

Pedophilia and Conflict

Research on the conflicted relation between the presence of pedophiles and Dutch society



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Dedicated to the respondents who were brave to trust me with their life stories.
Thank you.

Abstract

This research is centered on pedophiles and their place in Dutch society and based on the question: To what extent is there a conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society? Data was gathered and analyzed through a qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews with pedophiles. In this research pedophiles are defined as people with a sexual age orientation directed towards children younger than sixteen years old. A sexual orientation does not only revolve around sexual feelings, but romantic feelings as well.

Two main results were found. First, newspapers present a generalized image of pedophiles as people who have engaged or are likely to engage in a form of pedosexuality. This overgeneralization leads to the formation of a stigmatized stereotype, that of a criminal sexual child abuser. Second, the respondents experience that stigma in their daily life, since they do not feel accepted by society. Instead they experience structural conflict to some extent in the form of unequal life chances. The fact that they are unable to speak out about their sexual identity can lead to difficulties in the social life, in asking for protection and professional help, and in living without fear of discovery. The latter is a form of latent violence.

This research builds further on both classic and recent literature, yet is innovating in the sense that it connects conflict studies to the concept of pedophilia. Conflict is being used as a fluid and broad concept, instead of keeping it static and narrow. This research shows how conflict studies can be relevant in addressing conflict that is not directly visible, since it helps in understanding societal developments and structures.

Keywords: pedophilia, conflict, identity, territory, stigma, moral panic, anxiety, moralization and responsabilization of citizenship

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1 Introduction

Pedophilia: conflicted in itself, conflicted in society. Conflicted in itself, because of the changes in definition, diagnosis and treatment. Conflicted in society, since it seems as if society in general does not want to be confronted with what pedophilia is and with those persons that are classed as pedophiles. Pedophiles are often thought of as child molesters that are dangerous for society and its children. There is a hardening of the general opinion about pedophilia. Overall, it seems as if people do not want to understand what pedophilia really is, while they point at extreme cases of child abuse in order to make generalizations concerning the larger group of pedophiles.

This is remarkable, since, on the one hand, based on scientific findings it is possible to understand more and more about pedophilia, while, on the other hand, societal conflicts surrounding issues of pedophilia seem to be increasing. In order to better understand pedophilia and its place in society, it is necessary to do more research on the topic. (Violent) incidents of harassment, have become more common, especially in the living spaces of pedophiles. Given the changes in the way pedophiles are treated, it is interesting to start from the perspective of conflict studies and to conduct a conflict analysis of the issue of pedophilia in the Netherlands.

There is not a single scientific answer to the question how many pedophiles there are in The Netherlands. The website *pedophilie.nl* mentions that it is difficult to count pedophiles, since most of them do not present themselves as being pedophile openly. In addition there has not been many research about pedophiles in The Netherlands. Estimates vary from one in thousand to one in twenty-five people that are pedophile (Pedofilie.nl). To illustrate this in numbers that would mean that in the Dutch population of seventeen million people, between 17.000 and 680.000 people are pedophile.

The goal of this research is to assess the complex phenomenon of pedophilia and present it as a conflicted theme within society. More insight in the conflict will be helpful in a better understanding of both the society's as well as the subjects' struggles. The research findings will give a general overview of why there is a conflict and what consequences this conflict has for the everyday lives and fundamental human rights of pedophiles. After finding out what the foundations for conflict are, possible improvements can be presented. The research sets out to give a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between society on the one hand and individuals with a sexual orientation towards children on the other.

1.1 Scientific relevance

Within the relevant scientific community it has only recently been accepted that pedophilia is not a psychiatric disorder as such (Gijs, 2013; Black & Grant, 2014), but a sexual (age) orientation (Seto, 2012). The discussion about this issue is ongoing and the debate is primarily being held within the scientific disciplines of psychology and psychiatry. However, there is a lack of scientific research in other relevant disciplines within social sciences. Since issues regarding pedophilia often lead to conflicts within society, an interdisciplinary approach

based upon the scientific field of conflict studies is useful in addressing the conflicted issue of pedophilia in (Dutch) society.

This research can contribute to the field of conflict studies, since it broadens the field of studying (violent) conflict. As Galtung (1990: 303) states: “Why draw borderlines at all in a field so terribly important in its consequences, and also so attractive to the inquisitive mind?” The way in which pedophiles are being treated in the Netherlands and the conflicts the issue of pedophilia generates, illustrate that although no structural direct violence is being used in the conflict, various instances of harassment do indeed lead to larger problems in the form of physical and mental exclusion and discrimination. In addition, particularly in this context, it is relevant to view conflict as a broad concept, that not only revolves around the direct use of violence, but as a concept that has far-reaching consequences when violence is more structural or cultural as well (Galtung, 1969; 1990).

A deepening of scientific knowledge regarding pedophilia in society will also add to a better understanding of how to deal with issues regarding pedophilia in policy. Granting legal rights specifically to pedophiles, as is being done with homosexuals, is unlikely to be supported by large segments of society. Nonetheless, there is a necessity for more debate (Seto, 2012), and in social sciences pedophilia has to be taken out of the taboo zone. If only based on the premises of fundamental human rights, there needs to be a more open attitude towards pedophiles, since they, just as other people with deviant sexual interests, are entitled to equal treatment and no discrimination.

In social sciences it is important to analyze societal developments, thus to develop an understanding of changes in the way groups of people relate to each other. What underlying processes are at play here? Based on this notion, a critical reflection upon and insight in the relationship between societal discourse and the position of pedophiles in society can be made. Only scientific research that goes further than the analysis of what pedophilia is can lead to altering processes of exclusion, be it exclusion on a physical or mental level. This research is built upon the existing conflict-related literature on issues of societal conflict, while at the same time tries to add to the literature on processes of exclusion within societies that securitize more and more.

1.2 Societal relevance

An analysis of the ways in which society has treated pedophiles is relevant, since these ways can explain the changing character of conflict within society. During the 1970s and 1980s, for instance, some pedophile groups were at least tolerated in parts of Europe, whereas nowadays tolerance is less and groups have been banned (Seto, 2012: 235).

Pedophilia is mainly looked upon as if it is a human choice, a choice made by the individual. As stated before, recent scientific debates address pedophilia rather as a sexual orientation than a psychological disorder (Seto, 2012). In an international context there is a trend towards more intolerance within societies when it comes to pedophilia. In the Netherlands, in particular, since the ‘Dutroux case’ in 1996 (referring to the kidnapping, sexual abuse and killings of several victims), there seem to be generalizations of everything and everyone that has to do with pedophilia. The Netherlands is clearly heading towards more

and stricter regulations and exclusion of pedophiles (as well as pedosexuals). The psychological treatment that aims on the one hand to help pedophiles and, on the other, to prevent child abuse, actually calls for the opposite, however: more inclusion and openness in society (Mulder, 2012).

This research focuses on those individuals that are considered to be pedophiles, but have no intention to abuse children, irrespective of previous conviction(s) of sexual acts with minors. Both pedophiles that were previously sentenced for pedosexuality as well as pedophiles that have never been convicted are part of this research, since they might be viewed differently by society. In that way it should become clear what it is exactly that infuriates certain groups of people about pedophiles. It is important to analyze their place in society. There is a misconception of pedophiles as being a major risk to society, given the societal belief that the chances of recidivism are invincible (Mulder, 2012: 8). As a consequence of this belief, pedophiles are being excluded and there is a continuation of hate and fear, whereas a better understanding of the sexual orientation is needed. In the end a better understanding is necessary to prevent sexual exploitation of children (Seto, 2012: 235).

1.3 Research objective and research questions

This research sets out to generate in-depth data about the discourse surrounding pedophiles and the effect of that discourse on the subjects themselves. Are they able to live and work amongst others without being discriminated against? The research methods – qualitative discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews – will be combined, in order to create relevant in-depth data. In addition, combining existing theory with the newly acquired data, will add to well-founded results.

The main objective of this research, in one sentence, is to analyze the conflicting relationship between societal developments in the Netherlands on the one hand and the issue of pedophilia on the other. Pedophilia in this research is defined as a sexual age orientation that shares the same characteristics as sexual gender orientations. Section 2.1A further explains both similarities and differences between the two. The pedophiles this research is directed to are those who experience pedophilic feelings as (at least part of) their sexual orientation. The main research question is:

To what extent is there a conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society?

This question will be answered by addressing two sub-questions:

1. What is the discourse in Dutch society concerning pedophilia?
2. In what way are pedophiles able to live their lives?

The first sub-question will be answered based on a qualitative discourse analysis; the second by interviewing the subjects, pedophiles. In order to create the base on which the research can be grounded, a theoretical framework is added first.

2 Theoretical Framework

The next sections lay the theoretical base on which the research will be grounded. The first section investigates what is known about pedophilia and why it is such a complex concept in itself. The following section describes how societal narratives have changed over time, in order to illustrate why narratives and discourses are important in the (non-)acceptance of (deviant) groups. It is the base on which this research will follow up with a discourse analysis of the present situation. The next section illustrates the importance of space in this conflict, acknowledging that notions of (physical and mental) space in society, because of the presence of pedophiles, are important within conflict studies. The last section addresses different types of violence and the processes that lead to violence (objective or structural). This lays the groundwork for potential examples of violence, exclusion, discrimination or other violations of human rights that might come up in the in-depth interviews.

The three themes of the Geography Master: Identities, Territories and Conflict serve as the overarching concepts on which the composition of the theoretical framework is based. Conflict studies is an interdisciplinary field in which notions and ideas derived from various social sciences explain specific social phenomena. The field of conflict studies is relevant for this research, since issues regarding pedophilia touch upon several levels of the social world. This research focuses on conflict in general: is there a conflict between society and the presence of pedophiles? It focuses on conflict and identity: how does a pedophile experience his/her deviant sexual identity in everyday life and how is that sexual identity experienced by others? And lastly, it focuses on conflict and territory: what is the role of territorial space regarding the coexistence of pedophiles and the larger society?

2.1 Identity

2.1A What is a pedophile?

“Pedophilia is defined as a persistent sexual interest in prepubescent children, as reflected by one’s sexual fantasies, urges, thoughts, arousal, or behavior” (Seto, 2009: 392). The related term ‘hebephilia’ refers to people with a sexual interest in pubescent children, between the age of 11 and 14 (Seto, 2012). Pedophilia is a conflicted condition that has been debated for many years. Since 1952 it has been listed as one of the sexual deviances, which was then classified as a severe mental disorder (Gijs, 2013).

In the most recent Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)-5, pedophilia is officially known as Pedophilic Disorder. It “is defined by sexually arousing fantasies, urges, or behaviors involving sexual activities with a prepubescent child” (Black & Grant, 2014: 291). The diagnostic criteria for Pedophilic Disorder are listed in Figure 1.

- A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child or children (generally age 13 years or younger).
- B. The individual has acted on these sexual urges, or the sexual urges or fantasies cause marked distress or interpersonal difficulty.
- C. The individual is at least 16 years and at least 5 years older than the child or children in Criterion A.

Note: Do not include an individual in late adolescence involved in an ongoing sexual relationship with a 12- or 13-year-old.

Specify whether:

Exclusive type (Attracted only to children)

Nonexclusive type

Specify if:

Sexually attracted to males

Sexually attracted to females

Sexually attracted to both

Specify if:

Limited to incest

Figure 1. Source: *DSM-5 Guidebook: The Essential Companion to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition* (Black & Grant, 2014)

Pedophilia is considered to be a form of paraphilia, a collective concept that refers to “any intense and persistent sexual interest other than sexual interest in genital stimulation or preparatory fondling with phenotypically normal, physically mature, consenting human partners” (DSM-5: 685, as cited in Gijs, 2013). In addition, a paraphilic disorder is defined as “a paraphilia that is currently causing distress or impairment to the individual or a paraphilia whose satisfaction has entailed personal harm, or risk of harm, to others” (DSM-5: 685-686, as cited in Gijs, 2013). A paraphilic disorder is only assigned when a person falls under both criteria A and B in Figure 1. A person that only falls under criterion A has a paraphilia and no disorder. This means a distinction is made between just having sexual fantasies and urges with prepubescent children on the one hand, and acting on or suffering from those sexual fantasies and urges on the other (Gijs, 2013).

In practice this distinction turns out to be quite problematic. If someone falls under category A, since he or she has a sexual interest towards prepubescent children but does not want to act upon that interest, this person can still be classified within category B, if he/she him/herself is in distress. A diagnosis of a paraphilic disorder implies, from a clinical point of view, that treatment can involve the elevating of suffering or ‘healing’ of paraphilia itself (Gijs, 2013). Another practical dimension in the definition that is quite complex and problematic, is the fact that the age of consent to engage in sexual activities differs from country to country: in the Netherlands, for instance, the age of consent is 16, whereas in most of the states of the USA this age limit is set at 18. In other words, the line between what is legal and what has traditionally been seen as a disorder remains vague and arbitrary.

According to Gijs (2013), what is lacking in the DSM-5 (as well as in previous DSMs), is a clear justification or even explanation of why a paraphilic disorder has to be

considered as a psychiatric disorder. There is no empirical evidence that a paraphilic disorder complies with the conceptual and operational criteria of a psychiatric disorder. It is not specified in the DSM-5 whether or not a paraphilic disorder can truly be diagnosed as a psychiatric disorder or, in fact, stems from a social conflict. The case of what happened to homosexuality in the past can be illustrative in this context. Homosexuality used to be diagnosed as a psychiatric disorder, but has been taken out of the DSM, once the diagnosis turned out to be a consequence of social stigmatization, discrimination and (violent) suppression. (Gijs, 2013).

Even though the DSM-5 tries to make a distinction between social and psychiatric deviance, it remains questionable whether such a distinction can be made at all. A person that is labeled with paraphilia, or a pedophile without the diagnosis of disorder, will be negatively affected in the same way as someone who is labeled with a pedophilic disorder (Gijs, 2013). In addition, and perhaps even more important, the distinction wrongly confuses a condition with a reaction to a condition: when someone ‘suffers’ from his heterosexuality, the diagnosis will not be a paraphilic disorder, but rather a problem in the personal acceptance of sexuality, for instance because of identity problems. In sum, it is not the sexual variation as such that is the core of the (psychiatric) problem, but rather the fact that there is a disagreement between the sexual variation on the one hand and personal or social goals and standards on the other hand which leads to suffering (Schindel & Moser, 2011).

Recent literature shows that pedophilia shares some of the same characteristics as other sexual orientations (being heterosexuality and homosexuality). A pedophile usually discovers his/her sexual orientation at an early age. Pedophile feelings are, just as heterosexual and homosexual feelings, usually related to emotional and romantic feelings. And, lastly, pedophilia is not something that can be ‘cured’ or simply ‘goes away’, it is unchangeable (Seto, 2012). Seto (2012) makes an interesting distinction between hetero-/homosexuality as sexual gender orientations, and pedophilia as a sexual age orientation. This distinction is interesting, since it serves two goals: it does set pedophilia apart from hetero- and homosexuality, since they are not the same, but on the other hand it brings us closer to an understanding of pedophilia; pedophilia as something similar to hetero- and homosexuality.

