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‘He Spat in my Face and Said I Should Die’

Queer Youth and the Process of Identity Formation in Total Institutions

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Abstract

This thesis is about queer youth in total institutions, and the meaning those institutions might have on the identity formation process. The thesis itself consists of two smaller sub-studies, a literature review of some of the existing research on queer youth in total institutions, and a discourse analysis of the identity aspect using texts written by queer youth who has spent time in a total institution. *The aim* of this thesis is to analyse the relation between oppression and coercion concerning queer youth in total institutions, to gain an understand of what meaning time spent in a total institution might have on how queer youth form their identities. *The methods* for the studies are a literature review and a discourse analysis drawing on the works of Michel Foucault, with an integrated structure from Carol Bacchi. The texts in the sub-studies has been analysed within an overarching framework of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy of processes, also called assemblage theory, while also making use of theoretical notions from Butler, Goffman and Foucault.

The result from the first sub-study shows that the reality queer youth face within these institutions is tougher than for their non-queer peers. They are held responsible for their actions to a much higher degree and face harassment, abuse and violence to a higher degree. *The result from the second sub-study* reinforces other studies that has been done in the research-field of total institutions, but adding that queer youth face a double punishment, a double stigma when institutionalised.

Key words: Young people, queer youth, total institution, identity, gender studies, queer studies, social work

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“
*So successful has the prison been that,
after a century and a half of 'failures',
the prison still exists,
producing the same results,
and there is the greatest reluctance to dispense with it.*”

– Michel Foucault

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1. Introduction and Research Problem

What is an institution? I guess most of us would probably say prisons or closed psychiatric wards and then continue with our lives, if we got the question. But prisons and closed psychiatric wards are just one kind of institution. Goffman divides them into two categories: *Social establishment-institutions* – these are our everyday spaces where there are specific activities happening regularly, for example an office, a bar, or a restaurant. The other kind is *total institutions* – spaces where the boundaries of society becomes compressed into a singularity, a place where the whole life of an individual is involuntarily fractured into a scheduled circular time-frame, lived out under a single roof; these are the prisons and closed psychiatric wards (Goffman, 1961, p. xiii, 3). By following Goffman's definitions, it is reasonable to say that institutions, of both kinds, are what makes up a society, as the foundation on which a society stands.

Probably one of the most referenced scholars regarding total institutions is Michel Foucault and his book *Discipline and Punish: birth of the Prison*. It consists of a genealogical analysis of how the view on punishment has evolved from the time when public hangings and torture were common practice until today's prisons, and how the social sciences followed by its institutions came to be (Foucault, 1991). One important aspect in *Discipline and Punish* is that of surveillance. Its importance lies in that surveillance is an intrinsic part of how societal institutions and the state operates, forcing individuals to panoptically discipline¹ themselves to behave according to the norms pertaining to the institutions they are parts of (ibid.).

Goffman's *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (1961), is another study heavily referenced within the field, and is primarily focused on mental health institutions. But with Foucault talking of boarding schools, prisons, penitentiaries, military barracks and monasteries as total institutions (Foucault, 1991), Goffman's arguments and conclusions are easily

¹ The panoptic discipline that Foucault describes is based on Bentham's prison design called panopticon and laid out in the chapter called *panopticism* (p. 195-230). A prison where the guards can see the inmates, but the inmates can never see the guards. The idea is that this forces the inmates to discipline themselves due to never knowing whether they are surveilled or not.

transferable to other total institutions than the mental health hospital. Since this thesis is not explicitly about mental health institutions, but about the process of forming identity within any total institution, this is an important distinction to make. Identity is a complex term to define, since it pertains to a wide variety of available categories, for example gender, body and sexuality (Butler, 2006, p. xxxi). Butler sees gender as performative, where it is a sustained set of acts and behaviours that creates our gender identity (ibid, p. xv). In a way she talks about “doing” identity, a very non-essentialist thing to say, in the sense that it invokes the idea that identity is unstable and ever changing (Ortiz, 2016), and something that should be held in mind when reading this study. In other words, we create ourselves through exercising our capacities in interaction with others (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Goffman and others have shown that being admitted to a total institution can be harmful (cf Levin, 1998), due to its use of dehumanisation and the imposing of limits on the individuals transformative potential (Arrigo, Bersot, & Sellers, 2011; Goffman, 1961), and Goffman has also shown that identities are redefined within the walls of a total institution, many times without the consent of those who are admitted (Goffman, 1961). Even though Goffman’s findings have been used so much, it is not without criticism. Scott, for example, argues that Goffman fails to give those admitted to the institution any type of agency in this reshaping (Scott, 2011). Goffman’s findings assume that the institutionalisation of identities has some form of influence on how those admitted perceive themselves, and how they are perceived by others. This influence could also be referred to what is called the Thomas theorem. It states that “if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p. 572). In other words, and in relation to Goffman’s words on identities being redefined, if a person perceives something about themselves to be true, or real, then the consequences of that belief is that it becomes real. If following the theorem informed by Goffman’s findings, a youth in a total institution who repetitively hear something about themselves, might start believing it as real and thereby internalise that aspect into themselves, and act as if it was reality.

Total institutions are like many other spaces, places of territorialisation, with it being a hierarchal territory in and of its own, as well as including a process of increasing the homogeneity of the assemblages inhabiting said territory (DeLanda, 2006, p. 13). DeLanda gives the example of categorisation, to include those who fit the norm to further homogenise it and socially exclude or ostracise those who are deemed undesirable. This homogenising effect centres itself around properties, including those who display properties that adheres to the assemblage and excluding those who don't (ibid.). An example here could be how only those who behave a certain way, or have done harmful things to a certain extent, might get admitted to a total institution. Making it homogenised in the sense that everyone admitted are there for roughly the same reasons in terms of behaviour or mental health issues. Through Goffman it is also possible to talk of these attributes homogenising the assemblage, as stigmatising, since stigmatisation entails the process of reducing individuals from being part of the norm, to be a tainted and undesirable individual (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). So, inclusion in the institutional assemblage can be preceded by a process of stigmatisation. This process becomes even more reasonable if it is also thought of in terms of affect, where interactions between those in the assemblage will affect each other (Massumi, 1987b; Puar, 2007, p. 207). So, individuals in total institutions will possibly be part of creating each other's identities through affect.

Stigmatisation is, at least in Goffman's work, dealt with in relation to identity (Goffman, 1963). Since identity also is to be seen as non-essentialist in this study, meaning that there is no inherent, essential, and static properties that make up identities, that identities are not stable and fixed, but changes over time (Ortiz, 2016), then it is possible to view stigma, unless it is a bodily stigma, as non-essentialist as well, since it is assumptions made about a person that "latches on", and thereby can be revoked, and not something intrinsic or inherent to a person's being (Goffman, 1963).

Goffman talks of stigmatisation as contagious, that a stigmatised individual can transmit their stigma to someone in their close vicinity (ibid. p. 47-48), and with Massumi and Puar stating that all interactions involves a process of affecting and

being affected (Massumi, 1987a; Puar, 2007, p. 207), as well as DeLanda saying that assemblages strive to increase their homogeneity (DeLanda, 2006, p. 13), and by as well taking the Thomas theorem into consideration, I see an opening to give another perspective on how we look upon the influence and meaning that these institutions might have on queer youth, in processes of finding out who they are within the walls of total institutions. Queer² then, in this study, is to be read as someone who does not conform to the gender they were assigned at birth, and/or belong to a minority sexuality (Halperin, 1995)

1.1 Aim

Following the introduction, the aim for this thesis is to analyse the implication of oppression in confinement concerning queer youth in total institutions, to gain an understand of what meaning time spent in a total institution might have on how queer youth form their identities. This in turn brings about the more precise questions for this thesis: *What can we understand from what the literature says about queer youth in total institutions; What meanings may time spent in total institutions have for the identity formation process of queer youth?*

1.2 Disposition

This thesis is divided into eight parts. I started with an introduction to give a short description of what this thesis is about. The introduction also includes the aim of the thesis as well as this disposition. Following the introduction is a part where I go through how I believe that this thesis positions itself among previous research, to give a notion of where in the academic field this thesis is situated. After previous research follows a section on method, explaining the method for the two conducted sub-studies, including a section on the material for the studies. Following this is two theoretical sections on concepts and the chosen theory. In these sections I define and describe core concepts and my theoretical approach, both which makes up the core of the analysis for the second sub-study. The analysis/results itself is made up

² See the section on concepts for an extended definition of “queer youth”.

by seven parts in which both sub-studies are included, followed by a concluding discussion and lastly a recommendation for further research.

2. Previous Research: Identity Formation in Total Institutions

It is important to have the understanding that the type of care in total institutions, and the consequences of it, is also carried out in more open settings, that can be regarded as total institutions without the individual being held there involuntarily. Goffman's (1961) definition of a total institution is not limited to locked settings such as prisons or closed psychiatric wards. It is also other out-of-home care institutions, hospitals, military barracks, boarding schools etcetera (cf Foucault, 1991). Even though a boarding school for example, gives more freedom in the sense of moving outside the school walls and interacting with general society than a prison does, life at a boarding school is still restraint. Students eat at the school, sleep in a school dorm, interact with the same people every day, and follow a reasonably structured schedule doing the same things from week to week.

There does not seem to be that much research that focus specifically on the process of forming identity within total institutions. The identity process is of course complex, and a lot of earlier studies has their focus on subjects that have direct or indirect meaning for identity formation, without it explicitly dealing with identity as such. An example of this is Enell, who talks about assessment in involuntary institutional care, how this relates to the paradox of the institution managing control and care at the same time (cf Van Nijnatten & Van Elk, 2015), as well as what she calls care trajectories revolving around the actual treatment, the ambiguity of what ways the treatment will take, and how these trajectories are formed. While talking of this she touches upon the topic of identity (Enell, 2015). She does so by on the one hand using Goffman's theory on self-representation (see Goffman, 1990), and on the other by talking of how social workers and staff construct the youth, and how they create institutional identities that are latched on to the youth (Enell, 2015). Enell also describes that staff at the institution and other professionals do this identity work to put the youth into categories that are possible for the institution to work with (ibid.). This identity work could be viewed as a way

of having the youth disciplining and assessing themselves to adhere to those rule based identities set up for them (Gradin Franzén, 2015), and those institutional identities which follows from the meaning norms and treatment discourses has for identity formation (Miller, 2011).

The identity work is something that is also carried out, or finished, by the youth themselves, in navigating institutional life and creating their own narrative identities. In Warr's study, he says that the youth's identity work adheres to the identities created by staff (Warr, 2019). In contrary to Warr, Christianakis and Mora has shown that there is ways to oppose, and show resilience towards these institutionalised identities (cf Severinsson & Markström, 2015; Ungar, 2001, 2005). In their study it is shown through how young people in detention narrates the past, present and future through writing (Christianakis & Mora, 2018).

As said, Enell's study shows a paradox of control and care, something also found in Silow Kallenberg's study called Gränsland [Borderland] in which she studies the space, the borderland, between the caring and the penal where some total institutions are situated (Silow Kallenberg, 2016), an "in-betweenness" also pointed out by Andersson Vogel (2017). Silow Kallenberg's study has its focus on the staff of these institutions, how the youth are constructed by the staff as well as how staff construct themselves. It is easy to forget that the institutional setting will not just have effects on those admitted, but will also have effect on the staff, something I believe her study takes hold of. Even though the focus here is not the staff, the notion of institutions also having consequences for staff is still important to understand (Silow Kallenberg, 2016) (Andersson, 2019; Andersson & Överlien, 2018).

Like the study from Enell (2015), Andersson Vogel talks about trajectories, and more specifically the stages of assessment, treatment and after care and what impact gender, class and ethnicity have on these stages. This gives yet another notion to how these institutions might have a meaning in these youth's processes of constructing themselves, this time with the use of three prominent factors (Andersson Vogel, 2012). Especially if we look to one of the conclusions she comes

to, which is that it seems like these institutions tend to rehabilitate youth to adhere to stereotypical binary gender norms (ibid. p. 178-180).

