The Politics of being a Pedophile

- An anthropological exploration of political engagements and narratives among minor attracted people

Mikkel Rask Pedersen

201205131

Master's Thesis

Supervised by Heather Anne Swanson

Department of Anthropology University of Aarhus

June 2017

Abstract

Gennem et kvalitativt online interviewstudie af 33 mennesker, der er tiltrukket til mindreårige, undersøger og viser dette speciale, hvordan disse mennesker interagerer politisk og forhandler deres lyster op i mod stigmaet om pædofili, og hvordan de erfarer deres lyster meningfuldt. Specialet argumenterer for et fokus på det magtsystem og den kontekst hvorigennem stigmaets effekter udfoldes og viser, hvordan et fokus på stereotyper har stor analytisk værdi, da dette tillader en undersøgelse af de magtfule og strukturelle relationer, der omringer feltet om pædofili. Gennem etablerede teorier om forholdet mellem biology/natur og identitet/valg i studier af trans- og homoseksuelle, viser specialet videre hvordan værdier som natur, seksualitet og identitet forhandles og bruges til at intergagere politisk i et magtsystem omkring seksualitet af personer, der er tiltrukket til mindreårige. Slutteligt diskuterer specialet vigtigheden for et fokus på de individuelle og personliger konsekvenser ved at være tiltrukket til mindreårige og diskuterer udfordringerne ved ikke af have nogle kulturelle modeller for en 'god pædofil' til rådighed. Specialet præsenterer to forskellige narrative analyser, der viser hvordan informanterne i dette speciale gevinder en tro på, at de er mennesker værdige til et meningsfuldt liv på trods af deres stigmatiserede lyster.

Acknowledgments

The biggest thank you owed by this thesis is undoubtedly owed to my informants. I am deeply grateful for both their help and generosity and the trust they placed in me.

Without the help of the B4U-ACT organization, however, this thesis would never have had the fortune of having so many engaging participants, and I owe a huge thank you to them and their research director, Richard Kramer, for taking the time to listen to the early formulations of the thesis project and their help in recruiting participants.

To Heather Anne Swanson I am deeply grateful. For turning off the clock and spending countless hours not only reviewing drafts, but sitting down and engaging in discussions of the thesis as well and contributing with sharp critique and advice integral to the writing of this thesis. It was a pleasure and inspiration to be the recipient of her dedication and knowledge.

I would like to thank my first supervisor, Nina Holm Vohnsen, as well. Believing in both me and the importance of the subject of the thesis when challenged the most, I am very thankful for her support and guidance in these times.

Victor Sacha Cova played an instrumental role as well, and I owe him a big thank you for sharing his literary knowledge and providing valuable critique and suggestions.

Table of Contents

Introduction

When I first told an academic member of staff shortly into my two years Master's program at Anthropology at Aarhus University that I wanted to study minor attracted people for my Master's thesis, the staff member's reaction was one of immediate concern. The staff member thought the project would be unfeasible - that I would never come into contact with anyone who would discuss such attractions, and that – if I did succeed – completing a project on minor attracted people would be damaging for my career, as I would be forever known as one who sympathized with pedophiles. When I talked more broadly about my project idea, other people implied that it would be inappropriate for an anthropologist to study pedophiles, as pedophiles did not deserve to be depicted in the humane ways that anthropologists typically seek to describe their informants. These responses ultimately made me feel even more strongly that it is important to study minor attracted people: if the stigma of pedophilia is strong enough to contaminate my career and to make a group of people seem unstudy-able by anthropologists, surely more information is needed. Almost two years later and after pursuing the motivation to know more about pedophilia and minor attracted people, this thesis is dedicated to:

Explore the ways in which minor attracted people as a marginalized group engage politically with society through different strategies and negotiations of the origins of their attractions and the relationship between these and their identities. Further, this thesis aims to explore how minor attracted people narratively come to experience themselves meaningfully despite the heavy stigma of pedophilia.

It is not uncommon that pedophilia and pedophiles tend to invoke feelings of hatred and disgust in laymen, and it is not uncommon that it engenders such feelings in the academic community either (Rolan Imhoff: 2015), (Sara Jahnke, Rolan Imhoff & Juergen Hoyer: 2015). The engendering of feelings of hatred and disgust towards pedophiles, I argue, is due to reproduction of the link that pedophilia as a sexual orientation is inevitably tied to offending and abuse. It seems easier to understand, then, why a proposal to study the ways pedophiles construct and negotiate their identities is provocative, if it is seen as an attempt to study the construction and negotiation of identities in child sexual abusers. To study how minor attracted people engage politically and construct meaningful identities is, therefore, important in the deconstruction of the link that

