined student and teacher survey data from public schools in Minnesota (**United States**) to assess the relationship between LGBT-supportive school climate and experiences of bullying/harassment. A multiple regression analysis revealed significant

⁷ Suicidality refers to having serious thoughts about suicide, planning or attempting suicide.

associations between supportive school climate practices and lower reports of anti-LGBTQ bullying, harassment and victimisation. Furthermore, the effect became significantly larger for schools implementing more practices of LGBT-inclusion, suggesting the need for a comprehensive, school-wide plan to foster a supportive climate. Interestingly, none of these effects was significantly moderated by the reported sexual orientation of the students, indicating that a more LGBT-inclusive school climate has positive impacts on bullying and harassment for all students, including non-LGBT students (Gower et al., 2018^[226]). These findings from a variety of national contexts provide strong support for the positive effects of an LGBTQI+-inclusive school climate. The following section will outline several relevant examples of policies, practices and strategies shown to improve school climate in terms of LGBTQI+ inclusion.

4.1.2. Policies, practices and strategies for improving school climate for LGBTQI+ students

Considering the range of positive outcomes associated with a LGBTQI+-inclusive school climate, policy makers, school administrators and teachers/staff may pursue several strategies to achieve this goal. There are several policies, practices and strategies that indicate improvement and maintenance of a more inclusive school climate. From a theoretical perspective, Russell & McGuire (2008^[211]) describe how Diffusion Theory informs which policy strategies can most effectively improve school climate. The authors argue that the most effective school innovations working for LGBT inclusion are top-down, with the development and dissemination of policies, practices and strategies coming from school officials and teachers. These set up an environment for students to adopt new sentiments and behaviours around LGBT topics, which over time establish a shared understanding of inclusion that can be maintained on a ground level (Russell and McGuire, 2008^[211]). They further outline four evidence-based strategies for creating a more LGBT-inclusive school climate, based on the available literature: school policies that specifically address sexual orientation and gender identity (i.e. bullying, discrimination and safety), consistent and effective teacher intervention in instances of bullying or homophobia, development of GSA's or other student-led organisations and availability of information and resources on LGBT topics (i.e. information campaigns, inclusive curricula, etc.).

These specific policy solutions are echoed by similar findings in other studies. For example, Kosciw & Zongrone's (2019^[62]) study in Latin America identified factors that improved school climates in terms of LGBTQ inclusion: LGBTQ-inclusive curricula, staff members with whom LGBTQ students felt comfortable looking to for support and school-level anti-bullying campaigns that explicitly address anti-LGBTQ bullying. Their study cites **Chile's** policies, already mentioned in this paper (see 2.4.4). Gigli's (2017^[227]) research in **Italy** reinforces the importance of governance structures in creating and accepting an inclusive school environment, arguing that top-down policies can have the greatest impact on changing attitudes of students, parents and teachers. Specifically examining how to create inclusive environments for LGBT parents and their children in Italy, Gigli (2017^[227]) discusses the common challenge of getting other parents and teachers to engage with their pre-held beliefs and perceptions of LGBT families and how these attitudes may affect their children. She argues that in this context individual action is not enough to change what are often deeply held attitudes, instead suggesting that those in a "director" role within the educational system are best situated to implement policies that can have positive impacts on inclusion. Gigli also emphasises the complementary importance of teachers and school staff being equipped with the specific pedagogical strategies for developing inclusive environments.

In response to their findings of non-inclusive school climates in primary schools in **Northern Ireland (United Kingdom)**, Bradley-Johnston (2017^[175]) recommended the creation of a "Resource Pack" focused on LGBT inclusion. This resource would provide teachers and school staff with age-appropriate lesson plans engaging with LGBT topics and communication plans for school staff and parents to emphasise the importance of inclusion and engaging with common concerns. Furthermore, the authors found evidence supporting the efficacy of GSA peer groups and engagement between teachers/schools with local LGBT organisations in improving school climate (Ibid).

There are also strategies that focus on the role of school counsellors in fostering inclusive school climates. Asplund and Ordway (2018^[55]) provide a comprehensive model for how to use school counselling to create a LGBTQ-inclusive school climate, which they refer to as the SCEARE (School Counsellors: Educate, Affirm, Respond and Empower) Model (see Box 4.2).