When describing studies of treatment in total institutions it is also very reasonable to mention Levin's comprehensive and in-depth study of a total institution for boys, called Råby, located outside of Lund in Sweden, in which he comes to the conclusion that this kind of institution harms more than it helps. He does so with a genealogy of institutional care in Sweden, interviews with youth and staff at Råby regarding the treatment and their life and work at the institution (Levin, 1998). Levin concludes his study by saying that:

From a rational treatment perspective reformatories are failures. This study, like all others, shows that institutions do not rehabilitate youths, they most often have the opposite effect. [...] life goes more or less badly for 80% of the boys taken into institutions (Levin, 1998, p. 344)

This conclusion ties in to Foucault's (1991) *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*. As mentioned in the introduction, Foucault's book together with Goffman's (1961) *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* is one of those books that becomes almost a necessity when writing about total institutions. Foucault's book shows how there is an inherent mechanism of failure in the prison system with the consequence that it creates more criminals than it rehabilitates. He also shows how institutions like the prison use discipline to create docile bodies, which through subordination to the disciplining power creates malleable subjects. Foucault says as well, in relation to his findings of how the tools discipline and surveillance enacts their power on the bodies of humans in *Discipline and Punish*, in *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction* (1978, p. 95) that "*Where there is power, there is resistance*", which is an important statement to take hold of. If we look at Levin (1998), following this statement of resistance, not all of the young persons he interviewed had a bad outcome later in life, showing that there are other outcomes as well as resilience among the cases having harmful outcomes from being in institutional care (cf Severinsson & Markström, 2015; Ungar, 2001, 2005). Even though there cases where the outcomes were less harmful, a larger portion of the youth in Levin's study did poorly after leaving the

institution (Levin, 1998, p. 279), something that probably is due to aftercare when leaving an institution in Sweden, is nearly non-existent or not working (Andersson Vogel, Sallnäs, & Lundström, 2014; Höjer & Sjöblom, 2010).

Gradin Franzén makes use of Foucault's work in *Discipline and Punish* in terms of discipline, docility and subjectivity. Her study serves as a good example of how subject positions are managed within a penal setting (Gradin Franzén, 2014 2015). She also points to certain aspects that is talked about in Enell, Kallenberg, Levin and Andersson Vogel. That is how the youth are looked upon, as well as how they are constructed by staff through different categories or attributes (ibid.), such as youth being violent (cf Andersson, 2019). These studies all show that being locked up in an institution might have meaning for how youth form their identities through the daily interactions with staff, other professionals, and peers, that are intrinsic to any institutional environment.

3. Method

This study consists of two sub-studies, where the first sub-study is a review of literature about queer youth in total institutions and the second part is an analysis of texts written by queer youth in total institutions. There are two reasons for this division. The first reason is related to the access of empirical material. This study was planned to just be an analysis of texts written by queer youth in total institutions, but due to "queer" being added to the subject it severely limited the amount of texts available for analysis. This will be touched upon further in the discussion on limitations at the end of the study. The second reason is one of reliability of the study. The study as such will not be generalisable to a larger population but giving a two-part perspective on the subject will heighten the reliability of the study in relation to the studied sample.

3.1 Literature Review

Being a sub-study of a small study, the literature review is not in any way exhausting relative to the subject. The review will consist of 15 studies that has

their focus on queer youth in total institutions, but not specifically a focus on the identity formation process.

3.1.1 Choosing Literature for Review

I have made a systematic search for the literature. It consisted of 10 searches, where nine were made in the databases of Lund University libraries called LUBsearch³, and one search in google scholar⁴. I have also gone through the references of the chosen material to find potential material.

The studies in the first round of searches were chosen by the following criteria: (1) Involving queer youth as their single studied group or as part of the sample (2) Being about queer youth in total institutions – juvenile detention, psychiatric hospital inpatients, or boarding schools, (3) they have to be peer reviewed, (4) the article is part of an academic journal, and (5) the articles must be about how the queer youth are treated within the institution. The articles found in google scholar was double checked in LUBsearch in whether they met the peer reviewed criteria. If I could not find them in LUBsearch, they were rejected since I do not have any other measures of finding out whether they were peer reviewed or not. Also, since google scholar provided such a large number of results, and there was no way of limiting the search range except by year, I decided to limit my search to the first 10 pages of results. This of course comes with the risk of useful studies being rejected, but with the way search motors like google usually works, I assumed the relevancy would drop with each page of results.

Due to there being such a small number of findings when looking for only peer reviewed articles, I decided to make a second round of searches with the same keywords, excluding the peer reviewed criteria. To be able to somehow verify the legitimacy of the articles in this search, I checked the authors or journals by the following criteria. (1) if they are an active scholar at a university or research organisation, (2) if they have written other articles that have been peer reviewed, or

³ LUBsearch can be found here: <http://Lubsearch.lub.lu.se>

⁴ Google scholar can be found here: <http://scholar.google.com>

(3) if the journal is connected to a university. If none of these were met, I rejected the articles.

In appendix A there is a table of my searches including keywords, number of results and how many articles that got chosen from the two rounds of search divided by the peer review criteria. Some articles showed up in several searches. Those articles will only be presented as “chosen” the first time and not in the other searches. Some articles were also found by searching the references of the chosen articles. They are presented in the table as well.

The articles have all been read carefully, and thematised. The results of the thematization is what will be presented in the sub-study.

3.1.2 Choosing Texts for the Second Sub-Study

The selection of material for this sub-study is of the purposeful kind. A purposeful sample of material is exactly what it sounds like – it is material chosen for a purpose, more exactly to fulfil the aim of a study, chosen by a set of criteria (Emmel, 2017). For such a pragmatic selection of material, it is necessary to set these specific criteria to know what to include and what to discard during the selection process (Rijnsoever, 2017). The process of finding these texts has not been as systematic as for the literature review. The searches have been made through google and the scope has been limited as far as possible to find these texts.

When choosing the material for this sub-study I have used a quite simple set of criteria, due to material I was looking for being scarce as it is. The material itself consists of texts written by queer youth in total institutions, in which they describe their experiences with spending time in such an institution. They are news articles, blogposts and one video. The criteria are as follows: (1) It must be clear within the text that it is written by a queer person in a total institution of some kind, (2) the person should be 15-25 years of age when in the institution even if the text is written later, (3) the text must show experiences of being in a total institution, (4) these experiences must be in relation to the writer being queer, and (6) it should not be a text regarding a conversion therapy facility/camp. The reason for the last criteria is

that the detrimental effects of conversion therapy is already so decisive that using such material would skew the results.

3.1.2 Texts for the Second Sub-Study

The material for this study consists of 8 texts by queer youth about them spending time in a total institution. The institutions that are visible in the texts are juvenile detention centres, prison, military conscription, psychiatric hospitals and boarding schools. These all pertain to the institutions identified by Foucault and Goffman as total institutions (Foucault, 1991; Goffman, 1961). The texts are written in Great Britain, The United States and Sweden and with that this study can only be said to hold a perspective from the global north.

The texts as such will not be provided in their entirety but short descriptions of their contents are available in appendix B, together with a link to the full text.

3.2 Method of Analysis

The analysis of the two sub-studies will be carried out as a discourse analysis, drawing on works of Michel Foucault, with a structure from Carol Bacchi stemming from policy analysis.

Mills says that for Foucault, discourse was just one element in his work, and a way for him to discuss the relation between knowledge and power, and with that also power relations in general (Mills, 2004, p. 15). Foucault's thoughts has, as well, been used to build more structured methods for discourse analysis like the *Critical Discourse Analysis* developed by Norman Fairclough (Mills, 2004; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 60-95), or the *What's the problem represented to be (WPR)* approach from Bacchi (2009). So, in a sense, it is possible to see Foucault's discourse as both theory and method. This thesis does not state discourse as part of the theoretical framework, but since a Foucaultian discourse analysis would not be methodologically probable without his theoretical concepts, they will be used to the extent that they are needed.

Since Foucault wrote quite extensively during his active years, and his thoughts on discourse is spread throughout his work, I have looked to Sara Mills' book

Discourse (2004) in which she compiles Foucault's thoughts and puts it into context, and thereby makes it more accessible. I have also looked to Foucault's own writing as far as possible. Regarding subjectivity and Foucault, I also look to Judith Butler's *Giving an Account of Oneself* (2005) in which she engage, quite extensively, with the Foucaultian notion of subjectivity and its relation to power.

While Mills (2004) offers structure to Foucault's thoughts in the way that she has compiled the most important parts of what constitutes his thoughts on discourse(s), Bacchi on the other hand, offers a hands-on method for carrying out a discourse analysis. Her method of analysis is situated within politics, and more specifically policy analysis (Bacchi, 2009). The method offers a structured way of thinking when carrying out the analysis, through six steps or questions that can be used both as separate sections and as integrated in the analysis. This study will make use of the latter. The questions she poses are:

1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/abuse', domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be [...]?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (Bacchi, 2009, p. xii)

The questions and the method are largely built upon Foucault's thoughts on discourse, something that is noticeable throughout Bacchi's book. Even though the method as such comes from policy analysis, the questions in themselves are phrased in such a way that applying them in this study will be possible. Bacchi also points out that not all the questions need to be put in to use in an analysis, even if it is good to have all the questions in mind (Bacchi, 2009, p. 109). For example, the

genealogical question (question 3 in the quote above) will not be entirely applicable in this thesis, since it would require a long detour and potentially ending up in not being able to fulfil the aim of the thesis. Rather, it might hold elements of the question so that other arguments make sense.

Since this structure comes from another area of study, there is a need to clarify how it will be used. As said, the questions in themselves are applicable, so it is rather a clarification of which questions and in “what place”. The questions that this study will focus on is questions 1, 5, and 6. I am sure that the other questions could be useful as well, but with this thesis subject, the interesting parts has to do with the problem representations within the material, the effects that these problems has on those admitted to a total institution, and how these problems and their effects are produced, and reproduced. If I were to connect these three questions to my research questions, question 1 would be more visible in the first research question with an addition of questions 5 and 6. In the second sub-study it would be vice versa. All in all, questions 5 and 6 will be more visible than question 1.

As briefly described earlier, the literature review consists of a thematisation of the articles which is what will be presented in the results/analysis. These themes will then be analysed using the theoretical framework and the discursive elements dictated by my method. The textual analysis is more connected to the respective areas of theory. Subjectivity & normativity, medicalization & pathologization and stigmatisation. These theoretical areas were chosen specifically because they can probably be said to inform the ways in which queer individuals form their identities in general. For clarity, the deviation from norms, queer identities have been both medicalized and pathologized (see for example the emergence of HIV and AIDS), and stigmatisation which in many ways pertains to how queer identities are viewed in society in general.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

A discussion around ethics is important for carrying out any type of research, and especially so when the research is about young people, since, at least in Sweden, permission from parents as well as youth themselves would be needed to conduct

interviews if they are under 18 years of age. Due to this, I decided to use already written and published texts instead of holding interviews. In that way, the youth has put out their stories themselves, and by that agreeing to their stories being read, shared and used.

It should be considered that I haven't asked about permission to use the texts for my research, but it would also be impossible for me to actually find those who have written the texts, since they are mostly signed with a first name, a last name, initials or an alias. But this also means that the texts in a sense are already anonymized.

4. Theory & Concepts

4.1 Queer

According to Halperin, *queer* is everything that is in opposition to the by society established norms. He describes it as not being grounded in any kind of stable identity (Halperin, 1995, p. 61). Halperin, as many others, use *queer* to describe identities that in any way deviates from the sexual norm, but with the first definition given, all manner of behaviour, appearance etc., outside what is defined as the norm, can be regarded as queer. For instance, Puar uses *queer* when talking about this "other kind" of deviation, more specifically when talking about terrorists. She says that "*queerness* is always already installed in the project of naming the terrorist; the terrorist does not appear as such without the concurrent entrance of *perversion*, *deviance*" (Puar, 2007, p. xxiv, *my emphasis*).

