

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Faculty of Social Sciences

Master's Thesis

2024

Maedbh Pierce

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**“You’re not gay. Why are you pretending to be?” A Critical Discourse
Analysis Of Bisexual
Identity Construction Across Monosexual and Bisexual International
Media Between The Years
2012 - 2022.**

Master's Thesis

Author of the Thesis: Maedbh Pierce

Study programme: Erasmus Mundus Journalism, Media & Globalisation

Supervisor: Mazlum Kemal Dağdelen

Year of the defence: 2024

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.
4. During the preparation of this thesis, the author used **[name of tool/service]** in order to **[state reason]**. After using this tool/service, the author reviewed and edited the content as necessary and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication. **[This statement does not cover the use of basic tools for checking grammar, spelling, references, etc. If there is nothing to publish, there is no need to add a disclaimer.]**

In Prague on
29/07/2024

Maedbh Pierce

References

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Length of the Thesis: 157,537 characters.

Abstract

The construction of bisexual identity has, for authors central to this study, such as Yoshino (2000), Shaw (2021) and Gurevich (2007), constituted, within the bisexual community, a significant topic of discussion. This study responds to such literature and theoretical questioning, engaging the construction of bisexual identity in international media, monosexual (heterosexual and homosexual) and bisexual between the years 2012 and 2022. Guided by central theories of Discourse Theory, Bisexual Theory and Queer Theory, this research utilises Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its methodology. In line with its research questions, this research engages the construction of bisexual identity, the question of bisexual belonging within the LGBTQ+ community, bisexual self-construction and bisexual identity in environments wherein non-heterosexual identities are stigmatised or criminalised. Analysing 12 publications and sampling five articles from each publication, this study engages a sample of sixty texts. This study's findings, contained within the overarching codes of culture politics and health, respectively analyse the release and reaction to Rita Ora's "Girls," those seeking asylum based on their bisexuality and discussions of bisexual mental health. This study finds that bisexual identity has been variously constructed by bisexual and monosexual media, with political, cultural and geographical contexts playing a role in the diversity of bisexual identity constructions.

Abstrakt

Konstrukce bisexuální identity představuje pro autory stěžejní pro tuto studii, jako jsou Yoshino (2000), Shaw (2021) a Gurevich (2007), významné diskusní téma v rámci bisexuální komunity. Studie reaguje na takovouto literaturu a teoretické úvahy a zabývá se konstrukcí bisexuální identity v mezinárodních médiích, monosexuálních (heterosexuálních a homosexuálních) a bisexuálních, v letech 2012 až 2022. Tento výzkum, vedený ústředními teoriemi jako je diskurzivní, bisexuální a queer teorie, využívá jako metodologii kritickou diskurzivní analýzu (CDA). V souladu se svými výzkumnými otázkami se tento výzkum zabývá konstrukcí bisexuální identity, otázkou bisexuální sounáležitosti v rámci LGBTQ+ komunity, bisexuální sebekonstrukcí a bisexuální identitou v prostředí, kde jsou neheterosexuální identity stigmatizovány nebo

kriminalizovány. Tato studie pracuje se vzorkem šedesáti textů, přičemž analyzuje dvanáct publikací výběrem pěti článků z každé z nich. Zjištění této studie, obsažená v zastřešujících kódech kulturní politiky a zdraví, analyzují, jak byla bisexuální identita různě konstruována bisexuálními a monosexuálními médii, přičemž v rozmanitosti konstrukcí bisexuální identity hrály roli politické, kulturní a geografické souvislosti.

Keywords

Bisexual, Monosexual, Heterosexual, Homosexual, Media, Critical Discourse Analysis, Social Constructionism, Media, Discourse Theory.

Klíčová slova

Bisexuál, monosexuál, heterosexuál, homosexuál, média, kritická diskurzivní analýza, sociální konstrukcionismus, média, diskurzivní teorie.

Title

“You’re not gay. Why are you pretending to be?” A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Bisexual Identity Construction Across Monosexual and Bisexual International Media Between The Years 2012 - 2022.

Název práce

“Ty nejsi gay. Proč to předstíráš?” Kritická diskurzivní analýza konstrukce bisexuální identity v mezinárodních monosexuálních a bisexuálních médiích v letech 2012-2022.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Mazlum Kemal Dağdelen for his time and valuable insights that guided this thesis writing process.

And, of course, my friends and family for their continued kindness, community and encouragement.

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism FSV UK
Research proposal for Erasmus Mundus Journalism Diploma Thesis

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Došlo dne:	14 -11- 2023 -1-
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Thesis title in English:

“You’re not gay. Why are you pretending to be?”: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Bisexual Identity Construction Across Monosexual and Bisexual International Media Between The Years 2012 - 2022.

Expected date of submission (semester, academic year)

(Thesis must be submitted according to the Academic Calendar.)

Summer Semester, July 2024.

Main research question (max. 250 characters):

How has bi+ identity been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual, between the years 2012 and 2022?

Current state of research on the topic (max. 1800 characters):

Magrath et al. (2013) perceive media construction of bi+ identity as one riddled by bi+ erasure, whether this erasure presents as exhaustive disappearing or, more commonly, a limiting, extra-community-determined construction of what bi+ identity is. On this erasure, Wilkinson (2019) identifies this form of bisexual erasure in the British Press as conflation. Bisexuals, rather than being a distinct sexual category, disappear in the broader LGBTQIA+ acronym or become monosexualised by their relationship of the time – a hypothesis bolstered by the media reaction to Tom Daley's, the British Olympic diver, coming out in 2013. While he refrained entirely from the words gay or bisexual and, stating that he was currently in a same-sex relationship, he made explicit his continuing bisexual attractions. Despite this, as Magrath et al. (2017) elucidate, the media systematically misrepresented and monosexualised the words of Daley, reconstructing him as a monosexual gay man.

In his legal analysis of monosexual engagement with bi+ identity, Yoshino (2000) perceives a quasi-epistemic contract between monosexuals - to uphold mutually beneficial ideas of sex-determined gender, binary sexuality and monogamy norms. Observing this, Eisner (2013) advocates the political capacity within bi+ identity to defy such limiting boundaries, sustaining the bi+ community - the world's largest, socially transverse sexual minority - has the potential to stand for a more inclusive societal approach. Topically aligned to Robinson (2015) and her investigation of bi+ women as constructed within Canadian media and Shaw (2022) in her debunking of bi+ stereotypes and examination of their political and psychological effects, this thesis will, in the sphere of the international media, investigate the construction of bi+ identity, intending to provide an analysis which is literature, theory, and context-informed.

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

Taking a social constructionist position, this research combines discourse theory with bi+ theory to analyse the construction of bi+ identity within contemporary bi+, homosexual, and heterosexual media discourses. As Burr (1995) outlines, language constitutes a site of conflict and change, one which exists in a perpetual, illuminating transition, with discourse holding a significant position in the construction of social phenomena and identity, in this particular case, that of bi+ identity. Eisner (2013) sustains this

logic and transferring it to the ring of bi+ theory, holds that discursively established myths surrounding bisexuality: hypersexuality, dishonesty, capriciousness - originate less as any inherent truth about plurisexuality than as stamps of otherness which establish monosexuality - heterosexual and homosexual, as reliable, honest, and stable. San Filippo (2013) and Angelides (2000) agree that it is not the content of bisexuality - holding plurisexual attraction - which incites suspicion but its undermining of stable, monosexual institutions and beliefs.

A particularly imminent example of bi+ theory and social constructionism's natural intertwinement is Shaw (2022) in her investigation into essentialism's alleged bisexual gene. Navigating the perspectives of essentialism versus social constructionism, Shaw (2022) is, as her predecessors were, unsuccessful in locating a conclusion. Along the way, however, she reveals the ulterior intention of her seeking – questioning why we desire this question answered, highlighting how discourse influences the questions we importune answering and how we approach solutions. Via an exploration of discursive media construction of bi+ identity, this thesis will tread similar theoretical lines.

Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):

A contextually and methodologically relevant prior study is Wilkinson (2019), who, rather than seeking trends, allowed the examined materials from The Times between 1957 and 2017 to reveal them. Subsequently, he uncovered a chronicling and construction of bisexuals as mythic, denying the same ontological status as their monosexual counterparts. Aligned with Wilkinson (2019), this qualitative study, informed by Fairclough (2013) in his assessment of language and communication's discursively influential capacities, will undertake a critical discourse analysis within three content categories: bi+, homosexual and heterosexual publications. Looking to Wilkinson (2022), I similarly seek to reveal what an examination of selected data will reveal about attitudes and perceptions.

Similar to Lewis and Torres (2023), in their demonstration of language's capacity to reinforce or challenge hegemonic power asymmetries, this study will assess the representation of the bi+ community across three categories of publication and how they, between the period 2012-2022, reaffirmed or contested hegemonic ideas and beliefs, whether these were positive, negative or neutral. This CDA will intend to establish how these publications constructed bisexual identity within the selected period

Expected research design (data to be analysed, for example, the titles of analysed newspapers and selected time period):

Additional to the primary research question (RQ), “How has bi+ identity been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual, between the years 2012 - 2022?” there will be three secondary research questions:

Secondary RQ1: In regions where bi+ identity moves against societal values, how does bi+ construction differ across monosexual and bisexual publications? How do political leanings further affect this construction?

Secondary RQ2: How the claims by bi+ community that there is a feeling of being an afterthought within the broader LGBTQ+ community is reflected within the analysed data?

Secondary RQ3: How are the frequently projected stereotypes reflected in the bi+ media channels?

Utilising CDA, with the keyword “bisexual,” I will allow themes to emerge from the gathered dataset spanning 2012-2022. I will group the gathered data into two overarching categories: monosexual and bisexual. Within the monosexual category, there will be dual subcategories: homosexual and heterosexual. I plan to investigate thirty publications across the established categories. From each publication, I will extract five publication content pieces. Below is the initial list of publications within their respective categories. With classifying theoretical and methodological developments or the possibility of a more internationally representative sample, this initial list of publications may adjust.

Bisexual Publications: Unicorn Magazine (United Kingdom); MyKali (Jordan); Bisexual Women Quarterly (United States); Gaysi (India); Archer (Australia); BiPan Magazine (United States.) Jeem (Middle East & North Africa) Gal-dem (U.K.) Queer Education India (India) Archer (Australia.)

Monosexual Publications:

Homosexual: Gay Times, Homosensual (Mexico); Gayety (United States); Gay Community News

(Ireland); KAOS GL (Turkey); Gay Travel (United States); The Gay Passport (Thailand); Out Magazine (United States); Attitude Magazine (United Kingdom); Nonchalant Magazine (United Kingdom.)

Heterosexual: The Times (United Kingdom); The Irish Independent (Ireland); The New York Times (United States); Al Jazeera (International); Daily Sabeh (Turkey); Muslim Girl (Canada); Tanqeed (Pakistan); Mexico News Daily (Mexico); Raseef 22 (Lebanon); Qatar Tribune (Qatar.)

Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content):

(1) Abstract

- A brief summary of undertaken research: (i) importance and background, (ii) research method and design, (iii) major findings, (iv) conclusion and implications.
- Keywords.

(2) Introduction

- Outline the general topic, background (bi+ culture, identity, history) and theory (including objections/disparagements surrounding bi+ theory) as elucidated by relevant literature.
- Outline and evaluate the current state of research, the current gap in research, the research scope of this thesis and its contribution to mooting existing research gaps.
- State and briefly discuss the research question, objectives and hypotheses.
- Outline methodology + methodological relevance.
- Discussion of changes - if any - from the thesis, as initially proposed to be produced.
- Discussion of thesis research limitations.
- Define central terms: bisexual, plurisexual, monosexual, heterosexual, homosexual.
- Outline of thesis structure (chapter overview).

(3) Literature Review

- Outline and justify the style of the literature review performed and the criteria for

source selection.

- Perform a concept-based critical assessment and discussion of peer-reviewed, reputable, diverse academic sources relevant to the thesis.
- The literature review will explore underpinning themes, relationships, methodologies, limitations or critical pitfalls/gaps of research in cited works.
- Identify the gap filled in research with the present study.

(4) Theoretical Framework

Selected Theories: Social Constructionist Theory + Bisexual Theory

- Outline key terms, phrases, or words in social constructionist and bi+ theoretical contexts.
- Evaluate theoretical relevance for current research via a brief overview of theoretical frameworks selected by relevant researchers.
- Situate this research contribution within this theoretical framework.

(5) Method

- Provide an overview, evaluation and justification for critical discourse analysis as the chosen methodological approach.
- Explain the media division into three identity-based categories: heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual.
- Justify and explain the method of determining whether a media outlet has a heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual character.
- Discuss any obstacles and solutions or limitations.
- Justify, evaluate and explain research design choices.
- Ethical Discussion communicating my research positionality and ethical safeguards observed.

(6) Findings

- Describe the intended process of outlining results.
- Offer a structured, contextually grounded presentation of gathered data concerning the research question with particular note to patterns, trends and significant

uncoverings/discordances.

(7) Discussion

- Through the given theoretical lens, the discussion will interpret the gathered data, enabling a data-guided response to the primary and secondary research questions.

(8) Conclusion

- Synthesise findings and discussion to answer the research question and demonstrate the contribution made by this thesis to the field.
- Suggest further necessary research on this topic.

(9) Appendices

Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the method(s) of analysis; all works should be briefly characterised on 2-5 lines):

Eisner, S. (2013). *Bi: Notes for a Bisexual Revolution*. Hachette UK.

- Eisner (2013) offers a comprehensive debriefing of bisexual politics. Taking a radical activist stance, Eisner challenges monosexist ideas of sexuality through various political lenses and theories - transgender, feminism and, in a unique turn, Palestinian rights activism, posits bisexuality as a unique approach to destabilising given social and relational conventions.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change*. Polity.

- Offering an introduction to discourse analysis as it is practised in various disciplines today, Fairclough (1993) demonstrates the function of discourse analysis as a tool of broader social, political and cultural commentary and examination, commentary and change.

Shaw, J. (2022). *Bi: The Hidden Culture, History, and Science of Bisexuality*. Abrams Press.

- Definitively less radical in political approach, Shaw's (2022) work chronicles the legal and social perspectives on bisexuality and queerness. Uniquely, she engages the science of sexuality, critically examining traditionalist and novel perspectives.

Butler, J., & Butler, P. J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex."* Psychology Press.

- Deconstructing the discourse of the body and concerning canonical cultural works of multiple discursive spheres, Butler (1993) examines heterosexual hegemony as central to ideas of bodies, sex, sexuality and gender.

Wilkinson, M. (2019). 'Bisexual oysters': A diachronic corpus-based critical discourse analysis of bisexual representation in *The Times* between 1957 and 2017. *Discourse & Communication*, 13(2), 249–267. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481318817624>

- Aligned to contemporary theories of bi+ erasure and utilising a diachronic, publication-specific critical discourse analysis, this study, concerning the unequal distribution of rising LGBTQ+ coverage in the media, carefully analysed the discursive construction of bisexuality in *The Times* between 1957 and 2017.

Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):

ROBERTS, Briana Michelle. *Mapping Bisexuality in the Czech Asylum System*. Diplomová práce. vedoucí Ezzeddine, Petra. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta humanitních studií, Program Genderová studia. 2021.

CHERKASOVA, Anastasiia. *"A Great Secret Bias": Mapping Bisexuality in Eighteenth-Century Literature*. Diplomová práce. vedoucí Nováková, Soňa. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta, Ústav anglofonních literatur a kultur. 2022.

Date / Signature of the student:

14/11/2023



THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY THE ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR:

I confirm that I have consulted this research proposal with the author and that the proposal is related to my field of expertise at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

I agree to be the Thesis supervisor.

Dagdelen, Mazlum Kemal

14.11.2023

Surname and name of the supervisor

.....
Date / Signature of the supervisor

Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis:

Further recommendations of literature related to the topic:

Yin, R.K. (2016). Qualitative Research from Start to Finish, Second Edition. New York: The Guilford Press.

- This book is a comprehensive introduction to qualitative research and it will be guiding the thesis project for methodological soundness.

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15**, addressed to the Program Coordinator.

Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Sandra Lábová. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.

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Introduction

Predominantly, the study of bisexual identity construction continues to centre around creative constructions such as film, television and books. Work by San Filippo (2013) navigates the absence of bisexuality within public discourse, its erasure facilitated by the reframing, in film and media discourses, of bisexuality as queer, gay, same-sex or homosocial. While, in her theory-informed criticisms, San Filippo (2013) amends this erasure and demonstrates the multifacetedness of bisexual subjectivities, such a scholarly focus on fictional realms functions tandemly as a relegation, dislocating bisexual identities to the realm of fiction and centring characters who cannot dialectically engage, defending or demarcating the constructions of their identity. This absence itself was addressed later by San Filippo (2022) in her critical engagement with the film *Appropriate Behaviour*. Exploring the idea of a bisexual inbetweener movie as a cinematic grammar less chartered than that of the gay coming-out film or the lesbian romance, San Filippo (2022), in this critique of homonormativity and bisexual economic marginalisation, integrates fictional criticism and the lived experience insight of the bisexual film creator. Scholars such as Shaw (2021) adopt a more interdisciplinary approach, amalgamating science, culture and history, nodding to media misconstructions of bisexuality in her discussion of NewsWeek's early engagement with bisexuality, while Harrad et al. (2018), synthesising the history of the bisexual movement, debunk misnomers that bisexuality is a younger identity and movement than lesbian and gay politics and identities.

Scholarship centred on media engagement with bisexuality has heightened in recent years. Scholars such as Legge et al. (2018), in their analysis of media constructions of bisexual women and marijuana consumption, Wilkinson (2019), navigating the construction of bisexual identity in the British Press, Soroka et al. (2023), exploring the construction of the LGBTQ+ community in Ukrainian media, Magrath et al. (2013), studying the coverage of Tom Daley's coming out in the British press, and Fongkaew (2019), explore bisexual identity in Thai news media have engaged, in theoretically and methodologically diverse approaches, with media constructions of bisexual identity. Common to these studies is a

highlighting of the media's tendency towards a focus on heteronomous constructions of bisexuality. In analysing not how bisexuals perceive themselves but how bisexuality is constructed and perceived in heterosexual-centric media discourses, they are united in finding that constructions of bisexual identity predominantly stand distinct from bisexual individuals' independent conceptions of their sexual identities. For Soroka et al. (2023), media constructions of bisexuals, along with other sexual minorities, were nuanced by context-specific geographic, social, cultural and editorial factors. In their study of Ukrainian media, Soroka et al. (2023) found that the construction of bisexual identity was formulaic and determined by the international allegiances of a given publication. For Magrath et al. (2013), in observing mainstream, heterocentric British media, in exploring the coming-out story of athlete Tom Daley, rather than reporting Daley's "coming-out" act, media projected binaries, claims of prior recognition of his sexual diversity based in stereotypes, demonstrate this empirical interstice. This lapse in heteronomous and autonomous understandings of bisexuality is a divergence similarly influenced by temporal factors, exemplified by Wilkinson (2019). His study, tracing constructions of bisexuality in *The Times* from 1957 until 2017, this prolonged temporal corpus, offering significant insight into processes of bisexual erasure and the regenerative transformation of stereotypes over time.

