

‘Veilig, zichtbaar en geaccepteerd’: A

Realist Evaluation of the Queer

Emancipation Policy of The Hague

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Abstract

In this exploratory research, the effectiveness of the queer emancipation policy of the city of The Hague is evaluated according to the Realist Evaluation method by Pawson and Tilly (1997). The policy is divided into three pillars of focus: safety, visibility, and acceptance. The evaluation is done by using a CMO model where the policy interventions, the underlying mechanisms, related contexts, and the desired outcomes will be mapped out. In addition to this model, interviews with stakeholders like policymakers and important people from within the LGBTQ+ community are used to provide an in-depth study of why and how some interventions might have been effective and some might have not. While some interventions have been indeed effective, others did not come to fruition due to several contextual reasons. In the conclusion of the research, several recommendations will be provided for the municipality to improve and ensure the effectiveness of its queer emancipation policy.

Keywords: Queer emancipation - Realist Evaluation - CMO model

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Introduction

In the summer of 2021, a progressive rainbow flag was placed in the Huygenspark, a little park in the neighborhood of Stationsbuurt in the Dutch city of The Hague, to show support for the queer community from the municipality. Jean-Bernard Maweja, the founder of Stichting Queermind, a small non-profit organization in The Hague that fights for queer emancipation in the city, was the one who came up with the idea and together with the alderman responsible for emancipation policy at the time, Bert van Alphen, the flag was revealed in July of 2021 (Kooistra, 2022). However, since the reveal of the flag it has been taken down and vandalized more than 6 times already (Bosman, 2022). When a rainbow bench was added to the park with the idea of placing an object with more longevity, the bench was vandalized within merely a few days (Vos, 2022). Many stakeholders within the queer community of The Hague urged the municipality to take action, protect queer people and create a safe environment not only in the area of the Huygenspark but in the whole city. This begs the question, what exactly does the municipality do to protect its queer citizens?

In this exploratory research, the queer emancipation policy of the municipality of The Hague will be evaluated, specifically their two-year action program titled *Queer in Den Haag; veilig, zichtbaar en geaccepteerd: Actieprogramma 2020-2022* (Queer in The Hague; safe, visible and accepted: Action Program 2020-2022) (2022). This will be done by using the realistic evaluation method developed and popularized by Pawson and Tilly (1997). In addition, a CMO model will be utilized to dissect The Hague's queer policy. This is their version of a conceptual model. The following research question will be answered: *what is the effectiveness of the queer emancipation policy in The Hague between 2020 and 2022 and how can we explain this?* To answer the main research question, four sub-questions will be answered in the process: *what is the queer emancipation policy in The Hague?; Is the policy*

fitting from a theoretical perspective? How does the municipality implement the policy?; And has the policy been effective and why?

Evaluating queer emancipation policy is of great societal importance as the policy of course will have an impact on how queer issues are treated and how queer people are protected on an administrative level. If this policy is not aptly implemented, queer people might feel less safe, less accepted, and less seen by not only their government but also by society at large. It is therefore paramount to ensure that the queer emancipation policy in The Hague is doing what it should be doing: protecting and empowering queer people. On a scientific level, evaluating queer emancipation policy employing the realistic evaluation method and the CMO model has as of yet not been widespread and this explorative research could be a possible catalyst in how researchers and policymakers evaluate queer policies in the future. As the effects of these policies might be hard to measure quantitatively, the qualitative nature of the method by Pawson and Tilly might lend itself perfectly as the context, mechanisms, and output of the policy will be mapped out and explained (1997). This will help in better understanding how queer emancipation policies affect queer people.

The first part of this research will consist of providing the theoretical framework including an explanation of Pawson and Tilly's realistic evaluation method and the CMO model that will be used to conceptualize The Hague's queer policy. Next, the methods that fit within the realistic evaluation method like policy analysis and a realist style of interviewing will be elaborated. After laying down the foundation of the research with the theoretical framework and the methodology, the analysis of the program theory and the queer emancipation policy in The Hague will start in which the first two sub-questions will be answered. Following the analysis, the effectiveness of the policy will be assessed through interviews and the research will conclude with an answer to the research question and with recommendations to improve the queer emancipation policy in The Hague.

Theoretical Framework

Realist Evaluation Method

As mentioned before, the realist evaluation method was developed by Pawson and Tilly in 1997 and gives a different, more realistic approach to evaluating policies instead of the more generally used ‘experimental’ approach that is used in the social sciences. This experimental approach is a good tool for finding out if a certain program works, but it does not answer why a certain program works. Central to the realist evaluation method is thus finding an answer to why a program or policy works. Instead of only focusing on the outcome of a program or policy, Pawson and Tilly focus not only on the outcome but also on the context in which a certain program has been developed and on the underlying mechanisms (1997). At the basis of their method lies the ‘Program Theory,’ which in turn is tested by way of the ‘CMO-model.’ The program theory maps out the assumptions that the policy is based on. The program consists of a problem, the cause of the problem, and how the problem will be dealt with and this will result in different interventions. A model is used to evaluate the program, aptly named the Context, Mechanism, and Outcomes model or CMO model (Pawson, 2006).

Context relates to the circumstances under which policy interventions have taken place and plays a big role in explaining why a certain policy has succeeded or failed. The same interventions could have different outcomes depending on the context. For example, in research by Bohman and Hjerm (2016), they found that although most of Europe is dealing with a refugee crisis at the moment, the presence of right-wing populist parties determines how strong the migration policies will be of a certain country. Right-wing populism serves as the context on which these policies are made. Realist analysis takes at least four contextual layers into account: (i) the individual level, in which individual capacities of the actors involved are central to the intervention; (ii) interpersonal relationships, in which the communication or relationship between the actors determines if a policy succeeds or fails;

(iii) the institutional setting, meaning which rules and conventions influence the policy; and (iv) the infrastructural setting, meaning does it have political or public support (Pawson, 2006). These four layers together provide the conditions under which interventions play out and they determine if the interventions will be effective (Pawson & Tilly, 1997; Pawson, 2006).

Mechanisms describe the workings of a certain policy intervention. They do not determine if a policy is likely to have an effect, but they describe which part of the policy should ensure that the policy will have an effect. However, mechanisms are strongly affected by their context, which will result in different outcomes depending on the context (Pawson & Tilly, 1997). Lastly, *outcomes* are, as mentioned before, dependent on the mechanisms and context at work and the outcomes can thus vary greatly depending on the mechanisms and context (Pawson & Tilly, 1997).

The context, mechanisms, and outcomes are all part of the CMO model which demonstrates that the relationship between the intervention (X) and the outcome (O) is influenced by the mechanism (M) at play in a certain program or policy (Figure 1). The context (C) in turn not only has an influence on the relationship between X and O but also on the influence that M has on this relationship (Pawson & Tilly, 1997; Pawson, 2006).

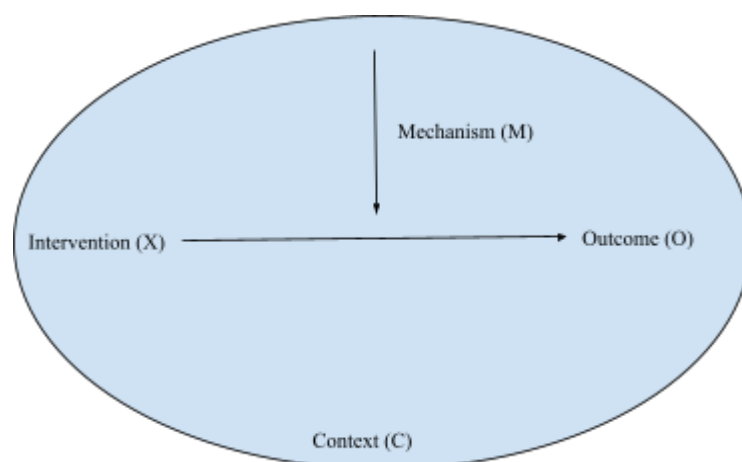


Figure 1: Schematic CMO model

LGBTQ+ Politics and Policies

First, it is important to note the wording that is used during this research describing the large group of identities that are covered. Most commonly, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) has been used to describe the community of people who are intrinsically linked together at a social and cultural level. However, since the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, many LGBT-rights activists have claimed the term 'queer' as a badge of honor and to reclaim the once derogatory term in a positive manner (Irvine, 1994).

Queer can be seen as a more radical term to describe the community. Where LGBT rights advocacy can be seen as aligning themselves with or prescribing to the mainstream political ideology at large within a society, queer activists actively oppose heteronormative policies and neoliberal ideas (Thiel, 2014). In recent years, LGBTQ+ (adding queer and a plus for all other identities that are not heteronormative) and the term queer are used interchangeably in most media and academic publications. I will interchange the terms in accordance with the sources I will be using.

