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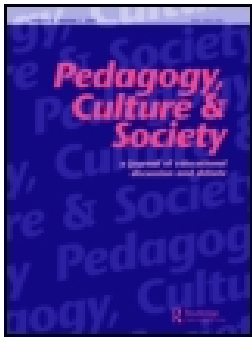
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The strange case of querying gove's cultural capital legacy

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ABSTRACT

The recent inclusion of *cultural capital* into the English Ofsted Education Inspection Framework (2019) caused a ripple of discontent within some educational circles, with some suggesting it is indicative of 'white, middle-class paternalism'. Here, we consider the political rise of Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' within the English Education Inspection Framework (2019), given that it now affects all English schools subject to Ofsted's inspection. We also explore how one of the 19th Century texts in the GCSE English literature curriculum can be analysed through a queer prism, to offer a thought-provoking inclusive interpretation of the narrative and release its queer cultural capital. Finally, we invite classroom practitioners to deliberate their current pedagogical actions and consider adopting a queer pedagogy to counteract the pervasive *heteronormativity* that embeds assumptions of heterosexuality within school ecosystems; thus challenging the *discomforting otherness* and *insidious silencing regimes* that position LGBTQ identities as *taboo* and *off topic*.



KEYWORDS

19th century gothic; jekyll and hyde; queer cultural capital; queer pedagogy; homosocial; homophobia; heteronormativity; lgbtq; inclusion

There is only a seeing from a perspective, only a 'knowing' from a perspective, and the *more* emotions we express over a thing, the *more* eyes, different eyes, we train on the same thing, the more complete will be our 'idea' of that thing, our 'objectivity.' But the elimination of the will altogether, the switching off of the emotions all and sundry, granted that we could do so, what! Would not that be called intellectual *castration*? Nietzsche (1887, 153)

Introduction

To reflect 'objectively' on one's personal experience requires a recognition of the duality of existence, the interplay between 'what one might call natural, familial, domestic, or traditional culture on the one hand and artificial, acquired, constructed or public culture on the other' (Robbins 2005, 13). To do this effectively, it is necessary to explore and articulate the relationship between agency and structural context. Bourdieu (1958) offers the concepts of 'linguistic' and 'cultural' capital as dialect to explore the intersections of the 'life-world' and the 'systems-world', and by adopting this paradigm it is possible to identify not only the institutional reinforcement of 'legitimised' culture but the 'value' and 'profitability' afforded to it.

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It is important to critique education systems using the lens of cultural and linguistic capital, to determine what is privileged, what is marginalised, what perpetuate the status quo, and what troubles it. The English education system purports to enhance social mobility, through knowledge acquisition, critical analysis, abstract conceptualisation and reflection, however we would suggest that differing cultural awareness and linguistic acumen undermines the mythology of it being a meritocratic system. The restricted and elaborated codes identified by Bernstein (1962) represent some of the tribal dialects associated with social class and provide just one example of the complex linguistic and cultural capital that young people develop, and have assessed, during schooling. The youths ability to ‘play the hand they are dealt’ and apply linguistic and cultural capital successfully will impact their ability to obtain the qualifications they desire, and subsequently secure a position in the ‘life worlds’ and ‘systems worlds’ that extend beyond formal education.

Friedman and Laurison (2020) apply these Bourdieusian concepts in their detailed analysis of class privilege in elite firms. Their examination of workplace culture reveals how those with command of ‘legitimised culture’, such as literature, signal it to others through displays of ‘intellectual critique’ (152) to gain advantage. As such, they are unlikely to experience ‘feelings of otherness’, ‘risk avoidance’ and ‘self-elimination’ from ‘concrete opportunities’. Wittingly, or unwittingly, this institutional reinforcement of culture begins to take shape, in different guises, throughout the English Education System, and plays a significant role socially engineering the life options of contemporary youth as exemplified by Friedman and Laurison. Consequently, a myriad of challenges face teaching practitioners as they translate policy into practice, and navigate the political, social and economic pressures to ensure auditable outcomes, authentic learning and inclusive practice.

This paper considers and interlinks three areas of discussion relating to the legitimising of Bourdieu’s cultural capital in the English school system. First, the political rise and positioning of cultural capital within school ecosystems, particularly with regard to the current GCSE English literature curriculum. Second, the richness and diversity of cultural capital found within a specific text. Third, the consideration for an approach to pedagogy that challenges heteronormative discourse, reveals resonance with current cultural themes, and provides extensive opportunities for intellectual discussion. Built on the belief that *Tain’t What You Do (It’s the Way That You Do It)* we invite practitioners to reframe some of their approaches to teaching literature, as *That’s what gets results*’ (Oliver and Young 1939) and instead apply a light refracting prism, instead of a lens, to make visible a spectrum of colour.