That queer in this thesis, as established in the introduction, should be read as someone who does not conform to the gender they were assigned at birth, and/or belong to a minority sexuality, does not mean that all the individuals named as queer face the same kind of oppression. For example, a transgender or non-binary individual would not necessary face the same hardships as a homosexual or bisexual individual. But that is also not what this this study is about. Comparing or flushing out different kinds of oppression would be a thesis in and of its own. The analysis itself will certainly make use of examples specific to the texts, and if that text is

written by for example a transgendered youth, then I will not by any means try to infer the hardships they faced to also be true for someone who for example is gay, lesbian or bisexual.

4.2 Identity and Subjectivity

Butler says that the subject and the individual are often wrongly used as interchangeable, and that the subject should be seen as a linguistic position rather than being equated with the individual as such (Butler, 1997, p. 10f). She also explains that individuals can come to hold this position of subject by undergoing a process of subjectivation where the individual is ascribed the position by subordination to an authority (ibid.).

When Butler talks about power, she uses Foucault's notion of discursive power, where power is not seen as a possession but rather as a positive force that makes things happen, and in which "the individual is an effect of power" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98). Butler also borrows from Althusser and his theory of interpellation, through which she says that the process of subjectivation, or subordination, takes place through language (Butler, 1997, p. 5, 13). She uses Althusser's own example to describe the interpellative process:

the *subordination* of the subject takes place through language, as the *effect* of the authoritative voice that hails the individual. In the infamous example that Althusser offers, a policeman hails a passerby on the street, and the passerby turns and *recognizes himself* as the one who is hailed" (Butler, 1997, p. 5, my emphasis).

For the self to be conceived, it is dependent on an already created set of norms against which it can recognise itself, and it is, as well, not able to recognise itself unless in relation to the other. By giving an account of itself, the I will find its narrative disrupted by knowledge that is not its own, by these norms that preconceive the emergence of the self and contests its singularity (Butler, 2005). In other words, if power is seen in the form of these norms or preconceived knowledge, as something forming the subject, not just pressing on it from the

outside trying to subdue it, the implication is that this power is what the subject depends on for its own existence (Butler, 1997).

This subordination, the emergence of the self through recognition against norms/preconceived knowledge and against the other, will in this thesis serve as a part of understanding the process of how identities are formed within the institution. This section might feel disconnected from the thesis as such but describes how power works in the identity formation process. The institution is hierarchical and there is an easily distinguishable staff-admitted power imbalance where the staff can be seen as the authoritative voice “hailing” the admitted youth. This becomes visible in the interactions where staff tells the admitted what to do, or not to do. The interpellative process is then completed with the admitted recognising themselves as the one being talked to, by the authoritative voice of the staff.

4.3 Medicalisation & Pathologisation

Medicalisation is the process through which social or behavioural problems becomes defined as pathological and as such, viewed as medically treatable illnesses, diseases or mental health conditions (Conrad, 2007, p. 3). A distinct and straight forward example of this process is the medicalisation of the culture specific syndromes *nervos* and *delírio de fome* (hunger-madness) in the Brazilian mountain village Bom Jesus da Mata. In this case, hunger and starvation became medicalised, with the consequence of the people of Bom Jesus da Mata, through the influence of medical corporations, started viewing the physiological effects of starvation and child mal-nutrition, as being treatable by medicine and/or tranquillisers (Scheper-Hughes, 1993). Another way to look upon this, if seen through Conrad’s definition and the example from Scheper-Hughes, is that a consequence of the medicalisation process, might be that the structural problems, such as lack of food, gets reduced to individual problems.

In the process that medicalisation entails, where social behaviours like the syndromes in the example become defined or viewed as treatable with medication, the individual’s own lived experience disappear and gets replaced by the authoritative view of professionals. This results in that the individual that needs to

be helped, feel helpless, and those who need empowerment feel disempowered (Wrigely, 1995). Another consequence is that the devaluation of the client's experience that happens in the process "has inherent dangers of actually restricting the degree of personal 'freedom' they may otherwise attain" (ibid., p. 101).

With medicalisation also comes pathologisation. In this thesis pathologisation will probably be more prevalent, but with medicalisation and pathologisation being so closely connected, both need definition. An easy and direct example of pathologizing that is without a doubt general knowledge, is that of homosexuality being classified as a psychological disorder for a long period of time (cf Conrad, 2007) being part of the first version of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* or DSM, from 1952 to 1973 (Barounis, 2018). For a closer definition, pathologization can be defined and described as the:

transformation of many human differences into pathologies. Differences in learning styles become learning disabilities or ADHD; divergences in sexual desires or performance become sexual dysfunctions; extremes of behavior become sexual, shopping, or Internet addictions [...]; and individual differences become diagnoses such as social phobia or idiopathic short stature (Conrad, 2007, p. 148).

For clarification, *Idiopathic short stature* is, by today's definition, when a growing child is at least two standard deviations below the average height for that specific age, without there being any medically observable causes for the delayed growth (Rosenbloom, 2009). In other words, pathologisation does not necessarily mean that the deviance that is pathologised entails it being viewed as a medically treatable disease, although it of course can be, but rather is the view of differences as illnesses, disabilities, or dysfunctions in a broader sense. Another example of pathologisation that show this is how BDSM and other sexual fetishes and kinks are regarded as paraphilia in the two latest versions of the DSM, namely DSM-IV and DSM-V when it really is just difference in sexual preferences with no need or reason for treatment or rehabilitation (Moser, 2019; Moser & Kleinplatz, 2005) unless, of course, the individuals themselves finds it being problematic.

4.4 The Philosophy of Gilles Deleuze

Deleuze belongs among the great French philosophers and are famous for his ontological thinking (Kristensen, Lopdrup-Hjorth, & Sørensen, 2014), which would be thinking, or philosophy, surrounding how the world and its parts are constituted. Deleuze says himself that the task of philosophy is to create concepts (Deleuze, 1995), and says for example that his and Felix Guattari's book *A thousand Plateaus* is just that, it is a book of concepts, which he sees as events rather than essences, that tries to explain modes of individuation that is not human. For example, individuations of an event, a time of day, or of a region (Ibid., p. 25-26). Individuations here could be described as something that makes a specific event especially unique.

Within his philosophy, he has made use of ideas from several fields of study. He uses for example mathematics, physics, literature and others to create an ontology of processes that has its focus on events, tendencies and the exercising of capacities rather than on static essences (DeLanda, 2013; Deleuze, 1995). DeLanda describes this by the way of a body of water, which is a good example in its simplicity, but it could also be described by using the body of an organisation or that of an individual. The actual properties of a body of water can be determined by defining its volume, purity of composition, temperature, speed of flow etc, but that itself is not an exhaustion of the body of water's reality. In interaction with other elements such as heat, acids, or alkalis it has for example, the tendency to change into solid or gas state depending on temperature, and it can affect other substances by dissolving them when in the interaction with acids or alkalis (DeLanda, 2013, p. vii-viii). So, the body of water's reality is not fully defined until all its capacities are defined as well. Regarding the water changing properties due to interactions with other bodies, Deleuze talks about intensities and energies (Deleuze, 1994, p. 223). Intensities in this sense could be synonymised with "thresholds". It means that when the body of water reaches a certain threshold or intensity, in say temperature through the energy of heat or cold, it forces the water to change its properties. By transgressing the threshold, which in waters case is 100 degrees Celsius or 0 degrees Celsius, the water exercises its capacity to turn into a gas state

or solid state respectively. DeLanda also says that these tendencies and capacities takes the form of events, but stress that they in this case are double, with the reasoning that “a capacity *to affect* must always be coupled to a capacity *to be affected*: water is a solvent but only when interacting with substances that are soluble in it” (Ibid., p. viii, my emphasis).

So, a body, of any kind, that is subjected to these exteriorities of intensity and energy, whether it is temperature in the matter of a body of water, or repetitively undermining an individual’s confidence, will inevitably force them to change, more or less, in one way or another. At the same time, the body of water will cool down the heat source that makes it change into gas, and the individual whose confidence is undermined, may cause the one undermining their confidence to have a bad conscience or change their behaviour when seeing the possible consequences of the undermining acts.

Although these explanations might make Deleuze’s philosophy seem to be more relevant in the physical sciences, Deleuze himself has used it in analysis of both art, music and cinema (Deleuze, 1995), Puar uses it in analysing the “process of the management of queer life at the expense of sexually and racially perverse death in relation to the contemporary politics of securitization” (Puar, 2007, p. xiii), Kristensen, Lopdrup-Hjorth, Sørensen, and Meierand uses it in organisational studies (Kristensen et al., 2014), and Arrigo and Milovanovic use it in an endeavour to reframe the way to look upon penology (Arrigo & Milovanovic, 2009). So, Deleuzian philosophy is and has been used in a wide range of research fields within the social sciences, humanities, and arts.

4.5 Deleuze & Guattari

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari wrote two books together; *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1983), and *A Thousand Plateaus - Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (ATP) (1987). Deleuze says that in especially ATP, he and Guattari tried to produce a philosophy, and that the product of it became a long book that presents a lot of concepts (Deleuze, 1995, p. 136).

For this thesis, I will pick parts from the book that are useful for the analysis. This “picking” is an invitation from Deleuze & Guattari themselves, shown through Massumi saying in the foreword to ATP that:

Most of all, the reader is invited to lift a dynamism [concept] out of the book entirely, and incarnate it in a foreign medium, whether it be painting or politics. The authors steal from other disciplines with glee, but they are more than happy to return the favor (Massumi, 1987b).

4.5.1 Rhizome

In the introduction to ATP, Massumi provides us with the *rhizome* (Massumi, 1987a). The rhizome is an idea borrowed from botany, with it being a kind of root (ex. crabgrass) that grows and extends from the middle, an idea that is quite hard to grasp, but think of it has not knowing where it begins or ends as when pulling it out of the ground, you just see the middle of the root. Deleuze and Guattari also extends this to encompass a lot more; for example, rat nests, burrows and anthills (ibid. p. 6-7). All examples where one never knows where it begins or ends. With it extending from the middle, and surfacing in several places, the rhizome can be thought of as endless resolutions to an endless amount of possibilities. Deleuze and Guattari defines the rhizome to occupy an infinite number of dimensions. They say it consists of multiplicities residing in the virtual plane from which the unique, the subtracted, is the One out of endless possible resolutions that is visible in the dimension humans inhabit (Massumi, 1987a). The multiplicity is a Deleuzian concept that comes from his early work and continues to be an important concept throughout all his writing. It consists of notions from several branches of mathematics and is the concept Deleuze developed to replace the concept of essences or timeless categories (DeLanda, 2013, p. 1-2). One way of simplistically describing a multiplicity could be that of how individuals tend to act differently depending on situation, that humans in that sense are “several” people, that every individual in and of themselves are a multiplicity, with individuals changing and adapting themselves to each social situation faced. And the rhizome could, for example, be thought of as an act of any kind having consequences. In the case of that act at that given time, it might only have one single visible consequence, but

there was always a possibility for it to have other consequences than the one visible in reality. Since Deleuze sees everything as processes (Deleuze, 1995), it means that everything has to be seen in its historical and spatial context. So, if the act, having a consequence, there is the possibility that there would be a different consequence depending on when and where the event leading to the consequence is enacted.

The rhizome is also described as a map, in opposition to a normal “root”, from say a tree that would be described as a tracing, it is open and connectable in all dimensions with it having an endless amount of entryways in contrary to the tracing, that always starts and ends at the same places (ibid. p. 12). An analogy could be that of the adventurous hikers, not following the traced hiking routes but instead venturing out in any direction possible for them. They won’t always end up in the same place as those following a tracing, but instead opens for endless possibilities.

4.5.2 Assemblage

The assemblage is a concept that within Deleuze and Guattari’s philosophy is used in relation to a majority of the concepts (cf DeLanda, 2013) provided by Deleuze and Guattari (DeLanda, 2006, p. 3), including the ones that will be used in this thesis.