Sexual politics, including LGBTQ+ politics, arrived late in an academic sense as it was seen as a private matter, and not part of the public realm, but with theorists such as Foucault and Butler, sexuality and gender were linked to politics on an academic level (Thiel, 2014). However, it has only been very recently that LGBTQ+ politics have become mainstream in most Western countries. The question if the introduction of LGBTQ+ politics has positive or negative effects on the emancipation of queer individuals, has been undecided by theorists. On the positive side of the spectrum, theorists say that LGBTQ+ politics have steered laws in a more progressive direction in many (Western) countries - recognizing same-sex partnership or marriage, adoption for same-sex couples, gender-affirming care, etc. - and the visibility of LGBTQ+ representatives in government has directed public opinion towards a more positive attitude towards LGBTQ+ issues (Mucciaroni, 2011). Especially in

urban areas, LGBTQ+ individuals have played a significant role in shaping cultural and economic life, which means LGBTQ+ politics is intrinsically linked to urban politics (Bailey, 1999). Moreover, LGBTQ+ politics have given more perspective on power relations and fundamental value conflicts within society which has laid bare the work that still needs to be done to achieve the emancipation of LGBTQ+ individuals (Mucciaroni, 2011).

On the negative (or critical) side of the spectrum, theorists have stated that LGBTQ+ politics have a tendency to be eurocentric, and Western governments or organizations advocating for LGBTQ+ rights in countries that do not have these laws, evoke contentions of (homo)colonialism and could do more harm than good for the emancipation of queer people in these countries (Thiel, 2014). Moreover, the critics of LGBTQ+ politics mention the risk that these politics can be overly assimilating or patronizing (Thiel, 2014). For example, if in a certain country same-sex couples can adopt a child, but transgender individuals can not obtain gender-affirming care, how equal are these politics? In essence, critics believe that LGBTQ+ politics should always be radical, instead of working within the set boundaries of bureaucracy (Thiel, 2014). I will follow the critical approach in this thesis and see if the policy moves within or outside the bureaucratic boundaries.

Naturally, from politics spring policies. According to Cruells and Coll-Planas (2013), policies aimed toward equality can be divided into three different models. Firstly, the single-issue policies. This model has been the most commonly used method of creating equality policies, including LGBTQ+ policies, in most EU countries. The biggest advantage of a single-issue policy is that they focus on one specific problem, which means it is very effective at solving this particular problem, like achieving equality within a specific social group (Cruells & Coll-Planas, 2013). However, single-issue policies come with a few disadvantages. For instance, these policies run the risk of having tunnel vision toward the problem and overlooking other axes of inequality in the process, meaning these policies are

not intersectional (Cruell & Coll-Planas, 2013). Moreover, although LGBTQ+ individuals have similar problems of inequality, the social group is rich with different identities and the sentiment of one fits-all-policy does not really suit the heterogeneity of the LGBTQ+ community (Cruell & Coll-Planas, 2013).

The second model is the multiple discrimination model which has also seen a rise in popularity, mainly with the EU (Bell et al., 2007). The benefits of the multiple discrimination model are that it takes advantage of economies of scale and of the legal interpretation of discrimination, meaning that it not only groups people based on gender identity, but also includes factors like age, race, or social class (Cruell & Coll-Planas, 2013). This comes with the disadvantage that different groups might compete with each other due to a lack of coordination of the policy agenda and a hierarchy within the groups could be generated because of mismanagement (Lombardo & Verloo, 2010).

The third and last model is the intersectional approach. First coined and popularized by Kimberlé Crenshaw, the concept of intersectionality refers to linkages between axes of inequality in a holistic manner. Social inequality takes shape at different levels, including institutional, organizational, personal, and representational, and this happens in specific contexts and historic moments which all need to be considered (Yuval-Davis, 2006). According to Cruell and Coll-Planas, the intersectional approach is the key to creating more inclusive public policies (2013). However, this inclusion can only be achieved if a balance between autonomy of identity and intersectionality is reached within a public policy. These models will help with determining what model the queer policy has followed if it has followed any model at all.

Veilig, zichtbaar en geaccepteerd

The Hague's queer emancipation action program is built on three pillars: *veilig* (safe), *zichtbaar* (visible) and *geaccepteerd* (accepted). In the following part, the theory about these three concepts related to queer emancipation will be elaborated on.

According to a report from the Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (The Netherlands Institute for Social Research) from 2018, LGBTQ+ people in The Netherlands generally perceive lower feelings of safety than heterosexual citizens. They perceive less social cohesion in their neighborhoods, feel less safe in public spaces, and experience more violence or the threat of violence than heterosexual citizens.

One of the measures for combating harassment or violence against LGBTQ+ people that is commonly used is increasing the reporting of these instances to the police as it increases the chance to catch abusers and ultimately should make LGBTQ+ feel safer if the police take action. However, this is easier said than done. According to some studies, many LGBTQ+ will not report harassment or violence to the police because of several factors. Firstly, many LGBTQ+ people 'normalize' the abuse in order to cope with it and go on with their daily activities (Browne et al., 2011). Moreover, many queer people deem the instances of abuse as not being 'serious' enough to report it to the police (Feddes & Jonas, 2020). Secondly, many LGBTQ+ people that have experienced harassment or violence report a lower trust in institutions like the police, meaning they are less likely to report abuse (Feddes & Jonas, 2020). Moreover, instances of LGBTQ+ people reporting their abuse not being taken seriously by the police are widespread (Browne et al., 2011; Feddes & Jonas, 2020). In order to increase the reporting of violence against queer people, public policies should focus on improving the trust queer people have in institutions like the police and making sure that queer people have the feeling that their abuse is taken seriously.

Reporting harassment and violence is not the only measure to increase the safety of the LGBTQ+ community. In a 2011 research in Brighton (UK), researchers advocated for a broader social policy framework in which a multi-agency approach is used, an approach in which multiple organizations and institutions work together to reach the same goal (Browne et al., 2011). They made three recommendations that could improve the safety policy in Brighton. Firstly, broader and more appropriate support to address abuse is necessary for LGBTQ+ people. What this means is that there needs to be an understanding that different people are differently affected by abuse and that this needs to be dealt with in a manner that fits the individual case. This support must be provided in both a formal manner (professional care and/or therapy) and an informal manner (safe spaces that queer people have created on their own). Secondly, as the expertise from LGBTQ+ communities to support victims of physical or verbal abuse in an adequate manner is almost entirely organized by voluntary and community sector organizations, proper resources and support from the local government are essential. However, it is important to note that the ownership should stay with the LGBTQ+ communities. And finally, as LGBTQ+ communities and organizations have the proper knowledge and experiences, a broad range of LGBTQ+ actors and stakeholders should be involved in the creation of queer safety policy - not just 'mainstream' organizations, but also people with experience in specific issues and needs, like trans people or queer people of color. These recommendations not only suit the city of Brighton but can be applied to any local government.

Visibility is an important factor for the emancipation and empowerment of LGBTQ+ citizens. Gordon W. Allport's theory on interpersonal contact is crucial in understanding the importance of visibility (1954). His theory states that interpersonal contact between different groups decreases the perceived group threat. This can be established by different forms of interpersonal contact, like face-to-face contact, mediated contact (books, films, etc.) and even

imagined contact (Allport, 1954). According to Garretson, mediated contact is the most effective form of changing opinions on LGBTQ+ issues (2018). He states that positive portrayals of queer characters and positive news coverage have a positive effect on public opinion. However, this was the opposite for religious and conservative people who generally became more hostile towards LGBTQ+ issues after exposure to positive portrayals or coverage of queer people and queer news. Visibility of LGBTQ+ people thus has two effects in that it changes public opinion in a more positive way for some people and a more negative way for others who already had prejudice. Nevertheless, even if initial visibility is met with backlash and resistance, that resistance enhances the visibility and salience of the LGBTQ+ issues, creating a snowball effect in which these issues are increasingly seen in a more positive light by the public (Ayoub, 2016). Moreover, if governments actively promote LGBTQ+ issues to the public, public discourse shifts into a more positive direction (Ayoub, 2016)

At the root of queer emancipation is the acceptance of LGBTQ+ individuals. Acceptance is a broad concept that encompasses social beliefs about queer people, as well as public opinion about laws and policies relevant to their protection and the promotion of equality and well-being of queer people (Flores, 2019). The general acceptance of LGBTQ+ issues has been increasing over the decades in The Netherlands according to the study by Flores (2019). The key to accomplishing more acceptance within society is education, which has to occur on several levels. Firstly, inclusive sexual education is necessary at schools. Inclusive sexual education not only increases acceptance and understanding of queer identities but also provides questioning youth with the information to form their identities (Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014). Secondly, schools should have a Gay-Straight Alliance (GSA) or the even more inclusive version, the Gender and Sexuality Alliance. GSAs' are defined as student-led clubs that work to support queer students and improve the school

climate for them and their allies and they are proven to have the desired effect of improving acceptance among students (Hanna, 2017; Payne & Smith, 2018). And finally, professionals like teachers, but also caregivers, and public officials should be equipped with the tools to deal with distinct sexual and gender identities by way of training and working together with LGBTQ+ organizations (Browne et al., 2011; Payne & Smith, 2018).