pedophilia is synonymous with child sexual abuse. That this link is hard to sever is not surprising since most of the knowledge we have of pedophilia come from studies conducted over the past few decades in clinical- or correctional facilities with men who have committed sexual offence against children (Seto 2009:393). Seto describes the link as being an intuitive thought process in which people tend to think, that anyone who is sexually attracted to minors will act on these desires if met with an opportunity to do so, but also the other way around: that no one without sexual attractions to minors would have sexual contact with minors (Ibid:392). Child sexual abuse and pedophilia may often be treated as the same, but studies clearly show that they are in fact not synonymous. David Lee Riegel showed through an internet survey of 290 self-identified boy-preferring pedophiles that 78.6% of these men had no history of legal involvement with any matter related to their attractions (Riegel 2004). Michael Seto et. al. also found in a sample of men who were convicted for watching child pornography that 57% of these men did not show any history of sexual contact with children based on self-report, criminal records, and other collateral information available (Seto et al. 2006). It is not only a misconception, then, that pedophilia is inevitably linked to child sexual abuse, but Michael Seto and Martin Lalumiére also found that it is a misconception that all child sexual abuse is linked to pedophilia. Through their study of 1113 sex offenders, they found that 40% of that sample were equally or more aroused when exposed to sexual stimuli depicting adults (Seto & Lalumiére 2001). Child sexual abuse is therefore not only motivated by pedophilic attractions only, but also through motivations that include: "*a lack of more preferred sexual opportunities, hypersexuality, indiscriminate sexual interests, or disinhibition as a result of substance use or other factors*" (Seto 2009:393).

Although numerous results show that being attracted to minors is not synonymous with being a sexual offender, the theme of offending still encloses the debate of pedophilia. When Michael Seto calls for further research of people attracted to minors outside of clinical- and correctional facilities, he still believes that we need this knowledge in order to develop strategies to prevent child sexual abuse (Seto 2009:393). Sarah D. Goode, who is one of the few researchers to have done qualitative research of minor attracted people outside of clinical- and correctional facilities, is also motivated by a goal to strengthen the protection and care of children, albeit also to enable a more honest and mature acceptance of pedophiles in society (Goode 2010:21).

While research on the criminological aspects of pedophilia is indeed important, a qualitative approach to minor attracted people outside of clinical- and correctional facilities and outside a context of offending might help paint a more nuanced picture of minor attracted people. It is my goal throughout this thesis to avoid taking any political stances in regards to either laws or moral attitudes towards the nature of sexual interactions between adults and children. I avoid discussing the topic of offending and ability to separate desire and action in any other context than through what is mentioned by my informants as affecting their lives, and I refrain from commenting and evaluating arguments for either a pro- or anti-contact point of view on whether sexual relations between and adults and children are harmful or not. While not taking a stance obviously is a political decision as well, this is often misinterpreted as an attempt to defend people attracted to minors and promote a more lenient attitude towards child/adult sexual relations. This is not my goal either. In fact, by studying political engagements, I want to explore how minor attracted people experience and navigate in this exact political scene: where their desires are so heavily contested by others and whether they can refrain from offending or not. Further, by looking at how they construct meaningful identities, I want to explore how minor attracted people negotiate and experience their identities when situated up against such a large amount of external representations of who and how they are. By adapting this goal and purpose, I believe I might contribute to both the field of research on minor attracted people and the field of anthropology. To do a qualitative study of minor attracted people's political engagements and narrative identity constructions, I argue that we gain a more in depth understanding of the experiences of being attracted to minors; not to promote more effective ways of societal control of pedophiles, but to promote better circumstances for the psychological wellbeing of minor attracted people, as such knowledge might help challenge the damaging 2-D cardboard cut-out model of the kind of person a pedophile is (Goode 2010). This knowledge may also contribute to a larger body of literature in anthropology on the construction of identities in marginalized roles and categories in society. By exploring perhaps one of the perhaps most stigmatized groups in Western societies, dynamics of identity and power may show themselves in new ways and call into question old and new theories used to theorize the experiences of being marginalized. This will be a continuous theme throughout the thesis.

To accommodate my goals of studying the political engagements and identity construction in minor attracted people, the thesis is structured around 4 chapters which I will proceed to outline.

Thesis Overview

In chapter 1, "Methodological Considerations and Ethics", I will show how my fieldwork came to take the shape it did through the indispensable help from the B4U-ACT organization and continue to present the general overview of my informants. I proceed to comment upon the structural and analytical aspects of doing a digital fieldwork, and I explain how I have chosen to approach these. To better understand the ethical considerations taken, I will shortly present the Danish laws of ethics.