Assemblages can be explained as wholes created from heterogenous parts, where examples can be institutional organisations – an assemblage of people, cities – assemblages of people, networks of organisations, and infrastructure, or even nation states – assemblages of cities, regions of several cities, provinces of several regions (DeLanda, 2006, p. 5-6).

An assemblage is characterized by relations of exteriority, meaning that the parts of an assemblage can be cut of, put into another assemblage and there behave differently. It suggests that an assemblage is not to be explained as a cumulative of its parts, but rather as a result of the parts exercising their capacities (DeLanda, 2006, p. 10-11). DeLanda says that Deleuze saw the heterogeneity of the parts as an important characteristic of assemblages (ibid.) and says, about the relations of exteriority that

Conceiving an organism as an assemblage implies that despite the tight integration between its component organs, the relations between them are not logically necessary but only contingently obligatory: a historical result of their close coevolution (DeLanda, 2006, p. 11-12).

The components of an assemblage can play two different roles, defined along a two-dimensional axis. A role of *territorialisation* – homogenising the assemblage and further defining its edges against other assemblages, and the role of *detritorialisation* – which acts to destabilise the assemblage. By exercising its capacities, a component can be part of either stabilising the identity of the assemblage, force it to change into another assemblage, or even be part of both those processes at the same time (DeLanda, 2006, p. 12). This role or act of detritorialisation is also described as being *lines of flight* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 161).

Assemblages are, by invoking the definitions above, a way of describing the world. A total institution then, can be seen as an assemblage made up by several elements – the different wards, the staff, external professionals connected to the institution, the admitted. Together they form a heterogenous assemblage of elements, and with the elements exercising their capacities they form a whole. The whole itself is temporal, as it changes depending on what capacities its elements exercise, but it is always a whole.

4.5.3 Affect

According to Puar, affect is both physiological and biological, where the senses participate in each other, affecting each other (Puar, 2007, p. 207). She also establishes identity as an effect of affect, saying that “[identity] is anything but a relay between stasis and flux; position is but one derivative of systems in constant motion, lined with erratic trajectories and unruly projectiles” (Puar, 2007, p. 215). With this she wants to convey the notion that identities are in constant motion, that the position of identity is not static, it is always moving and changing, with endless possibilities.

Massumi in turn, says that everything has the capacity to affect or to be affected, and that affect is always mutual but not always equal. That in every interaction between bodies they affect, and are affected (Massumi, 1987a, p. xvi). This means that all involved bodies in the interaction affect and are affected by each other, but not necessarily in the same way, or by the same forces and intensities. These energies, forces, intensities, is what creates the always moving assemblages (bodies of different kinds – in social science it would be individuals, networks, organisations etc.) that in turn makes up affect (ibid.).

Affect can be described as a continuous process of affecting and being affected in the interaction between bodies. Within this continuous process, there is becoming, itself a continuous process within the process of affect. Becoming is, in other words, the continuous process of creation and re-creation of identity and subjectivity, through the unceasing process of interaction between bodies within one or several assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Meaning that bodies constitute each other through these continuous interactions, leaving traces of themselves behind (to affect), as well as having traces left behind on themselves by others (to be affected). To specify, it is the body passing from one temporal state to another, which limits or heightens the body's capacity to act (Massumi, 1987b, p. xvi).

So, to see the effects of affect one must look to the consequences of the process. This could be exemplified by an interaction between staff and youth at an institution. There is a clear imbalance in authority between them, so the possibility for the effects of affect to be unequal is there since staff's words will probably hold more weight in the interaction than the youth's words. If these words, and other actions from the staff is the force in the interaction, the youth might reach an intensity in which they are forced to change. At the same time, if the youth is compliant, they would probably affect the staff in return, to feel good about how they handled the situation. In that sense, the staff might also reach an intensity, forcing a change in how they look upon the youth due to their compliance. The compliance with the institutional rules will limit the youth's capacity to act, and at

the same time augment the staff's capacity to act by enforcing those rules and regulations.

4.6 Stigma

In *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963), Goffman defines a stigmatized individual as someone:

Possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind [...] He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one (Goffman, 1963, p. 3).

Goffman argues that these attributes are not stigmas in and of their own, but rather pertains to the situations and relations in which they become visible. He says that an attribute that is stigmatizing to one individual, might not be so for another. The categories he is talking about in the quote, refer to the stereotypical categories by which individuals relate and measure others (Goffman, 1963). This ties in to subjectivity as well, where Butler says that the "I" can only recognise itself in relation to the other, and in relation to the norms/categories that are already available (Butler, 2005). So, the relation between subjectivity and stigma then, lies in these categories against which the "I" recognises itself.

Goffman separate stigmas into three types; (1) the *abominations of the body* such as physical deformities, (2) *blemishes to individual character* which he relates to deviant behaviours such as crime or substance abuse, to mental illness and minority sexualities, and (3) *tribal stigmas* of race, nation and religion that are possible to pass on to further generations (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). In this thesis the focus will be on the second type. Goffman also states that stigmas mainly pertains to public life, and between acquaintances, putting it on a continuum where one end is public life and the other end is intimacy (Goffman, 1963, p. 51).

It is also of importance to point out that stigmatization holds an element of contamination, where someone holding a stigma can contaminate others in their surroundings. Goffman takes the example of a criminal, where the stigma of being

a criminal can contaminate others, making them susceptible to arrest on suspicion of being an accomplice (Goffman, 1963, p. 47-48).

5. Results/Analysis

Here follow the results from the two sub-studies that makes up this thesis. The first sub-study is the literature review, and the second sub-study is the textual analysis.

5.1 Sub-study 1: Literature Review

After carefully analysing the chosen articles, there were three prevalent themes that became visible. The themes are (1) Education & Knowledge among staff, (2) Stigma, Discrimination & Harassment, and (3) Calls for change. Each of these themes will serve as headlines for this literature review. Some general things to be said before the actual review is that the literature is predominantly from North America. Literature on the subject from other countries seems to be scarce. It is also almost exclusively literature pertaining to the American Juvenile Justice system, since studies from for example psychiatric hospital seem to only focus on states of health, as well as suicide rates, and not on the more social situation for queer inpatients in psychiatric hospitals.

5.2 Education & Knowledge

Among the articles that was chosen for this review, almost all of them included a statement, discussion or argument regarding the lack of education and knowledge among staff about special needs surrounding queer youth. The arguments and statements as such were articulated in different ways, for example as recommendations (Estrada & Marksamer, 2006b, 2006a; Graziano & Wagner, 2011; Wilber, Reyes, & Marksamer, 2006), and more general statements about the lack of education and knowledge (Curtin, 2002; Estrada & Marksamer, 2006a; Hahn, 2004; Holsinger & Hodge, 2016).

There are also instances, shown by for example Thomas, where that lack of knowledge is present among the social workers that initiates placements in juvenile

detention centres. She writes that “Cheryl's [an interviewee] social worker knew about her doing sex work and knew that she identified as a lesbian. However, the social worker cautioned Cheryl that she must really be straight because she likes masculine females” (Thomas, 2018, p. 6). In this case, the study clearly shows that this social worker believes that if a lesbian woman is attracted to women who is masculine presenting, she is delusional about her sexuality. If looking to how the social worker in this case talks to Cheryl and consider the theme of education and knowledge, it is clearly so that there is a lack of both in the social workers judgment of Cheryl's sexuality. It implies that this social worker has not been given the training needed for treating Cheryl in a correct way. According to Foucault, every society has their own regime(s) of truth, which serves as the medium through which we perceive what is true (Mills, 2004). Cheryl's social worker is a good example of this, with how she operates on the perceived truth that masculine presenting women are not a valid object of attraction for someone who identifies as lesbian, since they then are really attracted to men and not women.

Another prevalent perspective that the articles provide is about the consequences that emerge from this lack of training, or more so, the absence of policies that should provide staff with guidelines of how to act in interactions with queer youth. Estrada and Marksamer says for example that due to this lack of training, even staff that in general are well-meaning fail to provide queer youth with the help and support that they need (Estrada & Marksamer, 2006a), and in Holsinger and Hodge study this was a concern of some of the staff that they interviewed (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016). In relation to that, the lack of education and training also has the consequence that staff treats queer youth according to their own beliefs and prejudice instead of in an affirming and educated way (Hahn, 2004). Curtin also says that the way that these youth are treated is very subjective dependent on individual staff members whims and knowledge (Curtin, 2002).

With these conclusions it is not far off to say that the way queer youth are treated, according to literature, is inconsistent and guided by what is convenient for the staff. The consequences that these authors write about in their studies is most probably due to a lack of policy in terms of education and treatment, or that the

existing policy does not include guidelines for how staff is supposed to treat queer youth. If a lack of policy or guidelines within existing policies is the case, and the staff has implemented their own personal ways of treating these youth, then it is hard for someone wanting to make a change or behave differently to do so. If the institutional assemblage leans on unity, and has already differentiated itself from other assemblages through homogenisation, then those who do not adhere will be excluded, in this case socially, or ostracised (DeLanda, 2006). It also becomes a sign of the encompassing tendencies that Goffman says is the reason for why the institution isolates itself from the social world (Goffman, 1961), and yet another example of how they operate on a regime of truth that makes the staff perceive queer youth in a certain way.

Further, the lack of education and training leads to staff using unnecessarily harsh measures to protect queer youth within the institution, putting them in isolation or segregating them from other admitted youth (Estrada & Marksamer, 2006b). And, Curtin says that the rules and policies that are put in place to protect queer youth are often misunderstood to be the opposite (to protect non-queer youth from queer youth), and that these policies are often left to the staff to interpret and apply (Curtin, 2002). These harsh measures, and misinterpretations of policy, becomes an example of discursive power. Foucault describes how power relations can serve to produce both repressive and unrestrictive discourses, producing subjectivities and behaviours accordingly, and that discourse creates spaces in which these matters can be thought of (Foucault, 1978, p. 38, 42; Mills, 2004). The misinterpretations from staff, which leads to harsher measures taking place, could be a consequence of the prevailing discourse and the power relations it entails. If discourse creates space for matters to be thought of in certain ways, then the misinterpretations and applications of policy from the staff, is done so because the prevailing, dominant discourse has made them think and act in a way that informs that behaviour and those interpretations.

Lastly, the lack of education and knowledge among staff creates environments within the institution where queer youth cannot feel safe, where staff are not attentive to the needs that queer youth have, possible traumas being one of them,

and that staff with gaps in their knowledge fail to provide protection from stigmatisation, discrimination and harassment from both peers and other staff (Hahn, 2004; Holsinger & Hodge, 2016; S. E. Mountz, 2016; Wilber et al., 2006).

5.3 Stigma, Discrimination & Harassment

This was the theme that was the most prominent of the three throughout the literature. The literature was very one-sided in its approach to the matter and did not give a nuanced picture. Only one article differed from the major picture, giving a more neutral view of the situation in these facilities regarding stigma, discrimination and harassment.

Queer youth are according to the literature, clearly susceptible to both stigmatisation, discrimination and harassment. Curtin says that staff that she interviewed were worried that the juvenile justice system stigmatising the youth even further than they already are in general society, with the stigmatisation being a derivative of the rules and regulation in place within the system (Curtin, 2002). One such rule that seem to be in place, at least in the United States, is where trans youth are put into facilities with peers of the gender they were assigned at birth, instead of the gender they identify with, putting them at unnecessary risk for harassment and violence (Mountz, 2011). These rules regarding transgendered youth in the juvenile justice system, are probably caused by the discourse surrounding gender in the north American society. We have possibly all heard of the bathroom bills and other measures to paint transgendered individuals as predators and rapists⁵.