From these theories, it becomes clear that safety, visibility, and acceptance go hand-in-hand with each other as concepts to measure queer emancipation. As visibility increases, general acceptance increases as well, but the safety of queer people could also be at risk, as greater visibility also comes with greater resistance from some parts of the population. So how does one measure abstract concepts like safety, visibility, and acceptance? In the next chapter, the methods will be elaborated on.

Methodology

Research Method

As discussed before, the method that has been used to evaluate the queer emancipation policy of the municipality of The Hague is the realist evaluation method developed by Pawson and Tilly (1997). This method is a better option than other methods because it not only answers if a policy has been effective, it also answers why it has been effective. The method achieves this by looking at the mechanisms that are made active through interventions, how context influences this, and which outcomes this has (Pawson & Tilly, 1997; Pawson, 2006).

Moreover, the method lends itself perfectly to deep, qualitative research on a smaller scale because of the semi-structured method of interviewing that can give a detailed picture of the interventions of the policy, the goals that were set, and if these goals were met (Pawson, 2006).

This research is split into two parts. The first part consists of a program theory analysis through which it will become clear what the queer policy of The Hague looks like and if it is in line with the theory discussed in the theoretical framework. The data that has been used is of course the queer emancipation policy of the municipality of The Hague (2022), but the policy officer responsible for queer emancipation at the municipality who co-wrote the policy has also been interviewed. By drawing a comparison between the queer policy of The Hague and the literature on queer policy, the foundation to look at the effectiveness of the policy can be built. During the analysis, the policy is schematically taken through the CMO model to map out the *contexts*, *mechanisms*, and *outcomes* of the queer emancipation policy.

The second part focuses on the policy in practice, meaning it focuses on the policy at work at the societal level. The two sub-questions this part deals with is how the municipality is implementing the policy and if the policy has been effective and why? These questions are answered by conducting semi-structured interviews by way of the realist evaluation method. Pawson and Tilly (1997) developed a ‘realist interview’ technique that is fitting for their method. In these interviews, the researcher provides the respondents with the CMO model. Respondents can give their thoughts on the outcomes of the policy and give feedback or critique on how the policy has been implemented. The interviews start off with general questions on the issue the policy poses to improve, but deeper questions on the subject and the policy are dealt with according to the contexts, mechanisms, and outcomes that were found in the policy analysis. Semi-structured interviews are an ideal way of interviewing because the open nature of this style of interviewing will give respondents the possibility to be franker as the interview will feel more like a conversation (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A topic list is made in accordance with the action points in the policy and with the literature (see Appendix 2). Nine people have been interviewed for this research and they are

purposefully sampled. They consist of policymakers and stakeholders within the queer community of The Hague, like board members of advocacy groups or community builders, as they will be paramount in providing their thoughts and feedback on this policy. The interviews last between 30 and 50 minutes, are held in Dutch, are recorded and transcribed, and are coded with ATLAS.ti through open coding (see Appendix 4 for the code book).

Privacy of respondents

The privacy of respondents is safeguarded in various ways. Respondents have been provided with an informed consent form before the interviews took place. This form consists of information about the research as well as information on how the data will be processed and who has access to this data. Moreover, respondents are kept anonymous. This research has been conducted in accordance with all privacy and ethical aspects that are in line with sociological research (for the complete checklist, see Appendix 1).

Policy Analysis

Program Theory

In 2019, the Dutch minister of Justice and Safety and the minister of Education, Culture, and Science at that time presented an action program to the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament in which they state their plans to improve the safety and emancipation of LGBTQ+ citizens for the coming three years (2019). Inspired by this program, alderman Bert van Alphen, responsible for emancipation, set out to create an action program for The Hague as part of the new coalition agreement named *Samen voor de Stad* (Together for the City). According to van Alphen, political and societal engagement with sexual and gender diversity has been on the rise in the last few years and the general acceptance of queer people has seen an increase (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). However, many queer people still do not feel safe

enough in the city. At the root of this problem lies that a portion of the citizens in The Hague still does not accept LGBTQ+ identities because of religious, cultural, or other undefined reasons (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). The goal of the action program is to increase the safety, visibility, and acceptance of queer people that live in the municipality. The different interventions the municipality plans to implement are categorized by the three pillars of safety, visibility, and acceptance. Special attention is directed towards four groups that need extra support from the municipality as they are more vulnerable groups within the LGBTQ+ community: bicultural youth, transgender individuals, queer seniors, and asylum seekers and status holders. Furthermore, a special section on internal policy within the municipality is added which plans to improve the emancipation of queer people at city hall itself. For the sake of this research, I will focus my attention on the general interventions that are stated as the scope of this research is too small to go into all segments of the queer emancipation policy. However, I will briefly discuss the approach of the municipality to pick four vulnerable groups within the community to direct extra attention towards.

Interventions

Safety

The first intervention that is part of the pillar of safety (X1.1) is that the municipality will take part in a deliberation which is organized four times a year by COC Haaglanden - the The Hague branch of The Netherlands' biggest and oldest LGBTQ+ rights group - together with the police and their LGBTQ+ network Roze in Blauw, anti-discrimination office Den Haag Meldt and other queer organizations in order to come up with a collective approach to combat the occurrence of incidents in the city (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The second intervention (X1.2), which coincides with the first intervention, is that the municipality, together with the aforementioned organizations, wants to come up with a

collective approach to increase the willingness of queer victims of harassment or violence to report the incident to the police or Den Haag Meldt (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The third and last intervention that is part of the pillar of safety (X1.3) is that the municipality wants to start research into how the safety for queer people in the public sphere can be increased (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

Visibility

The first intervention that is part of the visibility pillar (X2.1) is that from 2020 onwards the municipality will raise the rainbow flag at every district office on at least 6 significant occasions every year (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). These occasions are: International Day of Trans Visibility (March 31st); International Day against Homo-, Trans-, and Biphobia (May 17th); during Pride Festival in the summer; International Coming Out Day (October 11th); International Transgender Day of Remembrance (November 20th); and Purple Friday (second Friday of December). The municipality is looking at possibilities to raise the transgender flag specifically on International Day of Trans Visibility and International Transgender Day of Remembrance (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The second intervention (X2.2) is in line with the first intervention in that the municipality will facilitate or join events on the aforementioned dates and will actively raise awareness for these dates through media and their own online communication channels (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). Two examples that are mentioned in the action program is the organization of an inclusive and substantive program during the Pride Festival to shed light on queer emancipation, and the promotion of activities in the run-up of Coming Out Day to increase the visibility of queer people (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The third and last intervention which is part of the visibility pillar (X2.3) is the annual John Blankensteijn Award ceremony in which a subsidy is awarded by the municipality to an

organization, person, or group of people who have contributed to the queer emancipation policy of the Hague (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). With this award, the municipality would like to mark the importance of discussing queer emancipation in The Hague.

Acceptance

The first intervention that is part of the pillar of acceptance (X3.1) is that the municipality will support activities that actively promote the acceptance of sexual and gender diversity and gender expression within migrant groups, societal organizations, medical institutions, and sports associations (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). The municipality will make annual performance agreements with several organizations to establish common goals.

The second intervention (X3.2) is the continuation and expansion of classes provided by COC Haaglanden at schools to increase the acceptance and understanding of sexual and gender diversity and gender expression among students (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The third intervention (X3.3) is in line with the previous intervention as the municipality has the ambition to expand the number of educational institutions that have a GSA from 10 to at least 24 in 2022 (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

The fourth intervention (X3.4) is that the municipality wants to increase the reach of organizations like The Hang Out 070 and COC Haaglanden to young people in the city (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022)

The fifth and last intervention of the pillar of acceptance (X3.5) is making use of a queer emancipation worker who puts sexual and gender diversity on the agenda of societal organizations. Moreover, the queer emancipation worker will help these organizations with the implementation of queer policies and with the organization of activities that have to do with LGBTQ+ issues (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022).

