Master Thesis

Sexual Citizenship

Rights, sexual identity, visibility and equality regarding (younger and older) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands

Marianne Oenema, 3701980

Social Policy and Social Intervention

Supervisor: Dorota Lepianka

1 July 2014

Utrecht, the Netherlands

Universiteit Utrecht

Acknowledgements

This master thesis is the final product of the master programme 'Social Policy and Social Intervention' of the Utrecht University. For this thesis I got the opportunity to interview Dutch non-heterosexuals about what sexual citizenship meant for them, and how the rights, acceptance, visibility, and equality is progressing in the Netherlands. I want to thank several people who helped create this thesis. Without them this would have been impossible.

I want to thank the twenty people who took the time to let me interview them. They offered me very interesting insights with their experiences, examples and opinions. With this they offered more than answers for my thesis, I feel like their stories might have expanded my point of view on different aspects of non-heterosexuality in daily-life. Especially the stories from bisexual respondents were new for me, and think that more people should hear about their experiences. Furthermore, I am grateful to the people who spread my request for respondents for my thesis, without them it would have been impossible to reach so many and such a diverse group of respondents. I also want to thank my supervisor Dorota Lepianka and my peer group, consisting of Ellen Hofbauer and Norman Ilsemann, for their useful input, feedback, and the time they took to help me with my thesis. I am very grateful to them and they really helped me improve my thesis. Lastly, I want to thank my parents, brother and all the other people who helped me with input and supported me so that I was able to finish this master thesis successfully.

Table of content

Summary

In recent decades sexuality has gained more focus in the public sphere and a connection between sexuality and citizenship has been made, because non-heterosexual movements have started claims for the same status as heterosexuals, protection from discrimination, the right to be themselves in public life, and the right to have legal relationships between same-sex partners. This has led to the introduction of the concept sexual citizenship. However, there are several ideas about sexual citizenship, what it is and entails, and the concept does not have one clear definition. This master thesis looks at the existing ideas about sexual citizenship in the theoretical exploration and attempts to bundle them together. Qualitative interviews with twenty younger (18-30) and older (49-66) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands will be used to analyse the meaning of sexual citizenship for these two groups. The research question is:

What is the meaning of sexual citizenship for younger (18-30) and older (49-66) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands?

The literature illustrates that sexual citizenship is an extension to citizenship in which sexual rights and sexual identity in private and public life have a crucial role. Firstly, sexual minorities need to have the same rights as heterosexuals. Secondly, they should be able to be recognised and live according to their own sexual identity. Thirdly, since non-heterosexuals need to be able to live their life with their own sexual identity, therefore it is important for them to be open and visibility, because this will increase acceptance from heterosexuals and give LGB's recognition. Fourthly, in order for people to have rights and live according to their sexual identity they need to be able to exercise their rights and be publicly recognised in their deviating identity, this is were acceptance, equality and belonging in the society come into play.

The results show that the meaning of sexual citizenship for Dutch non-heterosexuals is that they should feel completely accepted by and equal to heterosexuals and belonging in their surroundings. Sexual identity is an important part of this, especially for older respondents. Also, the possibility to be open and non-heterosexuals choosing to be open is important for LGB's themselves and, particularly for older respondents, society. Sexual rights seem to be important in so far, that respondents should feel that they are available and that they should not feel excluded from certain rights. Furthermore, a perspective on the future illustrates that sexual citizenship will remain important. Since it is hard to generalise the research further quantitative research based on these results is recommended. Also, because non-heterosexuals respondents with children from a non-heterosexual relationship are under-represented, further research with them is also necessary. Bisexuals sometimes take an interesting position in this master thesis, so they also deserve further research.

Key words: non-heterosexuals; sexual citizenship; sexual rights; sexual identity; openness; visibility; acceptance; equality; and belonging in society

1. Introduction

"I am tired of hiding and I am tired of lying by omission. I suffered for years because I was scared to be out. My spirit suffered, my mental health suffered, and my relationships suffered. ... we deserve to experience love fully, equally, without shame and without compromise" (Ellen Page (14-02-14) during the HRCF's Time to Thrive Conference)

A few decades ago sexuality was not a concept which was discussed often in the public sphere. The presumption was that everyone was heterosexual and if you were not, there was something wrong with you. A lot has changed, since sexuality became a lot more relevant after the so called 'sexual revolution' in the sixties. At first this was mainly focussed on equality between the sexes. However, sexual minorities also got more attention, and then they started claims for the same status as heterosexuals, protection from discrimination, the right to be themselves in private and public life, and the right to have legal relationships between same-sex partners. These rights can be regarded as citizenship rights, and that is how they were claimed. The combination of sexuality and citizenship led to the introduction of the concept 'sexual citizenship' in the nineties. Multiple authors have used this concept since then (Donovan, Heaphy and Weeks, 1999; Evans, 1993; Plummer, 2001; Richardson, 2000; Weeks, 1998), but these authors have several different ideas about what sexual citizenship is and entails. This makes it difficult to use the concept in a research study and assess the usefulness and relevance of sexual citizenship. Therefore the aim of this master thesis is to first explore the different theoretical ideas about sexual citizenship, what it might entail and how to use it in a research study. At the end of the theoretical exploration the aspects sexual citizenship entails will be provided based on the literature. In the research part these aspects of sexual citizenship will be researched through a qualitative method with twenty semi-structured interviews in order to discover if sexual citizenship is a useful concept. The interviews were conducted among younger (aged 18 till 30) and older (aged 49 till 66) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands. The reason that the Netherlands is chosen, besides reasons of convenience, is that the Netherlands is (one of) the most advantaged countries regarding rights for and acceptance of sexual minorities (ILGA[1], 2014; Keuzenkamp & Kuyper, 2013; Kuyper, Iedema & Keuzenkamp, 2013). The Netherlands has already come a long way and was the first country to allow same-sex marriage. By comparing Dutch younger and older non-heterosexuals a difference might be viewed between people who have experienced less or more rights and acceptance regarding their sexual orientation throughout their life. There is expected to be a difference between these two groups in the meaning that they give to sexual citizenship because of these different experiences of rights and acceptance. It is expected that for older LGB's[2] sexual citizenship is more important than for younger LGB's because they had to 'fight' harder to be equal to heterosexuals and to be able to be themselves. The reason qualitative interviews are used as a method is because it is attempted to understand the meaning that non-heterosexuals give to sexual citizenship in and through their surroundings, experiences, feelings, motivations, and symbols. According to

---

[1] International lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex association.
[2] Lesbians, gays and bisexuals.

Introduction

Berg (2009), Boeije (2005) and Boeije, 't Hart & Hox (2009) qualitative research is the best method for this. Only by looking at the meaning that non-heterosexuals assign to sexual citizenship can we start to understand what sexual citizenship is and entails. Therefore the following research question is used:

What is the meaning of sexual citizenship for younger (18-30) and older (49-66) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands?

1.2 Scientific and social relevance, and the interdisciplinary character of the research

Sexual citizenship is a relative new concept in the studies regarding citizenship. There is some difference in the ideas about what it and entails. More clarity into the relevance of the concept of sexual citizenship is therefore necessary. Furthermore, sexual identity seems an important aspect of sexual citizenship. A lot of research has already been conducted into sexual identities, but comparison of the meaning of sexual identity between generations is lacking. The Netherlands is a fitting country for this research, because it is one of the countries in the world were acceptance of non-heterosexuals and their sexual rights has been most advanced. This research can help us to glance at the future and to the direction in which sexual identity and sexual citizenship will and should go according to sexual minorities. Therefore this master thesis is both scientifically and socially relevant. It is also socially relevant because it can help non-heterosexual communities to shed light on the meaning of their sexuality in the social context of the Netherlands.

The interdisciplinary character of the research is visible because it is both about individual experiences, the surroundings and society as a whole. Also the theoretical exploration uses concepts from different scientific disciplines; history, psychology, and sociology are among the disciplines used in this study.

1.3 Structure

The thesis will start with a theoretical exploration of the concept sexual citizenship. First a short overview of (homo)sexuality and citizenship will be provided; after which sexual citizenship will be discussed in relation to sexual rights, sexual identity, openness and visibility, and acceptance, equality and belonging in the society. Also, how these aspects come along in the Netherlands will be illustrated. Then the research questions and expectations will be introduced and the research design, which contains an explanation of the methodology and data-analysis, will be elaborated on. Next, the results will be described in relation to the different aspects of sexual citizenship. Lastly, a conclusion will be provided and the results, limitations of the research and recommendations for future research will be discussed.

2. Theoretical Exploration

In order to illustrate how the concept of sexual citizenship came into existence a brief glance into (homo)sexuality, citizenship and the connection between these two will be provided. Then sexual citizenship will be explained with regard to sexual rights, sexual identity, openness and visibility, and acceptance, equality and belonging in the society. Next, some concluding remarks regarding the theoretical exploration will be presented, and the research question, sub-questions and expectations will be named.

2. 1 (Homo)sexuality

Sexuality is described by Weeks as "bodily potentials, desires, practices, concepts and beliefs, identities, [and] institutional forms" (1998, p. 35) linked together. He states that sexuality is gendered, changeable, mostly focussing on hegemonic patterns, leading to inclusion and exclusion, and that it gives historically and culturally specific ideas about a core characteristic of personhood (Weeks, 1998). Richardson (2000) notes that sexuality and categorisation of different sexualities, such as homosexuality, are a relative recent social invention from the late seventeenth / early eighteenth century in academia in Europe, although homosexual practices already existed before this recognition of sexual identities. In the last three decades there has been a shift in understanding and acceptance of homosexuality in Western society (Richardson, 2000) following the sexual revolution in the sixties. This led to an increase of intimate desires, pleasures and ways of being interpreted through a frame of sexuality. Moreover, sexual minorities started defining themselves (more openly) according to their sexual attributes, and make public claims for recognition, equal rights and respect (Richardson, 2000; Weeks, 1998); for instance with the first gay-pride parade in 1969. Thus, sexuality moved increasingly from the private to the public sphere.

Furthermore, since the sixties family norms in society and options for (re)production changed with consequences for non-heterosexuals. The traditional nuclear family, a married heterosexual couple with children, is no longer the norm of social living arrangements (Richardson, 2000); e.g. there are more single mothers. Nowadays, relationships are based on romantic attraction, sexual desire, and personal choice (Giddens, 1992). And new reproduction technologies gave heterosexuals the option to have sex without reproducing, which increasingly disrupts the reproductive model of sexuality (Richardson, 2000), and gave LGB's reproduction without having heterosexual sex.