According to the literature it is also not unusual for queer youth to be separated from their peers in terms of not having room-mates, having to shower by themselves (showers in American juvenile detention centres are shared), having less time out of their room etc (Curtin, 2002; Hahn, 2004; Holsinger & Hodge, 2016; S. E. Mountz, 2016; Schaffner, 1999). These seem to be policies and practices available

⁵ The bathroom bills that have been instigated around the United States, all dictates that you can only use a public bathroom which aligns with the gender you were assigned at birth. One of the larger arguments for them were that individuals, mostly men, would fake being transgender to be able to peek at, and possibly rape, women (Blumell, Huemmer, & Sternadori, 2019).

for the staff to use at their disposal. Graziano and Wagner says for example that “discriminatory practices include isolating or segregating youth, utilizing overly harshly discipline and harassment” (Graziano & Wagner, 2011, p. 50) and Hahn says that

“Both isolation based on sexuality and the indifference of staff to harassment broadcast to queer delinquents that there is no one available for help when they find themselves in a dangerous situation. [...] The overarching message is to conform, both physically and behaviorally, to the sexual norm. None of these characteristics represent a safe living environment. (Hahn, 2004, p. 131)

Also, Mountz calls this “state sanctioned violence”, and describes this violence as a way for staff within the juvenile justice system to regulate the sexualities of queer youth (Mountz, 2016, p. 292). That this segregation and isolation is used as a disciplinary measure, contradicts what Estrada and Marksamer say about this matter, where they say that these measures are taken to protect queer youth rather than to punish them (Estrada & Marksamer, 2006b). Since it seems like most of the research state these measures as being disciplinary and for punishment, perhaps the argument that it is to protect queer youth is a façade for it to seemingly be a relevant measure.

According to the literature, queer youth also face harassment and discrimination from staff in the institution. Curtin for example, found that staff engaged in name-calling and outing as well as not intervening when queer youth were harassed by others (cf Holsinger & Hodge, 2016, p. 33). She also found that staff monitored queer youth more than others (Curtin, 2002, p. 293). Holsinger and Hodge found that in the institution where they carried out their research, there were a widespread notion of queer youth being “predatory”, in this case lesbian, bisexual and transgendered girls. The consequence of them being perceived that way was closer monitoring and separation from their peers (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016). So, separation and monitoring seem to be common ways for staff to “handle” queer youth. Foucault says that “although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of a network of relations from top to bottom, but also to a certain extent from bottom to top and laterally” (Foucault, 1991, p. 176). So, the surveillance, the

monitoring, are the tools through which power is exercised on these youth. This network that Foucault describes means that this surveillance happens on all levels. It is harassment from staff, the bullying from peers, the unjust policies, everything that serves as monitoring.

Most of the literature seem to paint the staff as being cruel or overly harsh against queer youth. There were only two articles in which the authors made arguments of there being differences in the way staff treats these youth. Thomas for example says that she found that the staff was not as cruel or harsh against same sex activity as she thought they would be (Thomas, 2018, p. 3), and Curtin found that some staff, although a minority, were perceived as supportive (Curtin, 2002, p. 293), and, as I have earlier said, she also says that some of the staff that she interviewed were worried about the queer youth being further stigmatised by the system (ibid., p. 291). One article that focused more on other kinds of institutional care, for example a more open residential care, also found that there is much resilience among the queer youth that have to navigate the system every day (McCormick, Schmidt, & Terrazas, 2017, p. 37). The obvious analysis here is Foucault's "where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95), a resistance that is already built in to power, intrinsic to power. Foucault argues that there is nothing extrinsic to power, there is no escaping, not outside (ibid.), and these youth probably feel like there is nowhere to run and nowhere to escape what they are facing. Yet, according to the literature, they seem to somehow prevail and "push through".

In addition to facing these hardships from staff in the institution, the literature also makes clear that these youth often face harsh and hostile treatment from their peers. Curtin says that peers of queer youth in these facilities "were reported to be 'homophobic', 'harsh', 'unaccepting', 'judgmental', and 'cruel'" (Curtin, 2002, p. 292). This view of peers subjecting queer youth to harassment is something that is visible in several of the studies. Curtin for example continues with saying that it was not uncommon for youth to be outed to the system and baited into engaging in sexual activities which are forbidden (Curtin, 2002, p. 292), Irvine found that queer youth many times are scared to live openly due to possible reprisal from peers (and

others) within the system (Irvine, 2010, p. 677), Hahn writes that “peers can be as unrelenting as the overall system” (Hahn, 2004, p. 125), and Graziano and Wagner found that queer people often face rejection, discrimination and harassment from peers (Graziano & Wagner, 2011, p. 50). The way that youth in Curtin’s study reported they were treated by their peers is probably enough to summarise this small section. If seen through Goffman, when youth are exposed to this treatment, it is the consequences of carrying a stigma (Goffman, 1963), this could probably be said as well for how staff treats them and how the overall system treats these youth, but with Hahn saying that peers are as ruthless as the rest of the system combined, the relentlessness of how peers act must be almost cruel in its intensity.

5.4 Calls for Change

The reason I decided to call this theme “calls for change” is because almost all the literature contained implications, recommendations or arguments for a change in the system. The literature that held these calls for change, were unanimous in that changes needed to be done, but the proposed changes were directed towards different levels, either micro (Individual), meso (institution) or macro (state/nation or global) level. This section of the literature review will not hold the amount of analysis seen in the first two sections. Policies are so specific to each institution, state or nation that such an analysis would be a thesis in and of its own. But, in this section, it is easy to find, within these calls, what at least these scholars deem to be the problem representations that need to be addressed critically and changed. So Bacchi’s first question “What’s the ‘problem’ (e.g. of ‘problem gamblers’, ‘drug use/abuse’, domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be [...]?” (Bacchi, 2009, p. xii), is probably more visible here than anywhere else in the study. Therefore, for it to be easier to find, I have, where I believe these representations are found, marked the sentence with an underscore and given it a short comment [in brackets].

The calls for change on a macro level ranges from global to national. In their study, Richards and Dwyer studied juvenile justice in Australia from a Human Rights perspective. They call for change according to international human rights

frameworks, such as the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (see General Assembly Resolution 44/25, 1990), where they perceive the frameworks as excluding queer youth [the problem representation here is that queer youth are viewed as not worth mentioning within these frameworks] in the juvenile justice systems. They argue that even though the category of sexuality might fall under other acts in the frameworks, it is not explicitly mentioned, rendering them invisible (Richards & Dwyer, 2014).

Sullivan calls, in an American context, for legal, educational and societal changes to alleviate the hardships that queer youth face in the juvenile justice system (Sullivan, 1996, p. 57). In a similar fashion, Curtin calls for changes in policy to combat homophobia within the system (Curtin, 2002, p. 297), Irvine calls for existing policies in Hawaii and New York to be implemented elsewhere (Irvine, 2010, p. 696) and Hahn makes a call for legislative reforms (Hahn, 2004, p. 137-138). [problem representation here being the lack of policy and existing policy as insufficient].

According to McCormick, Schmidt, Terrazas, there is a need for the system to acknowledge that queer youth exist (McCormick, Schmidt, & Terrazas, 2017, p. 37), something that Irvine agrees with. In her study she found that a large population of queer youth are invisible in the system. She did so by conducting a survey-based research using parameters that pertains to queer identities in terms of gender and sexuality. Her study concludes that there are a large number of queer youth who choose to not disclose their sexual or gender identity if possible (Irvine, 2010). Irvine's study is also, according to Holsinger and Hodge, one of few exemptions from the scarcity of research regarding sexual identity among youth in the juvenile justice system (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016). [Problem representation in these studies again being the invisibility of queer youth].

It seems like all the studies recognise that there is much left to be done, summed up well by Holsinger and Hodge who says that “although much work is still needed, policy development [insufficient policy] is an important step to be undertaken, not only to help juvenile justice systems in creating better outcomes for LGBT youth

but also to avoid legal liability resulting from violating the rights of incarcerated youth” (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016, p. 43).

On the meso level, many of the researchers calls for more local policies to be implemented at the specific institutions. Wilber et.al. says for example that

“institutions also should adopt written policies prohibiting harassment and discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived sexual orientation or gender identity. [...] Policies prohibiting harassment and discrimination should apply at all levels of an agency, department, or institution – from administrators to staff to caregivers” (Wilber et al., 2006, p. 137).

Put in relation to what Wilber et al. says, Curtin states that staff first and foremost must receive more training, and that policies cannot be evaluated until that has happened. She says that the reason for this is that if training has not happened, it will not be possible to see whether policies are used with legitimate reasons or just because of prejudice (Curtin, 2002, p. 297) [problem representations here being insufficient policy regarding abuse and harassment against queer youth, and the lack of training for staff limiting how policies are being evaluated].

Holsinger and Hodge calls for a change in the measures taken against queer youth when they act in a fashion that are perceived as “wrong”, calling for less harsh measures than isolation and separation (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016, p. 43). Similarly, Silhan calls for a change in the way that queer youth are sentenced for misconduct when they are already within the institution, where queer youth are judged more harshly than their peers (Silhan, 2011, p. 113) [Queer youth often face harsher sentences than their non-queer peers for the same behaviour, and is presented as the problem in these studies].

Irvine calls for measures in several areas to be changed. Some examples are that Staff should never assume that they know the sexual orientation or gender identity of youth, and that staff needs to be provided with more and queer specific training [Irvine presents the lack of knowledge as her problem representation] (Irvine, 2010, p. 695-697). Similar measures were also called for by Estrada and Marksamer in their study, but they ask for changes to be made specifically through litigation and advocacy. In their study, they go through court documents and provides examples of court processes regarding queer youth as well as examples

from national organisations that work for a change of the system (Estrada & Marksamer, 2006a). An interesting find, that somewhat acknowledges the need for more training, is what Holsinger and Hodge found when asking staff at a facility if they had any suggestions for improvement at the institution. When asked, many of the participants had a hard time figuring out solutions or just gave a blatant no as an answer (Holsinger & Hodge, 2016, p. 40).

5.5 Sub-study 2: Textual Analysis

5.6 Admittance

Young people end up in total institutions for a variety of reasons. Some choose to be there, for example in the case of boarding schools, the military and in some cases the psychiatric hospital. Others end up in a total institution involuntarily. For committing crimes, fighting, substance abuse, the situation at home or because of mental illness. Total institutions have been around for a long time, and part of that is institutions for young offenders. An example here comes from Foucault, who writes of Saint-Germain at the outskirts of Paris, an old hospital for people suffering from leprosy, that became a home for young offenders at the turn of the 15th century (Foucault, 2006, p. 3-4).

When the general hospital in Paris was founded, people were confined there for a wide range of reasons, not just offenders but also those with mental illnesses, and those considered mad (Foucault, 2006, p. 108), and up until today not much has changed since there is still a variety of reasons for ending up in a total institution. So, upon confinement in a total institution, the power, forces and energies that act to institutionalise, stigmatise, medicalize, pathologize, and infantilize those admitted has already initiated its process, this those admitted has already been deemed criminals or mentally ill.

If the total institution, with all that it entails in terms of staff and admitted inhabiting that space, is to be seen as an assemblage, the territorializing process with its strive to homogenising (DeLanda, 2006, p. 11) begins at the moment an individual enters the institution as admitted, as staff and to a certain extent as visitors as well. It does so, because the stability of a territorial space to a certain

extent leans on the unity of the assemblage(s) inhabiting that space (DeLanda, 2006, p. 116). In the case of these total institutions, where youth end up for a variety of reasons, it is possible that it is presupposed by the youth holding a deterritorializing role within another, larger assemblage – which would be named “society”. But, since not all admittance to total institutions, or enrolling in case of for example boarding schools and the military, are preceded by deviance from societal norms, this cannot be held as an argument for all cases of admittance.