According to Seto (2012) the debate about the exact nature of pedophilia is important, since it can take away far-reaching misperceptions with grave consequences for individuals. Seen from various perspectives it is important to know whether or not pedophilia is a sexual age orientation. On a scientific level the answer to this question impacts research questions about, for instance, sexual development and neurobiological causes. On a clinical level, the answer shapes approaches to assessment, prognosis, and treatment. Past experiences have shown that reorientation therapy for homosexuals does not change sexual preferences. On a policy level, the answer affects societal perceptions, but it may also affect criminal and civil law. “Anti-discrimination laws and policies refer to sexual orientation, but with the implicit understanding that one is referring to sexual gender orientation. But what might happen if the definition of sexual orientation were to expand to include sexual age preferences such as pedophilia?” (Seto, 2012: 232).

2.1B Pedophilia as an identity

Even though, or since, there has been a lot of debate, there is no agreement (yet) among psychiatrists, psychologists, sexologists and other social scientists about the exact nature of pedophilia. Something that is clear, however, is the fact that pedophilia is a complex and varied concept. There are several other aspects and dimensions in which pedophiles can differ, which makes the issue even more complicated. For instance, an individual can sexually prefer children and have no sexual interest in adults, while it is also possible an individual is sexually attracted to both children and adults alike (Seto, 2009; Gijs, 2013; Black & Grant, 2014). At first glance, pedophilia is more common among men than among women, since a majority of identified sex offenders against children are male. Nevertheless, female pedophiles do exist (Seto, 2009; Hekma, 2013).

It is relevant to note here that there is a difference between pedophilia and pedosexuality. Pedophilia stands for the sexual orientation towards children without engaging into sexual relations with minors, while pedosexuality stands for practicing sexual relations with minors by adults. Individuals might be a pedophile and never sexually offend a child, while other individuals might not be a pedophile, but do sexually offend a child. In the latter case psychological problems are the reason for the sexual act (Mulder, 2012).

In general, there are several misconceptions about pedophilia. First is the wrong assumption that anyone with a sexual orientation towards children will act upon it when an opportunity arises (Seto, 2009). Another misconception is that if an individual has been convicted and returns into society, he or she will pose a major risk. Contrary to the popular belief that the chances of recidivism are invincible, in reality, according to for instance practicing psychiatrist Mulder (2012), with the right treatment the chances of recidivism can be brought back to only ten per cent.

Pedophilia is not equal to sexual child abuse, though in public, political and media accounts these concepts are often used interchangeable. Approximately fifty per cent of the total of child abuse happens not because a person is a pedophile, but because of other reasons; for instance, a high sex drive, a lack of restraints because of use of alcohol or drugs, or antisocial tendencies (Seto, 2008). Lautmann (1994) even claims that only five per cent of sexual child abuse is committed by 'real' pedophiles. The 'real' pedophiles are those persons who have feelings towards children and are aware of the difference between a child and an adult at the same time. The other ninety-five per cent of sexual child abuse is committed by persons who are either unable to associate with adults or by individuals with pathological problems (Lautmann, 1994).

The fact that pedophiles are not equivalent to sexual child abusers also applies when it comes to watching child pornography (Sheldon & Howit, 2007). It is important to make these distinctions, since pedophiles who do not perform sexual contacts with children are unfairly placed in the same group of people who have done that. In addition those pedophiles who have been convicted for sexual child abuse differ in their risk to reoffend from non-pedophilic child abusers. As a consequence they need different forms of therapy after an offence (Seto, 2008).

When media representations ignore treatment successes, the public is left with the false impression of treatment efficacy. However, treatment efficacy for pedophilia is difficult to assess.

“The vast majority of recidivism and treatment effectiveness studies do not limit their participants to those with pedophilia, but rather describe participants according to the behavior (e.g., child abuse) or by relationship to the victims (e.g., incest vs extrafamilial). Many studies have used diverse terms such as “sexual offenders,” “sexual predators,” or “child molesters,” none of which have any diagnostic specificity. This blurring of inclusion criteria in studies further compromises any attempt to look specifically at the treatment outcome for pedophilia. Finally, double-blind studies involving placebo treatments are difficult for ethical reasons.” (Fagan et al., 2002: 2463)

A study that did divide several groups that had committed sexual offenses, that included a group of 406 pedophiles that had gotten treatment after they were involved in a form of pedosexuality, presents the following outcomes: the recidivism rate was 7.4% over an average of 5.12 years (Fagan et al., 2002).

After this outline of more general information about pedophilia, it is interesting and relevant to evaluate the role pedophilia can play in the formation of someone’s identity. Identity is what makes people conscious of who they are and what their place is in this world. People need to be able to identify themselves and others, so they have a feeling of ontological security, which means a feeling that who they are makes sense (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Identity is not something one has or does by him/herself. Identity is constructed in a process (Jenkins, 2008). This process of coming to identity, identification, is an interaction on an individual as well as on a collective level. Therefore external identification by others and internal identification of the self are intrinsically connected to each other. Important to add is the fact that identity is not a given and is not predestined; it is changeable (Jenkins, 2008).

Sexual orientation is not always the same as the way someone identifies him/herself sexually. “Sexual orientation refers to the sex, male or female, of the erotic-love-affectional partners a person prefers” (Diamond, 1995: 46). Since this research starts from the idea that pedophilia is a sexual (age) orientation, it plays an important part in developing one’s identity, in the same way as being hetero- or homosexual does. As mentioned before, being a pedophile does not mean someone identifies him/herself as a sexually active pedosexual. The development of the pedophilic sexual identity can vary a lot and depends on many factors, such as self-acceptation, the connection to and opinion of others, other sexual experiences, etc..

2.1C Changing attitudes towards pedophiles in The Netherlands

An analysis of the changes in the way in which society treated pedophiles is relevant, since changes can explain the present societal conflict. From the 1950s onwards, pedophilia has been an issue of societal debate. In 1911 the Dutch Criminal Code 248*bis* introduced penalties for sexual acts of a major with a minor of the same sex. The age limit for homosexual contacts was set at 21, whereas for heterosexual contacts it remained at 16. That age limit of 16 was only introduced in 1886; before then the law did not contain any age limits (Hekma, 2013).

Until the 1960s, no distinction was made between homosexuality and pedophilia: both were seen as a sin, a crime and/or a disease. From the 1950s onwards, not only homosexuals themselves but also medical doctors began making a distinction between homosexuals and

pedophiles, given that homosexuals wanted to change the 248*bis* law. Their tactic was based on a claim of normality of homosexuals and equality to heterosexuals. They distanced themselves from pedophiles, transvestites and ‘manly’ lesbians. At the same time, pedophiles distanced themselves from homosexuals, since they preferred boys that were not yet men and resembled girls (Hekma, 2013).

In 1971, art. 248*bis* of the law was withdrawn. Since then, a new discussion started regarding sexual child rights and lower age limits. The 1970s were marked by an interest in more research into the self-determining abilities of children (Hekma, 2013; Seto, 2012). For instance, reports about boys who experienced their sexual relationship with adults as pleasant and instructive were not uncommon. Surveys showed that most sexual contact between minors and adults did not involve penetration (Hekma, 2013).

The rhetoric around homosexuality involved depathologizing and decriminalization. The same development took place in the debates around pedophilia: more knowledge in the form of education, self-acceptance and organization were seen as important. There was a claim to do more research on how children develop sexually and experience sexuality. Within the law profession, it was debated to make sexual contact between minors and adults a civil case instead of a criminal case, which means that the offence is not seen as a crime against the state or society.¹ In a civil case the complaint is important: whether or not sexual contact was punishable depended on the choice of the child to sue the adult (Hekma, 2013).

At the end of the 1980s, the rhetoric shifted. Women, whose voices had not been heard much in the public debate before, brought the theme of sexual violence to the agenda. From the start father-daughter incest was seen as important, but this soon changed to the wide theme of pedophilia. In 1987, the so-called ‘Oude Pekela’² scandal led to moral panic. After this incident, several other cases were brought to light; some real, some made up (Hekma, 2013). From 1984 onwards the United States put pressure on the Netherlands to react stronger in response to pedophilia and child porn. In the 1990s demonization became the norm (Hekma, 2013). Especially since the ‘Dutroux’³ case in 1996, there seems to be a generalization of everything and everyone that can be seen as pedophile (Mulder, 2012).

The variations in the judgment of pedophilia and pedosexuality show how important societal rhetoric is when it comes to acceptance and/or exclusion. It illustrates that generalizations of cases where children have been abused, can lead to a misperception of everybody and everything that only slightly refers to pedophilia. In addition, changes in the law illustrate that pedophilia is not something that is intrinsically seen as bad. The discourse analysis that will be executed in this research in the form of a qualitative content analysis, will need to explain more about the relationship between discourse in society and the acceptance of pedophiles.

¹ See: <http://criminal.findlaw.com/criminal-law-basics/the-differences-between-a-criminal-case-and-a-civil-case.html>.

² The ‘Oude Pekela’ scandal was the story about the provincial town of Oude Pekela, where men dressed up as clowns sexually abused around sixty children and were allegedly also involved in producing child porn at farms.

³ The ‘Dutroux’ case refers to the kidnapping and sexual abuse of several victims.

2.2 Territory

2.2A Citizenship in a nation-state

An interesting comparison of the historical developments regarding pedophilia can be made to the theory of Schinkel and Van Houdt (2010) about the developments in immigrant integration policies of the (Dutch) government. They claim there is both a ‘moralization’ as well as a ‘responsibilization’ of citizenship. Citizenship in this context is defined as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion regulated by the state (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Citizenship thus determines who does and who does not belong to the nation-state.

Moralization of citizenship means that ‘active citizenship’ is being coupled at the national culture, and the norms and values that seem inseparable from the nation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Thus, citizenship can only be obtained when a citizen follows the dominant norms and values in society and is also actively involved in attaining them. The notion of ‘responsibilization of citizenship’ stands for the rise of a neoliberal emphasis on individual responsibility. At the national and local levels, there is an increasing connection between safety policies and immigrant integration policies. Responsibilization relates to a rather conservative emphasis on returning to fundamental values of society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Moralization and responsibilization are thus interlinked.

Citizenship then becomes a paradox: on the one hand the individual him/herself is held responsible for being a good citizen, while on the other hand the individual is dependent on the norms and values of the majority in order to fulfill society’s views on what is a citizen. Formal citizenship (being a citizen by law) is not enough to be a citizen; instead, moral citizenship has become the norm. Every citizen needs to assimilate to a notion of citizenship that is vague, since it is based on fluid morals (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

Although Schinkel and Van Houdt’s theory is directed towards migrants, integration policies are relevant for society as a whole and especially also regarding other minority groups. It can help explain the shift in acceptance of pedophiles in the Netherlands: since pedophiles do not fit the dominant values and norms, they are not seen as good citizens. Therefore it is very difficult for them to claim citizenship; they are being excluded. Formally, they have Dutch nationality and are citizens according to the law, but informally, in societal rhetoric, they are not seen as members of the same society.

In addition, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008) note something interesting in line with the previous theory. Whereas citizenship holds an individual approach towards migrants and puts an emphasis on the nation-state’s norms and values, in contrast, policies are aimed at accommodating the needs of specific communities that have become less and less popular (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). In practice this means that where it is already difficult for minority groups to let their needs be heard in policymaking, for groups with a negative stigma this becomes even more complex.

A recent example of this, is the banning of the association Martijn. This association strives for lawful and societal acceptance of older-younger relationships. At the same time, they do not want members and others to have sex with children, since people should abide the law. Although this association could have been a tool to get more knowledge about pedophilia

and participation of pedophiles in society, it was banned by a court ruling. According to the board of Martijn this official ban illustrates that society is not ready for an association such as Martijn, because of the recent smear campaign around pedophilia. A complicating matter in this case is that within Martijn there were different views on pedosexuality; some were in favor, others against (Van Beek, 2012).

2.2B Neighborhood

People feel possessive about spaces, albeit with varying degrees of intensity. At a personal level, an exclusive right to domestic space is a fairly common claim, one that is generally recognized by law. The home is a personal space or family space, one that others enter only by invitation. Individuals and groups have territorial feelings about their neighborhoods as well. Whether or not differences are noted or whether or not differences become a problem, partly depends on the social composition of the area. Thus, the home and the neighborhood are both potential spaces of exclusion (Sibley, 1995).

To illustrate how, in the context of this research into issues of pedophilia, neighborhoods can be a space of exclusion, some examples, drawn from recent news reports, are given. The first example illustrates an indirect way of conflict, that can have far-reaching consequences. Through media reports society is made aware of the names and living spaces of (alleged) pedophiles. In this case residents of a small scale living area act as violent protesters against pedophiles. The example shows that it is very important to connect the case of pedophiles in the Netherlands to the concept of space.

The internet website *stopkinderseks.com* (stop child sex) has, according to the people behind the site, been created because the authorities do not take the necessary measures to protect Dutch children. ‘Stop child sex’ claims to take matters into their own hands, by publicizing a list of names, addresses, offenses and penalties of so-called ‘pedo’s’ (*stopkinderseks.com*, n.d.). Since the Netherlands has privacy laws to protect personal data (Parlementair Documentatie Centrum, n.d.), it is questionable whether or not the website is legal at all. So far, the website has previously been banned, but it seems to be condoned nowadays, however, since it has been published again.

Other examples of violating the personal space of (alleged) pedophiles that have come forward in recent news reports are: the windows of a house in the small town of Ulrum have been smashed, since the wife of a ‘pedo’ (who is in jail) still lives there (Telegraaf, 2015); approximately two hundred people protested against Benno L., a convicted pedosexual who returned to the city of Leiden after finishing his jail sentence (NRC.nl, 2014); residents of the Rotterdam neighborhood of Zevenkamp set fire to a car and smashed the windows of a convicted pedophile – the man has decided to not return home (RTV Rijnmond, 2013); Jan D., a pedophile living in Goor, was allegedly murdered by local residents that had been abused by him in the past – the reaction of other residents was along the line of ‘It is of course impossible to condone what they have done, but it is understandable’ (Spits, 2012).

What has become clear, is that diversity in the form of divergent (sexual) identities can lead to problematic situations in the living space. According to Uitermark, Rossi and Van Houtum (2005), it is essential that the identity of marginalized groups is not being dismissed

or relativized. Instead, it is important to look at how such groups can fit in their surroundings and how they can be brought closer to society (Uitermark, Rossi & Van Houtum, 2005). One way of dealing with the issue of bringing marginalized people into closer contact with society, is explained by the so-called contact hypothesis.