Querying the curriculum

The introduction of ‘cultural capital’ into the Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills (Ofsted) *School Inspection Handbook: Handbook for Inspecting Schools in England under Section 5 of the Education Act 2005* (Ofsted 2019a) in 2019 as part of their inspection checklist triggered a fierce debate, with some suggesting the inspectorate is cementing cultural conservatism and writing off the experience of working – class pupils (Mansell 2019). Mansell quotes Reay, a Cambridge Education Professor:

This new requirement is a crude, reductionist model of learning, both authoritarian and elitist. The key elements of cultural capital are entwined with privileged lifestyles rather than qualities you can separate off and then teach the poor and working classes (quoted in Mansell 2019)

and, Yandell, Associate Professor of English at UCL Institute of Education:

the notion that schools should facilitate social change without considering the unequal society in which they operate is ‘extraordinarily naïve’ (quoted in Mansell 2019).

However, Ofsted’s Education National Director offers a different view, asserting that the *Education Inspection Framework* (EIF) (Ofsted 2019b) is the ‘best-researched’ and ‘most thoughtfully developed framework [Ofsted] have ever produced’ (Harford 2019, 1), thus suggesting that the inclusion of ‘cultural capital’ is based on the academic merit of the concept. Given that Ofsted’s role is ‘to make sure that [schools] deliver for children and learners [by] creating the conditions that allow the next generation to realise its full potential’, we conclude that the inspectorate now regard cultural capital as a fundamental addition to England’s ‘standard of education’ (Ofsted 2017, 3). It is certainly presented that way by Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector, Spielman (2020), who used her speech at the *Headteacher’s Symposium on Creativity and Education* to cement firmly the concept into authorised pedagogical activity. First, she reminded the audience of the bureaucratic location for Ofsted’s cultural capital, and its definition:

The essential knowledge that pupils need to be educated citizens, introducing them to the best that has been thought and said and helping to engender an appreciation of human creativity and achievement (Ofsted 2019b, 43).

Then she sought to reassure headteachers that Ofsted’s view of cultural capital was not about ‘elitism’, ‘taste’ and ‘prioritising one culture over others’ neither was it ‘a thing’ (Spielman 2020). Aligning herself with Bourdieu, Spielman acknowledged the value of cultural capital; however, she positioned herself further by suggesting that, unlike him, she is not pessimistic ‘in thinking that education can’t make a difference’. Despite a mixed reception, Ofsted now deem the concept of cultural capital, which Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2004, 17, original emphasis) argues, ‘can exist in three forms’ – the ‘*embodied state*, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body’; the ‘*objectified state*, in the form of cultural goods’; and the ‘*institutionalized[sic] state*’ such as ‘educational qualifications’, as worthy of Her Majesty’s Inspectors inquiry and scrutiny. If cultural capital is now believed to be educationally important, why did it take until 2019 to be included in the EIF 2019?

Whilst we are certain that Ofsted has always been aware of Bourdieu’s theories, the political currency of cultural capital was elevated when the Secretary of State for Education (Gove 2013) gave a speech entitled *The Progressive Betrayal* to the Social Market Foundation in which he campaigned to overthrow the ‘educational blob’ (Young 2014a). Drawing upon the theorisations of Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci, Gove (2013) set about chiding Rousseau influenced progressive educational theorists for ‘depriving the working-classes of the tools they needed to emancipate themselves from ignorance’ because of their emphasis on ‘natural’ rather than ‘mechanical’ methods of pedagogy. Openly preparing the way for the eventual revision of the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) English literature curriculum later in the year, Gove drew attention to the number of books children read in the 1940s. He impressed upon his audience that it was not the volume of books children read in the mid-20th Century that created learning, it was because they read ‘widely’ and ‘deeply’ that their horizons were broadened. Gove deduced it was this ‘acquisition of knowledge’ and

'accumulation of cultural capital' that underpinned 'intellectual enlightenment'. This reading formula, Gove concluded, was the 'key to social mobility'.