Discourses limits what we can say, think and what knowledge is available for us (Mills, 2004, p. 29) and thereby limits what we perceive as right, or as healthy. In all the texts, that entails admittance to psychiatric hospitals and juvenile detention centres, there is a stated reason telling of why they end up as psychiatric inpatients or as “inmates” at a detention centre. Those statements all refer to behaviour or emotional states that deviate from the discourses that regulate how we think and what we perceive as true about mental health, aggressive behaviour and substance (ab)use, and which makes us act accordingly. If we follow the thoughts of DeLanda, in relation to these limits, every deterritorializing act that serves as destabilising or are deviating from the rules and regulations that are consequences of the prevailing discourse within the institution, ends up under surveillance. In the case of voluntary admittance, these processes would probably not occur in the same way, but a territorialising process would still affect individuals who are voluntarily admitted, since these processes takes place in all assemblages (DeLanda, 2006).

When Goffman writes of the process of admittance, or arrival at the institution, in one instance he describes what he calls “loss of identity equipment”, in broad terms the material aspects through which we show who we are. He also mentions the loss of behaviour that would be regarded demeaning for the individual in relation to the other admitted. In other words, those admitted to a total institution will to a certain extent be reduced to a mass, forced into boxes that fit the institutional intentions and practice (Goffman, 1961). If we go back to the notion of “identity work” that Enell used in her study where she describes how the institutional staff reduce the youth to categories that is possible for them to handle (Enell, 2015), that is what is happening when admitted. The youth are being

stripped of what they make use of for individuation, the “this-ness” of themselves and reduced to a mass.

5.7 Normativity & Subjectivity

The most prevalent, common theme within the texts are that of deviating from the norm, either in terms of sexuality or in terms of gender identity, and how this divergence in several ways became problematic for these youth when admitted to or enrolled at total institutions. Examples of this deviation could be Jakob who identifies as gay (Jakob, 2017), and Sasha who identifies as lesbian and is masculine presenting which she shows by saying that she “started dressing like a boy at age 14” (Sasha, 2018). Andersson Vogel found in her study that youth in these institutions are being confined to stereotypical binary gender norms with everything that entails (Andersson Vogel, 2012), which with a nod to Butler also would comprise compulsory heterosexuality (Butler, 2006). So, that there would be problems for these youth is not hard to envisage.

According to Butler, pre-existing societal norms as well as interactions with the other, are what individuals make use of for recognition of the self; it is how we make sense of what and who we are (Butler, 2005). What is relevant to establish at this point, is that even though Butler offers a logically conjurable argument of how we make sense of ourselves, and this analysis in part makes use of the concepts she provides, the argument she offers still relies on binary, categorical oppositions. When she says that we recognise ourselves against these norms that precedes the emergence of the self (ibid.), it is still a matter of binaries in terms of adhering or deviating from those norms. Empirically this can be exemplified through Jakob who says in his text that he was continuously asked why he his gay and why he does not get attracted to girls (Jakob, 2017). It shows this through how he is questioned why he is attracted to boys and not to girls, which is a binary division in terms of gender and attraction. This is not to say that Butler’s view is essentialist, but rather that her argument adheres to the already existing categorical binaries. In a critique, Linstead and Pullen argues that it is possible that such an argument would serve to reinforce binary divisions (Linstead & Pullen, 2006, p. 1297).

Instead, if seen through a DeleuzeGuattarian lens, then identity in general, including queer identities as dealt with here, are processual, rhizomatic. With this view, identity as such, is detached from any kind of categorical thinking and is instead seen as ever changing, constantly becoming, with a focus on connectivity rather than hierarchy (Linstead & Pullen, 2006). Deleuze and Guattari describes the connective rhizomatic structure as opposed to a hierarchal arborescent structure, where the rhizome is a map with endless connections and entries, and the hierarchal structure is a tracing that only ever travels between point A and point B; it always comes back to the same, a path with a pre-established start and finish (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). In a DeleuzeGuattarian fashion, the way individuals form their identity, would still be influenced by norms, rules, and the recognition against the other, but through affect. This can be seen in one of Sasha's experiences from her time in juvenile detention, where she was seen as predatory and the staff warned other girls to talk to her as if it would be dangerous to be around someone who is gay, as if it was contagious. She says that the staff told other girls that "Don't talk to her,' 'She's trouble,' and 'She talks to a lot of girls.'" That she got to know these thing because the girls told her when they got comfortable talking to her. She also says about this experience that "It was hurtful hearing these things, especially knowing they weren't true" (Sasha, 2018). In relation to this example from Sasha's experience, every interaction with peers, staff etcetera, can be viewed as a never ending, continuous process through which identity is taking form, in every instance. With a processual thinking, there is no long-term stability, identity is fluid and always in motion. It is possible to say here that this fluidity is true for Butler's argument as well, but with a closer look that perceived fluidity is still dependant on the stability of pre-conceived norms.

Foucault saw the creation of the homosexual person as a shift in the knowledge production surrounding sexuality, rather than as an expression of sexual preference (Mills, 2004, p. 31). With this view it is logical to see gender identity as an aspect of changes in knowledge as well. Foucault also says that homosexuality was seen as a medical and pathological category from the moment it was characterized (Foucault, 1978, p. 43), and with the prior reasoning gender identity can be inferred

here as well. Later, minority sexualities and minority gender identities have to a certain degree been removed from the lists of mental disorders, but looking to the texts from for example Jaden, Sam and Necko, the view of queer identities as sick or pathological seems to a certain degree prevail within the more conservative discourses surrounding queer identities. And, from what one of the texts conveys it also seems like these views are possibly more prevalent in total institutions than in society at large. That a discourse can take such hold and become dominant, or even hegemonic, within the walls of a total institution is very reasonable since it as Goffman says is socially separated from society. Something that he calls *encompassing tendencies* (Goffman, 1961, p. 4).

With the nature of the assemblage, where affects circulate to create the assemblage itself (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), the dominant discourse on queer identities within total institutions can be seen as part of the affective process and thus a part of the assemblage itself. So, when queer youth are admitted or enrolled in these institutions, they are becoming a part of an assemblage that by territorialisation, encompassing tendencies and homogenisation, has sharpened its edges towards other assemblages, in which they as queer by default hold a deterritorializing role, they represent a line of flight; a resistance towards the dominant discourse itself (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 174-175). These processes of territorialization and deterritorialization could be viewed as subjectification. If seen through Butler, these youth would come to hold their subject positions as queer through recognition against what the normative view on sexuality and gender says that they are not; not being heterosexual and/or not being cis⁶-gendered (Butler, 2005), and by putting this into a DeleuzeGuattarian way of thinking, this would be seen as a continuous process (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), since gender, and by inference sexuality, is fluid and always in motion (Linstead & Pullen, 2006).

In the texts, there are statements of these processes having consequences, effects, in the real. A few examples could be that Jakob got spat at and told he should die, and staff agreed making him have panic attacks (Jakob, 2017), Sasha

⁶ Being cis-gendered is the opposite of being trans-gendered. In other words, cis-gendered persons identify with the gender they were assigned at birth.

writes that other girls were told to avoid her, that she was predatory and because of this she was given her own room without roommates (Sasha, 2018), Olly writes that homophobic banter became a way to establish masculinity forcing him to stay closeted at his boarding school (Hudson, 2013), and Necko received death threats which he due to the social structure of the army he could not report (Fanning, 2019). Sasha also writes that she felt that she, because of her sexuality, was treated worse in the institution than in society in general (Sasha, 2018) so, again, we could say that it is possible that these effects are more prevalent within the institution than in society in general. These effects can be understood in terms of Foucault when he says that homosexuality [queer identities] were pathologized, viewed as a medical category, at the moment they were characterized (Foucault, 1978, p. 43). It is as well, imperative for understanding the consequences, the effects of that pathologization happening within a total institution, to be aware of the inherent flaw of the total institution as such. Foucault came to a conclusion that the prison fails to rehabilitate those admitted, that the environment [of the prison] instead serves as a sort of factory for producing criminals (Foucault, 1991), and from what Jaden, Sam and Achilles experienced being mistreated because of their gender identity, it ought to be somewhat the same with psychiatric hospitals, not rehabilitating and treating, but rather reinforcing the illness. Their initial reasons for being in the psychiatric hospital was somewhat dealt with, but they were exposed to treatment from staff that was hurtful (Dylan Finch, 2016; Krishna, 2014; Prendeu, 2016). This inherent flaw becomes part of the way the institutional homogenised assemblage is created, since the stability of an assemblage in part relies on unity, and thus filters out and excludes those who do not adhere to the assemblage (DeLanda, 2006).

From the texts, it appears as if most of the bad treatment of these youth comes by the use language, linguistics. Butler argues that subjectivity is a linguistic position, a subject representation, which we come to hold after a subjectification process through discursive power and interpellation (Butler, 2005). Deleuze and Guattari on the other hand, see language as performative rather than representational or referring, composed of order-words, statements. Their interest

is not in how language is representative, but in what it does with individuals in every social interaction (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The texts from (1) Achilles, (2) Olly, and (3) Necko is good examples here. (1) Achilles says that when he was in the psychiatric hospital, he was told by the doctor that the reason he was there was not because of his attempted suicide, but because he is transgendered and needs to be fixed (Krishna, 2014). (2) Olly says that when there was homophobic banter, the teachers in the school just stayed quiet, not doing anything to stop it (absence of speech also performs meaning) (Hudson, 2013). (3) Necko receives written death threats and was threatened to have his career ended by an officer who took it upon himself to judge who was “guilty” to a reported male on male sexual assault (Fanning, 2019). All these instances are examples of what Deleuze and Guattari calls *incorporeal transformations*, which deals with assemblages on the symbolic plane, where an individual assemblage is transformed through language; in other words what language does with the individual (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). They are subjected to being pathologized, made invisible and deemed as sex offenders.

5.8 “You Need to be Fixed”

As already established, medicalisation and pathologisation of queer individuals still happen, and is without a doubt a general assumption. When Foucault wrote about the “category” of homosexuals, in which over time all other queer identities can be inferred, were conceived as a medical issue at the moment of its characterisation – when it was brought on as an identity, he was talking of the 19th century; the Victorian era (Foucault, 1978). The term homosexuality was first used by psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing in the book *Psychopathia sexualis* (first published in 1886) where homosexuality is categorised as what he names “paraesthesia” or “misdirect sexual desire”. He writes that “The perverse sexual acts resulting from paraesthesia are of the greatest importance clinically, socially, and forensically; and, therefore, they must here receive careful consideration; all aesthetic and polite disgust must be overcome” (von Krafft-Ebing, 1894, p. 56). By von Krafft-Ebing’s statement here, it is obvious that he viewed homosexuality and other minority sexualities as pathologic, and it brings light to the claim that Foucault

makes about homosexuality being conceived as a medical category at the first moment it was characterised. But even though von Krafft-Ebing coined the term in the late 19th century, we know that same sex relations, usually between master and slave, were documented at least as far back as ancient Greek culture (Foucault, 1990).

Even if minority sexualities are mostly de-medicalised today, though the emergence of HIV and AIDS somewhat renewed at least gay men as a medicalised group (Conrad, 2007; cf Edelman, 1994, p. 80), minority gender identities to a certain extent still prevail as a medical category, listed as gender incongruence in the ICD diagnostics manual (World Health Organisation, 2018), and as gender dysphoria in the DSM-V diagnostics manual (American Psychiatric association, 2016).

In the texts from Achilles, Jaden and Sam, their gender identity became a hindrance for them to receive the psychiatric care they were entitled to. Their identities were perceived as pathological, and as the reason why they were there in the first place; their gender identity substituted the actual reason for admittance (Dylan Finch, 2016; Krishna, 2014; Prendeau, 2016). The example that is of most interest here is Achilles. He says that during his stay at the psychiatric hospital, it was ruled that everyone had to identify themselves with the names they were assigned at birth – for Achilles, and transgendered individuals in general, that would be called his deadname. The staff at the mental hospital is not only trying to strip away Achilles tools for identifying himself (Goffman, 1961), but they are also demanding a confession from him. They are demanding that he confess to him not being a male, which would be a confession of himself saying that his “behaviour”, his gender identity, is pathological. This kind of confession, is by Foucault deemed a part of the discourses of discipline (Mills, 2004). Foucault says about confession in relation to discourse that:

"Discourse, therefore, had to trace the meeting line of the body and the soul, following all its meanderings: beneath the surface of the sins, it would lay bare the unbroken nervure of the flesh. Under the authority of a language that had been carefully expurgated so that it was no longer directly named, sex was

taken charge of, tracked down as it were, by a discourse that aimed to allow it no obscurity, no respite.” (Foucault, 1978, p. 20)

What Foucault is talking of here is a “policing” of language wherewith the use of confession, the hospital staff in this case, can take control over language and limit the ways in which the patients can express and think about themselves. With the control over language, every time Achilles would have been forced to introduce himself with his deadname, it would have been a self-disciplinary action.