On a very basic level the contact hypothesis claims that “contact is an effective prejudice reduction strategy since it lessens feelings of uncertainty and anxiety by producing a sense of knowledge or familiarity between strangers, which in turn generates a perception of predictability and control” (Valentine, 2008: 324). Translating this notion to the city level, the idea is that once cultures are mixed in public spaces, this will result in a dissolving of cultural differences (Valentine, 2008). Valentine (2008) critically notes, however, that in practice, despite contacts, differences between people do still matter. Proximity, or encounter, cannot be considered to be the same as meaningful contact. In public spaces people can interact in a courteous way towards each other, but that does not mean they respect the differences they notice. Multiple identities do not get addressed when there is merely tolerance, and the power relations between majority and minority groups stay the same (Valentine 2008).

The previous notions are interesting for the case of pedophiles in two respects. First, the problems in the living space illustrate that contact in the sense of encounter is not enough for a reduction of prejudice. On the contrary, encounter has regularly resulted into cases of violence (physically, material or emotional). Second, it becomes clear that what is needed in order to break through patterns of mistrust and anxiety is real contact and understanding. According to Valentine (2008), urban policies need to address inequalities and diversity. What is lacking is an understanding of differences and rights. Policies should be directed at developing meaningful contact. In organized groups where there is space for meaningful contact, there should be room for participation of marginalized people (Valentine, 2008).

2.3 Conflict

The previous sections have shown a number of issues that will come together in the following section on structural violence. The outline of the discussion about what pedophilia entails, has shown two major misperceptions; first, the idea that everyone who is a pedophile is a sex offender; and, second, the idea that once someone has committed some form of sexual offense, he/she will recidivate. The outline of the changing discourse and policies around pedophilia has shown the importance of societal developments in relation to a general understanding of, reactions to, and openness towards pedophiles.

The following section of the theoretical framework serves as a base on which the conflict between society and the presence of pedophiles can be analyzed. Concepts and their definitions of what conflict is and how conflict can escalate, can be recognized in the data and explained together in the conclusion. That way, it will become clear to what extent there is a conflict in society because of the presence of pedophiles.

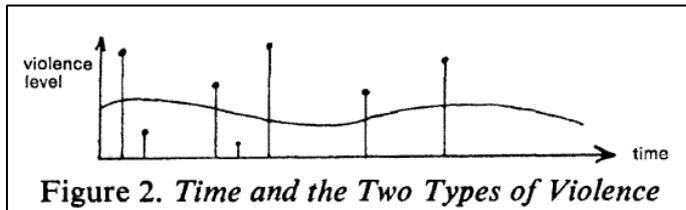
2.3A Different forms of violence

What is violence and what different forms can it take? This will be illustrated by explaining in what way people can be harmed by a structural or cultural form of violence. The founding

father of the concepts of structural and cultural violence is Galtung (1969; 1990). As a starting point, Galtung (1969) claims “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations” (Galtung, 1969: 168). This broad notion not only entails intended violence committed by an actor, but also includes highly unacceptable social orders. Six dimensions of violence can make it more clear what violence is, according to Galtung (1969: 169-172). These dimensions are distinctions in which violence can differentiate.

1. Physical vs. psychological violence. Physical violence means people get hurt somatically, up until the point of being killed. Physical violence is directed at the body, whereas psychological violence is directed at the soul. This form of violence serves to decrease mental potentialities.
2. Negative vs. positive approach to influence. A person can be influenced by being punished when he does something that is considered wrong by the influencer. But, on the other hand, a person can also be influenced by being rewarded for something the influencer considers to be right.
3. Is there an object that is hurt? Even if no object is visibly hurt, the threat of physical violence and the indirect threat of mental violence can constrain human action. For instance, the destruction of things can be seen as psychological violence, since it can serve as a threat of possible destruction of a person and/or the destruction of something that is dear to a person who owns that something.
4. Is there a subject who acts? Direct, or personal violence is committed by an actor, whereas structural violence is not committed by an actor, it is indirect. Violence is built into the structure and manifests itself as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.
5. Intended vs. unintended violence. This notion is based on the idea that not all violence is intended. When no one can be found guilty for committing violence, that does not mean the violence is not there (structural violence).
6. Manifest vs. the latent level of violence. Manifest violence can be observed, whereas latent violence is not there yet, but might easily take place. A situation is so unstable that actual realization (manifestation) is likely to occur. Mechanisms that keep a situation stable are missing. Thus, just because there is no manifestation of direct violence, does not mean there still cannot be any latent violence.

The importance of the differences between structural and direct violence is illustrated in Figure 2. The ongoing, flowing line represents structural violence; even though it might not be as visible, it is still there. The reoccurring onetime instances of direct violence, represented by arrows, are important, but they do not stand alone. They are part of a larger, structural form of violence.



Source: Galtung, 1969: 173

In line with Figure 2, Žižek (2009) explains the importance of understanding what he refers to as systemic violence. Systemic violence is seen as the consequences of economic and political systems. Subjective violence is visible, whereas objective violence is not. They

“cannot be perceived from the same standpoint: subjective violence is experienced as such against the background of a non-violent zero-level. It is seen as a perturbation of the “normal,” peaceful state of things. However, objective violence is precisely the violence inherent to this ‘normal’ state of things” (Žižek, 2009: 2).

An analysis and explanation of systemic violence is needed to explain the otherwise ‘irrational’ explosions of subjective violence (Žižek, 2009).

Other than economic and political systematic social orders, systemic or structural violence can also be found in culture. Galtung (1990) presents the concept of ‘cultural violence’. It is defined as “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence” (Galtung, 1990: 291). It is important to note that it is not entire cultures, but aspects of culture that can be seen as violent.

2.3B Escalation of violence

After addressing the different forms of violence, it is important to explain why it is that people come to use violence against each other or violate one another. The process of stigmatization plays an important role in this respect. The notion of social stigma is the overarching concept here, “of being labeled, negatively stereotyped, excluded, discriminated against, and low in social status and power” (Major & O’Brien, 2005: 410). Stigmata can be associated with gender or ethnic groups, but also with, for instance, mental illnesses. A stigma is public, since the general public stigmatizes people with particular characteristics; it is also personal, in the form of self-stigma, since the public stigmata get internalized and the person who is stigmatized loses self-esteem. According to Corrigan et al. (2003), public stigmata have three dimensions: stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination.

Stereotypes can be defined as “collectively held beliefs about the members of social groups”. The purpose of those beliefs is the categorization of information which allows someone to create impressions and expectations of people who belong to a certain group. Knowing about a set of stereotypes does not necessarily mean people think they are valid. However, people who are prejudiced, foster negative stereotypes and as a result they experience negative emotional reactions. Lastly, discrimination can be defined as “a

behavioral response based on prejudice towards a minority group that may result in harm towards the members of that group” (Corrigan et al., 2003: 163, 164). Discrimination can take several forms, for instance segregation, hostile behavior or the withholding of help (Corrigan et al., 2003).

The misperception “of the pedophile as a predatory sex offender is so commonly evoked in public debate that it has become a truism in Western cultures” (Jahnke, Imhoff & Hoyer, 2015). Since pedophilia is associated with criminality (being sexual abuse of children), it is related to discrimination. According to Jahnke et al. (2015), discrimination comes in the form of social distance, which represents a rejection of people with the stigma of pedophilia at various levels of personal contact.

A quantitative study by Jahnke et al. (2015) shows that in comparison with attitudes towards other deviant groups (alcohol abusers, sexual sadists and people with antisocial tendencies), pedophiles have always received more negative reactions. Approximately twenty per cent of the respondents agreed that pedophiles should better be dead, even if they had never committed any criminal acts. Affective reactions towards pedophiles that were given, were strongly related to social distance. Overall, the results show that pedophiles are a stigmatized group of people that most likely suffer from fierce discrimination (Jahnke et al., 2015).

Discrimination can be seen as a form of structural violence, since it is based on an unequal power structure which leads to unequal life chances (Galtung, 1969). Why is it, subsequently, that people commit direct, visible violence towards others? Violence can escalate, because of emotions that follow four steps, according to Hamelink (2011), who brings up the notion of the ‘spiral of escalation’:

1. Anxiety. The feeling of ‘emotional strain’ that leads people to feel they have not only lost control over their lives but also a sense of meaning. Emotions that can be experienced in anxiety are “fear, anger, humiliation, shame, and grief” (Hamelink, 2011: 22). Although historically societies have probably always known anxiety, in modern societies anxiety has become a more prominent feature. There is a shared anxiety about several themes, such as economics, epidemic diseases and terrorism. Overall, the world is seen as a dangerous place. Therefore, anxiety leads to the basic human need for security. Another basic human need of great importance is territorial integrity. People want control over their own territory. A reason anxiety plays such a large role is because people feel they have to compete with each other. That competition leads to the creation of in- and out-groups. “Anxiety is a social construction that is probably significantly mediated through a pervasive media discourse about anxiety that has little synchronicity with real-life events” (Hamelink, 2011: 26).
2. Agitation. Through agitation anxiety is transformed into aggressive behavior. People that share a particular characteristic (in this case being a pedophile) are grouped together and “de-individuated and portrayed as dangerous threats” (Hamelink, 2011: 26). “Agitation means that the [a] leader expresses anger, identifies the object of anger (the others), and uses inflammatory rhetoric that activates anger and aggression that should lead to the elimination of the object of their anxiety” (Hamelink, 2011: 27). In

the case of pedophiles, possible leaders can be whistleblowers, those who for instance publicize personal details about (alleged) pedophiles on the internet.

3. Alienation. Alienation means creating fundamental detachments between opponents. This process entails the dehumanization of a particular group of people, which makes it easier for others to kill them. Although Hamelink (2011) refers to killing, this step is still interesting for this research, since it can also explain why people are willing to structurally exclude a specific group of people. As mentioned before, violence can take several forms.
4. Accusation in a mirror. The last step of people killing (or in this case violate or exclude) the other, is justification. "This can be achieved through the reversal of morally acceptable accusations. We accuse them of threatening us"(Hamelink, 2011: 29). The other's threat makes killing him or her an act of self-defense (Hamelink, 2011).

According to Ten Hag (2012), the societal context in the Netherlands is composed by a strong domination of sexuality on the one hand and the hunt for pedosexual offenders on the other hand. This hunt overshadows every other form of sexual abuse or involuntary sexual contacts.

"Everything that raises questions about rampant and problematic sexual activities around us seems to be shifted on a non-nuanced conviction of the child molester. In the public opinion the image prevails of the sexual pervert, who is incurably ill and who withdraws oneself in pedophile networks, deep and intangible hidden away on the internet"⁴ (Ten Hag, 2012: 183).

A social phenomenon that fits this attitude, comes in the term of 'moral panic'. Moral panic is "a high level of agitation about phenomena that on second thought seem to be less malicious and less exceptional" (Ten Hag, 2012: 190). Moral panic can be divided into several phases. First, what happened in incidental cases is being enlarged by placing it in line with some controversial cases. So the phenomenon, in this case pedophilia, is being broadened to pedosexuality. Second, the government uses this base of enlarged incidental cases to create new legislation. This legislation leads to a large group of both offenders and victims that are affected disproportionally. Although the moral panic about pedosexual abuse is based on reality, below the surface, society seems to have a bigger problem with, what is referred to as 'the sexualization of society'. According to Ten Hag (2012), exclusive attention to pedosexual abuse is at the expense of other, perhaps even larger problems in the area of sexuality in society.

The theoretical notions regarding the role of identity, territory and conflict in issues surrounding pedophilia, will be present throughout the rest of the research. The notions are the starting point for the qualitative content analysis and are the foundation of the questions that were asked to the respondents. That way the analysis is placed in a conflict studies related context.

⁴ "Alles wat vragen oproept over ongebreidelde en problematische seksuele activiteiten om ons heen lijkt afgewenteld te worden op een ongenueanceerde veroordeling van de kindmisbruiker. In de publieke opinie heerst het beeld van de seksuele pervert, die ongeneeslijk ziek is en die zich ophoudt in pedofiele netwerken, diep en ongrijpbaar verborgen op Internet" (Ten Hag, 2012: 183).

3 The Research

3.1 Methodology

A research strategy refers to a general orientation towards conducting social research (Bryman, 2008). In this case the relationship between theory and research is inductive, which means observations are the starting point of the analysis. Observations lead to patterns and those lead to conclusions or theory (Bryman, 2008). The approach that best suits the operationalization of my research question is a case study. A case study is a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, 2008). A case study is relevant here, since the research question requires an extensive and in-depth description of a social phenomenon. Another dimension of a case study is that it investigates a contemporary issue (Yin, 2014).

I will adhere to the ontological perspective of constructivism, since the study focuses on the meanings of social phenomena that are being accomplished by social actors. The epistemological perspective that fits this research is interpretivism, since in analyzing data I will be looking for the subjective meaning social actors give to their surroundings and their own lives. The data are primarily qualitative, but to some extent quantitative as well. The analysis of newspaper articles is based on a numeric count of content, which is the quantitative part of the data gathering. Yet, this content will be analyzed qualitatively as well, since it needs in-depth and verbal explaining through qualitative content analysis. Furthermore, qualitative interviews have been conducted.

3.2 Research methods

The gathering of data consisted of two parts; first a generalized structural approach through a quantitative/qualitative content analysis, followed by a more personal, subjective part based on in-depth interviews.

3.2A Qualitative content analysis

In order to answer the question: ‘What is the discourse surrounding pedophilia in Dutch society?’, an overview of the content in newspaper articles that concern pedophilia is given by conducting a qualitative content analysis. Qualitative, or ethnographic content analysis,

“follows a recursive and reflexive movement [...]. The aim is to be systematic and analytic, but not rigid. Categories and variables initially guide the study, but others are allowed and expected to emerge during the study, including an orientation to constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, setting, styles, images, meanings, and nuances. [...] ECA employs some initial categorization, but there is greater potential for refinement of those categories and the generation of new ones” (Bryman, 2008: 531).

Although the categories are not rigid, a primary schedule is needed to start the analysis. Therefore, the researcher has to become familiar with the context of the documents and focus on a small number of documents in order to extract categories which then serve as the starting point of the analysis. As mentioned by Bryman (2008), in a further analysis it is possible to add more categories. The analysis is concerned with the themes around which the discourse is developed. It is a way of determining what the character of the discourse is (Ruiz Ruiz, 2009).

It is interesting and necessary to gather data over a longer period of time, in order to be able to see developments, connections, contradictions or other patterns. Therefore I have used newspaper articles dating from January 2005 to December 2014 that appear to be related to the issue of pedophilia. I chose to only search for the word 'pedophile', since that gives a general image of how pedophiles are presented in newspapers. It is also a way to define the research specifically to pedophiles. The sources (newspapers) have to be diverse. Articles have been selected from both so-called 'quality' and more 'sensationalist' newspapers. To prevent the volume of data to become too large, only articles from the newspapers Trouw and NRC Handelsblad ('quality'), and Telegraaf and Het Algemeen Dagblad ('sensationalist') have been taken into account.

