# THESIS WRITING SEMINAR Part 1

What is an MA Thesis?

### Thesis as a chair

#### **THESIS**

Sometimes I say that writing a novel is the same as constructing a chair: a person must be able to sit in it, to be balanced on it. If I can produce a great chair, even better. But above all I have to make sure that it has four stable feet.

José Saramago



### Academic publications:

Monograph
Edited volume
Journal article (double-blind peer review)

### Sources/data:

Primary (interviews, datasets, documents, diaries, photos, recordings... everything that has not been analysed)

Secondary (textbooks, monographs, edited volumes, journal articles... everything that has been already analysed and published)

You have to critically evaluate secondary sources and collect primary data (create your own empirical corpus)

# Thesis proposal

#### INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH AND STUDIES ON EASTERN EUROPE (MIREES)

#### THESIS PROPOSAL FORM

Name and surname:
Matriculation number:
Supervisor:
TITLE Please provide a tentative title of your thesis
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
BACKGROUND [literature review]
What is your topic? Why is this topic important? What is known about your topic? What have other authors already argued?
What is known about your topic: What have other authors arready argued:
RESEARCH QUESTIONS
What is your research question?
What would you like to find out?
RESEARCH HYPOTHESES
What do you expect to find?
What is your preliminary argument?
RESEARCH DESIGN [methods]
What are your data collection and data analysis methods?
Are there any ethical issues that your research raises?
WORK PLAN
How do you plan to go about your research in terms of time?  Please provide a tentative schedule of your activities with deadlines
riease provide a tentative scriedule or your activities with deadilifes
REFERENCES
Please list all of the works you referred to above using the APA referencing style

### How does an MA thesis look like?

MA thesis

Demonstrates your ability to do a piece of research independently i.e. to evaluate and produce knowledge

Empirical Original

Structured

### THESIS STRUCTURE

Title

**Abstract** 

**Table of Contents** 

Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References

### THESIS STRUCTURE

Title

**Abstract** 

**Table of Contents** 

Introduction

Literature Review

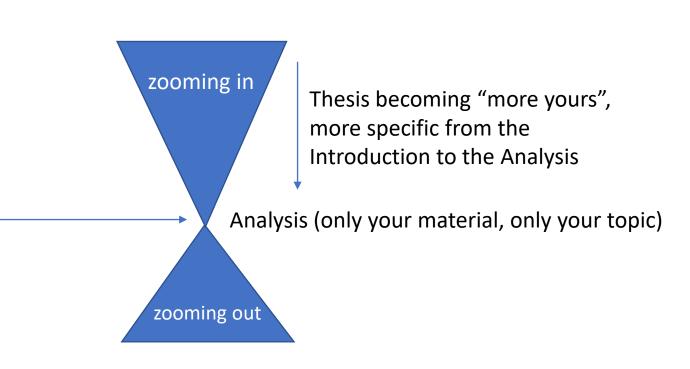
Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References



### Title Example

#### **Title**

**Abstract** 

Table of Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

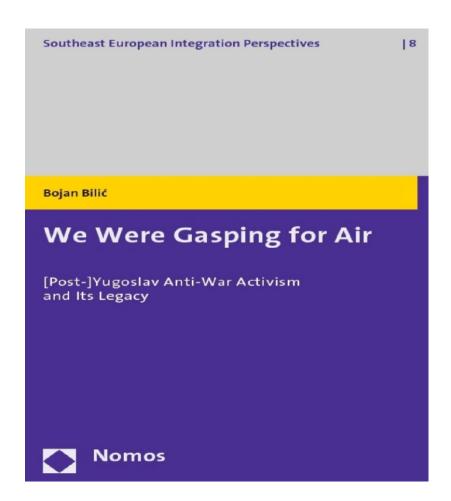
Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References





## Abstract Example 1 (≈250 words)

#### Title

### **Abstract**

Table of Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

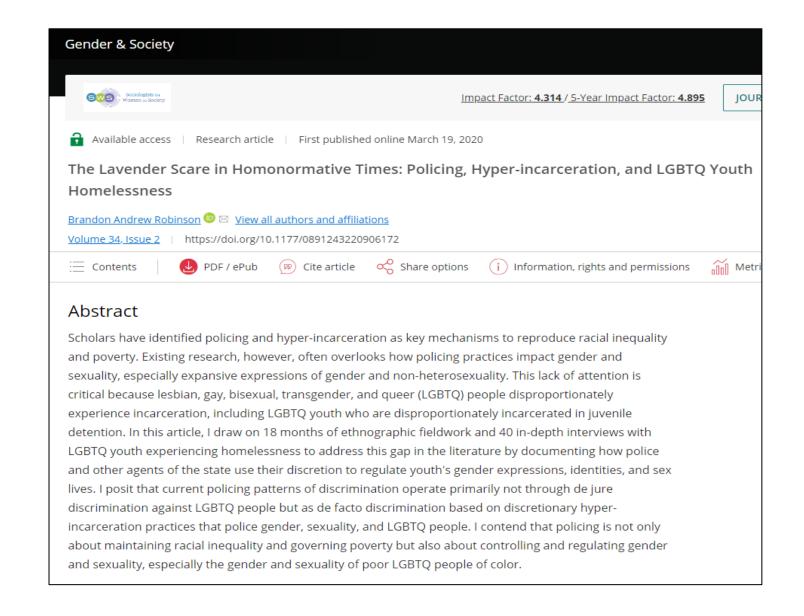
Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References

**Appendices** 



an abstract is a summary of all major thesis parts

### Abstract Example 1

Knowledge gap!