Reconstruction CMO model

Mechanisms

Now that the three pillars and their respective interventions have been discussed, the mechanisms that underlie the interventions can be identified, each pillar with its own mechanism. The first mechanism which corresponds with the pillar of safety is finding solutions to violence against queer people and to the low numbers of reports (M1). Finding these solutions will contribute to increasing the safety of LGBTQ+ people.

The second mechanism corresponds to the pillar of visibility and entails how these interventions seek to provide recognition for all the queer citizens in The Hague (M2). This recognition goes in two directions. It not only ensures that the LGBTQ+ community feels supported by the municipality, but it also provides an opportunity for recognition of the community to people outside the community. This will likely spark a reaction in these people, be it positive or negative (Garretson, 2018).

The third and last mechanism relates to the pillar of acceptance and has to do with spreading knowledge on queer identities through these interventions (M3). By spreading knowledge on queer issues and identities, people who have preconceived ideas or judgments will be better informed and are likely to be more accepting of LGBTQ+ people.

Contexts

By looking at the four I's provided by Pawson (2006), we can establish what contexts are linked to a possibly successful queer emancipation policy. First of all, the effectiveness of the policy is dependent on the individual capacities of the actors involved, in this case, the executive roles of the policy maker and emancipation worker (C1). If these actors do not have the right skills to set certain mechanisms into action, the intervention could possibly not lead to the desired result. Other actors are also at play on the individual level, as stakeholders

within the community play a key role in shaping the policy. If a stakeholder from an organization does not have the capacity to steer the organization toward a direction that is fruitful for the community, the policy could also fail to be effective (C2).

The second context relates to interpersonal relationships between the municipality and the different organizations they work with and the relationship among the different organizations because if these relationships are not strong enough, distrust could occur and this could hinder the outcomes of the interventions (C3).

The third context relates to the institutional setting and how this setting influences the execution of the policy. Sometimes the policymakers from the emancipation office need to work together with other offices and there might be a disconnect in how both offices look at queer emancipation issues (C4).

The fourth and last context is infrastructure. Is there enough political and thus financial support for the queer emancipation policy to succeed (C5)? Moreover, are there enough resources to ensure the continuity of the implementation process (C6)? If someone falls ill or quits their job, networks and partnerships could be lost if no measures are taken beforehand.

Outcomes

All the interventions in the queer emancipation policy have a result that they are aiming for. These outcomes coincide with the three pillars that the municipality has decided on: (O1) to improve the safety of LGBTQ+ individuals in The Hague; (O2) to improve the visibility of LGBTQ+ individuals in The Hague; (O3) and to improve the acceptance of LGBTQ+ individuals in The Hague.

Now that the interventions, mechanisms, contexts, and outcomes have been discussed, the following CMO model can be established:

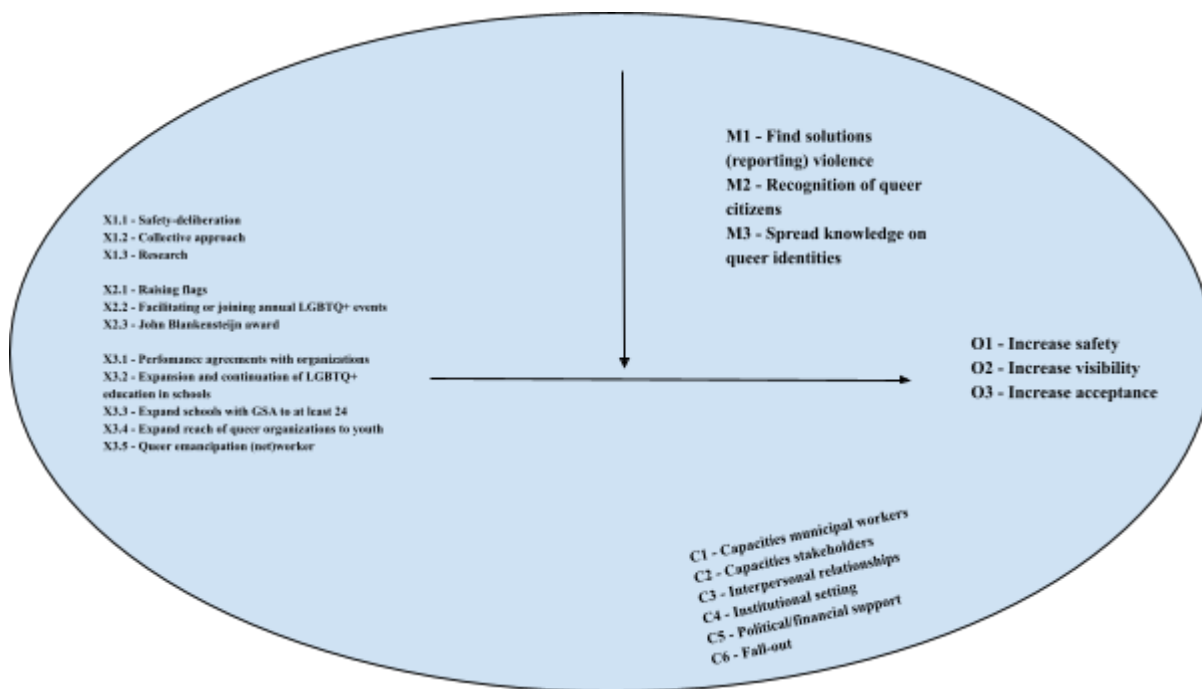


Figure 2: The Hague's queer emancipation policy CMO model

Theoretical Analysis

For the most part, the interventions that the municipality of The Hague has suggested in their action program seem to be in line with the literature on queer emancipation. Firstly, to accomplish a safer city for queer people, the willingness to report harassment and violence has to increase (Browne et al., 2011; Feddes & Jonas, 2020). In order to do so, the trust in the police and other institutions has to be improved, otherwise, queer people will not feel as if reporting abuse will help them feel safer. As the municipality is talking with the police and other stakeholders - like queer networks and organizations - about improving safety, it seems as if the municipality is following a multi-agency approach as suggested in the literature (Browne et al., 2011). Secondly, the promotion of queer issues through media and events as an effective way of increasing visibility and a positive stance from the municipality on these issues is also supported by the literature (Ayoub, 2016; Garretson, 2018). And lastly, the implementation of more sexual education and GSA's at schools is also in line with literature

on acceptance of queer identities (Gowen & Wings-Yanez, 2014; Hanna, 2017; Payne & Smith, 2018). In addition to most of the interventions being in line with theory, the municipality seems to strive towards an intersectional approach in their action program. The four subgroups they direct extra attention to are not only selected because of their multiple axes of inequality, but the municipality seems to look at the different levels of social inequality as well (Gemeente Den Haag, 2022). Some respondents that were interviewed did mention that they would like to see non-binary and intersex people mentioned in the policy.

Although most interventions seem to be in accordance with the theory, one intervention sticks out as there is as of yet no prior research known about it: the queer emancipation worker. When talking to the policy maker and some stakeholders about the queer emancipation worker, it seems as if the idea came from different parties and at different times. First, a network of different organizations called Haags Platform Seksuele Diversiteit (The Hague Platform for Sexual Diversity), or HPSD for short, wanted someone who could execute the ideas they had to improve awareness about these issues to religious organizations and community centers within the city. This was sourced to the organization with the biggest budget and the only one that could hire a paid worker, COC Haaglanden. However, this emancipation worker became more a part of COC Haaglanden than of the other organizations and the project came to an end. After this project, the municipality took notice of someone going into the field and talking to organizations about queer issues. They hired them to work as the new emancipation worker with a focus on one specific neighborhood, Moerwijk. Later on the neighborhood of Laak was added to the responsibility, however, due to the scope of the project, resistance from employees at the district offices, and burn-out of the emancipation worker, this project came to an end as well. As of now, there is no queer emancipation worker, but the results at that time seemed promising, as many organizations in

the neighborhood were willing to talk about queer issues with the emancipation worker which could result in more acceptance of queer people in these communities.

Sub-conclusion

Looking at the queer emancipation policy, how it relates to the theories, and what interventions have been placed, a few conclusions are warranted. While the action program is largely in line with theories on queer policy and the interventions logically fit with the three pillars, the interventions seem to be more of a first starting point or a plan than actual interventions that result in action. For instance, although the pillar of safety is in accordance with theory, the interventions seem to be focussing on doing research instead of using prior studies done on violence against LGBTQ+ people. Moreover, some interventions do not seem to be based on theory at all, but are more project-based, like the queer emancipation worker. In the next chapter, a more in-depth, practical analysis of the implementation is provided.