In addition to finding out which themes the discourse is centered on, it is necessary to take into account what is suggested by the newspaper articles. People are continuously making categories in their life environment, in order to create a social reality; people make use of social categorization (Van den Berg, 2004). Therefore I did not only note the theme of the article, but also in what way the article refers to the subject that is at display. As part of the analysis I have also selected twenty articles for a further, more in-depth interpretation of the text. They will serve as an illustration of the way themes and words are being presented.

These articles have been picked per newspaper by selecting each first article of the third month of the last five years (2010-2014). The time period that was chosen therefore represents a more recent image. The time span of ten years was chosen, so the qualitative content analysis illustrates a various, yet continuous discourse. The time span of five years for further analysis of twenty articles was chosen, since that illustrates a more current use of language. This is because the goal of this research is to find out what the recent discourse is. By making the selection in this way, some articles concern the same issue, which makes it easier to compare the specific use of words among newspapers.

Furthermore, I followed the next four steps. First, I have critically read what is written, while being aware of my own assumptions while reading the text and its content. Being critical also means being aware of details: what is actually being said? Second, the categories of interest have been organized by coding them. Third, I have searched for a "pattern in the data, which can either be variability (differences within and between the data accounts) and consistency" (Gill, 2000: 180). Fourth, the functions of the discourse have been identified. In addition, it is important to be aware of what is *not* being said (Gill, 2000).

Lastly, I have combined the theoretical base to the data that were found, in order to connect the data to the wider theoretical context. After this more general and structural image of the discourse concerning pedophiles, I have added social context by conducting in-depth interviews with the subjects themselves.

3.2B Semi-structured interviews

The second part of the gathering of data is more subjective, focused on personal experiences of the subjects of this case. The most convenient method for this case is the semi-structured interview, since it can combine the theoretical literature in the questions with practical answers about someone's life (Bryman, 2008). Topics on which questions have been based,⁵ were formulated before the actual interview took place, in order to make a connection to the relevant literature and scientific findings. Those topics served as guidelines for the interview, but were not fixed. That way the interviewer and the interviewees were able to go into unforeseen topics as well. With this approach the data show a clear image of what is being researched in relation to the concepts used in the theoretical framework.

In-depth interviews of about one hour were conducted with ten different people. The subjects are individuals who describe themselves as pedophiles. The subjects were accessed through snowball sampling (Bryman, 2008), which means that through several gatekeepers subjects were asked whether or not they wanted to participate in an interview. In order to connect with pedophiles, I visited three events on the subject of pedophilia. During two of these events I was able to meet pedophiles who wanted to participate in an interview. One of them forwarded me to the website *pedofilie.nl*, on which I placed an appeal for respondents on the forum. This led to three more respondents.

One of the gatekeepers is Marthijn Uittenbogaart, one of the founders of the political party 'Partij voor Naasteliefde, Vrijheid en Diversiteit' (Party for Compassion, Freedom and Diversity), a party that could not continue to exist and was dissolved in 2010, because of insufficient support. He was accessed via his e-mail address, given to me by my internship supervisor. Via mr. Uittenboogaart I interviewed three more respondents, including himself. Another gatekeeper was Herman Brouwer, a practitioner working with pedophiles and pedosexuals in the organization 'De Waag Nederland', who helped me to access two more respondents.

After the interviews were conducted, the recorded interviews have been transcribed. The transcripts have been analyzed via coding in the computer program Atlas.ti. The method of coding means the data has been divided into parts that belong to a certain concept that is being researched here. Sub-indicators and indicators have to be recognized and grouped together as dimensions. These dimensions are relevant for the concepts they belong to. In that way, the data could be processed per concept, after which preliminary conclusions could be made in the next chapter. Thereafter, the results are used to answer the sub-questions of the research and in the end to answer the main question by connecting the results to the theoretical framework in general (Bryman, 2008).

3.3 Ethical issues

In general, but certainly in this case, the intentions of the researcher had to be communicated clearly, in order to prevent non-response. I had to make perfectly clear to the respondents that the interviews would be held anonymously and the identity of the subjects would be kept

⁵ See Appendix 8.1

private. In addition, I had to make sure the subjects were aware that the recordings of the interviews were only used by me in order to transcribe the interview. I had to make sure their names or other sensitive characteristics did not come forward in the final written research report.

In the end, one of the respondents did not want to be interviewed face-to-face; therefore the interview was done through e-mail. Although after a first reply I asked several additional questions in order to get more clarity on some points that were still unclear, the interview is not as in-depth as the other, face-to-face, interviews. Also, two of the respondents did not want to be voice-recorded and therefore someone else joined me during the interview to record the interview in writing. This makes those transcripts less extensive than those that were voice-recorded and transcribed afterwards.

Appointments with two of the respondents I was in contact with to conduct an interview, did not go through. One of them stopped responding to the e-mail conversation we were in and the other did not show up at the agreed location we were supposed to meet. I was unable to get in contact with these respondents afterwards. It all illustrates the sensitivity of the subject. Therefore I had to be patient and had to continue looking for other ways to find enough respondents.

Another aspect I had not expected, was the uncomfortable feeling I sensed at times when visiting a respondent. That was not because the respondents made me feel uncomfortable, but because of the fact that my name can be found on the internet in relation to this subject. At times that made me wonder whether people with bad intentions were to track me down. This turned out to be an unnecessary worry, but it does illustrate how fear of the response of others can develop and be of influence mentally. It made me experience, albeit in no comparison, a small sense of how the respondents can feel at times.

4 Results

In order to answer the research questions, data have been gathered through an analysis of newspaper articles as well as in-depth interviews. As a reminder, the main question of this research is: **To what extent is there a conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society?** In the following sections concerning the results, the sub-question ‘What is the discourse surrounding pedophilia in Dutch society?’, will be answered based on the analysis of newspaper accounts, while the sub-question ‘In what way are pedophiles able to live their lives?’, will be answered through an analysis of the in-depth interviews. Combining the data analysis with literature from the theoretical framework, will explain the relevance of the data.

4.1 Qualitative content analysis

4.1A General results

The textual analysis is the base of a contextual and interpretive analysis (Ruiz Ruiz, 2009). It objectifies a total of 719 newspaper articles, by categorizing its contents. The goal of this analysis is to find out in which context pedophiles and/or the issue of pedophilia appear in the newspapers. It will be the basis of analyzing what the discourse surrounding pedophilia is. What is being said about pedophiles and in what way is it being said? The search for the word ‘pedophile’ (‘pedofiel’ in Dutch) in the search engine LexisNexis for the newspapers Algemeen Dagblad, De Telegraaf, NRC Handelsblad and Trouw for the past ten years (2005-2014), resulted into 29 broader themes. In figure 3 an explanation of the themes that have been found is given, while figure 4 shows the quantitative results of the analysis.

Content	Explanation
Abuse	A sketch of a case of sexual child abuse
Arrest	Someone who is suspected of sexually abusing a child or children was arrested.
Child pornography	The finding or spreading of child pornography.
Conviction	A trial has come to an end and a verdict has been presented. The articles often outline the abuse that has taken place.
Deepening	There is more than the child molester in the spectrum of pedophilia or pedosexuality. Often scientists or therapists explain the various groups that can be made within the larger group of pedophiles and pedosexuals.
Dismissal	When someone is fired, when it was discovered that person has a record of owning child pornography or pedosexuality.
Diverse	Topics that do not involve pedophiles or pedosexuals directly, but are related to the subject in another way.
Exclusion	Instances in which a pedophile is being excluded from something in particular,

	such as education or internet forums.
Falsely accused/falsely sentenced	Someone who is known as a pedophile with authorities is arrested or in one case sentenced for a crime he did not commit. There was not enough ground for the arrest/sentence, besides being pedophile.
Female suspect	A female that has to go to trial because of pedosexuality. Is set apart, since all the other trial cases, refer to a male suspect.
Help	Ways to help pedophiles or pedosexuals are presented, such as the anonymous phone line Stop it now! or volunteers who serve as a social network for a sentenced pedosexual who returns to society.
Hunt	Someone or a group of people hunts a specific person, or pedophiles or pedosexuals in general.
International	International detection of pedosexuals are presented, where The Netherlands is also involved. Or articles about an arrest or sentencing of a person with the Dutch nationality in a foreign country.
Martijn or PNV	Association Martijn or Partij voor Naastenliefde, Vrijheid en Diversiteit (Party for Compassion, Freedom and Diversity)
Murder	The murdering of a pedosexual.
Neighborhood	How neighborhoods respond to a putative pedophile or sentenced pedosexual who returns to society. Usually neighborhoods respond with nonviolent protest in the form of organizing gatherings to discuss they want the pedophile or pedosexual gone. Or in the form of spreading pamphlets with the personal details of the pedophile or pedosexual. Other times articles present the image of protests with banners and vocal slogans in front of the pedophile or pedosexuals house.
Opinion	Opinionated articles written by an author who is a member of the newspaper's editorial office or an author who is professionally related to the subject of the article. The author clearly states his or her own opinion as opposed to other articles, in which the author tries to present a news fact more in an objective way.
Opinion reader	Remarks and opinions of readers in reaction to articles in the newspaper.
Police investigation	Police investigation related to pedosexuality.
Precautionary measures	Discussions revolving measures, local, but also legal, that are taken when those with a conviction that is related to pedosexuality return into society. There is a close connection to issues in the neighborhood and exclusion. Mostly mayors are involved and in some cases politicians.
Privacy	The spreading of personal information of people who are pedophile or people who have a past in child pornography or pedosexuality, usually on the internet. These articles are closely related to so called 'pedo-hunting'.
Recidivism	In these articles the main objective is outlining in what way people think about the chance of recidivism.

Rights	Disputes about whether or not certain rights can be taken away from pedophiles, such as the right to education, the right to travel, the right to a bank account. The theme is closely related to exclusion.
Roman Catholic church	Pedophilia or pedosexuality in the church system.
Scientific research	Scientific research that revolves around pedophilia is presented.
Suicide	A pedosexual who committed suicide
Television	Articles that not only present a certain television show about pedophilia or pedosexuality, but go deeper into describing what is being shown in that television show.
Trial	The tracking of certain trials and illustration of parts of the trial process. As in articles about conviction, the sexual child abuse is repeatedly described.
Violence	Articles about people who respond to a pedophile, a pedosexual or someone who is close to a pedophile or pedosexual with violence. There is no direct violence to the subject, but mostly the racking of or burning of the subjects belongings, such as a house or a car.

Figure 3. Verbal results qualitative content analysis

1	Content	Algemeen Dagblad	NRC Handelsblad	De Telegraaf	Trouw	Total	...
2	Neighborhood	34	20	58	20	132	
3	Trial	25	10	37	6	78	
4	Precautionary measures	16	5	21	16	58	
5	Opinion reader	27	3	14	6	50	
6	Opinion	7	19	6	16	48	
7	Conviction	11	3	23	6	43	
8	Violence	12	5	10	2	29	
9	Arrest	3	1	21	3	28	
10	Rights	10	6	6	4	26	
11	International	7	1	7	10	25	
12	Deepening	5	8	4	6	23	
13	Television	4	6	6	3	19	
14	Recidivism	10	4	4	1	19	
15	Privacy	14	1	2		17	
16	Martijn of PNV	3	3	4	6	16	
17	Police investigation	3	1	10	1	15	
18	Falsely accused/falsely sentenced	1	2	6	5	14	
19	Child pornography	7		2	4	13	
20	Diverse	2	1	5	2	10	
21	Murder	3	1	4	2	10	
22	Help	6	2		2	10	
23	Exclusion	2			6	8	
24	Scientific research	1	3		3	7	
25	Roman Catholic church	1	2		3	6	
26	Hunt	5			1	6	
27	Dismissal	2		1		3	
28	Abuse A scetch	3				3	
29	Female suspect			2		2	
30	Suicide			1		1	
31	Total	224	107	254	134	719	

Figure 4. Quantitative results qualitative content analysis

It is important to note that these various content themes do not exclude each other. In fact, the themes do overlap within the articles. A distinction has been made based on the main theme of each article. In order to create a better structured overview, the themes can be grouped together according to the similar issues they discuss. As is shown in Appendix 8.2, this leads to seven main categories that occur in the following order:

1. Violation of the law 238
2. Territory 213
3. Personal statements 98
4. Human Rights 53
5. Nuance 40
6. Direct conflict 40
7. Others 35

What do these various terms and outcomes mean? The overall image presented in newspapers is the image of law violations surrounding sexual child abuse (238). The second most presented image in the newspapers revolves around ‘territorial issues’ (213), thus problems that arise in the neighborhood when someone with a pedosexual past lives there, as well as how to handle that issue and problems attached to it (precautionary measures, hunt, privacy). These two categories combined add up to 451 newspaper articles, more than half of the total number of articles (719) that were found to include the word ‘pedophile’.

This does not mean, however, that the four newspapers that have been analyzed all show the same trend in results. As is visible in figure 4, *Algemeen Dagblad* primarily presents articles about problems in the neighborhood (34), reader’s opinions (27) and trials (25). This is substantially more than the deepening articles (5) and scientific research (1) that is presented. *De Telegraaf* shows a similar ratio: there are far less deepening (4) and scientific research (3) articles in comparison to the most common themes, which are neighborhood (58), trial (37), conviction (23), precautionary measures (21) and arrest (21). The most common themes presented in *Trouw* are problems in the neighborhood (20), precautionary measures (16) and opinions (16), in contrast to less deepening (6) and scientific research (3) articles. Finally, *NRC Handelsblad* differs from the latter, since there are about as many articles on problems in the neighborhood (20) as on opinions by journalists and correspondents of the newspaper (19). There are also about as many articles on trials (10) as deepening articles (8). Overall, this creates a more diverse image of news that contains the word ‘pedophile’. Notable is the fact that *De Telegraaf* reports on arrests far more than the other three newspapers, namely 21 times compared to only one (*NRC Handelsblad*), three (*Algemeen Dagblad*) and three (*Trouw*). *Algemeen Dagblad* presents more reader’s opinions than the other newspapers, namely 27 compared to three (*NRC Handelsblad*), 14 (*De Telegraaf*) and six (*Trouw*).

In total, only 40 out of the 719⁶ articles that were found present a nuanced image of pedophiles through deepening articles, scientific research or articles about possibilities to help pedophiles and/or pedosexuals. The rest of the articles, in general, present a rather one-sided image of pedophiles and pedosexuals and the reactions to them. In the following sections

⁶ See Appendix 8.2

these results will be elaborated upon, by making a distinction between the recurring concepts of identity, territory and conflict.