Chapter 2, "The Pedophile Stereotype", is the first of three empirical and analytical chapters. In this chapter I set out to explore the structural relations of my informants' political engagements and the analytical value of a stereotype when studying marginalized groups. Through Tom Boelstorff's description of subject-positions (2005) and Elise Chenier's discussion of normalization in relation to pedophilia (2012), I will show how my informants' presented stereotypes are performed in a dichotomy to a hegemonically produced 'normative' subject, and I discuss how they challenge this stereotype. This knowledge is used to discuss my informants' political engagements through Michael Warner's notion of a *counter* to hegemonic structures (2002), and to argue for the importance of an awareness to the system of power through which their political engagements are made.

Chapter 3, "Political Sexualities", takes its theoretical departure in the knowledge derived from the previous chapter: that we cannot understand political engagement and negotiations of identity outside of a system of power. In this chapter, I initially set out to explore the relationship between sexuality, biology, and identity and through Riki Lane's work on transgenders (2015) and Kath Weston's work on the cultural relationship between biology and families (1991), I discuss how to approach this relationship analytically. I proceed, through Michel Foucault's work on the discursive formulation of sexuality in recent day Western societies (1978), to account for the system of power in which sexuality is a key actor for identity construction, and I discuss the political legitimacy of describing your attractions as natural through a discussion of different forms of political agency by Sherry Ortner (1996) and Dorothy Nelkin and Susan M. Lindee's descriptions of the cultural value of biology (1996). I end the chapter with three different analysis' of how my informants use values of sexuality, biology, identity and research to engage politically

with society. Through the analysis' I comment on how to analytically separate engaging politically and living meaningfully.

Chapter 4, "Narratives of Failure", builds on the analytical shortcomings from the previous two chapters of looking at the structural relationships of political engagement with others, and instead discusses the challenges and importance of having a meaningful narrative *for one self*. I explore the effects of existing in the stigmatized category of being a pedophile with Richard Jenkins (1994) and Ian Hacking's (1999) arguments of the power of social categories and meta-narratives. I proceed to analyze my informants' different narrative ways of building a meaningful identity despite such challenges, and I discuss how we may relate this to relevant theory on marginalized identity construction. Through the differences in my informants' narratives and Michael Jackson's arguments of the importance of agency and feeling like a 'world maker' (1998, 2002), I conclude that the importance of having a meaningful narrative is not necessarily to gain the acceptance of others, but to recover a sense of existential integrity.

Chapter 1: "Methodological Considerations and Ethics"

Contact with B4U-ACT

Going into the fieldwork behind this thesis I had no arrangements already set in place. Initially, I had no preferences of whether to do an actual 'physical' or digital fieldwork either, but I did have an expectation that it would be hard to gather enough data without aiding to the internet. I reached out to almost every organization I could find to establish contact to minor attracted people who wished to participate. While I was able to establish contact to a few people on my own through Twitter and a few more with their help, it was when I came into contact with the research director from the B4U-ACT organization, Richard Kramer, that I came to find almost all of my participants. Richard Kramer agreed to read and listen to my proposal for my fieldwork and thesis proposal. After a Skype meeting and several mails back and forth, we agreed on a research description to be posted on the homepage of the B4U-ACT organization and in their support groups. Shortly after, the research description along with my contact information was cross-posted to several other forums and, because I was so fortunate to have so many people approach me, I decided to stop looking elsewhere for participants. It should be regarded that far from all my informants found the research description through B4U-ACT, but through other forums such as the support forum on the homepage of the VirPed community as well. Having established contact with 33 participants, I also decided to stop looking for more. My initial contact with my informants was via mail and to accommodate the relatively large number of informants for an anthropological Master's thesis, I sent them all a written interview guide for them to answer and send back to me. The guide consisted of 15 questions divided in four themes described as 1, *Initial experiences of attractions towards minors*, 2, *Desires*, 3, *Societal point of view*, and 3, *Living with attractions towards minors*. Following are what I identify as the key questions under each theme:

1. "When did you first experience that you were attracted to people younger than yourself?"
2. "In what way would you describe your attractions towards minors? (As a sexuality, variation, illness etc.)"

3. "How would you describe the stereotype of the minor attracted person as viewed by the society you live in?" and "If you could change something or somethings about how minor attracted people are viewed by your society what would you change?"

4. In what ways have being attracted towards minors affected your life?

While all the answers I got were useful in their own way, some gave rise to further discussions. I proceeded to have short mail correspondences with many of my informants and extensive mail correspondences with 7 of my informants for almost the entirety of the fieldwork. Besides the initial interview guide and mails back and forth, I conducted 7 skype interviews and 2 chat interviews with 9 different informants, who I wished to engage with in more depth. Though I talked to many and talked a lot to some, I am aware of very little information regarding the physical identities of my informants as almost all of them chose to be anonymous. Consequently, I will not refer to my informants with anything other than the name I have assigned them. I did, however, try during my initial contact with my informants to gain a very general picture of the people I was talking to by asking for approximate age, nationality, education level, sex, and ethnicity. I will continue to use this information to outline the people who have come to shape this thesis.