Box 4.2. SCEARE Model: Suggested Practices & Strategies

The SCEARE model is a process recommended for school counsellors to support LGBTQ students. It consists of the following steps:

Educate: school staff sessions on terminology, inclusive practices in the classroom, engaging with/incorporating inclusive curricula; individual and classroom-level interactions with students; importance of communicating with parents.

Affirm: establishing “safe zones” marked with signs at the entrance of classrooms making clear that the teacher/staff member supports LGBTQ students and does not tolerate bullying/harassment; importance of making this explicit and visible.

Respond: implementing a formal school-leave anti-bullying policy with clear protections for LGBTQ students; importance of targeted strategies for anti-LGBTQ bullying as a specific type of bullying; establishing an anonymous reporting system for bullying supported by consistent staff intervention; designating individual-use or unisex bathrooms for LGBTQ use if they feel unsafe in conventional gendered public bathrooms.

Empower: authors explain how this is mostly achieved through the lower tiers of the SCEARE Model, but mention how GSA’s can play an important role in supporting self-empowerment among students (Russell et al., 2009^[228]). They also mention the school counsellor’s ability to discuss and support self-advocacy skills for individual students.

Source: Russell, Muraco, Subramaniam, & Laub, Youth empowerment and high school gay-straight alliances, doi 10.1007/s10964-008-9382-8 (2009^[228]).

Mason et al. (2017^[229]) argue for the use of counsellor-led staff development to provide specific support for transgender and gender non-conforming students in an effort to make school climate more inclusive of these students. The authors reinforce the impact counsellors can have on fostering an inclusive school climate by educating students and staff on topics related to transgender and non-conforming students. They also draw attention to the challenges of data collection on LGBTQ students’ experiences, emphasising the possible utility of more qualitative data collection on student perceptions to identify differences based on LGBTQ identities (Mason, Springer and Pugliese, 2017^[229]). This is especially important for transgender and gender-non-conforming experiences, as even when LGBTQI+ data is collected, these groups are often excluded.

4.1.3. Implementing gay straight alliances

There is compelling evidence that Gay Straight Alliance student groups (GSAs) can be powerful tools to improve and maintain an inclusive school climate. Goodboy and Martin (2018^[230]) provide an argument for GSAs in terms of bullying prevention and improving school culture. The authors argue that these student-led groups are one of the most effective tools to influence the culture of a school through a bottom-up process that places students at the centre of making change towards inclusion. Other scholars focused on LGBTQI+ inclusion also argue for the effectiveness of GSAs in improving school climate by virtue of their unique bottom-up, student-led structure (Poteat et al., 2013^[231]; Schneider et al., 2013^[232]; Toomey et al.,

2011^[233]). Providing further support, Day et al. (2020^[234]) conducted a study in the **United States** correlating the presence of GSAs and self-reported experiences of bullying and inclusive school climate by LGBTQ students. Their analysis found that students in schools that had a GSA reported higher perceived support from classmates. In addition, schools that had both a GSA and explicit LGBTQ-inclusive policies (e.g., inclusive curricula, anti-bullying campaigns) were associated with higher perceived support from teachers and less instances of anti-LGBTQ bullying (Day et al., 2020^[234]).

Goodenow et al. (2006^[235]) used survey data from LGBT students in Massachusetts (United States) and found that LGBT students who attended a school with a student support group (such as a GSA) were approximately half as likely to experience dating violence or skip school out of fear for their safety, and were around 30% less likely to have attempted suicide. Ioverno et al.'s (2016^[236]) analysis of data from a multisite longitudinal study including over 300 LGBQ students over two years across three cities in the United States revealed that students who attended schools with a GSA reported feeling safer at school and experienced fewer instances of bullying. Furthermore, the authors found possible protective effects of GSAs, as they were associated with increased self-reported perceptions of safety in the following school year (Ioverno et al., 2016^[236]). That is, LGBT students' perceptions of safety at school seem to be directly associated with a GSA presence and participation, indicating their lasting benefits.