However, sexual minorities often still feel treated different than heterosexuals, and not having or being able to exercise the same rights and responsibilities as heterosexual citizens "openly, honestly and fully – for example, as parents, sexual partners, [and] employees" (Donovan et al., 1999, p. 692). Thus, non-heterosexual movements focus on gaining recognition and validation for LGB's through gaining legal and social recognition for couple relationships, same-sex marriage, immigration rights, and non-heterosexual parenting (Donovan et al., 1999). This increasing attention towards sexuality has led to the connection of sexuality with citizenship, but before going into this connection some relevant ideas regarding citizenship have to be named.

2.2 Citizenship

Turner (1993) defines citizenship as "that set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (p. 2). Different definitions of citizenship give varying ideas on inclusion and exclusion and lead to different forms of exclusion. Another notion of citizenship is offered by Marshall (1950). He developed a classic model of Western citizenship in which civil, political and social rights and responsibilities have bearing on individuals who are social members of a shared, often national, community. Civil rights deliver equality under the law and include, for instance freedom of speech, liberty of person and the right to justice, while political rights offer equal political participation and include, for example the right to vote and participate in the exercise of political power (Richardson, 2000). Social rights attempt to end exclusion based on class and poverty, and to create a society where everyone's worth is recognised (Weeks, 1998) which include, e.g. the right to a certain level of economic welfare, security, and the right "to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall in Richardson, 2000, p. 71). This Marshallian notion of citizenship is broadly criticised by authors for being too simplistic, closed, gendered, racialised, and heterosexual (Donovan et al., 1999; Richardson, 2000; Weeks, 1998). Other authors used Marshall's analysis to develop and include other aspects of citizenship, for example cultural citizenship (Turner, 2000).

This cultural citizenship became important because of multiculturalism, globalisation and mass communication (Turner, 2000) and is relevant in this thesis because it can offer non-heterosexuals representation in the media. According to Turner (2000) cultural rights would include the right to participate and to be represented in the media and popular culture. Richardson (2000) mentioned that this has not been the case for non-heterosexuals and their relationships. However, recently there has been a substantial increase in the participation and (positive) representation of LGB's, e.g. TV programmes such as *Modern Family* and *Orange is the New Black*.

In feminist and queer theory traditional ideas about citizenship, such as Marshall's, are criticised because the persistence of gender inequality limiting this model, and the institutionalisation of heterosexuality, the nuclear family and the male privilege (Donovan et al., 1999; Richardson, 2000). Pateman (1989) argues that citizenship is based on paid employment in the public sphere, and therefore on the male breadwinner model. This leads to ignoring the private sphere in which women and sexuality have an important role (Turner, 1993; Weeks, 1998). Walby (1997) also remarks that "the concept of citizenship depends upon the public sphere; [and that] the term has no significant meaning in the private" (p. 176). However, Turner (1993) mentions that everyday practices increasingly become important in debates about citizenship, which together with the focus that sexuality has gained in everyday life (Weeks, 1998) and the growth in women's employment in the public sphere, obtains more attention for citizenship in the private sphere. In the next section it is explained how with this sexuality and citizenship come together in sexual

citizenship.

2.3 Sexual citizenship

The rising attention towards sexuality led to a connection between sexuality and citizenship in notions of sexual or intimate citizenship (Richardson, 2000). As before-mentioned, citizenship was, and still is, mainly constituted in the public sphere (Marshall, 1950), while sexuality is regarded a personal and private matter (Giddens, 1992). This can be seen as a contradiction in which claims to citizenship connected to sexuality are viewed as invalid because these social relations from the private sphere are considered not to be relevant to the public sphere of citizenship (Richardson, 2000; Weeks, 1998). However, non-heterosexuals can be granted rights as long as they stay 'minorities' and remain in the private sphere invisible from the public. They have to stay within the boundaries which are guarded by a heterosexist public / private divide (Richardson, 2000). Even though sexuality can be excluded from citizenship on the basis of being private, 'the right to privacy' has often been the basis for the recognition of citizenship claims in relation to sexuality (Richardson, 2000; Weeks, 1998). And when it concerns family and children LGB's might also be excluded in the private domain. According to Richardson (2000) privacy is in that case mainly a right of legally married heterosexuals. Moreover, Weeks (1998) claims that "the sexual citizen, therefore, is a hybrid being, breaching the public / private divide which Western culture has long held to be essential" (p. 36).

Weeks (1998) also names sexual citizenship "a useful metaphor, condensing a range of cultural and political practices that embrace a whole set of new challenges and possibilities" (p. 37); while Donovan et al. (1999) state that discussions about sexual citizenship attempt to accommodate the growing amount of people who either construct or allocate their identities around sexuality and gender and who as a consequence find themselves excluded from hegemonic understandings of citizenship. However, as before-mentioned there are several ideas about what sexual citizenship is en entails. In order to be clear and make a distinction between multiple possible aspects connected to sexual citizenship, and their relation to the Netherlands as the country used in this thesis, the next four sections will be discussing sexual citizenship and it relation to sexual rights; sexual identity; openness and visibility; and acceptance, equality and belonging in the society.

2.3.1 Sexual rights

Firstly, Evans (1993) sees sexual citizenship as the degree of access to rights regarding sexual expression and consumption, and relating responsibilities and obligations. He argues that the sexual citizen should be viewed as a consumer and is mostly concerned with leisure and lifestyle membership, which is a very narrow view. Richardson's (2000) definition also consists of 'sexual' rights. However, her explanation of sexual rights is much more expanded. She states that discussions of sexual citizenship mainly focus on access to sexual rights, but the foundation on which such access is granted or denied are also debatable.

Richardson (2000) distinguishes in the sexual rights discourse between three broad areas of possible

meaning, namely definitions of sexual rights which are associated with conduct-based, relationship-based, and identity-based rights claims. Conduct-based rights are distinguished into three categories regarding rights to participate in sexual acts, rights to enjoy sexual acts or sexual expression, and rights related to bodily autonomy and integrity (Richardson, 2000); for instance the right to have sexual intercourse with a same-sex partner, the right to pornography and the right refuse sex with a partner one is married to. Relationship-based rights also cluster around three categories, namely the right to consent to sexual practices in personal relationships, the freedom to choose ones own sexual partner, and the right to seek public validation for ones relationship in social institutions (Richardson, 2000); for example the age of consent for sexual relationships, the possibility to either have a opposite-sex or a same-sex partner and same-sex marriage. And according to Richardson (2000) identity-based rights consist of the right to develop and define one's own individual sexual identity, the right to have one's sexual identity publicly recognised, and "the right to realise specific sexual identities" (p. 109) unhindered by the state; e.g. the right to define oneself as bisexual, the right to be open about one's sexual identity in one's employment and the right to LGB representation in the media.

As mentioned before one the the most important rights claims non-heterosexual movements make is the right to recognition of same-sex relationship though same-sex marriage. In this sense Richardson (2000) states that gay and lesbian rights movements seek this institutional recognition "most obviously in demanding the right to marry and access to the social and legal benefits accruing from being married" (p. 114). Same-sex marriage is a very visible and clear right which goes a long way in creating equality between opposite-sex and same-sex couples. Also, in studies about opinions on LGB's in society the question if same-sex marriage should be legal is often asked (ILGA, 2014; Keuzenkamp & Kuypers, 2013; Lottes & Adkins, 2003). Same-sex marriage is an interesting right which introduction can foreshadow the introduction of other sexual rights. The Netherlands was in 2001 the first country in the world to introduce same-sex marriage (Keuzenkamp, 2010) which makes it an interesting country for this thesis. Furthermore, there is a generation of non-heterosexuals below thirty who were seventeen years or younger when same-sex marriage and after this other sexual rights were introduced. To analyse the difference that having many or little sexual rights entails to the meaning people give to sexual citizenship it is therefore interesting to compare Dutch non-heterosexuals below thirty with LGB's above forty-five. The first group, age 18 till 30, that is analysed in this master thesis became aware of their non-heterosexuality after the introduction of same-sex marriage and the second group, aged 49 till 66, became aware of their sexuality before this introduction.

Before same-sex marriage, some other sexual rights were already implemented in the Netherlands, such as permitting same-sex sexual activity in 1811, equal age of consent between opposite-sex and same-sex partners in 1971, a ban on discrimination based on sexual orientation in employment, housing, etcetera and domestic partnership agreements for same-sex couples in 1998. Since the introduction of same-sex marriage several other sexual rights have also been added. Firstly, the right to adopt children and IVF became available for lesbian couples in 2001 (www.rijksoverheid.nlb). Secondly, since 2011 the Public

Prosecutor demands double punishments for violence based on discrimination, and special task forces are assigned to stop violence against non-heterosexuals, the so-called Pink Police (www.rijksoverheid.nlb); this is not a sexual right, but it can help the execution of anti-discrimination and anti-violence laws. Thirdly, in 2012 legislation was passed that obliges schools to pay attention to sexuality and sexual diversity in the education of pupils (www.rijksoverheid.nla). Furthermore, in 2013 bill was accepted in the Lower House which states that teachers and pupils cannot be refused or dismissed based on their sexual orientation (www.rijksoverheid.nlb), this is only relevant for religious school because before they were the only schools who were still allowed to refuse or dismiss LGB-teachers and pupils who spoke about or acted on their sexuality. Lastly, in April 2014 legislation was implemented that automatically recognises the parental rights of a biological mother's female partner without her having to adopt their child (www.rijksoverheid.nlb). All this together makes the Netherlands one of the most progressive countries regarding LGB-rights, the ILGA-Europe Rainbow Map (ILGA, 2014) put the Netherlands in a fourth position with 70%[3] respect of human rights / full equality, behind the United Kingdom, Belgium and Spain.

2.3.2. Sexual identity

Sexual citizenship does not only entail sexual rights. Weeks (1998) describes sexual citizenship much broader, as a new form of belonging in which sexual citizens constitute a new self with multiple and diverse possible identities. Thus, sexual identity can be seen as part of sexual citizenship, however it is important to offer a little more insight in (sexual) identity in general.