4.1B Identities

This section illustrates in which way pedophiles are presented and what the consequences of that image are. First of all, it should be stressed that in all of these articles the word ‘pedophile’ has been used. As stated before (Chapter 2), pedophilia is a sexual age orientation (Seto, 2012) and is defined as “a persistent sexual interest in prepubescent children, as reflected by one’s sexual fantasies, urges, thoughts, arousal, or behavior” (Seto, 2009: 392). It is clear not every pedophile is a sexual child offender and not every sexual child offender is a pedophile (Seto, 2010; Lautmann, 1994). By definition a correct image of a pedophile would then be that of a person with a sexual interest in children, which is not equivalent to a sexual child offender.

The newspaper data that was found, shows a different image, however, since the large majority of the articles directly connects the word ‘pedophile’ with sexual child abuse. Overall it can be stated that only in those articles dealing with the themes of help, Martijn or PNVD, deepening, television and scientific research, the word ‘pedophile’ was being used correctly; meaning that the definition of pedophile is in line with the content of the article.

The other articles refer to ‘pedophile’, and at times ‘sentenced pedophile’, incorrectly, since those themes revolve around cases in which a form of pedosexuality is being presented. That is incorrect, since it is taken for granted that those who commit a form of sexual child abuse are pedophiles, whilst that does not have to be the case. In addition, the term ‘sentenced pedophile’ is misleading, since it is based on the underlying implication that being a pedophile is prosecutable. By presenting it in that way, being a pedophile is unnecessarily connected to a criminal offense.

The twenty articles that were selected for a more in-depth interpretation can give further insight into previous claims. Seven articles present cases that revolve around the violation of the law. Five of them include the term ‘pedophile’ in the title: “Dutch pedophile arrested in Cambodia”, “Pedophile suspected of abuse in probation”, “Dutch pedophile caught with two orphans”, “Dutch pedophile 37 years in Thai prison”, and “Pedophile made more victims; Businessman from Rijswijk asks for treatment himself”. One title refers to ‘pedo’, an abbreviation of pedophile: “Dutch pedo caught in Cambodia”. The other title is “Swimming teacher with child pornography gets 120 hours community service”.

The extended text of the articles connects pedophiles to sexual child abuse as well, for instance as follows:

The businessman and former politician (VVD) Huub T. from Rijswijk who is suspected of pedophilia, made more under aged victims than for those which he is locked up now, according to judicial authority.

The subject is suspected of pedophilia while pedophilia is not a crime.

Some of the articles are presented in sensational tones. The words that give emotional value to the sentence are put in italics.

Dutchman Willem Gerard Knoppien (64) *disappears* behind Thai bars for 37 years.⁷

And

[...] the 63 year old entrepreneur, who already *dwells* behind bars since October 5, 2009.⁸

And

An alleged Dutch pedophile was *caught red handed* last Friday in Cambodia. He was *about to molest* two girls of 9 and 13 years old.⁹

And

“The man was arrested on a *far-off beach* with two underaged girls (12 and 14 years old). – The man was *about to molest* the children. He was *caught red handed*,” according to Heleen Slob of Terres des Hommes.¹⁰

Notable is the fact that in the two last articles, referring to the same case, the presented ages of the girls differ. This raises the question: what is the value of adding the ages? Are they added in order to create more shock? As can be expected, Trouw and NRC Handelsblad use a more ‘neutral’ vocabulary to present the same cases:

A convicted Dutch pedophile who was still in his probation period, was arrested in Bulgaria on suspicion of child abuse. [...] According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the man was arrested with two orphan children in a hotel room in Stara Zagora.¹¹

and

A 46 year old Dutchman was arrested in Bulgaria. He was with two little orphans in a hotel in Stara Zagora.¹² On the other hand, the article’s title: “Dutch pedophile caught with two orphans” is more sensational.

The articles that are more in-depth, show some other interesting manifestations. The article “Pedophilia is no disease, but an orientation” is an opinionating article written by Reverend Hans Visser. It contains the following quotes:

Society needs to learn to cope with people who have a different sexual orientation, as wisely as possible. On an emotional level one might live on a large distance to these people. But they are fellow citizens, who often behave responsibly.

⁷ Algemeen Dagblad, January 21, 2012: “Nederlandse pedofiel 37 jaar in Thaise cel”

⁸ De Telegraaf, January 14, 2010: “Pedofiel maakte meer slachtoffers; Rijswijkse zakenman vraagt zelf om behandeling”

⁹ De Telegraaf, January 8, 2013: “Nederlandse pedo betrapt in Cambodja”

¹⁰ Algemeen Dagblad, January 8, 2013: “Nederlandse pedofiel in Cambodja opgepakt”

¹¹ NRC Handelsblad, January 10, 2014: “Pedofiel in proeftijd verdacht van misbruik”

¹² Trouw, January 10, 2014: “Nederlandse pedofiel gepakt met twee wezen”

And

Treatment of pedophiles is essential. Many now end up in the TBS or lifelong in the longstay. (Which are sentences for those who suffer from mental inadequate development or pathological disorder)

The latter is summarized by the newspaper redaction with:

Pedophiles need help. Who teaches them to handle children with respect?¹³

The article as such is confusing, however, since the term ‘pedophile’ is used for both people who have a sexual age orientation and are able to cope with that in a responsible way, as well as for those who have been convicted for a crime in the pedosexual spectrum. The summary by the newspaper redaction claims all pedophiles need to get help in order for them to learn how to interact with children. It is assumed that pedophiles are unable to interact with children in a respectful way.

An interview with Jan Hendriks, who works with people that watch child pornography, starts with the title: “A motive to quit is difficult to offer, says the practitioner”. The title is based on:

I try to convince them that they need to quit. You have to offer them a motive. That is damn hard sometimes.

This is another example of how statements get generalized. Notably, the article only refers to men. Even though the practitioner explains there are different types of pedophiles, women are completely left out. Although there is nuance in this article, there is still an overgeneralization, such as in this quote:

Why do they come to therapy?

Usually because they got caught. Treatment is then part of the sentence. Sometimes they come more or less voluntary. For instance, when a wife found out her husband watches child pornography and said: You get yourself treated or our relationship is finished.¹⁴

This makes it seem as if nobody really wants treatment voluntarily. It assumes they themselves do not want to be treated and are happy with their sexual orientation.

What is the effect of the image of pedophiles the analyzed newspapers present? As explained in the theoretical framework, the image of pedophiles can be a stigma when the three dimensions of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination are applicable. In addition, a stigma is both public (the general public stigmatizes people with particular characteristics) and personal (public stigmata get internalized and the person who is stigmatized loses self-esteem) (Corrigan et al., 2003). The personal aspect of stigmatization will become visible through the in-depth interviews. First, is the image of pedophiles in the newspapers in line with public stigmatization?

¹³ Trouw, February 10, 2011: “Pedofilie is geen ziekte, maar een geaardheid”

¹⁴ NRC Handelsblad, March 17, 2011: “Een motief om te stoppen is lastig te bieden, zegt de behandelaar”

In short, the word ‘pedophile’ is used primarily in newspaper articles with a negative content. In addition, there is an overgeneralization of the word ‘pedophile’, since it is being used to address both pedophiles and sexual child abusers. The image of pedophiles as presented in the analyzed newspapers can therefore be seen as stereotyping. The categorization of information “allows people to create impressions and expectation of people who belong to a certain group”. That leads to “collectively held beliefs about the members of social groups” (Corrigan et al., 2003: 163, 164). When people are prejudiced about stereotypes, they experience negative emotional reactions. The latter can lead to discrimination, which can take several forms, such as segregation, hostile behavior or the withholding of help (Corrigan et al., 2003). Whether or not this is the case for the respondents will become clear in section 4.2.

4.1C Territory

As noted, the notion of ‘territory’ plays an important role in the newspaper articles, since it concerns 213 out of 719 articles. Substantively the articles revolve around problems in specific areas or cities, because of the presence of someone who has been convicted for a form of sexual child abuse. There is a clear recurrence of negative emotional reactions in the form of physical group protests, property that is being destroyed or in a few cases direct physical harm. It is important to note that in all these cases there is no evidence of a clear government policy about how to react to problem in the neighborhood, since it is the local mayor who decides whether or not a pedophile can stay or not.

In addition, there is a reaction against to those who have been convicted for sexual child abuse in the form of taking verbal action through precautionary and/or legal measures, such as residents who spread pamphlets or mayors who want the legal authority to be informed about the return of a convict. The latter can be compared to the definition of discrimination by Corrigan et al. (2003), since there is hostile behavior and segregation towards specific persons who share the characteristic of having a history in sexual child abuse.

From the articles that were selected for further analysis six concern the neighborhood and one primarily concerns violence in the neighborhood. The article “Witchhunt for swimpedo”, is a reference to physical group protest. It is about the demonstration of about three hundred people in the city of Leiden in front of the house where the convicted pedosexual Benno L. is living. The newspaper quotes reactions of the local residents. These statements may not be the general opinion of people in the Netherlands, yet they are illustrative of the type of rhetoric that is being used.

[...] an outraged local resident. This man deserves to be chased for the rest of his life. A 58 year old resident of Leiden calls L. incurable ill. Therefore he should not walk around freely.¹⁵

Another example illustrates how negative emotional reactions can lead to physical fights and how the role of the pedosexual is presented. Two articles concern the same event in different newspapers. *Algemeen Dagblad* notes:

¹⁵ De Telegraaf, February 17, 2014: “Heksenjacht op zwempedo”

Visit by pedophile escalates in Emmen [...]. A local resident, mother of a 7 year old girl, kicked against the car in which the man was sitting on Sunday. Thereafter he got out and hit the woman in her face.¹⁶

And De Telegraaf notes:

according to the police one of the local residents saw the pedophile sitting in the car. Some neighbors then ran outside to seek redress. There was kicking against the car and the pedo physically clashed with the mother.¹⁷

It is remarkable that even though it were the residents that reacted aggressively to the man in the car, the titles “Visit by pedophile escalated in Emmen” and “Unrest in neighborhood because of behavior pedo’s; In the village of Emmen and Heerhugowaard many parents are angry and concerned”, make it seem as if it was the pedophile that was violent from the start. In addition, the articles differ in claiming who was involved. The first article claims it was only a mother, whilst the second claims it was a group of people who kicked against the car. The article from De Telegraaf is presented together with another story about a man who wrote a letter to people in his neighborhood; and it summarizes:

The 55 year old pedophile, Harry van V. from Heerhugowaard has generated the anger of his neighbors via a letter in which Van V. elaborates on a new indecency case in which he is the suspect.

Both events have no connection, apart from the fact that it involves two events in which a man who has previously been convicted for pedosexuality plays a role. Yet, they are grouped together as if it is one news item. In addition, it is interesting that later on in the article it turns out not all neighbors are afraid, as is assumed in the title:

The research of the possible new indecency case with the two little brothers, led to a lot of commotion in the residential complex, but at the same time it also caused divisions. Young parents are terrified that Van V. will seek contact with their children or already has done so. Others are angry about all the fuss and take sides for the man they describe as extremely friendly.

Another article explaining why Edwin V. had to leave his house opens with the title: “Pedophile from Haarlem has to leave his rental house”.¹⁸ This article claims Edwin V. has to leave his house, since he caused serious disturbances in the neighborhood; he has also shown aggressive behavior. He did not cause these disturbances because he is a pedophile, however, yet he is referred to as a pedophile. This referral stems from the fact that he has been convicted for sexual child abuse in the past. It raises the question: would there have been an article if he had not been convicted? The reason he would have to leave his house would be

¹⁶ Algemeen Dagblad, January 5, 2011: “Bezoek van pedofiel escaleert in Emmen”

¹⁷ De Telegraaf, January 5, 2011: “Onrust in buurt door gedrag pedo’s; In Emmen en Heerhugowaard zijn veel ouders boos en bezorgd”

¹⁸ Trouw, January 22, 2013: “Haarlemse pedofiel moet zijn huurwoning verlaten”

the same. Does the fact that he has been convicted in the past make it more justifiable that he had to leave his house?

All in all, the various examples presented show how rhetoric can present a negative stereotype of a pedophile as someone who is a danger to a specific territory. In these cases the pedophile is not only a sexual child abuser, but also someone who causes distress to people in a certain neighborhood. Given this, combined with the fact that a large amount of newspaper articles is concerned with territorial issues in general, it is interesting to return to Sibley (1995) who claims that the home and the neighborhood are both potential spaces of exclusion. Segregation as a form of discrimination (Corrigan et al., 2003) is evident, given the fact that the newspapers illustrate the neighborhood as a place of conflict between residents and those who have a history in sexual child abuse.

According to Hamelink (2011), communities share anxiety about several themes. Overall, the world is seen as a dangerous place. Therefore anxiety leads to the basic human need for security and territorial integrity. People want control over their own territory. A reason anxiety plays such a large role is because people feel they have to compete with each other. That competition leads to the creation of in- and out-groups. “Anxiety is a social construction that is probably significantly mediated through a pervasive media discourse about anxiety that has little synchronicity with real-life events” (Hamelink, 2011: 26). Therefore, even though the themes and the rhetoric that are being used to present issues surrounding pedophilia can seem as ordinary, this should not be accepted without critical reflection. The image that is presented in the newspapers is a social construction and does not have to be taken for granted.

4.1D Conflict

In total, ten articles were found to describe the murdering of a pedosexual and 29 describe visible violence. The violence at display is not direct violence targeted at the pedosexual physically, but consists of the racking or burning of the subjects’ belongings, such as a house or a car. An exception is the physical violence directed against the daughter of a sentenced pedosexual, who got beaten up because of her father’s situation. The number of newspaper articles dedicated to direct visible violence against pedosexuals is small in comparison to the total number of articles that have been found. Therefore it cannot be stated that the newspaper articles illustrate structurally recurrent direct conflict.

Yet, why is it that instances of visible violence do occur? Hamelink (2011) describes how people that share a particular characteristic are grouped together and “de-individuated and portrayed as dangerous threats” (Hamelink, 2011: 26). Inflammatory rhetoric is used to activate “anger and aggression that should lead to the elimination of the object of their anxiety” (Hamelink, 2011: 27). Schinkel and Van Houdt’s (2010) theory on responsabilization of citizenship is interesting to add in this context. The rise of an emphasis on individual responsibility combined with a rising emphasis on returning to fundamental values, influences people both on a national as well as a local level. People feel the need to take matters in their own hands and protect themselves, as well as eliminate what is different

from them. Both feelings of individual responsibility (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010) and anxiety leads to a need to be in control over territory (Hamelink, 2011) that people feel possessive about (Sibley, 1995).