Referencing Willingham (2009), the cognitive scientist and thinker who authored *Why Don't Students Like School?*, Gove (2014a) asserts 'fluency in reading and mastery of mathematics would not only secure access to a broad and enriching academic curriculum' but would also 'stimulate critical thinking' and 'creativity'. To reach Gove's (2014b) vision of introducing 'more and more children to the great minds of the past' the sights of the English literature GCSE curriculum were recalibrated, requiring students to read and study the following: a Shakespeare play in full, poetry from 1789 including the romantics, a 19th century novel [sic], and fiction or drama from the British Isles post-1914. Kennedy (2014), writing in *The Guardian*, reported that both academics and writers responded angrily to the Department for Education's (DFE) increased emphasis on British literature. The omission of curriculum classics from the American literary canon, such as *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *Of Mice and Men*, prompted Bigsby, a Professor and American studies scholar, to warn the readership 'the "union jack of culture" was fluttering over Gove's department' (quoted in Kennedy 2014). Toby Young (2014b), a columnist for the right of centre political magazine *The Spectator*, sprang to Gove's defence, using his opinion piece to approve the 'extra weight' given to English literature GCSE in league tables. Despite Young's support, and possibly rattled by academic and writer criticism, the Department for Education (DFE)(Department for Education 2014a) took the unusual step of publishing a counter-arguing 'myth buster' to dispel the circulating 'nonsense' that certain 'authors, books and genres had been banned.' The DFE proclaimed that the true purpose of the changes was in to 'expose children to works that will engage and challenge them and give them a rigorous basis in the study of literature' (1). Furthermore, the DFE were keen to emphasise they were not trying to control what teenagers are allowed to read but were, in fact, 'giving free rein to curious and inquiring minds' (2). This pedagogical logic, the DFE imagines, equips students with 'the skills which would build their confidence.' These may be noble aims; however, it is also possible to suggest that Gove appeared to believe that the nation's 21st Century children should be inculcated with a literary cultural capital forged in the imperial furnaces of the steam powered industrial revolution. English secondary schools are required to select one novel from the following list provided by exam boards: *A Christmas Carol* (1843); *Great Expectations* (1867); *Frankenstein* (1831); *Pride and Prejudice* (1813); *Jane Eyre* (1847); *The Sign of Four* (1890); *Silas Marner* (1861); *War of the Worlds* (1898) or *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). As English teacher Okolosie (2013) points out, the GCSE canon is a propagated 'nationalistic and ossified vision of England'. Therefore, the content of the curriculum could be viewed as the 'artificial, acquired, constructed or public culture' (Robbins 2005, 13), and representative of the legitimised 'linguistic' and 'cultural' capital identified by Bourdieu (1990). If this is the case, then we would suggest that the 'systems-world' presented to students, and any subsequent 'cultural reproduction', will be firmly riveted to British culture in the 19th Century, and pose tensions for contemporary students who attempt to reconcile their 'life-world' experiences with the 'systems-world' presented.

It is feasible to opine this is an insensitive selection of GCSE books, authored by white, seemingly heterosexual, middle-class individuals, potentially causing a legacy of anxiety across education. Given that teaching practitioners are not in a position to change the selection of books on the English literature curriculum, we encourage them to avoid following

any intentional or unintentional exclusionary, oppressive, heteronormative/heterosexist discourses of literary analysis. Instead, we advocate the use of a queer paradigm to question the structures of binarism, and challenge/disrupt the existing power structures that lie within the dominant hegemonic cultural transmissions found within literature with the intention of diversifying embodied states of culture capital which are more reflective of contemporary society. A queer paradigm includes those who are 'off-kilter', or feel 'disconnected' from what they perceive as 'normality', those who 'transgress boundaries' and occupy 'liminal spaces' (Thomas 2012) or those 'not fitting the contours of heteronormative society' (Robertson 2019), it does not necessarily refer to those who experience 'same-sex desires' (Zieger 2008). As such, a queer paradigm would seem an appropriate prism to refract light onto 19th Century literature. This could be especially pertinent to 21st Century adolescents who are still navigating what 'normal' means to them, in a sexual landscape that, at first glance, appears very much at odds with that of the 19th Century. It is only by doing this, that the contained queer identities, both overt and covert, will be given the equal opportunity, and space, to distinguish themselves and exist without oppression. This will go some way to reassuring readers that their own experiences are valid, valued, and deserve expression within school ecosystems, and in broader society.

In essence, we encourage the teaching of prescribed GCSE literature to co-create knowledge with their learners and, more importantly, develop a literacy of sexuality to better understand and articulate how sexuality exists (and is constructed) within a 'dense matrix of human experience of the biological, anatomical, psychological, cultural, social, and political' (Alexander 2008, 37).

As a luminary, we consider Stevenson's (1886) *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* in order to merge a queer cultural capital into Bourdieu's (1984) concept of habitus so that attitudes and dispositions reflect life in contemporary Britain.

Querying the text

Gothic narrative

The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde belongs to a family of Gothic texts; a genre that is particularly 'strange' and 'perverse' (Bowen 2014). Whilst there is no one single element or trait Gothic texts have in common, there are overlapping characteristics and motifs. Bowen contends there are five identifiable overlapping themes: strange places; clashing time periods; power and constraint; terror versus horror; and a world of doubt. This specific Gothic text is located historically, socially and culturally as a turn of the century work of literature; conceivably imbibing the 'social and cultural worries consistently haunting Victorian Britain' (Thomas 2012, 143). These worries include, but are not limited to, themes such as the retrenchment of empire, the spread of urban slums, the growth of 'criminal' classes and the proliferation of 'deviant sexualities' (Arata 1996). Under Gothic's literary cover, society's vexatious questions may be addressed in a creative testing ground. For example, the implications of research in the natural sciences and in the emerging field of psychology, alongside the more familiar questions relating to gender, sexuality, class and race (Arata 2010). Through portrayals of supernatural phenomena controversial issues could be implicated through readerly acts of interpretation (Sanna 2012). Sanna (2012) argues Gothic works such as *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*

can be viewed as 'evasive, radical, and subversive.' In addition, Thomas (2012) contends this is an attempt to misdirect the gaze of official discourses that 'worked tirelessly to silence those concerns.'