Implementation analysis

As the interventions, contexts, mechanisms, and desired outcomes have been discussed in the previous chapter, in this chapter, the actual implementation will be discussed. The data that will be used has been collected from nine interviews with policymakers and stakeholders of the LGBTQ+ community and a codebook has been set up according to the structure of the interviews (see Appendix 4). Each pillar of the policy will be analyzed in addition to their respective CMO models to find out why some interventions might have been fruitful and others might not have come to fruition (yet).

Safety

Implementation

From talking to the respondents about the results of the interventions, the following findings can be concluded. Firstly, while there have been deliberations going on about a collaborative approach to combat violence against queer people and also an approach to increase the willingness to report abuse to the police or other organizations, a definite collaborative approach has not been presented. Some of the respondents who were interviewed did partake in the deliberations, and while they mentioned that the meetings were constructive and bore some interesting ideas, a consensus was never reached. There was also a feeling that while a lot of people were invited because of their lived experience, researchers and policymakers were missing during the deliberations. One of the respondents had this to say about the meetings:

“In actuality, the municipality is dropping a question on to us, and while I think it is good that different organizations get to meet each other, I feel like we as volunteers miss the capacity to fully grasp what is going on in the city [...] we don't have the numbers, we didn't do the research... all we have is our lived experiences.”

Moreover, although many respondents understood why COC was responsible for orchestrating the meetings - as COC is the only organization with big enough infrastructure - many respondents were critical of the power COC had in these instances and would like to see the municipality take more power instead of outsourcing their tasks to a non-neutral party.

Secondly, the municipality has conducted some research on improving the safety of LGBTQ+ people. However, this was part of a bigger, internal research done by the municipality into street intimidation in the city where focus groups were used of all gender

expressions. The conclusion from this research: providing self-defense courses. During one of the interviews, one respondent mentioned they visited one of these self-defense courses and while they thought it was really powerful, they wondered if this was enough to increase the safety of queer people. Many respondents mentioned that the focus was too much on the victims, instead of the perpetrators:

“There is a lot of talk about increasing safety among queer people and how you can make them feel safer but the fact is that if you are attacked in the street or something... that person gets a fine and a week later you might see them again. We remain in a vicious circle of insecurity, so I wonder whether there should not be an approach to address the perpetrators.”

Conditions

It seems from the interviews that a lot of conditions are necessary to make the implementation of safety interventions come to fruition. First of all, it needs to be clear who is responsible for following up on the collaborative approach. While the municipality has outsourced the facilitation of the safety deliberations to COC Haaglanden, it is not clear if the municipality or COC or all parties involved will be taking part in actually writing down a collective approach.

Secondly, the capacity of the individuals involved seems to be key. As mentioned before, if there are no researchers or policymakers joining the deliberations who have expertise in coming up with an approach to increase safety and only volunteers with lived experiences are joining, a scientific, collaborative approach might not be established (C1 & C2).

Thirdly, and adding to the previous point, the institutional setting is a significant factor in the implementation of the interventions. When talking to the policy maker, they mentioned that safety as a pillar involves many other departments of the municipality, but because it is part of the queer emancipation program, it is difficult to find collaborators within the municipality as they feel it is not part of their domain of work (C4) and the queer emancipation policymaker lacks the expertise to fully tackle safety as an administrative concept (C1). In addition, during the time when the action program was active, the queer emancipation policymaker fell out due to burn-out, and the implementation of the action program was not picked up by another department (C4 & C6). And lastly, due to a limited budget, the scope of the research by the municipality is also limited and has therefore been made part of other research, for example, the street intimidation research (C5). The following CMO model can be established for safety:

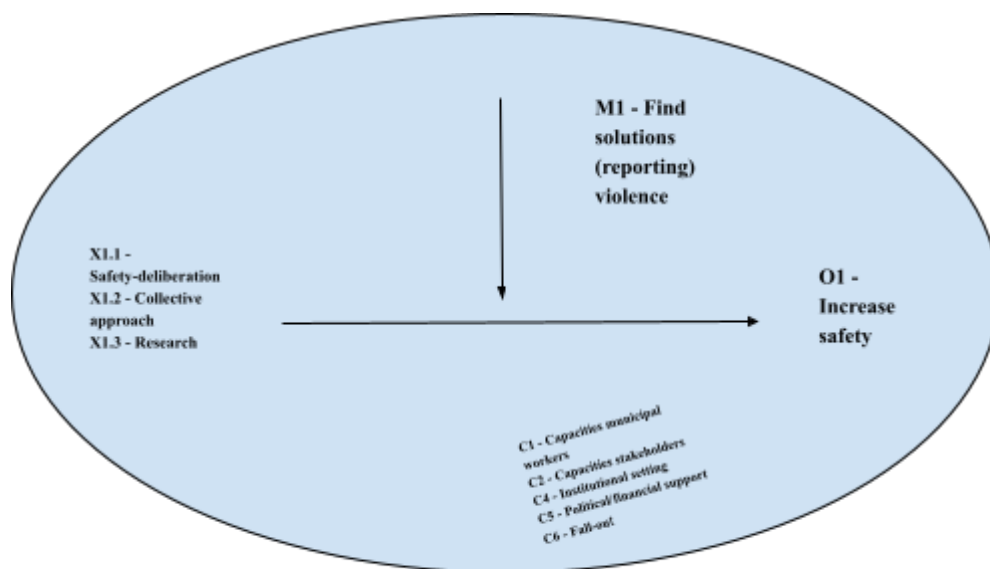


Figure 3: CMO model safety

Conclusion

From looking at the implementation of the interventions and talking to respondents about them, it is clear that this pillar of the queer emancipation policy is more of a starting point than actual interventions to increase safety for LGBTQ+ citizens of The Hague. Many respondents were missing decisiveness in the interventions and were hoping that the findings from the safety deliberations would soon be transformed into a collaborative approach that is part of the municipal policy. Moreover, more research might be needed, however, it is important to find a focus on what is being researched. Will the focus be on the victims or will the focus be on the perpetrators?

Visibility

Implementation

Many of the interventions of this pillar have been successfully implemented. For instance, the rainbow flag has been raised at city hall and other municipal buildings on the six significant dates that were mentioned in the action program. Moreover, the trans flag has also successfully been implemented at specific celebrations aimed at transgender people. In addition, the municipality has indeed facilitated some events and has actively participated in events organized by queer organizations. Also, the John Blankensteijn Award has continued to award people or organizations with recognition of their work with an additional subsidy. The only intervention that has not come to fruition is the organization of a Pride event in The Hague.

While talking to respondents, they were happy with the action the municipality had taken to increase the visibility of LGBTQ+ people in the city, but they had some concerns and suggestions. Firstly, all respondents unanimously agreed that raising flags at specific celebrations is important, but the visibility should be more permanent, like the rainbow

benches at Huygenspark that were damaged, or a rainbow crosswalk. One of the respondents has been making a case for a rainbow crosswalk for a few years now but has faced some obstacles while working with the municipality. Secondly, some respondents stated that the municipality needs to find a good balance between when they should be the initiator and when they should leave something to the community. One respondent stated:

“I think it is important that the municipality knows where it should put its role as a leader [...] for instance, safety is a department that should be more the responsibility of the government, but visibility and thus the celebration of queer people should be more in the hands of the community.”

And lastly, the municipality should not only involve queer organizations at dates of celebration or remembrance but actively try to involve groups or organizations that might traditionally be more removed from queer issues. One respondent stated:

“If we don’t involve parties who might disagree with our movement, we become an echo chamber [...] we shouldn’t only make an example, but also actively involve people and try to instigate a reaction, be it positive or negative.”

Part of this argument is also to involve citizens on a smaller scale, for example by facilitating local events in neighborhoods that could reach people who normally would not come in contact as easily with queer issues. By doing so, the visibility gives room to possibly increase acceptance as well.

Conditions

The following conditions seemed to have been of significance in the success of the interventions. The most important condition for success seems to be enough political and thus financial support to start raising flags and facilitating or joining celebrations (C5). The institutional setting seems to be a distinguishing factor as well (C4). The possibility of a rainbow crosswalk is an example of this. The following statement displays the context:

“R: We asked the municipality to look into another option for permanent visibility for the community like a rainbow crosswalk but this was not possible due to safety hazards in traffic.

I: And from which department came this decision?

R: Infrastructure and Traffic.”