The results of the qualitative content analysis have shown pedophiles are presented as pedosexuals. The truth about pedophiles as a diverse group with many plural identities is being left out. Even though the largest part of the articles that were found in fact revolve around issues due to the presence of pedosexuals, they are relevant for this research, since pedophiles and pedosexuals are presented as one and the same group. In what way this stigmatization effects pedophiles themselves will be illustrated in the following section, which describes the interviews that were held with the respondents.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews

The analysis of the interviews can be summarized according to several main themes that can be traced back to the theoretical framework. The questionnaire was divided into questions on conflict, identity and territory as shown in Appendix 8.1. Since the previous themes do not fully cover what has been answered to the questions asked, those themes will be divided into several sub-themes in this section. The interviews serve to answer both the sub-question: ‘In what way are pedophiles able to live their lives?’, as well as the main question: ‘To what extent is there a conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society?’

4.2A Identities

In total, ten respondents were interviewed. One of them is female, the other nine are male. The way they live their lives is very diverse. A short description of the background of the respondents, is given in Appendix 8.4. Since identity is a plural concept, the description only illustrates a basic overview of the respondents’ personal identity. Their sexual and social identity are illustrated more in-depth.

Sexual identity

What pedophilia is and what it entails differs for every respondent. For seven out of ten respondents pedophilia is a feeling of love towards children. Those respondents have been or are able to fall in love with a specific child or children. There is also a sexual dimension, but the feelings of love are more important to them. For Respondent #10 pedophilia is more related to sexual attraction towards children. There are also warm feelings involved, but once he is in a relationship with specific children (children of family members or friends), there are no sexual feelings. His pedophile feelings are related to watching a mild form of child pornography. For Respondent #9 pedophilia is only related to feelings of lust and he has never been in love.

Four respondents clearly state pedophilia is something a person is born with. Four others think pedophilia develops through both inborn as well as ambient conditions. The other

two are in doubt about how it arises. Two out of ten think it is not even important to know how pedophilia occurs. None of the respondents thinks pedophilia is a disorder that can be cured or changed. Four respondents made it clear they did not experience any troubles growing up, which could have triggered pedophilia. Two respondents had a negative sexual experience as a child, while one respondent had a positive sexual experience as a child. For them, it is not clear whether or not those experiences triggered pedophilia.

Eight respondents became aware of their sexual age orientation during puberty, one respondent became aware of his orientation when he was 12 and the last one became aware of his orientation after puberty. Becoming aware of one's sexual age orientation does not mean the feelings did not exist before, it is only during and after puberty the respondents recognized that (at least part of) their sexual and/or emotional attraction is oriented towards children.

Eight respondents clearly state they do not want sexual relations with children. Two out of those eight have been convicted in the past because of sexual child abuse. For one of them it was thirty years ago for an offense with one boy, while the other has been convicted twice for offenses with several children. Both of them now think their offenses should and will not happen again. Two respondents are more open towards sexual relations with children; they find it important that children have the right to choose whether or not they want to be sexually active with an adult. It should be noted that children's sexual rights, according to them, do not revolve around sex as penetration, but more around sexual learning and development.

The way the respondents perceive their sexual identity reflects the way Seto (2012) describes pedophilia as a sexual age orientation. He claims pedophilia has the same characteristics as sexual gender orientations (heterosexuality and homosexuality). Indeed, the respondents discovered their sexual orientation at an early age. Also, for eight out of ten respondents pedophilia is strongly related to emotional and romantic feelings. And, lastly, the respondents unanimously agree on the fact that pedophilia cannot be 'cured' or simply 'goes away' (Seto, 2012).

In accordance with Diamond (1995), sexual orientation is not always the same as the way someone identifies him/herself sexually. Indeed, even though the respondents are sexually oriented towards certain ages, that does not mean they identify themselves as sexually active pedosexuals. Nevertheless, their sexual orientation does play an important role in the development and adoption of their identity. The way in which sexual identity is experienced not only depends on personal experiences, but also on the connection to and opinion of others. Therefore the following section centers on the respondents' social identity.

Social identity

In this section, the social identity is explored in relation to the sexual identity. To what extent are the respondents able to speak about their sexual orientation? And how does this influence their social life? The respondents differ a great deal in how they cope with their social environment in relation to their sexual identity. Overall, it can be stated that pedophilia is experienced as a taboo. The taboo influences both close relations (family and friends) as well as other relations (social activities, such as work and church).

One respondent only speaks to his professional guidance counselor about his feelings. He finds his sexual orientation has a big impact on his self-esteem. His orientation makes him feel less worthy and that makes him want to compensate other social factors: *“I try to be very good for my friends, in an exaggerated way. At work, you really try your best, always be the best, as a consequence of: well, actually, I am a little less worthy, because I have that. You are unable to share that with anybody. At a certain point Herman is the only one who knows, that is it”* (Respondent #10). He does not want to tell anybody else. On the one hand he thinks sharing would be satisfying, yet on the other hand, it would create a lot of insecurity, since he would be uncertain whether or not a person would be able to keep it secret.

In line with the previous respondent, one other respondent only speaks to one person, her girlfriend, about her sexual orientation. She did share it with her parents once, but they never spoke about it since. She feels socially isolated, because of her small social circle. Sometimes she would like to speak about it with her colleagues, but she feels she cannot, since she works at a primary school. She prefers not to be in contact with other pedophiles, since *“I notice that gives me more trouble relating to my environment. The more you’re busy with that, the more, yeah, look, now it is one of my hobbies, I always say. If one of my hobbies starts asking the most of your time, it isn’t a hobby anymore. That would make me have more difficulty with it”* (Respondent #8).

The other respondents are more open about their sexual orientation, yet they all carefully chose the people they share it with. Respondent #1 kept his sexual orientation secret until eight years ago. Growing up, he felt distanced from his friends; they would go out, talk to girls. He wanted to join in, but that did not feel right. Friendship became less pleasant. He felt alone. He got depressed and that made him tell his wife. It was hard for their relationship at first, but they decided to stay together. Nowadays, he has told five close friends and he is in contact with a couple of people of the website *pedofilie.nl*. Their reactions were positive and now he is able to speak about it when he feels the need.

His sexual orientation still influences his contact with people. He distances himself from people when he doubts whether they would still treat him the same if they knew: *“That is also how I treat people. You are being nice, but if you were to know this about me, would it still be the same? If I get the impression, that might not be the case, I distance myself”* (Respondent #1). He does not speak about it with his family; his brothers and sisters are unaware. He tried to tell his parents, but it seems they do not want to know: *“I cannot tell my parents, I tried once but I have the feeling they already knew, but didn’t want to accept it. I don’t know whether or not I should burden them with it. They can only be worried anyways”* (Respondent #1).

For Respondent #5 it was the other way around; he used to be more open about his sexuality than he is now. His parents, family, in-laws and friends all know. He spoke about it with his wife from the very beginning. Being open about it, made people understand him and that gave him a feeling of being accepted. It was good for him to not always have a secret. At his job and in his church people are unaware of his sexual orientation. He is more careful with being open about it nowadays. *“Well people, especially at my job, don’t know about my feelings. And, ehm, only my friends do, but new friends not any more either actually. Or, for example, I have two children myself now and they go to school, you meet new people there and they don’t know either of course. Or, of course, a shame actually, that it is required. But*

that, yeah, we keep that a secret now much more. Also to protect my own family” (Respondent #5).

Respondent #4 is also open about his feelings to the people he chooses. There are about thirty people that know about his orientation. His coming out was 25 years ago. At times he finds it difficult to talk about it, since a lot of his friends have families, so he cannot simply start a conversation about it. He has to create a situation in which he is able to speak openly about it. The fact that his family knows about it, makes him feel good, since he does not have to play a game or explain anything.

Respondent #2 finds himself especially amongst ‘pedo-activists’, because of his work to create more knowledge and openness about pedophilia on a professional and societal level. Most people around him, friends and family, know about his feelings, but he does not speak about it with them. He says he does not feel the need to.

Respondent #3 lives with his partner (registered partnership), can talk about it with him and some friends and a part of his family. He is only in contact with people who are able to cope with his orientation. Others avoid him, thus that is not his choice. *“If I am unable to speak about it in general with someone, that person is not my friend, since then they would be friends with someone who is not himself”* (Respondent #3). On the one hand he has enough friends, but on the other hand he feels as if he is a social pariah when it comes to the larger social circle, such as his neighborhood and people who speak up about him in the media.

Respondent #6 told a few friends and his family to a limited extent. Those friends are other pedophiles and one author. He gets support through talking with his friends, but also through writing together or organizing events. He also undertakes activities with them just for fun. Since he was open about it to his family, the relationship became difficult. This will be elaborated on under social conflict (4.2B).

Nobody knew about Respondent #7’s orientation until they were questioned by a probation office after he was arrested. He did not want to burden anyone with it. After he found out, his daughter preferred him being open about it, and he started speaking about it selectively to his brothers and sisters and the church. If anyone has a problem with how he behaves, people can speak to him about it and he is willing to change any unwanted behavior, such as speaking to children. Some people in the neighborhood know, selectively, since not everyone would react calmly.

Respondent #9 has a good friend with whom he talks a lot, and she knows. The board of his church and some other people of his church know. He is open about his past and his orientation. His neighborhood does not know, since that would not add anything. He does not have a lot of contact with his father and brothers; they do know, them knowing is not the reason there is not a lot of contact.

The three respondents who are in a long-term relationship now, and the one who is divorced, all claim it is challenging to be in their relationship, since there is no physical attraction towards the partner. They are able to have sex, but it is difficult to find passion. Two respondents do not want to be in contact with other pedophiles, because they fear there is a risk that contact would be stimulating to, for instance, look at children’s pictures. According to Respondent #7 who guides support groups, pedophilia becomes a problem, a larger problem than it needs to be, when people do not talk about it and carry it with them as a secret.

From this summary it can be derived the social environment does play an important role in the respondents' identities. According to Jenkins (2008), identification, the process of coming to identity, is a construction at both an individual as well as a collective level. There is external identification by others and internal identification of the self and those are intrinsically linked (Jenkins, 2008). Identity is what makes people conscious of who they are and what their place in this world is. People need to be able to identify themselves and others, in order to have a feeling of ontological security, which means a feeling that who they are makes sense (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

This can be found in the data as well, since it seems that those respondents that are able to speak about their sexual identity feel good about that. Recognition of who they are by the people around them gives them a sense of internal and external acceptance. The respondents who do not speak about their sexual identity to others, except for one, are the respondents who feel the most solitude. In addition, even when respondents do have friends and family to speak about who they are, that does not mean they feel accepted by society.

The respondents all agree that it is difficult to be open about their sexual identity, since it is a taboo topic. They are very careful about who they speak to about their sexual identity. Therefore it is necessary to examine why they feel the topic is taboo and in what way their sexual identity leads to problems in their daily lives. The overarching concept of conflict will therefore serve as the leading subject-matter in the following section.

4.2B Conflict

Since conflict can arise in several aspects of someone's life, this section is divided into different types of conflict. Those are only illustrated for those respondents that particular type of conflict is relevant to. Again, the way in which conflict plays a role in the respondents' lives differs.

Internal conflict

For two respondents, being in love leads to internal conflict. Respondent #1 felt very lonely since he was unable to speak to anyone about his feelings. The second time he was in love, was the first time he came out to his wife. He got depressed and had to tell someone. Respondent #8 says that although she has a relationship, hobbies and a job, all those things are somewhat of a substitute for what she really wants, but cannot have. It is simply impossible to fall in love with an eleven year old girl when you are fifty years old yourself. That creates a lot of problems. Therefore she tries to prevent falling in love, but it does happen sometimes.

In general, Respondent #4 feels minority stress, which is "psychosocial stress derived from minority status" (Meyer, 1995: 38). The concept is relevant to gay people or other minority groups that who feel stress because the dominant values are different from their own, minority values (Meyer, 1995). Respondent #4 feel like this since he is confronted with the fact that he is different on a daily basis. Everything he sees around him, is not who he is. "All

commercial posters are directed towards heterosexuals. Even the commercials about retirement, the image is always the same. When we grow up, we go lay on a beach together. The love songs, the arts. They all don't refer to me. If you really listen to the lyrics, there are some things that make you think: this could be me. But, you always notice you are different" and *"There's a lot of hatred, a lot of unfamiliarity. It's not a topic you start discussing in the café when you're sitting at the bar. On the one hand stress, on the other no outlet. That way you notice you are coping with it on a daily basis"* (Respondent #4).

Respondent #10 thinks his sexual orientation has a lot of impact on his personal life. *"I always look at it this way, I have 100% brain capacity that I can use in my life. Whether that is for playing sports, or travelling, or for work, [...] I always think ten to twenty per cent of all the thinking I do on a daily basis, gets preoccupied by thinking: what's up with that? What do I do with those pedophile feelings? Do I have to try something with a man, would I be happier than? [...] That consumes time"* (Respondent #10). In addition, he sometimes watches child pornography in combination with drug use and is in therapy for that. After he watches child pornography he feels very bad, he sleeps badly and feels deeply guilty. Those feelings bother him for several weeks.

Two respondents do not experience internal struggle from their sexuality anymore, but did while growing up. When Respondent #5 started to notice his sexuality, he was ashamed of it. He thought: *"That is something I cannot do anything with. I have to keep that a secret and once I live on my own (I remember myself thinking that as a child), once I live on my own, I will go to the doctor and have myself castrated"* (Respondent #5). Respondent #9 has accepted who he is, but when he was younger, he was confused about his feelings and went looking for professional help.

In the same line, Respondent #2 does not experience any troubles with his own sexuality. *"Yes, it is a bit annoying to always have to do it with myself, but I do not experience any problems because of it"* (Respondent #2). On the other hand, the way society sees him, is difficult for him. He is in therapy at De Waag, but only because other people say there is something wrong with him, while he feels there isn't. He wants his therapists to prove him wrong. In the past, he has had trouble passing playgrounds, not because he is attracted to those children playing (they are too young for him), but because he did not feel free to go there, since it would not be allowed by others.

What becomes clear is that for some respondents their sexual identity is something they struggle with themselves. They find it difficult to cope with their feelings. An interesting addition is made by Respondent #4, who claims that although he is able to accept his sexual identity, acceptance or acknowledgement of who he is, is not what he sees around him. It is similar to a lack of feeling ontological security, that is, a feeling that who you are makes sense (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Respondent #2 illustrates in what way a public stigma influences him personally (Corrigan et al., 2003). The public stigma that he, as a pedophile, is not allowed to come across a playground, made him feel insecure to indeed come across a playground. Albeit, in practice, there was no risk involved.

Social conflict

Respondent #2 does not want to be too negative about reactions to the fact that he is pedophile. *“Well, what is negative, not in an aggressive manner at least. There have been plenty who weren’t happy about it or who didn’t agree, but well, everybody is entitled to their own opinion. I can’t label that as a negative experience”* (Respondent #2). He is happy his family does not speak about it; his parents know, his brothers do not. *“I find it utterly unpleasant to have to explain that kind of things to my family, because, well, you can’t choose to distance yourself from them, if it doesn’t suit them. You’re always stuck with it anyway”* (Respondent #2).