The confession then, that the staff tried to force out of Achilles, if he had showed himself submissive to the staff’s orders, would have reduced him back to a tracing, and the affective nature of authoritative language, order-words, statements, would have put his becoming at stake with a risk of his rhizome being broken, rooting him back into a body that is not his (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 13-15). The medicalising process then, the reducing of differences to pathologies, holds a function of discipline, and of self-examination (Foucault, 1978, p. 19) through the performative nature of language and by relations of intensity (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 77-78; Deleuze, 1994, p. 222) that is the individuations of queer subjectivities, and here transgender subjectivities more specifically.

If we think of gender identity specifically, and identities in general, as rhizomatic; as having no point of origin, as a middle from which it extends and overflows, of being in a constant process of becoming, a multiplicity of endless possibilities (Linstead & Pullen, 2006), Then the way Jaden, Achilles and Sam are treated by the staff, tries to put them back into a linear pattern that fixates their gender identity in an arborescent root system, the hierarchy [since the roots always leads back to the trunk] which they were forced into the moment they were assigned a gender at birth. The way that the staff treats these youth, also carries a notion of Stigma, a notion that is perhaps intrinsic to the medicalised discourse surrounding transgendered youth. If this medicalised stigma is contagious (Goffman, 1963), and if we see it as a process of affecting and being affected, then a medicalised stigma makes these youth susceptible to “catching” other stigmas as well.

5.9 The Question of Stigmatisation

In the case of stigmatisation, it can be thought of either as a case of subjectification, or by the DeleuzeGuattarian incorporeal transformation. Both subjectification, as seen through Butler (2005), and the incorporeal transformation – the transformation of the individual assemblage on the symbolic plane, as seen through Deleuze and Guattari (1987), has to do with linguistic positions and also entailing discursive power relations. When talking about stigma, as seen through Goffman, this would be a case of an individual's linguistic position in a social stratum (Goffman, 1963). This linguistic position could for example be that of a judge sentencing, hailing, an individual as a criminal. Both Butler (2005) and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) makes this kind of example. Deleuze and Guattari say that in the instant that the judge tells an individual that they are a criminal, there is a change in the individual assemblage where the individual becomes a criminal on a symbolic plane (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 80-81).

When stigma is put in relation to queer youth in total institutions, especially if those total institutions are psychiatric hospitals or juvenile justice facilities and treated as a criminal or a mentally ill patient, they are exposed to a double stigmatisation. The first happening the moment they are admitted, and the second happening when (if) they disclose their sexual orientation or gender identity. In the case of military subscription or enrolling at a boarding school, it is possible that this duality does not apply since it is not presupposed by any kind of possible stigmatising process such as a court process or the pathologizing process of being deemed mentally ill. An instance where this duality could probably happen in those cases are if youth disclose their queer identity at home and are forced to go to a boarding school or serving in the military as a sort of punishment or parents hoping it will turn the youth straight. The duality in that case would be that the stigma would first arise at home, and then again when at the institution.

Goffman talks of stigma as a process in which an individual is reduced from a whole person, to being identified as a tainted or discounted individual. He says that stigma should be seen through a language of relations rather than attributes, since stigma that is not bound to one's physical body, will not occur unless there is

interaction between the stigmatised individual and a social group or another individual (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). If just reading the texts, there seems like there is a lack of institutional specific policy that provides protection from being harassed and abused for these youth. If looking to the Swedish context, this is regulated through the law against discrimination (Fransson & Stüber, 2015), but reading about the experiences that Jakob had, it seems like these regulations are not necessarily taken into account (Jakob, 2017). It seems then, that there is a possibility that the staff of these institutions take it upon themselves to define their own "policy" and thereby, at least through what is visible through the texts, defining queer identities as problematic, look to Sasha's experiences for example, which as mentioned earlier, was also picked up by Andersson Vogel when she concludes that these institutions rehabilitate youth to adhere to stereotypical gender norms (Andersson Vogel, 2012).

In these cases, visible in the texts, the stigmas that occur are those which Goffman calls "blemishes of individual character" which pertains to stigmas that are not clearly visible – that occur more on the symbolic plane. They are in other words not like the stigma of a physical handicap that anyone can see (Goffman, 1963, p. 4). This is where the language of relations Goffman talks of comes into play in a more direct way, since it is only in the interaction with others that this kind of stigma can become known by others, and in some cases probably to the stigmatised individuals themselves. Goffman also talks of stigma as contagious, in such a way that the stigma can be transferred to those in the vicinity of the stigmatised person (Goffman, 1963, p. 47-48). This view of seeing stigma as contagious, is not far off from seeing it as a process of pathologization, in this case making queer identities, differences in sexuality and gender identity, into something close to an illness or a disorder (Conrad, 2007, p. 148). Another way of viewing this process is through affect, where bodies present in an interaction leaves something of themselves and obtains something from others in the interaction (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). One such example is visible in the text from Sasha, where staff, tells other girls in the institution not to talk or be near her because she is "trouble", and that, according to Sasha, only because she is queer (Sasha, 2018).

The staff use their authority to establish that relation between trouble and queerness and, in a sense, making it into a rule. Another example is the text from Necko. He writes that he found a group of queer individuals within the military that he saw from time to time, but they never interacted outside that private sphere (Fanning, 2019). This could be a case of them not wanting to be seen together, so that no one could suspect they were anything but non-queer individuals if say one of them would be “found out”.

These processes of stigma could be viewed as the effects of the within the institution’s dominant discourses and the power relations intrinsic to those discourses. Foucault’s thoughts on power are that it is something that both makes behaviour possible and limits behaviours, and that the discourses surrounding these possibilities and limitations, depends on the regimes of truth of that specific society (Mills, 2004, p. 17). He stresses that it is important to not view power as a possession of some kind, but rather that the power that is exercised on the body is an active force that should be seen

“as a strategy, that its effects of domination are attributed not to ‘appropriation’, but to dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques, functionings; that one should decipher in it a network of relations, constantly in tension, in activity, rather than a privilege that one might possess [...] (Foucault, 1991, p. 26).

In this case, it is not a society as such that is dealt with, but the total institution could in a way be viewed as a micro society, at least if following the definition of a total institution from Goffman that was given in the introduction of this study. Foucault stressed the power/knowledge relation, and that all knowledge we have is the results of struggles over whose version or statement about a certain subject is most true (Mills, 2004, p. 19). In the case of what is written in the texts, it seems like the institutions has not followed the progression of society in terms of knowledge produced about queer identities and what it entails, and instead operates on a conservative regime of truth that severely limits the possibilities for queer youth within these systems.

If seen through Deleuze and Guattari, this regime of truth would be viewed as a limitation of queer youth’s possibilities to exercise their capacities and as a

blockage or breakage of the rhizomatic structure that is identity. The breakage of the identity rhizome, related to a stigmatising process as the disciplinary mode of power through which this breakage is imposed, can be seen through the imposition of the regime of truth aligned with the prevailing discourse, which ties these youth back into stereotypical modes of behaviour, blotching their map, and reducing them to a tracing that effectively cuts off resistances and makes them follow a certain path (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 14). An example here can be found in the text from Necko, he writes that he is still coming to terms with his identity and that "there are moments when it feels wrong to claim my status as a veteran; as if being gay made me less of a soldier and somehow invalidated my service" (Fanning, 2019). Another example is Chuns text, in which he specifically writes that the prison is designed to break the persons spirit, and that he could not understand how someone could care about someone like him, who do not know who or what he is (Rosenkranz, 2019). These examples show how the discursive power within these institutions, through a process of stigmatisation, limits the ways in which they are able to look upon themselves, doubting and reducing who they are to that of nothingness, a black hole. In DeleuzeGuattarian words, they become captured by a black hole and fall back into a social stratum in which they are non-existent, unformed, trapped in that stratum's relations and milieus (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 56).

6. Discussion on Theory, Method and Limitations

6.1 Discussion on Theory

Here I just want to make a quick note on the theory and concepts used in this thesis, and how they fit together. In this thesis, the concepts provided by Deleuze and Guattari has served as a basis for how to look upon the actual process of forming identity. The DeleuzeGuattarian philosophy has a very distinct focus on process, which in this thesis has served to put identity on a continuum, as an effect of historical events in co-evolution, to further the notion of identity as unstable and ever changing. Even though all the other concepts and theoretical standpoints, including the discursive ones from Foucault, also hold a certain amount of focus on

process; Butler's distinction between identity and subjectivity where the self comes to hold the position of subject through a process of subordination, medicalization and pathologization that is the process of behaviours turning in to dysfunctions and disease as well as being viewed as medically treatable, and stigmatisation which is the process of dehumanising and reducing an individual to mostly be made up of one single trait or property, the DeleuzeGuattarian philosophical concepts has served to encompass all these other notions and thereby made up the theoretical base.

The other concepts then, mainly stigma and medicalization/pathologization are that which has been used to see the components that might make up an identity formed in a total institution. It is important to further stress that these components are part of a temporality. The established thought of identity as a process, as non-essential, still holds. So, whereas the DeleuzeGuattarian philosophy of processes is the medium that holds this temporal structure together, these concepts can be viewed as the building material.

6.2 Discussion on Method

When I decided to do a study focused around texts instead of interviews, discourse analysis became the obvious choice of method for me. I have been fascinated with Foucault's work for a long time which made the choice even easier. It also seemed, in the beginning, like there would be no contradictions at all between Foucault and my chosen theory, mainly because Foucault has written forewords for Deleuze & Guattari's book *Anti Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1983), and Deleuze built upon Foucault's work on surveillance and discipline when he wrote his essay *Postscripts on the societies of control* (Deleuze, 1992). But I found some contradictions during the writing process, mainly in terms of categorisation and binaries in relation to processual thinking. But I think I managed to work around them and make it coherent.

Using discourse analysis, and especially through Carol Bacchi's structure, has also helped me to keep my thoughts in check. I have always had the tendency to

“float away” during my argumentations, but Bacchi’s questions that acted as structural for the analysis helped me keep my thoughts focused.

6.3 Discussion on Limitations

The limitation that I intend to focus on here, is the limitation when it comes to the empirical material. This study deals with a very small sample and is thus empirically weak in its entirety. I touched upon this in the section on method but did not give an explanation as to why it is weak.

The reason why this study became a two-part study and empirically weak is due to a lack of empirical material to work with. I spent many hours on trying to find material that would yield enough for a textual analysis alone. But no matter what I did, where I searched or what methods I used to get material, it just did not happen. I looked to google, which is where I found the material I used for the second sub-study, but I also asked friends on Facebook if they knew about any of these kind of stories/narratives, and I asked on Twitter and on the LGBT sub-reddit for tips on material as well, but I got nothing. When I searched for material, I found a plethora of articles and narratives from young people in total institutions, but the vast majority of texts did not show whether they were written by queer youth or not, which made it impossible for me to make use of those texts.

Another limitation is that of the articles used for the first sub-study. When doing a literature review it is usually a good thing to have articles that both agree and stand in contrast to each other, to be able to make a good analysis and put those articles in discussion with each other, weighing for and against etc. But in this case, the articles that I found were almost all on the same page, agreeing with each other. I only found two studies that made nuances in how the situation is for these youth, how they are treated, instead of only being of one opinion on the matter. I did not make a conscious choice of having only articles that agreed with each other, it was the only articles I could find that fit my criteria. If I had widened my scope, I might have found other studies, but then I would have had to rethink my study entirely.