**Abstract** 

**Literature review** 

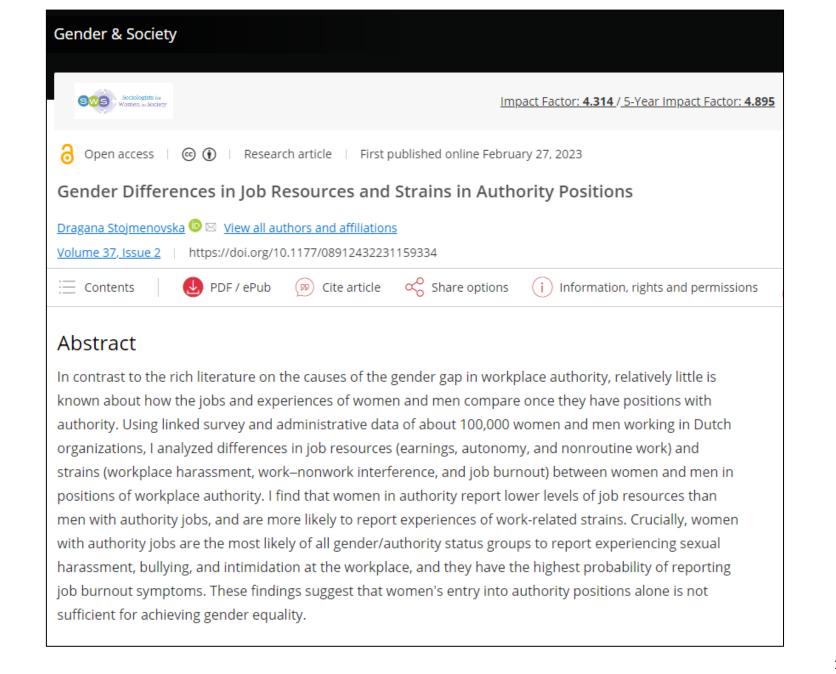
**Scholars have identified** policing and hyper-incarceration as key mechanisms to reproduce racial inequality and poverty. Existing research, however, often overlooks how policing practices impact gender and sexuality, especially expansive expressions of gender and non-heterosexuality. This lack of attention is critical because lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people disproportionately experience incarceration, including LGBTQ youth who are disproportionately incarcerated in juvenile detention. In this article, I draw on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork and 40 in-depth interviews with LGBTQ youth experiencing homelessness to address this gap in the literature by documenting how police and other agents of the state use their discretion to regulate youth's gender expressions, identities, and sex lives. I posit that current policing patterns of discrimination operate primarily not through de jure discrimination against LGBTQ people but as de facto discrimination based on discretionary hyper-incarceration practices that police gender, sexuality, and LGBTQ people. I contend that policing is not only about maintaining racial inequality and governing poverty **but also about** controlling and regulating gender and sexuality, especially the gender and sexuality of poor LGBTQ people of color.

Why does this matter?

Method

**Results/Argument** 

### Abstract Example 2



### Abstract Example 2

**Abstract** 

Literature review

**Knowledge gap!** 

In contrast to the rich literature on the causes of the gender gap in workplace authority, relatively little is known about how the jobs and experiences of women and men compare once they have positions with authority. Using linked survey and administrative data of about 100,000 women and men working in Dutch organizations, I analyzed differences in job resources (earnings, autonomy, and nonroutine work) and strains (workplace harassment, work nonwork interference, and job burnout) between women and men in positions of workplace authority. I find that women in authority report lower levels of job resources than men with authority jobs, and are more likely to report experiences of work-related strains. Crucially, women with authority jobs are the most likely of all gender/authority status groups to report experiencing sexual harassment, bullying, and intimidation at the workplace, and they have the highest probability of reporting job burnout symptoms. These findings suggest that women's entry into authority positions alone is not sufficient for achieving gender equality.