Respondent #4 primarily received positive reactions when he told friends he is a pedophile. Only one friend in England put him on the street when he told him. The respondent is glad it happened in England, since if someone in the Netherlands would react like that, it could have had profound consequences, such as gossip or someone reporting him to the police.

Respondent #6 became active in an association that speaks and writes about pedosexuality and pedophilia of people between the ages of 23 and 27. Once he started writing himself, using his name, his sisters, and in particular his brothers, resented him for that, but never told him. Only recently, when he started to speak up about his sexual orientation to his family, he found out there are a lot of unresolved feelings of hate left. The close connection there once was between him and his family members got disturbed. He really wants to make the connection normal again, but finds that very difficult, since some family members are willing to talk about it.

Respondent #8 told her story and appeared in a public magazine once and the reactions were positive at first, but then some very negative comments followed. *“Yes, it actually hits pretty hard. Simply because you don’t do anything wrong, it is more in your head than in your actions. But you are really, well, you notice that with those people eh, well only the word is enough motivation to push you far away”* (Respondent #8).

In general, it can be stated that the respondents that are open about their sexual identity, have received fairly positive reactions from the people they know well. Yet, the respondents do not all feel safe to speak about it, or do not feel safe to speak about it with certain people they know. The social conflicts that have arisen, are mostly due to prejudice and rejection.

After addressing personal forms of conflict, it is necessary to analyze to what extent there is conflict on a broader level. Is there conflict on other aspects of the respondents’ lives?

Direct conflict

There is no case of structural direct conflict. Yet, the respondents did speak about some examples and about the possibility of direct conflict. First of all, Respondent #3 is publicly known as a pedophile. He claims half the neighborhood hates him because of it. He gets scolded, cars honk when they drive by, people throw stones and eggs at his house, garbage in his garden, etc. In addition, he is being threatened on the street, sometimes by large groups of

people. He has asked the local authorities for protection, but agencies do not help him. He thinks the police is against him, since they make no effort in catching the people that throw stones and they refuse camera protection at his house.

Another example of direct conflict, although not physical, was experienced by Respondent #5. Ireen van Engelen, a woman known for her fight against pedophiles, infiltrated a chat list and gathered personal details and e-mails he had sent. She sent messages to his two employers at the time in which she revealed his sexual orientation. From one of his jobs, he had to resign. After consultations with a lawyer they decided not to press charges, although it would have been possible to make a case against Ireen van Engelen. *“I have also requested a lawyer for advice, but she said [...]: you’re already 10 to 0 behind, since it involves such a civil issue. You’re right juridical, but when it comes up in the media, you are the one who will have much more misery because of it”* (Respondent #5).

After his sentence, Respondent #7 got excluded from his neighborhood and local community. He was scolded and he could no longer visit his pub. Nobody wanted to speak to him anymore. He moved. *“Then you noticed the stigmatization, the dismissal very clearly in the whole social environment. There was only one solution and that was to move away. [...] But that is because of the arrest and that is because of something you did yourself. So, you also have your own responsibility, so you can’t point the angry finger at everyone else, you have to look in the mirror as well”* (Respondent #7).

In both places he lived after his sentence, he has had stones thrown at his house. For him, however, it is more important to look at the times that something like this has not happened, than the few times it did. He has good contacts with local police officers. He claims he does not have to fear the police, since what matters is the story he brings out to people. *“I am not afraid of that, it is also, how do you deal with fear? The next thing is, how do you deal with children and your environment, what are your principles and how do you deal with the police?”* (Respondent #7).

Respondent #4 is active on twitter to create a more nuanced image of pedophilia. His comments evoke negative reactions, sometimes in the form of threats. He got used to most threats, but some are explicit and get under his skin. Once an ex-con commented: ‘Can someone slit this man’s throat?’ Since this threat was directly directed at him, he felt threatened. Henk Bres, a known Dutchman who makes a lot of public statements against pedophiles, once said: *“I would want to torture you until you are nearly dead and then patch you up and do it all over again”* (Respondent #4). He wanted to file a report, but he finds he is unable to do so, since then he would have to use his personal details, while he wants to stay anonymous. In general, he feels he has to protect himself, since he is unable to ask for protection anonymously as well. Therefore he has a baseball bat in his house.

It frustrates him the most, that it is a national trend to not speak up about this sort of threats. Respondent #2 shares this frustration. He does not feel protected and is frustrated that politicians and the king, those who do protect others, do not speak up about the discourse in the media.

Respondent #6 has never felt physically threatened, but emotionally he did. *“It is partly foreseeing of possible threat what makes you feel threatened. So let’s not do this, since that might turn into this or that”* (Respondent #6). Furthermore, he would trust the police with his personal details if he would ever have to file a report. So would Respondent #8. She

had a positive experience once when she was in distress about watching child pornography and turned herself in. The police did not ask her anything, but only referred her to mental health care.

Respondent #10 doubts whether or not he would go to the police for protection. *“Well, I would dare to go to the police, but I wouldn’t do it. I would resolve it with that one person, then you keep it limited of course. And, if you’d ask, do I trust the police, well, when I dig deeper, not really. Since I think, there is a bit of a macho culture at the police. They follow the public opinion. Then I immediately think: well you’re here to complain, but you’re a dirty pedophile yourself and you need to figure it out yourself. So, it won’t help you and besides, your name will be listed and having your name listed somewhere, just isn’t a good thing”* (Respondent #10).

None of the respondents experienced direct physical violence, yet Respondent #3 did and does experience psychological violence: the destruction of things that can serve as a threat of possible destruction of a person and/or the destruction of something that is dear to a person who owns that something (Galtung, 1969: 170). The fact that all respondents know about the situation Respondent #3 is in, serves for them as an example of what would happen if the general public were to find out about them being pedophile. The latter can be described as latent violence, since violence does not occur yet, but might easily happen (Galtung, 1969: 172).

The mechanism that keeps a stable situation without a manifestation of direct violence, is the fact that the respondents keep their sexual identity a secret from a wider public than their loved ones. If that mechanism were to be broken, the respondents feel that there are no clear other mechanisms that would prevent direct, visible violence to occur. An interesting addition is the fact that there is not only a threat of possible violence, but also the threat of not getting the protection that is needed, if violence would occur. The cases of Respondents #4 and #5 illustrate that whether they want to or not, authorities are dependent on the public opinion. At the same time, the respondents are dependent on authorities to handle their personal details with discretion.

Structural conflict

In this section, occurrences and feelings that can indicate structural conflict are presented. First of all, it is important to note that all respondents think it is very important to be in control of who knows about their sexual orientation and who does not: *“I will not have a national coming out. That would ruin certain aspects of my life I find very pleasant”* (Respondent #4). Respondent #3 is the exception, since he is a well known pedophile on a national level.

The fact that Respondent #3 is known as a pedophile has as a direct consequence that he is unable to find a job. The other respondents choose not to speak about their sexual orientation at their jobs, since they fear they would get fired, or that it would at least raise a very problematic situation, while that is not necessary. Additionally Respondent #3 was refused a bank account.

To the question whether they feel they are deprived of their basic human rights, the respondents' answers differed. Overall they feel free to go and do what they want to do, except for Respondent #3; he is limited. The fact that association Martijn got banned, bothered several respondents. It made Respondent #4 feel like a second-range citizen. Although he was not a member of the association and did not endorse their principles, it really did hurt him. Also, Respondent #6 said: *"I especially find the prohibition of the association Martijn an example of that. Not that I find the association very great, but the fact that there was a principal statement to not validate freedom of speech and association in such cases, while I find the arguments very insufficient, well, that is a very clear example."*

Respondent #2 notes: *"I already have no freedom of association, freedom of speech; I actually have neither and if it continues like this, I won't even have the freedom of thought, since people don't allow that either. I may, different from others, I may be seen as an animal by many. So eh, and it may not be official by law that I am sentenced beforehand, but that is the case. In practice that is the case."* This discrepancy between the official laws and everyday reality, was also made by Respondent #4: *"What is freedom of speech when your house is bombarded with firebombs and fireworks, years in a row?"*, and Respondent #5: *"Of course there is freedom of speech, but you will be lynched because of it. [...] Lawfully the right is there, but in practice, that is simply impossible."*

An interesting viewpoint came from Respondents #1 and #10. Respondent #1 mentioned: *"Other sexual orientations are being protected by law, this one is not. It is still too sensitive, the time is not there yet."* In the same respect Respondent #10 said: *"When you ask that question to a homosexual, you could come to something like, I wasn't hired somewhere because they thought I was gay or because I told him I live with a man or whatever. Ehm, but that is a different discussion with pedophilia; we're not in any way in the stadium where you're able to say: What is it? Are you married? No, I am a pedophile, I chose not to marry or whatever. That is not how it works, so I think you never get to that point."*

This view can be linked to Seto (2012), who noted "Anti-discrimination laws and policies refer to sexual orientation, but with the implicit understanding that one is referring to sexual gender orientation. But what might happen if the definition of sexual orientation were to expand to include sexual age preferences such as pedophilia?" (Seto, 2012: 232).

The above can also be linked to Galtung (1969) and his theory on structural violence. There is no direct, or personal violence committed by any actor, but the violence is there, albeit indirect. This means violence is built into the structure and manifests itself as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances (Galtung, 1969: 170, 171). It would be unjustified to claim the respondents experience structural violence on a daily basis. Yet, for Respondent #3 that is the case, since his life drastically changed once he presented himself as a pedophile. His unequal life chances are reflected in, for instance, the fact that he is unable to find a job, was refused a bank account and experiences regular violations of his personal and domestic space.

The other respondents feel that with the banning of association Martijn, the freedom of association was taken away based on insufficient grounds. It felt as a personal banning of the association of pedophiles in general. Even though there is legal freedom of speech, speaking

openly about their sexual identity would have grave consequences. Freedom of speech is concerned with latent violence, as was explained in the section dealing with direct violence.

The fact that pedophilia is a topic that is very difficult to discuss in the general public, also presents itself in the fact that respondents spoke about insufficient professional aid directed towards pedophilia. Therefore a separate section about that is added below.

Professional help

A theme that turned out to be important and can be added to the larger topic of structural conflict, is the possibility to get professional or other help if needed. Again, privacy is very important. According to Respondent #1 it is difficult to ask for professional help, since he cannot be certain whether or not the physician can be trusted to keep professional confidentiality. He once visited a psychologist: *“Well it took six sessions before I spoke out. First I examined how it all works. I didn’t want it to be registered as a pedophile at my health insurance. I never told my family doctor either. I find it hard it has to be so sneaky. I have a fairly good life now, but all the adolescents at secondary school, are unable to do anything with it.”*

In the same way, Respondent #10 found keeping his privacy a difficult task. He needed a letter of referral from his family doctor in order to get his sessions via Stop it now! insured. Luckily, the practitioner was able to keep the letter of referral in a personal archive. When he got in contact with Stop it now!, he installed a telephone line at his house, so he would not have to use his cell phone, since then he could not be traced at his workplace, if anything were to happen. Respondent #10 has had help from two therapists and is still in therapy via Stop it now!. He is very positive about that, even though the way to get there was difficult.

Five respondents have had a negative experience when they asked for professional help. Respondent #1 mentioned the psychiatrist he visited admitted to lack knowledge about pedophilia. During his studies he had only read a few pages about it. For the respondent that lack of knowledge is what makes it so risky to ask for professional help. Respondent #2 experienced caregivers are willing to display understanding and support, but they do not know how to deal with pedophilia, since there is not enough knowledge about it.

Respondents #8 and #9 experienced a lack of understanding as well. Respondent #8 visited her family doctor at a time she was mentally confused, but the practitioner did not speak about her feelings. Instead, the practitioner only warned her she should not look at children taking a shower; something that was never her intention anyway. The family doctor never performed a follow-up conversation. Respondent #9 asked for help at Elios, a church related mental health care facility, but they did not help him since he was unable to put his feelings and thoughts into words. He did write a letter to explain what was going on with him, but the letter was not accepted; instead he was obliged to speak about it. The respondent left. This happened before he committed sexual offences.

Another way in which professional help turned out to be incorrect, is when caregivers try to ‘cure’ people. Both Respondents #5 and #9 had that experience. Respondent #5’s first

guidance was with the Evangelical Help for Gays (Evangelische hulp aan homofielen), who claim they can cure gay people and pedophiles and otherwise sexually oriented people as well. It did not bring him anything. After that he never sought professional help again, but he did however become a counselor himself at the NVSH (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Seksuele Hervorming/Dutch association for sexual reform).

After his first conviction, Respondent #9, was in forensic psychiatric therapy (De Waag). *“Well, they simply say we are heterosexual and you will think heterosexual as well. [...] Well, then you just start giving answers they want to hear. Well, then you succeed with flying colors for the therapy, while you didn’t make any real progress at all. That was a big mistake.”* His second therapy, after his second sentence, also at De Waag, but at a different facility, has however been very helpful. He is able to understand his faults and feelings and has learned how to accept and cope with them.

Respondent #7 is positive about the professional help he received. He consulted a therapist during his studies, after he got divorced and after his sentence. His last therapy was individual, voluntary and took five years. He is still a coordinator at the self-help group of the NVSH, JON (Joris Oost Nederland). Yet, the presence of the group is being made difficult, due to societal prejudices. Respondent #7 explained how another self-help group was infiltrated by a member of the television show Undercover Nederland. The member visited group gatherings with a hidden camera, made pictures and searched for personal details. *“He visited one of the addresses houses to ask: who is that man on the picture? If you don’t tell use, you have already been filmed, we will broadcast you”* (Respondent #7). The footage has not been broadcasted yet, but both the members and the board decided to end the self-help group.

Respondents #4 and #6 never asked for professional help. Respondent #4 visited the NVSH support group a few times when he was about thirty years old. Looking back, professional help would have been welcome between the ages of 16 and 21. He did not get help, since he had no clue it was possible, whether it was allowed. He would have had to tell his parents, since they would have had to pay. Respondent #6 still visits the NVSH support group and is very positive about that.

The most recent development in professional help for people who are pedophiles, is the anonymous phone line Stop it now!. Three respondents clearly state Stop it now! comes across as an organization that is only there to prevent child abuse and not to help people with pedophile feelings to live their lives. Respondent #4 called it a ‘perpetrator therapy’; according to him it is not for people like him who wonder: What is my perspective? Can I be happy with this orientation? How can I handle these feelings without transgressing the law? According to Respondent #2 that is the wrong approach. On the other hand he does understand the image Stop it now! brings about, since, if the organization were to state that they support pedophiles, that would only lead to problems.