Identity concerns how individuals see themselves independently and in relation to others, it is viewed as an important part of development and mostly likely will change across one's life (Erikson, 1968). Erikson (1968) states that the most crucial developmental times of identity are during adolescence and early adulthood, in these periods most people also discover their sexual identity. Zoeterman and Wright (2014) note regarding this that "an individual may develop not only an overall identity as a person but also multiple social identities in regard to one's culture, ethnicity, class, religion, and sexuality" (p. 335). Thus, sexual identity is only one of multiple identities. However, according to Zoeterman and Wright (2014) this may be more important for non-heterosexuals because their sexuality differentiates from the norm and this can lead to additional social pressure, or so-called minority stress, such as "internalized homophobia/biphobia, expectations of discrimination, actual experiences of discrimination and violence" (p. 335), and they show less of a traditional pattern of development during adolescence. They also state that before LGB's would grow up in a heterosexist culture which did not accept and expect non-heterosexuality, but nowadays in many cultures non-heterosexuality is much more accepted which makes it easier for LGB's to develop their sexual identity in a positive light. This can also mean they may end up putting less focus on their sexual identity or that they only focus on this a lot during their adolescence or young-adult life while they are

---

[3] The ILGA-Europe Rainbow Map does not only account for LGB rights, but also rights for Transgenders and Intersex-people, in which accounts for the fourth place

coming out. Zoeterman and Wright (2014) name three crucial stages in the development of a non-heterosexual sexual identity. "These include self-definition (discovering and defining oneself as an LGB-individual), self-acceptance (accepting oneself as an LGB-individual), and disclosure of LGB identity to others (commonly referred to as coming out)" (Zoeterman & Wright, 2014, p. 337-338).

Interesting for the Netherlands is table 1. The table illustrates that 7% of the men and 6% of the women would describe themselves as non-heterosexual, however 13 % of the men did had sexual behaviours with and (sexual) attraction to both sexes or their own sex while of the women 13% had sexual behaviours with and 18% (sexual) attraction to both sexes or their own sex. Thus, behaviours with and attraction to their own sex or both does not always lead to a non-heterosexual sexual identity. This seems especially the case for people who could be described as bisexuals.

Table 1. Sexual identity, sexual behaviour, and sexual attraction, 2006, in percentages

		men	**women**
identity	homosexual / lesbian	4	3
	bisexual	3	3
	heterosexual	93	94
sexual behaviour ever with	only same-sex	3	1
	both	10	12
	only opposite-sex	87	88
(sexual) attraction to	the own sex	3	2
	both	10	16
	the other sex	87	82

Source: Kuyper (2006) in Keuzenkamp, Kooiman and Van Lisdonk (2012, p. 11)

2.3.3. Openness and visibility

As noted in the previous section one part of the development of sexual identity is coming out about one's sexuality. This can also be seen as an aspect of sexual citizenship. Donovan et al. (1999) for example, state that there are "layers of 'outness' which non-heterosexuals continually negotiate and renegotiate" (p. 695). They write that "the decision(s) to be out in whatever layer of one's life is dependent on what the perceived consequences are for [one's] life and livelihood and those of their loved ones" (p. 696). Thus, it can be difficult for non-heterosexuals to be open about their sexuality and continuing heteronormativity in society might either force them to be open or to be seen as heterosexual. However, over the years LGB's have become more open and visible. They have been "developing their own visible and positive cultures, which leak into the wider public spheres and cultures, whilst also providing alternative, subaltern cultures" (Plummer, 2001, p. 695). This is important because not only the right to be open and visible is relevant, but also the ability and the choice to be open and visible. Another definition of sexual citizenship from Plummer

(1995)[4] is "the *control (or not) over* one's body, feelings, relationships: *access (or not) to* representations, relationships, public spaces, etc.; and *socially grounded choices (or not) about* identities, gender experiences" (p. 151). He sees it as a new politics of everyday life and as a sensitizing concept, which can be helpful in creating full and equal citizenship for people with deviating sexual identities (Plummer, 2001). This definition relates back to sexual identity, and openness and visibility. People should be able to choice their own sexual identity and they should be able to live openly with this sexual identity and the resulting relationships. Moreover, they should feel represented, e.g. through visible homosexual relationships on television. Furthermore, in their research Donovan et al. (1999) mainly hear the themes (in)visibility, choice and flexibility reflected in the stories of non-heterosexuals, this relates partly to the dynamic concept of sexual citizenship from Plummer.

In the Netherlands many non-heterosexuals are open about their sexual identity (table 2). Especially parents, siblings and friends are aware that they are LGB. Also, direct colleagues who are not in the direct surroundings often know that people are non-heterosexual. In schools this is less the case, people stated that either fellow students / pupils know or some of them know about their sexuality. This might be explained by the fact that people in schools are younger than people with jobs and therefore people in schools might not yet be as far in their coming-out process. Keuzenkamp and Kuyper illustrate that almost 80% of the Dutch people is acquaintances or friends with a non-heterosexual (figure 1). For people to know this, they must be aware that their acquaintance or friend is LGB. According to Keuzenkamp and Kuyper (2013) this indicates in how far non-heterosexuals are open about their sexual orientation and they claim that people will be more open about their orientation when there is more social acceptance in a country. Therefore, the amount of openly non-heterosexuals that people know gives an idea about the acceptance of LGB's in a country. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Table 2. Percentage homosexuals that is out of the closet in different social surroundings, divided in sex, 18-64 years of age

aware?	yes		some		no		do not know	
sex	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
someone (n = 636)	97	98	n/a	n/a	3	2	0	0
mother (n = 519)	91	97	n/a	n/a	7	3	1	0
father (n = 422)	89	94	n/a	n/a	9	4	3	3
brothers/sisters (n = 3740)	94	94	3	3	2	1	1	1
heterosexual friends (n = 3977)	91	95	6	4	2	1	0	0
direct colleagues (n = 457)	75	77	16	18	7	4	2	1
fellow students/pupils (n = 251)	47	38	37	45	10	15	5	3

Sources: SCP (RV'10 & RVBIS'11) in Keuzenkamp et al. (2012, p. 19)

---

[4] Plummer (1995) does not call it sexual, but intimate citizenship

Figure 1. Has homosexual, lesbian or bisexual friends or acquaintances, population of 15 years and older, 2012 (in percentages)
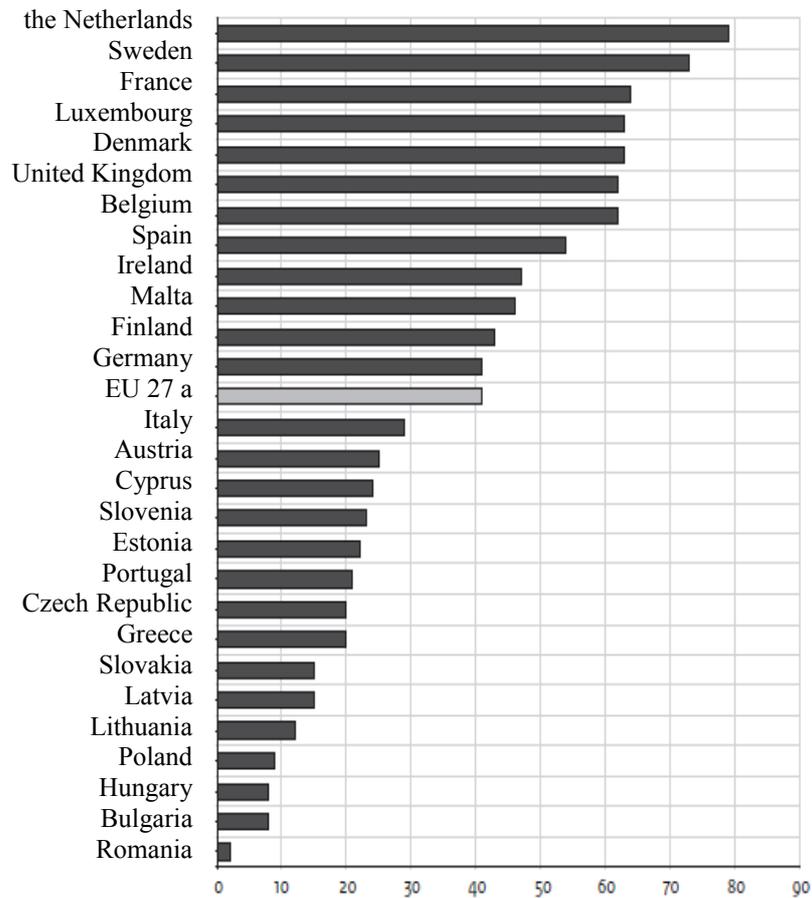
a This illustrates the average
Source: EC (EC'12) in (Keuzenkamp and Kuyper, 2013: p. 12)

2.3.4. Acceptance, equality, and belonging in the society

As mentioned before openness and visibility of LGB culture has leaked into the wider public spheres and cultures. "In doing this they shift the margins and the boundaries of the wider society" (Plummer, 2001, p. 695). As a consequence equality and recognition of non-heterosexuals has increased because they are more open about their sexual identity; not only can more acceptance lead to more openness, but more openness, will also lead to more acceptance and equality. Thus, the possibility and choice to be open and visible about non-heterosexual identities is hugely related to and influenced by social acceptance of non-heterosexuality in a country. Donovan et al. (1999) name four different kinds of negative consequences LGB's might face when they are open about their sexuality, namely personal effects of feeling and being stigmatised; being targets of hostility; lacking recognition for their relationships; and different spheres of life from which they feel excluded. The lack of recognition and validation is relevant both in people's own network, and regarding citizenship. Thus, only when non-heterosexuals feel that they are accepted, equal to heterosexuals, and that

they belong in the society, only then they will have achieved full and equal citizenship. As before-mentioned, Weeks (1998) states that citizenship is ultimately about belonging in one's surroundings and society. Therefore, this is a relevant aspect of sexual citizenship.

Regarding acceptance in the Netherlands, Keuzenkamp (2010) states that in 1968 36% of the Dutch did not agree that homosexuals should be free to live their life the way they want this and in 1980 this decreased to only 7%. Figure 2 illustrates that the acceptance has almost remained the same in 2010, when around 90% is accepting of homosexuals. This is slightly lower than in 1980 and has fluctuated a little over the years. According to Keuzenkamp and Kuypers (2013) the Netherlands might have reached the ceiling of acceptance. Noteworthy, are some observations of Keuzenkamp and Kuypers (2013) regarding homosexuality in the public sphere, 29% find it offensive when two men kiss in public, 19% for two women, and 14% for a man and a woman, thus people might externally accept homosexuality, but internally find this more difficult, especially regarding males. Figure 2 does not illustrate people's opinion on bisexuality.