Duality discourse

Buzwell (2014), Curator of Contemporary Literacy Archives at the British Library, suggests that 'viewed on a simple level . . . Dr Jekyll is a good man, much admired in his profession. Mr Hyde, meanwhile, is evil.' However, Buzwell extends his position further by inviting readers to consider that the story operates on a much deeper level, in that it can 'show the dual nature of not only one man but also society in general.' It is this 'duality', presented throughout the many layers of the novella, that illustrates the 'genius of Stevenson's work'. Stevenson's descriptive devices trace duality across various locations, from the mind, the body, personal identity, social acceptance and beyond.

According to the *Paper 1 Shakespeare and the 19th – century novel: Report on the Examination* (AQA 2018) it is this theme of duality that resonates highly with the GCSE students of the book. However, the narrative of the examiner's analysis identifies that students of *Jekyll and Hyde* are lacking, evidenced by student skill sets, an ability to make 'connections to the broader themes of the text' and to effectively develop an argument in order to 'reach the higher levels in the mark scheme'(5). The examiner infers this may be as a consequence of students being mechanically 'well drilled' in terms of producing a formulaic analysis of the story, by teachers operating in a high-stakes examination culture. Being target driven, and time poor, may render the inspection of *Jekyll and Hyde* from a queer perspective uneconomical. However, to fail to do so has dire consequences. Not only would it prevent a deeper understanding of Stevenson's social, historical and cultural commentary from the queer perspective, it would also allocate a secondary value to queerness, and by doing so position it lower than the dominant hegemonic discourses that are privileged in the current range of GCSE set texts. A queer analysis of *Jekyll and Hyde* not only invites the reader to search for, and bring to light, Victorian Britain's hidden truths it extends further by analysing how citizens, then and now, are in a Foucauldian sense, 'kept in place by a complex web of social relations, mechanisms and prohibitions' (Mills 2004, 74).

Queer prism refraction

Throughout the 19th Century to be queer meant to be drunk. On one level it could mean simply to be intoxicated from alcohol. Alternatively, it can be used to describe an off-kilter or skewed feeling; even a radical disconnection from the world of normality. It was not until the late 19th Century that queer acquired the connotation of same-sex desire (Zieger 2008). Therefore, Victorian usage of queer had a restless life of its own. This, as Horner (as quoted in Haralson 1999, 192) points out, made its use 'powerful *because* it is multiple and ambiguous'. Thomas (2012) argues there is an alignment between Gothic and queer because both transgress boundaries and occupy liminal spaces; they both 'consistently interrogate ideas of what is "respectable" and what is "normal"'. In the novella Stevenson uses the word queer twice. First in the *Story of the door*, Enfield describes the place where

Hyde lives, 'No, sir, I make it a rule of mine: the more it looks like Queer Street, the less I ask' (Stevenson 1886, 11). And second, Poole's description of Hyde:

Then you must know as well as the rest of us that there was something queer about that gentleman—something that gave a man a turn—I don't know rightly how to say it, sir, beyond this: that you felt it in your marrow kind of cold and thin (79).

Thus, Hyde is dually identified as queer, and located as living in a queer setting. In one sense queer could indicate a puzzle that the other characters in the story are struggling to make sense of, as Hughes and Smith (as quoted in Younger 2018, 132) argue 'to be queer is to be different.' This is revealed through the reciprocal tension with the normative non-queer; therefore, in this sense, Hyde's queerness is confirmed through the reactions of the other characters. Enfield attempts to describe how unsettling he finds Hyde:

He is not easy to describe. There is something wrong with his appearance; something displeasing, something downright detestable. I never saw a man so disliked, and I scarcely know why. He must be deformed somewhere; he gives a strong feeling of deformity, although I couldn't specify the point. He is extraordinary looking man, and yet I really can name nothing out of the way. No sir; I can make no hand of it; I can't describe him. And it is not want of memory; for I declare I can see him this moment (Stevenson 1886, 8).

How the reader defines the displeasing, detestable, disliked and deformed state that eludes description, depends on two things: first, the assumptions they make about the fictional sexualities and; second, their awareness of lived sexualities including the writer's and their own. Rather like the optical illusions of Escher, Stevenson's mastery of presenting a narrative can be viewed from multiple interpretations, perspectives and simulations, leaving a critical reader swimming in possibilities, that have movement, fluidity and are hard to pin down. If the underlying assumption is that the writer, and all the characters bar Hyde are heteronormative, then the detestable is queer. However, if the novella is read from a queer perspective, and the underlying assumption is that Hyde is in fact repressing his queerness, and it is the apparent homophobic reactions to a social group he is attempting to distance himself from – then his ultimate self-destruction conveys a completely different message. We would suggest that to view the novella from the second perspective leads to a richer understanding of the narrative that Stevenson was fully aware of the variety of sexual identities that formed the basis of his readership, and that he deliberately contrived the story within the Victorian cultural anxieties, and ideals of manliness and sexuality at the time the text was written. As such, he produced a 'mosaic of possibilities' which counteract a heteronormative interpretation of the novella and suggest more complex interpretations of both motives and actions. This sits readily within turn of the Century gothic literature, as according to Benshoff (as quoted in Younger 2018, 131) it was 'even more explicit than their predecessors regarding the conflation of the monstrous with some form of queer sexuality'.