7. Concluding Discussion

As for the conclusions of this thesis, it can in part be summed up by a quote from Sasha. She wrote in her text that

“Don’t get me wrong – I have had terrible experiences in the streets too, but this was completely different. In placement, I had to face the people who harassed me every day. I can ignore gay slandering in public because I don’t have to deal with people I don’t know. I don’t ever have to see them again. In placement I had to hear gay slandering every day and engage with the staff who did it. It was the environment. As staff, they didn’t care because they thought gay jokes were funny. As a youth, I couldn’t defend myself, even verbally. We couldn’t say what we really wanted to staff because we were afraid to get written up” (Sasha, 2018).

What I mean with this quote summing up the conclusion of the thesis, is that the total institution acts as a microcosm of society in general; a concentration of the oppression, harassment and abuse of society in its entirety. This is not a new conclusion of a subject like this, it merely reinforces the conclusions of Goffman’s *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* written in 1961, Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* written in 1975, of Levin’s study *Uppfostringsanstalten: om tvång i föräldrars ställe* (The reformatory: Coercion in loco parentis) written in 1998, and many other studies like theirs. But all in all, the analysis of this study shows a concentration, a distillation even, of heteronormativity as hegemonic, the hardships that queer youth coming to terms with who they are face, or are at risk of facing, when coming to terms with their identity, the becoming-queer of the individual. Since there are no two individuals alike, there is no way of generalising a “conclusion of meaning” such as this one. In other words, total institutions will most certainly not have the exact same meaning in the identity formation process for any two queer individuals who finds themselves in these institutions, even if they are in the same institution. It is merely possible to map out intensities and forces that might hold meaning. Queer youth has been shown to hold a remarkable level of resilience, even though facing adversaries in a double sense. Both the adversaries that youth face in general when growing up,

but also the challenges and hardships that are specific for queer individuals (Asakura, 2019).

As far as the existing research goes, queer youth seem, according to the scholars who carried out the research, to have a tougher time in total institutions due to the double stigma and seem to be more harshly judged and surveilled than their non-queer peers. Even though this surveillance and discipline that follows with being admitted to a total institution, is it reasonable to say that it is “true” for society in general if the hardships that queer youth face in the institution is more of a condensed version of the hardships faced “on the streets”? There is incitement here to further research in the way we view how institutions such as juvenile detention centres, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals work. Deleuze thoughts on moving on to talk about societies of control instead of societies of discipline and surveillance is a good start (Deleuze, 1992), but should be researched further.

Since the conclusion as such is not all that interesting, it is not something new, something revolutionary, this discussion will have to take another turn, and discuss a somewhat unexpected conclusion, or thought, that arose during the writing process. The ontological-philosophical-theoretical framework of Deleuze and Guattari that I decided to use after stumbling upon it while reading a friend’s thesis, proved to be a step in a direction that should be explored more in queer theory and in social work theory. In terms of queer theory, a reasonable way would be following scholars such as Jasbir Puar, who for example makes an argument to move away from the linear categorising of intersectionality to the multiplicity of assemblages (Puar, 2007). For me, the use of this ontology of processes that Deleuze and Guattari created, has helped me see both myself and the world around me differently. I admit that I have also seen the world in binaries, as adhesion and deviation so to speak. Deleuze and Guattari provides a way of thinking that connects anyone to anything and everything through a grid of lines, with no nodal points to which these lines connect, but rather just as lines crossing. This way of thinking really shows how everything is connected, more so than any other way of thinking I have encountered.

To a certain aspect, the processual thinking already exists within social work theory in terms of how social work is always relational and built on a thought of individuals always being able to change, but the rhizomatic thinking of Deleuze and Guattari is something that would probably be of help in social work, since it avoids the pitfalls of putting individuals in boxes, which Puar argues is the case with for example intersectionality despite the claims that it does not (Puar, 2007), and gives an understanding of how the individuating rhizomatic processes, haecceities or “this-ness” of individuals, societies and the world functions. It could help in the way social workers look upon the individuals they are meeting. In understanding the underlying processes of the problems these individuals are facing. By not categorising individuals as “this or that” which ends up in this arborescent hierarchal structure, and instead looking at connectivity, where and how problematic behaviours has emerged and how it connects to others, thinking of these behaviours not as a criminal, as poor or as drug abuse, but at these behaviours as lines of flight in the rhizomatic structure and how they can connect back to another, “healthy”, point of entry. It becomes an endless motion of lines in endless directions that make up the individual’s life.

What I realised then, from the analysis in this thesis, and more specifically through the analytical process, is that the explanatory models for the identity formation process that we have been using up to this point, at least in terms of total institutions and queer identities, might seem a bit outdated. Whether it is theoretical notions from Butler, Foucault, Goffman or someone else entirely, they all to an extent rely on a categorical system of binary divisions. Linstead and Pullen touch upon this when giving a critique of Butler’s thoughts on gender (Linstead & Pullen, 2006, p. 1297). I realised when putting Butler, Goffman and Foucault within the ontological framework of Deleuze and Guattari, that there were contradictions and oppositions that would not be resolved through any kind of synthesis, and as such, the analysis moved into a comparison of sort, or a view of how these matters could be thought of beyond our categorical, binary thinking, almost as a step away from the discourse of how we see our world. An example that I want to take here is my own use of the word “queer” instead of the more well-known abbreviation “lgbt”

(Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender) when talking of individuals who identify themselves in a way that parts from society's general norms regarding sexuality and gender identity. "Lgbt" tend to invoke these categories that so many happily identify with (to a degree, myself included), while "queer", as well as being a category that people identify with, also is a way of saying that "it doesn't matter, I don't really want to put myself in a sexuality or gender identity box, I'm just me". It is a loosely, abstract, term that invokes the notion of fluidity.

8. Recommendations for Further Research

My recommendation after writing this thesis is more research on the situation for queer youth in the Swedish juvenile justice system. I did not manage to find a single study that had its focus on this group of youth. Just by looking to the text from Jakob there are incitement to do a more rigorous study on the subject. It does not have to be focused on identity, but there seem to be areas of the system that needs to be addressed. The institutions in Sweden are full to the brim, and a certain amount of the youth who are admitted should, statistically, identify somewhere on the queer spectrum.

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Appendix A

Searches & Search engine	Keywords	Results 1	Results 2	Peer reviewed	Not Peer reviewed	Chosen
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Search 1 LUBsearch	Queer, lgbtq, Youth, Total institution*	0	0	0	0	0
Search 2 LUBsearch	Queer, Youth, Total institutions	0	0	0	0	0
Search 3 LUBsearch	lgbtq, Youth, Total institutions	0	0	0	0	0
Search 4 LUBsearch	Queer, Youth, Juvenile detention	3	5	2	1	3
Search 5 LUBsearch	lgbtq, Youth, Institution	63	63	0	0	0
Search 6 LUBsearch	Queer, Youth, Psych* ward	2	2	0	0	0
Search 7 LUBsearch	Queer, Youth, Psych* hospital	33	34	0	0	0
Search 8 Google Scholar	Queer, Youth, Juvenile detention	4180	-	2	4	6
Search 9 LUBsearch	lgbt* youth, residential care	74	74	1	0	1
From ref. lists				4	1	5
Total		4355	115	9	6	15

Appendix B

“Being Queer in a Juvenile Detention Center: A Survivor's Story”

Sasha provides a narrative of how she was ostracised as soon as she arrived at her placement. She talks of how she felt as if she was helpless and unable to stand up

for herself when she was treated badly by the staff and by her peers. She tells of how staff would tell newly arrived youth not to talk with her and how the staff would ridicule her. The text shows her frustration with the system and that no one seemed to listen to her when she talked about and reported how she was treated (Sasha, 2018) [<https://bit.ly/2JWP5Dm>].

“What It’s Like to Be Transgender in a Psychiatric Hospital”

This text comes from Jaden, a transgender college student who writes about his experience of spending 72 hours as a psychiatric hospital inpatient. The narrative that Jaden provides ranges from when he was transferred by ambulance, belted down, from a hospital that could not treat him to one who could. During this he had gotten reassured that the hospital he was being sent to was transgender friendly. It ended up not being the case (Prendeau, 2016) [<https://bit.ly/2IOhVsw>].

“What Being Institutionalized as a Trans Person Made Me Realize”

This text comes from Sam, a now 27-year-old (24 when the text was written) trans person who like Jaden writes about his experience with a psychiatric hospital. Sam provides a narrative of the uncertainty of being trans and mentally ill as an inpatient, in his case whether he would be able to continue his hormone replacement therapy [HRT] upon getting new medicine. He writes that he was constantly told to stop HRT and that hospital staff could not comprehend why he refused (Dylan Finch, 2016) [<https://bit.ly/2vqWZPp>].

“The Boy Who Lived”

This text is a bit different from the others, as it provides a narrative of resilience, of how to cope while incarcerated. The text comes from Chun, who according to the text was 25 when in prison. He tells of his relation to Harry Potter, which had been

the largest comfort during a life of addiction and continued to be so while in prison. He talks of how the prison is constructed to break one's spirit, how he was laughed at for crying when receiving a photocopied version of Harry Potter from someone on the outside, how the guards used to mispronounce his last name, and the loneliness of being incarcerated (Rosenkranz, 2019) [<https://bit.ly/2L8V1Ok>].

“Being transgender at the mental hospital”

This “text” is a video uploaded to YouTube, by a transgender high school student named Achilles, who also talks about how it is to be transgender at a psychiatric hospital. Achilles video brings up sexual abuse, where a nurse took it upon herself to see what Achilles genitals looked like. It brings up how he was constantly deadnamed [called by his birthname and not his preferred name], misgendered and that they tried to trick him into call himself by his birthname. He also brings up an instance where he was told that, the reason he was in the hospital was not that he attempted suicide, but because he is transgender and needs to be fixed (Krishna, 2014) [<https://bit.ly/2IOrojy>].

“Comment: The truth about being a gay 16-year-old at an all boys boarding school”

This text comes from Olly, a 16-year-old gay boarding school student, who writes of how he experiences his school environment. In the text he situates himself within a school setting that is rampant with toxic masculinity, where the students all try to assert their own status as masculine, which according to Olly equals “not being gay”. Olly also describes how the school, both students and staff, don't even acknowledge that anything but heterosexuality exist, and that those who are gay can only sit silent through the homophobic banter from peers and the ignorance of said banter from the staff at the school (Hudson, 2013) [<https://bit.ly/2GV9I3z>].

“I Thought I Could Serve as an Openly Gay Man in the Army. Then Came the Death Threats.”

This text comes from Necko, a gay man who did his military service between 19 and 22 years of age. He writes that he started his service in the American military

four months before the repeal of the “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy that effectively banned openly gay service members and prohibited any one from asking another service member about their sexuality. Most of his text is situated after the repeal, when he had stopped concealing his sexuality. Necko writes about how he thought things would change after the repeal, but that he experienced death threats and slurs in several ways when he stopped concealing his sexuality. He also writes that he felt the need to not report these harassments for the sake of earning his spot within the ranks, and he also writes a bit of the emotional consequences of the harassment he experienced (Fanning, 2019) [<https://nyti.ms/2QdadJ0>].

“Ett rent helvete [A pure hell]”

This text comes from Jakob, a 16-year-old who writes about how he was treated in Swedish juvenile detention due to being gay. Jakob writes that he was constantly harassed for being gay, he was bullied by his peers and that they hit him. He writes about of having to defend himself repetitively when asked questions about why he is gay and why he is not turned on by girls. Jakob also writes that he heard the staff talking about him and his sexuality several times. Jakob writes specifically about one instance of harassment from his peers. He writes that another guy stopped him in the corridor, spat in his face and said that he should die because he is gay. He writes that when he told the staff about this instance, he was told that he only got what he deserved (Jakob, 2017) [<https://bit.ly/2V3BG5H>].