Method

**Results/Argument** 

**Discussion/Implications** 

### Table of Contents Example 1

### Clara Lhullier's thesis: Divergent Roads to Power: Lesbian Politicians in Serbia and Brazil

Title

**Abstract** 

Table of Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References

**Appendices** 

#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
Chapter 1: Lesbianity and feminism: A relationship
Chapter 2: Uncovering lesbian feminist and LGBT movements in Brazil: From resistance in dictatorial times to policymaking
Chapter 3: Feminist lesbian legacies of the (post-) Yugoslav space: Together in wartime, apart in capitalism
Chapter 4: Methods       52         4.1 Getting intimate: Reflexivity, positionality, and voice       53         4.2 The politics of naming: "Marielle" and "Brnabić"       55         4.3 Interviews       56         4.4 Documentary analysis       60

3	apter 5: A new way of doing politics: The collective power of Marielle Franco
	i
	5.4 "Woman, Black and favelada": Intersectionality and lesbian existence in Brazil
5	5.5 Marielle's legacy: "We lost so much, that we lost fear"
Ch	apter 6: From transgression to status quo: Ana Brnabić in the political sphere
	5.1 Can the body speak for itself?
	5.2 "We a country with no LGBT rights, and a lesbian Prime Minister"
	5.3 Visibility without agency? Ana Brnabić's class privilege
	5.4 Looking for sexual freedom: The experiences of lesbian lives in Serbia
(	5.5 A lesbian legacy?
	apter 7: What is left of the Lavender Menace? Lesbian politicians in homonationalist and
	nonormative times
	7.1 Coming together: A new body in the political sphere
	7.2 When sovereignty meets sexuality: Homonationalist times
	7.3 The Ascendancy of Homonormativity: Detaching Lesbianity and Feminism
	7.4 Out in Brazil and Serbia: Navigating homonationalist and homonormative times 11
7	7.5 Conclusion
Ref	Ferences 12

4.5 Ethical considerations

# Table of Contents Example 2

### Silvia Trevisani's thesis:

#### Women's Court: A Feminist Approach to Justice in the Post-Yugoslav Space

Table of Contents	
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Transitional justice in the post-Yugoslav space	7
1.1 First steps towards justice: The ICTY and its legacy	11
1.2 Searching for alternatives: Restorative justice	21
Chapter 2: Women, anti-war activism, and justice	29
2.1 Feminist anti-war activism	30
2.2 Women and justice	35
2.3 Reclaiming justice: Women's Courts	40
Chapter 3: Methods	43
2.1 Reflexivity and positionality	44
2.2 Interviews	46
2.3 Documentary Material	50
Chapter 4: Towards the Women's Court	53
4.1 "We set on the table in our regional meetings": The birth of an idea	53
4.2 Why a Women's Court?	58
4.3 Inventing new strategies through feminist principles	65
4.4 The ethics of care: Working with witnesses	69
4.5 Problems encountered	72
Chapter 5: The Women's Court	78
5.1 "Women together for a fair peace": Sarajevo, 2015	78
5.2 "Sometimes we laughed, sometimes we cried": Witnessing at the Court	83
5.3 Conclusions and recommendations	88
5.4 "It cannot be called project, it is a process": After 2015	90
	v

5.5 Thinking about the possible impacts93	
Chapter 6: The Women's Court: A space of political transformation101	
6.1 From RECOM to the Women's Court: The challenges of a regional process.101	
6.2 Together, again: The Women's Court as a safe-haven108	
6.3 The Women's Court and trauma transformation116	
Conclusion124	
References	
Appendices	

### Introduction (≈10%)

Opening Paragraph Example where and when are we?

Title

**Abstract** 

Table of Contents

#### Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References

**Appendices** 

#### Introduction: In post-Yugoslav trans worlds

Bojan Bilić, Iwo Nord, and Aleksa Milanović

Towards the end of December 2020, as we were entering the most intense phase of our work on this volume, the three of us joined many of our friends, colleagues, and co-authors in signing a statement with which a group of Belgrade-based organisations and activists condemned transphobia and sent a message of support to trans people across the region.1 This document was a response to the letter2 that another set of activist initiatives published to show solidarity with the Zagreb Centre for Women's Studies. They felt compelled to do so given that the Centre came under fire once it was revealed that its newly elected executive director had reposted some of the controversial comments with which J.K. Rowling disputed trans women's right to identify as women. Trans hostility, which was (also) uncritically imported from middle class-oriented fractions of British feminism, quickly merged with the more radical and conservative currents within the field of regional activist politics to form a particularly regressive hybrid (Bilić, this volume). All of a sudden wombs, chromosomes, hormones, and genes came to be tossed around in endless angry debates similar to those one might imagine taking place at a biology symposium (Bakić, 2020). Not only did such an incursion of essentialising attitudes, accompanied by spirals of cynicism, inflict a great deal of personal damage, but it also offered us an opportunity to witness how our feminist and leftist arenas, already reduced to the point of almost complete political irrelevance, became fractured yet again, this time along a new - trans - line.