From this statement, it becomes clear that not only the queer emancipation department plays a role in the implementation of policies, but they are dependent on the support from other departments as well. Another condition seems to be a good interpersonal relationship between the municipality and stakeholders and between the stakeholders themselves (C3). When talking to one of the respondents, they mentioned that a Pride event was scheduled to be happening in 2022, but due to disagreements between different stakeholders, the event never happened. Moreover, the budget for a Pride event was not clearly mentioned in the action program (C5). In addition, due to the burn-out from not only the policymaker, but also the queer emancipation worker who was helping organize the Pride event, the organization of Pride came to a halt in the early stage of development (C6). The following CMO model can be established:

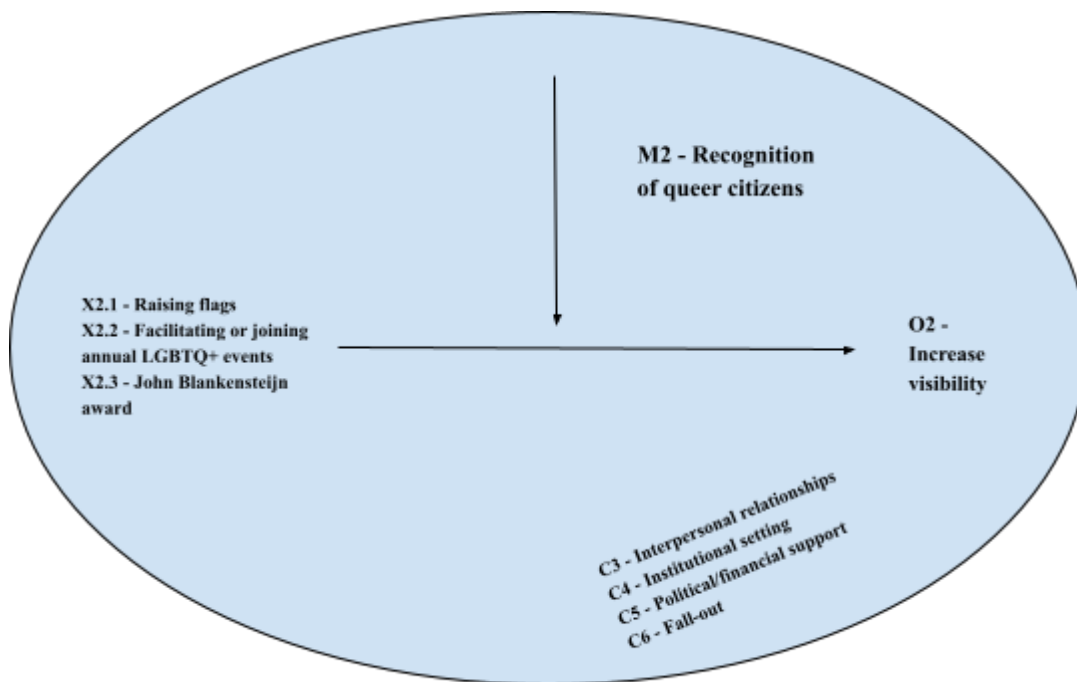


Figure 4: CMO model visibility

Conclusion

In general, the pillar of visibility has been successfully implemented as raising flags and facilitating events or joining them has been a constant since the presentation of the action program. However, it is apparent from the interviews with many stakeholders that this should be seen as a good starting point and now the visibility should become even more prominent in the cityscape of The Hague with more permanent objects spread around the neighborhoods and the realization of a The Hague Pride event or festival.

Acceptance

Implementation

The following findings can be deducted from the interviews about the last pillar in the queer emancipation policy. Firstly, there seems to be a disconnect in the way the interventions are implemented while the premise of the interventions is similar. In the second and third intervention, the municipality set specific goals and these goals have also been met and were even exceeded (The Hague now has even more than 24 schools with a GSA). However, the goals were not made clear in the first and fourth interventions. When I spoke to a respondent who works for a local political party and follows the queer emancipation policy closely, they mentioned that they had never seen any of the performance agreements that were made with organizations to improve their own queer emancipation policies. Moreover, they mentioned it was not clear to them which organizations had these agreements with the municipality and it would be hard to evaluate these agreements during council meetings. Also, a plan on how to reach young queer people has not been made clear from the interviews with the policy maker or with stakeholders. One of the respondents summarized the general sentiment towards the interventions in the following way:

“Setting a target brings focus to the policy. If you say you will do something but not how you will do it or in which time frame, it won’t be measurable [...] smart policy is measurable and evaluable.”

The last intervention has already been discussed in the previous chapter but will be discussed in more detail now as it seems from the interviews that this is a key intervention in spreading knowledge on queer issues. One of the people that were interviewed worked in a role that was the precursor to the queer emancipation worker who worked for the

municipality. From 2014 until 2017, their task was to build a network with different migrant groups within the city to talk about sexual and gender diversity. They said that while in the beginning it was hard to get through to people and organizations, the network started slowly expanding and a diverse group of backgrounds was reached by the networker. The networker received positive feedback from the different organizations and the project seemed to be a success. When asked what might be the reason the reach to these groups was so effective, the networkers had this to say:

“It was of course quite a new and taboo subject, so it was difficult to discuss. However, since I also have a bi-cultural background, it made it easier as I can say that I recognize things from my Surinamese-Hindustani experience that indeed it is not always an easy thing to discuss these subjects.”

In 2018, the networker found a new job, and other networkers were hired, but all of them quit within a short time frame, and within a few months, the network was lost as there was no one to maintain the connections that were built. In the same year, an independent networker emerged that had to build from scratch, but as has been discussed in the previous chapter, due to many contextual factors, this project also failed to be successful at creating a sustainable network. However, when talking with the policy maker and stakeholders, they were hopeful about the effectiveness of the networker, because the network expanded rapidly during both projects, and organizations that were reached by the networker were largely positive.

Conditions

It seems that many conditions are at the foundation of the effectiveness of the interventions. Firstly, the capacity of the policymakers matters as they are responsible for setting targets or making performance agreements with organizations (C1). Moreover, the capacity of the queer networker is also of grave importance, as they are responsible for creating and maintaining the network of organizations (C1). In addition, the capacity of stakeholders like COC and The Hang-Out 070 are important as they are part of the implementation of some interventions (C2).

Secondly, the interpersonal relationships between the municipality, stakeholders, and also the organizations that are reached through the interventions is an important contextual factor (C3). If the municipality doesn't work in a culturally sensitive matter, the organizations could lose trust and leave the network.

Next is the institutional setting (C4). In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that some of the district offices in the neighborhoods where the networker was active did not see any purpose in the networker, and it was therefore hard to work from these offices for the networker. The two most important factors, however, seem to be financial support (C5) and fall-out (C6). The respondent who worked as a networker had this to say:

“There was only a budget for 8 or 12 hours a week [...] but the job requires at least 24 hours.

Just one meeting can last up to 2 hours. I had to do a lot of overtime.”

The following CMO model can be established:

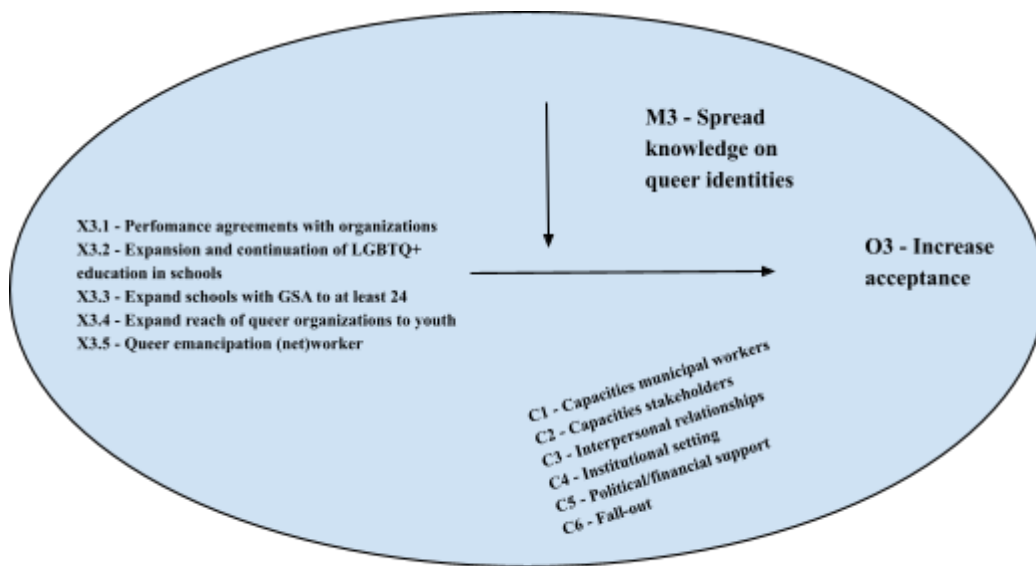


Figure 5: CMO model acceptance

Conclusion

From the pillar of acceptance, the following conclusion can be reached. It seems that making clear targets could be helpful in the implementation of the policy, as the interventions with these targets have been the most successful interventions so far at creating effective interventions. The expansion of schools with a GSA is an example of this, but also the raising of flags at specific days is a good example of this.