Informants

It is important to note that all information regarding age, nationality, education etc. is exclusively from my informants' own accounts and that they were all told that it was accepted to give approximate answers such as "early 30's" and "college degree", rather than their specific age and education. Summarizing the answers of my informants' backgrounds, I found that the clear majority of my informants were from North America and Europe in an almost equal distribution to either side. Beside three who did not state their nationality, only two stated their nationalities in South American countries. Out of the 33 participants only one was female, and beside one Flemish, one Hispanic, one Pardo, and one Jewish, all stated their ethnicity as white or Caucasian. It is hard to give a fulfilling explanation as to why almost all my informants are male. While studies do show a very large discrepancy between the amount of male and female sex offenders (Lawrence Greenfeld 1996, Laurence Motiuk & Ben Vuong 2002), it is hard to tell whether this discrepancy is present in non-offending minor attracted people as well. Female minor attracted people do exist, though, but why they show in so few numbers in statistics is speculated both in terms of smaller

occurrence of pedophilic attractions in women, and through arguments that such attractions causes less distress in women, and that they are thus less prone to act on their desires. Insecurities such as the above have been a consideration for leaving out gender in any of the following analysis, but the primary reason has been that gender was very rarely articulated as something meaningful for my informants' political engagements or identity constructions.

The age range of my informants goes from 20-61 with the clear majority being split between being in their 20's or 30's. Not all my informants identify as pedophiles, but as hebephiles, ephebophiles as well, which means they are attracted to the age groups of early adolescents and mid-to-late adolescents respectively. None of these may exclude each other, but instead refer to the *primary* age of attractions. Several of my informants even describe themselves as 'non-exclusive', which refers to their attractions as being directed towards both children and adults. Common for all my informants is, however, that they are attracted to minors in some regard, and none have reportedly had any sexual contact with a minor. To accommodate their differences in age of attractions, I will mostly refer to my informants as minor attracted people through the thesis. When I do not refer to my informants directly, I will mostly use the term 'pedophile'. While I am aware that 'pedophile' is not the chosen, nor the correct term for many of my informants, it is, however, the political term that is most frequently contested. Therefore, to more accurately describe the category that is contested when discussing relations between my informants and their surrounding societies, I will use the term 'pedophile' frequently, as there is arguably more stigma towards category of pedophiles than towards the category minor attracted people. This thesis is therefore not called "The Politics of Being A Minor Attracted Person", as it is the category of the pedophile that is being contested – even if it is being contested as being untrue.

I will proceed to discuss the analytical implications of having done a fieldwork structured entirely around interviews online and with very little access to personal information of participants whom I did not choose myself.

Online research

To do an entire anthropological fieldwork online is often discussed as a somewhat controversial alternative to a "real" fieldwork. While there are differences between doing

fieldwork online and offline, Tom Boellstorff et. al. argues that we should not occupy ourselves too much with the differences, but instead acknowledge the fact that the two types share fundamental similarities that does not make them that different. Concepts such as 'culture', 'emic' and 'ethic' words, 'thick description' might be just as actual in a digital fieldwork (Boelstorff et. al. 2012:1-16). In fact, it has even been argued that the internet is particularly suited to studying textual discourses in which to look for 'culture' and 'emic' and 'ethic' concept (Robert Kozinets 2002:64, Roy Langer & Suzanne C. Beckman 2005:193). To classify fieldworks done online as 'digital fieldworks' rather than just fieldworks, Boellstorff et. al. argues, is largely needles, and the term 'digital ethnographer' might just as well just be called 'ethnographer' (Boellstorff et. al. 2012:1-16). Importantly, though, doing fieldwork online is not something always adaptable and should only be done if the field you wish to study accommodates such a study (Ibid:6). To study minor attracted people is indeed suited for a fieldwork online. Sarah D. Goode identifies that it is primarily through the internet that definitions and negotiations of pedophilia are represented (Goode 2010). If the primary context for political engagements and identity construction are being performed online, perhaps a non-digital fieldwork would be the least suiting. Furthermore, the structural affordances of the internet that allow for anonymity is another argument to study minor attracted people online, as people may tend to share information that would otherwise endanger them to social isolation (Elisabeth Noelle-Neuman 1984, Raymond Lee 1993:36). We should be careful not to forget, though, that just because the ability to be anonymous may limit social repercussions, this does not mean that we have access to unfiltered truths. Anonymity does not dissolve the specific structural context of the data you collect.