When the three of us met in the spring of 2019 for an initial brainstorming on how a volume about trans lives, activisms, and culture in the post-Yugoslav space should look, hardly could anyone have imagined that we³ would find ourselves in the midst of a 'TERF war' (Pearce et al, 2020) by the time of its completion. Although we came together prompted by the need for an anthology that would start documenting the still rather dispersed threads of trans existence and activist engagement in our region, little did we expect that the importance of our joint endeavour would increase at such a pace. Perhaps we should have seen it coming. On closer inspection, this latest reconfiguration is little more than yet another symptom of the process through which fragments of the regional feminist 'scene' have distanced themselves from the emancipatory potential of their socialist past and become

### Introduction

Introducing your topic, identifying a knowledge gap, outlining your argument/contribution

Starting to zoom in on the knowledge gap...

Our article starts to fill this lacuna...

capital city and its administration is restricted to the team members. In spite of the intense participation of Serbian medical experts in international scientific gatherings, systematic studies regarding the situation of TGNB people are still lacking, especially in the domain of mental health approached from a non-pathological perspective.

Our article starts to fill this lacuna by engaging with the ways in which TGNB people in contemporary Serbia have responded to the series of mental health-related challenges they face in everyday life. We rely upon semi-

### Introduction

#### Clara Lhullier's thesis:

Divergent Roads to Power: Lesbian Politicians in Serbia and Brazil

Relevance of the Research

Queer International Relations Theory deals primarily with how operations of international power are shaped by sexual norms and logics (Richter-Montpetit, 2013). In this sense, Queer Theory has much to add to International Relations, as it exposes dimensions of queerness and sexuality that have so far been missed in the international politics field. I am particularly interested in looking at this gap. In this thesis, I explore this interaction to think about how non-heterosexual – and non-normative – identities are normalized, capitalized upon, and disciplined by states, NGOs, and international policies for political purposes (Weber, 2016). While states have treated LGBT identities as stable, rights-seeking, and monolithic categories, I am interested in queering fixed notions of sexuality and gender. With this in mind, I argue that these dichotomies are not only constructed but the product of (colonial) power relations (Butler, 1996; Lugones, 2010). Such dynamics are the starting point for my analysis of Marielle Franco and Ana Brnabić, as their appearance as lesbian women in politics can only be understood through the axes of national inclusion of certain non-heterosexuals at the cost of excluding others.

A second reason which led to my interest in this topic has to do with a consistent lack of literature – including in feminist academic thinking – about lesbian women (Rich, 1980; Belmont & Ferreira, 2020). When it comes to LGBT movements, literature often presents itself as male-centered, leaving lesbian activism and organizing out of the discussion. When it comes to feminist theory, lesbianity has often been a marginal topic, as it was understood as mere sexual preference or a mirror image of male homosexual relations. For lesbian women who

Structure of the thesis

My literature review is structured into three chapters. The first offers an in-depth look at the appearance of lesbianity in the second-wave feminism, and how this relationship is transformed with the adoption of a neoliberal capitalist political economy and the emergence of homonationalism and homonormativity as predominant dynamics when it comes to sovereignty and sexuality. The subsequent two chapters of my literature review offer a detailed look at how the relationship between lesbianity and feminism takes place in Brazil and Serbia. Chapter 2 explains some of the challenges faced by lesbian feminist activists during the dictatorship period and shows how a first alliance with the predominantly male homosexual movement was later replaced with the initiative lesbians took to look for their own spaces and enact the first instances of lesbian speakability. It moves on to the increased institutionalization of LGBT movements during the democratic opening, a process that was already established by the time when the Labor Party took over the presidency, in 2004. From there, I show how an LGBT rights discourse appears embedded within the institutional framework, until the election of Jair Bolsonaro in 2018. Finally, I focus on Marielle Franco's trajectory which took place around the same timeframe, and on the mobilization tide led by black activists after her death.

Chapter 3 starts with the sequences of feminist meetings that took place in Yugoslavia, accompanied by the first acts of lesbian speakability in the region. Akin to Brazil, I show how the former engagement of lesbians in LGBT movements was later replaced by groups dedicated to lesbian women. I look at how the Yugoslav wars cracked some of the feminist and lesbian initiatives, while some continued during the capitalist transition. I show how patriarchal backlash and nationalism undermined previous lesbian feminist alliances, and how LGBT

Theoretical framework

What do we already know?

What should the reader know to be able to follow and understand your argument?

What have other authors argued?

Where is a knowledge gap?

Not a list/enumeration of names:

Smith argues that... Johnson argues that....

Not a list of journals... no journal names should appear...

