

Emancipation of sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care: A paradoxical example of governmentally.

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Abstract

How do sexual and gender minority juveniles in Dutch residential youth care experience emancipation? That is the main question of this thesis which will be answered from a perspective based on the philosophical work of Michel Foucault. An operationalization of Foucault's foyer of experience is used in semi-structured interviews, lasting 48 minutes on average, with a sample of the population (N=11). Due to the foyer of experience, participants were invited to discuss the forms of knowledge that make possible veridiction, the norms that make possible governmentality, and the techniques that make possible the subjectification of the self, in relation to emancipation. Emancipation is considered both from a modern- as postmodern perspective to allow for the introduction of a novel theoretical phenomenon: the government-emancipation paradox, implying that emancipation enables governmentality because liberation makes people vulnerably for domination.

Findings of this thesis indicate that juveniles in residential youth care initially use modern discourse to discuss their emancipatory objectives. While independence is aspired at first sight, data reveals it is inclusivity and strong bonds that are actually central to emancipation and juveniles' objectives. Therefore, residential youth care serves the purpose of preparing juveniles for becoming a critical and valuable agent in society, due to which it is a telling example of both emancipation and governmentality.

Keywords

Emancipation | Governmentality | (post)modernity | Sexual orientation and gender (LHBTI+) | Welfare state

Preface

*Het gaat niet over cijfers
Het gaat niet over geld
Het gaat niet over bezit
Maar wie voor jou het allermeeste telt*

*Het gaat niet over woede
Het gaat niet over haat
Het gaat niet over afgunst
Het gaat om wie jou in je waarde laat*

*Het gaat niet over leeftijd
Het gaat niet over lust
Het gaat niet over de mooiste
Het gaat om wie je't allerliefste kust*

Henny Vrienten

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the problem

The Dutch national government aims to improve the situation of Dutch ‘sexual and gender minority’ (SGM) individuals (VVD et al., 2021; Movisie, 2021). Although tremendous progress in laws and norms regarding sexual orientation and gender is made over the last decades, SGM individuals still experience more discrimination (FRA, 2020), are at increased risks for physical and mental health problems such as obesity and depression (Huijnk & Beusekom, 2021), and are overrepresented in suicide victims (Haas et al., 2010; Meyer et al., 2021). Particularly intersex- and trans individuals are disproportionately heavily burdened by society (Meyer, 1995; Movisie, 2021). Moreover, SGM individuals living in the EU experience no progress of their fundamental- and human rights and the Netherlands continues to degrade in the Rainbow Europe Index issued by International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (COC, 2018; FRA, 2020; ILGA-Europe, 2022). The stagnation of progress in the Netherlands and neighbouring nations heightens the need for research on sexual and gender minorities.

It is in this light that the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare and Sports wishes to know more about SGM juveniles’ experiences in residential youth care – a form of caregiving in which youth resides in foster care at least some days per week, either voluntary or forced (NJI, 2021). Residential youth care is legally defined in the Jeugdwet (2014) for which the Ministry is responsible. The Ministry’s desire to better understand SGM juveniles in residential youth care is generated by research performed in the US and the Netherlands indicating that SGM juveniles are overrepresented in residential care and experience more severe and complex problems than heterosexual and cisgender peers in the same situation (Courtney et al., 2011; Emmen et al., 2015; Fish et al., 2019; López López, 2021; Wilson & Kastanis, 2015).

The first peer reviewed paper addressing homosexuality in the child welfare system *Gay but No Place to Go* was published by Mallon (1992) in the journal *Child Welfare*. Gender was not yet discussed. Today, the experiences of SGM juveniles are discussed more often, although authors differ with regards to how mature the field is. On the one hand, Paul (2020) can only give potential implications to practice, policy, and research instead of recommendations because of the paucity of research in this area. On the other hand, Lopéz Lopéz (2021) does give recommendations to improve the child welfare system for SGM juveniles and argues there is enough scientific knowledge available for policymakers and caregivers to properly work on the existing issues. Interestingly, many of the suggestions provided by Lopéz Lopéz (2021) and Paul (2020) are like the recommendations in the first paper on the topic by Mallon (1992). One of the most significant developments in the field regards incorporation of transgender and intersex youth in the study population (FRA, 2020; Russell & Fish, 2016). Nevertheless, papers are often written solely from a pedagogical perspective and miss a deeper philosophical understanding. To the best knowledge of the author, no scholars discuss the topic from a public administration perspective, even though child welfare is a major responsibility of Western governments, and sexual orientation and gender are politically sensitive. The absence of research from a public administration perspective is a pity because juveniles in residential youth care are subjected to values and norms of government rationality.

French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) studied government rationality and used ‘governmentality’ to refer to ‘the conduct of conduct’ (Burchell et al., 1991; Lemke, 2001). By using the term governmentality, Foucault aspired to shed a light on the techniques and procedures directing human behaviour (Rose et al., 2009). Seen from Foucault’s perspective, the aim of modern government is to shape the population of a state in such a way that they strengthen the state itself. A complex and expansive set of power tools not always immediately visible or obvious is used to do so (Burchell et al., 1991). Foucault’s perspective is, at first glance, contradictory to the liberal ideal of emancipation often promoted by the Dutch government. Consider for instance the *Regenboog Stembusakkoord* (Rainbow Ballot Box Agreement) (COC, 2021) and the coalition agreement 2021-2025 (VVD et al., 2021). Despite expansive agreement on the importance of emancipation, the concept is framed different over time and holds multiple definitions (Rebughini, 2015). With regards to residential youth care, emancipation can be understood as preparing juveniles for a return to society as independent agents (Rijksoverheid, 2018). An ambitious goal that is not always achieved (Het Vergeten Kind, 2022; Scholte & Van der Ploeg, 2011).

1.2. Research question

Considering the interest of the Ministry of Public Health, Welfare, and Sports and the academic requirements of University of Twente, the main question of this thesis is: *How do sexual and gender minority juveniles in Dutch residential youth care experience emancipation?*

The question will be answered using the work and perspective of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984). Particularly his work on governmentality seems relevant in this regard. The following sub-questions aim to gather the necessary insights to answer the main question:

1. What discourse(s) do sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care use to understand emancipation?
2. How do sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care experience treatment in preparation for them becoming emancipated?
3. In what manner, if any, do sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care problematize aspects of emancipation?

This master thesis is relevant on a societal- and a scientific level. On a societal level, it is hoped that the research eventually contributes to improved living conditions for SGM juveniles in residential youth care. Furthermore, when the thesis' findings are properly implemented, care givers could enjoy greater comfort in their work. According to Emmen et al. (2015) care givers are shy to act when dealing with SGM juveniles due to a lack of knowledge about sexual orientation and gender whereas, generally speaking, sexual orientation and gender are becoming more negotiable (FRA, 2020). Additionally, the international stagnation of progress in SGM individuals fundamental- and human rights exemplified by Poland's 'LGBT-free zones' (Picheta & Kottosová, 2020) and Hungary's sales restriction of LGBT-themed children's books (Than, 2021) remind one that European values, such as equal rights for SGM individuals, could gain the status of optional luxuries (Ossewaarde, 2013). Therefore, it is critically important to anchor, time and time again, a factual understanding of SGM juveniles. Especially in an environment as vulnerable as residential youth care.

Scientifically, the proposed study provides an important opportunity to advance the understanding of SGM juveniles needs, wants, and differences. Particularly intersex- and trans individuals are poorly understood because little research has seen them as a study population (FRA, 2020; Russell & Fish, 2016). Additionally, Paul (2020) calls for further exploratory research to extent or replicate the conclusions drawn in her study on SGM juveniles transitioning out of the welfare system. Specifically, she suggests conceptualizing how issues related to sexual orientation and gender complicate youth's ability to develop supportive relationships and to identify problem areas to develop prevention- and intervention strategies that match the needs of SGM youths in residential youth care. Moreover, Sheldon and Elliot (1999) argue that care is only effective when matching individuals' preferences and characteristics. Before care can be matched, however, more should be known of SGM juveniles' preferences and characteristics. This thesis will be an example of a new way to study SGM individuals. One that is more natural in that it respects the living world as "a continuum in each and every one of its aspects" (Kinsey et al., 2003, p.897) rather than a set of distinct categories. Additionally, Fraser (2013, as cited in Ville, 2019) advises social scientific scholars to think of potential forms of welfare in which emancipation and protection articulate with one another. The proposed research tries to make a small contribution to the research gaps identified by Paul and Fraser. Next to advancing academic knowledge on youth care, Foucault's theoretical work is put to the test. The scientific utility of Foucault's constructs and his, for some, flawed conception of the subject is questioned by various scholars (see e.g., Bevir, 2011; Goddard, 2010; Rose et al., 2009). The proposed study aims to find out the value of Foucault's ideas on governmentality and his conception of experiences, when applied to a real-world setting such as residential youth care. In doing so, Foucault's work will be used as part of an analytical toolbox as opposed to being used as a sociological grand theory (Rose et al., 2009). Also including the toolbox is a conception of emancipation. By linking the two concepts together, a novel construct – the governmentality-emancipation paradox (GEP) – is developed and could inspire further research.

1.3. Research approach

Data for this study are collected using semi-structured interviews with SGM juveniles (N=11) who are currently making use of residential youth care or who transitioned out of care in the past 6 years. The semi-structured nature of the interviews made that not all interviews were identical. However, each interview touched upon the dimensions of the central concept of this thesis, the *governmentality-emancipation paradox* (GEP). As briefly mentioned, the GEP is based on the theoretical work of philosopher and self-proclaimed experimenter Michel Foucault, who wrote extensively on the relationship between the governor and the governed, liberation and the implications of modern emancipation. Foucault's perspective is selected because it allows residential youth care and SGM juveniles to be discussed from a public administration perspective.

The reader should bear in mind that the thesis is primarily based on a single philosophical perspective, while there are numerous interpretations left undiscussed. This thesis tells *a* story, not *the* story. Due to the singular perspective, the absence of a sample frame, and the heterogeneity of the participants, results and conclusions are not generalizable. The value of this thesis should come from the argumentation presented and the insights provided by discussing the situation of SGM juveniles in residential youth care from a perspective novel to the field.

The remaining part of the thesis proceeds as follows: First, the governmentality-emancipation paradox and other relevant literature are introduced in the theory section. Afterwards, the research design is presented and matters such as ethics and data analysis are discussed. Next, interview results are provided and analysed. Based on the results and a discussion thereof, conclusions are drawn and suggestions for further research are provided.

2. Theory

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will explain and relate the theory underling the main- and sub-questions stated in the introduction. The intellectual toolbox of French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) is foundational for assumptions made and conclusions drawn in this thesis. Using the relevant lectures, papers, and books he produced together with interpretations from other scholars, the following is conceptualised: First, Foucault's theoretical work on 'experiences' will be discussed. The French philosopher conceptualizes experiences in a rather particular way which is important to grasp when interpreting the data provided by the interviews, given the main question of the study regards *experiences* of sexual and gender minorities in residential youth care. Second, the ambiguous concept emancipation is discussed from both a modern as postmodern perspective, to get acquainted with the possible discourse in response on sub-question 1. Afterwards, governmentality is discussed to learn what it means to be governed according to Foucault, helping to answer sub-question 2 on treatment experience.

After discussing three centrally important concepts of this thesis, the governmentality-emancipation paradox (GEP) is introduced. Governmentality and emancipation exist in a paradoxical relation with each other, sharing similarities while also being different. The GEP gives a possible answer to sub-question 3 on problematization. By constructing a phenomenon on Foucault's work and relating it to responses of interview participants, the relevance of a part of Foucault's system of thought is empirically tested. A conclusion, bringing together the primary theoretical assumptions on which the research proceeds, will end this chapter.

2.2. Experience according to Foucault

For Foucault, experiences are made up of a particular dimension. O'Leary and Falzon (2010) argue that Foucault distinguishes between everyday experiences and transformative experiences. While the former refers to commonalities and experiences one takes for granted, latter indicates an exceptional occurrence changing the way one looks at things. Transformative experiences can be specified in place and time, but everyday experiences cannot. Furthermore, everyday experiences, say our *modus operandi*, is constructed by the sum of transformative experiences. Likewise, transformative experiences are influenced by everyday experiences. Hence, the two continuously influence and modify each other and are therefore intertwined.

Moreover, Foucault urges us to consider three interrelated elements when studying experiences, which he brought together using the metaphors matrix, foyer, and focal point: Forms of a possible knowledge, normative frameworks of behaviour, and the potential modes of existence for possible subjects (Foucault, 1985; Foucault,

2008b; Lemke, 2011; O’Leary & Falzon, 2010; Vogelmann, 2017). Soon, these elements will be clarified. But it is first key to understand that the primary idea behind Foucault’s foyer of experience is to bring together everyday experiences with larger epistemic, ethical, and political structures that make these experiences possible (i.e., to treat the subject as *explanandum* rather than *explanans*). According to Foucault, experiences are always imbedded in larger structures that have developed and existed long before us. Everyone is always (sub)consciously influenced by a plethora of assumptions, theories, and previous experiences, that shape the way one makes decisions and experiences events in life (Lemke, 2011; O’Leary & Falzon, 2010). By examining the forms of knowledge that make possible veridiction, the norms that make possible governmentality, and the techniques that make possible the subjectification of the self, one would be able to analyse how experiences are constituted from a Foucauldian perspective. Hence, to understand the link between subjective perception on the individual level and the objective events of which we are all part.

In his lectures on *The Government of Self and Others*, Foucault (2008b) explains what he means by the three dimensions of the foyer of experience that he used to analyse phenomena such as madness, sexuality, and criminality. First, by considering the forms of possible knowledge, Foucault tried to grasp which *disciplines* are used to define phenomena such as madness or sexuality. A discipline (or science; *savoir*) emerges when technical capacity is coupled with relations of power and games of communication. By games of communication Foucault meant the transition of information via language, signs, or any other symbolic medium. Because communication can influence, either intendedly or unintendedly, relations of power, they should be observed separately. Importantly, the analysis of knowledge should not concern the content of knowledge produced by the discipline but, rather, the *forms* of knowledge that produce an accepted truth. Thus, “one should study the rules, the games of true and false, and, more generally, the forms of veridiction in these discursive practices” (Foucault, 2008b, p. 4).