One of the most promising indications from the literature suggest that GSAs may have the greatest positive impacts on the experiences of transgender students (Greytak, Kosciw and Boesen, 2013^[237]). Considering the persistent lack of focus on transgender and gender non-conforming students even in contexts where broad LGBTQI+ inclusion is pursued, this indication should be considered by policy makers committed to comprehensive LGBTQI+ inclusion.

The positive impacts of GSAs on LGBTQI+ student experiences also seem to persist beyond secondary school. Toomey et al. (2011^[233]) found a significant positive association between attending a high school with a GSA and psychological well-being (less likely to experience depression, more likely to feel confident etc.) and level of education among 21 to 25 year-old LGBT young adults in the San Francisco Bay, California (**United States**) area.

While GSAs are most common in the United States, there are a few examples of their effectiveness in other national contexts as they become more common in other countries. For example, Kitchen & Bellini's (Kitchen and Bellini, 2013^[238]) analysis of a survey from teachers working with GSAs in Ontario, **Canada**, suggest that GSAs have consistent positive impacts on developing LGBT-inclusive school climates. In the **Netherlands**, Edelenbosch, Emmen and Ricardo (2015^[239]) reviewed three small studies of Dutch GSAs. Overall, the research found that participation in a GSA can help to instil LGBT students with feelings of empowerment. The Van de Velden research reviewed also discusses the importance of GSAs in promoting visibility of LGBT students within the school environment, which can change attitudes towards increased tolerance and inclusion over time.

4.2. Gaps in school-level intervention knowledge: School counselling and parental engagement

There is almost no research on the role of school counsellors in advocating for LGBTQI+ students (Manu, 2018^[240]). Goodrich and Luke (2009^[241]) argue for LGBTQ Responsive School Counseling in which school counsellors would recognise that they have an ethical duty to support and advocate for LGBT students, that they consider their intersecting identities and experiences and that counselling can be inclusive of curriculum, student planning, counselling and support systems. Activities within these concepts include providing workshops for teachers, organising parent meetings on LGBT resources, and creating community outreach programmes, among other strategies. Beck, Rausch and Wood (2014^[242]) propose education for counsellors in training that supports and advocates for LGBT students. Given the importance of psychological counselling for mental health, this is clearly an area that needs further scholarship.

Similarly, many studies note the importance of parental engagement with their children's schools as a strategy to improve student success. Given the challenges faced by LGBTQI+ students, parent involvement may be a critical factor in these students' well-being and academic success. However, the authors could find no research on parents of LGBTQI+ students' engagement with their schools.

5 Collecting data, monitoring and evaluating the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students

To be effective, policies and practices need to be monitored and evaluated, then modified based on results of evaluations. With respect to LGBTQI+ education, this is the least developed element of the process to support students. Sections 3 and 4 of this paper report on positive results from LGBTQI+ anti-bullying campaigns, inclusive school environments and GSAs. However, it is difficult to find evaluations of teacher training or curriculum designed to welcome LGBTQI+ students, although there are research articles on creating these opportunities (Pennell, 2017^[243]; Sawchuk, 2017^[244]; Hansen, 2015^[245]). In order to protect and support LGBTQI+ students, it is critical that curricula, policies, teacher development and programmes be evaluated for effectiveness and that modifications be made based on findings in order to serve all students.

An important step in the monitoring and evaluation process is the collection of consistent data on LGBTQI+ students to identify needs, progress and remaining challenges. Data on LGBTQI+ students are scarce and most often absent at the governmental level in OECD countries. This section provides an overview of gaps and challenges in the collection of data on LGBTQI+ people, with a focus on LGBTQI+ students. It also provides examples of relevant data collection and monitoring practices and initiatives in education from countries, international agencies and civil society organisations.

5.1. Collecting data on LGBTQI+ students

Segregated data collection on LGBTQI+ specific issues is often absent at the government level within OECD countries, with civil society organisations frequently performing their own independent research (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). However, data collection is critical to effectively monitor, evaluate and make data-informed decisions and changes. In order to effectively use an intersectional framework to address specific LGBTQI+ challenges in schools, more segregated data on these issues should be collected, and further intersecting factors of identity should be monitored alongside sexual orientation and gender identity.