This thesis, engaged in the construction of bisexual identity, builds on this scholarship, comparatively assessing constructions of bisexual identity across bisexual, homosexual and heterosexual media. It will analyse autonomous (i.e. bisexual) and heteronomous (i.e. homosexual and heterosexual) constructions of bisexuality alike.

Regarding the analysis of bisexual media, or plurisexual media more generally, there is a significant scholarly silence. This study will breach this aperture, comparatively engaging with constructions of bisexual identity in heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual publications between the years 2012 and 2022. While arguments identified by Swan and Habibi (2018) and Eisner (2013), such as a reduced amount of explicitly long-standing, bisexual-identifying publications or their intermittent editorial functioning, often serve as a justification for this gap in scholarship, this study demonstrates that efficacy and centring

of bisexual voices are not mutually exclusive. Guided by bisexual researchers such as Swan and Habibi (2018), this study, with a corpus divided across the following political and cultural spheres: North America, South America, Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, South Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, South East Asia and Oceania, will consider the methodological challenges introduced in studying a significantly disenfranchised and erased community. To facilitate a feasible, transferable study with valid, contributory findings, these categorisations, enabling an overarching political and sociocultural context, utilising Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as outlined by Norman Fairclough (1992, 1993, 2013), are localised to each publication country or outlined region, centring the texts and their interrelated discursive and social practices. This study will understand bisexuality, in line with Ochs (2001), as the capability of being attracted to all gender identifications, whether romantically or sexually. This study will depart from various behavioural definitions explored by Swan and Habibi (2018), which exclude those who are asexual but bisexual identifying, those who are bisexual-identifying and uninvolved in their community/attractions, or those who experience their bisexuality in ways formerly policed, i.e. predominantly dating men. In line with Barker et al. (2012), outlining guidelines for navigating ethical academic engagement with plurisexual minorities in their work, this study will not understand bisexuality as an umbrella term inclusive of queer or pansexual identities to avoid the erasure of the heterogeneity of plurisexual identities.

Central to this study's conceptual framework is discourse theory, predominantly discourse theory as outlined by Fairclough (1992), observing discursive practice as capable of dually offering insight into and generating social and cultural change. Also, social constructionism, as understood by Burr (2015), recognising social identity, relations and reality not as innate, concrete or immutable but as socio-culturally dialogic, provides the paradigmatic position adopted by this study. Highlighted by Fairclough (2013) as central to a CDA study, this study and its governing research questions were conceptualised in line with the three-dimensional model of CDA, understanding discourse as socially integrated, existing dialectically with social and linguistic practices. Considering this, the primary RQ, "How has bi+ identity been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual,

between the years 2012 and 2022?" draws on the theoretical backbone of this study, provided by discourse theory, social constructionism, bisexual theory and queer theory.

For a balanced sample, this thesis will centre on five heterosexual publications, five homosexual publications and five bisexual publications. This study will engage three significant discursive events within these ten years. For Fairclough (1992), a discursive event exists cumulatively as a “piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice.” (p. 4) The text dimension refers to the linguistic analysis of the text itself, and the discursive practice dimension engages which discourses are “being drawn upon and combined.” (p. 4) The social practice dimension engages institutional and organisational factors of social analysis. Within Critical Discourse Analysis, engaging with the discursive event along all three axes facilitates insight regarding the dialectical relationship between hegemonies and their challenging or regeneration within language, discourse and social practice. The themes of these discursive events (culture, politics and health) will reflect the overall themes of the corpus. This study, engaging an adaptive methodology and research design, aligns with bisexual and queer research practices and entails a commitment outlined by Brown and Nash (2010) to not reproducing erasures and hegemonies which reductively subsume heterogeneities.

Thesis Outline

Considering the propensity for synthesis of the theories and literature central to this study, this thesis utilises a conceptual framework integrating theory and literature. Amalgamating discourse theory, as understood by Fairclough (1992, 1993, 2013) and social constructionist paradigm, as outlined by Burr (2015), this study adopts a conceptual position which recognises language and discursive practices as integrated within —and generative of— our social world, identities and relations. This conceptual position understands language as a site wherein discursive changes, contestations or reproductions occur. Such poststructuralist theories, favouring critical, discursive engagement, align with the identity-based theories of bisexual theory, most centrally theorised by Eisner (2013),

Shaw (2021), Angelides (2007), Voss (2014) and queer theory as understood by Butler (1990), De Lauretis (1996) and Sedgwick (1990). To prevent repetition and most effectively synthesise scholarly insight and perspectives, preceding theory and literature are cumulatively approached within this chapter. The literature within this conceptual framework will clarify central concepts, definitional choices and prior relevant scholarship.

The methodology chapter of this thesis will outline the engagement of this study with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as outlined by Fairclough (1992, 1993, 2013). The methodology will similarly elucidate the secondary research questions guiding this research, clarifying their relevance, purpose and alignment to the construction of bisexual identity and the conceptual framework drawn upon within this study. Utilising Fairclough's three-dimensional model, understanding the text and its interactive discursive and social process, this study will provide insight into how people actively create a rule-bound, ideologically underwritten world in heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual media spheres. These elements will be motivated within the research design, operationalising the outlined methodology and clarifying the design factors and approaches of this qualitative CDA study. This chapter will similarly address this research's adjusted data sample size from the proposed sample number in line with methodological and theoretical influences.

The analysis of this thesis will outline the results of this study. Within this chapter, patterns, trends and distinctions in the construction of bisexual identity across heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual publications, as relevant to the answering of this study's primary and secondary research questions, will be elucidated. The discussions section of this thesis interprets the findings from a discourse theoretical perspective and the social constructionist position. Within this chapter, bisexual theory, queer theory and relevant literature will strengthen the comprehensive engagement of these findings in terms of their meanings, implications and limitations.

Concluding this thesis, the final chapter will reiterate the points of significance within this study and their relevance and contribution to critical bisexual scholarship. Centring the insight this analysis facilitates into the discursive construction of bisexual identity and its tangible, continued social impact, this conclusion will similarly highlight areas for

potential continued research in critical language awareness surrounding the construction of bisexual identity.

Thesis Statement

In completing this study, this thesis demonstrates a lapse in autonomous constructions of bisexual identity compared to those heteronomously constructed. It reflects an issue in politicising sexual identity, a generalising act which necessarily subsumes the intricacies of identity. It navigates the construction of ideological formations such as the LGBTQ+ community as unquestionably inclusive communities, constructions blurring the hierarchies, boundaries and intra-community tensions which are a part of this acronym's formation. Centrally, through its secondary research questions, this thesis navigates why querying such formations is recognised as an attack rather than an opportunity for community development. With a critical linguistic awareness facilitated by CDA, this study outlines that the majority of criticism stemming from plursexual-identifying and genderdiverse indicates that the binaries, historicised by Harrad et al. (2018) as built into the LGBTQ+ community expectations that those whose desires or identities lay beyond such ideologies, re-construct themselves or expect rejection. It outlines that, whether with intention or ignorance, the impact of such constructions, originating in prejudice, facilitates the continuity of a social and discursive dynamic which polices bisexuality, constructing a dynamic wherein a bisexual may not determine for themselves what the correct, actualised form of their identity is.

1. Conceptual Framework

Central to this study's conceptual framework is that of discourse theory, bisexual theory and queer theory. This research, studying the construction of bisexual identity, utilises a conceptual framework. With many of the theories central to this thesis, particularly concerning bisexual theory, overlapping with the engaged literature, this conceptual framework will synchronously engage their various contributions. This conceptual framework is most significantly outlined by Discourse Theory, most significantly outlined by Fairclough (1992, 2009, 2013), with additional influences from Laclau and Mouffe

(1985) and Jørgensen and Phillips (2002). Concerning bisexual theory, this conceptual framework centres the theorising of Eisner (2013) and Hemmings (2007), theorists significantly dialogic with authors of literature central to this study, such as Yoshino (2000) and Shaw (2021).

1.1. An Introduction To Norman Fairclough's Discourse Theory.

Striving to provide a social theory of language, Fairclough (1992) perceives language as content-rich in social, cultural and political insights and argues that language moves beyond an individualistic or situational ritual, existing as a means of social practice. Citing Hodge and Kress (1988), Foucault (1979) and Habermas (1984), Fairclough outlines his discourse analysis as a critical method which, theoretically and methodologically, centres the formation of the social subject. With this approach, facilitating multidimensional, multifunctional and historical analysis, Fairclough (1992) proffers an approach through which the construction of bisexual discourse, present and historically, can be investigated.

Fairclough outlines three facets of discursively constructive effects within a text: ideational, identity, and relational. For Fairclough, the ideational function of a text refers to the "representation and signification of the world and experience." (p. 94) The identity function of a text refers to how discourse constructs social identities, subject positions and types of self. The relational function refers to the text's construction of individuals' sociality to one another. For Fairclough (1992), identity is a more stable facet of individuality, such as gender, class, race or age. By contrast, a subject position refers to the adoption of norms which accompany more transient types of self. Fairclough (1992) provides the example of pupils. He identifies two subject positions, contributing to class discussions and completing written work. The norms and expectations of an aural discussion differ from that of a written task. The pupil, in this example, is a type of self.

Fairclough refers to his social theory of discourse as theoretically-oriented discourse analysis (or TODA), establishing his practice as distinct from linguistically-oriented discourse analysis (or LODA). While LODA, which Fairclough identifies as developed by theorists such as Foucault (1969), underwrites TODA linguistically, TODA departs in significant ways. Fairclough strove to develop LODA, integrating social and political

thought and systematising Foucault's (1969) ambiguous methodological approach. LODA and TODA align in their perception of discourse as socially constitutive. However, Fairclough (1992), perceiving a dialectical dynamic between discourse and subjects, moves against Foucault's socially deterministic stance. Foucault's (1969) stance identifies subjects and their statements as a function of discourse, existing within rather than resistant to or beyond discourse. For Fairclough (1992), contestations of discourse are not inherently contained and determined by discourse.

In application, the impact of discourse on social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief is demonstrated by studies such as those undertaken by Simpson (2011), demonstrating the role of language and ideology in the experience of LGB-identified youth experience of English as a school subject and Chamberlain (2009) in her identification of a correlation between a lack of understanding of biphobia as distinct from homophobia, and a subsequent inequitable spread of aid. In acknowledging the latency of power and ideology within discourse, these studies highlight the role of language and discourse in shaping our social world and identities.

1.2. Discourse As A Site Of Identity Construction

Fairclough (1992), within his social theory of discourse, integrates a significant space for what he outlines as the identity function of language. Observing the impact of identity on everyday interactions, Fairclough aligns with a social constructionist paradigm and outlines social categorisation and identity-building as a fundamental aspect of how societies and their identity dynamics are reproduced or transformed. For Fairclough, identity markers such as gender, sexuality, race, or class are not stabilised, essential or pre-social identities but discursive practices illuminative of established or habitual norms. In observing such identity formations as demonstrations of discourse as a political practice, Fairclough acknowledges the latency of power and ideology within discourse.

His critical method moves against reductive approaches and pays heed to their impact on social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. Conceptually, Fairclough (2013) interweaves the identity function of a text (which contributes to personal and social identity formation) and the relational function (which impacts the formation of

relationships.) In analysing texts, this interrelated nature becomes manifest for Fairclough (2013), through factors such as,

the forms of texts, including their generic forms (the overall structure of, for instance, a narrative), their dialogic organisation (in terms, for instance, of turn-taking), cohesive relations between sentences and relations between clauses in complex sentences, the grammar of the clause (including questions of transitivity, mood and modality), and vocabulary. (p. 94)

Fairclough identifies his understanding of subjectivity as moving away from that outlined in mainstream linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic pragmatics, and linguistically-oriented discourse analysis. In this, Fairclough (1992) does not hold a reductive view of the social subject. Fairclough (1992) observes that the particular language and discourse accessible to an individual shapes identity. For Fairclough (1992), identity manifests "in the linguistic forms and meanings" (p. 47) chosen. He highlights that facets of identity, such as gender, ethnicity and age, will impact conversational meaning and structures. The impact of discursive practice on social identity is central to the dialectical perspective regarding discourse and subjectivity, which Fairclough (1992) holds.

Fairclough (2013) outlines his conception of contemporary society as aligned with Giddens (2013), understanding it as post-traditional. As such, Fairclough (2013) conceives discourse as existent within a society wherein authority is in decline, with relationships necessitating heightened negotiation "through dialogue, an openness which entails greater possibilities than the fixed relationships and identities of traditional society, but also greater risks." (p. 98)

Aligned with Fairclough (1992), Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) similarly identify social identity and relations as persistently unstable and changing. Concerning the discursive construction of identity, Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) identify a conflict between the child,

as discursive represented to itself and what divergent identity it may have. They write,

The subject comes to know itself as an individual by identifying with something outside itself, that is, with the images presented to it. The images are internalised, but the child (and, later on, the adult) constantly feels that he or she does not quite fit the images. So the images are, at one and the same time, the basis of identification and of alienation. (p. 53)

For Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), this follows that regardless of where the individual, in discourse, is situated, a "feeling of wholeness" (p. 53) remains beyond reach. Demonstrating this method in practice is Suryanti Tambunan and Sembiring's (2022) examination of how the "distinct power structures of gender and sexuality are socially constructed and regulated." (p. 243) Applying Fairclough's (2013) framework, Suryanti Tambunan and Sembiring (2022) examine the film *Love, Simon*, utilising a critical queer discourse analysis. Their analysis reveals that romantic secrecy in heterosexual environments fosters significantly more romantic closetedness and general secret-keeping patterns amongst LGBTQ+ persons than environments which do not stigmatise or endanger the queer community.

Fairclough (1992) outlines that particular institutions and domains hold relative discursive properties, some systematised by practice, such as medical exchanges, and some holding socialised patterns, such as those between a wife and husband. Within his social theory of language, these various patterns stand variable to time, cultural and political context. He offers the example of the linguistic reframing of learners as consumers or clients and courses as packages or products, with no change to the activity itself. Fairclough, for Lewis and Melendez-Torres (2023), integrates identity as a discourse constituent influencing how "language and communication create power asymmetries and inequalities." (p. 2) This synthesis of identity and discourse incorporates identity as a mode of expression, resistance or alignment. Fairclough (1992) argued that this assimilating, moving beyond perceptions of expression as an exclusive indicative axis facilitated a heightened critical social insight.

For Latal (2023), a central concept to developing such knowledge is an awareness of the "orders of discourse," outlined by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) as "a social space in which different discourses partly cover the same terrain which they compete to fill with meaning each in their own particular way." (p. 56)

For Fairclough (2013), what dynamics such as dialogic imbalance indicate may not be grasped by linguistic engagement alone but necessitates an examination of the mentioned identity and relational factors and their role in shaping the discursive and social environment at hand. Fairclough (1992), engaging this argument, analyses a conversational narrative between two wives and two husbands with significant dialogic asymmetry. Fairclough observes, "... the husband tells the story (and steals the limelight) while the wife acts in a supporting role, interpellating comments which support the husband's account and elaborate it in a minor way, without attempting to share control of the topic." (p. 152) Building on Fairclough (2013), Latal (2023) argues that language is not reducible to linguistic structures but requires context as to the knowledge which shapes these structures. Such knowledge enables a meaningful insight into institutionalised interpersonal dynamics.

1.3. The Discursive Construction of Bisexuality

Eisner (2013) identifies the process of bisexuality becoming recognised as an identity, rather than a behaviour or set of acts, as discursively following a similarly pathological, medicalised path to that of homosexuality, with both bisexuality and homosexuality being subjects of the predominantly European project of categorising gender, bodies and sexuality. Shaw (2022) identifies theorists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Henry Havelock Ellis and Magnus Hirschfeld as being among the first to explore bisexuality. As navigated by Shaw (2022), Eisner (2013) and Angelides (2001), these theorists, as proponents of inversion theory, understood bisexuality as what we contemporarily recognise as intersexuality - bodies with nonbinary genitals and other sexual traits. Bisexuality existed as a sort of psychosexual hermaphroditism, predominantly associated with male criminals due to Ebbing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Within this work, *Ebbing* primarily studied the existence of bisexuality within prisons.

Freud, the first theorist to understand bisexuality as a desire rather than a physical or psychological state, recognised bisexuality as the basis of his oedipal complex. However, he continued to conflate biological sex, sexual orientation and gender identity, holding that all individuals were born with male and female brains and bodies before the development of normal sexuality (heterosexuality) or abnormal sexuality (homosexuality). Bisexuality, for Freud, is thus not understood as a sexual orientation but as an unevolved basis for the realisation of other sexualities. As such, bisexuality was viewed by Freud as childlike, regressive and connotated with hysteria.

In 1948, Alfred Kinsey, creator of the Kinsey scale (a concept which proffers that we all experience desire on a sliding scale between heterosexuality and homosexuality), was the first significant minority-world researcher to understand bisexuality as a viable sexual orientation. When Kinsey argues bisexuality is the norm, he does not view bisexuality as subversive. Instead, Kinsey (1948) argued against the heterosexual/homosexual binary entirely. Gurevich (2009) identifies that, as a movement, bisexuality did not re-emerge until the 1970s and again in the 1990s. Preceding this, bisexuals were active within lesbian and gay communities.

Voss et al. (2014) identify that, while it is theoretically appealing for bisexuality to stand beyond linguistic and ideological definition, in a society misaligned with such a theoretical utopia, there are material consequences to definitional ambiguity. Voss et al. (2014) identify that such a lived experience of bisexuality resistant to definitional capture may coexist with the stable, coherent exposition of identity necessary for structural aid and protection. Bisexual theory, while influenced by the reframing of lesbian and gay theory undertaken by queer theory, amends the systemic bi+ erasure within queer theory. Similarly, foregrounding post-structuralism and centring an epistemological lens, bisexual theory differs from queer theory in integrating bisexual politics and identity.