Literature review is a **function** of this chapter/these chapters, it should not be its/their title

Discriminatory attitudes that devalue TGNB persons may lead to harassment and violence as well as to internalized transphobia. A systemic bias based on the idea that gender identities are assigned at birth and are not a matter of self-identification may negatively affect TGNB mental health. A growing body of research has shown that trans people are at disproportionate risk of negative mental health outcomes when compared with the general population (Bockting et al., 2013; Budge et al., 2013, this is especially true for non-binary persons; Burgwal et al., 2019; Grant et al., 2011; McNeil et al., 2012; Smiley et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2014; White & Fontenot, 2019). TGNB people are more likely to become estranged from their families and may be more easily rejected by their peers and the wider social environment which compromises their emotional wellbeing (Aylagas-Crespillo et al., 2018; McCann & Sharek, 2016; White & Fontenot, 2019). High levels of stigma and discrimination, compounded by material hardship, may lead to anxiety, depression, suicidal thoughts and attempted suicides, and various life-threatening behaviors (e.g. substance use), particularly among TGNB youth with insufficient parental support (McConnell et al., 2016; Robles et al., 2016; Simons et al., 2013; Taliaferro et al., 2018; Valentine & Shipherd, 2018; Veale et al., 2017). A study conducted in Ireland (Transgender Equality Network Ireland, 2013), for example, showed that 78% of trans people had considered suicide. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that health care services are often not sensitive toward TGNB issues and psychotherapists lack skills for working more effectively with trans clients (Ho & Mussap, 2017; McCann & Sharek, 2016; Valentine & Shipherd, 2018).

Moreover, TGNB people may be reluctant to seek mental health assistance due to fear of discrimination and rejection in medical settings with their long history of trans pathologization. Both major classification systems, the International Classification of Diseases (ICD) and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM), have categorized various forms of incongruence between gender identity and sex assigned at birth as mental health disorders under different codes and diagnoses. DSM-5 (2013) still uses the diagnosis of gender dysphoria (albeit outside of the binary paradigm), and ICD-11 (2019) has de-psychopathologized trans identities and moved it from the chapter on mental and behavioral disorders to a separate category on states related to sexual health. This has been

Title Abstract Table of Contents Introduction Literature Review Methods **Analysis** (Results) Discussion [Conclusion] References **Appendices** 

### Literature Review

### Don't give full book titles:

X In the book *Explaining the Phenomenon A*, Miller (2023) argues that the phenomenon A has three major dimensions.

### Instead:

It has been suggested that the phenomenon A has three major dimensions (Miller, 2023). These are...

### Methods (≈10%)

- 1. General considerations
- 2. Data Collection
- 3. Data Analysis
- 4. Ethics

longer in a thesis shorter in a paper

Literature review is **not** a part of the Methods chapter!

Literature review is **not** a method!

#### **CHAPTER 4**

#### METHODS

Researching lesbian lives is challenging for many reasons. First, by choosing to look at two different women, and engaging in the unusual comparison between Brazil and Serbia, I always felt at risk of making spurious assumptions without considering the legacies of lesbian feminism - and the subsequent separation of lesbianity and feminism - in each country. Moreover, I had to deal with different temporalities: Marielle Franco was murdered in 2018 and is no longer in power, and Ana Brnabić has remained the Prime Minister of Serbia from 2017 until today. The same goes for how challenges faced by activists to engage in lesbian feminism in each country. While activists in Serbia were caught between patriarchal backlash, regime transition, and pervasive nationalism during and right after the Yugoslav wars, in Brazil, the post-dictatorship context along with the quick shift to a neoliberal political economy posed different obstacles to lesbian feminist activism. For this reason, I paid particular attention not to treat time as an equal sequence for both cases, but to consider particular processes and complexities from each of them during my comparison. Finally, my concerns with being intersectionally sensitive inevitably led me to think about the demographics of whom I am interviewing. In this sense, questions like the following arose: Who am I able to reach? Who is being silenced in my analysis? Who is the most visible? Have I looked at all possible views of the issue? How can I broaden my analysis with such a small sample?

The first decision I made was not to be concerned with a positivist perspective that treats reality as given and relies on the possibility of demonstrating "factual information" based on an objective, unbiased view as a researcher. This made more sense, as I was interested in following a Social Constructionist tradition that looks at the meanings attached to the events in question, and how people make sense of their own world (Quinn, 2015). As such, I focused on the "multiple realities constructed by different groups of people and the implications of those constructions for their lives and interactions with others. Any notion of "truth," then, becomes a matter of shared meanings and consensus among a group of people, not correspondence with

Title **Abstract** Table of Contents Introduction Literature Review Methods **Analysis** (Results) Discussion [Conclusion] References **Appendices** 

### Analysis/Results (≈30%)

Title

**Abstract** 

Table of Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

Analysis

(Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

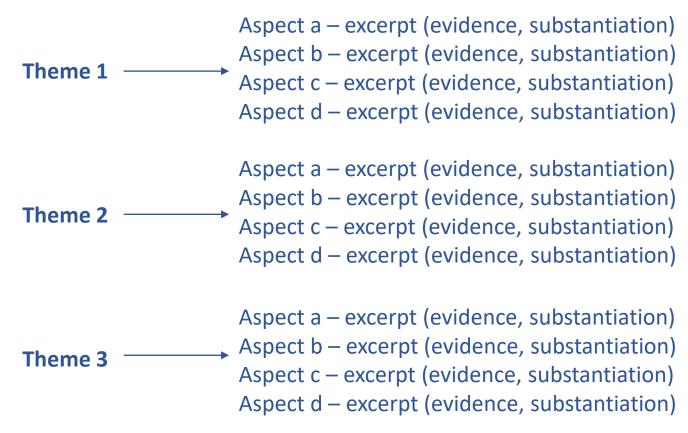
References

**Appendices** 

# ONLY YOUR MATERIAL argument + evidence

### Analysis

Thematic/content analysis Example



## Analysis Example

#### Results

On the basis of our empirical material, we identified three elements of group operation: (1) information, support, and community, (2) navigating the medical/psychiatric system, and (3) dealing with gender binarism.