Having structured the fieldwork as I have, I argue that one of the biggest challenges of the structural context is to accommodate the layers of protection that surrounds the field of pedophilia. Given the importance of anonymity for many of my informants and the importance of maintaining a safe space on online support forums, I did not have access to try and recruit any participants directly. My access to this field was only given to me through my explicit role as a researcher and I was almost only in contact with people who chose to contact me. This, I argue, is by no means a condition that diminishes the value of the data I collected, but is crucial when deciding how to approach the data analytically. In a classical anthropological fieldwork, you often have access to both interviews, observation, and participant observation. Having access to all three modes of data collection is valued highly, as it allows you to match your data from one mode of collecting with

another to limit individual and methodological biases (Norman Denzin 2012). To work with online interviews with anonymous people, the context through which this data was collected becomes very important, since there are no other modes of collection to evaluate the data up against. The context of research and contributing to research are thus important factors to include when analyzing the answers, as this is where potential biases are to be found. Rather than looking at the limitations of having done interviews only, I argue that the methodological bias created by the fact that I only had access through my role as a researcher, and that my informants contacted me anonymously, gives a unique insight into how my informants engage politically. It gives a unique insight, as it is the very individual bias that my informants are engaging politically through their participation that is the object of the study. The fact that all the communication I had with my informants were in the context of research and interviews, make the type of data highly relevant to study the ways in which minor attracted people negotiate their attractions and identities in a political arena up against popular and common definitions of what pedophilia is and who minor attracted people are. Furthermore, studying narrative representations of identity is another relevant line of theory to accommodate the methodological considerations of the fieldwork. Narrative analysis' accommodate both conscious and unconscious representations of identity equally, and do not necessarily rely on comparisons of interview data to other modes of data collection, as the information used to study narratives is exclusively from the informants' own accounts and have no individual bias.

Though I have taken analytical considerations to accommodate methodological biases, biases are always made by the ethnographer as well. I do not claim to represent the world of minor attracted people as it is in an objective fashion, but through a certain scope. It is impossible to ever represent the field or world you study exactly as it exists 'out there'. Research always has a focus, and what you find and conclude will always be in the light of that focus. Sociologist Adele Clarke argues for the importance of grounded theory when sampling data from your field:

> […] *"sampling" is driven not necessarily (or not only) by attempts to be "representative" of some social body or population (or its heterogeneities) but especially and explicitly by theoretical concerns that have emerged in the provisional analysis* (Clarke 2003:557)

I do not claim to be representative of all minor attracted people through my data collection, but I claim to study political engagements and meaningful narratives as this is the theoretical concerns that have driven my "sampling". Clarke thus argues that we should collect data: "*without claiming to be more than partial*" (Ibid:557).

That this study is only based on interview studies with minor attracted people online, is therefore not a limitation for the analysis' of the data, but a fact structuring the theoretical and analytical development that is based on these. I create a perspective and theory of *one* side of the field of minor attracted people which is political engagements and meaningful narratives.

Ethics

That an ethics committee has not approved this study is likely to give rise to concern by some, but this should by no means be regarded as an indifference to ethical concerns, but as a difference in specific countries approaches to ethical obligations instead. Per Danish law, any level of education below a Ph.D. is not required to apply for approval by an ethics committee. I am, however, obligated to follow certain modes of conduct when collecting personal data. First, consent - though not necessarily written - is needed. Given that fact that all my informants chose to contact me through a research description with a wish to participate, I argue this obligation is met. Secondly, I am obligated to store the data of the identities of my informants with necessary precautions to ensure this data is not obtainable by unauthorized people. Though I am not directly in possession of data of the identities of any of my informants who wish to stay anonymous, the data I have collected have still never been accessible if not through a password or encryptions known only to me to avoid any unforeseen misuses of the data. Thirdly, I am obligated to state my full name, the purpose of the research, both which I have met as well, and lastly, I am obligated to ensure that any personal data in my procession is either to be destroyed or completely anonymized after the thesis is completed, which I will fulfill as well.

With knowledge of the motivations and structures of the fieldwork behind this thesis along with insights to the methodological and ethical considerations behind the shape of the analytical foci of the thesis, the preparations to engage with the empirical material and analysis here of are almost in place. As a last part, before I move on into the main empiric and analytical part of the

thesis, I would like to add a 'guide' to the readers of this thesis, as I expect many who read this to not be familiar with the scholarly ways of Anthropology.