Figure 2. (Completely) agree with the statement 'Homosexual men and lesbian women should be free to live their life in the way they want this', population of 15 years and older, 2010 (in percentages)
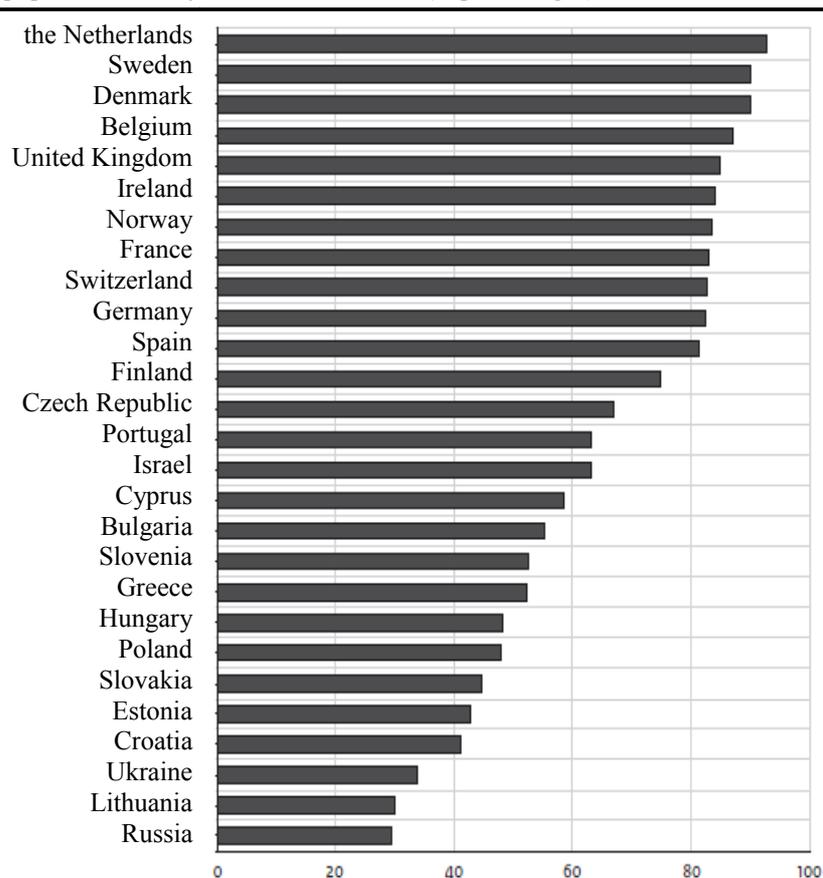
Source: ESS (ESS'10) in (Keuzenkamp and Kuyper, 2013: p. 10)

Theoretical exploration

Keuzenkamp and Kuyper (2013) state regarding bisexuals that there is only a little difference between the stance of people regarding homo- and bisexuality. However, they also claim that more people are neutral or have indicated that they have never thought about bisexuality, which makes bisexuality considerably more unknown that homosexuality. Also interesting is that Keuzenkamp (2010) mentioned that in the seventies and eighties homosexuals started to become very visible and involved in their sexual identity and many gay-movements started in for example political parties, trade unions, and the army. Since nowadays, non-heterosexuality seems more like a normalised part in society with less focus on it, the expectation is that older non-heterosexuals will have been more focussed on their sexual identity and more involved in obtain sexual rights and equality in society, and therefore it is expected that sexual identity is more important for them then for younger LGB's. This is another reason why comparing a younger and an older group of non-heterosexuals might lead to interesting conclusions in this master thesis.

2.4 Concluding remarks theoretical exploration

Sexual citizenship is an extension to citizenship in which sexual rights and sexual identity in private and public life have a crucial role. Firstly, sexual minorities need to have the same rights as heterosexuals. Secondly, they should be able to be recognised and live according to their own sexual identity. Thirdly, since non-heterosexuals need to be able to live their life with their own sexual identity, therefore it is important for them to be open and visibility, because this will increase acceptance from heterosexuals and give LGB's recognition. Fourthly, in order for people to have rights and live according to their sexual identity they need to be able to exercise their rights and be publicly recognised in their deviating identity, this is were acceptance, equality and belonging in the society come into play. The main expectation is that these four elements are visible in the meaning that non-heterosexuals give to sexual citizenship and that this will differ among people who have experienced less rights and a stronger sense of a sexual identity as a sexual minorities throughout their life than people who have experienced more rights and put less focus on sexual identity. Thus, there is expected to be a difference in the meaning that younger and older non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands will give to sexual citizenship.

2.5 Research question, sub-questions and expectations

The above-mentioned leads to the following research question:

What is the meaning of sexual citizenship for younger (18-30) and older (49-66) non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands?

The sub-questions are:

– *How do non-heterosexuals perceive sexual rights in the Netherlands, and how does this differ for younger and older LGB's?*

– *How do non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands see their sexual identity, the importance of this sexual identity, and how does this differ for younger and older LGB's?*

– *How open and visible do non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands feel they can be, want to be, how open and visible do LGB's need to be, and how does this differ for younger and older LGB's?*

– *In how far do Dutch non-heterosexuals feel that they are accepted by and equal to heterosexuals in the society, that they belong in the society, and how does this differ for younger and older LGB's?*

– *Does and how can sexual citizenship in the Netherlands be improved in the future according to younger and older non-heterosexuals?*

The expectations are that older non-heterosexuals in the Netherlands know more and are more involved in sexual rights than younger LGB's because they lived longer without many of these rights and might have fought for some of these rights. Secondly, it is expected that they also find sexual identity more important because less acceptance and a bigger need to have other non-heterosexuals in their surroundings might have them focus more on this identity than the younger group. Thirdly, it is expected that the younger group can be (more easily) open about their sexuality because it is more accepted, while the older group finds it more important to be open and visible to increase the acceptance of the sexual minority. Lastly, it is expected that younger LGB's feel more equal in and belonging to the society because they experienced less inequality throughout their life and people have been more accepting in relation to the past. The last sub-question concerns the future and is added because it can give an idea about the direction sexual citizenship might take in the future and give an indication as to how relevant sexual citizenship will remain.

3. Research design

This part will start with an explanation of the chosen methodology and data-analysis. Next, the reliability and validity of this study will be discussed, and lastly, an overview of the sample will be given.

3.1 Methodology

The research is conducted with a qualitative approach, with semi-structured interviews, because this method aims to describe the meaning that people assign to their social surroundings, experiences, feelings, motivations, and symbols (Berg, 2009; Boeije, 2005; Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009). It is important that researchers pay attention to the language the respondents use and attempt to use that same language and interpretation framework in their results and conclusions (Boeije, 2005; Boeije et al., 2009). In this research the intention is to understand and explain the meaning younger and older Dutch non-heterosexuals give to their sexual citizenship, the aspects this might entail, such as sexuality, identity and being non-heterosexuals in Dutch society, and the consequences this has for their behaviour, feelings, and experiences. Boeije et al. (2009) also states that qualitative research is the best method for understanding complicated subjects for which it is not yet clear which aspect are all part of it and map out the perspective of the involved people. This applies to this research. Lastly and relating to this, Boeije et al. (2009) claim that in qualitative research often sensitizing concepts are used in the literature, the concepts are not fully developed yet, but can help in the field. In the theoretical exploration it was already mentioned that Plummer (2001) sees sexual citizenship as a sensitizing concept, and it is clear that sexual citizenship as a concept is not fully developed yet, since there are many different ideas on what it entails.

The reason semi-structured interviews were chosen is, because in an interview respondents can be asked questions about behaviours, opinions, attitudes, and experiences regarding a certain social phenomenon (Maso, 1987 in Boeije, 2005 & Boeije et al., 2009). This gave respondents in this study the opportunity to answer these questions in their own language, give examples, expand on their answers, and give the researcher new insights. Furthermore, Berg (2009) states that a semi-structured interview is more or less structured, that questions may be reordered during the interviews, wording of questions may be flexible, the interviewer may make clarifications, and the interviewer may add or delete probes to the interview between subsequent subjects and Boeije et al. (2009) state that how more standardised the interview, how more the interviewer decides the direction. The semi-structured interviews in this case consisted of a topic list with questions that were asked during the interview and a sensible order to ask them in. This left room to ask questions in a different order if this was necessary in an interview, and more importantly, it left room to put more focus on the topics that the respondents found important and less on the topics that happened to be less relevant. For example, the expectation was that respondents knew quite a lot about sexual rights, when this did not happen to be the case, questions were added about reasons why they did not know much about these rights. At the same time, the topic list helped to make sure that all the relevant topics for the research were addressed.

3.2 Data-analysis

A topic list with topics and questions relating to the research sub-questions (annex a: in English and Dutch) was used to interview the respondents. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and imported in NVivo 10. The interviews were analysed and relevant fragments were assigned a code, e.g. bisexuality, being yourself, and should others know you sexual identity. Then the codes were rearranged in a code scheme relating to the research sub-questions (annex b). The most important branches of the scheme are sexual rights, sexual identity, openness and visibility, and equality and belonging. After this the different fragments in sections of codes relating to the sub-questions were analysed and written in the result section. The data was analysed by looking at the similarities and differences between the interviewees, and especially the different age groups, regarding the different sub-questions. It should be noted that the interviews were conducted in Dutch, the mother-tongue of all respondents, the data-analysis therefore was also done in Dutch, and during the writing of the result-section this was carefully translated in English. For almost all parts this was not a problem, but in one part the translation does not completely fit, and since the before-mentioned importance of using the language of the respondents in qualitative research it is attempted to explain this difference of meaning between Dutch and English in the footnote, together with providing the Dutch translation.

3.3 Reliability and validity

In order to make qualitative research more reliable measures can be repeated, such as repeated interviewing (Boeije, 2009). This was not possible in the master thesis because of limited time and resources. However, the interviews were conducted with care, since questions relating a certain topic were asked multiple times in different wording, respondents were asked to expand on their answer if necessary, or give examples, and multiple times answers of respondents were summarized to make sure that the interviewer did understand the interviewee correctly and named the most important elements. Moreover, all respondents were met face-to-face at either their house of the house of the interviewer, this makes the thesis more reliable because people were interviewed in the same manner and people were interviewed in a private place, so that they could speak openly without being heard by anyone but the interviewer. The use of NVivo 10 for the data-analysis and the use of a code scheme for the analysis of the data helped to make the analysis more systematic.

Triangulation of method, data, or researchers is another method to improve both reliability and validity (Berg, 2009; Boeije et al., 2009), however this was also impossible due to limited time and resources. Boeije et al. (2009) also name member validation to improve reliability and validity which means that interviews, field notes, interpretations of interviews, or the results are presented to the respondents so they can state if the researcher understood them correctly. This has been done sporadically in this thesis, also because of before-mentioned reasons. There was one test interview to see if all relevant questions were addressed, understood, and if the order of the questions made sense, one respondent has seen the results so he could comment on the correct interpretations of his interview in the results, and the researcher has, after the

interviews discussed a few interpretations and ideas with some respondents.