It should be recognised, however, that such data collection is difficult, as it would require students and/or parents to self identify. Given the personal nature of identifying as well as fears of repercussions, such data collection is understood to be difficult. A suggestion is for schools and governments to create ways to ensure anonymous data collection and provide information to students and parents about ways in which the information would be secured.

5.1.1. Data on LGBTQI+-focused anti-bullying campaigns

As mentioned in Section 3, much of the research on anti-bullying campaigns that specifically focus on anti-LGBTQI+ bullying comes from the United States, and this body of literature is limited. This is likely in part the result of most countries not regularly collecting segregated data on anti-LGBTQI+ bullying. Among the

47 member states of the Council of Europe, only eight countries require data collection on anti-LGBTQI+ bullying in schools (Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland), with most of the data collection focusing on generic bullying and harassment (Ávila, 2018^[246]). In **Ireland**, schools are required to collect segregated bullying incident data in order to inform their anti-bullying policy action plans, although this data is not published publicly or given to the national government (IGYLO, 2018^[114]). The **Swedish** School Inspectorate under the Ministry of Education and Research collects segregated bullying data with specific monitoring of bullying based on sexual orientation (IGYLO, 2018^[114]).

It should also be noted that even among those countries that do collect segregated data on anti-LGBTQI+ bullying, there are large differences in terms of the amount of this type of data collected, the level of detail, the degree of government requirements and the level at which data is collected (school, regional, national, etc.). For example, in **France** there is only partially segregated bullying data on annual national surveys, but the government provides direct support to *SOS homophobie*, an organisation that publishes an annual report on anti-LGBT bullying in schools (Ávila, 2018^[246]) (see 3.3). On the national level, **Germany** segregates bullying crimes based on motivation that includes the sexual orientation or gender identity of the victim, but only the city of Berlin requires school-level bullying reports (not amounting to crimes) to include this data on motivation (Ibid.). **Norway's** National Student Survey of secondary students includes just one optional question on bullying and sexual orientation, which can be excluded by individual school discretion (Ibid.).

The common lack of segregated data may be one of the reasons for the lack of widespread school-level anti-bullying campaigns that explicitly mention anti-LGBTQI+ bullying as a distinct form of bullying. Without the segregated data examining the specific nature of anti-LGBTQI+ bullying, schools and governments may not be equipped to address adequately this form of bullying. This data gap is specifically important to address considering the promising findings of the available research described in Section 3, which point to a consistent positive effect of anti-bullying campaigns that specifically target anti-LGBTQI+ bullying and LGBTQI+ student experiences.

5.2. Monitoring and evaluating the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students

Monitoring and evaluating the access, participation and achievement of all learners is fundamental to evaluate the progress of education systems towards reaching diversity, inclusion and equity goals and subsequently informing policies in these areas. Furthermore, direct interventions to support diversity, inclusion and equity in education take place at the local and school levels in the context of the central regulatory framework, which points to the importance of effective monitoring and evaluation at these levels (Cerna et al., 2021^[1]).

Effective monitoring and evaluating depends on the cooperation of practitioners, researchers and policy makers (Siarova and van der Graaf, 2022^[247]). Although it may seem like an obvious connection, Oliver and Cairney (2019^[248]) explain numerous challenges for academics when trying to communicate research to policy makers. For example, their work has to be communicated comprehensively in layperson-friendly language, and it takes time and effort to establish working relationships with policy makers. Teachers are also important in developing policies and practices that work. They know their students and the environment of the school, and they have tested programmes, so they are in a position to describe the experiences to researchers and policy makers (Link Engineering Educator Exchange, 2017^[249]). Again, it can be difficult to engage effectively with policy makers.

However, in order to expand and improve on educational practices that provide safety and inclusion for LGBTQI+ students, monitoring and evaluating current methods, and adjusting them based on recommendations, is essential for upscaling and providing professional learning, curricula and holistic school practices that are successful. This work requires co-operation between researchers and school

personnel and communication between researchers and teachers with policy makers to produce policies to expand effective practice (Siarova and van der Graaf, 2022^[247]).