In addition to the analysis of knowledge, Foucault had two reasons to pay attention to norms. First, norms are studied to understand how deviant behaviour, and deviant individuals are separated from ‘normal’ behaviour and individuals. Second, norms are studied to understand how the ‘normal’ individuals, such as doctors or psychiatric personnel, treat deviant individuals. Just as for the constitution of forms of knowledge, the application of norms implies exercising a certain level of power on others. Norms conduct the conduct of others by providing a normative framework of behaviour. Therefore, norms are inherently linked to governmentality because norms can be used as a technique to internalise government objectives and a feeling of responsibility for the prosperity of the population.

The last element to constitute experiences are the potential mode of subjectification of the self. Again, not the subject itself should be studied but the forms of subjectification, the techniques, and procedures, one’s applying to herself to constitute the self in relation to ‘the truth’ (Foucault 1982; Foucault 1985; Foucault 2008b). How can one constitute the self in relation to the truth when we have previously argued one is fundamentally influenced by norms and knowledge that developed long before ‘the self’ was born? In a lecture dedicated to *Technologies of the Self*, Foucault (1997) describes that there are various philosophical methods to take care of the self, and to constitute oneself. In the lecture, Foucault discusses at least three. Two of which are exemplary for the Greco-Roman tradition while one is of value in early Christianity. The lecture shows how subjectivity changes over time and is therefore not a natural phenomenon but, rather, a human invention that can be changed.

It must be mentioned that Foucault never aspired to provide a ‘Foucauldian’ framework the constitution of the self. Foucault did not want to tell other how to live. Rather, he endeavoured to pose questions and remind us of the complexity of existence (Foucault & Faubion, 2000). Even so, according to Taylor (2014), Foucault’s notion of critique provides a proper framework for establishing a relation to the self. Critique might be understood as a method to navigate power relations. Therefore, critique can be an emancipatory practice within a Foucauldian world. However, the aim of critique is not the modern ideal of autonomy and freedom. Instead, critique helps the individual to reflect on the self and take care of the self in the most honest and least constrained way imaginable within a world influenced by historically set knowledge and norms. By criticizing the ‘givens’ of the world and the ideals one has internalized, one can deal with, or even alter, the structures by which she is surrounded. Critique is important because “one of the meanings of human existence – the source of human freedom – is to never accept anything as definitive, untouchable, obvious or immobile. No aspect of reality should be allowed to become a definitive and inhuman law for us” (Foucault, 1980, p. 1).

Having argued critique is a method to reflect on the self, one might wonder; what aspects entail a critical attitude? Taylor (2014) states that refusal, curiosity, and innovation are three core Foucauldian techniques individuals can apply to constitute the self. Foucault (1980) himself refers to refusal, curiosity, and innovation as the three elements of his morality and as being the values he tried to elaborate on in his theoretical work. In this study,

the principles will be used to constitute the dimension ‘subjectivity’. Let us briefly explain the three principles. First, refusal regards a critical attitude towards the things that are presented as obvious, a natural given, or unchangeable. It does not mean, however, an immediate rejection of all that is normal in the world. Although norms are not to be accepted automatically, normal does not imply evil by necessity. Second, curiosity is needed to analyse and understand the world and the elements that constitute the self; without a basic understanding of one’s environment, nothing can be accomplished. Third, after something is investigated (curiosity) and being regarded as changeable (refusal), one can create a new alternative. Hence, one can innovate and alter the relation to the self by changing the structures constituting the self (Foucault, 1980). Together with the forms of possible knowledge and the normative frameworks of behaviour, critique as a method of subjectification enable us to understand experiences from a perspective based on the work of Foucault.

2.3. Emancipation

The term ‘emancipation’ can be traced back to Roman law where *ex (away) mancipium* (ownership) referred to the right of a wife or son to liberate of from the legal authority of the father of the family – the paterfamilias (Biesta, 2008; Vogelmann, 2017). Ever since, different philosophical-ideological interpretations of emancipation have been passionately debated by scholars and philosophers for years. Given the plethora of interpretations available, bracketing is needed to specify what exactly is meant, and what not, when discussing emancipation. Bracketing implies specifying what is included in and excluded in a concept’s definition by applying limits (Weick & Sutcliffe, 2015). The concept does not have academic or systematic value when no limits are applied. Even so, one must keep in mind that Kinsey et al. (2003) reminds us categories are forces onto spectra and continuum to make seemingly intangible and vague phenomena understandable, not because it is a factual representation of the phenomena or the only representation possible.

Often, themes are used to limit emancipation as a concept. Consider *economic* emancipation to gain financial independence, *personal* emancipation to become your authentic self or *historical* emancipation to gain recognition for a forgotten history (Rebughini, 2015). However, political brackets are applied to emancipation in this thesis. Specifically, emancipation is perceived from a *modern* and *postmodern* perspective. There are at least three arguments as for why this is the case. First, the thesis is written in a Public Administration context, not considering political thought would leave an important aspect of Public Administration undiscussed. Second, Foucault referred to modernism and postmodernism as types of “political rationality” and argued experiences are made possible by, and should be understood considering, larger political structures. Moreover, emancipation can only occur when one recognises himself as a political being applying a form of politically influenced rationality (O’Leary & Falzon, 2010; Radford, 2012; Taylor, 2014). Third, the differences and similarities between modernism and postmodernism are discussed in influential papers by scholars such as Chandler and Richmond (2015), Lemke (2001), Radford (2012) and Rebughini (2015). Following their example contributes to our understanding of the phenomena in a systematic and comparable manner.

A second step to increase the meaningfulness of the concept is by stating dimension by which the two political rationalities can be compared. Essentially, emancipation concerns a *process of liberation* of which the *outcome* is ought to be *freer* than one’s current situation. Liberation (process) and freedom (outcome) thus are two core properties of emancipation. However, answers to questions such as “who should be liberated?”, “when is someone free?”, and “what are the implications of being free?” differ fundamentally from a modern and postmodern perspective. Regarding process, modern and postmodern thinkers differ to the extent paternalism is desirable. Paternalism implies that, to emancipate, one remains tied to an authority who emancipates. Emancipation is therefore no individual endeavour. With regards to the outcome of emancipation, one can focus on negativity to grasp the difference between modern and postmodern thinkers. Negativity implies a shift from a state of well-known dependency into a situation of unknown independency. The free individual is therefore liberated, but also enters a state of uncertainty (Biesta, 2008; Vogelmann, 2017).

Modern

Modernity is characterised by the emergence of cultural and political differences after the (relative and unstable) religious and cultural unity of Roman empire. Cultural and political diversity was made possible by the introduction of the nation-state, as we still know it today. The most important cultural product of the European nation-state is the Enlightenment aimed to combat ignorance, intolerance, illiteracy, and superstition by involving a wider audience

into intellectual development than ever before (Ossewaarde, 2013). Enlightenment and emancipation became inseparably linked in Immanuel Kant's (1784) essay "*Beantwortung der frage: Was ist Aufklärung?*" in which Kant defined Enlightenment as one's liberation from self-incurred immaturity (Unmündigkeit) – i.e., the inability to use one's own reason without the guidance of someone else (Kant, 1784, 2013; Rebughini, 2015). Kant's definition of Enlightenment is closely related to modern discourse on emancipation involving elements of self-determination, freedom of choice, authenticity, and autonomy. To illustrate, Rebughini (2015) defines modern emancipation as "the creation of the free individual as well as an act of liberation from situations of constraints" (p. 271). The two constitutive aspects defined above are clearly present in this definition.

First, regarding process (liberation), the free individual is *created*, which signals paternalism and therefore a dependency on authority. However, dependence on someone else to emancipate is problematic in modern thought. The problematisation of paternalism is famously exemplified by Immanuel Kant's "educational paradox" in which the core question regards how to cultivate freedom through coercion (Biesta, 1998, 2008). According to Biesta (1998) modernist thinkers such as Kant argued that the individual is constructed by pedagogy – the art of teaching. Without pedagogy, one is nothing. Not able to argue, not able to express oneself, and not able to exchange ideas. This implies two things. First, subjectivity is nurtured; it is the effect of pedagogical practice. Second, pedagogy is based upon an asymmetrical relationship between an individual who is not yet emancipated and an authority who can emancipate the individual by means of manipulation. Thus, emancipation depends on the gesture of someone else and is therefore made possible by an asymmetrical relationship, that is legitimised by the superiority of the emancipator. Paradoxically, the result of unequal treatment will eventually be equality between the emancipator and the one who is by then emancipated (Biesta, 2008; Radford, 2012).

Second, regarding outcome (freedom), a subject is liberated when constraints are overcome. Freedom is reached when one is in full control of his destinate. Indeed, modern emancipation strives for self-determination, self-discovery, and installation of the subject as master over oneself and his environment (Radford, 2012; Rebughini, 2015). Furthermore, according to Biesta (2008), Immanuel Kant argued rationality is foundational for an independent and autonomous life. However, if autonomy is based on prefigured knowledge, and emancipation depends on the authority of someone else, then what does it mean to be free? Is a one free when the rules and norms of status-quo truth and behaviour are internalised? Is one autonomous when the algorithm of rationality is applied on a day-to-day basis? Is one emancipated when one lives according to the pedagogical lessons learned during childhood? Unsatisfying answers by modern thinkers to these questions generated, at least partly, the development of postmodernity (Radford, 2012).

Postmodern

Modern thinkers such as Kant installed emancipated subjects as masters of their own destiny, independent and autonomous rationalists, free from constraints. However, postmodernity puts emancipated subjects back into the inescapable structures of life, thereby bounding their possibilities and freedom. Just as there are many different interpretations of modernity, there are a plethora of interpretations of postmodernity. To fit the scope of this thesis, the work of Michel Foucault is considered for developing a postmodern perspective on emancipation. For a start, Foucault would refer to emancipation as the transformation of a situation of domination, characterised by fixed power relations, into a situation of instability where power can flow freely (Allen, 2015). Emancipation, for Foucault, is concerned with being governed as little as possible, rather than being free completely (Rebughini, 2015). Let us examine the two constitutive aspects of emancipation identified earlier from Foucault's postmodern perspective.

First, regarding process (liberation), Foucault does not refute dependence on a pater to emancipate. He does, however, add to modern thinking that both the emancipator as the one to be emancipated are part of a larger structure they cannot directly alter: Both make use of language they did not invent, and both find themselves in an intersubjectivity preceding their subjectivity (Biesta, 1998; Foucault, 1982). Hence, apart from dependence on the gesture of authority, as acknowledge by modernity, one is furthermore bounded by historically established structures. The asymmetrical relationship between pater and pupil should therefore be placed within larger structures of which both are part. To illustrate, if children in youth care want to increase participation in decision-making on their stay in residence, they are dependent on management or care givers, having authority in the residence and therefore representing the *pater*, to give them a seat at the table. However, the paters of the residence are bounded by rules and norms set in codes of conduct, laws and culture established beyond their control, yet bounding their thinking about youth participation. Hence, both pupil as pater is limited by structures. These structures can be tangible, in case of the law, or intangible, in case of culture.

Second, regarding outcome (freedom), one might wonder how it is possible to become truly autonomous when bounded by preestablished structures? Postmodern thinkers will argue it is not possible to fully escape structure and live a completely autonomous life. According to Foucault (1982), power relations can be anywhere, and everyone is influenced in their conduct. Often indirect or even unnoticed, individuals are influenced in decision making. This, however, does indicate something important: Power can only be exercised over free individuals. Only if one is faced with options, these options can be influenced – “slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains” (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). Thus, postmodern discourse acknowledges the potential for freedom yet argues freedom is always in conflict with oppression. Resultingly, freedom is not a static phenomenon or objective that can be reached and passively enjoyed but rather a continuous practice.

It seems that being a free agent is only possible when there is a certain level of structure that can be altered by the individuals that are subjected to it, escaping the structure altogether would not be possible. Moreover, a society cannot exist without power relations (Foucault, 1997). The aim of postmodern emancipation would therefore not be to dissolve oppression altogether but to “play these games of power with as little domination as possible” (p. 298). Put simply, the objective of postmodern emancipation is not to reject structure as might be assumed from a modern understanding of emancipation that is linked to values such as autonomy and liberation. Rather, debating the structure and becoming truly included is key to emancipation as absolute liberation and autonomy can only result in exclusion from the structures of life that are necessary to be a free agent. This conceptualisation of emancipation differs fundamentally with the modern one but is in line with Inglis (1997) who sees emancipation as concerning “critically analysing, resisting, and challenging structures of power” (p. 4); Radford (2012) who argues the objective of emancipation is to become an individual holding a critical, political, and ethical position able of listening to other voices and stating your own position within the “tense loci of difference and opposition” (p. 116) that characterises culture; and most importantly, this paper’s conceptualisation of emancipation is in line with Foucault (1997). According to Foucault, as cited in Pezdek and Rasinski (2016), emancipation would be “the exercise of the self upon the self” (p. 11). That is, individuals should reflect whether their self-imposed plans and ambitions suit them and thus hold on to a self-reflexive attitude. Having examined emancipation from a modern and postmodern perspective, let us move on to consider the second phenomena of the GEP.

2.4. Governmentality

In his lecture series *Security, Territory, and Population*, Foucault tried to explain the origins and development of governmentality. According to Burchell et al. (1991), who reprinted Foucault’s translated lectures (Huxley, 2008), three fundamental types of government can be distinguished. Please note that government must be understood broadly as structuring the possible field of action of others, thus directing the conduct of groups of individuals (Foucault, 1982). First, the art of self-government, being related to morality. Second, the art of governing a family, being concerned with economy as understood in the eighteenth century. Third, the art of ruling the state, which is inseparable with politics. As of the middle of the eighteenth century, the lines between the three types of government began to blur. Most crucially, economy becomes an object of the state when new developments such as statistics made it possible to discover that problems and developments often transcend family boundaries. Additionally, other nation-states provoke international economic competition. For Foucault, the introduction of economy into political practice is an essential issue in the establishment of governmentality while statistics’ influence is salient in bringing together family- and state government. Only when it is possible to measure (economic) development one can set objectives to aspire to by a population. However, the family can be a problematic entity hindering the structured development of the population when family objectives and those of the population are not aligned. Hence, the family must shift from being a model for government to being one of multiple instruments for governance of the state. During this shift, population becomes the ultimate end of government, and the individual the ultimate object. The newly created population is governed fundamentally different after the invention of the sovereign nation state, compared to the governance of territory by monarchs till the eighteenth century. Sovereign power is replaced by disciplinary power (Burchell et al., 1991). That is, brutal ‘torture’ is replaced by behavioural ‘correction’ (Caldwell, 2007).