Because the interviews were semi-structured respondents were able to give more input on the topics which improves the validity (Boeije et al., 2009). Also, it was positive to hear respondents already giving answers to questions that were not asked yet but were on the topic list and that respondents commented that after the interview they mostly did not have anything to add and though that the interview was good. A negative aspect on the validity is the self-selection of the respondents. Most non-heterosexuals participated because they were interested in the subject and LGB's who are not interested in these issues, but might have a different and valuable view are not included. This is a weakness of the research, but this does not mean that all the respondents are very active in their daily-life with issues concerning non-heterosexuals.

3.4 Sample

In qualitative research the sample is drawn for the research population not ad random, but for people representing certain characteristics, which is called purposive sampling (Boeije, 2005; Boeije, 2009). Two strategies for this that are used in this thesis are maximum variation and theoretical sampling. The aim of the first is that people from different situations and with different perspectives from the research population are visible in the sample and the aim of the second is that people are selected based on their potential contribution to the analysis (Boeije, 2009). It was attempted, in both the younger and older group of respondents, to include respondents with different genders, sexual orientation, and in the older group respondents with and without children. Ethnicity was not one of the criteria, although possibly relevant, because of a lack of resources to create an ethnically diverse sample, there is only one non-white respondent. And after the interviews it was discovered that the respondents with children, all but one, had children from a heterosexual relationship, which is an unforeseen weakness. The most important variation in respondents in this study are the age group, gender, and sexual orientation, which are illustrated in table 3.

Since there were limited time and resources for the master thesis twenty non-heterosexuals were interviewed. Half of this group was aged 18 till 30 and the other half 49 till 66. These categories were chosen because there was expected a clear distinction between these groups regarding sexual rights and sexual identity, as explained in the theoretical exploration. For the most relevant topics of the research this led to at least some kind of 'saturation' (Boeije et al., 2009) since for these most relevant topics no new information was given. However, if the research would have been expanded to include for example more bisexuals and more ethnic diversity the expectation is that this would have led to new information. The 'snowball-method' (Boeije et al., 2009) was used to select respondents. Since the respondents came from different groups and there were multiple snowballs the group is diverse, however it remains a small sample of the research population.

Table 3. Overview of the respondents in the study

pseudonym	age-group	gender	sexual orientation[5]
Sara	18-30	female	lesbian
Isa	18-30	female	bisexual
Jenny	18-30	female	lesbian
Stefanie	18-30	female	bisexual
Helena	18-30	female	lesbian
Lucas	18-30	male	gay
Daniel	18-30	male	gay
Arthur	18-30	male	gay
Nick	18-30	male	gay
Felix	18-30	male	bisexual
Eva	49-66	female	bisexual
Tara	49-66	female	lesbian
Naomi	49-66	female	lesbian
Mona	49-66	female	bisexual
Nina	49-66	female	lesbian
Sam	49-66	male	bisexual
Adam	49-66	male	gay
Tim	49-66	male	gay
Paul	49-66	male	bisexual
Harry	49-66	male	gay

---

[5] In this study bisexuals are the respondents that at least at one point of their interview described themselves as bisexual, have fallen in love with both genders, and say that it is possible that they will start a relationship with someone of either gender in the future

4. Results

Each paragraph of the result-section will present the data-analysis of one sub-question.

4.1 Sexual rights

The first sub-question is about how non-heterosexuals perceive sexual rights in the Netherlands, and how this differs for younger and older LGB's. The expectation was that older respondents know more about rights for sexual minorities than the younger ones. Almost all respondents immediately mentioned same-sex marriage. This was also seen as the most well-known and a very important sexual right. Several older female respondents noted that they think that it was very special that same-sex marriage was introduced in the Netherlands. One-third of the respondents, mostly in the older group, thought that LGB's have the same rights as heterosexuals; while younger respondents more often named that discrimination based on sexual preference is prohibited. The respondents know less about sexual rights regarding children, six of them specifically named the new legislation that automatically recognises the parental rights of a biological mother's female partner. They did state that this new legislation is an important improvement; however noteworthy is that two-third of these respondents are in the younger age group and half of them are male, for whom this is not relevant. There is only a slight difference in the knowledge of sexual rights between the age groups; the younger people named a few more specific rights, while the older generation remained more broad and was more likely to state that non-heterosexuals have the same rights as heterosexuals.

However, most respondents were unable to name which rights are still missing; they either did not know or did not feel that there are rights still missing. Two older males who know quite a lot about rights and are regularly involved in issues regarding equality for non-heterosexuals were able to name more missing rights than others, and are more sceptical about equality of rights between heterosexuals and LGB's. Rights that are still lagging behind concern non-heterosexual parents, and especially male parents do not have the same rights. Interestingly, most missing rights seem to regard male non-heterosexuals and are also mentioned by male respondents. Moreover, some rights concerning situations in which a child has more than two parents were named by an older bisexual and an older gay male with children from such a situation.

A very interesting and unexpected outcome from the interviews is that most respondents have a limited knowledge of sexual rights and the rights that are still missing. More than half of the respondents, in both age groups, stated that they know little about sexual rights. When it became clear that respondents were uninformed about their rights, they were asked why this is the case. Around two-third of all respondents, in both groups, indicated that they personally never had any problems concerning exercising their rights, thus they felt no lack of rights in their life. Furthermore, half of all respondents, and more than two-third of them from the younger group, stated that they know little about sexual rights because they feel that most rights for sexual minorities are available in the Netherlands. A quarter of the respondent indicated that they know either something or a fair amount about sexual rights, mostly because they think it is interesting and important to know about sexual rights; some of them experienced a lack in the rights themselves. Nick, a younger gay

man, noted that he was invested in gay rights after he came out because it was important and interesting, but when he discovered most of the rights are available for him he became less involved. Though-provoking is that many respondents made the assumption that the rights are available without looking into this first, but they still named it as a reason not to be informed about sexual rights. Lastly, two older male respondents knew a lot about sexual rights, these men are actively involved in obtaining equality for non-heterosexuals.

4.2 Sexual identity

The second sub-question is about how non-heterosexuals see their sexual identity, the importance of said identity, and how this differs for younger and older LGB's. None of the younger lesbians in this study would describe them-self using the terms lesbian or 'lesbian woman'[6]; they would all say the they are 'into women', because they feel uncomfortable with the terms, feel that the terms do not fit them, or do not want to be labelled. Interestingly, Stefanie, a younger bisexual woman, would rather use the term 'lesbian woman' for herself, because she prefers women, is in a same-sex relationship and feels that the term 'bisexual' is less socially accepted and more stigmatised. Isa, another younger bisexual woman, does use the term 'bisexual', because it provides clarity. The four younger gay males all use the term 'gay' to describe themselves, even though two of them feel uncomfortable with it; they use this term because it is easy and clear. Felix, a younger bisexual man tells others that he is *"both into men and women, thus bisexual"*; he does not really want to use the term 'bisexual', but it provides clarity. In the older group of women some use the term 'lesbian woman' comfortably, while other mostly lesbian women would indicate that it does not fit, because they do not completely rule out men. The older bisexual women would sometimes describe themselves using 'bisexual' for clarity. However, they both note that in the seventies and eighties they would use 'lesbian woman' because bisexuality was not accepted among their lesbian friends. The older men do not have any problems using labels, they either use the term 'gay' or 'bisexual' to describe themselves because it is easy, clear, or they want to make a statement. It is noteworthy that the older respondents seem more comfortable with labels, while the younger group feel that these labels are less fitting. However, most fascinating is the distinction between men and women. Men use the term that is the easiest and clearest, while women seem more cautious in placing a label on themselves, either because they do not feel it fits, it makes them uncomfortable, or because labels are very fixed and some women feel more fluid than that.

All respondents in the study accept their sexuality, several, more older than younger one's, mentioned that this is related to their accepting surroundings. Half of the respondents either took quite some time accepting themselves or had difficulties accepting themselves, because it was either inconvenient or not accepted in their surroundings, especially for older respondents. So, there is a division in the older age group

---

[6] There is a language different that is important to note. In English women mostly either use 'I am a lesbian' or 'I am gay' (which is the same as the male-equivalent), the difference is that the first gives the feeling of an identity, while the second give the feeling of a part of an identity. In the Netherlands women could say that they are a lesbian, but that is unlikely. In Dutch there are different male and female-equivalents for 'I am gay' (male = *homo*, female = *lesbisch*). For clarity in this thesis the term 'lesbian woman' will be used when spoken about a gay (*lesbisch*) woman

between people who had a relatively easy or hard time accepting themselves. Younger respondents with difficulties accepting themselves did not feel non-heterosexuality applied to them. Also, several older and younger respondents indicate that they did not know what they were feeling. It is intriguing that a lack of education is mentioned here; a lack of knowledge about homo- and bisexuality kept respondents from understanding what they were feeling.

Sexual identity is more than sexual orientation, and almost all respondents indicated that they feel that their sexuality is part of their identity. Two people did not see it as part of their identity because it is just an aspect of them, while most others did see it as a part of their identity because this is how they are, part of who they are, an important part of them, or because they are different than heterosexuals.

Most respondents in this study indicated that their sexual identity is somewhat to very important to them, with only three thinking it is very important.

> Mona: *"…for the sense of who I am I think it is very important. And also for the realisation that this can be, that there are probably many more people around who maybe do not know or admit this about themselves, or do know this, but do not dare to tell this".* (older bisexual woman)

A few stated that it is not important for them, they feel they would not be different if they were heterosexual, or that it was only important for them until shortly after they came out. Older respondents more often thought that their sexual identity is important than the younger ones. This is in line with the expectations, because older non-heterosexuals had to live longer in a less accepting and equal society, with fewer rights. Several respondents did note that they think that their sexual identity has an influence on their outlook on the world and the stance they take towards other people, they said they are more open-minded. Also respondents seem to be partly surrounded by other people, mostly non-heterosexuals, because of their sexual identity. It is stated that this is the case because these people understand them, and it can help with finding potential love interests. Furthermore, there are respondents who really want to educate people about non-heterosexuality, and even strive to be a role model for other people. Lastly, bisexual respondents are searching more in their sexuality and the meaning of this for everyday life. Paul, an older bisexual man, who is active in the bisexual community noted: "*Often they [bisexuals] are people who have thought a little more about how to design their life or at least about how they want to deal with their relationships".* Respondents named that they are thinking about if they want to spend their life with a man or woman, which consequences this will have, and if they are able to be with only one person, thus one gender. This is not the case for all bisexuals, but bisexuality is less straightforward that homosexuality, which makes these issues very valid for some respondents, and it is also stated that these preferences might change during one's lifetime. Thus, respondents stated that bisexuality is not one clear sexuality, there is much diversity between people who would describe themselves as bisexual, what this bisexuality means for them, and what consequences their

bisexuality has in their everyday life. They have to think more about how they want to handle relationships and live their life. This might be difficult, but it is also something some respondents value much and enriches their life.