In the case of support for LGBTQI+ students, a potential reason for the lack of cooperation may involve the personal and societal attitudes that create support or resistance to affirming policies and supportive practices for LGBTQI+ students. For example, Eckes and Lewis (2020^[250]) note that federal **United States** guidance on transgender student non-discriminatory policy issued in 2016 was rescinded with a new administration in 2017. A bi-partisan US organisation tracking LGBTQ supportive and non-supportive policies finds that about half of the states have legislation related to LGBTQ students slated for 2022 (Freedom for All Americans, 2022^[251]). Laws under review include policies regarding LGBTQ youth healthcare, youth sports, restroom policies, counselling and mental health, library books, pronoun use and sexual education (see Box 4.1). Arguments against LGBTQI+ inclusion often centre on opinions that such inclusion is contrary to parental (or societal) beliefs regarding sex and gender and that inclusion infringes on the rights of heterogeneous and cisgender students and their parents (Higa et al., 2014^[172]).

6 Conclusions

Policies and practices for supporting LGBTQI+ students are both sensitive but also essential topics in the 21st century. As more students identify outside of traditional norms of heterosexual and cisgender categories, schools and those responsible for creating educational policies need to recognise that their safety and academic achievement is dependent on equitable and inclusive practices to help these students feel cared for by members of the educational community. Research provided in this paper indicates the challenges they encounter in terms of academic achievement, mental health, social acceptance and economic prosperity when they are discriminated against or otherwise excluded from educational and extracurricular activities.

Research discussed in this paper shows that some practices provide opportunities and school environments in which LGBTQI+ students can thrive. These include the following:

- Governmental policies that specify LGBTQI+ information and training for school personnel (Campbell, 2019^[217]; CoE, 2010^[107]; Council of Europe, 2022^[111]; DILCRAH, 2020^[113]; IGYLO, 2018^[114]).
- Specific teacher professional learning and staff training about LGBTQI+ students (Greytak, Kosciw and Boesen, 2013^[207]; Kearns, Mitton-Kukner and Tompkins, 2014^[201]; Page, 2017^[148]).
- LGBTQI+-inclusive curriculum (Camicia, 2016^[147]; IGYLO, 2018^[114]; Ministry of Education, 2021^[126]; Prescott, 2021^[130]; Snapp et al., 2015^[145]; Stonewall, 2019^[150]; Taylor et al., 2015^[129]).
- Sexuality education inclusive of LGBTQI+ persons (Baams, Dubas and van Aken, 2017^[159]; Council of Europe, 2020^[173]; Gegenfurtner and Gebhardt, 2017^[174]; Jolly et al., 2020^[163]).
- Anti-bullying campaigns that specify information about LGBTQI+ bullying (Goodboy and Martin, 2018^[230]; Gower et al., 2018^[226]; Hall, 2017^[193]) (Kull et al., 2016^[192]).
- Inclusive school climates (Ancheta, Bruzzese and Hughes, 2021^[224]; Coulter et al., 2016^[225]; Gower et al., 2018^[226]; Kosciw and Zongrone, 2019^[62]; Kosciw et al., 2020^[86]; National School Climate Center, 2012^[210]).
- Gay-straight alliances at schools (Day et al., 2020^[234]; Edelenbosch, Emmen and Ricardo, 2015^[239]; Kitchen and Bellini, 2013^[238]; Russell et al., 2009^[228]; Schneider et al., 2013^[232]; Toomey et al., 2011^[233]).

Evidence also shows that spaces in which there are no resources supporting LGBTQI+ students, or where there is discriminatory information about LGBTQI+ people, are detrimental to the academic achievement and well-being of LGBTQI+ students. Results can be that these students are more likely to skip school, drop out, or contend with major psychological issues, including suicidal ideation. They are also less likely to achieve their potential and contribute fully to society. This is not only a loss to the individual, but also to society and economic progress.

A major challenge to the current understanding regarding good policies and practices to support LGBTQI+ students is a lack of monitoring and evaluation of country policies and school-specific programmes. Part of the reason is that many such programmes are newly implemented, and it takes time to apply them before evaluations can be performed. Another reason is that programmes supportive of LGBTQI+ students are often contended by some organisations. Without programmes assessments, it is difficult both to determine good practices and to up-scale successful policies and practices. To best serve LGBTQI+

students, it is important for all levels of governance, from international/national to school-level, to monitor and evaluate policies and practices and to make appropriate changes based on the evidence. It is also important to include the voices of LGBTQI+ students and their parents in evaluations.