Contextual landscape

An exploration of the historical and cultural context of the book's publication also reveals the shifting landscape of both normal and queer. *Jekyll and Hyde* was conceived and written during a period in which 'homosexuality was ... a topic of considerable scientific interest' (Showalter 1992, 2) particularly for Victorian sexologists such as the

German-Austrian psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing who held the view ‘that homosexuals were less developed, in an evolutionary sense, than heterosexuals; that, in short, they exemplified a more primitive state of being’ (Sullivan 2003, 7). Blurring of boundaries or displays of ambiguity, whether sexual or gendered, were theorised by Krafft-Ebing to be indicative of ‘stunted evolutionary growth’ and were, therefore, ‘primitive, atavistic, or degenerate’ (8). Moreover, Stevenson’s novella was published in 1886, the same year as Krafft-Ebing’s influential *Psychopathia Sexualis* and, mere months after the infamous ‘Section 11’ was added to the Criminal Law Amendment Act (CLAA) of 1885. Under Section 11 of the CLAA

(Burnie 1885) acts of ‘gross indecency’ between men became ‘misdemeanours’ punishable with up to two years hard labour (Burnie 1885). According to Weeks (2018) a crusading journalist [R.T. Stead] provided the catalysts to this change in law, by sending his report on male prostitution to the writer, publisher, theatre and newspaper owner and Member of Parliament Henry Du Pré Labouchère. The Labouchère Amendment was passed, late at night, with few MPs present in the chamber during the second reading of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill (Fize 2020). Over time, it became known as the ‘Blackmailers Charter’ because the interpretation of ‘gross indecency’ offered law enforcers more flexibility in the identification of criminal acts than had been possible with the existing offence of ‘indecent assault’ (Weeks 2018, 107). Significantly, ‘gross indecency’ applied to both public and private conduct. Ergo, the amendment strengthened the disciplinary apparatus of the law and governance, legitimising and extending agency. Consequently, some queer behaviours, including what consenting adults did in private, were now criminalised, labelled as ‘gross indecency’ and subject to severe sentence. Within this overarching narrative, it is possible to suggest that ‘social safety’ or ‘respectability’ necessitated a distancing from all perceived ‘criminal’ behaviour.

Stevenson’s ‘damnable man’ (Stevenson 1886, 9), Edward Hyde, could be seen to be representative of a range of people fearful of being identified and persecuted as queer; compelling queerness to hide in plain sight by eliding with heteronormativity in order to evade suspicion. This required 19th Century queerness to compulsory ‘impression management’ (Goffman 1959) in order to disassociate itself from previous relationships and contexts, especially youthful ones. Stevenson (1886) skilfully weaves this anxiety into the narrative. Lying beneath a veneer of heteronormativity the novella reveals, through the homosocial interactions of the male-bonded characters, a dangerous undercurrent of a ‘nearly hysterical terror of revealing forbidden emotions’ (Showalter 1992, 4) that could, ‘like starting a stone’ (Stevenson 1886, 10), lead to ruinous ‘gross indecency’ accusations. Drawing upon the work of Freud, Sedgwick considers Gothic’s trope of paranoia to be the ‘psychosis that makes graphic the mechanisms of homophobia’ (Sedgwick 1985, 91). This is exemplified during Enfield’s sense making cogitations with Utterson in relation to Hyde’s access to Jekyll’s money: ‘Black mail, I suppose: an honest man paying through the nose for some of the capers of his youth’ (6); or the narrator’s reflection on Utterson’s past: ‘he was humbled to the dust by the many ill things he had done, and raised up again into a sober and fearful gratitude by the many that he had come so near to doing, yet avoided’ (29). However, it is Jekyll who is perceived by Utterson to be in:

deep water! He was wild when he was young; a long while ago, to be sure; but in the Law of God, there is not statute of limitations. Ah it must be that; the ghost of some old sin, the

cancer of some concealed disgrace; punishment coming, *pede claudo*, years after memory has forgotten and self-love condoned the fault (28).