#### Information, support, and community

The Geten self-help group is imagined as a safe-haven for TGNB people from Serbia and other countries and it tries to forge cooperation with similar initiatives across the region and internationally. One of the most important and explicit functions of the group is to provide support and offer information about TGNB-related issues. As one interviewee (personal communication, December 2019) states:

It is the sense of community that the group gives that was important when I decided to join ... A sense of belonging ... The possibility to exchange experiences ... It is easier to complain about bad experiences, like those with doctors, when there is someone who has gone through the same things as you have ... So the group is an opportunity for us to learn about how others are coping with their problems ... Sometimes you hear something positive, other times more negative, but regardless of that, there is someone you can identify with and someone who can understand you ...

#### 8 ( J. VIDIĆ AND B. BILIĆ

The same aspect is brought up by another interviewee who joined the group to have an opportunity to meet other trans people on a regular basis. They state (personal communication, December 2019):

What was crucial for me about participation was the fact that the group is a place where I could meet more trans people than anywhere else... Different trans people... There is that dimension of safe space... Especially when you do not know anyone... All of a sudden there is a room full of trans persons...

However, even though the group tends to be perceived as a secure place where difficult experiences can be exchanged, one respondent (personal communication, December 2019) talks about how there are limits as to what can be shared among group participants. These mostly pertain to mental health-related difficulties that are rarely brought up in an explicit fashion within group discussions. Some group members may not be sure

### **DISCUSSION (≈20%)**

NO NEW EMPIRICAL MATERIAL FROM THIS POINT!

(e.g. don't mention your interviewees or give interview excerpts)

**ZOOMING OUT** 

Going beyond the empirical material

Answering the why question

Revisiting the literature review in the light of your analysis "entering into a dialogue with other authors"

Reflexive/theoretical generalisations

What has remained unanswered and suggestions for further research

Title

**Abstract** 

Table of

Contents

Introduction

Literature

Review

Methods

Analysis (Results)

**Discussion** 

[Conclusion]

References

**Appendices** 

It is possible to have Analysis & Discussion together

# Discussion Example

Restatement of the problem

Summary of the findings

What is surprising?

Zooming out – longer-term perspective

Zooming out – longer-term perspective

#### Discussion

Despite developments concerning psychiatric gatekeeping and legal gender recognition, the TGNB population in Serbia is still exposed to discriminatory attitudes that lead to major problems in terms of mental health. Our interviews with members of the Geten self-help group point to the prevalence of negative experiences with, and emphasize the necessity for paying more attention to, mental health services. Even though there have been significant improvements in the status of TGNC people over the last three decades, Serbia is still not complying fully with international recommendations and standards (e.g. self-determination in the area of legal gender recognition and implementation of SOC7 in the medical sphere). With this in mind, we have shown that the Geten group constitutes a grassroots response to this entrenched psychopathologization and helps its members feel part of a wider community. While it offers strategies for navigating the labyrinth of psychiatric/medical power, it does not always manage to escape

14 ( J. VIDIĆ AND B. BILIĆ

the normative gender binarism that pervades the socio-political space in which it is embedded.

That there is a hard line separating men from women even within the self-help group is not only a matter of general patriarchal values (Bilić, 2020), but also an orientation strengthened through more than three decades of knowledge accumulation within the Gender Identity Team responsible for allowing and performing gender reassignment surgeries (Nord, 2019; Zulević, 2012). The medical/pathologizing outlook on trans lives based on the idea of gender binarism is still surprisingly resilient, posing an obstacle to TGNB people's willingness to seek mental health assistance.

The hegemony of the medical model in Serbia, in contrast to some other post-Yugoslav states, <sup>1</sup> is associated with the fact that gender-affirming surgeries have been taking place in Belgrade since the 1980s. Given that groundbreaking surgical interventions started years ahead of any activist claims for trans liberation, rapidly accumulating medical knowledge has gained an upper hand over the voice of TGNB persons themselves. The first more differentiated as well as publically and collectively articulated trans grievances appeared only in the wake of democratic changes that started with the fall of the authoritarian Milošević regime in October 2000. By that time the medical discourse on "transgender condition" had already become rooted not only in psychopathology, but also in the idea that sex and gender are overlapping binary categories.