Much research on the topic is United States-centric. To have a better understanding of what is helpful to LGBTQI+ students, there is need for more research and evaluation of programmes across countries. It is also important to work with organisations that have a clear understanding of challenges faced by LGBTQI+ students, such as NGOs representing people who identify as LGBTQI+. Collaborations between these organisations, teachers and developers of curricula could result in more effective teaching materials and school-wide procedures.

OECD country policies vary considerably, from those requiring full support and inclusion to those that challenge the inclusion of LGBTQI+ students and education. This paper has sought to explain the benefits of inclusion for the wellbeing of all students. As such, it offers the following policy pointers:

- Developing national policies that create school-wide programmes for inclusion of LGBTQI+ students.
- Financing of LGBTQI+ school policies and programmes.
- Surveying schools to learn about specific programmes offered and needs among teachers and staff to provide inclusive teaching and practices.
- Requiring mandatory courses inclusive of LGBTQI+ information in teacher preparation programmes and professional learning development.
- Creation of anti-bullying programmes in all schools that are inclusive of anti-LGBTQI+ bullying.
- Advocating for Gay-Straight Alliance groups in schools.
- Monitoring and evaluating programmes to consider effectiveness and make changes based on evaluations.

The OECD Strength through Diversity project has demonstrated the importance of responding to the needs of many diverse groups: immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, Indigenous communities, students with special education needs, gifted students and more (Cerna et al., 2021^[1]; Rutigliano, 2020^[252]; McBrien, 2022^[253]; Rutigliano and Quarshie, 2021^[254]; Brussino, 2020^[255]). These needs – and policy recommendations to accommodate diverse students – are not easy. The research has tried to demonstrate how including all students, regardless of their diverse status or intersectional diversity, ultimately promotes not only the success of all students, but also the social and economic prosperity of nations.

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Annexe A. A brief history

Historical evidence

Although growing international debates and attention around sexual orientation and gender identity are relatively recent, multiple examples of same-sex romantic and/or physical relationships and gender fluid figures exist across time and cultures (Chauvin and Lerch, 2013^[256]; Jourian, 2015^[12]). Research from different disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, history and psychology, show an “enormous variability and change in the dialogue, perceptions, experiences, and attitudes toward gender identities and sexual orientations that have occurred across cultures over time” (Tskhay and Rule, 2015^[257]). For example, same-sex relationships were common in ancient Greece and Rome, as they were in Europe prior to 1700, even in monasteries and religious depictions (Trumbach, 2012^[258]).

In so-called Western countries, questions related to sex, gender and sexuality are initially rooted in medical and psychological studies. Same-sex relationships first emerged as a subject of study in medical studies, which until the middle of the 19th century considered same-sex relationships as a deviance that could be explained by anatomic abnormalities (Chauvin and Lerch, 2013^[256]). From the second half of the same century, many psychiatrists started to define same-sex relationships and gender non-conformist behaviours as psychological disorders and pathologies. While they focused on different aspects, i.e. medicine on the physical features and psychiatry on the psychological/psychiatric ones, both disciplines regarded same-sex relationships as pathologies that needed to be diagnosed and potentially cured.

Same-sex relationships gained visibility in social sciences during the mid-20th century. Alfred Kinsey published two reports on men’s sexual behaviours (1948^[259]) and women’s sexual behaviours (1953^[260]) in the United States, the first studies that quantified same-sex practices. The two major impacts of Kinsey’s work were to (1) show that same-sex sexual practices were not uncommon and (2) question the binary categories of heterosexual and homosexual to suggest a continuum of sexual orientations. At the same time, from the 1950s and 1960s, homosexuality became a topic of increasing interest in sociology, which started to see the phenomenon of deviance not as an inherent characteristic of some individual, but rather as a social status (Chauvin and Lerch, 2013^[256]). In other words, some academics started to argue that same-sex relationships, and more generally sexual orientations other than heterosexuality, were common and perceived as abnormal because of historical and socio-cultural dynamics rather than because of physical or psychological pathologies.