The birth of the nation-state and the replacement of forceful punishment by behavioural correction marks the birth of governmentality: A concept developed by Foucault to shed light on the techniques and procedures for directing individual human behaviour for the benefit of the population (Foucault, 1997; Rose et al., 2009). The term

is an aggregation of governing ('gouverner') and modes of thought ('mentalité'), indicating that it is only possible to study power techniques when understanding the underlying political rationality legitimizing the power to be executed (Lemke, 2001). Therefore, it is important to consider the political rationality legitimising power to be exercised in the context of this study.

Currently, the most prominent political rationality in the Netherlands is neoliberalism, characterised by, among other things, the global spread of capital, privatization, deregulation of markets and consumerism (Ossewaarde, 2013). According to Foucault, the conduct of governing in neoliberal societies is not only performed by the state but also by society, households, and oneself. Power, in these societies, is distributed over many spheres and the lines between spheres is blurred. To illustrate, most citizens allow the state to take a child away from her family if this is aimed to protect the child. Whereas from a neoliberal perspective it is tempting to see this example as a needed interference benefitting the child's development. A Foucauldian view enables one to see the state, in the form of welfare, interfering in the private sphere. Resultingly, private matters, even our very own bodies, become subject of government interference and rationality. However, governmentality cannot always be illustrated as clear as this example. In neoliberal societies, rigid regulatory mechanisms are replaced or supplemented by techniques of self-regulation (Lemke, 2001). Rather than directly punishing or correcting behaviour (e.g., by taking a child away from her family), individuals' behaviour is influenced either by power relations or internalised norms and values, but always to benefit the population (Rose & Miller, 1992). In both cases, the government is in control of the behaviour of its citizens, yet how control is exercised and what power techniques are used differs substantially. Foucault writes "the aim of modern art of government, viz., to develop those elements of individual lives in such a way that their development also fosters the strength of the state," (Buchell et al., 1991, p. 10). Resultingly, Foucault was more interested in the technologies of power (or *practices*) that direct, regulate and shape individuals' actions, beliefs, and desires rather than formal institutions and laws of the sovereign nation state (Bevir, 2011; Foucault & Faubion, 2000).

Importantly, when speaking of power, Foucault (1982) does not refer to a mere relationship between individuals or a collective of individuals. Like Foucault's definition of government, power implies modifying the actions of others. Acting upon actions. Power does not exist as being a tangible object, it only exists when put into action. We should see it as a verb, not a noun. To use Foucault's own words: "The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome" (p. 788).

2.5. Governmentality-Emancipation Paradox

Having introduced emancipation and governmentality, let us now discover where the two seemingly different concepts paradoxically meet each other. A paradox is "something (such as a situation) that is that is made up of two opposite things and that seems impossible but is actually true or possible" (Merriam-Webster, 2022). In essence, the governmentality-emancipation paradox implies that emancipation enables governmentality because liberation makes people vulnerable for domination. To better understand why this is the case, the aim, relation to structure, and influence on agency of both governmentality as emancipation will be discussed.

When Foucault stated, in his 1977-1978 lecture series *Security, Territory, Population*, governmentality is concerned with introducing the economy into political practice and the management of a state, he meant introducing a method to managing individuals, goods, and wealth with the meticulous attention of the *paterfamilias* within a family (Foucault & Faubion, 2000; Foucault, 2007). Due to the introduction of economy as a state objective, the state will have to set up an economy at the level of the population because of which a form of surveillance and control "as attentive as that of the head of the family over his household and his goods" (Foucault & Faubion, 2000, p. 207) must be exercised towards the wealth and behaviour of all citizens of the state. Thereby the object of governmental reason shifts from territory to the interests of individuals (Foucault, 2008). Besides strengthening the nation, alignment of individual- and state objectives can prevent societal problems. Consider for example a government campaign stimulating citizens to sport and improve health to decrease welfare costs in aging populations (De Graaf & Wiertz, 2019). The campaign stimulating a healthier lifestyle is a friendly example of governmentality and the state acting as a pater because a solution to a state-objective – keeping welfare affordable – is found in altering individuals' interests in sport. Thus, individuals (micro-level) are governed in the interest of the population (macro-level) by introducing the economy. Resultingly, primary bonds and the family (meso-level) become problematic. The family blocks a direct relationship between the individual and the state. Therefore, for the sake of the population, the family must be destructed.

On the other hand, Emancipation from a modern European perspective is perceived as “an act of creation of the free individual as well as an act of liberation from situations of constraint” (Rebughini, 2015, p. 271). More specifically, liberation from the social determination of primary family bonds (Ossewaarde, 2013). Just as the family is problematized by governmentality discourse, so is family becoming a problem obstructing individuals endeavouring modern emancipation. Please recall that emancipation in Roman law referred precisely to the liberation of a wife or son from the legal authority of the *paterfamilias* (Biesta, 2008; Vogelmann, 2017). As such, both governmentality and emancipation problematize the family, and aim to liberate the individual from community pressure by destructing family structure.

Modern emancipation and governmentality thus share a similar aim – destruction of the oppressive family bonds – however differ profoundly with regards to what substitutes the destructed family structure. Modernity argues emancipated individuals exist in a state of freedom after they are liberated from the structure of the family. However, in governmentality discourse such state of freedom and autonomy will not be maintained long. Instead, family bonds are replaced by an increased dependency on, and internalization of, the government. Foucault (1997) states “liberation paves the way for new power relationships, which must be controlled by practice of freedom” (pp. 283-284). Put overly schematic, in the discourse of governmentality, the family structure is replaced by a centralized structure of the state in which the attentive care of the *paterfamilias* within a family is replaced by the state governor. For Foucault, modern emancipation would therefore imply a replacement of structure rather than liberation from structure.

That is not to say that Foucault believed freedom is impossible, as some commentators imply. He deliberately mentions power can only be exercised over *free* individuals and because power is everywhere, freedom is everywhere too. However, the problem of emancipated individuals is that they become more vulnerable to domination because “the freer people are with respect to each other, the more they want to control each other’s conduct. The more open the game, the more appealing and fascinating it becomes” (Foucault, 1997, p. 300). The idea that freedom makes people more vulnerable for domination is not only expressed by Foucault. Multiple sociologists have pointed out the dangers and possible consequences of too much freedom (see e.g., Ossewaarde, 2013). To give one brief example, Émile Durkheim’s theory on suicide aims to explain the consequence of different levels of regulation and integration of the individual into a social structure (e.g., the family). Both too little as too much integration would lead to suicide assuming a U-shaped relationship between integration and suicide. Too little integration and regulation causes loneliness and chaos while too much integration and regulation causes despair and frustration because the interests of the structure are set above those of the individual. Both ends would eventually result in an increased change of suicide (Thorlindsson & Thorodddur, 1998).

We now come to a crucial point. Recall that emancipation is made up of two constitutive aspects: Negativity and paternalism. Several modern authors problematized the paternalistic aspect of emancipation because it would make emancipation depend on intervention from an authoritarian figure, and therefore dependent on a relation of power that needs to be overcome (Biesta, 1998, 2008; Radford, 2012). However, from a Foucauldian perspective it is not paternalism that should be problematized but the aspect of negativity. For Foucault, paternalism does not necessarily have to be problematic as he argues that power relationships are not something bad, moreover they are not something one has to break free of, because power does not automatically imply domination. Instead, negativity would be problematic because it makes individuals more vulnerable for exploitation (Foucault, 1997).

By problematizing negativity rather than paternalism we problematize the void of freedom caused by emancipation rather than the power relation with a governmental state. The sovereign state, as Foucault has shown in his lectures on governmentality, can certainly be an oppressive structure. However, oppression is made possible not by the government, but by the void, anomie and chaos created by modern emancipation. The sovereign nation-state, as a powerful entity, is interchangeable for other entities that aim for a relationship of power with the individual. This could for example be global commercial firms, sects, or faith communities. Moreover. If we agree that the negative aspect of emancipation is problematic, rather than the paternalistic aspect because power and domination are two different things, we could also argue that individuals’ relationship with the government does not necessarily have to be a bad thing. It could be benevolent because it might prevent people from developing power relationships with structures more oppressive than a democratic government, if only individuals are willing to accept a certain level of government dependence.

2.6. Criticism on Foucault

Foucault's perspective does not come without critique. Some argue his work is strongly attached to structuralism and seems to be reluctant to recognise human agency. As a result, governmentality theorists are little sensitive to heterogeneity, resistance, and diversity within and by individuals (Bevir, 2011). Put simply, Foucault would not recognise emancipatory agency. The ability of individuals to say "no." To free oneself from political constraints or from the inhibition of moral or social conventions (EEA, n.d.). To choose an alternative or battle the structures that bound our possibilities. For some scholars, Foucault's eradication of the subject justifies a marginal place in contemporary political and social philosophy (Allen, 2000).

However, as is hopefully made clear by now, this study argues that Foucault did recognize some form of agency, albeit be it decentred and only in his later work. Abovementioned critique can thus be refuted. To illustrate, Foucault (1982) argues power can only be exercised over free subjects. Hence, subjects who face a field of possibilities in which multiple reactions, behaviours or comportments may be realized. Foucault invigorates this claim by stating "where the determining factors saturate the whole, there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains" (p. 790). Additionally, Foucault argues "the struggle against the forms of subjection – against the submission of subjectivity – is becoming more and more important" (1982, p. 213). Indicating a refusal of, say emancipation from, power. Nuyen (1998) even goes so far to say later work of Foucault regards an emancipatory structuration of the self, illustrating that the question of escaping from power and domination was in fact on Foucault's mind. Moreover, in the second volume of *The History of Sexuality* Foucault (1985) introduces the concept 'arts of existence' referring to "actions by which men not only sets themselves rules of conduct, but also seeks to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an *oeuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values" (pp. 10-11). Although the concept remains underdeveloped – like many of Foucault's conceptions (Allen, 2015) – it displays a recognition of agency.

Abovementioned discussion on the extent to which Foucault would recognize agency runs the risk of ending up in a prolonged debate about a more general problem in social and political philosophy that Allen (2000) refers to as the structure/agency problem. Social and political theories often encounter difficulties in balancing autonomy and agency on the one hand and the impact of cultural, political, and discursive structures on the other hand. As Allen sets out, Foucault did not subscribe to the "death of the subject," as some scholars suggest. Instead, Foucault would aim to focus on how the subject is constituted through external variables such as power and discourses rather than taking a humanistic research approach and study how subjects constitute discourses and the like. One can learn from Foucault to analyse subjects bounded by discourse and power. A study of governmentality "takes into account the points where the techniques of the self are intergraded into structures of coercion and domination" (Foucault, 1993, p. 203). By emplacing what constitutes an individual, Foucault aims to "shift the subject from that which explains to that which must be explained" (Allen, 2000), from *explanans* to *explanandum*.

2.7. Conclusion

Emancipation regards the creation of the free individual. The term can be traced back to Roman law where it provided the son and wife of a family the right to liberate from the *paterfamilias*. Emancipation is made of two constitutive aspects relation to a process characterised by liberation and an outcome characterised by freedom.

Foucault sheds light on the techniques and procedures for directing and bounding human behaviour. By decentring the subject, he argues that one's experiences are always influenced by ideas, norms, relations of powers and institutions one cannot directly control. Rather than to strive for illusionary freedom, one should understand what constitutes the self and critically reflect on the structures influencing one's behaviour. One major structure conducting subjects conduct is the nation-state. The conceptualisation of governmentality enables us to discuss and reflect on techniques applied by the government to align individual interests with the interests of the population. In neoliberal societies, individual freedom granted by modern emancipation is seen as a virtue but, as Foucault makes clear, individual freedom comes with internalised responsibility for the population.

At first glance, governmentality and emancipation are each other's opposite. However, both aim to destruct the family (meso-level). Even so, what constitutes the family differs profoundly in modern and post-modern discourses. Modernist thinkers such as Kant argue that subjects must enter a state of freedom and autonomy. Post-modernist thinker Foucault states that freedom makes subjects vulnerable for domination because relations of power are inescapable and become more attractive when being in a chaotic and lonely state of freedom. From Foucault's perspective, the individual (micro-level) runs the risk of being oppressed by the nation-state or other

oppressive structures (macro-level). The governmentality-emancipation paradox therefore makes clear that emancipation enables governmentality because liberation makes people vulnerable for domination.

3. Research design

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explain how the main- and sub-question(s) of this thesis will be answered. The theory discussed in previous chapter can be applied to multiple welfare settings. However, as explained in the introduction, this thesis will investigate sexual and gender minority juveniles in Dutch residential care. Therefore, residential youth care in the Netherlands is introduced and an estimate of the share of sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care is given. Afterwards, the methods to obtain and analyze data are presented. A deliberation of ethics signals the end of this chapter.

3.2. Research setting

The thesis' setting regards residential youth care (RYC) in The Netherlands. Children and adolescents up to 23 years of age are treated in RYC when they show serious psychiatric or behavioural problems due to which they are a danger to themselves or others, or because they should be protected from their environment. Trained psychiatric nurses and social workers support the juveniles in RYC in all aspects of their life, often in a group from 8 to 12 peers. The goal of RYC is to prepare juveniles for a return to society which, depending on age and opportunities, could be returning to an assisted living situation, to parents, or independent life (De Valk et al., 2016). Juveniles' transition into adulthood – i.e., emancipation from RYC – is often problematic. Unemployment, taking illegal drugs and homelessness are relatively often experienced phenomena obstructing an independent and safe life (Geenen & Powers, 2007). Admission to RYC can be voluntary, in which case the parents remain responsible for the care of their child, or forced, in which case the government becomes responsible for providing care (R. Kreuning, personal communication, November 22, 2021).