This shift functioned as what Fairclough (1993) might identify as a shift in the "social functioning" and "salience" of language. (p. 6) Yet, both Hemmings (2002) and Young and Meyer (2005) are careful to establish that outlining the potential of bisexuality as a backbone of an identity-centric theory should not consequently establish another form of binary thinking. For Hemmings (2002), this would undermine the epistemological

capacities bisexuality might offer. Eisner makes explicit the dynamic of power between words and meanings and language identified by Burr (2015). Significantly, Eisner (2013) highlights language's capacity to instrumentalise this power dynamic. In observing language as a site of conflict and transition in bi+ identity construction, Eisner (2013) highlights that information transmission, how, where and why it is transmitted, plays a significant role in how we think about, examine and evaluate bisexuality.

Látal (2023), in his exploration of queer representation in video games, understands Fairclough's discourse theory as "an approach is based on examining usually textual products of human activity and dissecting three main scopes of their social life — description, interpretation, and explanation." (p. 144) Such an analysis, for Latal (2023), offers significant epistemological insight, as to where control, coercion or policing occurs. For Eisner (2013), this is a perspective of significant utility, particularly when relating to the many stereotypes or myths associated with bisexual identity. Eisner (2013) holds that commonly associated stereotypes, such as promiscuity, vectors of disease, identity-falsity or identity choice, have very little to do with bisexual individuals but with the constructed idea of bisexual identity within society. Aligned with Serano (2007), Eisner (2013) holds that such myths do not require busting but observation of what they reveal about the social groups propagating or denying them.

However, Shaw (2022), outlining the case of one Nigerian man who was declined queer asylum in the United Kingdom due to court perception that his bi+ identity was a fabrication, highlights the flaws in perspectives centring theoretical gain. Citing Gross (2017), Shaw (2021) reiterates the danger of such myths, with her study uncovering that "... those seeking asylum on the basis of their bisexuality (as opposed to being homosexual or trans) face the most difficulty obtaining asylum in the US." (p. 163) Burr (2015) does not take these observations as objective but as points from which to initiate an understanding of the social, cultural and historical processes behind them and why perhaps, stigmatisation might take a different form or tone depending on geographical, cultural, temporal and political contexts and the segment of the community under discussion whether it is, to provide non-exhaustive examples, bi+ men, women or the trans bi+ community.

1.4 Bisexuality in Global Media.

Within Ukrainian media, Soroka et al. (2023) identify available LGBTQ+ coverage as predominantly propagation of American or Russian media. Within their study, Ukrainian-owned media discussed LGBTQ+ identities rarely. Through discourse analysis, Soroka et al. (2023) outline that stories centred on the LGBTQ+ community were not representative narratives but formula stories. These are stories that "...are not about actual people or typically told by LBQ women and transgender people themselves, but rather exist as publicly circulating stories for consumption by non-LGBTQ+ people." (p. 134) Soroka et al. (2023) identify an instrumentalisation of LGBTQ+ identities as a sort of "political football" (p. 152), amplifying either the constructive intentions of Russian LGBTQ+ perceptions or that of the United States.

Looking to Africa, Winkler (2019) finds that those who consume newspapers, internet or social media content are more likely to support the LGBTQ+ community. Within his study, Winkler (2019) identifies that LGBTQ+ identity governmental censorship may positively heighten the discussion of LGBTQ+ identities in other media, such as newspapers or the internet. For Wilkinson (2019), in his examination of bisexual representation in the British press, bisexuals are only discussed in the abstract, symbolically erased via temporal and fictional displacement. Further to the reality that fictional characters and deceased bisexuals cannot defend the stereotypes imposed upon them, Wilkinson (2019) concludes that the socially constructive choices of the British Press imply that bisexual people do not exist as tangible social actors in the present.

Şahin (2018), taking the case of North Cyprus, the last place in Europe to decriminalise same-sex relationships, observes a correlation between media invisibility and heightened difficulty in attaining social change. Kangasvuo (2011), in a study of bisexual representation within Finnish media, identified a similar conclusion to Şahin (2018). Kangasvuo (2011) outlines that while there is a heightened bisexual presence within Finnish media, this presence is principally one repeating "familiar stereotypes and prejudices meant to titillate the consuming audience." (p. 274)

Shaw (2022) discusses a 1995 NewsWeek Cover, "Bisexuality. Not gay. Not straight. A

new sexual identity emerges.” Though not novel, the same publication in 1974 published, “Bisexual Chic: Anyone Goes,” both visible examples of bi+ identity construction. Within the 1995 article, wherein the bisexual expert within the article is a bi+ identifying fifteen-year-old, polyamory, promiscuity, and gender fluidity become synonymous with bisexual identity. Legge et al. (2018), conducting a study of bisexual women who use cannabis, found Canadian media representation of bisexual media to be disempowered, oppressed and powerless, the identity often presented as a behaviour rather than an ontologically valid identity. Thai media, leaning into stereotypical portrayals, constructed bisexuals as sex-obsessed due to their plurisexual attractions. Similarly, negative news stories of bisexual men’s infidelities or the objectifying femme/masc fatale constituted the majority of coverage.

Within the media, coming-out narratives are to the fore. Magrath et al. (2017), examining the response of the British print media to Tom Daley’s coming out announcement, found that Daley, while experiencing widespread, inclusive acceptance, had his indicated bisexuality erased. Despite refraining from using any identity labels such as gay or bisexual, coverage identified Daley as a proud gay man, with many editorials indicating their prior recognition of his sexual difference. Looking to Latin America, Garcia Rabines et al. (2022), the public coming out of bisexual, gay and lesbian YouTubers, find that these individuals, assimilating to neoliberalism, fame economy and normative interpretations of the coming-out narrative, may initiate a “discipline by example” (p. 2) concerning the “limits of intelligibility of non-heterosexual subjectivities.” (p. 2) To Eisner's (2013) perspective, the mainstream gay movement, monikered as the Gay Gay Gay Gay (GGGG) movement, transposes values of heteronormative society to queer contexts, constructing a parallel homonormativity.

1.5 Bisexuality & Queer Theory: Divergences & Overlaps.

As a field of critical theory, bisexual theory integrates epistemological approaches and takes queer theory and bisexual politics as central influences. Bisexual theory emerged in the 1990s in response to the bi-erasive tendencies observed within queer theory. Engaging with the epistemic dislocation of bi+ theory, Gurevich (2009) encourages consideration of “what function bisexuality serves discursively, epistemologically and politically” (p. 237)

and argues that queer theory has variously sidestepped, marginalised and arguably erased bi+ identity. Gurevich (2009) hypothesises that it may be the epistemic dilemma bisexuality presents to queer theory that motivates such erasure. Gurevich (2009) examines the origins of queer theory as a restructuring of the binary-based lesbian and gay theory. Integrating post-structuralist perspectives, queer theory aimed to spotlight the regulatory function of lesbian and gay identities. For theorists such as Sedgwick (1990) and de Lauretis (1991), bisexuality was identified as a similarly regulatory, binary-centric identity and erased. Bisexuality, reconceptualised by Eisner (2013), Shaw (2021) and Angelides (2007), poses a challenge to the epistemic category within which queer theorists placed bisexual identity.

Theorist de Lauretis (1991) envisioned queer theory as a discourse capable of deconstructing biologically deterministic notions of gender, sexuality and identity. Central to its theory was the idea that queer theory did not represent an identity but rather a critique of identity -- a desire to deconstruct the identity-based theories and discourses integral to lesbian and gay theory and life. Guervich (2009) writes, “queer is frequently defined in terms of its opposition to the normative and the normalising, the dominant and the disciplining” (p. 238). However, Guervich (2009) moves against the conception of bisexuality as a regulatory identity category and argues that bisexuality offers an aligned capacity to reveal and disassemble existing gendered and sexed discourses, identities and politics. Similarly, Eisner (2013) identifies binary-based, essentialist understandings of bisexual identity as a fundamental misunderstanding of the identity.

Citing Sedgwick (1990), Guervich (2009) identifies queer theory as sustaining the hetero/homo dichotomy it sought to depart from. Guervich (2009) queries why monosexual queerness is perceived to function as the primary “deconstructive leverage” (p. 236) tool, considering the discourse of white gay historiography and sociology “which added women as an afterthought, with little or no understanding of female socio-sexual specificity”. (p. 240) Queer, as a term aggregating multiple identities, appears to hold a near eidetic issue as the LGBTQ+ acronym which has been identified by Wilkinson (2019) as constituting, for the bisexual community, an erasure. An erasure Wilkinson (2019) suggests is perhaps unsurprising as the acronym, rather than being a conscious integration of communities, first originated in common usage during the HIV/AIDS crisis.

Yoshino (2000), in his investigation of bisexual erasure within the legal realm, proposes that continuing the practice of erasing or misunderstanding bisexuality is a sort of epistemic contract between monosexual communities, one which stabilises and legitimises monosexuality, cissexist continuity, and monogamy norms. Positioning themselves as one of the more radical bi+ theorists, Eisner (2013) aligns with such stipulations, identifying the mainstream, assimilationist LGBTQIA+ movement as the GGGG (Gay Gay Gay Gay) movement, their values advocating for a performance of homosexuality which aligns with traditionally cis-heterosexual value systems and centring issues such as marriage and the right to join the military.

Seeking to address such hypotheses and queries, Gurevich (2009) reaches into bisexual discourse, questioning its discursive, epistemological and political function. Gurevich (2009) asks what “kinds of knowledge systems do bisexualities draw on, produce, reflect, refract, subvert and silence? How are some modes of knowledge accorded the status of legitimacy, possibility and transmissibility, while others are rejected and ejected?” (p. 237) Gurevich (2009) conceptualises sexuality not only as an identity or discourse, but a particular form of semiosis that it is “neither innate nor simply acquired, but is constructed or dynamically structured by psychic processes and forms of fantasy—conscious and unconscious; subjective, parental, and social; private and public—which are culturally available and historically specific.” (p. 242) Such observations align with Lewis and Melendez-Torres’ (2023) determination of language’s capacity to reinforce or challenge hegemonic power asymmetries, with our social constructions tied with power relations as they produce patterns of how people should act.

This research, although most centrally theoretically underwritten by discourse theory, is similarly informed by the discussed identity theories of bisexual theory and queer theory. Fairclough's (2013) outlining of Critical Discourse Analysis provides a methodological approach compatible with the textured conceptual framework of this study. Through Critical Discourse Analysis, supported by a social constructionist paradigm, this research assesses the discursive, linguistic and social construction of bisexual identity outlined and contextualised within this conceptual framework.

2. Methodology

Conceptually informed by an integration of discourse theory and bisexual and queer theories, this research centres Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its methodology in examining the active role of discourse in media constructions of bisexual identity between 2012 and 2022. Centring on Fairclough's (2013) interdisciplinary three-dimensional model, this research analyses constructions of bisexual identity along three axes: the text or discursive event, text production and interpretation, and the social environment within which the discursive event occurred, critically integrating linguistic, social and discursive analyses. Critical Discourse Analysis holds various constructions of identity, not as a representation of an innate reality but as ideological products of social and discursive formations. CDA enables an examination of what Fairclough (2013) perceives as the active role of language in communicating the discursive and social practices operative in the media formation of bisexual identity.

In line with the macro-sociological tradition, as outlined by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), this study understands constructions of bisexuality not as mere representations of an essential, pre-existent reality but as a contribution towards constructing an ongoing, changeable bisexual identity, to which social structures and power relations are integral. Similarly, Jørgensen and Phillips' (2002), in their discussion of structuralist linguistics, identify language not as neutral and representative but generative of our social identities and relations and illuminative of the "underlying mental states and behaviour or facts" (p. 9) which conceptualise our world is central to this study, which in the context of bisexual identity construction, will utilise CDA, addressing how bisexual identity has been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual, between the years 2012 - 2022. While Fairclough understands discourse as referring to images and text, this study will focus its sample on the semiology of text.

Intertextuality allows for the comparative assessment of discursive reproductions, transformations or contestations within this study's selected discursive events. For Fairclough (2013), intertextuality demonstrates that language usage is not natural but naturalised, illuminating the fluidity of contemporary discourse. Factors of discourse, such

as Fairclough's (2013) outlining of intertextual links (also referred to as intertextual chains) exploring the same event from different, aligned or combined perspectives, capture the interconnectivity of texts which variously impact the construction of bisexual identity. Within this study, this transformative nature of language facilitates an analysis of the construction of bisexual identity. Intertextuality is particularly central in assessing secondary research question one, considering the distinct contextualised constructions of bisexuality in regions where bisexuality moves against societal values. Analysing constructions of bisexuality across homosexual, heterosexual and bisexual publications allows an intersocial insight, analysing the discursive patterns of three sexual identity groups.

Contained within Fairclough's (2013) conception of intertextuality is interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity refers to the interpolation (or interaction) of various genres, discourses and styles. Orders of discourse is an ameliorative concept by Fairclough (2013), referring to genres, discourses and styles cumulatively. Orders of discourse exist dually within the text and as broader categories containing the text. (p. 176) Within the text, orders of discourse mediate language (or semiotic structures). This mediation is the "semiotic moment" (p. 291) of social practices. Their interdiscursivity for Fairclough (2013) exists within hegemonic relations and contestation. Analysing the interdiscursive facets of a text involves assessing these structural aspects of language and how they interact with the linguistic aspects of the text. Following this, the various distinct social meanings of genres, discourses, styles and their interaction are realisable and engageable. Interdiscursivity, for Fairclough, spotlights the heterogeneity of texts.

Emergence is the term Fairclough (2013) uses to refer to the complex relationships appearing in an intertextual assessment. For Fairclough, it is through analysing these dynamics that a particular discursive event "becomes interesting in macro-sociological terms." (p. 421) These relationships refer to the various articulations, rearticulations or disarticulations of orders of discourse. Articulations and their modified forms are, to Fairclough (2013), valuable for their observation of the destabilising of social identities, identifying identity construction as a salient, ongoing process.

In taking the three-dimensional model outlined by Fairclough (2013), analysing textual

engagement with social and discursive practice will facilitate insight into societal and discursive structures and processes in relative constructions of bisexual identity. For this study, considering constructions of bisexual identity across temporal, cultural and political contexts, CDA, elucidated by Fairclough (2013), being considerate of the relationship between discursive and social practices and structures as diverse and intricate across time and context, is particularly appropriate. Fairclough's (2013) CDA allows for diverse constitutions and sustenance of external social worlds, wherein distinctions in social and discursive practices may be regionally or temporally influenced and facilitates a critical awareness of how these perceptions are reconstituted or contested in everyday social and discursive practices.

As outlined by Jørgensen and Phillips (2012), within CDA, common sense assumptions or formations, stable only to a degree, negotiate competing discursive and social elements. Considering this, the naturalised aggregation of sexual and gender minorities under the LGBTQ+ acronym is what Fairclough (1992) may consider an ideological formation, its community ideals constituting a hegemony with ideological effects on its members. In line with secondary research question two, addressing the feeling within the bi+ community that they are often, within the broader LGBTQ+ community, an afterthought, this study will examine how bisexual identity interacts within this socio-political community formation and how discursive and social practices prevalent within the LGBTQ+ community may foster, reconstitute or contest bisexual stereotypes, erasure or disenfranchising.

With CDA being a critical approach committed to social change, the querying of discursive practices and their ideological effects is particularly relevant to this study in generating increased interpretive knowledge of how bisexual stereotypes move beyond their functioning as discursive tropes, implicating social and institutional attitudes and practices. It will consider the bolstering of particular constructions of bisexual identity which ratify or contest pre-existing hegemonic perceptions, facilitating discursive and social change or regeneration. In gathering and analysing insights, this study will not seek a novel hegemony or truth but rather, guided by Shi-xu (2012), present observed phenomena regarding the construction of bisexual identity and its traceable social and discursive impacts.

Moving against conceptions of pre-social identity, Critical Discourse Analysis facilitates the critical engagement of where and how these stereotypes, addressed in secondary research question three, are reproduced. Many significant bisexual theorists do not adopt a policing stance to the reproduction of stereotypes but rather view these reconstitutions of a particular, prejudiced construction of bisexual identity as sites of epistemological knowledge. Bisexuality is understood by Angelides (2007) as epistemologically valuable in understanding sexuality. Hemmings (2002) similarly recognises bisexuality as problematising normative gender and sexuality categories. For Monro et al. (2017), bisexuality as an identity category enables the transgressing of binaries, facilitating social and discursive transformations.

Considering the social and discursive dimensions, this methodology allows insight into the ideological effects, sustaining and endorsing such constructions. It will reveal, as outlined by de Saussure (2011), the social conventions facilitative of the attachment of particular meanings and understandings to words and identities. This CDA study, amalgamating the outlined conceptual framework with linguistic observations, will, in line with Fairclough (1992), illuminate the patterns, processes and frequencies wherein stereotypes are positionally subverted or reproduced. The following primary and secondary research questions will guide this study's engagement with its sample:

Primary Research Question: How has bi+ identity been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual, between the years 2012 - 2022?

Secondary Research Question One: In regions where bi+ identity moves against societal values, how does bi+ construction differ across monosexual and bisexual publications? How do political leanings further affect this construction?

Secondary Research Question Two: The bi+ community often expresses a feeling of being an afterthought within the broader LGBTQ+ community. Within the analysed data, is there evidence aligned with this claim?

Secondary Research Question Three: How are the frequently projected stereotypes

reflected in the bi+ media channels?

Following Critical Discourse Analysis' desire to study the patterns, practices, and means by which ideology is regenerated or contested, this research utilised coding to cohesively engage trends, recurrences and outliers within the sampled data. Lewis and Melendez-Torres (2023) demonstrate the benefit of coding in researching sexual minorities and their experiences within their analysis of Prep-Tok, a TikTok algorithm centring the experiences of gay men on Prep. Similarly, for Chithrangathan (2018), the coding of interview data facilitated the meaningful delineation and subsequent engagement with the lived experience of a bisexual woman in Kerala, India. This research synthesised the sampled data within overarching codes with the descriptive labels: culture, health and politics.

As identified by Saldaña (2013), codes are short words or phrases interpretatively representing a portion of data. In this study, codes refer to language-based data units. In line with Coffey and Atkinson's (1996) outlining of coding as a critical deconstruction of data which facilitates a deeper querying of the data sample, codes were streamlined to centre the predominant overarching themes of (i) Culture, (ii) Politics and (iii) Health manifest in the discussion of various coverage constructing bisexual identity. This study identified the intensive analysis of specific communicative events as holding the most insight when heuristically analysing the construction of bisexual identity. This methodological choice facilitated a salient analysis of constructions, with which concepts and themes inherent to their production were exploratively synthesised.

This thesis follows Saldana's (2013) citing of Seidman (2006) in his argument that, in a corpus-based study, it is "the most salient" (p. 16) corpus segments which should be intensively analysed. While Seidman (2006) holds that up to two-thirds of the total record can be summarised, in the context of this study, analysis engages where identity is significantly outlined in detailed linguistic analysis, broadening this specificity to its conceptual grounding within discursive and social practice.