Conceptualising “gender”

The concept of gender, as different from sex, first emerged during the first half of the 20th century when medical staff conducted the first hormonal treatments and surgery on intersex new-borns. Doctors considered these children ambiguous and dysfunctional because, although they had sexual organs, they did not define strictly as male or female (Löwy, 2003^[261]). Once again, the issue was first confronted through the lens of abnormality and pathology. The measures implemented aimed to “cure” intersexual children by choosing one set of biological sexual attributes (and removing the other) and raising them to identify with the chosen gender (male or female). However, the fact that an individual could have biological characteristics from both sexes and then be made to identify as one gender or the other cast doubts on the deeply rooted belief that one’s sex determines one’s gender.

In this context, American psychiatrist Robert Stoller, who founded in 1954 the Gender Identity Research Clinic, was the first recognised researcher to distinguish between biological sex, i.e. having male or female anatomical features, and sexual identity, i.e. the way people perceive themselves and behave in relation to this perception (Dorlin, 2021^[13]). In the 1950s, psychologists like Money and colleagues (1957^[262]) used the concept of “gender” (previously called “sexual identity”) and further conceptualised this distinction (Bullough, 2003^[2]). Their work brought recognition to the distinction between the two concepts among psychologists and social sciences researchers (Löwy, 2003^[261]). In sum, biological sex is a medical concept, presented as a continuum with clearly defined end points (male or female) and with a large set of possibility in between (intersex individuals). Nonetheless, while Money and Stoller’s works initiated this distinction, they were criticised for basing their analysis on the rigid and binary concepts of gender, masculinity and femininity. In fact, while recognising that masculinity and femininity vary, they argued that any ambiguity regarding sex and gender role was harmful for an individual and should be “corrected” (Löwy, 2003^[261]). The objective of Money’s research was to help intersex children by “curing” them, meaning that they would have one biological sex, male or female, that would determine the way they perceive themselves and behave according to gender binary stereotypes.

Social studies on sex, gender and sexual orientation increased in the 60s-70s, accompanied by growing social movements and visibility of marginalised LGBTQI+ communities in North America and in Europe. The British sociologist Ann Oakley (1972^[263]) radicalised the emerging theories on sex and gender in her book *Sex, Gender and Society*. According to Oakley, while sex describes biological differences, the concept of gender is related to social categories, masculine and feminine. She argued that sexual desire and sexual behaviours, as well as gender expression and gender identity, were not dependent on physiological and biological factors such as anatomic structures, hormonal processes and genes (Oakley, 1972). Her work is the first major attempt to differentiate gender roles, which are social, from physical features, which are biological. In other words, an individual’s biological sex does not define his or her gender identity, which might differ and be expressed in multiple ways. Works such as Oakley’s introduced a strand of social sciences literature that has refined the conceptualisation of sex, gender and sexuality. It is important to understand the concepts when working on these issues, including in public policy.

In the context of emerging theories on sex, gender and sexual orientation, a new field of study emerged in the 1990s. Teresa de Lauretis initiated the Queer Theory movement and coined the term. In an influential 1991 article on lesbian and gay sexualities, she questioned the dominant use of the categories “gay” and “lesbian” as exclusive of other gender and sexual identities (de Lauretis, 1991^[264]). She criticised the categories of “lesbian” and “gay” for homogenising not only the different existing sexual identities but also differences of social class and ethnicity, which intersect with sexual and gender identity dimensions. De Lauretis also emphasised the lack of research on sexual diversity issues and the dominance of a male heterosexual perspective on society. Queer Theory, which includes influential authors such as Judith Butler, largely contributed to (1) expand the categories and issues tackled by social sciences, including, for example, transgender people and (2) unveil domination and resistance mechanisms between dominant structures, such as hetero-normativity, and subservice identities, such as gender and sexual minorities (Dorlin, 2021^[13]; Chauvin and Lerch, 2013^[256]; Giffney, 2004^[265]). In sum, queer theory is both a theoretical lens and political action that “questions the assumed normativity and stability of identities, structures, and discourse, such as dichotomous nature versus nurture debates” (Jourian, 2015, p. 18^[12]).