Jekyll himself writes: 'To cast my lot with Jekyll was to die to those appetites which I had long secretly indulged and of late had of late begun to pamper' (124) whilst lamenting, 'to cast in with Hyde was to die to a thousand interests and aspirations, and to come, at a blow and for ever, despised and friendless.' This provides the motive for the subsequent split in the identity of this central character. It illustrates that 'deviant' ranges of sexuality needed to avoid an accusatory gaze from the empowered heterosexual classes, and the implications of this disciplinary mechanism of control (Foucault 1977) permeated all levels of society. Hyde's residence provides insight as to this need for safety. Enfield, describing Hyde's abode to Utterson, reveals: 'There are three windows looking on the court on the first floor; none below; the windows are always shut but they're clean' (Stevenson 1886, 11). Feasibly, the elevation of the windows enables Hyde to hide from prying eyes whilst offering him vantage in determining whether approaching others are a threat or not. However, it is their cleanliness that puzzles Enfield, capturing his attention, because it hints at a civilised domesticity, that is seemingly at odds with the 'sinister' and 'sordid negligence' (4) depiction of Hyde's area of residence.

Masculine significance

Writing and publishing *Jekyll and Hyde* within the milieu of 'homosexual panic' (Sedgwick 1985), Stevenson's portrayal of bachelorhood (if not associated with moral acts of piety and celibacy) could be interpreted, by some readers, as a dubious state of existence, believably masking something untoward within a man's character. The general absence of women, apart from fleeting, mostly disparaging, references, firmly locates the novella as male-centric thus positioning women as 'other' and inconsequential. 'All the main characters are middle-aged bachelors who have no relationships with women except as servants' (Showalter 1992, 5); therefore, the 'natural' state, in the context of this fiction, is masculinity with men living, arguably monastically, outside of marriage. This could represent a male decision to avoid the confinement of marriage, equally it could represent a male preference to avoid relationships with women, and as such it is necessary to consider the possibility that the characters that represent 'normal' masculinity in this context are homosexual, as is their homosocial community.

If, as Showalter (1990) argues, Hyde is a metaphor for homosexual repression, the text must be studied as an examination of the secretive but active homosexual subculture that existed, under oppressive 'public flurries' (Weeks 2018, 108) of homosexual panic, amongst the confines of London's urbane middle-class. Read as a tale of invisible, yet fully present, homosexuality the novella could be interpreted as the 'discovery and resistance of the homosexual self' (Showalter 1992, 4). If this is the case, then the book did, and still does provide 'a focus for new forms of homosexual consciousness and protest' (Weeks 2018, 108). Calls for legitimate protection, and legal rights, are inferred in the following exchange between Jekyll and the lawyer Utterson:

'But, I do sincerely take a great, a very great interest in that young man; and if I am taken away, Utterson, I wish you to promise me that you will bear with him and get his rights for him. I think you would, if you knew all; and it would be a weight off my mind if you would promise.'

'I can't pretend that I shall ever like him,' said the lawyer.

'I don't ask that,' pleaded Jekyll, laying his hand upon the other's arm; 'I only ask for justice; I only ask you to help him for my sake, when I am no longer here.' Utterson heaved an irrepressible sigh. 'Well,' said he, 'I promise.' (Stevenson 1886, 34)

We hold the view that the novella draws attention to the oppression of queerness, highlights thriving subcultures, and points to the self-annihilating consequences when dualities of identity cannot be reconciled. We also suggest that these themes are as pertinent now as they were when the book was conceived.

Contemporary landscape

Relatively recently a government National LGBT Survey Report (Government Equalities Office 2018a, 3) revealed that just over two-thirds of the people surveyed did not hold hands in public, for 'fear of a negative reaction from others.' This would indicate that Britain's contemporary lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and queer communities feel as much under public scrutiny, and fearful of identification as the characters presented in *Jekyll and Hyde*. Self-monitoring still determines public behaviour, even though laws have changed, and this suggests that the perceptions of the values of the broader society remain much as they were in the latter part of the 19th Century – 'a dialectic between male homosexuality and homophobia' (Sedgwick 1985, 92). Although Weeks argues, 'All men who expressed homosexual feelings faced the threat of exposure, potential prosecution, public shaming and social disaster' (2018, 108) we would contest that this should no longer be the case. It is only by acknowledging that *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* has 'an undercurrent' (Buzwell 2014) of homosexuality that reading it as such will promote and value queer cultural capital. Furthermore, Zieger (Zieger 2008, 164) reminds us that 'due to the insightful work of Wayne Koestenbaum, Stephen Heath, Elaine Showalter, and George Haggerty, this text has become part of the gay canon'. Therefore, it is right and proper that its queerness should be acknowledged and not follow the path of one of Gothic's most distinct tropes, the 'unspeakable' (Sedgwick 1985, 94). In addition, we agree with Gove (2013) that the cultural capital contained within this 19th Century British text has the capacity for progressive education capable of allowing learners to 'emancipate themselves from ignorance.' The loyalty, dignity, compassion and camaraderie that characterises the representations of the mature homosocial or homosexual community is a welcome relief from the more pervasive sexual representations that young people are bombarded with today. Not only do they present high status, socially acceptable/aspirational role models, a lawyer Utterson, and doctors Lanyon and Jekyll; the novella possibly infers how homophobia diminishes a person – leaving them 'small' (Stevenson 1886, 22) 'lost in stature' (112).