This research centres on discursive moments determined by codes. These discursive moments are engaged through 15 publications, taking from each publication five articles.

In defining the final sample size, this study followed the redundancy principle outlined by Yin (2010), concluding data collection when additional instances cease to provide new information. Guided by Madden (2010), this study did not, with coding, strive to reduce data. In this research, coding distilled meaning and patterns regarding bisexual identity construction.

Following Saldaña (2013), this research understood coding as a central analytical facet. As outlined by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), coding facilitates "a mixture of data [summation] and data complication ... breaking the data apart in analytically relevant ways in order to lead toward further questions about the data." (p. 29–31) Through coding, the engagement of this study's data was dialectical, moving "from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea." (p. 8) Through this process, the identification of data with relevant, shared characteristics became heuristically apparent and the identification of patterns possible.

2.1 Ethical Considerations

With CDA positioning itself, methodologically and theoretically, as a mode of critical social research, this study selected this methodology for its capacity to non-divisively engage a holistic comprehension of the construction of bisexual identity within all three publication categories.

Similarly central to ethical considerations was the selection of publications. An international gaze was selected, as when designing this study and assessing its sample, this study uncovered the eminence of Westernist constructions within particular publications, bisexual and monosexual alike. To ethically engage with the construction of bisexual identity, this study selected publications allowing a more internationally comprehensive engagement.

2.2 Researcher Positionality

With this research centring on monosexual and bisexual identities, I am both an in-group and out-group researcher. While having personal, interpersonal and professional

experience of bisexual identity, my engagement of monosexual identities is interpersonal, in involvement with LGBTQ+ spaces and professional in contributing to LGBTQ+ media. Moving from Harrison and Michelson (2022) in their assessment that research concerning minorities benefits from a combination of in-group and out-group perspectives, this research, to sustain the trustworthiness and validity of its findings, combats potential biases in centring the transparency and rigour of the research process throughout this study's outlining of its methods and conceptual framing.

2.3 Research Design

Significantly informing the formulation of this study's research design was research such as that undertaken by Wilkinson (2019), Latal (2023) and Suryanti Tambunan and Sembiring (2022), whose research similarly utilised Critical Discourse Analysis in the study of sexual minorities. This research, engaging the construction of bisexual identity within international media, was in tandem informed by studies such as Soroka et al. (2023) and Legge et al. (2018) in their examination of the construction of bisexuality within, respectively, Ukrainian and Canadian media environments. However, recognising a scholarly gap in internationally comparative assessments of bisexual identity construction, this study adopted an international dataset. In line with Yin's (2016) outlining of the principle of maximum variation and Swan and Habibi's (2018) argument for the value of larger sample sizes within the study of sexual minorities for its capacity to integrate, to a greater degree, contrary, correlating and outlier perspectives, a larger sample, of 60 texts was engaged. Following this, an international dataset was similarly favoured to incorporate diverse cultural, political and social perspectives.

This study does not claim to represent bisexuality cumulatively but to facilitate an insight of breadth into patterns, divergences and outliers in bisexual identity construction. This motivating factor similarly underwrote this study's non-discrimination of publications more intermittent in their publishing or who initiated publication at a later date. With those intermittently publishing predominantly bisexual and homosexual publications, to do so would be, as highlighted by Swan and Habibi (2018), to further disenfranchise the other, with reasons for indiscriminate publishing owing to lack of funding, discontinuation and small, voluntary editorial teams. The decision to centre heterosexual, homosexual and

bisexual publications is motivated by the desire to avoid bias but also, guided by Yin (2016), to facilitate maximal perspectives into the construction of bisexual identity.

In gathering and engaging with the gathered data sample, this study utilises the Five-Phased Cycle, as outlined by Yin (2016), in which the undertaking of a qualitative research study is divided into five stages: (1) Compiling, (2) Disassembling, (3) Reassembling (and Arraying), (4) Interpreting, and (5) Concluding. In alignment, this study first compiled data, assembling and organising the sample as presented by the utilised keyword. In gathering its data sample, this qualitative corpus-based research study utilised the keyword bisexual. Similarly, in undertaking this five-phase cycle, this research adjusted the initial, larger proposed sample, favouring an analysis, which while continuing to offer a breadth of perspective, allowed space for detailed contextualisations relevant to a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology and research design. The data sample constituted 60 texts from 4 heterosexual, 4 homosexual and 4 bisexual publications. From each publication, outlined in the below table five texts were selected.

PUBLICATION NAME	LOCATION	PUBLICATION RATE	IDENTITY CATEGORY
Gay Community News	Ireland	Continuous	Homosexual
Bombastic Magazine	Uganda	Issue-based.	Homosexual
OUT Magazine	United Kingdom	Continuous	Homosexual
KAOS GL	Turkey	Continuous	Homosexual
OUTRAGE Magazine	The Philippines	Continuous	Homosexual
The Irish Times	Ireland	Continuous	Heterosexual
The Guardian	United Kingdom	Continuous	Heterosexual
Al Jazeera	International	Continuous	Heterosexual
Rasseef 22	Lebanon	Continuous	Heterosexual
The New York Times	United States	Continuous	Heterosexual
Bi.org	United States	Continuous	Bisexual
Archer Australia	Australia	Continuous	Bisexual
Bi Community News	United Kingdom	Continuous	Bisexual
Dojens Gara	Iran	Continuous	Bisexual
Bi Women Quarterly	United States	Quarterly, Issue-based	Bisexual

Engaging these initial search results, the overarching categories of (i) Culture, (ii) Politics, and (iii) Health emerged as salient in the construction of bisexual identity. Coding the data sample again identified the narrower units of analysis as communicative events. This study centres on overarching communicative events as represented in bisexual and monosexual media as, cumulatively, these events holding textual, discursive and sociocultural dimensions demonstrative of the construction of bisexual identity in the analysed media, offered a thematically saturated, comparative insight into the construction of bisexual identity between 2012 and 2022. In this second round of coding, initial codes of (i) acronymic formations, (ii) aggregation, (iii) quantification and (iv) conflation became subcodes. This methodological decision enabled a corpus-wide engagement with texts that, while distinct from selected communicative events, illuminated the corpus-wide practice of particular discursive and linguistic patterns relevant to this study's engagement with the construction of bisexual identity.

The reassembling stage refers to the CDA of the data. Interrelatedly, the interpreting procedure was undertaken in tandem, assessing wherein data samples led to thematic saturation and should be removed from the sample. Undertaking a CDA, engagement with these communicative events centred on language, discursive engagement and social practice. On a linguistic level, this research will engage the functionalising of vocabulary, grammar, structure, genre, register and interactional control. Grounded in the social and discursive contexts of each content piece, this study will analyse patterns, themes and distinctions within these texts, deducing the function and impact of the language and discourses engaged, their dialectical relationship with one another and the realm of social practice. In the fifth stage, this study will draw conclusions from each stage of the study.

3. Analysis

As the Research Design of this study outlines, this analysis centres on discursive moments of culture, politics and health. Within these discursive moments, this research analyses particular communicative events within coverage for their insight into the construction of bisexual identity. Regarding culture as a discursive moment, communicative events varied significantly, depending on their geographical location. As such, in Western publications,

this analysis centred on that of Rita Ora's "Girls." In Al Jazeera and Raseef22, this analysis centres on contextually relevant and thematically aligned communicative events, engaging the construction of bisexual identity through discourse surrounding particular music. In politics, coverage centring on bisexual asylum seekers while, within the discursive moment of health, analysed coverage centred on discussions of mental health. The selected communicative events offered insight into corpus-wide trends and patterns regarding bisexual identity construction. Within this analysis, as the below chapter explores, significant divergences and overlaps emerged in the construction of bisexual identity by international media within the selected timeframe of 2012 until 2022.

3.1. Constructions of Bisexual Identity in Culture

Undertaking an analysis of culture allows an insight into what Paniza (2020) identifies as a particular social grammar of not only bisexual culture but also its reception and construction within heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual media. As such, this analysis centred an engagement with Rita Ora's "Girls", which, in 2018, was met with widespread media reaction across heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual publications. In line with this, looking at Raseef22 and Al Jazeera, respectively, coverage centred on engagement with culture centred on Arabic songs navigating LGBTQ+ identity and culture as a mode of activism in Latin America.

Offering the most extensive engagement with the significant community response to "Girls", The Guardian published "Rita Ora apologises after LGBT criticism of her song Girls" by Beaumont-Thomas (2018) – four days after the May 11th release of Girls. Centring its criticism around the critical response of one lesbian-identifying pop star, Hayley Kiyoko, the article features brief excerpts from the original Tweet shared by Kiyoko. These excerpts outlined the song as one which "belittles and invalidates the very pure feelings of an entire community" (paragraph. 3) and doing "more harm than good for the LGBTQ+ community." (para. 3) Kiyoko's Tweet is similarly fragmentarily republished, with extracts identifying "this type of message" as "dangerous" and fuelling "the male gaze while marginalising the idea of women loving women" (para. 3) in a follow-up, same-day published opinion piece by Mahdawi (2018) "Rita Ora Was Right To Apologise: She Got Bisexual Women All Wrong." Within this article, the author, Arwa Mahdawi, further identifies that Kiyoko is also known as Lesbian Jesus, an honorific

analogously facilitating comprehension of the mimetic reverence with which Kiyoko stands within LGBTQ+ circles.

In focussing on these particular Twitter responses, The Guardian suggests a need for a moral intention when creating queer music, that bisexual artists should not express the actuality of their experience but only that which is, by homonormative and heteronormative standards alike, ethical. By foregrounding responses eidetic in their meaning and backgrounding those asynchronous, the texts position a singular community response as a consensus. In Mahdawi's (2018) coverage, construction occurs in the form of comparison between the bisexual identity of Halsey and Ora, ideologically squaring these two bisexual individuals, identifying one form of bisexual identity, that of Halsey, as unproblematic and adequate and the other, that of Ora, as controversial. The creative choice made by Ora to verbalise her multidirectional desires stands non-conformant to homonormativity and heteronormativity alike, its reception as beyond the accepted norm demonstrated in phrasings by Beaumont-Thomas (2018) stating that Ora "has apologised" and "responded to the criticism." (para. 5)

Similarly, with the inclusion of the same few lyrics, a limited representation of the song content is constructed as the conglomerate. For Van Dijk (1993), these discursive choices may signify a specific discourse threatening the moral order, the order in this context being homonormativity. Kiyoko, in her condemnation, occupies a positionality of purity culture, wherein community members police one another. While the liminal space of the song, lyricising about hook-up culture, merely centres the sexual over the romantic, critics interpret this foregrounding as a rejection of romantic, relational possibility. The Guardian authors, citing Kiyoko, do not elaborate as to why sexual desire negates the romantic nor why the song fuels the male gaze. Their refrain from elaboration suggests this should be apparent to a reader, indicating the presence of regulative, expected sexual normativity. Adjectives such as pure or dangerous, and verbs such as protect introduce discourses of purity culture, to which the policing of sexuality is a central behaviour. Traditionally manifest in heteronormative, religious contexts, Kiyoko transposes their values to a homonormative environment, resistant to multidirectional desires which display a dissonance towards constructed boundaries between heteronormative and homonormative relations.

LGBTQ+ acceptance of bisexual creatives is subject to pre-conditional standards, identified in The Guardian as creating bisexual art which centres desires towards men and women equitably. This binary reconstructs bisexuality along gender-essential, binaristic and self-effacing lines. "Rita Ora apologises after LGBT criticism of her song " Girls" identifies "I Kissed A Girl" (Katy Perry) as a reference for the song as a signifier of the perceived inefficacy of Ora. The article, while referencing the acknowledgement by Perry of some of the lyrics being outdated, refrains from distinguishing between Katy Perry as a heterosexual-identified artist and Rita Ora as a bisexual-identified artist. Such non-recognition of the capacity of Ora to subvert and reclaim bisexual desire as genuine rather than performative is similarly indicative of the lack of authority with which bisexual identity, as a valid sexual minority, is perceived by the author. Along similar lines the hierarchal centring of Kiyoko's words and perspective distances Ora. Such distance, along with a lack of referential information, impersonalises and dismisses Ora. Such taking of authority similarly occurs in the brief The New York Times (2018) article, "Girls' Gone Wrong: Who Gets to Make a Gay Love Song?", subsuming bisexuality within a monosexual identity category.

The Guardian coverage identifies the LGBTQ+ community perspective as distinct from that of Ora, a bisexual, who is a member of this community. Coverage communicates that there is a cumulative LGBTQ+ vision, and departing from this may entail rejection. Despite Ora expressing a facet of bisexual identity and experience, this utterance is not viewed as holding a capacity to texture understandings of bisexual experience. While, within heterosexual publications, there is an obscuring of much of Kiyoko's stance, it becomes wholly foregrounded in an Out Magazine entertainment report, "Kehlani & Hayley Kiyoko Are Not Happy About Rita Ora & Charli XCX's 'Girls'" by Dommu (2018), In re-publishing Kiyoko's full tweet, it is visibilised that the tweet is non-traditional, with the body of the tweet being "Real Talk" and the majority of the text contained within an attached image, due to it significantly exceeding the 280 Twitter character word count. The full tweet reads,

It's important for us artists to use our platforms to move the cultural needle forward, not backwards. There is a new song that came out today featuring a handful of well-known

pop artists that has me overwhelmed with thoughts. I literally have a knot in my stomach right now. To be clear, I fully support other artists who freely express themselves and applaud male and female artists who are opening up more and more about their sexual identities. But every so often there come certain songs with messaging that is just downright tone-deaf, which does more harm than good for the LGBTQ+ community. A song like this just feeds the male gaze while marginalizing the idea of women loving women.

I know this wasn't the intention of the artists on the song, but it's the lack of consideration behind these lyrics that really get me. I don't need to drink wine to kiss girls; I've loved women my entire life. This type of message is dangerous because it completely belittles and invalidates the very pure feelings of an entire community. I feel I have a responsibility to protect that whenever possible.

We can and should do better. (Image One)

In the initial two lines of this tweet, Kiyoko abstracts the idea of cultural progress through the metaphor of a cultural needle. Kiyoko constructs progress as a binary, presupposing that there is collective agreement on her perception of what constitutes progress. Kiyoko expresses a conception of advancement as linear and binaristic. Later in the tweet, Kiyoko again reaches for metaphor, expressing a sense of urgency through the "knot in [her] stomach" that she "literally" has. (Image One.) Kiyoko similarly obscures the artists on the songs. In backgrounding details and functionalising the individuals, Kiyoko foregrounds her sweeping categorisations, similarly denying nuances, such as Cardi B, an artist on the song, being predominantly a rap artist or being out as bisexual at the time of release.

Ending her tweet with the phrase, "We can and should do better," (Image One) Kiyoko introduces political speech patterns, positioning herself not as another artist with a creative

vision of equitable importance but, paternally, as a guiding voice. These expressions of anxiety and metaphors centring the perceived reactionary nature of this song precede Kiyoko's brief expression of support for artists' expressing their sexual identities before noting that this particular expression of identity is harmful. A dynamic manifests in Kiyoko's claim to "know" that while this wasn't the "intention" of the artists on the song, there is, for Kiyoko, an ignorance behind this lyrics. Kiyoko does not consider that her perceived misrepresentation of sapphic desire behind these lyrics might not have been the over-centring of male desire but the de-centring of lesbian desire. It is similarly unclarified why the mentioned male presence is presupposed as cis-gendered and heteronormative as opposed to transgender.

In mentioning the male gaze, Kiyoko invokes a stereotype attached to bisexuality, particularly female bisexual identity, that it is inherently performative and male-centric, a prejudiced trope which, while dicentric of the agency of bisexual women, serves to reproduce the conception of bisexuality less as an identity to which continuity is innate, but a behaviour. This conception of the song aligns with a listicle entitled, "10 Queer Pop Anthems To Listen To Instead Of Rita Ora's Girls" by O'Connor (2018) for *Gay Community News*, wherein the byline identifies the song as controversial and lacklustre. Here, referencing the many queer alternatives available, distinct from its general usage throughout the sampled texts, queer is invoked as an alternative rather than a synonym of bisexuality. This approach dispels within the article, in which interchangeable descriptions of bisexual and lesbian identities as queer, there is a conflation of plurisexual and monosexual identities. Within this *Gay Community News* article, a new Twitter perspective, that of Shura is noted as "[drawing] attention" "to the fact that the song was in fact largely written by men" (para. 4) with *Gay Community News* inferring this implies the adoption of the "male gaze towards girl-on-girl relationships." (para. 4) While, in the initial report published by *Out Magazine*, "Kehlani & Hayley Kiyoko Are Not Happy About Rita Ora & Charli XCX's 'Girls'" Ora's response and presence as a bisexual is erased, the article constructing Ora in the responses of other artists.

Proceeding coverage by Dommu (2018) for *Out Magazine* differs, centering the response and voice of Charli XCX, a featured artist on *GIRLS*, in the article. Distinct in its perspective, foregrounding Ora's perspective, it remains, albeit through a less critical lens,

to construct Ora heteronomously. The article first positions XCX proximally to the queer community by noting her prior collaboration with other queer-identifying artists, Kim Petras, Mykki Blanco and ALMA. XCX uses high modality regarding hurt, responding to the feelings invoked by Kiyoko regarding the song being upsetting or harmful.

XCX queries why the experience shared by Ora is less valid, noting that the song was about a particular experience she had with a woman and that Ora “had extremely meaningful relationships with both men and women.” (para. 4) In Charli XCX’s conception, Ora is being suppressed, her perspective and identity being treated as though they are less valid than that of another. XCX, although advocating for freedom of expression within artistry, similarly justifies Ora’s right to create a bisexual song. Although she examines the motives identified as harmful in different ways, the need to justify relationships and behaviour remains. For XCX, the cultural needle is not moved forward in homogenising experience. XCX shares,

It would be great to continue this dialogue in a positive way -- not in an attacking way -- so that people can learn about people’s feelings, about people’s sexualities and viewpoints. We can learn to not judge people before we get all the information. We can learn how certain words might make certain communities sad or upset. (para. 6)

XCX similarly engages in pluralised terms, centring what we as a collective can do. XCX does not transport meaning through metaphor but encourages “dialogue” and “conversation.” (para. 6) Evocative of her perception of earlier discourse, XCX encourages learning and refraining from “attacking.” While XCX’s response constructs an alternative to Kiyoko’s policing of sexual boundaries, it remains collectivising, suggesting that “certain words” (para. 6) hold the capacity to make entire communities “sad or upset.” (para. 6) While Kiyoko and XCX’s perspectives are distinct, their view of collective, community-based identities as meaningfully influential in individuated identity construction stands in alignment. While XCX highlights that in a non-defensive dialogic engagement, we may learn how language is emotionally affective, she does not suggest

that, upon attaining such insights, this information merits the policing or silencing of these perspectives.