Addressing LGBTQI+ rights globally and regionally

Although there were initiatives in some countries to improve the situation of LGBTQI+ people throughout the 20th century, the issue only progressively became a priority in international frameworks in recent decades. After the gay liberation movements that emerged in various Western countries in the 1960s-1970s, LGBTQI+ civil society organisations’ initiatives were mainly national and aimed at promoting liberation and equality. Transnational networks started to be formed in the second half of the 1970s and strengthened in the 1990s when they started to base their demands on human rights. From that moment,

LGBTQI+ rights progressively became understood as human rights and gained importance in international and national debates (Kollman and Waites, 2009^[266]).

Several international frameworks have set precedents for the rights of LGBTQI+ people. The first ones are the results of transnational networks that used human rights documents to design pioneer declarations and put LGBTQI+ rights in the international agenda. The Declaration of Montréal, which accompanied the First World Outgames in Montréal, Canada, in July 2006, was the first to summarize the demands of international movements and suggest the creation of a United Nations (UN) conventions on elimination of all forms of sexual orientation and gender identity discrimination (Kollman and Waites, 2009^[266]). Shortly after, the Yogyakarta Principles, for instance, were created by a number of human rights experts in November 2006 (The Yogyakarta Principles, 2017^[267]). Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this framework explicitly describes how the same rights are extended to persons identifying as LGBTQI+. Principle 16 is the Right to Education, which exhorts states to create legislative and administrative measures to provide education without discrimination to all students, regardless of their sexual orientation or gender identity.

Regional attention to LGBTQI+ equality, rights and inclusion is also quite recent. LGBTQI+ equality became a priority of the European Union (EU) in 2014, after the European Parliament issued a Resolution on the EU Roadmap against homophobia and discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity. It called on the European Commission (EC) to develop “a comprehensive multiannual policy to protect the fundamental right of LGBTI people” (European Parliament, 2014^[268]). This led the EC to present in 2015 a list of recommendations to advance LGBTI equality, endorsed in 2016 by the Council of the European Union. The document established the first concrete measures to undertake between 2015 and 2019 to combat discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and sex characteristics in the EU. Following this, the EC and various Member States have made significant efforts to promote LGBTQI+ rights and inclusion (OECD, 2020^[31]).

In the Americas, the first regional instrument to protect human rights is the American Convention on Human Rights (adopted in 1969 and entered into force in 1978), for which compliance is ensured by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Although it does not have direct reference to gender identity and sexual orientation, Article 1 of the Convention states that States must “ensure to all persons subject to their jurisdiction the free and full exercise of those rights and freedoms, without any discrimination for reasons of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic status, birth, or any other social condition”.⁸

⁸ See: <https://www.cidh.oas.org/basicos/english/basic3.american%20convention.htm> (accessed on 3 February 2022).

Annexe B. Definitions

Asexual:

HRC: The lack of a sexual attraction or desire for other people

Gender dysphoria:

- HRC: Clinically significant distress caused when a person's assigned birth gender is not the same as the one with which they identify. According to the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), the term – which replaces Gender Identity Disorder – "is intended to better characterize the experiences of affected children, adolescents, and adults."

Gender expression:

- According to HRC: External appearance of one's gender identity, usually expressed through behaviour, clothing, haircut or voice, and which may or may not conform to socially defined behaviours and characteristics typically associated with being either masculine or feminine.

Gender identity:

- According to the HRC: One's innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither – how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.

Gender nonconformity:

- Gender nonconformity refers to the degree to which an individual's appearance, behaviour, interests, and subjective self-concept deviate from the conventional norms of masculinity and femininity (Ghavami 47).

Gender transition:

- HRC: The process by which some people strive to more closely align their internal knowledge of gender with its outward appearance. Some people socially transition, whereby they might begin dressing, using names and pronouns and/or be socially recognized as another gender. Others undergo physical transitions in which they modify their bodies through medical interventions.

Sexual Orientation:

- According to Human Rights Campaign (HRC): An inherent or immutable enduring emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to other people.⁹

Transgender:

- HRC: An umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or expression is different from cultural expectations based on the sex they were assigned at birth. Being transgender does not imply any specific sexual orientation. Therefore, transgender people may identify as straight, gay, lesbian, bisexual, etc.

Sources: UNESCO, 2016; OECD, 2020; HRC

⁹ <https://www.hrc.org/resources/sexual-orientation-and-gender-identity-terminology-and-definitions>.