Although all Dutch juvenile in need of help could make use of RYC, this study focuses on SGM juveniles, a diverse group of individuals referred to by an overabundance of acronyms: LHBT, LHBTI, LGBTIQ+, SOGI, SOGIESC, and Queer are found often in studies on people who do not identify themselves as, or do not feel to be solely, cisgender and heterosexual. SGM juveniles do not feel either, both, or solely attracted to the opposite gender and, or, in sync with their sex assigned at birth. The broad definition of SGM juveniles indicates that they cannot be treated as a monolith population. There are major differences between lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex people that are not always considered (see e.g., Clements & Rosenwald, 2007; FRA, 2020; Wilson & Kastanis, 2015). Furthermore, Savin-Williams (2001) argues research on sexual minority youth too often applies a 'gay versus straight' design while it would be better, she advocates, to consider intersecting variables that are similar for SGM juveniles and their heterosexual cisgender peers. What it means to be a SGM juvenile must be understood in relation to other intersecting characteristics such as race and socio-economic class (Russel & Fish, 2016). To illustrate, Bucchio et al. (2021) observed differences between rural- and urban LGBTI individuals in US foster care, while Wilson and Kastanis (2015) found SGM juveniles of colour to be overrepresented in the US foster care system. Despite the within-group differences of the study population, it can be said SGM juveniles are united in the opposition experienced from a share of heterosexual cisgender males (Y. de Boer, personal communication, November 17, 2021). Deviation from heteronormativity, one could argue, unites the study population.

Emancipated subjects by Dutch law

Interestingly, there is no philosophical definition of emancipation set by the Dutch national government. Instead, emancipation policy in The Netherlands focusses on the realisation of gender equality sexual orientation acceptance (Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, 2018; Kraus, S., personal communication, 2022, January 17). Despite the missing definition, the current political coalition agreed to pursue an active emancipation- and anti-discrimination policy. The coalition's objectives regarding emancipation are introduced by the heading "towards a society where everyone can be visibly themselves" (VVD et al., 2021, p. 29, Dutch in original). A nation where everyone can be free; the freedom to be yourself; Freedom from discrimination and racism; and the freedom to develop yourself are clearly modern aspirations, stated in the coalition agreement.

3.3. Population

The most recent data indicates that in 2020, 42.470 individuals between 0 and 23 years of age make use of residential youth care in the Netherlands. Nearly 2.000 more than in 2015 (40.505). 22.555 juveniles are male and 19.915 female (CBS, 2021). Properly estimating how many of the 42.470 individuals are not sic-heterosexual is difficult for multiple reasons. First, exact numbers are unknown because sexual orientation and gender is not monitored in residential youth care. Second, juveniles in residential youth care might not already know or desire to express their sexual orientation and gender because they are too young or too shy to tell. Third, Kinsey et al. (2003) conceptualize sexual orientation as a 6-point scale ranging from exclusively heterosexual to exclusively homosexual indicating “Only the human mind invents categories and tries to force facts into separate pigeon-holes. The living world is a continuum in each and every one of its aspects” (Kinsey et al., 2003, p.897).

Nevertheless, there are strong indications of sexual orientation and gender minorities being overrepresented in residential youth care. According to De Graaf et al. (2017) who asked 20.500 Dutch individuals below the age of 25 about their sexual orientation using a six-point scale as suggested by Kinsey (1948) and Huijnk and Van Beusekom (2011) who studied 8190 children between 11 and 16 years of age, one can assume that $\pm 10\%$ of the general population is a sexual minority. This percentage is already mentioned in studies dating back 30 years (Mallon, 1992).

Multiple studies conducted in the United States indicate the share of sexual and gender minority juveniles in the welfare system is higher $\pm 10\%$ of the general population. Fish et al. (2019) found sexual minority youth to be 2,5 times as likely as heterosexual youth to be placed in residential care in the US (N=14.154). Next to that, the Los Angeles Foster Youth Survey (N=684) indicate that approximately 19% of foster youth have a minority sexual orientation or gender. Significantly higher than the SGM population of Los Angeles (Wilson & Kastanis, 2015). The same study also found significant ($P<0.5$) differences between sexual and gender minority participants and cis-heterosexual participants with regards to the number of placements in care (2,85 compared to 2,43) and homelessness (25,74% compared to 22,17%). Considering these figures and the increased risk for sexual and gender minority juveniles to be bullied (Kaufman & Baams, 2021), deal with suicidal thoughts (Haas et al., 2010; Meyer et al., 2021), and have a poorer well-being in general (FRA, 2020; Huijnk & Van Beusekom, 2021), it is reasonable to assume significant overrepresentation of sexual and gender minority juveniles in Dutch residential youth care. Although percentages from studies in the United States cannot directly be applied to the Netherlands, one can roughly assume that $\pm 20\%$ of the juveniles in Dutch residential youth care are not sic-heterosexual. This percentage matches the share of sexual and gender minority juveniles found in studies on homelessness in the United Kingdom (AKT, 2020) and the Netherlands (Meijssen & Timmerman, 2020). A share of 20% would mean that ± 8.500 juveniles in Dutch residential youth care are not sic-heterosexual. To put these numbers in perspective, 12.985 juveniles in Dutch residential youth care have a migration background and 9.885 are a child of a single parent household (CBS, 2021). Unfortunately, it is not yet possible to further specify how many of the ± 8.500 juveniles are transgender, intersex, bisexual, or homosexual.

3.4. Data collection

Semi-structured Interviews were held to collect data. Qualitative research is preferred over quantitative research because it can better capture SGM juveniles though, feelings and interpretations of phenomena (Given, 2008). Besides, conducting reliable quantitative data collection is nearly impossible due to the difficulty to reach out to the population, the scope of this thesis, and the unavailability of a sampling frame. Another implication of having no sampling frame is that no statistical interference can be made from the sample (Saunders et al., 2009).

Instead of using a sampling frame, non-probability sampling will be adopted to select respondents and self-selection is selected as sampling method given the difficulty to identify members of the population. Therefore, SGM juveniles can voluntarily choose to participate in the research, which makes a positive contribution to the ethical justness of this study.

The aim of this thesis was to interview 12 juveniles because personal communication with R. Ossewaarde (2021, August 8) suggested that amount would be sufficient to draw relevant conclusions. 12 is a bit lower than suggested by Given (2008) who prefers 15 to 20 interviews. In January and February 2022, 15 juveniles were recruited for an interview and the Ethical Committee was asked for approval on the 23rd of February 2022, which was given almost 3 months later, on the 12th of May. By that time, 6 juveniles withdraw from participation and snowball sampling was used to recruit 3 new participants, of which 1 withdraw last minute. Eventually, a sample of 11 juveniles was interviewed in the summer of 2022, one below targets. The research proceeded because enough data was collected to draw interesting conclusions. Admittedly, the reliability of this thesis would be higher if a few more juveniles participated. However, the value of this thesis is not primarily defined by the quantity of data but by the depth and novelty of argumentation. Please see figure 1 for an overview of personal characteristics of participants.

Figure 1

Personal characteristics of participants

Sexual orientation	Gender	Pronouns	Age
Asexual (1)	Female (4)	He/ him (4)	16 (3)
Bisexual (2)	Male (4)	She/ her (5)	17 (2)
Homosexual (3)	Nonbinary (2)	They/ theirs (2)	18 (1)
Lesbian (1)	Transgender (2)		19 (1)
Panromantic (1)			20 (1)
Pansexual (4)			21 (1)
Polyamorous (1)			22 (1)
			24 (1)

Because some participants identify with multiple sexual orientations or genders, the sum of both sexual orientations and genders are more than 11.

Apart from the 2 participants who were recruited via snowball sampling, juveniles responded to a call spread via e-mail, youth care institutions' intranet services, and social media (see appendix 1). The call directed to juveniles was sent to all residential care offering members of Jeugdzorg Nederland, a sector association for youth care organisation, accompanied by the question to share the call with juveniles. Besides, the call was shared with Dutch interest group COC and their Gender and Sexuality Alliances, and 1SocialDomein – a platform for care professionals. The lion's share of organisations reacted positively to the request shared the call. Just a few indicated to have other priorities and a some did not respond to the call at all. One did not want to contribute to the research because of principal objections. Juveniles considering participation in the research could fill in a Google Forms. The form consisted of 4 questions asking the name, e-mailaddress, telephone number, preferred interview moment, and room to leave a remark. Because of to privacy, juveniles were not asked on their sexual orientation and gender before accepting the informed consent.

Performing the interviews online via videoconferencing software (Zoom and Microsoft Teams) was preferred, due to convenience and for extra integrity, and used 10 times. One participant insisted on taking the interview in the closed residence where she resided, and so it happened. On average, interviews lasted 48 minutes, a total of 562 interview minutes were transcribed. All interviews were recorded to make transcription possible, and the researcher was engaged in 'memoing' during the interview – that is, taking notes of ideas that come to mind

when listening to participants. The memos can help in data analysis and to link statements made by participants during the interview to theory (Given, 2008).

Participants are able, and will be stimulated, to use their own vocabulary and discuss matters that are most pressing to them in relation to the central concept and aim of this study. Although an interview guide is prepared, the order in which questions were asked differed per interview, depending on the story told by participants.

3.5. Data analysis

All interview recordings were transcribed manually by the researcher. Remarkable statements made by the participants were highlighted to make a trail classification of what could be important data and what might be more trivial. The transcription will be a linear and textual representation of the interview. Because the interview is recorded, noteworthy non-oral communication by the participants can be added to the transcription to indicate expressed emotion when making a statement. No software was used to make the transcription to ensure quality and become immersed in the data. Just as during data collecting, memos were made to remember ideas that come to mind while making the transcriptions.

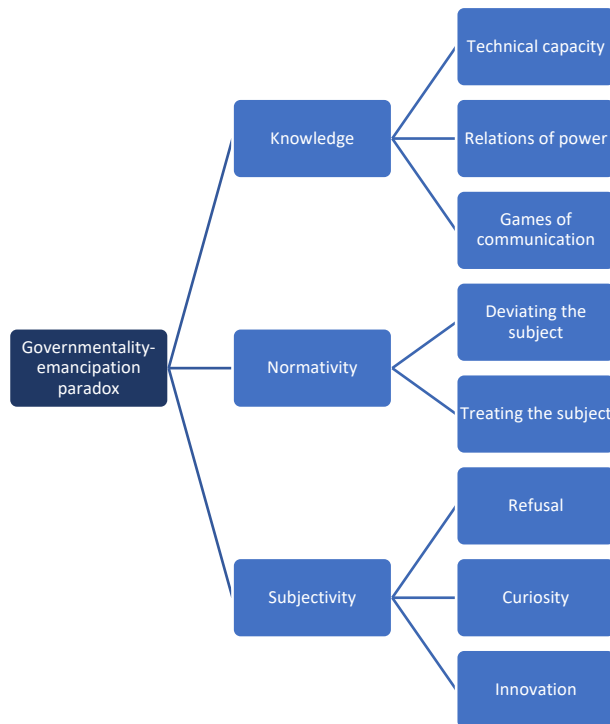
After transcription, the interviews were coded using Excel. The transcriptions are cut into pieces of text relating to a particular argument made by the participant. An argument could be one sentence or a whole paragraph as long as it expresses a singular thought, experience or feeling. Then, labels were applied. The arguments were first allocated to one of the (sub-)dimensions of the operationalised construct or to an additional category when neither dimension fitted. Arguments in the additional category could signal a theme for further research. Next, labels were applied to indicate if particular concepts (such as transformative experiences or paternalism) were mentioned, to indicate emotion, to indicate if a statement related to modernity or postmodernity, and to indicate how useful an argument seemed to be for this thesis. After applying labels, similar statements made by different participants were grouped together to indicate consensus and contradiction on themes. Lastly, groups of arguments representing unique themes are ranked based on the number of participants that made a similar statement on the theme. By doing so, arguments made by a large share of participants are prioritized over arguments made by a smaller share of participants. The ranked groups of arguments will serve as the basis for the conclusion and discussion of this thesis.

3.6. Operationalisation

As mentioned before, the aim of this study is to learn more about the *experience* of sexual and gender minority juveniles in residential youth care and see how these experiences are embedded in the larger historical phenomena portrayed paradox of governmentality and emancipation. Given Foucault's particular perspective on experiences, his three earlier mentioned elements of the 'matrix of experience' will be used as dimensions for the governmentality-emancipation paradox. By focusing on the knowledge, power, and relation the self-influencing experience, rather than formal rules and regulations (Bevir, 2011), a particular Foucauldian perspective is applied, and the study population is treated as *explanandum rather than explanans*. Figure 2 depicts how the governmentality-emancipation paradox is conceptualized and which dimensions will be questioned during the semi-structured interviews. Figure 3 lists the questions that can be asked during the interview.

Between the briefing and the interview, participants are asked to indicate how they identify themselves with regards to their sexual orientation and gender. The within-group variances of the study population make it salient to provide a nuanced display of respondents' sexual orientation and gender.

Figure 1
Coding scheme



The left column (dark blue) indicates the central phenomenon of the study. The two middle columns depict how the phenomenon is conceptualized. The right column shows the indicators of each of the eight concept-dimensions.

Figure 2
Interview guide

Dimension	Sub-dimension	Code	Question EN	Question NL
<i>Introduction</i>		I	Could you talk about where you currently are, and how you got there?	Kun je mij iets vertellen over waar je op dit moment bent, en hoe je daar gekomen bent?
		I.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How long have you been in the youth care system? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hoelang heb je in de jeugdhulp gezeten?
<i>Participant information</i>		II	What is your age?	Wat is je leeftijd?
<i>Participant information</i>		III	Regarding sexual orientation, how do you identify yourself?	Aangaande seksuele oriëntatie, hoe identificeer je jezelf?
<i>Participant information</i>		IV	Regarding gender, how do you identify yourself?	Aangaande gender, hoe identificeer je jezelf?
<i>Participant information</i>		V	Which pronouns can I use in the research report to refer to you?	Welke voornaamwoorden kan ik gebruiken om naar je te verwijzen in het onderzoeksrapport?
Knowledge	Technical capacity	1	Could you tell something about the objectives of your stay in RYC?	Kun je iets vertellen over de doelen van je verblijf in residentiele jeugdhulp?
		1.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is increasing self-dependency an objective of your stay? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is het vergroten van zelfstandigheid een doel van je verblijf?
Knowledge	Relations of power	2	Who was involved in setting these objectives?	Wie was betrokken bij het stellen van de doelen?