Kiyoko's immediate understanding of male desire as inherently misogynistic constructs queer identity as necessitating a disparagement of men, rejecting a mending of gender division or reconstituting dynamics from a novel subjectivity. Bisexuality, for Kiyoko, when not expressed toward the same sex, becomes performative, false and harmful. These responses demonstrate the perception, to critics of Ora, of a pre-existent, stable and correct bisexuality. Beyond that of community responses, the choice of publications, when identifying the sexual identities of respondents to conflate queer, lesbian and bisexual, is misleading in its construction of a pan-LGBTQ+ consensus surrounding a predominantly lesbian perspective. Other than Kehlani, who, at the time of *GIRLS*, identified as bisexual, all cited tweets, beyond Charli XCX, were of lesbian-identifying public figures or creatives. Such a publication choice, irrespective of discursive intention or a lack thereof, minoritises bisexuality, constructing expressions of bisexual identity as controversial, offensive and sexualising.

Looking to *Gay Community News* by Dunne (2018), in the article "Rita Ora Comes Out As Bi After Backlash," the article is, from the offset, critical. Throughout the article, published four days after the song's release, there is a following of similar trends in highlighting Kiyoko's perspective on how the song did a "disservice" (para. 1) to the bisexual community rather than "celebrating" it (para. 1), similarly republishing the entirety of Kiyoko's tweet. Differing, the article reframes Ora's response, often constructed as an apology as a "public statement" (para. 3) and is the only publication to republish the entirety of Ora's Twitter response, foregrounding Ora as an agent in the intersubjective negotiation of her identity.

Contesting Ora's authority in expressing her bisexual identity, the article introduces information not previously engaged, in the final paragraph making notes of tweets formerly shared by Ora, with the postulation that the tweets have since been deleted. The tweets, in which Ora engages with the film "Bruno" tweeting, "Bruno was crazy! It's too much I swear! I never thought someone could be sooo homo!" and "Bruno is too Homo! Borat is better." (para. 6) Although writing that "the press then pounced on a series of

tweets she posted when she was 18 years-old," (para. 6) the tweets were not, by the sampled media engaged.

While providing the impression of balance, Ora's bisexuality is tentatively acknowledged, remaining to be questioned, regulated and policed. Contrary to the reflective inclusion of other tweets, in which comments, these tweets included without contextualisation or comment as to what Gay Community News perceives them as highlighting, it is left to the reader to interpret the tweets deleted by Ora. Their inclusion appears to suggest there is a contradiction between Ora's coming-out as bisexual and the former tweets, being homophobic in tone, similarly invoking that the imperfect bisexual, with a non-linear or problematic coming out arc, is suitable for rejection, being a subject regulated by the monosexual identifying person, heterosexual and homosexual alike.

Published on Bi.Org on May 22, by Zane (2018), the article "What if Rita Ora's Bi Song Was Just for Us?" engages the conflicting discourse surrounding the song's release. The discursive moment is engaged atypically, with the author citing additional lyrics, an external link to the music video, and tweets, wherein Rita Ora's tone moves from one of apology to a more convinced embodiment of her particular bisexual identity. Within the article, the adjectives attached to Ora are more positive in tone. The song is, for *Bi.Org*, "undeniably catchy." (para. 2)

Here, there is a shift in interactional control, with voices such as Kehlani and Kiyoko nominalised but left largely backgrounded within discussions, with both artists being conflated as queer. It is Ora's voice and perspective centred, the author selecting excerpt quotes from an interview Rita Ora undertook with People Magazine. Within these quotes, Ora describes the song as a "real genderfluid freedom record," (para. 3) intending for there to be a "sense of freedom for anyone who listens to it." (para. 4) The author, in places, contests aspects of Ora's perspective, citing a quote in which Ora refrains from defining her sexuality. The author is critical and, in moving to highlight why a visible member of the bisexual community is valuable, adopts a normalising tone. Although Ora expresses a hope that "Girls" will become a "bi anthem," (para. 4) the writer is dissatisfied by Ora's refraining from explicitly self-identifying as bisexual. Ora's expression that she finds labels "narrow-minded" (para. 5) is contested by the author, noting that his "gut response, like

many others" (para. 8) was to similarly consider this song performative. For the author, Ora's response exasperated this inclination. The author conveys that there remains a correct, normative way to be bisexual, one which, if strayed from, will similarly provoke intra-community rejection. Such criticism of Ora's bisexuality rests upon the benefit that a more explicit identification of bisexuality may garner the bisexual community. With this, bisexuals are similarly constructed as needing to be a particular kind of bisexual, with being reputedly public-facing, superseding the intimate nuances of bisexuality as an individuated experience.

Ora's understanding of her bisexuality as an identity is fluid and definition-resistant. Her expression that labels don't matter is considered by the author as "100% false," (para. 9) arguing that "having a famous member of the community claim the bi label proudly is incredibly important for visibility and the overall well being of bi+ individuals." The author, in this argument, aligns a bisexual movement as one which mirrors the politics of homosexual activism, developing a unified, policed self-conception around which a subsequent culture expands.

The author, significantly integrating his lived experience as a bisexual man, highlights that, to his mind, particular lyrics, such as singing about being 50/50, perpetuate a stereotypical perception that bisexuals are equally attracted to both genders. Exploring lyrics about getting drunk and kissing girls, he similarly highlights these are "obviously very harmful, and not true for bi women." (para. 11) The author, however, departs from his perspective, moving to engage the perspectives of bisexual women who feel positively about the song. Citing the tweets of Gaby Dunn, the article shares that it is "important not to add more shame to women who feel they need alcohol or other excuses to explore their attraction to women. Not everyone is in the same place in their journey that you are." (para. 13)

Dunn's conceptualisation of bisexuality as a "journey" (para. 13) in which not everyone is "in the same place" communicates bisexuality, not as an identity which is continuously and novelly realised but which is linear, the point of bisexual self-actualisation being one distinct from Ora's positionality. The author expresses that it similarly took him five years of drunk hookups before moving to explicitly identify as a bisexual man. Within this article, while multiple frames of bisexuality are engaged, they remain hierarchised by the

author, located within a particularised conception of bisexual identity and community. This conception, specific to Bi.Org and its organisational values, is linguistically expressed in hegemonic terms. The author writes,

Does this song depict a diverse experience that's inclusive of all bi individuals? No. Does it perpetuate some potentially harmful stereotypes about bi people? Arguably, yes. But does it also illustrate a subset of women in the bi+ community? Absolutely, and we should be sure to not reject their bi narratives from the larger bi story, just for the sake of straight people. (para. 24)

Contradicting an earlier perception that the song represents many women, the author is authoritative in this song's representation of a minority, identifying the accompanying majority as capable but abstaining from rejecting their experience. The author's identification of heterosexuals as the cause for such potential rejection moves against the dynamic present in the sampled articles wherein it is the queer community which policed the expression of bisexual identity within the song. While describing mainstream media as appreciating the song, this perception is, within this data sample, not correlated.

Heterosexuals are identified as those excluding bisexuals, as being more significantly culpable for the consequences of bisexual disenfranchisement. This approach taken by Bi.org, a publication owned by the American Institute of Bisexuality, similarly publishing the *Journal of Bisexuality and Queer Majority*, aligns with its expressed desire to heighten bisexual visibility. Bi.org refrains from identifying their perspective as subjective, adopting a hegemonic stance which, in sister publication *Queer Majority*, becomes significantly more pronounced in its normalising, Western-centric rhetoric. *Bi.Org* does not advocate for distinct bisexual politics, critical of monosexual contradiction, but seeks to establish bisexuality as an identity wholly aligned and integratable to mainstream LGBTQ+ movements, politics and thought. This desire reflected throughout this text and from the offset, in the reconstructed us/them dynamic contained within the title.

Engaging the same interview cited by Bi.org, a Bi Community News (2019), “Rita Ora on biphobia and backlash,” explores an interview given by Ora to The Sunday People, describing the reaction to the release of Ora’s song as being “attacked for playing up to biphobic stereotypes.” (para. 1) Citing quotes from the interview, we similarly gain insight into Ora’s perspective, describing the “kickback” (para. 1) as the “toughest part of her career.” (para. 4) Referencing that she had not been publicly out, causing many to believe the song was queerbaiting, Ora shares that she “never looked at it like that because I knew I’d experienced it. But I forgot that nobody else knew that.” (para. 4)

Ora engages the politics of visibility as interrelated with authenticity and perceived credibility of sexuality and what enactment of a particular identity is considered culturally legitimate. Contrary to other articles, Kiyoko’s input is backgrounded and noted at the end of the article. The article, while being more concrete in identifying allusion to threesomes as definite rather than a suggestion, centres primarily on Ora’s voice and perspective, with the majority of the text constituting excerpt quotes from the interview. Bi Community News, in contrast to Bi.Org, does not discursively engage with the event but reports the perspective shared by Ora and notes the backlash.

Raseef22, engaging with culture in the article “Arab Songs About Homosexuality, Polyamory, and Gender” by Haddad (2017) explores multi-directional desires and experiences, both bisexual and homosexual. Despite this, the word bisexual does not appear regarding desire or identity. Within the article, Raseef22 does not query who has the right to desire the same gender. While outlining particular artists, such as Therese Sleiman, Ana Hurra B’hali and Dina El Wedidi, the article does not question, as undertaken in coverage of Ora, their right to sing about loving or desiring women. Exploring the contents of songs such as “Shahrazad” by Therese Sleiman explores a passionate affair in which “Sleiman recalls with nostalgia the rain that carries the fragrance of a woman's body” (para. 2), the song, as presented by the article, centres on a physical affair, and is celebrated rather than critiqued.

Similarly, songs such as El Haram by Dina El Wedidi, with “lyrics about the beauty of love and art, which are neither shameful nor haram (sinful)” (para. 15) or Hayamtni by Ghalia Benali, with songs “not directed at a particular gender or sexuality,” (para. 16) celebrated

for their visualising of same-gender love and attraction, the boundary negotiations present within The Guardian, The Irish Times and The New York Times, are absent. Distinctions in approaches are identified by Raseef22 as owing to distinctions in social practice, highlighting anti-LGBTQ movements and policies. Raseef22 identifies that, subsequently, artists turned to their craft to express their identities. Aligned with a musical intention to resist the oppressive limiting of identity, the intricacies of these differing identities are left unexamined, sublated within the categorisation of homosexuality. Contrary to a Western focus on policing homonormativity, coverage by Raseef22 advocates for the establishing of a homonormativity.

For Al Jazeera, expressions of culture contained in articles such as “The LGBTQ artists using music as resistance in Latin America” by McGowan (2019) engages with various identities under the LGBTQ+ umbrella, refraining from nominalising bisexuality and, within the byline, utilising queer as an umbrella term for all LGBTQ+ identities. Throughout the article, gay, LGBT and queer feature interchangeably. While lesbian, trans and gay are individuated and nominalised, bisexual experience remains backgrounded, suggested only within queer and LGBT. While navigating the nuances of individuated sexual and gender minorities and their accompanying experiences, the obscuring of bisexual identity and experience suggests a perception of a lack of correlating experiences within bisexuality. Al Jazeera and Raseef 22 centre an activist function in contexts wherein non-heterosexual identities remain criminalised or heavily stigmatised. This coverage stands in contrast to hypervisible, objectified constructions of bisexual identity within The Guardian, The Irish Times and The New York Times.

Within the engaged homosexual publications, Out Magazine and Gay Community News' coverage differed from heterosexual coverage in its inclusion of a wider expanse of voices, although remaining centred on homosexual perspectives. In bisexual coverage, while Ora's voice becomes more centred, negotiations continue to objectify and mediate the particular construction of bisexuality outlined by Ora. In contrast to this hypervisibility, Raseef22 and Al Jazeera construct bisexual identity cumulatively within the LGBTQ+ acronym.

3.2. Constructions of Bisexual Identity in Politics

Politically, constructions of bisexual identity were extensively engaged in discussions of bisexuals seeking asylum based on their sexual identity. Within heterosexual publications, constructions of bisexuals as asylum seekers occurred in all publications. However, the individuation of bisexual asylum seekers outside of the LGBTQ+ acronym or usage of gay as an umbrella term occurred in text samples from Al Jazeera, The Irish Times and The Guardian. Bisexual identity within Raseef 22 remained under the LGBTQ+ acronym.

Significant in discussions of asylum in the United Kingdom was the case of Orashia Edwards, a bisexual Jamaican man seeking refuge in the United Kingdom. Most extensively covered by The Guardian, the coverage traced the asylum seeker process undertaken by Edwards. Coverage began in (2015), with the first article by Duffy, "Bisexual asylum seeker facing imminent deportation from the UK to Jamaica". The third, final article, "Bisexual asylum seeker wins Home Office fight to remain in the UK", was published by Duffy (2016) when the Home Office granted Edwards political asylum in the United Kingdom. From the offset, these headlines grant insight into the perspectives of the reports. Within these headlines, the agency and role of the Home Office in refusing the request made by Edwards for asylum is backgrounded, with the reader directed, in the first headline, by the author towards a functionalised Edwards as the seeker of asylum rather than the Home Office as a denier of asylum. The Guardian nominalises the Home Office only in the latter headline when Edward has secured asylum.

Within the articles, the reader encounters various contextualisations. The growing elucidation of Edwards' story with each report suggests that reduced success may have impacted his humanisation. In initial coverage, The Guardian, reporting on the initial denial of asylum by the Home Office, centres the perception of the Home Office in viewing Edwards' failure to remember whether a former boyfriend had siblings or the date of his birthday as indicative of a falsified bisexual identity. For Kendall (2022), such expectations of what is reasonable to remember are symptomatic of Western standards, confusing "dishonesty with the natural effects of trauma on human memory and behaviour". (p. 79) From coverage, the reader similarly learns that although Edwards had shared intimate pictures of him partaking in sexual acts with another man to the courts, the

images were dismissed as evidence as Edwards had not been in a relationship with the man in the photos. Whilst introducing prescriptive relational discourses of what is reasonable for an individual to remember about a former partner, this expectation similarly introduces monogamy norms as a means by which to verify sexual identity. The legal construction of Edwards as deceitful in a subjective social context similarly serves to universalise a particular relational norm, wherein the Home Office communicates prior monogamous relationships with the same gender and the recollection of birthdays of former partners as verifiers of bisexual identity. In tandem, The Guardian's reportage of the Home Office's decisions identifies prior monogamous relationships with the opposite gender as detractors of a verifiable bisexual identity. Exploring Edwards' case, Marcus (2015) identifies that his two-year relationship with a man was viewed as a “sham” (p. 317) in light of his prior marriage to a woman.

The usage of the word dishonest by a judge assessing Edwards' initial claim for asylum invokes discourses of bisexual identity as deceitful and similarly speaks to the material impacts of centring act-focused sexuality categories, which stand inherently exclusive to bisexuality as a non-monosexual identity category. This former marriage, which led to the perception of Edwards as dishonest, has led to propositions by legal scholars such as Mezey (1995), calling for a perspective of sexual identity which deconstructs the coupling of identity and behaviour. While the Orashia Edwards case demonstrates the regulatory practice of identity within the asylum process, Edwards' visibility, nominalisation and humanisation within The Guardian function to engage the public, highlighting flaws in asylum law, perceptions of bisexual identity and the role of the media as a watchdog.

Contextualising Jamaica, the reader hears from Edwards, learning that he has been the recipient of death threats in Jamaica, of homophobia inherent to dancehall culture, the country's anti-sodomy law and LGBTQ+ hate crimes. Within such coverage, Duffy (2015) constructs the bisexual asylum seeker through reference to the social and political context from which Edwards sought refuge. Through such details, the report variously constructs a bisexual asylum seeker as an individual actively fleeing persecution from a country which criminalises their identity, wherein their identity as non-heterosexual is publicly known, thus endangering them. While critical of the asylum system, the articles do not provide information as to why the asylum system is such a challenging process for those seeking

asylum based on their bisexuality. Throughout both articles, bisexuality identity, while singularised, is associatively aggregated with the LGBT acronym, with the identities gay, lesbian and bisexual being nominalised and listed together as stigmatised identities in Jamaican society.

Frequently, the specificity of Edwards' experience as a bisexual asylum seeker is broadened, widening the conversation to all LGBT asylum seekers. While overlapping as sexual minorities, there is a conflation of experience, erasing axes along which bisexuals, as a plurisexual identity, experience the asylum system differently than homosexuals, as a monosexual identity. Transitions such as the post-2015 shift within U.K. asylum law, moving to centre on identity rather than behaviour as proof of sexuality, are left undiscussed, as is the basis of the U.K. test for LGBTQ+ asylum resting upon the experience of monosexual gay men. Asylum law and its processes, as impactful to a bisexual asylum seeker, are constructed fragmentarily. Predominantly, they are communicated through reportage outlining Edwards' examination, with scattered inputs from the author and mentioned activist groups. The Guardian, foregrounding, backgrounding or neglecting particular information, decides, for the reader, the voices, details and events of importance.

Bi Community News more explicitly identifies Edwards' treatment as an injustice demonstrative of flawed asylum processes. Engaging with the Orashia Edwards case, a Bi Community News (2016) brief, "Bi Asylum Victory", places the onus of responsibility on the Home Office, with monosexual sexual minorities constructed as agents of aid. Departing from this coverage, however, is an earlier Bi Community News article by Denkinson (2014), appealing to the bisexual and broader LGBTQ+ community to support Edwards' case. The article, the first in this sample to engage with Edwards' asylum process, is entitled "Looking After All Our Own" and is identified by the author as a letter. Informal in tone, the author in question, from the offset, offers a critique of UK laws and asks "for the systems to work properly and not in a discriminatory way." (para. 2)

Pre-empting the media brigade that aided Edwards in acquiring asylum, there is a vouching for collective action. Distinct from other reports, the author does not distance his article from Edwards' case. Instead, he advocates for heightened support, referencing the bisexual

community directly and the discussion of Edwards' case at BiCon, a bisexual conference in the U.K. The author, unlike other coverage, highlights LGBTQ+ community tensions, identifying conflicts and refrains from constructing a synonymous, entirely harmonious community. While Bi Community News foregrounds the frequent refusal and policing of bisexuals as sexual minority subjects, the article does not explicitly identify to what degree this social refusal may influence legal refusal and bisexual-specific discrimination within the U.K. asylum system.