Analytical "Guide"

In the following analysis' I will use the terms to "engage politically" and to "construct identities". When I use the term to engage politically, I want to emphasize that this does not mean that I am studying the manipulative efforts to change laws and customs in a society. Instead, it means fighting against a stigma or trying to debate the truth about what it means to be attracted to minors. To engage politically might also be described as an effort to try and live a meaningful life despite having a stigmatized sexuality, though I will differentiate between living meaningfully and engaging politically, but mostly for analytical reasons. To engage politically is, however, the preferred term to use due to the nature of the collected data through my fieldwork, and given the explicit role of research that it had. Collecting interview guides, chatting, mailing and skyping - as were my ways of doing fieldwork - they were all conducted based on a specific research description which all my informants had read. The data I collected may - for methodological reasons - best be political engagements, though the same results may have been collected through the scope of a fieldwork with access to meetings, experiences and observations. I would therefore like to ask my reader to keep in mind that to study different ways in which minor attracted people engage politically is by no means done to discredit any particular way of leading and living one's life meaningfully, or to say that any experiences were not experienced truthfully.

Furthermore, when I discuss how my informants construct meaningful identities of being attracted to minors, this is not to portray static pictures of my informants as people with identities inseparable from their sexuality. Nor is this an attempt to devalue their identities as 'constructed' in a negative opposition to a "real" identity, since there are no such things as "real" identities that are not constructed by anything. To engage with my informants by analyzing their political engagements and identity constructions is, in fact, a very classical anthropological way of studying humans and not just minor attracted people. Engaging in the highly political field of pedophilia, to study my informants through a classical anthropological framework, I argue, is the best way to do my informants the most justice by negating political biases as much as possible.

Lastly, the analysis' through the thesis do not have the purpose of creating a new type of person. I do not aim to conclude *how* minor attracted people in fact are and how they all react to certain challenges, but to find the most prominent values and strategies in play for my informants and how these relate to the social contexts through which political engagements and identity constructions are made.

Chapter 2: "The Pedophile Stereotype"

> *"We are the vampires of the modern age. We are the faceless, inhuman monsters in the shadows that people can hate to feel better about themselves, and blame for all society's problems. We are the werewolves and the witches. The ones who get rounded up by torch and pitchfork mobs and burned, and even when falsely accused, nobody questions it, believing they have a moral obligation to violently overreact. And anyone who defends us, or even questions whether the panic is just, is simply labelled one of us and burned as well."* - Matt

A key focus for this thesis is the experienced relationship between my informants and their surrounding societies. That is why I asked all my informants to describe how they thought pedophiles were viewed by their surrounding societies. During my fieldwork, one of my strongest was the heterogeneity of my informants when I asked how they saw themselves. When asked questions towards how they thought *others* saw them, however, their answers were strikingly similar. They all seemed to paint the same evil and apathetic man. The same rigid and, from what I came to know, obviously false stereotype. Stereotypes are often viewed as a false representation of a group of people, and perhaps also at times as something a bit ridiculous and excessive. They are therefore often dismissed as something of little analytical value. I will argue throughout this chapter, though, that the pedophile stereotype as portrayed by my informants is a key element to understand how my informants engage politically.

Throughout this chapter I will show this firstly through an analysis of my informants' portrayals of how they think the stereotypical pedophile is viewed by their surrounding societies. Followingly, I will analyze how my informants' representations of a stereotypical pedophile can be explained as an imagined subject position, and how its formation can be explained further through its structural relationship to a discursive formation of an 'appropriate heterosexual subject'. I will continue to discuss how the portrayed stereotype becomes key for my informants to engage politically and how these engagements should best be described as resistance and a

counter to their portrayed stereotype. Concludingly, I will discuss the benefits of adapting a structural focus on my informants' political engagements, rather than a classical perspective on the individual's attempts to manage a stigmatic identity.

Bald men and mini-vans

Admittedly, during my field work I paid little attention to questions of cultural differences, as physical distance and difference in cultural norms were hardly ever articulated by my informants. As mentioned, all my informants were asked to initially answer a written interview guide where I would ask them to elaborate on both sexuality, desires, and stigma. One particular theme was what I presented as 'Societal point of view', under which I asked all my informants the same 3 questions:

- How would you describe the stereotype of the minor attracted person as viewed by the society you live in?
- Why do you think some people are hostile towards minor attracted persons?
- If you could change something or somethings about how minor attracted people are viewed by your society what would you change?