		2.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you give a concrete example of how 'that person' was involved in setting these objectives? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kun je een concreet voorbeeld geven van hoe deze persoon/personen betrokken waren bij het stellen van de doelen?
		2.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the relation to your parents? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hoe is de relatie met je ouders?
Knowledge	Games of communication	3	How were the objectives communicated to you?	Hoe waren de doelen aan jou gecommuniceerd?
		3.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which arguments were used in setting the objectives? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welke argumenten werden gebruikt voor het stellen van deze doelen?
		3.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you know what Emancipation is? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weet je wat emancipatie betekend?
Normativity	Deviating the subject	4	Do you perceive yourself to be being different from the other youth in your RYC institution?	Zie je jezelf als zijnde anders dan de andere jongeren in de residentiele jeugdhulp instelling?
		4.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did your sexual orientation or gender every played a part in this? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speelde je seksuele oriëntatie of gender hierin ooit een rol?
		4.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you give a concrete example? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kun je hier een concreet voorbeeld van geven?
		4.3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From what norm within the RYC institution do you deviate? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Van welke norm(en) wijk je af binnen je residentiele jeugdhulp instelling?
Normativity	Treating the subject	5	What is your experience with care givers within the RYC institution?	Wat is je ervaring met begeleiders binnen de jeugdhulp instelling?
		5.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your opinion on their care giving? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wat is je mening over hun begeleiding?
		5.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what manner do they help you achieving your goals? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Op welke manier helpen ze je de doelen te behalen?
Subjectivity	Refusal	6	Do you think the objectives and norms we discussed earlier can be changed?	Denk je dat de doelen en normen die we eerder bespraken veranderd kunnen worden?
		6.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you give a concrete example of objectives or norms that can easily be changed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kun je een concreet voorbeeld geven van doelen of normen die makkelijk te veranderen zijn?
		6.2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could you give a concrete example of objectives or norms that are hard to change? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kun je een concreet voorbeeld geven van doelen of normen die moeilijk te veranderen zijn?
Subjectivity	Curiosity	7	Why do you think the objectives are set?	Waarom denk je dat eerdergenoemde doelen gesteld zijn?
		7.1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your opinion on the way objectives are set? 	

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wat is je mening over de manier waarop de doelen gesteld zijn?
Subjectivity	Innovation	8 8.1	<p>What is your experience with changing the norms within the RYC?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why did you (not) succeed in changing the norms? 	<p>Wat is je ervaring in het veranderen van de normen binnen de residentiele jeugdhulpinstelling?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Waarom lukte het je wel/niet om de normen te veranderen?
Closing		VI	Where do you see yourself in 5 to 10 years?	Waar zie je jezelf over 5 tot 10 jaar?
Closing		VII VII.I VII.I	<p>Is there anything left of which thought in advance that we would definitely discuss it during this interview?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did I miss something? • Do you feel that you could tell your story? 	<p>Is er iets onbesproken geweest waarvan je van tevoren dacht dat we het er zeker over zouden gaan hebben?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heb ik iets gemist? • Heb je het gevoel dat je je verhaal hebt kunnen doen?

3.7. Ethics

The research population is vulnerable and should hence be treated carefully. Although this thesis hopes to give precarious juveniles a voice, speaking *with* them rather than about them, the researcher is aware of the difficulties participation into the study might bring to the respondents. In advance to reaching out to the population, conversations have been held with researchers more experienced in handling SGM juveniles and/or juveniles in RYC to inquire advice (personal communication with Movisie researcher S. Timmerman, 2021, June 29; -special advisor LGBTI Equality at the ministry of OCW Y. de Boer, 2021, November 17; -Rijksuniversiteit Groningen researcher M. ten Brummelaar, 2022, January 25). Additionally, ethical considerations of López López et al. (2021) are used as inspiration for the measures proposed with regards to this thesis.

Interview set up

Taking part in an interview and speaking about experiences could cause emotional or even physical distress. To mitigate stress, a councillor with professional experience and competencies from the residential care facility (preferably the confidant or the participant's closest caregiver when no confidant is available) can join the interview and keep an eye on the participant during and after the interview, if that is desired by the participant. Involvement of a third person is mandatory for minors. In addition, participants were contacted a week after the interview to ask how they looked back on the interview. All participants looked back in good spirit, some called the interview "a pleasure" or said it was a relieve for them to share their story. In hindsight, asking for involvement of a third person might in some cases have reduced the psychological safety for juveniles to speak up and feel at ease.

Informed consent and information provision

To ensure ethical just research, the study objectives, method, and context was explained to participants before they took part in an interview. All participants were made familiar with an information sheet of the study and are required to give informed consent. In case a participant was younger than 16 years of age, consent was also needed from their legal representative. The information sheet and informed consent form, depicted in appendix 2, are based on templates by the University of Twente and for example guarantee that participants can stop contributing to the study at any given moment. Besides explaining the study to participants, interviewees are given the researcher's contact details and stimulated to ask questions, discuss feelings, or express concern after participation if they wanted to do

so. The aim of informed consent is not to get a signature from the participants but to make them feel secured and be aware of their rights.

Because the researcher and participant are physically distant from each other, informed consent is signed orally during the briefing. The documents were sent to the participant a few days before the interview and discussed before the interview started.

Research data management

Personal data of respondents will be rendered anonymous. That means that no one, including the research himself, does not have access to personal identifiable information of participants after interviews are held. Anonymized identifiers (e.g., “Subject 1”) are used to refer to participants in the datasets, transcripts, and final research report. However, besides an anonymized identifier, respondents’ year of birth, sexual orientation, and gender will be asked during the interview and stored in a dataset. Sexual orientation and gender identity are recognized as sensitive data. Due to the small sample size of the study, the link to birthyear, and the rich data that will hopefully be given during the semi-structured interview, indirect identification of respondents might be possible. Processing of these data is only allowed if necessary for scientific research and when explicit consent is given by the participants (and legal representative in case of minors) (University of Twente, n.d.).

Risk assessment

The consequences for respondents in case data are being stolen, leaked, or become public otherwise can be significant – risk class 2 (increased risk) based on the risk classification provided by the BMS DataLab of the University of Twente (n.d.). To prevent data from being stolen, leaked, or become public otherwise, increased information protection measures are taken. All data are protected by a password and two-factor identification. Personal information and interview transcriptions are stored on separate files on different online locations (Google Drive and OneDrive). Furthermore, contact information is deleted when no longer needed and data breaches are reported as soon as possible at cert@utwente.nl.

3.8. Conclusion

The previous pages introduced how the sub-questions of this thesis will be answered. Apart from introducing the methods for data collection and -analysis, particular attention was paid to the research population. Based on international studies and indications from Dutch studies on other domains such as education and homelessness, it is estimated that $\pm 20\%$ of juveniles in Dutch residential care is not cis heterosexual. That is, ± 8.500 in absolute numbers. Compared to the general population, sexual and gender minority juveniles are overrepresented by 10% in residential youth care.

A sample (N=11) participated in this researcher by joining a semi-structured online interview, lasting 48 minutes on average. Participants were prompted by the interviewer to discuss their experience of emancipation according to the dimensions of Foucault’s foyer of experience. Next, the recorded interviews were manually analysed. Arguments were allocated to one of the three dimensions of Foucault’s foyer of experiences or to an unassigned category and further analysed afterwards.

During, after, and in advance of the interviews, particular attention is paid to the ethics because the population of this study is more vulnerable than the general population, and because sensitive data was gathered. All participants are anonymised in the research report and interview recording are deleted. Consequently, the following pages will refer to participants as subjects rather than by their names.

4. Results

4.1. Introduction

It became very evident that juveniles enter the youth care system for a plethora of reasons. The largest share of subjects needed to process one or multiple traumas caused by transformative experiences during childhood (e.g., sexual abuse or violence). Often, depression, burn-out and suicidality were part of the reason juveniles needed help. Two subjects were addicted, one to pornography and the other to hard drugs. Some subjects were neglected by their parents, either emotionally, physically, or both. Stealing was part of the reason for entering the youth care system of one subject, being member of a drug gang for another. Importantly, all subjects had multiple reasons to enter the youth care system and difficulties due to sexual orientation or gender was never the sole cause.

The cause for needing youth care influences the voluntariness of application. Some juveniles were forced while others requested application themselves. Those who applied voluntarily experienced more rights and a greater sense of freedom than those who were forced. Therefore, the form of application, either voluntarily or forced, counts for the experience of emancipation afterwards. However, the boundaries between voluntary and forced application are not always clear cut. To illustrate, Subject 11 gave consent to go into the youth care system when he was 12 years of age yet questioned the voluntariness of this decision: "I did give permission. So yes, it is voluntary, however the question is to what extent is it voluntary when you are 12 years of age. I have no idea." He later added that in hindsight one cannot ask a 12-year-old to make such decisions and that he expected residential youth care to be something else. Even so, he is glad to have received treatment and argues that without it he would be in a far worse place than he is now.

4.2. Knowledge: A modern discourse, yet only mildly applied

Modern discourse prevails in residential youth care

The data reveals that juveniles in residential youth care often describe their situation, responsibilities, and aspirations in a modern discourse. Almost all subjects see themselves as the primary source of emancipatory capabilities – they are responsible for reaching their goals and improving their situation. This is interesting preposition for juveniles living in extensive care and control, making one wonder whether the additional support is acknowledged by those who receive it. To illustrate, Subject 6 spoke openly about their self-mutilation and explained that after they cut themselves, they want to bandage themselves because the wounds are "a problem I created myself, so I'll solve it myself." Additionally Subject 10 was sceptical about the effect of therapy and stated, "I don't believe all this therapy stuff anyway [...] because it has to come from within." Moreover, Subject 2 argued that youth care is making juveniles lazy because all basic commodities and facilities are arranged. While some enjoyed being held accountable for their own behaviour, others preferred to get more help and guidance from caregivers.

Subjects' experience of setting goals differs between residential- and closed residential youth care. It seems that juveniles' input is stronger considering in the former type of care. Furthermore, it is interesting that the two types of care differ with regards to the desirability of expert- and caregiver involvement. To illustrate, Subject 1 indicates that they quickly accepted treatment in the beginning of her stay in residential care because caregivers "know better what I need than I do because I know nothing" and Subject 4 explained he "really enjoys talking with older people because those people have life experience." Both statements seem to acknowledge the need of a pater to point out and resolve personal blind spots. In some cases, the pater-role was fulfilled by experts such as behaviour psychologists who helped juveniles and caregivers with setting objectives. On the other hand, Subject 11 argues he would act recalcitrant when his input would not have been considered while setting goals "because [when] I don't have ownership it won't work."

Irritation towards a lack of involvement is furthermore expressed by the multiple descriptions of caregivers using the argument "rules are rules" to make decisions and conduct certain practices. To illustrate, Subject 6 told that they may not receive visits during the week. When asked why that is the case, they mentioned "I didn't hear more than 'that's just a rule'." Communication between caregiver and subject in difficult situations is often perceived to be one-way from the caregiver towards the subject. However, according to subject 5: "If you want children to listen to you, you must also listen to them."

The importance of rules and the firmness with which they are applied seems to loosen when bonds between juvenile and caregiver strengthens. Therefore, subjects experience less room for dialogue with flex workers

compared to caregivers that have been around for a longer period. Subjects experience with flex workers will further discussed under 4.3. Normativity.

Independence is aspired and understood as something practical

Virtually all subjects saw becoming independent as the primary objective of their stay in residential youth care. Interestingly, independence was always described as a rather practical endeavour. For example, Subject 4 described it as “making your own sandwiches, get out of bed independently, [and] stick to structure. Particularly structure.” and Subject 11 explained that his three primary concerns were learning to cook, listening to caregivers more often, and going to school. Subjects explained that much effort is spent on learning to stick to a daily rhythm in life. Interestingly, Subject 2, who left residential youth care half a year ago, argued juveniles become institutionalized by care facilities and stated, “I’m still struggling with that, thinking that I must hold on to structure – I must take a moment of rest for myself, an hour every day.” Whereas in reality, he argued, such strict application of structure is not needed in daily life. The aversion against internalisation of external structure corresponds to the idea that emancipation must come from within, pronounced by Subject 6 and 10 in the previous paragraph. It illegitimizes the role of a pater and depicts an abhorrence against determinism. However, if subjects were indeed able to determine their own future without external guidance, would they be in residential youth care? Is a child even capable of doing so?

All interviews were closed by asking subjects where they would see themselves in 5 to 10 years from now. Subjects desired to finish educational programs, live together with (a) partner(s), have children, quite using drugs, and work as, for example, as a hairdresser, architect, entrepreneur, policemen or experience expert. In general, subject aspired a white-picket-fence life without trouble: A normal life. Only Subject 10 stated she does not dare to plan more than 24 hours ahead because “it only produces more shit, so then I already have a headache from this moment, from the shit I have right now, and then I also have to think about the shit I’ll have in two days or so.” Furthermore, both Subject 9 and Subject 10 desired to leave closed residential care and go to an open group, however this transition was not possible due to long waiting lists, while at the same time going back home is undesirable as well. As a result, both subjects felt redundantly locked up in a closed residential care. Although Subject 9 managed to leave residential care by behaving ‘socially desirable’, Subject 10 does not know what the future will bring and is still in closed residential care. Emancipation is therefore not a singular step from youth care to living an independent life but can better be depicted as a linear path consisting of multiple steps: From closed- to open care to ambulant- to independent living.

Financial abilities seem to be missing in the toolbox taught

Despite all above-mentioned attention to practicalities, one major life skill seems not to be taught: Dealing with finance. Not one subject, with whom financial abilities was discussed, seemed satisfied with his/her/they personal financial abilities. Most acknowledged it as something they should improve. To illustrate, Subject 3 argued that “Whenever I live on my own, I think there will certainly be a moment when I will be broke.” Afterwards he acknowledges that financial abilities are something that should be improved before he can leave residential youth care. Furthermore, Subject 4 stated that he must learn more about finances while Subject 7 explicitly mentioned improving financial abilities as one of her primary goals. However, the need to learn more about finance is not shared by Subject 11, who left residential youth care two years ago and now lives ambulatory while being in debt due to failed business he set up in residential care:

Look, of course I am subconsciously working on it. However, I am not thinking that I will never get rid of it. I know it will be fine. Actually, I let go of the financial situation completely. I don't know how I'm doing [financially] either. I know that the trustee is filing for debt settlement, but that is all I know.