Al Jazeera coverage "Gay Russians attempt to take refuge in the UK" by Keddie (2014) is similarly indicative of interpolating roles of media, public and institutional discourses. The article primarily centres on the perspective of Irina Putilova, a bisexual activist seeking asylum in the United Kingdom. However, coverage from the offset conflates bisexual and monosexual identities. Throughout the article, Al Jazeera utilises identifiers LGBT and gay synonymously. Aligned to coverage within The Guardian, in identifying the issue of proving sexuality to the authorities as a significant challenge, the article is distinct in its refraining from highlighting why the onus of proof may be different for an individual seeking asylum based on their bisexuality as opposed to homosexuality. Factors such as prior detainment or social oppression based on bisexual identity, as well as a traceable history of LGBTQ+ activism and previous same-sex relationships, were, within coverage, highlighted as beneficial in securing asylum.

Differing from The Guardian, Al Jazeera engages significantly in quantification, citing a study by the UK Lesbian and Gay Immigration Group (UKLGIG) which found that "in 2009, there was an initial refusal rate of 98-99 percent in sexual identity-based asylum claims, compared with a general initial asylum refusal rate of 73 percent." (para. 17) However, the citing of statistics regarding Russians in the United Kingdom refers cumulatively to all Russian asylum seekers, leaving it unclear as to how many sought asylum based on their sexuality

In addition, Al Jazeera more explicitly explores the invasive nature of the asylum process. The article cites questions such as, "What is it about men's backsides that attracts you?" (para. 11) and further queries regarding sex toys, intercourse and whether or not an asylum seeker had read any Oscar Wilde. The questions cited, not specific to bisexual identity,

stand reflective of the UK asylum process as based upon the homosexual male experience. Within this article, the role of the media, in a brief paragraph outlining Putilova's successful attaining of asylum, is again highlighted in Al Jazeera's outlining of the significant media campaign, accompanied by a petition with thousands of signatures.

The editorial approach of such coverage in *The Guardian* and Al Jazeera, tonally and materially advocating for these bisexual asylum seekers obtaining refugee status, stands in contrast to Carolan (2016) in a *The Irish Times* report entitled, "Bisexual woman loses legal bid for refugee status," recounting a Nigerian woman's rejected claim for asylum in the Republic of Ireland. The text demonstrates, as highlighted in *The Guardian*, a fundamental misunderstanding of what bisexual identity is. Similarly synchronous to *The Guardian*, the report follows a synchronous pattern wherein the degree to which the bisexual individual is humanised correlates to the progression of their request for asylum.

Despite identifying herself as bisexual, the woman's relationships with those of the same gender are identified interchangeably as lesbian or same-sex relationships and her relationships with men as heterosexual relationships. *The Irish Times*, consistently destabilising her identity in phrasings such as "was introduced to same-sex relationships," (para. 2) implies that her bisexual identity is not intrinsic but something externally discovered. Further negating the construction of a stable, centred bisexual identity is the description of her same-sex relationships as "lesbian activity." (para. 1) Discretion precedents, although not nominalised, are similarly invoked in this coverage with the judge, citing the woman's failure to demonstrably show "she could not safely relocate to other areas of Nigeria" (para. 8) as justification for denying this asylum claim. With same-sex relationships criminalised throughout all regions of Nigeria, such relocation would entail that this woman suppressed her bisexual identity.

Such constructions of bisexuality are not, as is in *The Guardian*, presented as the court misunderstanding what bisexuality is. Alternatively, *The Irish Times*, aligning its reportage with a more traditionalist style of objective journalism, juxtaposes the asylum seeker and the court. Within this binary, in which external, elucidatory factors fall to the unuttered background, *The Irish Times* remains to report in a style aligned with non-partisan journalistic ideals identified by Kperogi (2018) as a "mechanical, unproblematized" (p. 52)

presentation of an issue centring ideas of objectivity, fairness, and balance. The article does not question whether or not the court is effectively assessing asylum cases based on sexual identity. Instead, The Irish Times centres the lens of critique on the asylum seeker, an approach tangible in descriptions of her statements as allegations and claims rather than accepted facts. Similarly, the reader, through verbal choices of "claimed" (para. 4) and "alleged" (para. 1) is psychologically integrated into the discursive legal space and guided towards similar disbelief and criticality of the woman's testimony. Such editorial differences may reflect The Irish Times' identification as a publication that, while left-leaning, stands right of centre on economic concerns.

Dojensgara, in a Peyghambarzadeh (2020) article, "Why are bisexual asylum seekers almost completely invisible?" adopts a distinct discursive approach. Conducting interviews with Iranian LGBT asylum seekers as well as some Turkish activists, Peyghambarzadeh (2020) seeks to understand why Iranian bisexual asylum seekers are invisible. The author does not centre her critique on governmental bodies exclusively but integrates the role of monosexually queer communities in regenerating the suspicion and subsequent disenfranchising erasure of bisexual asylum seekers. Within the article, the author distinguishes between LGBT and bisexual identities. The author asserts that while she admires the "growing bi movement in Turkey, it was heartbreaking to face biphobia in the Turkish LGBT community." (para. 2) The illuminating of the conflicting belonging that bisexuals experience within the LGBT community is distinct from the synonymising of these terms within other coverage.

Significantly, such coverage stands in contrast to KAOS GL, in the 2015 article, "If Syrians are our guests, why are they fleeing Turkey?" by Tar (2015) erases the possibility of bisexual asylum seekers. The article, divided by subheadings, has a question guiding the discussion printed under each subheading. Under the subheading, "LGBTI refugees are targets of racism and homophobia," there is the question, "Syrian refugees are not a homogeneous group. What is the experience of gay and trans refugees like?" This section of the article, being the only one to navigate the experience of LGBTI Syrian refugees, individuates only those gay and trans refugees, obscuring bisexual asylum seekers. Similarly, while Raseef22 engaged extensively with LGBTQ+ asylum, it refrains from individuated discussions of bisexuality or bisexual asylum seekers. Articles such as

“Deporting LGBT Syrians From Turkey Is a Death Sentence to Many of Them” by al-Tah (2019) foreground monosexual and genderdiverse asylum seekers, facilitating the intelligibility and visibility of their identities. By contrast, the experiences of bisexuals are erased and, in the absence of tangible construction, delegitimised. Monosexual identities are foregrounded and hypervisible.

Returning to Peyghambarzadeh (2020) for Dojensgara, the author identifies a conflict between the culture and media of Western European and North American countries, noting a discrepancy between the degree of self-expression allowed for Western citizens versus those seeking asylum. Identifying a Western celebration of sexual fluidity, the author argues such celebration, while rhetorically present in media and culture, dissipates in asylum law and practices. For the author, such disparities indicate a lapse between narratives of the country and the realities of the state. Such feelings are similarly expressed in coverage by Outrage Magazine. The Outrage Magazine Staff (2019) article, “LGBTQI+ refugees more likely to gain asylum if they conform to stereotypes – study” engages constructions of non-heterosexual identities as deducible or deniable through particular behaviour. The article, discussing the research, highlights that, for those seeking asylum in Germany, the portrayal of their home countries as morally arrested and Germany as a liberal, LGBT utopia heightened their likelihood of receiving refugee protection. The article, although referring to LGBTQ+ asylum seekers cumulatively, individuates only those seeking asylum based on being lesbian, gay, queer or trans-identified. In this article, bisexual asylum seekers, predominantly referenced under the LGBTQI+ acronym, become erased in their encompassment within monosexuality and plurisexual queerness.

Discussions of bisexual erasure as a significant contributing factor to the difficulty faced by bisexuals seeking asylum similarly occur in a Gay Community News article by Schad (2021), "Asylum denied for bisexuals: let's talk about bi-erasure." The author, basing her article on a feature by another writer investigating bisexual people seeking asylum, identifies bi-erasure as a problem that “..all too often can be minimised, rationalised, and justified by those perpetrating it...” (para. 1) The author refrains from noting who perpetrates biphobia, speaking to its frequency but not its instigators. While highlighting the commonly perpetuated tropes of biphobia, such as greediness and fence-sitting, the agent reconstituting this biphobia in everyday contexts remains largely de-nominalised.

While the article provides the impression of aid and support, its advocacy is verbose rather than tangible, refraining from pointing to further resources beyond the base article, which this Gay Community News article republishes with commentary. Centrally, the article refrains from defining biphobia and bi-erasure throughout the article, conflating the two and operationalising them interchangeably. It does not conflate bisexual and homosexual experiences of the asylum system, referring to these identities and their experiences distinctly.

The author identifies stereotypes and myths as central in the process of facilitating deportation based on misunderstanding bisexual identity. Highlighting stories such as Constance, a Zimbabwean healthcare worker deported as she did not appear bisexual or the story of an unnamed bisexual man facing discrimination in Nigeria, the Minister for Justice and Equality, when justifying the rejection of his claim for asylum citing that the man had not attended gay bars during his time in Ireland. The author, while criticising the asylum laws and processes, continues to stigmatise the asylum seekers' homes of origin, detracting focus from the oppression occurring in Western countries, detaining bisexual asylum seekers, deporting them and insisting their sexual identity is coherent to a Western framework. While this article departs from report-based genres, it remains situated within a register of objectifying bisexual asylum seekers, heteronomously constructing their journeys and perspectives as tragedy narratives subjected to stereotyped, formulaic expectations.

The ambiguity with which these bisexual asylum seekers are constructed reflects a trend in the construction of bisexual asylum seekers, with those who attain asylum becoming fully actualised and those rejected represented in fragmentary, dehumanised partiality. This trend is disrupted in a single Bi.org article, "What Does Bi-Erasure Look Like?" in which Squires (2016) explores the case of Ray Fuller, a Jamaican man seeking refuge in the United States. By contrast, discussions of discretion related to the United States asylum system predominantly relate to the degree of discretion granted to the justice system in deciding whether or not an individual seeking sexuality-based asylum meets the criteria. Describing Fuller's case as a "much less abstract example of why bi-erasure matters" (para. 7). The article explores the case of Ray Fuller, a Jamaican man seeking asylum in

the United States. There is a repetition that the judges in question do not comprehend bisexuality. The article engages a trauma narrative, citing Fuller's instances of suffering,

In Jamaica, Fuller had been disowned, called slurs, stoned, had his face sliced open, and been shot— in retaliation to his sexual relationships with men. He also potentially faces a prison in Jamaica where homosexual sex between men carries a 10-year prison sentence. (para. 8)

Clarifying that these instances of prejudice-incited violence stood as a consequence of his bisexuality, the author constructs the non-Western bisexual as oppressed, endangered and criminal. Fuller's bisexual identity is perceived not as a plurisexual identity, which does not centre gender as a factor in attraction, but as a quasi-gay positioning supported by homosexual activity and weakened by heterosexual relations. Fuller's deportation reflects Gross's (2016) finding that bisexuals in the United States have among the most difficulty attaining asylum based on their sexualities.

Novel in its editorial approach and coverage perspectives, *Bi Women Quarterly* centres first-person lived experience narratives of bisexuals seeking asylum, *Bi Women Quarterly* in "Around The World: In Search of Freedom" by Rodriguez (2021) centring the story of the author, Maria Rodriguez, identifying herself as bisexual, Cuban and an immigrant. Within the article, Rodriguez expresses that she wished to share her "experience and that of other immigrant bi women detained in the custody of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)." Utilising words such as "detained," "custody" and "prisons" (para. 1), Rodriguez is, at times, disruptive of homonationalist narratives of safety and liberation, displaying the reality of the asylum process. Although the author disrupts ideals of the United States as a utopia, Cuba is, in tandem, constructed as a place irredeemably uninhabitable to any member of the LGBTQ+ community, with the Cuban government and culture being non-withstandable and stable in their oppressive nature with the United States, comparatively, remaining characterised as a nation of liberty, one accessed through the dehumanising but reformable ICE detainment process.

Similar to Dojensgara, Rodriguez similarly disrupts frequent heteronomous constructions of bisexual asylum seekers as agentless victims, with Rodriguez launching a blog about Cuba and "the stories that you can only read in alternative media and the pages of independent journalism." (para. 6) Identifying this act as that which led to the invalidation of her university degrees, detainment and ultimately the necessity to emigrate, Rodriguez dispels myths of bisexuals shying away from activism, existing as benefactors of monosexually queer individuals' suffrage. The author, similarly, in their expression of religious identity, disrupts legal constructions of the necessarily atheist bisexual asylum seeker as unrepresentative, limiting stereotypes. Rodriguez, fleeing a socialist context, both Christian and bisexual identities subverted socialist value systems. This first-person essay, sharing the story of Claudia and Natasha, two bisexual asylum seekers detained with Rodriguez, similarly transforms detainment narratives. Recalling Claudia, Rodriguez writes,

In the Customs Border Patrol (CBP) office, Claudia was interviewed and had to share the reasons for her voyage. Since adolescence, she knew that she felt different from those around her. For years she loved Walter; after the breakup with him, she met Isel, and the passion was instantaneous. But it was a passion that her parents, her friends, and her society did not understand. That society knows little about love, less about diversity. She faced discrimination, biphobia, and homophobia. (para. 13)

In identifying prison as the first place Claudia received the freedom to express herself, Rodriguez simultaneously invokes the repression of their former home, Cuba. She highlights that Claudia's repression was not a choice but a response to social reaction. The identification of both biphobia and homophobia is significant, constructing bisexual identity as a recipient of two distinct forms of prejudice, homophobia, weaponized by heterosexuals and biphobia, incurable by homosexuals and heterosexuals alike.

Aligned to Rodriguez's narrative, frequently engaging scriptural analogies, allusion and disrupting constructions of bisexual identity as innately antagonistic to religious identity, "Around The World: East Africa," in which Anonymous (2022) elucidates upon her search

for asylum, aided by a U.S.-based church, also refuses to construct bisexuality and religion as disparate. Previous coverage, which highlighted characterisations of LGBTQ+ asylum seekers as atheists or incontrovertibly detached from family origin units, was disrupted. Distinctly, Bi Women Quarterly article, “Re-learning Trust, Love, & Care” by Kumar (2018) does not centre on legal processes or why the author sought asylum. Instead, it foregrounds the loss involved in forgoing their nationality when applying for asylum. Identifying this choice as her largest consideration in applying for asylum, the author similarly disrupts identified preconditions of the bisexual asylum seeker as one who had wholly rejected their family of origin. The article centralises the importance of a chosen family in a new home.

While Bi Women Quarterly disrupt heteronormous constructions of bisexuality, expressing criticism of the U.S. asylum process, they maintain a relatively homonationalism-centric narrative, as the United States as a contingent space, the potential for refuge and authentic self-expression remaining, by comparison to construction of the places of origin which these authors fled, as systemically inflexible. Kumar (2021) and Rodriguez (2020) do not identify her bisexuality as decreasing their likelihood of obtaining asylum. While the anonymous author of "Around The World: East Africa" identifies a sense of exclusion from heterosexual and homosexual communities alike, she does not identify this as challenging her obtaining of asylum, referencing an LGBT-friendly church as central to her successful refuge.

Offering a differing perspective to Bi Women Quarterly’s homonationalist adjacent coverage, “Lawyer Turned Refugee,” a story within Uganda-based publication Bombastic Magazine, engages the story of a bisexual man married to a heterosexual woman. Distinctly, this coverage centred on constructions which were non-normative, rejecting constructions of what a bisexual asylum seeker, as constructed under Western asylum law and judicial processes, appears. Experiencing familial persecution, seeking refuge in Nairobi and later Kakuma, where they were able to register as LGBT refugees with the UNHCR, the importance of the role of aid organisations, as similarly highlighted in Bi Women Quarterly, The Guardian and Bi Community News. First located in a camp and later as urban refugees in Nairobi, there is, within the piece, no indication of a desire to seek refuge beyond Kenya, disrupting homonationalist ideals of the West as the only place

capable of providing refuge to LGBTQ+ asylum-seeking. Similarly, their heterosexual-appearing marriage does not prevent their endangerment and harassment. While the construction of their position as asylum seekers is novel, stereotypes regenerate in the presupposition that the bisexual identity of Maureen's husband was synonymous with non-monogamy rather than elucidating why they decided to sustain an open marriage. While acknowledging the non-normativity of their status as a heterosexual-appearing family, seeking LGBTQ+-based asylum seekers, this factor is not identified explicitly as the reason for their challenges in finding a suitable place of refuge.

Within homosexual publications, there is a reduced focus on legal processes and asylum law and instead a foregrounding of social phenomena, practices and their intersectional impact on legal realms and discourses. Coverage of asylum in bisexual publications, while engaging critiques of the asylum process and law, moves to centre the autonomously expressed lived experience of bisexual individuals seeking asylum.

3.3. Constructions of Bisexual Identity in Health

Within the sampled articles, discussions of health centred on mental health. Sampled articles often engaged an intersectional gaze, considering mental health with facets of experience such as intimate health and socio-cultural influences. Bisexual publications, comparative to heterosexual and homosexual publications, engaged the subject of bisexual mental health through lived experience, predominantly through first-person narratives. Coverage engaged various aspects of mental health, from the impact of trauma and environmental factors on mental well-being to experiences of precedent mental health conditions.

Discussing addiction, an Out Magazine article, "Study: Bi Women Smoke a Lot More Weed Than Straight Ones" by Rude (2019), engages with a study by the Columbia School of Public Health (2019). The study, although referring to LGB women cumulatively, hypervisibilises bisexual women. Within the article, while critiquing research findings surrounding bisexual women, conclusions surrounding lesbian and straight women are left unquestioned. Out Magazine adopts a tone of insight that the researchers, presented to the

reader as an out-group existing beyond the LGBTQ+ community, do not have. Such perceptions are emphasised by linguistic choices, reflecting on research findings as "dubious" (para. 4) and musings that the researchers may be "speculat[ing]". (para. 4) The authors argue that Marijuana Use Disorder necessitates "so much regular use" that it impairs "work, social life, or safety." (para. 6) The author presupposes, though refraining from clarifying why, that bisexual women do not meet these criteria to the extent that the researchers identify. Rude (2019) blurs the lines between compulsion and recreation and moves against researcher perspectives, constructing bisexual women not as experiencing addiction, an aidable mental disorder, but as conscious and indulgent of their marijuana usage.

Within coverage, authorial constructions of bisexuality align with a tendency to disenfranchise bisexual experiences, regardless of scholarship indicating otherwise. Out Magazine constructs bisexuals as fun-loving, detracting from research constructions of bisexuals as experiencing addiction. Rather than a sexual minority who would psychologically benefit from structural resources and community aid, the author argues bisexual women might simply be "more fun." (para. 5) Sustaining a dismissive tone, Out Magazine identifies these findings as "unsurprising." (para. 4) While acknowledging former researchers aligning bisexual women with heightened substance use, the writer suggests that perhaps "researchers are jumping to conclusions based on their data." (para. 8)

Similar in tone is a 2021 Outrage Magazine staff article (2021), "Bisexual parents more psychologically distressed, less satisfied and happy – study." Discussing research into bisexual parents, the author identifies surprise that this is so, considering "... the overwhelming majority of bisexual parents are in relationships with male partners and thus would likely be viewed as heterosexual by the general public." (para. 3) The author does not support their statement that the bulk of bisexuals are in different-sex relationships with a source. Similarly present in this statement is the presupposition that the position of bisexuality is fortunate, their partnering with the opposite sex a privileged and political rather than an interpersonal choice. Comparable to Rude's (2019) coverage for Out Magazine, Outrage Magazine's (2021) coverage similarly distances itself from researcher findings through phrases such as "according to the researchers" (para. 3) and "for them."