Sava Perović, professor of urology at the University of Belgrade Faculty

#### Dealing with gender binarism

Throughout our interviews, gender binarism appears as the dominant issue that group members have to negotiate both in their personal lives as well as in group meetings. In this regard, legal regulation reflected entrenched perceptions about the social world being divided into two genders which have largely persisted up to this day coloring the operation of the group. As one respondent states (personal communication, December 2019):

A considerable number of trans people in Serbia are interested in entering into transition, getting a diagnosis quickly, starting with hormones, doing surgeries and then blending into the society ... Normally they do this because they want to protect themselves and decrease discrimination. In Western countries, there is a huge number of those who want to go into the process of gender affirmation, but there are also those who do not want to modify their bodies, but do want to change their gender identity. I personally have not done any medical interventions, my transgender identity comprises me using masculine pronouns and a name which is considered masculine in my environment.

The adherence to the idea of gender binarism would perhaps not be so strong within the group were it not reinforced by the dominant psychiatric discourse encountered, in one form or the other, by many TGNB persons across the region. As one group member states (personal communication, December 2019):

... psychiatrists are, in principle, promoting the following view: you have gender dysphoria, you have the so-called F64 diagnosis and the cure for that is surgery... once your surgery is done, that diagnosis disappears, meaning that you are no longer trans... you are then a man or a woman... but it's not like that only in Serbia... we recently had a regional meeting and many people said that those who would admit to their psychiatrists that they were non-binary would unnecessarily prolong their hormonal treatments and the whole procedure... it is similar with non-heterosexual information ... maybe it is now a bit better than it used to be, but it is still like that ... interestingly enough, psychiatrists still tend to ask you also about your sexual orientation ... like who you go out with ... even though that is completely irrelevant ...

The fact that many people do not only sever their links with their psychiatrists, as one group member pointed out above, but also stop coming to group meetings once their gender-affirming surgery has been completed, testifies to the power of binary gender conceptions among group members. They seem less interested in being associated with the Belgrade trans collective when they start feeling more secure about being a man or a woman (there is currently only one person who continued to attend the meetings after surgery). The pressure to conform to the gender norm – which

16 (A) J. VIDIĆ AND B. BILIĆ

Irrespective of the fact that it may still be unsure about how to confront the challenge of reproducing gender norms that are at the root of genderrelated oppression, the Geten self-help group represents a crucial convergence point for TGNB people in Serbia and the wider region. In the local milieu still characterized by high levels of transphobia, there is probably no place with such a concentration of trans-related knowledge. In this regard, the group goes beyond immediate empowerment to constitute an epistemic community engaged in developing a critical and analytical perspective visà-vis the norms of medicine as well as in continually negotiating and acknowledging embodied trans experience. While the group for the time being lacks wider social visibility, the experience of its members has informed the legal solutions that Geten has proposed to destabilize gender norms and advance the social status of TGNB people in the country. With the legal weakening of the psychiatric dimension in TGNB lives, it is to be expected that official institutions providing trans (mental) health care will increasingly turn to such community initiatives for information and advice.

Updating mental health services is particularly important in a period in which transgender has officially ceased to be regarded as a mental health disorder, and clinical understanding of transgender has shifted from a male/female dichotomy to a spectrum. In their Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Transgender and Gender Nonconforming People, the American Psychological Association (2015) states that a non-binary understanding of gender is fundamental to the provision of affirmative care for TGNB people. The Association calls for psychologists and other mental health professionals to take a leadership role in ending transphobic discrimination. Although significant advances in this direction have taken place over the last few years, Serbia, along with many of its neighbors, has structural rule of law difficulties which distort law implementation. New nondiscriminatory and trans-affirming legal solutions are, nevertheless, crucial and it is to be expected that the bill about gender identity and the rights of intersex persons, proposed by Geten, should be adopted in the near future. It will constitute a platform upon which community-generated knowledge can be shared among all interested parties. Activist organizations' alternative forms of mental health care and support, which are in synchrony with the global movement for gender and non-heterosexual liberation, can help to transform mainstream mental health policies rendering them more sensitive to the needs of TGNB individuals.

Finally, this article has provided an insight into how the medical model informs everyday life and mental health of a group of TGNB people in Serbia gathered around a self-help initiative. Given that this area is still underdeveloped, our research has only begun to map the most significant topics that need to be examined in more detail. We would emphasize the

### The End of Discussion (conclusion, in a paper)

Example 1

Finally, this article has provided an insight into how the medical model informs everyday life and mental health of a group of TGNB people in Serbia gathered around a self-help initiative. Given that this area is still underdeveloped, our research has only begun to map the most significant topics that need to be examined in more detail. We would emphasize the

JOURNAL OF GAY & LESBIAN MENTAL HEALTH ( 17



need for more systematic research on mental health and, in particular, the impact of gender binarism on the mental health of TGNB community. There are limitations regarding our sample: in the first place in terms of its size and demographic structure. Our sample consisted mainly of young adults residing in Belgrade and cannot be representative of the wider TGNB community in Serbia. It would, therefore, be useful to focus on the question of gender binarism and its impact on health practice and mental health of TGNC people living outside of the capital and from younger and older age groups.