Querying the pedagogy

Troubling discomfort

This has, by no means, been an extensive analysis of the text from a queer perspective, it is a suggestive prompt to pique curiosity for educators and readers alike. We do hope that it

sets 'in motion a questioning of the status quo' (Benshoff 2020, 227) resulting in an array of divergent thinking and interpretation which not only 'seeks to interrogate processes of normalisation' (McCann and Monaghan 2020, 13) but critiques, destabilises, subverts and challenges the 'pervasive and largely invisible heterosexual norms that underpin society' (11). As Ahmed contends, 'normativity is comfortable for those who can inhabit it' (Ahmed 2014, 147). Applied to classroom contexts this 'comfort' nurtures a sense of 'well-being' and 'satisfaction' for those 'at ease in a world' because they see themselves reflected back as 'inhabiting the ideal' (147). Conversely, students who do not identify with heterosexual norms, will find the 'ideal' classroom a place of 'unease' and 'discomfort' since they do not see themselves reflected back in pedagogical action. In short, heteronormative pedagogical action is alienating for queer students. A young bisexual woman recounting her school experience in the government's National LGBT Survey Report (Government Equalities Office 2018b) articulates this discomfort and alienation:

My secondary school ... did not discuss sexual orientation or gender identity at all in any way targeted towards helping students. Sexual orientation (but not gender identity) was discussed in RE lessons in Year 11 as part of our Christian Ethics GCSE, and the experience of having LGBT people be discussed as if they were a hypothetical, as if there were none in the room, was very alienating. LGBT history was never discussed (108).

In addition, feelings of discomfort and alienation in school ecosystems may contribute to 'minority stress processes' (Meyer 2003) affecting wellbeing and mental health. Again, this is evidenced in the National LGBT Survey Report (Government Equalities Office 2018b):

Within the last year I have only just realised how widespread, and accepted by staff and other students, LGBT bullying was when I was at secondary school (2002 – 2008). I have now realised how much of a profound impact this had on my ability to be myself and come to terms with being gay. I believe this is now one of the reasons I struggle with negative mental health (120)

Arguably, 'minority stress' is experienced by the key protagonists in *Jekyll and Hyde* as well.

Troubling ecology

Whilst 'more people are identifying as LGBTQ at a younger age' (Robertson 2019, 50), a fact substantiated by the UK's Office for National Statistics (ONS) *Sexual orientation, UK: 2018 statistical bulletin* (ONS 2020) and by The Williams Institute UCLA School of Law's research publication *Coming Out Milestones: Factsheet* (Meyer 2018), it does not necessarily mean that, within school ecosystems, queer young people are given the 'space', as conceived by Lefebvre (1991), 'to be heard as human' (Colebrook 2009, 15) or assisted in the assemblage of their identity development which is privileged to those 'following the straight line' (Ahmed 2006, 70) of heteronormativity. This may be because, as Llewellyn (2019) posits, that former government policies enacted through Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act (now repealed) that prohibited local authorities from '(a) intentionally [promoting] homosexuality or [publishing] material with the intention of promoting homosexuality; (b) [promoting] the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship' (Local Government Act 1988 2020, Section 28) have left an enduring 'legacy' which 'continues to discretely support and legitimise' a 'them and us' culture. It is also plausible,

as research by Lee (2019) shows that for those LGBTQ educators who taught during Section 28 (years 1988 to 2003) there is an enduring 'legacy of caution, self-censorship and complex identity management' that continues to restrict or prevent inclusion of queerness during their pedagogical action thus depriving young people of visible role models. Arguably, these disciplinary self-silencing behaviours that Lee identifies in educators affected by Section 28 also extend to education policymakers who are gay, such as Minister of State for Schools, Nick Gibb. A relatively recent exchange in the House of Commons relating to the discussion of LGTBQ identities in schools reveals the linguistic tiptoeing that policymakers, such as Gibb, adopt by deferentially positioning this topic within schools as 'very sensitive' (HC Deb 20 March 2019 vol. 656 , c1147) as if to 'untrouble' heteronormative anxieties. Consequently, this perpetual appeasing of education's heterodominance continues to uphold and maintain an aura that any transgression of 'embedded assumptions of heterosexuality' (Neary 2013, 596) are taboo and should be silenced (Henderson 2019, 857). However, during the debate, Member of Parliament, Angela Eagle, countered Gibb's 'very sensitive' approach by reminding the heterodominant legislature that when LGBTQ identities are 'hidden' and made to feel 'ashamed' it 'leads to bullying, high levels of self-hatred and mental health issues, self-harm and sometimes even suicide' (HC Deb 20 March 2019 vol. 656, c1148). The similarities between the silencing milieu of Stevenson's novella and contemporary parliamentary debate, some 133 years later, are striking.