(para. 4) Outrage Magazine mirrors this tone in discussions of a further staff (2017) article exploring the study, “Bi people at higher risk for poor mental health outcomes due to ‘double discrimination’ & loneliness” in which Outrage Magazine distances researcher conclusions through similar linguistic choices.

Throughout the article, the agents enacting such disenfranchisement and exclusion are largely backgrounded. This sublation of agents aligns with The Irish Times article, "Gay and bisexual teens ‘more likely’ to use drink and drugs" by Gallagher (2019). The study identifies factors such as being in love as heightening adolescent substance, refraining from noting how factors such as a lack of appropriate environmental and structural factors may impact this correlation. Similarly, the structural reasons why sexual minorities experience heightened stress or why young people feel substances are an outlet for emotional overwhelm are backgrounded.

Dedicating their 2018 issue to mental health and intimate partner violence (IPV), Bombastic Magazine engages in more extensive discussions of bisexual identity. The articles are written by community members, subverting journalistic norms and centring those with lived experiences of non-heterosexual identities. The article “Stuck in the Cruel Claws of Depression” explores the story of Crystal, who identifies herself as battling depression and bipolar disorder. While the author identifies multiple axes of stress, such as the loss of her brother and mother, she shares that being “bisexual doesn’t help matters either.” She continues, “I was labelled all sorts of things and this only added to my depression. After this relationship ended, only one friend stayed true to me.” The author evokes that highlighted in various articles, such as the presence of rejection in bisexual individuals’ lives, coming from heterosexual and homosexual communities alike. While this author identifies a mental illness as preceding her bisexual identity, she similarly identifies the axes along which her symptoms are exacerbated, such as grief, rejection and non-normative lived experiences. The article constructs bisexuals as experiencing multiple axes of discrimination, making them more vulnerable to poor mental health outcomes.

The Bombastic Magazine article “Understanding Intimate Partner Violence Among MSM And Transgender Women In Uganda” discusses the experience of bisexual men and women to the greatest extent across the publication. The article, navigating research

undertaken by “Men of the Night, Transgender Equality Uganda And Defenders’ Protection Initiative,” breaks down the research which centres interviews with ten cis-gendered men and ten transgender women. The text engages poor mental health as a consequence of such dynamics. Within the article, while bisexual individuals, at times, receive empathy, they are similarly stigmatised, with the author identifying that relationships with bisexual men “tend to replicate violence basing on power dynamics and brin[g]ing a heteronormative perspective of relationships in same sex relationships.” The article identifies that “bisexual survivors of IPV have expressed feeling left out of both services aimed at heterosexuals and those aimed at lesbian and gay survivors.” The article refrains from an exploration as to why bisexuals experience such exclusion, simply stating that it occurs. While advocating for heightened bisexual inclusion, the article refrains from suggesting solutions.

By contrast, coverage by Raseef 22, in the article by Human Rights Watch (2020), “Sexual Violence Against Men, Trans Women in Syria Conflict,” reporting on sexual violence of Syrian during the Syrian conflict, is solution-oriented. While aggregate in its approach, exploring men and boys of all sexual orientations, Raseef22 foregrounds gay and bisexual men, along with trans women, as being at a heightened risk. The article similarly highlights the impact of sociocultural and gendered assumptions concerning male survivors as impeding their capacity to seek aid. Raseef22 constructs bisexual men in tandem with gay men and trans women as disenfranchised and in need of heightened structural support.

Raseef22 coverage constructs bisexual men as standing at equal risk of such violence and its subsequent mental health impacts. Homosexual, transgender and bisexual individuals are constructed monolithically. While equitable in tone, the heterogeneity of these identities becomes erased. Aligned to Raseef22's prescriptive, homogenising approach is KAOS GL coverage by Tuzun (2022), “Inclusive and affirmative mental health approach to LGBT adolescents”. The article, published in the context of the threatened shutdown of the KAOS GL legal association, remains directive, constructing binaries of the experience of heterosexual and LGBT youth. KAOS GL approaches LGBT youth as a monolith. However, while lines such as “Homosexual men are called gay and women are called lesbian” qualify monosexual queer identity as a stable identity marker, bisexuality is not clarified to the same degree.

Centring the necessity of inclusivity and affirmative approaches, KAOS GL publishes in the discursive context of seeking equitable rights to heterosexual counterparts and, as such, is normalising in tone, constructing an alternative homonormativity, inclusive of bisexuality but consistent in eponymously erasing its heterogeneity and singularity. This erasure continues in the KAOS GL (2012) staff article “Psychiatrist Dr. Koray Başar: Families should support each other for their LGBT children!” in which LGBT families are similarly referred to cumulatively. While gender issues and homosexuality are singularised, bisexuality continues to be backgrounded.

Standing in contrast to such backgrounding is Dojensgara, engaging the story of one of its founders, Soudeh Rad. In the article by Savage (2020), "Greedy? Confused? Bisexual Iranians go online to fight prejudice" Dojensgara engages the subject of mental health as suffering due to traumatic experiences online. The article republishes a wire by Reuters, in which Rad outlines the online reaction to Rad's sharing of her story as a survivor of domestic abuse. The article outlines the subsequent online abuse she received online. Rad outlines that the repeated legitimising of her domestic abuse by Facebook commenters led to her being hospitalised for her physical and mental wellbeing/ The article centres Rad's story as an entry point through which to discuss the LGBT+ experience in Iran and the experiences of bisexuals specifically. Under the initial subtitle, "Hidden Lives", quantification, in the form of statistics, is utilised to demonstrate a statement by Rad, emphasising the lack of information specifically about bisexuality. The article cites that studies uncovered heightened drug abuse and mental health problems among bisexuals correlated to anti-bisexual discrimination.

Continuing under the subtitle "In Love", the article shares the story of a website visitor, Fariman Kashani, who saw “12 psychologists in Iran after being accused of behaving like a boy for holding hands with a female classmate.” (para. 17) Outlining Kashani's story, the difficulties of bisexual experiences, such as Kashani's experience of sexual abuse, isolation and erasure, formerly outlined in statistics, appear through the frame of lived experience. Kashani identifies that, while she does not identify with any particular label, but favours character over gender. While centring interview excerpts, the construction of bisexuality is mediated by the reporter and remains heteronomous. Cumulatively, the article, in its

discussion of mental health, interweaves statistics and, through the stories of Rad and Kashani, lived experience.

Kashani's story highlights a trope explored in more detail within the *Bi Women Quarterly* article, "BI+ED: Eating Disorders And Internalized Biphobia," by Duffy (2022), is an autonomous lived experience narrative. This narrative, in line with *Bi Women Quarterly* editorial preferences, is written by the individual who experienced it. Within the text, the author subverts the expected content of a coming out narrative, coming out not as a sexual minority but as having an eating disorder. The author writes,

The emotional saddlebags that came with my attraction to boys, on the other hand, were marked with a desire filtered through a significant layer of fear—would this boy know I was also attracted to girls? Would he then automatically find me disgusting, large, masculine? Would he see beyond my femininity and into my (hidden) bisexuality? Did my attraction to girls make me somehow less female? I have never felt anything BUT female, but my fear of being labeled a “dyke” in high school caused me to hyper-feminize both my voice and my appearance when pursuing boys. (para. 14)

Kashani's expression of her desires in Savage's (2020) "Greedy? Confused? Bisexual Iranians go online to fight prejudice", is masculinised by those around her. Duffy (2022), by contrast, fears the onset of such a masculinisation in expressing her same-sex desire. Femininity and the author's closeted bisexuality are ideologically squared as existing in conflict with one another. While the author notes that she had never "felt anything BUT female", this fear led to a performative, protective femininity.

While navigated by Duffy (2020) in rhetorics of abstraction and metaphor, she similarly cites research, in which the high correlation between eating disorders and female bisexual identity is deconstructed in medicalised terms, outlining the psychological impacts of mediating significant minority stress. Within this article, bisexual identity is autonomously constructed as a source of mental difficulty.

Exploring the impact which heteronomous constructions of female bisexual identity as masculine as greedy have had on her mental health. Duffy (2020), through an integrated discussion of accompanying studies, humanises academic research. This engagement with studies differs from that discussed above in Out Magazine and Outrage Magazine, with such studies being, tonally and directly, critiqued by authors. Similarly distinct in engagement with studies is Archer Magazine, in the article “Bi Visibility Day: We want bisexual existence, not just visibility” by McCann (2022), in which the author similarly utilises studies on bisexual mental health to outline her argument for the necessity of bisexual visibility.

Explorations of mental health are similarly present in the article by Taylor (2019), “Bisexual Visibility: Why We Need To Be The Change,” engaging the movie, *The Battle of The Sexes*, in discussions of the 23rd of September, Bi Visibility Day. The author, perceiving the story of Billie Jean King’s same-sex affair as a feminist act, advocates that bisexuals be the change. While briefly citing the impact of anti-bisexual discrimination and erasure on mental health, Taylor (2019) constructs bisexuals as responsible for changing this dynamic. While not blaming bisexuals for their invisibility, the author writes,

Though substantial strides have been taken since 1973 in the fight for equality and acceptance of gay and lesbian people, and more recently steps forward have started to occur for transgender and gender-diverse people, bisexuality remains in the shadows.

It is up to bisexual people, and allies, to turn this around. Like Billie-Jean King, we must “be the change”. (para. 20 - 21)

Within the phrase “substantial strides have been taken” (para. 20), the author backgrounds the agents in such change, refraining from noting the participation of bisexuals in such movements, aligning to a logic of trickle-down justice and pan-LGBTQ+ change. Contrary to other coverage, the author is libertarian, constructing bisexuals as passive agents in their disenfranchisement.

Within coverage of health, distinct constructions of bisexuality emerged, with a centring of lived experience in bisexual publications. Notable tonal distinctions emerged, with publications such as *Dojensgara* and *Bi Women Quarterly* calling for broader LGBTQ+ support. *Archer Magazine*, by contrast, emphasises the role of bisexuals as agents in the refuting of their disenfranchisement. Heterosexual and homosexual publications demonstrated a trend of turning to experts, citing studies and experts while obscuring the individual bisexual lives contained within statistics.

Conclusion

This research found the construction of bisexual identity across monosexual and bisexual publications to be temporally, culturally and politically impacted. Distinct legal, cultural and medical constructions of bisexuality emerged, offering insight regarding this study's guiding research questions, its limitations and areas of potential further study.

Discussion of Primary Research Question

Engaging with this study's primary research question, "How has bi+ identity been constructed by international media, monosexual and bisexual, between the years 2012 and 2022?", this research identified five central axes along which bisexual identity was constructed between the years 2012 and 2022. These axes found bisexuality to be constructed as transitory, objectified, normative, privileged, subversive and deceitful. These constructions, appearing independently and in tandem, were consistent through this research's sampled data.

Constructions of bisexual identity as transitory emerged significantly within the coverage of bisexuals seeking asylum based on their bisexual identity. Looking at *The Guardian*, in their coverage by Duffy (2015, 2016) of Orashia Edwards in his search for asylum, bisexuals are not understood, holistically, as capable of attraction to all genders. Instead, bisexuals are fragmented and defined relationally by their behaviours. Within coverage by *The Guardian*, Edwards's relationality to the opposite gender is not considered, by the U.K.

Home Office overseeing his case, to be indicative of his bisexuality, but rather, to undermine it. This construction, similarly appearing in coverage by Squires (2016) for Bi.Org, Carolan (2016) for The Irish Times, Outrage Magazine (2019) staff article, and Schad (2021) for Gay Community News, reflects not the perspectives of these publications but the legal processes upon which they report. Such discourse in legal realms reflects perceptions of bisexuality as existing on a sliding scale between homosexuality and heterosexuality, as opposed to existing as a separate, independent identity. The Kinsey Scale, conceptualised by Kinsey (1948) and highlighted within the conceptual framework of this study, contributes to such perceptions of bisexuality as indefinite, transitory and extrinsically defined.

These reports similarly introduced the construction of the normative, intelligible bisexual. Such normative constructions do not present a distinct ideal of bisexual normativity. Instead, they replicate the expectations of homonormative homosexual identity. Normative constructions of bisexuality similarly became manifest in homonationalist expectations. Demonstrating this, the (2019) Outrage Magazine staff article "LGBTQI+ refugees more likely to gain asylum if they conform to stereotypes – study" explores the expectation that asylum seekers feature homogeneous characteristics, those outlined as being particular to a generalised, monosexual ideal of queerness. Within such normativity, facets of plurisexual queerness, such as relationships with the opposite gender or a less intensive involvement in LGBTQ+ spheres, compromise the legal comprehensibility of bisexual identity.

Eisner (2013) recognises such normative practices within legal systems as the material impacts of regenerated, uncontested discursive patterns and understandings. The synchronicity of legal treatment of bisexual asylum seekers in the United States, United Kingdom and Ireland demonstrates a reconstitution of anti-plurisexual, homonormative discourse in legal practice internationally. Such patterns of querying within asylum processes, as outlined by Keddie (2014) for Al Jazeera and Duffy (2015, 2016) for The Guardian, illuminate the prevalence of discursive misunderstandings concerning the multidirectionality of bisexual attraction.

Objectifying constructions of bisexual identity foreground the visibility of bisexuality whilst, in tandem, backgrounding participative bisexual voices. In such coverage, the gaze

of the reader remains directed at the bisexual community, discussing bisexuality in the absence of interpolating bisexual perspectives. Such coverage reifies Butler's (1990) conception of subversive repetition. Subversive repetition queries regulatory expressions of identity, negotiating sedimented expressions of identity and undermining their stability through parodic actions.

In this context, bisexuality, as subversively expressed by Ora, is refused, with this refusal expressed through Tweets and media interaction alike in coverage by Beaumont-Thomas (2018) for *The Guardian* or O'Connor (2018) for *Gay Community News*. Such coverage constructs an order of discourse wherein writing about sapphic desire is the terrain of lesbians, to which bisexuals are not inherently entitled access. As engaged within this coverage, the policing undertaken by artists such as Hayley Kiyoko, Kehlani and Shura repeatedly rejects Ora's diverse expressions of non-heterosexual identities. This finding aligns with Wilkinson (2019), holding that bisexual identity is denied the same ontological status as their monosexual counterparts.

Coverage of "Girls" communicates that heterogenous and self-determined formation of subjectivity is unacceptable, with particular, regularised formulas encouraged. Despite foregrounding sapphic desire, "Girls" was scapegoated and contested for its inclusion of male desire. This prescriptive policing subverts non-normative, self-defined bisexuality in favour of a normative, homocentric bisexual identity. Normative, acceptable expressions of bisexuality are identified in coverage such as Arwa Mahdawi (2018) for *The Guardian*, centring artists such as Halsey as acceptable expressions of bisexual identity.

Coverage erases Ora's voice, disallowing her from modifying the dialogue. This removal of Ora's perspective within coverage aligns with Stewart's (2021) conception of testimonial injustice. For Stewart (2021), such injustices constitute epistemic microaggressions, outlined as "a subset of microaggressions that consist in seemingly minor slights that dismiss, ignore, ridicule, or otherwise fail to give uptake to knowledge claims made by speakers is based on their membership in a marginalized group." (p. 429)

Such testimonial injustices are similarly addressed within Dojensgara coverage by Savage (2020) in "Greedy? Confused? Bisexual Iranians go online to fight prejudice". Soudeh Rad

notes the rejection of her story when shared online. Soudeh Rad contests her refusal, her story holistically represented within the sampled article and continually through her role as co-founder of Dojensgara. A similarly subversive contestation occurs in "Bi+ED: Eating Disorders And Internalized Biphobia" by Duffy (2022), in which Duffy (2022) subverts conceptions of bisexuals as a privileged grouping. Throughout the article, Duffy (2022) interweaves genres, amalgamating studies and lived experience and intertwining linguistic ranges, ameliorating those associated with poetry and journalism.

The construction of bisexual identity manifests in tonally distinct ways in monosexual and bisexual publications. Bi Women Quarterly and Bombastic Magazine subvert coverage of individuals seeking asylum based on their sexuality in form and content. Concerning Bi Women Quarterly, the form of such narratives is destabilising in its first-person narratives, with the stories told from the perspectives of the asylum seekers. Coverage, such as that by Rodriguez (2021) or Kumar (2021), mediates meaning in non-traditional forms and contests traditional discursive engagement. Within such coverage, the backgrounding of legal perspectives similarly subverts conventional, reporter-mediated narrative arcs as followed in The Guardian, The Irish Times and Bi Community News. In this standardised report genre, heteronomous, reconstituting approaches prevail.

Constructions of bisexuality as privileged emerged most significantly within the discursive moment of health. Within Out Magazine and Outrage Magazine, existing hegemonic perceptions belonging to the authors negotiated with the research upon which they reported, querying its veracity through language and anecdote. Rude's (2019) Out Magazine article "Study: Bi Women Smoke a Lot More Weed Than Straight Ones" and Outrage Magazine's (2021) staff article "Bisexual Parents More Psychologically Distressed, Less Satisfied and Happy – Study" integrate genres of report and opinion, reporting on the studies, whilst in tandem, constructing bisexuality within their respective editorial conceptions. Article perspectives converge in mutual disbelief as to the psychological difficulties faced by bisexual individuals.

Engaging this research question revealed a significant alignment between the perspectives of heterosexual and homosexual publications, supporting both Yoshino's (2000) conception of an epistemic contract existing between heterosexuals and homosexuality. It similarly

empirically realised Angelides' (2000) argument that it is not the content of bisexuality - holding plurisexual attraction - which incites suspicion but its undermining of stable, monosexual institutions and beliefs. The outlined constructions of bisexual identity, commonplace with the sampled data are similarly reflective of theorising within literature central to this study, such as Eisner (2013).