4.3. Normativity: Proper bonds are the foundation of effective paternalism

Sexual orientation and gender can be a reason for deviation but often not the most significant

Based on previous research specifically addressing sexual and gender minority juveniles one might expect sexual orientation and gender identity to be primary variables influencing how treatment and peer interaction is experienced. Ergo, subjects were asked if they felt different from others in residential care and whether these parts of their identity influenced their experience with caregivers.

In this thesis, 3 subjects did not perceive themselves to be different from other juveniles in residential care. 6 felt they were. Furthermore, 1 explained that all juveniles in residential care are unique and another distinguished between ‘normal’ juveniles and those that are ‘abnormal’ – while the latter refers to juveniles that actively seek bad behaviour such as fighting and dealing drugs, former refers to juveniles who are confronted with problems out of their own influence, such as abusive parents or depression. On a more abstract level, one could say that a distinction is made between preparator and victim. Again, behaviour is linked to a strong sense of self-responsibility. Additionally, Subject 8, explained to feel more at home in residential care because she met people with similar problems and feelings – problems and feelings her friends at school did not understand or recognise. Interestingly, of the juveniles that view themselves different from the rest of the group, sexual orientation and gender were both mentioned just once as part of the reason. More often, matters such as hobbies or music were mentioned.

Nevertheless, Subject 9 was scolded with for being lesbian and Subject 5 for being transgender. In total, 4 subjects told to have been bullied (partly) due to their sexual orientation or gender. Clearly, gender is more problematic than sexual orientation and changes to be bullied or feel disconnected from the group increases when more personal characteristics deviate from the norm. Particularly subjects identifying with genderless pronouns often had to argue with others about their preferred way to be addressed, this was either experienced or witnessed by the subjects interviewed. For example, Subject 6 explains that people find it difficult to use genderless pronouns:

I very often have to correct people for addressing me with the wrong pronouns. I have already made the exception that people can address me as he/him because they/them is often too difficult, people do not understand it, especially the youngsters.

Isolation and fixation are transformative experiences

Subjects described different transformative experiences that changed their everyday experience. First, 3 subjects described how isolation and fixation made a significant impact on their lives. Subject 2 argues isolation, which was applied to him 7 times, caused a new trauma and that he therefore relives being isolated regularly. It is due to isolation that he is currently against residential youth care. Subject 10 tells they was isolated for a period of two weeks in which “every day there was fixation for me because I was just going crazy.” Even though they was going crazy whilst in isolation, they admits that sometimes there was no alternative and that they might harm themselves when they would not be isolated because “I can’t always make healthy choices for myself.” Moreover, subject 11 explains how isolation, for 5 minutes in a police cell, made him stop stealing:

After 5 minutes I went crazy because all you have is a toilet and a concrete bed. That’s all you got, I went... that made such an impression that at one point I was like this isn’t OK and this isn’t the way I want to go and that’s actually why I stopped

Additionally, Subject 8 described her encountering with a sexologist as a positive transformative experience. Subject 8 stayed voluntarily in residential youth care for 4 months to overcome her depression and pornography addiction. However, the caregivers of the Christian residence could not give her the help she needed, hence a sexologist was brought in. Although she and the sexologist met just once, it was “actually enough to be able to experience that bit of understanding without feeling weird or taboo or that sort of thing.” In September 2022, Subject 8 is planning to study Sexology because that single conversation “helped me so much and I hope I can do that for other youth people too.” Subjects who experienced a positive transformative experience seem to be motivated to let others experience a similar transformation as well.

Strong bonds with caregivers are primary for effective care

A trustworthy relation between subject and caregiver is perceived to be at most important. Without such relationship, hardly any care can be given. To illustrate, Subject 6 indicated having a strong bond with two caregivers. With those two caregivers they has meaningful conversations, while with all other caregivers she is not having “in-depth conversations about how I feel or about my tendency towards drugs”, instead they keeps it “pragmatic.” Furthermore, Subject 8 described a negative experience she had with a psychologist and makes the call to:

Be a little aware of how important that click with clients is, with those youngsters. It is not just about how good you are as a psychologist or therapist or whatever. That click is of 50%, sometimes more, importance because with that you can really go in-depth.

The importance of firm ties between subject and caregiver also became clear when discussing flex workers. 5 subject explicitly described flex-workers as less involved and lacking important information about the juveniles, because of which they are less equipped to react to difficulties and conflicts. Rather than making a proper judgement of what is going on and act accordingly, subjects argue flex workers either don't act at all or strictly stick to the set rules. To illustrate, Subject 5 tells she has been bullied in residential youth care due to her transgender identity, while some caregivers punish bullies, other "think 'never mind', these are the flexers." Moreover, Subject 2 described how a peer with aggression problems was treated and stated "caregivers who knew the guy, or had experience in life, always got him calm in his bedroom in the evening. But if there was a flexer, or a supervisor who didn't understand, they had to take him to isolation."

Primary family bonds cannot be replaced

In addition to the importance of having a strong bond between subject and caregivers, data seem to reveal that the bond between child and parents cannot be replaced by caregivers within the youth care system. Subjects describe all sorts of relationships with parents, some subjects regularly visit their parents while others decided to never see them again. In case there is no contact anymore, parents often have severe issues themselves (e.g., borderline, narcissism, mild mental disability or being in jail). Regardless of how difficult the relation with parents is, no subject argued that residential youth care felt like home or could properly replace bonds with parents. For example, Subject 3 lives in residential youth care during the week but often visits his mother during the weekend. Dad has passed away and his mother is diagnosed with a mild mental disability, due to which Subject 3 could not receive the care a child needs. Even so, when he visits his mother, it feels like home. If people ask him where he lives, he will refer to the youth care institution where he resides, but when he is at his mother, he thinks by himself "OK, I'm just where I'm actually supposed to be." Furthermore, subject 7, who voluntarily went to residential youth care for depression and problems at home, explains that the bond with her parents improved due to residential care. Probably because parents were relieved from a burden involved in taking care of their child.

Alternatively, some subjects do not have a healthy relationship with their parents but also lack proper bonding within the youth care system. These subjects have virtually no place to go. At the time of the interview, Subject 9 resides in closed residential care and wishes to go to an open group within the youth care system because she thinks she will be more accepted there than at home. However, due to waiting lists, her wish cannot soon be fulfilled. At the same time, her mother wants her to get back home, something she is not in favour of because she believes her mother is homophobic. Although a judge is responsible for deciding if and where she needs to go, Subject 9 feels that going back to her intolerant mother is the only choice she has because "otherwise I will have to wait her [in closed residential care] till there is place in an open group, and I do not want to wait any longer." Furthermore, Subject 10 was staying at a friend at the time of the interview. After she explained that her parents had their own issues to deal with, she mentioned "in the beginning I always screamed 'I want to go home' but what I actually meant was 'I just want to leave here'." However, her desire to go to a place more stable – "a place that looks like home but is not" – was not taken seriously. Despite the problematic relationship with her parents and the fact that she does not want to go back home she is certain that her parents love her regardless: "the line between love and hate is very thin for my parents." Subjects' argumentation raises the question of how the value given to primary family bonds can be combined with the ambition to emancipate into an independent individual, free of constraints. Moreover, what is the effect of the irreplaceability of primary bonds for the effectiveness of care when bonds seem to be at most important for effective paternalism?

Poor education at the internal school for those that need it the most

Multiple subjects experienced going to an internal school at the site of their residence. Not one subject with whom education within residential youth care was discussed was positive about it. Subjects stated that not much is learned at the internal school, arguing it is wasted time. Multiple arguments as for why this is the case were given. Subject 6 stated teachers lay too much responsibility for learning at the juveniles themselves, contradicting the modern argument that emancipation must come from within without help of a pater. Subject 9 claims that juveniles with different levels of intelligence are put together in one class due to which the educational programme never fits the

needs of individual pupils. Similarly, Subject 11 argued he could not concentrate because the classes, of around 35 pupils, are too big. As a result, subjects often skipped school altogether or played games such as poker in class to kill time. The experience of education in residential youth care seems to have the opposite effect than might be desired.

4.4. Subjectivity: Taking over behaviour for better or worse

Copying behaviour

Often, subjects described situations in which they copied certain activities from others. This is problematic because destructive behaviour, such as taking alcohol or drugs, can therefore become the norm. Particularly when juveniles with all sorts of problems are put together. Even so, subjects acknowledge that copying behaviour is hard to prevent because tailoring care to each unique individual would be undoable. To illustrate, Subject 8 narrates how she started self-mutilation for the first time in residential care after she saw one of her peers doing so: “It has never come to mind as an option. But when I saw her doing it, I thought ‘Oh okay, it might help her, so I want to try it as well’.” One might understand that juveniles cannot all receive individual treatment and inevitably must live together in group, group-living might even be desirable since it can prevent loneliness. However, it also seems that residential youth care could learn from Foucault’s foyer of experience. That is, to better consider the external variables that alter the perspective of juveniles and to consider that destructive behaviour can spread easily among peers.

Another argument is put forward by Subject 9. She states that putting together juveniles with varying problems is unfair: “There are people here for rape, selling drugs, using drugs and stuff like that, they can do all kind of stuff that I can’t, that is not fair.” During the interview she described having very weak ties with the juveniles in her residence. Due to the weakness of ties, she is not interested in what others are doing and is does not intend to copy their behaviour. However, these weak ties would also make it easier for get into conflicts each other because:

We don't have any communication with each other; anything. That makes it even easier to have problems with the other person. So, I think if everyone got to know each other and talked about what is bothering them it would be better, no one does that.

Just as with the depth of conversation with caregivers it seems that the strength of ties between juveniles influences the extent to which they copy their behaviour or take each other into account. When ties are strong, juveniles are more likely to copy one another’s behaviour, decreasing the likelihood of conflict. When ties are weak copying behaviour is less likely but the chance of starting an argument does increase.

Innovation

It is not only bad behaviour that is copied. Juveniles seem to be motivated to share lessons learned from transformative experiences or develop products for unmet demands so that peers are helped. Furthermore, Subject 11 gave a telling example in which the structure of residential youth care was innovated. According to Subject 11, caregivers saw male-female relationships as the norm and disapproved other relationship forms. Although he understood that intimacy between juveniles must be limited, he experienced homosexual intimacy (e.g., two boys watching a movie while laying against each other) to be more severely restricted. Together with the other juveniles in his living group and parents, he complained at the management of the residence about the way caregivers dealt with sexual orientation. After multiple plenary conversations with juveniles, parents, managers, and caregivers, 2 caregivers were fired and 1 resigned from a team of 8 in total. To Subject 11, the reason for the major impact of his endeavour was the fact that the juveniles managed to come together and use rational arguments. The liberation from oppressive caregivers was made possible by agents working together. Does that mean that freedom is reached in cooperation?

4.5. Conclusion

In sum, interviews revealed how juveniles at first express a modern discourse but quickly make contradicting argument would more accurately be labelled as postmodern. While difficulty to express oneself might be part of the explanation for why this is the case, it might also be the internalisation of neoliberal convictions that makes juveniles stress independence and self-responsibility, only to admit later and more unconscious the small role one subject has within a larger structure consisting of agents and phenomena one cannot directly alter. The stark contract between

modern discourse and a I-can-do-it-on-my-own mentality compared to the emphasis on the importance and value of relationships is one of the most significant results of this thesis. The importance of bonds is visible in most of the topics discussed and raises the question if it is accurate to assume that youth care can never substitute the care of parents and the relation between parent and child. Inherently, youth care misses the most important element of effective paternalism: strong ties.

A lack of primary bonds does not mean youth care will never be effective. Such statement would not only be inaccurate but also disrespectfully neglects the examples given of caregivers working hard to help juveniles as to the best of their abilities. Maybe their job is not yet to emancipate juveniles, but simply to make sure they do not kill themselves, either accidentally or on purpose. Maybe independence is not the ultimate end of youth care but positioning them within the complex network called society, from which emancipation could arise.

5. Discussion

5.1. Introduction

Although subjects' perception and storylines were leading in the results of this thesis, the aim of this thesis is to typify how juveniles experience emancipation in residential youth care using the work of Foucault. Hence, the collected qualitative data will be linked to the previously discussed literature in the next pages. Foucault's story led the theoretical chapter, interviewed juveniles' stories the results. The two stories coalesce in the discussion that is to follow.

Certainly, residential youth care can be seen as an example of what Foucault meant by governmentality. Juveniles are trained by behavioural correction and meticulous attention to become agents within society. Do juveniles themselves see it that way too? Does this hinder emancipation? Is this problematic, and if so, to whom exactly? Let us find out by going over the three dimensions of Foucault's foyer of experiences again.

5.2. Knowledge: Modern discourse for postmodern desires

Juveniles primarily favoured a modern discourse to describe their currently situation, their future, and the strategy to bridge the gap between both. Particularly goals are understood from a modern perspective. The importance and benignity to become independent is perceived to be common sense to an extent that it felt redundant to ask what goals are aspired. What is more, one becomes an independent individual by working hard and taking their responsibility. Some stated that residential youth care makes juveniles lazy, directly relating to Immanuel Kant's (1784) essay "*Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?*" The internal school might be the most pregnant example of such a demotivating factor in residential youth care. However, although the content of their discourse seems to be in line with modernity, juveniles portray difficulty in reasoning and using proper cause-effect arguments. Although modernity is aspired, it is moderately applied. A difficulty to reason might be exemplary for the intersectionality of problems that juveniles experience, some juveniles were also struggling with mental issues while other were just overcoming a traumatic experience. Even so, it seems, at first both the outcome as process of emancipation is understood and cherished to be modern. However, when discussed more extensively, juveniles portray a difficulty with applying concepts such as linear growth, rationality, and cause-effect reasoning. Moreover, although at first juveniles generally state to aspire independence, when asked where they see themselves in 5 to 10 years' time several minutes later in the interview, only one described a free and independent lifestyle based on modern values. For all others, strong relationships and practical skills were more important.

Furthermore, juveniles primarily focus on personal emancipation whereby afford is made to become authentic and accept oneself. Other forms of emancipation identified by Rebughini (2015) are not considered significantly. Particularly economic emancipations seem to be missed or not deemed important by juveniles in residential care. Moreover, personal- and economic emancipation might conflict each other. One who is invested in exploring and expressing their gender identify might have a harder time to become economically independent. The contradictions and ambiguities related to emancipation are hardly considered. Instead, emancipation is understood simply as the ability to take minimal necessary care of oneself. That means, appreciate oneself enough to be worthy of care and be able to give oneself the care needed to survive within society.