4.3 Openness and visibility

The third sub-question is about how open and visible non-heterosexuals can be, want to be, need to be, and how this differs for younger and older LGB's. All respondents agreed that it is important for them and others to be able to be themselves. Nina, an older lesbian even stated that *"it is the most important thing that exists"*. Respondents mentioned that only after they came out they were able to be themselves, and that they sometimes feel that they cannot be themselves around people who do not know their sexuality, especially younger respondents. Thus, to be themselves and to experience their sexual identity it is important that people are open about their sexuality.

So, it is not surprising that all respondents suggested that it is important for people to come out, especially for themselves, so they can be open and can be themselves. However, it is also stressed that people should not feel obliged to come out, and that coming can have consequences. Because of the negative consequences coming out will have on his life Sam, an older bisexual man, remains in the closet. He noted that *"you have to ask yourself the question if it is worth it to come out in that moment"*, but he also stated that is very difficult, that *"there are moments I want to come out of the closet so badly and shout it from the rooftops"*. When people do come out this is not only positive for themselves, but also important for the society according to respondents. When more people are open about their sexual identity non-heterosexuality will become more visible, other 'still closeted' non-heterosexuals will have an easier time coming out, and coming out can improve one's relationship with the people one is close with. Especially older respondents named that coming out is important for the society. Furthermore, respondents thought that people who stay in the closet will carry an emotional weight, and are unable to be their full selves. Lucas, a younger gay man, thought that it is important *"for your own development that you come out of the closet. (...) You just cannot completely flourish otherwise"*.

However, the respondent are not necessarily open about their sexuality to everyone in their life. Respondents, especially younger ones, thought it is particularly important that the people close to them know about their sexuality. Some, also mainly younger respondent, elaborated that people that they are not close to, do not necessarily need to know, but when people will ask them, they mostly will be honest about it. Other respondents, both younger and older, did want people to know that they are not heterosexual, they either want to improve the acceptance and normalcy with this, be open about their relationship, or feel that they can be open about their sexuality.

Every time one is open about one's sexual identity to someone, they are coming-out to them, and it is possible that non-heterosexual feel a threshold when they tell others about their sexuality. Older respondents

seem to find it less difficult to tell people about their sexuality then the younger ones, although some older respondents said that they did not really tell people because people would find out about their sexuality themselves eventually. Younger respondents noted that they found it more difficult in the beginning and that it is got easier the more times they told someone. Interesting is the difference between younger men and women. Younger women indicated that they experience some kind of a threshold when telling people about their sexuality because they feel unsure about how people will react or they are unsure about how and when to tell people. Younger men, on the other hand, also named that they need to find the right moment in the conversation to tell people, but for them this does not lead to a threshold.

Visibility is another important issue according respondents. Many, especially older, respondents in this study noted that there should be more visibility. Most younger respondents thought that it is helpful when people know a non-heterosexual person in their personal environment, and that visibility can help young people realise and be open about their sexuality. This might be something that they have experienced themselves. Respondents, especially older ones, suggested that ultimately visibility can or will help to illustrate that non-heterosexuals are normal people, create a more open-minded mind-set, and create more acceptance. When people see it more, the will start to accept it more.

Respondents named three important factors that can help create more visibility. The first is role models; which all younger women in the study thought is important, while none of the younger men mentioned it. Also, in the older group, respondents named role models, and especially role models in one's surrounding are relevant, but also role models in TV programmes, sports, and celebrities are mentioned. Noteworthy, is that several respondents, mainly older ones, wanted to be a role model themselves. Isa, a younger bisexual woman, wanted this *"to show how normal it is to be different"*. Secondly, visibility in the media was important according to all respondents. The media can improve acceptance, illustrate the normalcy of homo- and bisexuality, and they can give LGB's non-heterosexual characters with whom they can identify. However, the media has to become less heteronormative and should also be careful not to show too much stereotypes. According to many men, but none of the women, the media uses too many stereotypes for gay males. Furthermore, at the moment the media is doing too little for the visibility of non-heterosexuals, as claimed by most respondents. Thirdly, respondents stated that visibility can be improved when children learn about sexual diversity in school, and that it will get better for non-heterosexuals when children learn more about sexual diversity. Nick, a younger gay man said *'I know people who gave education from the COC[7] and they found that this help quite a lot because many of those people had never seen a gay men or lesbian'*. The government has made sexual diversity education mandatory, but the respondents felt that it is not enough since one sentence about homosexuality is all that is obliged. Also, several, mainly older, respondents stated that they discovered their sexuality late; because they did not know what they felt, and some specifically named that a lack of education on sexual diversity is one of the causes for this. Lastly,

---

[7] COC is the Dutch organization for LGBT's

respondents noted that there should not only be education on sexual diversity, but also be more sexual diversity in the teaching materials, a gay couple in an Algebra-sum could teach children the normalcy of homosexuality without focusing on it as a specific issue.

4.4 Acceptance, equality and belonging in the society

The fourth sub-question is about in how far non-heterosexuals feel accepted by and equal to heterosexuals in the society, that they belong in the society, and how this differs for younger and older LGB's. Equality and belonging start with acceptance. According to most respondent the acceptance is quite good in the Netherlands and they mostly felt accepted because of their close surroundings. Friends are an important factor in this and several respondents stated that they choose their friends based on how open-minded they are towards non-heterosexuals. So, by surrounding themselves with accepting people, the respondents feel that they are accepted and can be themselves in their daily-life. Of course, since family cannot be chosen, some respondents with an unaccepting family, did not feel accepted in society. In the public sphere respondents mostly do feel accepted, although people look at them when they hold hands with their partner. Most respondents were not bothered that much by this and they claimed that it did not have a negative connotation per se, however, this unwanted attention does make respondent aware that they are different than heterosexuals, and this did make them feel uncomfortable and that the acceptance is not completed yet. Only when people will treat and look at non-heterosexuals the same as heterosexuals only then the acceptance is completed. Stefanie, a younger bisexual woman, noted that she will hold hand with her girlfriend even though she might feel uncomfortable, because she thinks it is important that people see this, and that this will improve the acceptance. It is also named by several people that the more people that are coming out of the closet, the more LGB's will be accepted. There appears to be not much difference between the age groups, in both are people who felt a little less accepted. Interesting though, is that a few bisexual people felt that bisexuality is less accepted than homosexuality. Sam, an older bisexual man stated: *"I am not accepted in the gay-community and also not in the heterosexual world"*. He felt that there are a lot: *"stereotypes, prejudice and comment"* about bisexuality.

One point when you can be more visible and more vulnerable is when you are in a relationship, especially when you are open about this and hold hand in the public sphere. The respondents indicated that they should be able to be open about their relationship in private and public sphere to really be equal and free. All the respondents who are or have been in a relationship with a partner of the same sex are open about this in the public and private sphere and feel that they could be open about this. Also, almost all respondents noted that they hold hands with their partner in public, some more comfortably than others. Furthermore, it was indicated that several people would decide not to hold hands in certain areas in a city or if they felt uncomfortable in their surroundings. Only a few people said to have received some comments that were not per se negative, one person got called names ones and one person had something written on his house front

ones. The respondents did not feel threatened by these experiences and they say it did not alter their behaviour. However, one respondent did receive more violence, Adam, an older gay man was attacked and beaten, and his house was lit on fire. These are very disturbing experiences but Adam was still open about this relationship and would hold hands in public. He stated that being able to be himself in the public sphere *"is one of the conditions to walk around pleasantly on this world"*.

There was a real difference visible in how equal the respondents perceived LGB's to heterosexuals. Older respondents more often said that non-heterosexual are treated equally, and younger respondents more likely stated that LGB's are treated equally sometimes, but not always; both groups are proportional represented in the group that noted that non-heterosexuals are not treated equally to heterosexuals. Respondents indicated that equality depends on the area you are in and the people surrounding you. Multiple reasons were mentioned as to why there is no equality yet, most importantly, that there is still name-calling and violence against homosexuals, the non-heterosexuals remain a minority group and have to keep claiming their place in the world, that it is still not completely seen as normal or the same as heterosexuality, and lastly that inequality will remain until people stop with looking at, giving comments to, or not accepting same-sex couples who hold hands in public.

Most respondents in this study did feel like they belong in the society, mostly because they feel accepted in their surroundings. So, it seems to be less about being accepted by the whole society, and more about being accepted by the people in your close proximity. However, a few did specifically mention that they feel like they belong, because they are living in the Netherlands. Some respondents only partly felt like they belong in the society, since they do feel at home with their friends, but that they do partly feel excluded from society as a whole.

4.7 Perspective on the future

The last sub-question is about if and how sexual citizenship can be improved in the future according to younger and older non-heterosexuals. The previous parts are about the present, but ideas on the future can also offer some insight. The respondents mostly stated that the Netherlands has come far, and that it will get even better than today. Some respondents thought it will remain the same and are worried, especially because of developments abroad. There is no difference difference in this amongst the age groups. There are some noteworthy things that respondents in this study thought will happen, namely it will become easier to come out, people will become more accepting and open-minded towards non-heterosexuality, LGB's will become more visible in society, and non-heterosexuals will become a normal part or more integrated into the society at large. However, it is also stated that it will take a long time to get to where non-heterosexuals want to be, or even by some that we will never get there.

In order to get to this better future, respondents mentioned several things that could still improve. Firstly, that more non-heterosexual should come out and be open in their daily-life about their sexuality, so it

will become more visible. Role models are named as a crucial part in this, with some respondent's attempting to be role models themselves. Secondly, it is important that both heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals (are able to) talk and be open about the subject of sexual diversity in their life. Thirdly, people should attempt to think and act more open-minded and not assume that everyone they meet is heterosexual. It is very crucial that people attempt to be less heteronormative. Lastly, there should be more education about sexual diversity and more diversity in teaching materials. The government introduced legislation for this, but Tim, an older gay man, explained *"if you say one sentence in the whole educational track of the pupil, (...) then you fulfilled the requirement that you discussed it"*. According to respondents this is a crucial step to help the future generation understand and become accepting of sexual diversity.

5. Conclusion and discussion

This section of the master thesis will start with a conclusion of the result. Then the results will be discussed following the same order as the result-section, with the addition of the limitations of the research and recommendations for future research.