The case of the queer emancipation worker is a fascinating one, as it encapsulates all contextual factors on why some of the interventions have not been successful. Because of limited resources and budget, the fall-out from capable networkers, and resistance from other departments within the municipality, it was hard to create a sustainable, effective network. These seem to be indicative factors of the queer emancipation policy in general. To make the queer emancipation worker a successful project, adequate support and sustainable policy are necessary, so that the networks are maintained and the municipality can do thorough research on the effectiveness of the queer emancipation worker.

Conclusion

In this research, the queer emancipation policy of the city of The Hague has been evaluated according to the realist evaluation method (Pawson and Tilly, 1997). During the evaluation, the central question was *what is the effectiveness of the queer emancipation policy in The Hague between 2020 and 2022 and how can we explain this?* To answer this question, the question was split into four sub-questions which in turn were divided into a policy analysis and implementation analysis respectively.

In the policy analysis, the program theory behind the queer emancipation policy was established. The municipality created the action program with the goal to increase the safety, visibility, and acceptance of queer people that live in the municipality. The different interventions are categorized according to three pillars. Looking from a theoretical perspective, the policy largely follows what is suggested in the literature on safety, visibility, and acceptance as concepts relating to queer emancipation policies. However, many of the interventions seem to be starting points instead of actual interventions that will result in effective change, especially in the safety and acceptance of queer people in the city.

In the implementation analysis, it became clear that indeed it was difficult for the municipality to successfully implement some of the interventions. The interventions of the pillar of visibility have been great at creating more points of recognition for the queer community, and the spreading of knowledge on queer issues at schools has also been great at possibly increasing the acceptance of queer identities. However, the pillar of safety is lacking in actual action points to implement effective change in the situation of queer people. Moreover, due to a lack of setting targets for some of the interventions, it seems that these interventions were difficult to implement. For example, because the specific presentation agreements between the municipality and several organizations are not known, it is hard to

evaluate if they have been effective at implementing change in policy for that specific organization.

In conclusion, the queer emancipation policy has been effective in some cases. The visibility of queer people has drastically increased since the implementation of the policy and some steps towards increasing the acceptance have been successful. However, the pillars of safety and acceptance have seen less effective implementations of the policy. Several contextual factors seem to be at the foundation of why they have been less effective, but the most important reasons seem to be the fall-out of key players, like the policymaker and the queer emancipation workers, and financial support of projects like safety research and the queer emancipation worker.

Recommendations

Clearer role municipality

From the interviews, it became clear that many stakeholders would like to see the municipality take more responsibility in the implementation of the policy. For example, during safety meetings, the role of the municipality and the role of the volunteers remained vague, thus, a collaborative approach to increase safety was never reached. However, at other moments the municipality should take a step back and let the community take the leading role, for instance during celebrations. It would be good to make it even clearer in the action program how the roles are divided.

Set clear targets

It seems that the most effective interventions have been interventions with established targets. More than 24 schools have established a GSA; rainbow flags and trans flags have been raised at six specific days of celebration; and events have been facilitated at days of celebration. It

might be helpful to break down the interventions into target points that are easily measurable and evaluable so as to make sure the intervention has a greater chance to succeed.

Guarantee sustainable policy

Many of the interventions appear to be unsuccessful due to the fall-out of the person responsible for leading the intervention to successful implementation. For example, the creation of a collaborative approach to increasing safety came to a halt partly due to the policymaker falling ill and no other policymaker taking over the responsibilities. In addition, when the queer emancipation workers fell out, the network was lost and had to be rebuilt from scratch. One of the solutions is improving the cooperative relationship between different departments within the municipality. A quote from the queer emancipation policy worker illustrates this sentiment perfectly:

“Queer emancipation should be part of every department within the municipality, otherwise we will not succeed in guaranteeing our goals.”

Moreover, adequate financial support is necessary to finance research into the safety of queer citizens of The Hague and to create a substantial foundation for the queer emancipation worker to become the important hub between government and citizens.

Discussion

As this was an exploratory research and a first attempt at using the realist evaluation method on queer emancipation policy, this research has some limitations. Firstly, due to the scope of this research, not every part of the action program could be analyzed. In future research,

every pillar should probably have its own focus so as to include all their translated interventions towards the specific intersectional subgroups that were mentioned.

Secondly, again due to the scope of this research, a limited number of respondents were interviewed. In follow-up research, more policymakers should be interviewed to create a more nuanced group of respondents. The majority of respondents in this research were stakeholders.

And lastly, this research has only focused on the municipality of The Hague and no comparisons were done with queer emancipation policies in similar municipalities like Amsterdam or Rotterdam. This could help with the evaluation of the policies to see what worked in those municipalities and under which contexts, to find out if there is a trend.

To say that the realist evaluation method is a perfect fit to evaluate queer emancipation policy is still a little presumptive as it was difficult to measure the effectiveness of the interventions since safety, visibility, and acceptance are no easy concepts to measure. However, because many contextual factors could be found and conclusions could be drawn from working with the method and the CMO model, I believe the method by Pawson and Tilly does lend itself to finding out why interventions in queer emancipation policies have been successful or not.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Informed consent form

Onder begeleiding van Pearl Dykstra evalueer ik het Haagse queer emancipatiebeleid. Dit onderzoek wordt gebruikt voor het afronden van de Master Sociology: Politics & Society aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam. Met behulp van uw deelname kan dit onderzoek gerealiseerd worden.

Waarom dit onderzoek?	Met dit onderzoek wil ik het Haagse queerbeleid op de loep nemen en kijken of deze de impact heeft gehad die de gemeente wilde bereiken.
Verloop	U neemt deel aan een onderzoek waarbij ik informatie zal vergaren door: <ul style="list-style-type: none">- U te interviewen en het gesprek op te nemen via audio-opname. Er wordt een transcript uitgewerkt van het interview
Vertrouwelijkheid	Ik doe er alles aan uw privacy zo goed mogelijk te beschermen. Naast de student zal alleen de tutor toegang krijgen tot alle door u verstrekte gegevens. Er wordt op geen enkele wijze vertrouwelijke informatie of persoonsgegevens van of over u naar buiten gebracht, waardoor iemand u zal kunnen herkennen. In het onderzoek wordt u aangeduid met een verzonden naam of nummer (pseudoniem).
Vrijwilligheid	U hoeft geen vragen te beantwoorden die u niet wilt beantwoorden. Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u kunt stoppen wanneer u wilt. Als u tijdens het onderzoek besluit om uw medewerking te staken, zullen de gegevens die u reeds hebt verstrekt tot het moment van intrekking van de toestemming in het onderzoek gebruikt worden. Wilt u stoppen met dit onderzoek? Neem dan contact op met Jordy Simonis via 623861js@student.eur.nl
Dataopslag	In het onderzoek zullen anonieme gegevens of pseudoniemen worden gebruikt. De verzamelde data worden beveiligd opgeslagen. De onderzoeksgegevens worden bewaard voor een periode van maximaal 2 jaar. Uiterlijk na het verstrijken van deze termijn zullen de gegevens worden verwijderd.
Indienen van een vraag of klacht	Indien u specifieke vragen heeft over hoe er met uw persoonsgegevens wordt omgegaan, kunt u deze stellen aan Pearl Dykstra via dykstra@essb.eur.nl. U kunt daarnaast een klacht indienen bij de Autoriteit Persoonsgegevens indien u vermoedt dat uw gegevens verkeerd zijn verwerkt.

Door dit toestemmingsformulier te ondertekenen erken ik het volgende [includeer alleen de categorieën die van toepassing zijn]

- | | JA | NEE |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Ik ben voldoende geïnformeerd over het onderzoek. Ik heb het informatieblad gelezen en heb daarna de mogelijkheid gehad vragen te kunnen stellen. Deze vragen zijn voldoende beantwoord en ik heb voldoende tijd gehad om over mijn deelname te beslissen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 Ik neem vrijwillig deel aan dit onderzoek. Het is mij duidelijk dat ik deelname aan het onderzoek op elk moment, zonder opgave van reden, kan beëindigen. Ik hoef een vraag niet te beantwoorden als ik dat niet wil. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Voor deelname aan het onderzoek is het bovendien nodig dat u voor verschillende onderdelen specifiek toestemming geeft. | | |
| 3 Ik geef toestemming om de gegevens die tijdens dit onderzoek over mij worden verzameld te verwerken zoals is uitgelegd in het bijgevoegde informatieblad. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 Ik geef toestemming om tijdens het gesprek geluid-opnames te maken en mijn antwoorden uit te werken in een transcript. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 Ik geef toestemming om mijn antwoorden te gebruiken voor gepseudonimiseerde quotes in de verslaglegging van het onderzoek. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Naam deelnemer:

Naam student:

Handtekening:

Handtekening:

Datum:

Datum:

Appendix 2: Ethics and privacy checklist

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Bonnie French, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: *'Veilig, zichtbaar en geaccepteerd': A Realist Evaluation of the Queer Emancipation Policy of The Hague*

Name, email of student: *Jordy Simonis, 623861js@student.eur.nl*

Name, email of supervisor: *Pearl Dykstra, dykstra@essb.eur.nl*

Start date and duration: *February 13th until June 25th*

Is the research study conducted within DPAS

YES - NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?