Troubling systems

Robertson (Robertson 2019, 47) reasons that we all 'make meaning of our sexual selves within the context of a patriarchal, heteronormative structural system, in which symbols of masculinity and homophobia, which reiterate the normalcy of heterosexuality, inform identity development.' Rather like 19th Century Gothic literature, school ecosystems create opportunities for young people to craft, test and refine their 'presentation of self' in 'front stage' settings (Goffman 1959). These presentations of self are underpinned by learned and socially influenced scripts which include scripts relating to sex and sexuality (Gagnon and Simon 2005). Schools, consciously or unconsciously, assist in their formation by valuing and privileging heteronormativity. Hence, heteronormative pedagogies 'reinforce the logic of the sexual order' (Robertson 2019, 50) whilst, simultaneously, cultivating feelings of otherness for students who interpret their non-normative expressions and desires as violating heteronormativity. To counteract this, Alexander (2008) would argue that reading, interpreting, discussing, analysing and writing about *Jekyll and Hyde* through a queer prism aids all students in the development of their 'sexual scripts'. These 'sexual scripts' operate over three distinct levels: the intrapsychic level through the stories we tell ourselves about 'sex and sexuality'; the interpersonal level as we 'negotiate sexual ideas, insights, feelings and experiences'; and the cultural level as we seek society's 'normative understandings and values for sex and sexuality' (45). As numerous scholars have attested, books are important aspect in the lives of gays and lesbians and, by extension, this includes all young people under the queer umbrella (Fuoss 1994). In many ways, Gothic's literary richness, whether located in the 19th Century or 21st Century, provides young people with a vast range of material to assist

in their identity assemblage. Querying readers can take heart that: ‘Gothic has, in a sense, always been queer’ (as quoted in Younger 2018, 144).

Troubling repression

Using the novella to explore queer themes aligns well with *Teachers’ Standards*

(Department for Education 2011), *Promoting fundamental British values as part of SMSC in schools*

(Department for Education 2014b) and the government’s statutory guidance on *Relationships Education, Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) and Health Education: Statutory Guidance for Governing Bodies, Proprietors, Head Teachers, Principals, Senior Leadership Teams, Teachers* (DFE 2019). It also allies with schools’ Public Sector Equality Duty (Equality Act 2010, Section 149) and Ofsted (2019c) inclusive pedagogical vision that school’s deliver ‘high-quality, ambitious, inclusive education for all learners’ especially ‘LGBT+ learners’ (10). Furthermore, the addition of descriptive terms such as patriarchy, heteronormativity, heterosexist, homosocial, hegemonic and homophobia not only bolsters the lexicon for analysis, particularly queer ones, it counteracts regimes of silence. Thus, this additional technical terminology boosts student linguistic capital and critiquing capabilities supporting further study. Moreover, it prepares emerging adults for diverse forms of future economic activity as well as equipping them with the necessary behavioural attributes to both participate and flourish fully in public life. Essentially, it endows society’s younger citizens with the tools necessary to not only identify mechanisms of oppression but to liberate themselves and others from them. Therefore, this inclusive reading of the novella supports Mansworth’s (2016) reasoning that with ‘eyes opened to the spaces that may lie within policy ... creative practices are not only possible but necessary in the literature classroom.’ It may also alleviate the ‘lonely flag bearer’ (Henderson 2019, 862) pressure that visible LGBTQ educators endure until queer pedagogies are utilised by all.

In summary, ‘sexuality is just one way people are queered by society’ (Robertson 2019, 58). Potentially anybody can be ‘queered’ if, like Hyde, ‘they exist outside of the dominant norm’. If *Jekyll and Hyde* is taught and analysed through a heteronormative cultural capital lens, pedagogical methodologies will persist in perpetuating the discomforting otherness and exclusion queer students experience in heterodominant learning localities. Essentially, their queer becomings are silenced and made invisible through non-queer pedagogic actions of ‘symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990, 5) via the imposition of heterodominant hegemonic cultural capitals on to emerging queer identities. This heteronormative pedagogic device restricts, coerces, homogenises and shapes human expression into folds that do not trouble those in control. In effect, through pedagogic censorship and disciplines of silencing (Foucault 1978), queer becomings are pervasively dissuaded from unfolding and displaying their humanness in social spaces, to prevent troubling the ecology of heteronormativity. Only when *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* is read and analysed with a queer critical prism, will repressive silencing regimes and queer resistive qualities be revealed to all students, queer and non-queer alike. This, we consider, will aid in equalising heteronormative and queer cultural capitals ‘in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body’ (Bourdieu 2004, 17). Not only is a queer reading ‘tempting’ but it ‘works’ (Welsh 2007).

To conclude, it is our opinion that if cultural capital is deemed to be a necessary educational asset by policymakers then all children must be equipped with rich and diverse cultural capitals that encourage intellectual curiosity and creativity so they can thrive in modern day Britain. As Bernstein (1970) notes, 'education cannot compensate for society', however, it can aspire to provide 'incubators of democracy'. Thus, in the tradition of Paulo Freire, we invite educators to queer their pedagogies and cultural capital to not only emancipate queer students but, in the words of Michael Gove (2013), liberate all 'young people from the chains of ignorance'.

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