5.1 Conclusion

Firstly, both younger and older non-heterosexual respondents perceive the sexual rights in the Netherlands as important, at the same time most of them felt that almost all rights are available for LGB's and they indicated that they have a limited knowledge about sexual rights. Younger respondents were able to name a few more specific rights, while older respondents remained more broad and were more likely to state that non-heterosexuals have the same rights as heterosexuals. The most important reasons for not knowing much about sexual rights are that they personally never had any problems exercising rights and that most rights are available for them in the Netherlands. Secondly, almost all respondents felt that their sexuality is part of their identity. This sexual identity is mostly seen as somewhat to very important, especially older respondents see it as important. Several respondents noted that their sexual identity influences their outlook on the world and has made them more open-minded. Bisexual respondents are searching more in their sexuality and the meaning of this for everyday life. Thirdly, all respondents agreed that it is important for them and other to be able to be themselves, that coming-out has helped them being themselves, and that other non-heterosexuals also should come-out in order to be open and themselves. Older respondents more often stated that being open about one's sexuality is also important for the society, because it will make non-heterosexuality more visible and help other LGB's to be open. Younger respondents thought it is more important that the people in their surroundings know their sexuality, instead of the whole society. Many, particularly, older respondents noted that there should be more visibility. They suggested that ultimately visibility can illustrate that non-heterosexuals are normal people, create a more open-minded mind-set, and create more acceptance. More visibility can be achieved with role models, the media, and education about sexual diversity. Fourthly, most respondents stated that the acceptance is quite good in the Netherlands and that they mostly feel accepted because of their close surroundings. Also in the public sphere respondents mostly feel accepted, although people look at them when they hold hands with their partner. There appears to be no differences between the age groups regarding acceptance, but some bisexuals did feel less accepted. Older respondents more often felt that non-heterosexuals are treated the same as heterosexuals. However, there are also several, both younger and older, respondents who did not feel treated equally. Furthermore, most respondents felt like they belong in the society, again this is the case mostly because they feel accepted in their surroundings. Lastly, to improve the future for non-heterosexuals, more LGB's should be open about their sexuality, people should think and act more open-minded and not make assumption about one's heterosexuality, and there should be more education about sexual diversity. Thus, the meaning of sexual citizenship for Dutch non-heterosexuals is that they should feel completely accepted by and equal to heterosexuals and belonging in their

surroundings. Sexual identity is an important part of this, especially for older respondents. Also, the possibility to be open and non-heterosexuals choosing to be open is important for LGB's themselves and, particularly for older respondents, society. Sexual rights seem to be important in so far, that respondents should feel that they are available and that they should not feel excluded from certain rights. Furthermore, the perspective on the future illustrates that sexual citizenship will remain important.

5.2 Discussion

5.2.1 Sexual rights

The expectation was that sexual rights would be an important part of sexual citizenship. Richardson (2000) focusses much attention on rights and the gay movement partially came into being because non-heterosexuals wanted equal rights between heterosexuals and LGB's. Especially for the older respondents it was expected that sexual rights would be very important and that therefore they would know a lot about these rights and in how far they are available in the Netherlands, because they have lived most of their life's without most of these rights. But somehow this is not what many older respondents experienced. Respondents do indicate that sexual rights are important, and especially same-sex marriage is seen as a milestone. This is helpful in the justification for comparing a group of non-heterosexuals who have lived most of their life's without same-sex marriage with a group who had the right to marry a same-sex partner before they became aware about their sexuality. It is interesting that most respondents feel that they never a had a problem in exercising their rights and that most sexual rights are available in the Netherlands, even though the older group has live a long while without many of these rights. Of course, having children for example is much harder for non-heterosexuals regardless of rights and non-heterosexuals might not want to get married, possibly because it was not allowed anyway. It should be noted, as mentioned in the research design that only one of the respondents has children from a non-heterosexual relationship. Perhaps other LGB's with children from non-heterosexual relationships know more about sexual rights and might have experienced more personal struggles with exercising rights, just like the one respondent in this study. Obviously, same-sex marriage is a very visible and straightforward right, while rights regarding children are much more complex and vague, it can be unclear in how far they are available, and therefore only people who concerns this personally will take the effort look into this. Noteworthy is also, that the in the results mentioned problems with children with more than two parents is also relevant for heterosexuals because of the changing family structures in the Netherlands. Lastly, it is curious that around half of the respondents indicated that they think most rights are available in the Netherlands, without looking into it. It is a positive sign that they feel unhindered in exercising rights, but respondents were surprised when they realised they have a limited knowledge about sexual rights based on the assumption that they have equal rights, and they felt uncomfortable about this.

5.2.2 Sexual identity

It is interesting that both the younger age group and women feel more uncomfortable with labels. While men want to use the easiest and clearest label, women are more cautious to use labels that do not fit them a hundred percent, feel stigmatizing, or to use a label at all. Also, almost all respondents see sexuality as part of their identity, and most as a somewhat to very important part of their identity, especially for older respondents. This can be explained by the literature of Keuzenkamp (2010) who states that in the seventies and eighties, when most of the older respondents discovered their sexuality, non-heterosexuals put much focus on sexual identity and were involved with their sexual identity. Thus, therefore older respondents might see their sexual identity as more important, and because non-heterosexuality was also less known in the past this may have led to older respondents still putting more focus on their sexual identity and using labels for clarity or to make a statement as an individual or a group. People in the surroundings of younger respondents may have put less emphasise on the fact that they are non-heterosexual, and they may have had an easier time accepting themselves. Nowadays, there is more diversity possible within the group of gays and lesbians and heterosexual people are more informed about what 'being gay' is, but there might also be more stereotypes among heterosexuals. People, and especially women, might feel that they do not have to act a certain way to be a 'lesbian woman', but if they do use this label, the heterosexual society might have certain ideas about them that do not fit. Older bisexuals mention that in the past it was almost impossible for them to say that they are bisexual and not gay or lesbian, because they might have been excluded from the gay-community. Now this is less the case, but they say that people know too little about bisexuality, just like it was mentioned by Keuzenkamp and Kuyper (2013), which gives some respondents a reason to use this label to educate and be clear to people, and also partly to put more focus on their sexuality. As mentioned in the literature, sexual identity is an important part of sexual citizenship (Weeks, 1998; Zoeterman & Wright, 2014), which is also visible from the results. Also visible in table 1 of Keuzenkamp et al. (2012) is that many people who have ever had sexual behaviour with both sexes and (sexual) attraction to both sexes would not describe themselves as bisexual. This was also the case for one of the respondents, who rather described herself as a lesbian woman, because she felt that was more accepted.

5.2.3 Openness and visibility

All respondents thought it is important that people come out, they see the positive effect of being out with themselves, and it is likely that they feel that they can be more open and more themselves, since they say that people will be able to be this more when they come out. Many respondents have indicated that they think it is crucial to be open towards one's surroundings and some do not think it is necessary to be open towards people outside of this surrounding. This relates back to the "layers of 'outness' which non-heterosexuals continually negotiate and renegotiate" (Donovan et al., 1999, p. 695). Respondents debate if being open is worth the consequences, and for most this is worth it with people their close to, while for some people

outside of this circle do not have to know. Also, table 2 illustrates that more that 90% of the LGB's is open about their sexual identity at least to the mother, father, brothers / sisters, and heterosexual friends (Keuzenkamp et al, 2012). So, again to close surroundings. Especially older respondents stated that it is also important to come out for the society, and with this visibility. It makes sense that older people are more likely to state this, since when they came out themselves, there were fewer openly homo- and bisexuals, and they might have experienced the difference with the present day where many more people have come-out and the positive effect this has had on the society and on non-heterosexuals as a group. Just like Keuzenkamp and Kuyper (2013) argue that social acceptance leads to more people being open about their non-heterosexuality, and more openly LGB's leading to more acceptance. Furthermore, this openness towards society might also relate back to the importance of sexual identity for older respondents, because they find this more important, they may also find it more relevant that more people know about their sexuality, while younger respondents might put more focus on other things about themselves besides sexuality. Moreover, this explains that older respondents more often noted that they want to be role models. Younger respondents felt more of a threshold to tell people about their sexuality than older respondents, which makes sense because older people had more years of experience in telling people about their sexuality, and might sense a positive difference in reactions they received in the past and nowadays. Intriguing is that younger women feel more of a threshold than younger men, especially when they are thinking about what the right moment in a conversation is to tell people that they are non-heterosexual. Again, here it might be that women are more cautious and men just do what is the easiest and clearest for them and other people. The media is mainly seen as an important factor to create more visibility so that there will be more normalcy about and representation for non-heterosexuals. Respondents are mainly bothered with the heteronormativity of the media, and male respondents with the stereotypes for gay men that the media uses. Lastly, it was mentioned that children should learn about sexual diversity in school, that this happens to little now, and that there should also be more sexual diversity in the teaching materials. This can be helpful both in the acceptance of homo- and bisexuality by heterosexuals in society and in making it easier for young non-heterosexuals to understand what they feel, that this is normal, and to be open about this.

5.2.4 Acceptance, equality and belonging in the society

The acceptance the respondents mention corresponds to the literature that there is much acceptance in the Netherlands (Keuzenkamp and Kuyper, 2013). It is interesting that they noted that they mostly feel accepted in and because of their close surroundings. Friends can and are partly chosen because of their open-mindedness; however this is not possible with family. The respondents with family who did not accept them, therefore also had a different view on acceptance and belonging in the Dutch society. So, it is still possible that there are certain groups in the Netherlands that are not accepting of non-heterosexuals, but, if possible, non-heterosexuals decide to stay away from them. There is however something noteworthy here, respondents

said there is much explicit acceptance, but when it comes to the implicit side of people, about what they really feel on the inside, it is still very unacceptable. People will look and react at non-heterosexuals when they see them holding hand or kiss each other, and until this is no longer the case, the respondents claim that the acceptance is not finish in the Netherlands. Also, some non-heterosexuals have experienced comments, bullying or violence, but this does not change how they act in public. It seems that respondents really feel that they have rights and are part of the society, and therefore should be able to do what they want and be themselves, both in private and public sphere. Furthermore, especially older respondents feel that non-heterosexuals are equal to heterosexuals in society, while younger respondents feel this more often as sometimes, but not always. This can be explained because older people experience how far the society already has come and that they are almost there, while younger people had a better starting point and see how far we still have to go. Lastly, mostly respondents feel that they do belong in the society; again here it is mainly because of their own surroundings. It was also indicated that some respondents feel that they belong with their friends, but sometimes feel excluded from the society as a whole. This relates back to Weeks (1998) who stated that citizenship is ultimately about belonging in one's surroundings and society. Thus, only when non-heterosexuals feel that they belong in the society can they experience full and equal citizenship.