Naturally, a lot of the data I gathered on this subject came from many different contexts besides these three questions, but asking so directly did give me a lot of interesting answers. Following are examples of some of the answers I got from the first questions alone:

> "*Here's how I compare to the stereotypes: I don't wear aviator glasses. I don't have a big 80s moustache. I do have a trenchcoat, but it's actually very stylish. I don't drive a white van or an ice cream truck. I'm not a priest. Or a scout leader. I don't watch "My Little Pony". Yuck. Or "Toddlers and Tiaras". Double yuck. I do have a whole freezer full of popsicles, but you can't have any, they're all min.*" - Matt

> "*I would say a fat, bald, middle-aged man who sits in his mini-van all day, taking pictures of kids and wanting to abduct them. But most of all, the most despicable humans on earth.*" - Shawn

"We have been described as being the nastiest and most disgusting creatures on earth who only wants to abuse and destroy a child's life" - Kristian (translated)

"*Men who are sick, lack self-control, and get pleasure out of causing pain to children."* - Eric

"*Dangerous! That's the view expressed by everyone i grew up around who had anything to say about it at all. Only since i've come out to over a thousand people and traveled in fifteen countries have i found very few who accept BOTH that i'm not generally dangerous to young people AND that i'm actually representative of most MAP's in this way"* - Clifford

"*It's comparable to the fear of muslims you see in most western countries. Only a small percentage of them are terrorists but it doesn't matter. People are afraid of what they don't understand, and when all they are exposed to are the worst individuals in a group, the worst is all that group represents to them"* - Oliver

"*I think there are different types of this stereotype: someone wearing a gray cloak and horn-rimmed glasses lurking behind bushes near a playground; a fat, bearded man sitting behind his PC and making plans to kidnap somebody; the Hannibal-style psychopath; etc. It's someone who looks dirty and unattractive, is socially awkward, and acts weird"* - Hans

"*The word pedophile has become synonymous with molesting, hurting and killing kids. Someone that is a psychopath. Someone that doesn't care about anyone or anything. It no longer just describes a sexual attraction, but a heinous action. Because hurting kids is such an emotional issue, nobody seems to want to understand that many MAPs would never hurt a child. Society only wants to*

> *lump us all together as one group. I think most see it as a black and white issue"* - Peter

> *"The basic stereotype is that of a middle-aged man who has no empathy and sees children as sex objects to use and abuse and not as human beings with rights. If they are ever nice to children, it's just because they're grooming them. [...] The only MAP who hasn't raped or molested a child just hasn't raped or molested a child yet - it's inevitable that they will offend, and anyone who says otherwise is just lying"* - Frederik

> *"Unintelligent and amoral people who cannot control themselves".*
> – Henrik (translated)

If we combine the adjectives used in the above quotes, the stereotypical pedophile portrayed here is an unintelligent, amoral, apathetic, fat, bald, unattractive, dangerous, despicable, disgusting and nasty middle-aged man with horn-rimmed glasses who drives a white van with and has no control over his desires. Though I have never physically met any of my informants, I can easily dismiss this stereotype as being an actual representation of them. It is a true *stereotype*, however, given the fact that it is general, excessive and false.

Speaking of *a* stereotype when combining data from informants from all over the globe poses the challenge of how such a stereotype is produced across borders and cultures. Do the similarities found in the above descriptions mean that this is a fitting description of how the stereotypical pedophile is viewed in so many different countries? Or that the stereotype is described so similarly because my informants share similar cultural circumstances? Sarah Goode, who is one of the most prominent figures in social science to have studied pedophilia, identifies how we since the 1970's have had a "*mix of ingredients*" that together with the media have formed a consensus of how the pedophile is and how societies should act accordingly. Specifically, she identifies three important factors: 1, literature containing tragic stories of incest and abuse, 2 a rising tendency to use the selling power of a 'good story' with an evil and monstrous pedophile man, and 3, riots and campaigns aiming to control and manage the pedophile (Goode 2010:3). These three factors shape a discursive formation of a stereotypical pedophile just the same as the evil man my informants paint, and this is arguably a large cause for the similarity in my informants'

descriptions of a stereotypical pedophile. Sarah Goode also argues that this does in fact explain a stereotype rather than a true depiction of every person's attitude, arguing that there is a startling mismatch between the generally loud and hostile attitude of a public and the muted and even at times patronizing attitudes also found (Ibid:54).

Drawing on the conclusion in Chapter 1, "Methodological Considerations and Ethics", I will not treat the presentations of the stereotypical pedophile as made by my informants as representations of an actual attitude in their surrounding societies, but as a stereotype through which they engage politically, due to the research minded nature of the fieldwork. Now, this is not to say that this is not actually also how my informants experience public views on pedophilia or that such experiences do not cause very real distress, because such stereotypes are indeed feeding the stigma that unarguably surrounds pedophilia (Imhoff, R. (2015), Jahnke, S., Imhoff, R., & Hoyer, J. (2015)), nor that this is not how the public views in many different countries are. Stereotypes do cause distress for my informants and are indeed very powerful, as the people being classified as belonging to such must live with them. In the last chapter, "Narratives of Failure", I will look deeper into how the negative effects of the stereotype is internalized and narrated in my informants' narratives of who they are. For now, I argue that it is exactly because my informants must live with these stereotypes that their presentations of a stereotypical pedophile become important, as I will continue to argue that such representation eventually become political ways to live against the stereotype.