The respondents’ experiences with professional help illustrate that professional mental care is influenced by the general discourse of the pedophile as a sexual perpetrator. Pedophilia turns out to be a taboo topic in the sense that practitioners lack knowledge about it. Also, the organization that is directed towards treating pedophiles, the phone line Stop it now!, comes across as an organization that wants to protect society from pedophiles and not the other way around, in the sense of being of help to pedophiles. Even though the respondents are aware of

its good intentions, the image of Stop it now! makes it not easily approachable. The organization that is valued the most amongst the respondents, is the self-help group JON, part of the NVSH.

Nevertheless, the respondents also indicate that small changes have occurred in the professional aid. Seto (2012) acknowledges the debate about the exact nature of pedophilia is important, since it can take away far-reaching misperceptions with grave consequences for individuals. Seen from various perspectives, it is important to know whether or not pedophilia is a sexual age orientation. On a clinical level, the answer shapes approaches about assessment, prognosis, and treatment (Seto, 2012). The results as presented here can add the idea that it is necessary for professional mental care to let go of societal prejudices, in order to gain objective knowledge about what pedophilia is and how pedophiles can be helped if needed.

Media

The respondents all agree the media present an incorrect image of pedophiles. First, the respondents claim the media stigmatize pedophiles as bad people. Second, the respondents claim the media use words incorrect, which leads to people thinking all pedophiles are child molesters. The media is sensational instead of neutral. In the words of Respondent #6: *“Media forwards what excites people and evokes a lot of emotions. The general opinion is being formed by the news media for the masses and goes along with indiscriminate ideas and feelings of hatred”*. A side note some respondents added is the idea that not all media sources are the same. Some do use their words correctly. In response to the question whether the media influenced the respondents’ personal life, the answers differed.

Respondent #1 feels the media make him more insecure, it makes him doubt himself. Algemeen Dagblad did an interview with him; the article was titled: “He feels like a bad person”, even though he never said that. He never recognizes himself in what he sees in the media. Respondent #2 is trying to get more disclosure about pedophilia by doing interviews for magazines and entering a television show (albeit unrecognizable). The media does not influence his personal psyche, but it does influence his life more indirect, since his life, for the largest part, exists of counteracting the discourse. Respondent #4 used to be frustrated by the incorrect use of words and in that way the media influenced his mood. Nowadays, he thinks there is more to do in life. It annoys him, but it does not influence his way of life anymore.

A side effect of presenting pedophiles in such a negative way, is the fact that younger people who are starting to find out they have pedophilic feelings, they are unaware there are also many other pedophiles, who live a normal life as well. As mentioned by Respondent #7: *“the ‘ordinary’ pedophile is not in the newspaper. That is not news. I understand those newspapers. They have to present those cases, I get that. Only what we then hear from young people, is that they read the newspaper and think, Oh am I also like that? No, right?”* In the same respect, Respondent #5 remembered that when he was young the media gave him a very negative image of people who supposedly have the same feeling as he does. He only heard and read about sexual child abuse.

According to Jahnke et al. (2015), pedophilia is associated with criminality (sexual child abuse), in such a way that it is related to discrimination. Discrimination comes in the form of social distance, which represents a rejection of people with the stigma of pedophilia at various levels of personal contact (Jahnke et al., 2015). To that notion the previous results add that the stigma of pedophilia influences pedophiles personally as well.

5 Conclusion

The goal of this research was to find out to what extent there is a conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society. Two sub-questions were formulated to be able to answer this main question. First, the question: what is the discourse concerning pedophilia in Dutch society? had to be answered through a qualitative content analysis. Second, the question: in what way are pedophiles able to live their lives? had to be answered through in-depth interviews with people who describe themselves as pedophile.

The qualitative content analysis has shown that in the four newspapers that were analyzed there is an overgeneralization of the word 'pedophile', since it is interchangeably being used to refer to pedophiles and people who have committed various forms of sexual child abuse. In practice, pedophilia and pedosexuality are not parallel to each other, since not every pedophile is pedosexual and not every pedosexual is a pedophile. In fact, estimates are that fifty to fifty-nine percent of sexual child abuse happens for reasons that concern mental problems or defects, instead of the sexual age orientation pedophilia (Lautmann, 1995; Seto, 2008). The newspapers hardly present this nuanced image and generate the general image of pedophiles as criminals.

The overgeneralization and use of the word 'pedophile' in a negative context leads to stereotyping and stigmatization. As a consequence people have created negative expectations about pedophiles which lead to negative emotional reactions. Those reactions can lead to discrimination in the form of for instance segregation, hostile behavior or the withholding of help (Corrigan et al., 2003). The media discourse has constructed anxiety in society, not only by overgeneralization, but also by leaving out in-depth knowledge about pedophilia. People only hear that they have to fear pedophiles and that makes them want to protect themselves (Hamelink, 2011). In what way this image influences those who deal with this negative stereotype and stigma on a daily basis was analyzed in the second part of the research by in-depth interviews.

The image of pedophiles that is presented in the qualitative content analysis corresponds with the way the respondents experience media. They find media presents them as 'bad people' and are unable recognize themselves in the media image of pedophiles. The stigma influences them personally, since it makes them feel insecure and/or unaccepted. In addition stigmatization has consequences on other levels as well. Even though, on the surface, the respondents are able to live fairly regular lives in the way they want to, structural difficulties appear when linking their issues to the larger context of conflict studies.

Respondents experience structural violence in the sense that if they were to be known generally as a pedophile, there is a great risk of being excluded in the social, work and/or living space. They would then suffer from unequal life chances (Galtung, 1969). The one respondent that is generally known, not only experiences exclusion, but also psychological violence in the form of being threatened by the destruction or invasion of personal belongings and space. The respondent serves as an example of this, not only in this research, but more importantly in the mental awareness of the other respondents. Being aware of the possibility of structural, psychological, or perhaps even physical violence leads to the experience of

latent violence. Even though the violence does not manifest itself and cannot be observed, the fact that it might easily take place, can have a great impact on people's lives (Galtung, 1969).

For the respondents latent violence becomes visible through the fact that they are very cautious about who knows about them being pedophile. This influences the way they are able to handle an form close relationships. On a broader level, the need for privacy of the respondents' sexual identity leads to problematic situations when asking for professional help or protection, since both cannot be done anonymously.

In conclusion, to what extent is there conflict due to the presence of pedophiles in Dutch society? From the theoretical framework it can be concluded that pedophilia is conflicted in itself, since its definition has been debated and has changed through time. Only recently pedophilia is accepted as a 'normal' sexual orientation, directed towards age.

Pedophilia is conflicted in society, since the discourse in Dutch society surrounding pedophiles revolves around negative stigmatization. Society struggles with anxiety due to this stigmatization of pedophiles, which leads to negative emotional responses. The changing, more negative image of pedophiles (Hekma, 2013), can be explained with reference to the theory about moralization and responsabilization of citizenship in Dutch society. On the one hand, as long as citizens follow the dominant norms and values in society and are actively involved in attaining them, they can be included citizens (moralization). On the other hand, society feels individual responsibility to protect and return to fundamental values (responsibilization) (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

On a societal level, the effect is that people feel they have to protect themselves, their territory and the people in their territory by excluding those that are a threat. The discourse that was found in the newspapers presents and ascribes that threat. On a personal level, for pedophiles this means it is difficult for them to feel as accepted citizens in Dutch society. Even though their behavior does not threaten society, their sexual identity is seen as a threat. They are unable to fit all dominant values in Dutch society (Meyer, 1995; Schinkel & Van Houdt).

As long as pedophiles keep their sexual identity a secret they experience latent violence, violence that does not manifest itself yet, but might easily happen. This because, if their sexual identity were to become known, there is the likely possibility of structural violence in the form of exclusion, psychological violence in the form of feeling threatened (for instance because of violations on personal belongings or space), or direct violence in the form physical assault (Galtung, 1969).

The fact that pedophilia is such a taboo leads to a lack of knowledge, not only in societal opinions and reactions, but also resonates in mental health care and other agencies who are likely to have to deal with it pedophiles. For pedophiles being in contact with organizations that exist to help or protect, then becomes a risk that is difficult to take. It is the spread of knowledge, real contact and understanding that can break through barriers of mistrust (Valentine, 2008). Anxiety, negative stereotyping stigmatization and moral panic all lead to exclusion, while it is necessary for both pedophiles and the society they are in to feel included and accepted. In the end, people share more similarities than differences, they only have to be willing to hear it.

6 Discussion

The gathering of data and reaching to conclusions has had several limitations. The reader should be careful in making broad generalizations based on this research, since it is only based on an analysis of four newspapers and ten respondents. Therefore, one should be aware of other media accounts that may present a different discourse. In the qualitative content analysis it was beyond the scope of this study to search for more than the word ‘pedophile’ in the search engine, since the amount of findings was already very large. In a replication of the analysis, it would be wise to exclude several years for analysis and include more diverse words that can be researched.

Also, in the time span of this study, it turned out to be only possible to gather a relatively small amount of respondents, because of the sensitivity of the research topic. Furthermore, the sensitive and conflicted nature of the subject of the interview, might have led to politically correct answers. Perhaps, respondents felt obliged to keep some elements of their life or opinions back. Nevertheless, I believe in the sincerity of the respondents and find their conduct very brave.

The ten respondents that were willing to be interviewed cannot be viewed as representatives for the whole group of pedophiles in the Netherlands. The group of pedophiles is very diverse and since there are many pedophiles who do not share their sexual orientation with others, it is difficult to get a full image of who they are. The fear of negative reactions, and the uncertainty about whether or not I as a researcher can be trusted with their personal stories, makes it very difficult for them to enter in research like this.

A last limitation of the research, is the fact that if someone were to replicate the data analysis, they might come to slightly different outcomes. Even though a researcher always tries to be as objective as possible, the qualitative gathering and interpretation of data is still, to some extent, personal. Most importantly, another researcher could have had different results with recognizing the main themes in the newspaper articles in the qualitative content analysis. And, since I did not follow a structured interview, but let the respondents and myself speak about the interview topics freely, another researcher would have obtained different interviews outcomes.

With this research I took the challenge to connect the theme of pedophilia in Dutch society to the field of conflict studies. The reason for this choice, was that I wanted to bring the issues around pedophilia into a broad social scientific perspective. In addition, and not less importantly, I think it is important to view conflict, not as a narrow or static, but as a broad and fluid concept. In that way conflict research can be useful to analyze not only directly visible violence, but violence that is more structural, cultural or latent as well (Galtung, 1969).

This research has led to several insights that were not found in other literature yet. This research takes pedophilia out of the taboo zone at least on a scientific level. Yet, it is also a plea to think about practical solutions to issues that concern pedophiles. The fact that it is difficult for respondents to ask for protection or professional help, since that would breach their privacy, is something rather problematic. It is something that ought to change, since it endangers both pedophiles as well as others, if they cannot be protected or get sufficient help

if needed. To create more knowledge about what pedophilia entails and take away prejudice at the organizations that are likely to come across people with pedophile feelings, would be the least thing possible.

In line with this, it would be an interesting addition to this research to study those organizations that should be able to handle people with pedophile or pedosexual feelings adequately. In which sections is there a lack of knowledge? And how can that knowledge be supplemented? Furthermore, it would be a great asset to find out possibilities to strengthen and protect associations such as the NVSH and its self-help group. That way pedophiles can get the help they need, if they need it.

Improvements that can help overcome or prevent conflict is the spread of knowledge about pedophiles. This research is a part of that. More knowledge should help society in understanding and becoming less anxious. It should help professional care with the guidance of pedophiles, if they need it. In other organizations being aware of what pedophilia is and that it there is not one specific type of pedophile, can help them to handle, help and protect.

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8 Appendices

8.1 Topic list semi-structured interview

General information

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Place of residence
4. Employment

(Social) identity

5. Identification of the self
6. Sexual identification (Opinion: innate or learned, good or bad). Influence on:
7. Everyday life
8. Relationships
9. Place in society
10. Problems (family, neighbors, loved-ones, psychologists, police etc.)

Territory

11. Housing situation
12. Neighborhood
13. Freedom to move

Exclusion/Conflict

14. Physical wellbeing
15. Mental wellbeing
16. Social wellbeing
17. Employment/society
18. Opinion: Media

8.2 Overarching themes qualitative content analysis

Territory	Violation law	Nuance	Personal statements	Direct Conflict	Human rights	Others
Neighborhood 132	Trial 78	Deepening 23	Opinion reader 50	Violence 29	Rights 26	Television 19
Privacy 17	Conviction 43	Scientific research 7	Opinion 48	Murder 10	Martijn or PNVD 16	Roman Catholic church 6
Precautionary measures 58	Arrest 28	Help 10		Suicide 1	Dismissal 3	Diverse 10
Hunt 6	International 25				Exclusion 8	
	Police investigation 15					
	Falsely accused/sentenced 14					
	Abuse 3					
	Child pornography 13					
	Recidivism 19					
213	238	40	98	40	53	35

8.3 Themes newspaper articles used for further analysis

	Algemeen Dagblad	NRC Handelsblad	De Telegraaf	Trouw
Arrest	1		1	1
Child pornography				1
Conviction	1		1	
Deepening		2		
Neighborhood	1	1	2	2
Opinion		1		1
Opinion reader	1			
Recidivism		1		
Trial			1	
Violence	1			

8.4 Overview respondents

Respondent	Age	Daily activities	Sexual orientation
1	40	Part-time job, girlfriend and their two children, jogging, playing music.	Pedophile Attracted to boys
2	20	Activities with regards to pedophilia: interviews, poster campaign: You are not alone, advises Parents online.	Pedophile Attracted to boys in puberty
3		Does not get hired, since he is generally known as a pedophile. Owns a website that revolves around pedophilia, reads and plays video games. Lives with his partner.	Pedophile and bisexual Attracted to children in general
4	48	Owens his own company, for which he works a lot. He spends time with friends, loves to travel and exercise,	Pedophile Attracted to boys in puberty
5	37	Works in mental care. Married with two children. Is active in his church community.	Pedophile Attracted to boys in the age range 8-14
6	64	Followed technical education and works in that branch. Reads and writes.	Pedophile and homosexual Attracted to children aged 10 and upwards, but in puberty in particular
7	73	Used to work as group leader as a forensic orthopedagogue and professor at university. He has been married and has one child of his own. He also took care of several foster children.	Pedophile Attracted to children in general
8	49	Works in administration at a primary school. Loves trees. Lives with her partner.	Pedophile Attracted to girls up till the age of 13
9	49	Works in a warehouse. Is active in his church community. Volunteers to write and visit a prisoner.	Pedophile Attracted to boys in the age of 14 or 15
10	45	Is in between jobs and positive about finding a new one as purchasing manager. Enjoys to hang out with friends, play squash, watch Netflix, travel and go to parties.	Pedophile and bisexual Attracted to children in general