5.2.5 Perspective on the future

The respondents thought it will get easier to come out, which makes sense because it is previously stated that the more accepting society is (Keuzenkamp & Kuyper, 2013) and if younger LGB's know someone who is open about their non-heterosexuality in their surroundings, more people will come out. Also people will become more accepting and open-minded towards non-heterosexuals, this also makes sense since people who personally know a homo- or bisexual person tend to be more accepting and are more likely to not so quickly make assumptions about the heterosexuality of other people. If LGB's become more visible and therefore people get more chances to meet non-heterosexuals and see them in the street, they will become more accepting and less surprised when they see them in the public sphere; thus, then people will not look at them differently than as they look at heterosexuals. However, since LGB's will remain a minority non-heterosexuality might never become completely normal part of society. A last important thing is that there should be more education about sexual diversity and more diversity in teaching materials. This is a crucial step to help the future generation understand and become accepting of sexual diversity, while at the same time this will help young non-heterosexuals to understand and accept themselves quicker and also to come out earlier.

5.2.6 Limitations of the research

A limitation in this thesis is that there is only one respondent with children from a non-heterosexual relationship. Respondents with children were included, but during the interviews it was discovered that all but one of these respondents had children from a heterosexual relationship. Another limitation is the self-selection of the respondents, especially the older group. People who are not interested in this subject, and maybe find their sexual identity less important, feel more or less accepted, might choose to not participate. Also, there is little ethnic diversity in the sample, due to limited resources, even though literature suggests that non-heterosexuals with different ethnic background might have different experiences. The research cannot be generalised, but it can shine a light on developments in the Netherlands, and be a guiding light for other countries that have a longer road ahead. Another research might have chosen different research questions and topic questions, which might have led to differing results, but the research still is reliable, because the people answered questions before they were asked, questions were based on the literature, people were asked the same questions multiple times in different manners, and with most topics they were summarised to make sure the interviewer understood the interviewees correctly. Respondents also gave positive feedback on the questions that were asked and the interviews as a whole. It would have been better to interview more people and to use triangulation, but because of limited time and resources in this project that was not feasible.

5.2.7 Recommendations for future research

There should be more research into bisexuality, quantitative research based on this research to see if the results will be similar for a large group and can be generalised, research involving non-heterosexuals with children, so maybe also include people in the age group from 30 till 48. Furthermore, heterosexuals should be research to look at their open-mindedness, internal acceptance, heteronormativity and what they think they can do and should do to improve the situation for non-heterosexuals. More research into labels would be preferable, and also more research on the differences in experiences between men and women, researchers should be careful to treat them as the same or only research gay males and claim that this is applicable for the whole group.

References

Berg, B.L. (2009). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (7th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Boeije, H. (2005). *Analyseren in kwalitatief onderzoek: Denken en doen.* Purmerend: Boom onderwijs.

Boeije, H., H. 't Hart & J. Hox (Ed.) (2009). *Onderzoeksmethoden* (8th ed.). Purmerend: Boom onderwijs.

Donovan, C., B. Heaphy & J. Weeks (1999). Citizenship and Same Sex Relationships. *Journal of Social Policy, 28*(4): 689-709.

Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Evans, D. (1993). *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities.* London: Routledge.

Giddens, A. (1992). *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

ILGA (2014). *ILGA-Europe Rainbow Map May 2014.* Retrieved on (31-05-14) from: http://www.ilga-europe.org/home/publications/reports_and_other_materials/rainbow_europe

Keuzenkamp, S. (Ed.) (2010). *Steeds gewoner, nooit gewoon: Acceptatie van homoseksualiteit in Nederland.* Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Keuzenkamp, S., N. Kooiman & J. Van Lisdonk (2012). *Niet te ver uit de kast: Ervaringen van homo- en biseksuelen in Nederland.* Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Keuzenkamp, S. & L. Kuyper (2013). *Acceptatie van homoseksuelen, biseksuelen en transgenders in Nederland 2013*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Kuyper, L., J. Iedema & S. Keuzenkamp (2013). *Towards Tolerance: Exploring changes and explaining differences in attitudes towards homosexuality in Europe.* Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Lottes, I.L. & C.W. Adkins (2003). The Construction and Psychometric Properties of an Instrument Measuring Support for Sexual Rights. *The Journal of Sex Research, 40*(3): 286-295.

Marshall, T.H. (1950). Citizenship and Social Class. In C. Pierson & F.G. Castles (Eds.) (2006) *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 134-151). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Page, E. (2014) *Ellen Page joins HRCF's Time to Thrive Conference.* Retrieved on (31-05-14) from: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1hlCEIUATzg

Pateman, C. (1989). The Patriarchal Welfare State. In C. Pierson & F.G. Castles (Eds.) (2006) *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 30-39). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Plummer, K. (1995). *Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change and Social Worlds.* London: Routledge.

Plummer, K. (2001). The Square of Intimate Citizenship: Some Preliminary Proposals. *Citizenship Studies, 5*(3): 237-253.

Richardson, D. (1998). Sexuality and citizenship. *Sociology, 32*(1): 83-100.

Richardson, D. (2000). *Rethinking sexuality.* London: SAGE Publications.

Richardson, E.H. & B.S. Turner (2001). Sexual, Intimate or Reproductive Citizenship? *Citizenship Studies, 5*(3): 329-338.

Turner, B.S. (1993). *Citizenship and Social Theory.* London: Sage.

Turner, B.S. (2000). Outline of a general theory of cultural citizenship. In N. Stevenson (Ed.) (2001) *Culture and Citizenship.* (pp. 11-32). London: Sage.

Walby, S. (1997). *Gender Transformations.* London: Routledge.

Weeks, J. (1991). *Against Nature: Essays on History, Sexuality and Identity.* London: Rivers Oram Press.

Weeks, J. (1998). 'The sexual citizen', *Theory, Culture and Society. 15*(3-4): 35-52.

www.rijksoverheid.nla. *Verplichte aandacht voor seksualiteit en seksuele diversiteit stap dichter bij.* Retrieved on (16-06-14) from: http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/nieuws/2012/09/28/verplichte-aandacht-voor-seksualiteit-en-seksuele-diversiteit-stap-dichter-bij.html

www.rijksoverheid.nlb. *Gelijke rechten LHBT's.* Retrieved on (17-06-14) from: http://www.rijksoverheid.nlb/onderwerpen/homo-emancipatie/gelijke-rechten-homoseksuelen-en-transgenders

Zoeterman, S.E. & A.J. Wright (2014). The Role of Openness to Experience and Sexual Identity Formation in LGB Individuals: Implications for Mental Health. *Journal of Homosexuality, 61*(2): 334-353.

Annexes

Annex a: Topic list

The topic list will be provide in English and Dutch since a Dutch list was used in the actual interviews.

Topic list in English

Do you remember the first time that you though that you probably (also) are into men / women?

Sexual orientation

- how would you describe your sexual orientation (why)

- what does this mean for you / self-acceptance

- how important is your sexual orientation to you

Sexual identity

- is your sexual orientation part of your identity

- is and how important is your sexual identity for you (why)

- how important do you want your sexual identity to be for others / the Dutch society

- how open are you about your sexual identity towards others (consciously / unconsciously)

- coming out of the closet (when / who / how / reaction)

- what do you think of coming out in general

- how visible are you in your sexuality

Relationship

- do you / did you feel you could be open about your relationship

- intimacy in the public sphere

Sexual rights

- which rights do you know for sexual minorities in the Netherlands

- is this enough

- which rights are still missing

Sexual minority group

- are non-heterosexuals equal to heterosexuals in the Netherlands

- do you feel like you belong in the Dutch society

- does something and what still has to happen in the Netherlands

- how visible should non-heterosexuals be according to you (where / when / in which manner)

- role of the media

- how should people treat non-heterosexuals

- do heterosexuals have a role in increasing the acceptance / visibility / etcetera of non-heterosexuals

The future

- how do you view the future of sexual minorities in the Netherlands

Topic-list in het Nederlands

Herrinnert u zich nog de eerste keer dat u dacht dat u waarschijnlijk (ook) op mannen / vrouwen valt?

Seksuele orientatie

- hoe omschrijft u uw seksuele orientatie (waarom)

- wat betekend dit voor u / zelf acceptatie

- hoe belangrijk is uw seksuele orientatie voor u

Seksuele identiteit

- is uw seksuele orientatie deel van uw identiteit

- is en hoe belangrijk is uw seksuele identiteit voor jou (waarom)

- hoe belangrijk wilt u dat uw seksuele identiteit is voor anderen / Nederlandse maatschappij

- hoe open bent u over uw seksuele identiteit naar anderen (bewust / onbewust)

- uit de kast komen (wanneer / wie / hoe / reacties)

- wat vindt u van uit de kast komen in het algemeen

- hoe zichtbaar bent u in uw seksualiteit

Relatie

- heeft u / had u het gevoel open te kunnen zijn over uw relatie

- intimiteit in publieke ruimtes

Seksuele rechten

- welke rechten kent u in Nederland voor seksuel minderheden

- is dit voldoende

- welke rechten missen nog

Seksuele minderheidsgroep

- zijn niet-heteroseksuelen gelijk aan heteroseksuelen in Nederland

- heeft u het gevoel dat u erbij hoort in Nederland

- moet en wat moet er in Nederland nog gebeuren

- hoe zichtbaar zouden niet-heteroseksuelen volgens u moeten zijn (waar / wanneer / op welke manier)

- rol van media

- hoe moeten mensen omgaan met niet-heteroseksuelen

- hebben heteroseksuelen een rol in het vergroten van de acceptatie / zichtbaarheid / etc. van niet-heteroseksuelen

Toekomst

- hoe ziet u de toekomst voor u voor seksuele minderheden in Nederland

Annex b: Code-scheme for data-analysis

sexual rights	which rights do sexual minorities have
	which rights are missing
	knowledge about sexual rights
sexual identity	what is your sexual orientation
	self-acceptance
	part of identity
	important part of sexual identity
openness and visibility	being yourself
	is it important to come out of the closet
	do you find it important that other people know your sexuality
	threshold while telling people about your sexuality
	visibility
	role models
	media
	education and information
acceptance, equality and belonging in society	acceptance in immediate surroundings
	acceptance
	openness about relationships
	comments or violence in the public sphere
	are non-heterosexuals equal to heterosexuals
	belonging in the society
perspective on the future	the future
	how can it become better for non-heterosexuals
additional codes	how to treat non-heterosexuals
	heteronormativity
	bisexuality