Therefore, juveniles seem to aspire and work on liberation from a situation of constraints. However, the free individual, who inherently experiences uncertainty (Biesta, 2008; Vogelmann, 2017) is thereby not created nor aspired as. In the beginning of interviews, juveniles were keen to use modern language to express their desire to become independent and escaping residential care. In general, the longer the interview proceeded, the stronger juveniles turned to a postmodern discourse in which complete freedom is not the unlimited end. Structures are not replaced by freedom but by other, less oppressive, structures. Or in some cases, structure is internalised by the first time. A dependence on drugs and self-mutilation to deal with depression is replaced by dependence on a strict daily schedule. Juveniles that were used to play videogames till late at night are subjected to set times for going to bed and waking up. Exactly as Foucault (1982) defines power, juveniles conduct is guided, and the possible outcome of their conduct is put in order.

Thus, at first juveniles use modern discourse to describe their objectives, potentially driven by external expectations or the internalisation of knowledge often promoted in neoliberal societies. However, these descriptions are often shallow and focussed solely on practical matters. When discussed more elaborate, it seems that modern freedom is not actually desired. Instead, juveniles seem to value fair inclusion within existing power structures. It is

therefore, as Foucault (1997) argued, not paternalism that is problematic but negativity. Discourse about residential youth care should not concern aspiration for uncertain freedom, or say exclusion, but developing a healthy and critical bond with structure, say inclusion. Let us therefore now expatiate on the significance of bonds.

5.3. Normativity: When ‘we’ is more important than ‘I’

In line with Scholte & Van der Ploeg (2011), proper bonding with caregivers and other juveniles seems to have a major impact on juveniles’ ability to emancipate. When bonds are strong juveniles listen and are motivated, when they are weak or short-lived, care becomes shallow, and juveniles do not see caregivers as legitimate paters. Consequently, relations of power strengthen when bonds are better. Recall that power is defined as the ability to guide someone else’s behaviour (Foucault, 1982). Thus, when caregiver and juvenile or peers amongst each other have strong ties, their ability to exercise disciplinary power, that is behaviour ‘correction’, strengthens as well. Only when juveniles see caregivers as legitimate and trustworthy, caregivers can operate as paters helping juveniles to emancipate. Furthermore, there is no evidence that power flows in just one direction. Based on Foucault’s literature, it seems realistic to consider juveniles guiding the possible courses of action of caregivers just as much as the other way around. A difference, however, could be that caregivers are tied to an all-encompassing administrative apparatus that limits their freedom causing stress and a gap between the desired- and the possible action.

Apart from rules and administration limiting the possibility to develop strong mutual bonds, it seems that specialisation can also become problematic. Although examples were found where specialised experts were able to help juveniles for specific problems, such as a pornography addiction, other examples were found where the fragmentation of knowledge over specialised experts hampered the ability to form strong bonds. Just as for flex workers, specialised experts do not encounter the same juveniles often enough to form a strong relationship. In most cases, specialised experts are accompanied with the permanent caregiver who is responsible for the juvenile. However, what would happen to the quality of care when the effort invested in specialised experts and flex workers was spent on bonding between juvenile and a permanent caregiver? What would happen if caregivers could spend the time invested in filling in paperwork could be spent on bonding with juveniles?

Moving on, based on the work of Foucault on governmentality and work of others on emancipation, the proposition was made that family bonds would obstruct the relation between state and individual in former’s attempt to emancipate the latter. Although, as just argued, bonds seem to be highly significant for effective application of power and paternalism. Ostensibly, even when the bond between juvenile and parent is problematic due to, for example, mental disorders of the parent, primary bonds with parents cannot be replaced by a substitute in residential care. Of course, parenting tasks such as learning juveniles how to cook are transferred from parent to caregivers in residential care but the sense of belonging and feeling ‘at home’ is exclusive for primary family bonds. It might be that juveniles cut off communication with their parents or vice versa, but the void created by a lack of contact cannot be replaced by bonds of the same strength and quality within residential care. Moreover, no evidence was found of parents being victimised by people in residential care. On the contrary, parents are often involved even when juveniles do not wish so themselves. Active contribution is made to a better child-parent relationship, potentially due to an awareness of its irreplaceability.

Although a replacement of primary family bonds was not discovered, some juveniles describe to be pulled out of society when entering youth care, because of which they had to leave important friends and family behind. Contrary, others were able to find people with whom they could connect in residential youth care for the first time. Those that already had strong bonds prior to admission to residential care experienced more difficulty to emancipate because bonds had to be replaced instead of created for the first time. Again, one can see that the experience of residential youth care depends highly on the life juveniles had before entry. In line with Foucault (1985; 2008b), the experience of residential youth care is influenced by a plethora of assumptions, theories, and previous experiences, shaping the way one makes decisions and experiences treatment in youth care (Lemke, 2011; O’Leary & Falzon, 2010). Therefore, treatment is not experienced equally by juveniles. Juveniles’ experience of emancipation is path dependent, and because juveniles took different paths that brought them to youth care, they all experience youth care differently as well.

Thus far, in line with postmodern theory, negativity is problematised while paternalism can be a benevolent aspect of emancipation when bonds are proper. Both the process as outcome of emancipation within residential youth therefore seem to be more fittingly explained by a postmodern- over a modern discourse. Even so, what does not seem to be the case is that primary family bonds obstruct the relationship between caregiver and

juvenile, as proposed by the governmentality-emancipation paradox. Rather the opposite seems to be true, involvement of parents might be desired by caregivers because it improve treatment.

5.4. Subjectivity: Then 'I' become part of who 'we' are

By now, it has been argued that juveniles at first argue to desire a modern ideal of emancipation, but that the objective of residential youth care is to prepare juveniles for participation within society because of which it is exemplary for governmentality: The juvenile is treated to serve society at large. Regardless of the aim, bonds seem to be of arch importance for effective treatment. The importance of bonds raises questions regarding the actual desirability of independence and problematisation of paternalism.

Rather than being independent, after some time in the interview, juveniles expressed to crave valuable relationships with others. That might be because independence comes with negativity, a state of uncertainty, inherent to the free individual (Biesta, 2008; Vogelmann, 2017). Negativity was never properly considered to be part of independence by the interviewed juveniles. Moreover, juveniles generally deemed themselves independent when external structure is internalised and can be followed without guidance from caregivers, when the art of self-government can be applied to oneself (Burchell et al., 1991). Juveniles that did experienced a state of uncertainty describe it as a rather chaotic and alienating experience. Recall for example Subject 10 who stayed at a friend's place at the time of the interview and had to sleep in hotels shortly before because she had no place to go after she was disallowed to return to the youth care institution if she would not change her behaviour.

Hence, the argument can be made that emancipation as practiced by residential youth care, rationalised from a modern perspective, does not end in freedom, but in the internalisation of existing structure. Moreover, freedom might not even be desirable by the juveniles because it leads to chaos and loneliness. It is therefore that residential youth care is an example of governmentality, although generally understood as an example of emancipation.

This does not mean that governmentality and emancipation are dichotomous. The essence of the governmentality-emancipation paradox implies that freedom makes people vulnerable for exploitation. By internalising an existing structing and establishing bonds, this vulnerability for exploitation and destructive behaviour is decreased. Emancipation and freedom can only exist when there is a foundation on which can be build. Indeed, youth care does not aim for either complete independence, as expressed by juveniles at first sight, or complete determination, as expressed by critical scholars on governmentality, but for balance between integration and freedom. Recall how accurate Durkheim's theory on suicide, proposing a U-shaped relationship between integration and suicide (Thorlindsson & Toroddur, 1998), seems to be to this regard. Furthermore, Foucault's explanation of emancipation being the development of individuals acting as critical agents within an inescapable web of fluid power relations is a valuable depiction of what juveniles can realistically desire to become. However, one should not forget that, to become a critical agent, one must, to some extent, overcome one's self-incurred immaturity (Kant, 1784, 2013; Rebughini, 2015) and be able to discipline themselves to make responsible decisions that are benevolent to society at large (Bevir, 2011; Foucault, 1985). Emancipation does therefore not end in modernity. However, emancipation as defined from a postmodern perspective is only possible after the creation of the self-governing individual, to become a critical agent one must first overcome self-incurred immaturity. Integration and the ability to criticize that to which you are integrated is only possible when one can keep oneself alive. Although that might seem obvious, it is not always to those that need residential youth care.

A desire to inclusivity over exclusivity is expressed by juveniles' valuation of strong ties with caregivers' peers, and their parents, as well as by the fact that they copy each other's behaviour. When juveniles develop proper ties with others that behave positively, juveniles copy positive behaviour. However, the contrary is true as well due which makes it undesirable to put together juveniles with all sorts of issues and destructive behaviour in one institution. Although independence is desired by juveniles at first sight, it seems that connection is just as important if not more when objectives are discussed more elaborately. It is therefore that governmentality – or at least taking individual responsibility for something larger than oneself by aligning individual- and macro level objectives – can be a necessary follow up for juveniles that have learned the basic practicalities of life, to prevent loneliness, alienation, and vulnerability to exploitation. To quote Bransen (2021) "we are not independent people. We are vulnerable parts of something larger than ourselves" (p. 144). By acknowledging our interdependence, or the proposition that one cannot fully escape form power relations (Foucault, 1997), one must strive to be a critical and reflexive agent in continues cooperation with others.

An acknowledgment of interdependence brings us to the sexual orientation and gender of the interviewed subjects. For them to develop benevolent ties starts with acceptance and understanding of their sexual orientation and gender. The juveniles interviewed portrayed multiple examples of how they challenged structures of power by resisting and innovating the status quo. Be it by hanging up a rainbow flag after eggs had been thrown at it, lecturing peers on genderless pronouns, or demonstrating against a team unaccepting caregiver together. Performing these activities gave them energy and are exemplary for individuals who emancipate by becoming critical individuals within a complex society (Foucault, 1997; Inglis, 1997; Radford, 2012). The quest is not to become one's authentic self but to become a legitimate agent within the interdependent network of power relations that we commonly call society.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Conclusion

In sum, this thesis aimed to answer how sexual and gender minority juveniles in Dutch residential youth care experience emancipation from the perspective of Foucault. The French philosopher's foyer of experience was operationalised for semi-structured interviews with a sample (N=11) of the study population. Analysis of the qualitative data reveals that, above all, juveniles experience of emancipation is path dependent and therefore influenced by assumptions, transformative experiences, and internalised norms, just as Foucault's theories explained.

Regardless of the path that brought juveniles to residential youth care, a modern discourse is initially used by juveniles to explain their experience of emancipation, even though it seems the free individual independent of his environment is not aspired on second thought. Instead, a postmodern discourse on emancipation can better depict how juveniles actual experience emancipation. Foucault rightly acknowledged one is, and will always, be part of something larger than oneself: Not to allow determination by this overarching structure one cannot control, but to make possible a critical analyse and realistic alteration. As such, it can be helpful to describe residential youth care as an institution preparing juveniles to become part of society, rather than an institution that makes them independent. Shifting from independence to interdependence automatically brings our attention to ties and the development of qualitative and benevolent bonds between agents within an unescapable network. For juveniles to emancipate, they would be better off learning to be a critical agent that can cooperate and argue with other agents in society. Admittedly, being able to cooperate with others requires that one can take care of oneself, so cooperation starts with independence. However, emancipation does not stop there. One still is lost in chaos and loneliness when not incorporated within society. Thus, those who aim to improve the situation of sexual and gender minority juveniles might have to start with strengthening ties between interdependent agents.

Abovementioned contrast with the general discourse of neoliberal and individualised societies. Often attention is given to uniqueness, authenticity, and independence. Without deeper examination, those modern values are internalised by vulnerable juveniles that still struggle with the basic elements of daily life. How come more and more juveniles feel lonely? How come more and more juveniles struggle with mental health? How come more and more juveniles feel too much pressure to perform? Maybe they have been told the wrong story. Potentially, modernity made us forget that we are part of something larger than ourselves. Let us therefore revalue those who take responsibility for interdependence, those that look after someone, and those that aim to change the environment because they do not want others to experience what they have had to. Let us strive for critical inclusivity over harmful exclusivity.

6.2. Suggestions for further research

Several directions for further research can be distilled from this thesis. First, the argumentation portrayed might be quantified to make statements and effects measurable. Although quantification should always be performed with caution to prevent untruly simplification of the matters discussed, it might make generalisation of several elements possible.

Second, while Ossewaarde (2013) explained how primary-family bonds become problematic in governmentalized states, and Biesta (2008) and Vogelmann (2017) argue liberation from the legal authority of the paterfamilias is an important aspect of emancipation, no such problematisation of primary family bonds are found in this thesis. Further research could help to specify the role of parents in emancipation in the modern nation state, considering the perspective of users of the welfare state as well as parents themselves and shapers of the welfare state. Additionally, an evolutionary perspective might be able to explain the irreplaceability of primary family bonds/

Third, López López (2021) quotes Audre Lorde when stating "without community, there is no liberation" (p. 13). While this thesis can only support such statement, it also became clear that sexual and gender minorities cannot be seen as a homogeneous group, as also acknowledge by Savin-Williams (2001). Gender is more often problematised than sexual orientation. It might therefore be of value to make a distinction between research on sexual orientation and gender. Thus, not treating sexual and gender minorities, or the "LGBTIQA+ community" as one group, doing so might provide a more accurate depiction of community sense.

Fourth, often, modernity and postmodernity are treated as opposites. To illustrate, Chandler and Richmond (2015) elaborate on the difference between the two discourses while little attention is given to how modernity and

postmodernity can complement each other. Although there are major differences, it might be valuable to discuss postmodernity as a logical follow up of modernity. An application of postmodern discourse does not necessarily have to mean a rejection of modernity, neither was Foucault's work a rejection of Kant or a denial of freedom. Thus, Foucault's work too should be understood as a logical expansion of modernity, rather than a rejection of it.

Fifth, all interviewed juveniles had a negative opinion on the internal school in residual youth care. Therefore, it might be valuable to research what exactly the role of the internal school is in the development of children and why it is that juveniles are so unsatisfied with that institution, which generally seen as crucial for emancipation.