### The End of Discussion (conclusion, in a thesis)

Example 2

Clara's thesis

context, which covers mostly Western developments of neoliberalism in the United States and Europe throughout the late twentieth century. As such, while this framework was productive to look at feminism and lesbianity in this thesis, it may not be adequate to look at other lesbian women in politics that appear at different times or/and spaces in history, especially given that temporalities differ in spaces that escape a Western logic of time as sequence. Moreover, the question of generational differences in terms of whether present-day lesbians enjoy more sexual liberation than previous generations was often raised among interviewees and remains unclear. This is because of two reasons: first, homonormativity and homonationalism further complicate a linear idea of progress towards sexual emancipation; second, because sexual freedom and generational differences cannot be dissociated from intersectionality, they may differ across space, class and race.

In addition, while the frameworks in question are useful to look at lesbian women in politics, I encountered challenges when it comes to uncovering and discussing grassroots, local networks of lesbian activists which would normally be placed in the abject sphere. This may be because dichotomies between the homo-normative and the homo-deviant might leave little space to think of resistance possibilities beyond this framework, as it assumes that outsider bodies will either be assimilated or eliminated. Finally, the position of trans lesbian women and their relation to sexual and gender arrangements of neoliberal capitalism remain to be further uncovered in future research. Moreover, due to restrictions in terms of space and time, in this thesis, I only managed to cover a small sample of spatial dimensions in Serbia and Brazil, which left certain lesbian identities out of my analyses.

In this sense, I suggest that further research would be needed to continue the decolonial approach I have outlined so far. For example, in Brazil it would be productive to look specifically at women of color away from urban centers – for instance, lesbian women who are also indigenous – to look at their own forms of activist engagement and inquire about what lesbian women in politics bring or not to "minorities" in remote spaces away from decision-making centers. Given the legacies of Yugoslav feminist lesbian activism, it would be useful to look at how other non-heterosexual women in the (post-) Yugoslav Space perceive lesbian politicians while keeping in mind the lesbian feminist principles embraced by activists throughout the last decades of the Yugoslav regime.

### References

A referencing style should be used consistently

I recommend the APA (American Psychological Association).

A referencing style does not have to do only with your references, it helps you with the formatting of the whole document.

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18 ( J. VIDIĆ AND B. BILIĆ

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Title Abstract Table of Contents Introduction Literature Review Methods **Analysis** (Results) Discussion [Conclusion] References **Appendices** 

### Appendices

In this part of the thesis, you can put e.g. your interview guide or any other material that substantiates your argument but for which there is not place anywhere else in the thesis (e.g. a longer published statement of a collective you study).

If you have more than one appendix, you can number them in the following way

Appendix A Appendix B

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Title

**Abstract** 

Table of Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

Methods

Analysis (Results)

Discussion

[Conclusion]

References

#### Clara's thesis:

#### Divergent Roads to Power: Lesbian Politicians in Serbia and Brazil

	TABLE OF CONTENTS	
Introduction	Introduction	1
Lit Review	Chapter 1: Lesbianity and feminism: A relationship	8
Lit Review	Chapter 2: Uncovering lesbian feminist and LGBT movements in Brazil: From resistance in dictatorial times to policymaking	13 14 t 19
Lit Review	Chapter 3: Feminist lesbian legacies of the (post-) Yugoslav space: Together in wartime, apart in capitalism	, 32 33 38
Methods	Chapter 4: Methods	53 55

4.4 Documentary analysis...

	f Marielle" g gendered and sexual norms: Marielle's disruptive way of doing poli	
	genicited and sexual norms. Mariene's disraptive way of doing port	
5.5 Remaining	, reminist. Warrene Franco's legacy and the ethics of care	
5.4 "Woman F	Black and favelada": Intersectionality and lesbian existence in Brazil	
	legacy: "We lost so much, that we lost fear"	
5.5 Mariene s	legacy. We lost so much, that we lost real	
Chapter 6: From	transgression to status quo: Ana Brnabić in the political sphere	
-	dy speak for itself?	
	ntry with no LGBT rights, and a lesbian Prime Minister"	
	vithout agency? Ana Brnabić's class privilege	
	or sexual freedom: The experiences of lesbian lives in Serbia	
_	egacy?	
Chapter 7: What	is left of the Lavender Menace? Lesbian politicians in homonationali	st an
homonormative ti	imes	
7.1 Coming tog	gether: A new body in the political sphere	
7.2 When sove	ereignty meets sexuality: Homonationalist times	1
7.3 The Ascend	dancy of Homonormativity: Detaching Lesbianity and Feminism	1
	zil and Serbia: Navigating homonationalist and homonormative times	
	1	
7.5 Conclusion		

Analysis

**Analysis** 

Discussion

References Appendices

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## Thank you!

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