Discussion of Secondary Research Questions

Notable trends emerged in engaging this research's initial secondary research question, "In regions where bi+ identity moves against societal values, how does bi+ construction differ across monosexual and bisexual publications? How do political leanings further affect this construction?" Within the sampled articles, Raseef22 and Al Jazeera, in referring to the LGBTQ+ acronym inclusive of bisexual identity, predominantly constructed those within the acronym as activists or refugees. Within coverage such as that by non-heterosexual identities exist primarily as subversions of heteronormativity whose most central function was the challenging and destabilising of heteronormativity. Soroka et al. (2023) identify such limiting constructions as formula stories. For Soroka et al. (2023), such narratives exist for the consumption of a cisheterosexual audience. Such formula stories develop a "typified" (p. 135) narrative with particular characters, images and tropes, repetitive within public discourse. Within the sampled articles, KAOS GL centres coverage on the construction of a homonormative counterpart to heteronormativity, advocating for LGBTQ+ rights and structural aid. Within such coverage, bisexuals remain conflated within the acronym, establishing a pattern aligned to Wilkinson (2019), wherein the usage of this community label served to erase the heterogeneity or meaningful construction of bisexual identity through conflation. KAOS GL, for a bisexual audience, creates homonormative formula stories exclusive of actualised bisexual experience and identity.

Within discussions of asylum, Outrage Magazine, while highlighting the presence of homonationalism in the asylum process of countries such as Germany, discussions of asylum seekers centred on those moving from a non-Western country to a Western country. While editorially critical of the study findings, the article highlights Hiller's (2022) identification of a discursive overlap between homonationalism (as the incorporation of LGBT rights into nationalist ideology) and homonormativity (as the transposing of

heteronormative ideals within LGBTQ+ contexts). Elucidating this dynamic, Heimer (2019) writes,

Such political movement of partly including an “acceptable” form of “homosexuality” into national imaginations points towards the emergence of what Puar (2007, 2) defines as “homonationalism”. That is, the incorporation of a “homonormative” (Duggan 2003) form of homosexuality—to a pre-existing heteronormativity model—into the representation of the nation. (p.5)

Bombastic Magazine, in “Lawyer Turned Refugee”, subverts homonationalist and homonormative discourses alike, the family seeking asylum (consisting of a bisexual husband, heterosexual wife and their child) expressing no desire to leave Africa but only to be safe. Similarly subversive, Dojensgara is explicit in its discussions of their perception of biphobia in asylum processes in Turkey, highlighting the presence of trickle-down justice logic and its harmfulness to the bisexual community in contexts of immigration, asylum and, as identified by Marcus (2015) a hindered “jurisprudential integrity resulting from the erasure of bisexuality from LGBT-rights discourse.” (p. 29) Outrage Magazine, while singularising bisexual identity, adopts a disenfranchising, disbelieving tone, aligning with Eisner (2013) and Yoshino (2000) in their conception of monosexism as a distinct axes of exclusion and erasure regenerable by homosexuals and heterosexuals alike.

As outlined in the discussion of secondary research question one, this study found that the LGBTQ+ acronym facilitates plurisexual backgrounding in contexts wherein LGBTQ+ identity moves against political and social norms. The acronymic obscuring of bisexual identity, constructing bisexuality as homogenous to monosexual queer identities, continues throughout the broader corpus. This trend facilitates an insight into secondary research question two, “The bi+ community often expresses a feeling of being an afterthought within the broader LGBTQ+ community. Within the analysed data, is there evidence aligned with this claim?”

In heterosexual publications, the LGBTQ+ acronym largely reconstitutes bisexual identity as a facet of a sexual minority monolith. Within such coverage, the distinguishing factors of bisexual identity become muted. Such submersion is tangible in coverage such as that by Haddad (2017) for Raseef22, within the article "Arab Songs About Homosexuality, Polyamory, and Gender." Throughout this article, monosexual and genderdiverse identities become textured and detailed. However, bisexuality appears exclusively as a letter within the acronym, a finding demonstrating Lewis and Melendez-Torres (2023) in their determination of how language may reinforce or challenge hegemonic power asymmetries. For Lewis and Melendez-Torres (2023), language may demonstrate, contest or regenerate power relations and prescriptive behavioural patterns.

Within coverage such as that by Beaumont-Thomas (2018), Mahdawi (2018) or Dommu (2018), the usage of the acronym is similarly conflationary. Whilst coverage reports that the LGBTQ+ community was cumulatively opposed to Rita Ora's "Girls", such claims obscure the reaction of the bisexual community. Coverage contesting monosexual reactions, such as that by Zane (2018) or a Bi Community News (2018) staff article, through the acronym, becomes obscured. In this, the acronym becomes an ideological formation, amplifying monosexual perspectives and sublating contradictory bisexual perspectives. Aligning with Fairclough (2013), the effects of the LGBT formation on coverage demonstrate dually "the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief" (p. 18) and its frequent non-apparency to those engaging the discourse.

Similarly supporting the bi+ community's feeling of being an afterthought within the broader LGBTQ+ community is the lack of an acronymic presence in coverage by Rude (2019), Savage (2020) or Schad (2021), wherein bisexuality is, to greater extents, explored. Such coverage foregrounds bisexuality, individuating bisexuality as a singular identity and supporting Panzia's (2020) highlighting of normative hierarchies and a particular, monosexual-centric social grammar within the LGBT formation. For Panzia (2020), the usage of the LGBT acronym as a neutral term uncritically regenerates power relations inherent to its formation as a grouping centred around the concerns and identities of monosexually queer identities.

In bisexual publications, frequently projected stereotypes are significantly contested, an editorial and ideological insight relevant in considerations of this research's final secondary research question, "How are the frequently projected stereotypes reflected in the bi+ media channels?" Within bisexual publications, distinctions between publications' respective constructions of bisexuality become manifest. While *Dojensgara*, *Archer Magazine* and *Bi Women Quarterly* are frequently critical of the LGBTQ+ formation, *Bi.org* is, within content, significantly more aligned with the LGBTQ+ formation and adopts a normalising tone. This alignment reflects an expressed editorial alignment with the LGBTQ+ community norms and values whilst critical of its bisexual erasure.

Engaging with stereotypes which construct bisexuality as a privileged sexual minority, bisexual publications deconstruct this prejudice. Coverage such as that by Duffy (2022) exploring, for *Bi Women Quarterly*, a perceived causality between anti-bisexual discrimination and her experience with anorexia or Mountford (2018) for *Archer Magazine* centring the psychological effects of biphobia and bi-erase, seeks to foreground the material impact of such exclusions. Such coverage, speaking to the impact of minority stress, aligns with Along He et al. (2022) in their identification of stigma, both external and internalised, as holding significant mental health impacts. Distinctions in coverage by bi+ publications, compared to heterosexual and homosexual publications, similarly highlight the frequency at which monosexual publications foreground heteronormous, formulaic constructions of bisexuality.

These misperceptions, when consciously directed, become prejudices which erase the diverse actualisations of bisexual identity. This misconstruing is observable in coverage by Peyghambarzadeh (2020) for *Dojensgara*, Rodriguez (2021) for *Bi Women Quarterly* and Zane (2018) for *Bi.org*. Rodriguez (2021) and Peyghambarzadeh (2020) defy misconceptions such as the homonationalistic gay or lesbian refugee, while Zane (2018) challenges homocentric expressions of bisexual identity.

For Primo et al. (2020), this reflects the "implications of the transformations in the post-industrial technological landscape for issues of identity and embodiment..." (p. 592) Primo et al. (2020), engaging Preciado (2013), understand such technologically accessible coverage as a "part of an assemblage of biopolitical techniques which subtly regulate how

sex, gender and sexuality are experienced and understood." (p. 592) Coverage within bisexual publications disrupts monosexual constructions of bisexual identity, articulating a challenge to its hegemonic construction. Sampled coverage reclaims and renegotiates constructions of bisexual identity, articulating distinct trajectories and narratives.

Concluding Remarks

In engaging with its research questions, this study variously queried the impact of geography, publication identity and LGBTQ+ association on the construction of bisexual identity between 2012 and 2022. Through consideration of these various factors, this research developed a critical awareness surrounding how bisexuals construct their identities and the heteronomous construction of bisexual identity within international media in this period.

Regarding limitations, this study, allowing insight into the construction of bisexual identity across monosexual and bisexual media, faced a limitation in delimiting its sample size. With the methodology of this study favouring analysis of a narrow sample and a research question striving to offer a global perspective, this study centred on twelve publications, ensuring a balanced sampling across continents and engaging with the discursive practices of the given publication's social, cultural and geographical context. While striving to attain as balanced a sample as possible, a preliminary sampling revealed that publications were not accessible in all countries in English, negating the opportunity to assess the construction of bisexual identity in particular contexts.

Similarly, the categorisation of the sample into categories of bisexual, homosexual and heterosexual publications necessarily excludes some publications that construct bisexual identity but are queer-identifying, evading homosexual, heterosexual or bisexual identification. Such publications, for example, MyKali in Jordan or COVEN Berlin in Germany, offer a differing frame, which further study may strive to encompass, enabling the emergence of novel patterns, trends and discursive relationships. This subject may similarly benefit from an integrated CAQDAS analysis, which engages linguistic factors more quantitatively in the discursive construction of bisexual identity. This study examines three discursive moments in the construction of bisexual identity. While further

communicative events exist, this study, throughout its coding process, identified those most illuminative within the bisexual identity construction. The examination of further discursive events, such as the artist Kehlani's re-articulation of her identity as a lesbian after initially coming out as bisexual or the experience of bisexual women seeking mental health aid, would facilitate valuable scholarly contributions.

Returning to this present research, in determining an independent bisexual identity, the presence of stereotypical constructions and tropes emerged. Notably, this stereotypical construction significantly replicated expectations of homosexual stereotypes. Considering the shortcomings and strengths of the LGBTQ+ acronym as an aggregation of sexual minorities, this research finds that the acronym stands as a significant source of aid and political weight. Parallel to this, there is, within coverage, a perception of the aggregation as ineffective in realising the heterogeneity of the identities it represents, particularly within regions wherein LGBTQ+ identity moves against social values. This present research has demonstrated that, within the considered sample, bisexual identity contradicts heterosexual and homosexual identities alike, with attempts to transpose bisexuality onto either monosexual pole, untidy and ill-formed. It has found that bisexual identity interacts in a multitude of ways with facets of identity, such as gender, location or class, realities calling into question a demonstrated community expectation of synonymous, coded expressions of bisexuality, suggesting a need for further study along singularised axes of identity.

Summary in English

This research concluded that an analysis of the construction of bisexual identity across monosexual and bisexual publications demonstrates temporal, cultural and political impact on such constructions. Temporally, while in later years, a conflation of bisexual and homosexual identities continued, a discourse surrounding whether or not such conflationary identification in publications such as Gay Community News, Bi Community News and Archer Magazine arose. In determining an independent bisexual identity, the presence of stereotypical constructions, particularly within cases wherein bisexuals sought asylum, emerged in coverage by The Guardian, The Irish Times, Bi.org and Outrage Magazine. Notably, this stereotypical construction was not nuanced to a distinct normative bisexual identity but a replicated expectation of homosexual stereotypes.

The construction of a suitable stereotypical or normative bisexual is most identifiable within media coverage critical of the song "Girls." Throughout coverage in The Guardian, The New York Times and partially, in Out Magazine, bisexual women specifically are policed by homosexuals and heterosexuals alike. Within this song, wherein a bisexual woman expresses her subjective experience of multidirectional desire, the directionality of her desire and its particular manifestation is predominantly constructed within coverage as wholly rejected by the LGBTQ+ community. Aspects of coverage by Out Magazine and Bi.org disrupt such constructions of a unanimous pan-LGBTQ+ rejection of Rita Ora's bisexual identity. Looking at the coverage of "Girls", the construction of bisexual identity is predominantly as a heteronomously-determined, policeable subject. Bisexuals are constructed as complicated subjects, highlighting the binary between homonormativity and heteronormativity. Such constructions appear in Bombastic Magazine in discussions of LGBTQ+ individuals seeking mental aid and finding themselves excluded from heterosexual and homosexual services alike. It is similarly present within coverage by The Guardian of bisexuals within the asylum system or in KAOS GL in the erasure of plurisexual identities within coverage.

This study considers the shortcomings and strengths of the LGBTQ+ acronym as an aggregation of sexual minorities, finding that the acronym stands as a significant source of aid and political weight in The Guardian, KAOS GL, The New York Times, Bi.org and Al Jazeera. For publications such as Dojensgara, Bi Community News, and Archer Magazine, there is, within coverage, a perception of the aggregation as ineffective in realising the heterogeneity of the identities it represents. Assessing coverage in bi+ media channels, specifically, finds a focus on lived experiences and issues particular to bisexuals, such as heightened rates of mental disorder and isolation. Such coverage, in the main, refrains from homogenising bisexual experiences as representative of the LGBTQ+ community cumulatively.

Regarding the construction of bi+ identity in regions wherein LGBTQ+ identity moves against societal values, this research found that publications disrupted homonationalist discourses at a greater rate. However, publications such as Raseef22 or KAOS GL refrained from querying the homonormativity essential to such discourses, with coverage continuing to leave bisexuals largely de-nominalised and backgrounded within the LGBTQ+ acronym. By contrast, Dojensgara and BOMBASTIC Magazine foregrounded bisexual identity, with Dojensgara explicitly querying its erasure across media channels and within asylum law and processes.

While sustaining a balanced sample across continents, the construction of bisexual identity in this study was limited to particular contexts, providing insight into patterns and trends in bisexual identity construction within these regions. This limitation led to the identification of suggestions for further study on this topic integrating quantitative corpus-based CDA methodologies such as those undertaken by Wilkinson (2019), which may enable a focused analysis of a broader data sample across further contexts. Similarly, while this study centred on three categories, it did not extend to queer-identifying publications, which may allow a novel axis of insight. Further research on this topic may consider the study of additional discursive events, such as the artist Kehlani's re-articulation of her identity as a lesbian after initially coming out as bisexual or the experience of bisexual women seeking mental health aid.

Summary in Czech

Tento výzkum dospěl k závěru, že analýza konstrukce bisexuální identity v monosexuálních a bisexuálních publikacích ukazuje časový, kulturní a politický dopad na tyto konstrukce. Z časového hlediska, zatímco v pozdějších letech pokračovalo směřování bisexuální a homosexuální identity, vznikl diskurz kolem toho, zda taková směřující identifikace v publikacích, jako jsou Gay Community News, Bi Community News a Archer Magazine, existuje, či nikoli. Při definování samostatné bisexuální identity se přítomnost stereotypních konstrukcí, zejména v rámci případů, kdy bisexuálové žádali o azyl, objevila ve zpravodajství deníků The Guardian, The Irish Times, Bi.org a Outrage Magazine. Pozoruhodné je, že tato stereotypní konstrukce nebyla diferencována na samostatnou normativní bisexuální identitu, ale na replikované očekávání homosexuálních stereotypů.

Konstrukce vhodné stereotypní nebo normativní bisexuální osoby je nejlépe patrná v mediálním zpravodajství kritickém vůči písni „Girls“. V celém zpravodajství v denících The Guardian, The New York Times a částečně i v časopise OUT jsou konkrétně bisexuální ženy kontrolovány (angl. policed) jak homosexuály, tak heterosexuály. V rámci této písně, v níž bisexuální žena vyjadřuje svou subjektivní zkušenost vícesměrné touhy, je směrovost její touhy a její konkrétní projev v rámci zpravodajství převážně konstruován jako zcela odmítaný LGBTQ+ komunitou. Aspekty zpravodajství časopisů Out Magazine a Bi.org narušují takovou konstrukci jednomyslného odmítnutí bisexuální identity Rity Ory ze strany LGBTQ+ komunity. Při pohledu na články o písni „Girls“ je bisexuální identita konstruována převážně jako heteronorně determinovaný, kontrolovatelný subjekt. Bisexuálové jsou konstruováni jako komplikované subjekty, přičemž se zdůrazňuje binárnost mezi homonormativitou a heteronormativitou. Takovéto konstrukce se v časopise Bombastic Magazine objevují v diskusích o LGBTQ+ osobách, které hledají psychologickou pomoc a jsou vyloučeni jak z heterosexuálních, tak z homosexuálních služeb. Podobně se objevuje v reportážích deníku The Guardian o bisexuálech v azylovém systému nebo v KAOS GL, kde ve zpravodajství dochází k vymazávání plurisexuálních identit.

Tato studie se zabývá slabými a silnými stránkami zkratky LGBTQ+ jako souhrnného

označení sexuálních menšin a zjišťuje, že tato zkratka je významným zdrojem pomoci a politické váhy v médiích jako je The Guardian, KAOS GL, The New York Times, Bi.org a Al Jazeera. U publikací, jako jsou Dojensgara, Bi Community News a Archer Magazine, je v rámci zpravodajství zkratka vnímána jako neúčinná při realizaci heterogenity identit, které reprezentuje. Zkoumání zpravodajství v mediálních kanálech zaměřených na bi+ zjišťuje orientaci na žité zkušenosti a problémy specifické pro bisexuály, jako je zvýšená míra duševních poruch a izolace. Takové zpravodajství se většinou zdržuje homogenizace bisexuálních zkušeností jako reprezentativních pro celou LGBTQ+ komunitu.

Pokud jde o konstrukci bi+ identity v oblastech, kde se LGBTQ+ identita pohybuje v rozporu se společenskými hodnotami, tento výzkum zjistil, že publikace narušují homonacionalistické diskurzy ve větší míře. Publikace jako Raseef22 nebo KAOS GL se však zdržely zpochybňování homonormativity, která je pro tyto diskurzy zásadní, a ve zpravodajství nadále ponechávaly bisexuály do značné míry denominalizované a upozaděné v rámci zkratky LGBTQ+. Naproti tomu časopisy Dojensgara a BOMBASTIC Magazine stavěly bisexuální identitu do popředí, přičemž Dojensgara se výslovně dotazovala na její vymazávání napříč mediálními kanály a v rámci azylového práva a procesů.

Přestože byl vzorek vyvážený napříč kontinenty, konstrukce bisexuální identity v této studii byla omezena na konkrétní kontexty, což umožnilo nahlédnout do vzorců a trendů v konstrukci bisexuální identity právě v těchto oblastech. Toto omezení vedlo k identifikaci návrhů na další studii na toto téma integrující kvantitativní korpusové metodologie CDA, jako jsou ty, které provedl Wilkinson (2019), což může umožnit cílenou analýzu širšího vzorku dat v dalších kontextech. Podobně, ačkoli se tato studie soustředila na tři kategorie, nerozšířila se na publikace s queer identifikací, což může umožnit nový úhel pohledu. Další výzkum tohoto tématu může zvážit zkoumání dalších diskurzivních událostí, jako je například reartikulace lesbické identity umělkyně Kehlani poté, co se původně přiznala k bisexualitě, nebo zkušenosti bisexuálních žen vyhledávajících pomoc v oblasti duševního zdraví.

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