6.3. Study limitations

The broad focus of is both the greatest value as the greatest risk of this thesis. While the large scope enabled unprejudiced exploration in which interviewed subjects had the opportunity to tell their story from their perspective, it also results in an eclectic set of conclusions and weak links between different parts of the document. Throughout the thesis one can read the trouble associated with combining different aspirations. Where the Ministry of VWS initially wanted a strong focus on sexual and gender minority juveniles from a pedagogical perspective, the University of Twente required more philosophical research from a public administrative perspective. The researcher would next time be better off choosing either aim instead of combining the two at the expense of clarity and sharpness.

Second, not all participants were always able to express themselves properly. Although most subjects were used to talk about their experiences, it turned out to be difficult to digest the meaning of statements or link them properly to theory, because thoughts of juveniles often are much less structured and well considered than those written down by philosophers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview invitation

E-mail to organisations (NL)

Namens Universiteit Twente onderzoek ik de ervaringen van LHBTI+ jongeren – dat wil zeggen, jongeren die zich niet 100% heteroseksueel en/of cisgender voelen – in de jeugdhulp met verblijf. Dit onderzoek doe ik in samenwerking met het ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (VWS) en dient twee doelen. Allereerst wil het ministerie van VWS, specifiek Directie Jeugd, de situatie van LHBTI+ jongeren agenderen en bekijken of extra aandacht voor deze groep nodig is. Daarnaast voer ik het onderzoek uit ter afronding van mijn masterstudie Bestuurskunde.

Voor het kwalitatieve onderzoek wil ik LHBTI+ jongeren interviewen die momenteel, of onlangs, gebruikmaken van jeugdhulp met verblijf, en dus soms of altijd slapen in een jeugdhulp instelling. Ondanks dat pleegzorg ook onder jeugdhulp met verblijf valt, worden pleegkinderen niet meegenomen in dit onderzoek om resultaten te kunnen generaliseren. Jongeren die meedoen aan een één-op-één interview (respondenten) worden geanonimiseerd in het onderzoeksrapport en de ethische commissie van Universiteit Twente ziet toe op een goed verloop van de interviews en dataverwerking – zo mogen respondenten zich bijvoorbeeld ten alle tijden terugtrekken van deelname.

Heel concreet is mijn vraag: Kunt u mij in contact brengen met jongeren die momenteel, of recentelijk, gebruikmaken van jeugdhulp met verblijf en (mogelijk) willen meedoen aan een interview over hun ervaringen tijdens het verblijf? Alle tips zijn welkom!

Hoor het graag! Laat het mij echter gerust weten wanneer er n.a.v. deze beknopte e-mail vragen of onduidelijkheden zijn. Ik ben te bereiken per e-mail of via 06 XXXX XXXX.

Interview invitation (NL)

Gezocht: LHBTI+ Jongeren met ervaring in Jeugdhulp met Verblijf.

Hoi! Het ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport is benieuwd naar de ervaring van jongeren die zich niet 100% heteroseksueel en/of cisgender voelen en momenteel, of kortgeleden, te maken hebben (gehad) met residentiële jeugdhulp. Daarom is mij gevraagd onderzoek te doen naar de ervaringen van deze jongeren. Met het onderzoek hopen we de situatie van LHBTI+ jongeren in de residentiële jeugdhulp te agenderen, verbeteren en waar nodig extra aandacht te geven.

Het ministerie is landelijk verantwoordelijk voor de jeugdhulp maar is *niet* betrokken bij de uitvoer van het onderzoek. Er is dus alle ruimte voor jouw eerlijke en kritische verhaal.

Voor het onderzoek zou ik je graag ± 30 minuten willen interviewen, online of op een locatie die jij fijn vindt. Deelname aan het onderzoek is anoniem en vrijwillig. Daarnaast kun je je altijd terugtrekken. Natuurlijk krijg je de uiteindelijke resultaten toegestuurd en nodig ik je graag uit voor de onderzoekspresentatie later in dit jaar.

Doe je mee?

Geef je op via Google Forms: <https://forms.gle/YSQsSJ6sg6bT5d9h8>. Of laat het weten via e-mail (XXXX@student.utwente.nl) of telefoon (+31 6 XXXX XXXX).

Heb je vragen?

Ik hoop je in februari 2022 te mogen spreken maar kan mij voorstellen dat je op dit moment vragen hebt. Neem in dat geval gerust contact met mij op via e-mail (XXXX@student.utwente.nl), telefoon (+31 6 XXXX XXXX) of Instagram @XXXX.

Appendix 2: Information sheet and informed consent form

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Informatieblad

Informatieblad voor onderzoek 'Governmentality-emancipation paradox: Experiences in residential youth care'.

Doel van het onderzoek

- Dit onderzoek wordt geleid door David van Walderveen.
- Het onderzoek kent twee doelstellingen:
 - a. Het ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport is geïnteresseerd in de uitkomsten van het onderzoek om zo de situatie van LHBTI+ jongeren in residentieel jeugdhulp beter te begrijpen en indien nodig te agenderen.
 - b. David van Walderveen voert het onderzoek (masterscriptie) uit ter afronding van de master Bestuurskunde aan Universiteit Twente.

Hoe gaan we te werk?

- Je neemt deel aan een onderzoek waarbij we informatie zullen vergaren door je te interviewen en je antwoorden op te nemen via een audio-opname. Ook zal er een transcript worden uitgewerkt van het interview.
- Uitsluitend ten behoeve van het onderzoek zullen de verzamelde onderzoeksgegevens worden gedeeld met Atlas.ti gevestigd in Berlijn, Duitsland.
- Voor deelnemers jonger dan 16 jaar is aanwezigheid van een derde persoon gedurende het interview verplicht, deelnemers van 16 of ouder mogen voor een één-op-één interview zonder derde persoon kiezen.

Potentiële risico's en ongemakken

- Tijdens je deelname aan deze studie kunnen vragen worden gesteld die je als (zeer) persoonlijk kunt ervaren, vanwege de gevoelige aard van het onderwerp. Wij stellen deze vragen enkel en alleen in het belang van het onderzoek. Je hoeft echter geen vragen te beantwoorden die je niet wilt beantwoorden. Jouw deelname is vrijwillig en je kunt jouw deelname op elk gewenst moment stoppen.
- Data wordt geanonimiseerd opgeslagen en je naam zal niet genoemd worden in het onderzoeksrapport. Leeftijd, seksuele oriëntatie en genderidentiteit kan wél worden benoemd in het onderzoeksrapport. Door het lage aantal participanten (12 tot 15) kan het zijn dat personen in je goed kennen uitspraken naar je kunnen herleiden. Wij zetten ons in om dit te voorkomen en anonimiteit te waarborgen.

Vergoeding

- Je ontvangt voor deelname aan dit onderzoek geen vergoeding.

Vertrouwelijkheid van gegevens

- Wij doen er alles aan om jouw privacy zo goed mogelijk te beschermen. Er wordt op geen enkele wijze vertrouwelijke informatie of persoonsgegevens van of over jou naar buiten gebracht, waardoor iemand je zou kunnen herkennen. Voordat onze onderzoeksgegevens naar buiten gebracht worden, worden je gegevens zoveel mogelijk geanonimiseerd.
- In een publicatie zullen anonieme gegevens worden gebruikt waaraan wordt gerefereerd d.m.v. anonieme identificatie (bijvoorbeeld "subject 1"). De audio- en video opnamen, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van deze studie worden gemaakt of verzameld, worden opgeslagen op een beveiligde onlinelocatie van de Universiteit Twente separaat van contactgegevens die z.s.m. worden verwijderd.
- De onderzoeksgegevens worden bewaard voor een periode van 10 jaar. Uiterlijk na het verstrijken van deze termijn zullen de gegevens worden verwijderd. De onderzoeksgegevens worden indien nodig (bijvoorbeeld voor een controle op wetenschappelijke integriteit) en alleen in anonieme vorm ter beschikking gesteld aan personen buiten de onderzoeksgroep.
- Tot slot is dit onderzoek beoordeeld en goedgekeurd door de ethische commissie van de Universiteit Twente, faculteit Behavioural Management and Social Sciences (BMS), domein Humanities and Social Sciences.

Vrijwilligheid

- Deelname aan dit onderzoek is geheel vrijwillig. Je kunt als deelnemer je medewerking aan het onderzoek te allen tijde stoppen, of weigeren dat jouw gegevens voor het onderzoek mogen worden gebruikt, zonder opgaaf van redenen. Het stopzetten van deelname heeft geen nadelige gevolgen voor je.
- Als je tijdens het onderzoek besluit om jouw medewerking te staken, zullen de gegevens die je al hebt verstrekt tot het moment van intrekking van de toestemming in het onderzoek gebruikt worden.
- Wil je stoppen met het onderzoek, of heb je vragen en/of klachten? Neem dan contact op met de onderzoeksleider: David van Walderveen, d.m.g.vanwalderveen@student.utwente.nl
- Voor bezwaren met betrekking tot de opzet en of uitvoering van het onderzoek kun je je ook wenden tot de Secretaris van de Ethische Commissie (domein Humanities & Social Sciences) van de faculteit BMS op de Universiteit Twente via ethicscommittee-hss@utwente.nl. Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd vanuit de Universiteit Twente, faculteit BMS. Als je specifieke vragen hebt over de omgang met persoonsgegevens kun je deze ook richten aan de Functionaris Gegevensbescherming van de UT door een mail te sturen naar dpo@utwente.nl.
- Tot slot heb je het recht een verzoek tot inzage, wijziging, verwijdering of aanpassing van jouw gegevens te doen bij de Onderzoeksleider.

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Toestemmingsformulier

Door dit toestemmingsformulier te ondertekenen erken ik het volgende:

1. Ik ben voldoende geïnformeerd over het onderzoek door middel van een separaat informatieblad. Ik heb het informatieblad gelezen en heb daarna de mogelijkheid gehad vragen te kunnen stellen. Deze vragen zijn voldoende beantwoord.
2. Ik neem vrijwillig deel aan dit onderzoek. Er is geen expliciete of impliciete dwang voor mij om aan dit onderzoek deel te nemen. Het is mij duidelijk dat ik deelname aan het onderzoek op elk moment, zonder opgaaf van reden, kan beëindigen. Ik hoef een vraag niet te beantwoorden als ik dat niet wil.

Naast het bovenstaande is het hieronder mogelijk voor verschillende onderdelen van het onderzoek specifiek toestemming te geven. Je kunt er per onderdeel voor kiezen wel of geen toestemming te geven.

Toestemming	Ja	Nee
3. Ik geef toestemming om de gegevens die gedurende het onderzoek bij mij worden verzameld te verwerken zoals is opgenomen in het bijgevoegde informatieblad. Deze toestemming ziet dus ook op het verwerken van gegevens betreffende mijn seksuele gerichtheid, gender, en genderidentiteit.		
4. Ik geef toestemming om tijdens het interview audio- en video opnames te maken en mijn antwoorden uit te werken in een transcript.		
5. Ik geef toestemming om mijn antwoorden te gebruiken voor quotes in de onderzoekspublicaties.		
6. Ik geef toestemming om de bij mij verzamelde onderzoeksdata te bewaren en te gebruiken voor toekomstig onderzoek en voor onderwijsdoeleinden.		
7. Ik geef toestemming voor de aanwezigheid van een derde persoon tijdens het interview.		
8. Ik ben 16 jaar of ouder en kies er vrijwilliger voor om het interview zonder begeleiding af te leggen.		

Ondertekening		
Naam deelnemer*:	Naam ouders(s) en/of wettelijke vertegenwoordiger(s) en/of derde persoon**:	Naam onderzoeker:
Handtekening:	Handtekening:	Handtekening:
Datum:	Datum:	Datum:

*Ondertekening door deelnemer is alleen nodig wanneer deelnemer 12 jaar of ouder is.

**Ondertekening door ouder(s) en/of wettelijke vertegenwoordiger(s) is alleen nodig wanneer de deelnemer jonger is dan 16 jaar.

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Appendix 3: Practical implications of research findings

To improve sexual and gender minority juveniles' experience of emancipation and the outcome of the emancipation process. The researcher would like to give to policy makers the following advice:

1. Consider the broader developments and ideology that shape terminology and content of policy documents.
 - a. Everyone is always influenced by larger epistemic, ethical, and political structures. An awareness of the elements that are most significantly altering your thoughts and experiences enables a greater array of possibilities to write policy.
 - b. Be aware of the larger epistemic, ethical, and political structures that influence the experiences of those for whom the policy is written.
 - c. Take into consideration that everyone interprets policy differently based on their past experiences, while newly generated policy also alters people's perception of future policy. Terminology and experiences therefore matter because they shape our perception of policy and vice versa.
2. Invest in strengthening bonds within residential youth care, both those between juveniles and caregivers as those between juveniles themselves.
 - a. Lengthening the duration of caregivers' contracts.
 - b. Lengthening the placement of caregivers on the same group.
 - c. Giving juveniles the ability to select a caregiver or change easily when there is no proper bond.
3. Sexual orientation and its influence on juveniles' experiences within residential youth care differs from the influence of gender. Therefore, LGBTI+ is not a monolith group and should not be treated as such. Writing policy to address the needs of "LGBTI+ individuals" is therefore too simplistic.
 - a. Treat LGBTI+ individuals at least as two different groups: Sexual orientation minorities and gender minorities whereby latter group is in more need of extra attention than former.
 - b. Consider that juveniles see both variables (sexual orientation and gender) as fluid spectra rather than a gay-straight or male-female dichotomy. To illustrate, regarding sexual orientation, juveniles in this thesis identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, pansexual, panromantic, polyamorous, and asexual. Regarding gender they identified as female, male, transgender and nonbinary.
 - c. See sexual orientation and gender as *a part* of juveniles' experience that intersects with other characteristics such as migration background and skin colour. As a rule of thumb, the characteristics deviate from general norms, the more severe problems are.
4. Before adding a new element to residential care (e.g., a new treatment or policy), consider if subtracting elements bring a solution too.
 - a. Reducing administrative burden and overhead creates time and money to develop stronger bonds and deliver personalised care.
 - b. Reducing the classifications of ailments and rapidity with whom they are applied normalises juveniles and makes them belong.
 - c. Given the diversity of juveniles in residential care, it is unrealistic to consider all exceptions within policy documents. Instead, write general policies and give those closest to the juveniles the power to make specifications and meet their individual needs.