(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Does your research involve human participants. YES - NO

If 'NO': skip to part V.

- If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? YES -
NO

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2. Does your research involve field observations without manipulations
that will not involve identification of participants.
YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary
data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?
YES - **NO**

2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?
YES - **NO**

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants?
YES - **NO**

4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?
YES - **NO**
Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).

5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants?
YES - **NO**

6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)?
YES - **NO**

7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent?
YES - **NO**

8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?
YES - **NO**

9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured?
YES - NO

10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?
YES - **NO**

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

I will be interviewing people from the municipality who have helped writing policy. They will be anonymized, but people in the know like stakeholders might be able to figure out who is being interviewed because they know the person who wrote the policy as this person is very well-known among stakeholders in the queer community in The Hague.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

I will not directly quote policy officers from the municipality but I will merely use the information they give to help analyse the policy they have written. In this way, it is not retraceable who has said what piece of information through the interviews. Also, an informed consent form will be given to explain what the participants can expect from the interviews and the use of the data.

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

No, there are none.

PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

I will only be taking interviews in The Hague with people from the city.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

8 to 10 participants

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

According to the municipality of The Hague, there are around 59.000 queer people in The Hague. So the population is 59.000

Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

On my laptop with security password with a screen that locks after 5 minutes. The data will be stored for 2 years after the research has taken place.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Me (Jordy Simonis)

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

It will be stored on the hard drive of my laptop that is secured with a security password. I will make a back-up once a week.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

Names will not be provided. Also descriptions of the person (age, gender, ethnicity etc.) will not be provided in the research. Merely their role within the community will be given (volunteer, board member, policy officer etc.).

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: *Jordy Simonis*

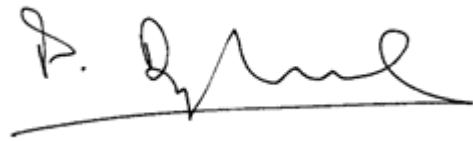
Name (EUR) supervisor: *Pearl Dykstra*

Date: *25-03-2023*

Date: *25-03-2023*



A handwritten signature in black ink. It features a large, stylized initial 'J' on the left, followed by the name 'Simonis' written in a cursive script. The signature is underlined with two horizontal lines.



A handwritten signature in black ink. It starts with a large, stylized initial 'P.' followed by the name 'Dykstra' in a cursive script. The signature is underlined with a single horizontal line.

Appendix 3: Topic list

Topic	Questions
Intersectionality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is the policy intersectional enough? - How could the municipality make the policy more intersectional?
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Is the safety of queer people secured enough? - What does the municipality do to protect queer people? Is it enough? - Do you think the interventions that the municipality has come up with are adequate? Why? - Why do you think this intervention hasn't worked? - Do you have any advice you would like to give to the municipality?
Visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does the municipality do to increase visibility? Is it enough? - Do you think the interventions that the municipality has come up with are adequate? Why? - Why do you think this intervention hasn't worked? - Do you have any advice you would like to give to the municipality?
Acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What does the municipality do to increase acceptance? Is it enough? - Do you think the interventions that the municipality has come up with are adequate? Why? - Why do you think this intervention hasn't worked? - Do you have any advice you would like to give to the municipality?
Specific questions policy officer(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How did the policy come to fruition? What is the background/history of the action program? - What are the intended outcomes? - How does the municipality see these interventions implemented? - Are there improvements that will be made in the future that are already known? - What are important contexts that would make the policy succeed or not succeed?
Specific questions for contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How was working together with the municipality? - How is the atmosphere at events/meetings?

Appendix 4: Interview list

Respondent	Justification
Respondent 1 Policy officer queer emancipation Time: 57 minutes	The policy officer who works for the municipality was responsible for writing the policy together with alderman Bert van Alphen. Moreover, the policy officer is well-known within the community and works together with all organizations I interviewed.
Respondent 2 Community builder Time: 45 minutes	This respondent has been working as a community builder and freelance social worker for several years in The Hague. They have also volunteered for several organizations in the city. Moreover, they have advised the municipality on multiple occasions about the queer emancipation policy and are an excellent respondent as they have first-hand knowledge of what the policy looks or should look like.
Respondent 3 Board member local queer organization Time: 33.5 minutes	The respondent has worked as a board member of a LGBTQ+ organization that tries to start conversations about sexual and gender diversity within migrant groups for more than 20 years. The respondent is also the coordinator of a monthly event hosted for queer refugees and undocumented queer people. Because of their experience with working within the community and with the municipality, their insights could be helpful.
Respondent 4 Chairperson local queer organization Time: 44 minutes	The respondent has worked as chairperson of not only a queer organization for refugees, but also as chairperson to a migrant women's organization for the past 10 years. Because of their experience within the community, their network and the experience they have with the municipality, their insights could be helpful.
Respondent 5 Citizen representative local political party Time: 33 minutes	The respondent works for a local political party as citizen representative and as staff. Moreover, they have worked as volunteer for many years within the community. As they work everyday with municipal policies and have firsthand knowledge of what is going on within city hall, their insights are crucial.
Respondent 6 Board member local queer organization Time: 35.5 minutes	This respondent has worked as board member of a queer organization that works a lot with bi-cultural queer people for more than 15 years and has worked for many years within the community and together with the municipality. Their insights about the policy could therefore be helpful.
Respondent 7 Chairperson local queer organization Time: 34 minutes	This respondent works as chairperson for a new, small organization that strives to increase visibility in diverse neighborhoods and within the city as a whole. As they work a lot with visibility of queer people, their insight on this pillar could be really helpful.

<p>Respondent 8 Chairperson local queer organization Time: 55 minutes</p>	<p>This respondent works as chair of an organization surrounding queer remembrance days. Moreover, this person has worked for the government for many years and has a lot of experience with writing and evaluating policy. Therefore, their insight is paramount.</p>
<p>Respondent 9 Ex-emancipation worker and employee of national queer organization Time: 51.5 minutes</p>	<p>This respondent was the first emancipation worker hired by the municipality and the other organizations to build a network within the different city districts. Also, they have worked for the biggest queer organization in The Netherlands for several years and have a lot of experience with diversity and inclusion. Therefore, their insights are needed, especially to bring context to the intervention of the emancipation worker.</p>

Appendix 5: Code book

Selective codes	Axial codes	Open codes
Program theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reason for making the policy - Description policy - Intended outcomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National policy - Working with organizations like COC - Violence/disapproval towards queer people - Increase the safety, visibility and acceptance of queer people
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intervention 1 and 2 - Intervention 3 - What's missing - General feeling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good starting point - Where's the plan/action - Too much responsibility COC; municipality needs to take more responsibility - Make special task force not voluntary but part of paid work - Focus more on the aggressors instead of the victims
Visibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intervention 1 - Intervention 2 - Intervention 3 - Intervention 4 - What's missing - General feeling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These interventions are merely the basis/bare minimum of more visibility (1 and 2) - Municipality needs to take the lead in some instances, but in some instances should let stakeholders take the lead (3) - Involve not only queer organizations, but also organizations that feel further removed from the issue - More permanent rainbow objects in public spaces. - Pride is a big miss and municipality should invest in this more
Acceptance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intervention 1 - Intervention 2 and 3 - Intervention 4 - Intervention 5 - What's missing - General feeling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the targets? (1) - Good targets/example for other interventions (2 and 3) - How is this implemented? (4) - To make this succeed, more manpower is needed and part of municipal payroll (5)

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clear targets/actions are sometimes missing.
Intersectionality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 4 vulnerable groups - Who's missing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unanimous agreement about importance extra attention 4 vulnerable groups - Non-binary and asexual people missing - Keep taking pluriformity of identities in consideration.
Contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Individual capacities - Interpersonal relationships - Institutional setting - Infrastructure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Capacity policy makers - Capacity stakeholders - Relationship municipality - stakeholders - Relationship among stakeholders - Institutional cooperation - Political support - Financial support - Fall-out (sickness; burn-out etc.)