Intersectionality of Stereotypes and Power

As the British anthropologist Richard Jenkins cleverly argues in his work on the power of classifications (1994), identity is a dialectic relationship between our own internal ideas of who we are and external classifications made by others (Ibid:55). He defines external representations as an 'institutional order' that symbolically templates the right way of doing things (Ibid:56). Looking for the ways in which my informants represent and talk about society's views on pedophilia may, through the scope of this fieldwork, not give us information of the actual structures and power dynamics at play in local and physical fields. Instead, as Jenkins along with the famous anthropologist Frederik Barth (1969) and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) also notes, talking

about a 'them' always implicitly holds a representation of an 'us' (Jenkins 1994:57). Though the empiric data I am referring to is not a direct representation of my informants' surrounding societies – a 'them' – it might still be analyzed as such, as they aim to represent how others see them. This dynamic of representation, I argue, is the foundation of the analytical value of my informants' presented stereotypes.

If my informants' representations are valued as imagined external categorization rather than false and excessive images, they suddenly become harder to dismiss analytically. In the same line of thought as Jenkins, that external categories hold a 'symbolic template' of a 'kind of person', I propose we develop this thought further by recognizing a stereotype as a portrayal of a 'kind of person' with specific attributes, values and ways of doing things. Looking at my informants' answers, a pedophile stereotype is then a type of person with the attributes of being unintelligent and fat, valuing his own needs over the needs of children, and will act on his desires when facing an opportunity to do so. Recognizing stereotypes as 'kinds of persons', Tom Boellstorff's "intersectional theories of sexuality" becomes a valuable framework to begin to understand how a stereotype is something of great value for studying marginalization and political engagements (Boellstorff 2005).

Key concepts for Tom Boellstorff's "intersectional theories of sexuality" is "subject positions" and "systems of power". He argues that subject positions are positions that can be "occupied" by individuals, partially or completely, temporarily or permanently, and that these positions mediate your senses and assumption, your point of view, one might say, of your life (Ibid:10). These subject positions are then created through a system of power, which has its own structured logic from a multitude of discourses and cultural logics (Ibid:7). If defining "sexuality" as a system of power, Boellstorff argues that we must look for the defining logics and discourses that create and mediate subject positions of being 'gay' or 'straight' etc. This together constitutes the theoretical framework he calls "intersectional theories of sexuality" (Ibid). Lisa Rofel (2007) similarly argues that when studying desire, it is important to study the positions and meta-narratives in each culture to understand how people embody the knowledge of these to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate ways of being.

By applying a framework to conceptualized my informants' presented stereotypes as imagined subject positions and looking for the system of power in which they are constructed, we

benefit in two ways: First, as I will continue to show, the subject position my informants construct is also a representation of the structures of appropriate and inappropriate subjects and thus gives us access to study the political scene, or system of power, through which my informants navigate their political engagements. Secondly, following the representation dynamic described by Richard Jenkins, we might analyze my informants' presented stereotypes as a subject position of a person 'doomed to offend', 'wanting to abuse', and who 'cannot control themselves' to be representations to deny and engage politically up against.

I will continue to argue that the similarity of my informants' stereotypes is caused by its formulation in a system of power of 'sexual normativity'.

"The Hegemony of the Normal"

In Sociology and Anthropology, 'normativity' has been a common explaining factor for the power that keeps reproducing the distinctions of what is right and what is wrong. This power has often been exercised through correctional facilities such as prisons. Famous Sociologist Émile Durkheim even describes that punishing people is integral to the reproduction of societies, as it is through the punishment of the norm breaker that the majority regain the belief that they are in fact good (Durkheim 1893). What is normal is produced through its counterpart. Criminologist John Irwing describes that in Western societies we understand ourselves as normal through a "myth of the Bogeyman": that there exist inherently bad people who are fundamentally different from the rest of society (Irwing: 1985).

When I study the power of normativity in this thesis, I do it within a system of power of sexuality. Normativity is defined here as the structure that defines appropriate ways of being a sexual being, and therefore also the structures that define the inappropriate ways of being a sexual being. Most theories of normalization in the context of sexuality come with a great inspiration in the works on sexuality by Michel Foucault (1978), as he has been excellent in describing how the ideas of a natural sexuality is a great example to study power. A more thorough discussion of Foucault's work and the 'normal' body will be made in the chapter 3, "Political Sexualities". For now, I wish to instead argue how the idea of an "appropriate heterosexual subject" becomes

structuring for the creation and maintaining of the stereotypical pedophile that my informants present.

The power of normativity is particularly present when studying sexualities and Mary Douglas has pointed to the fact, that if you want to criticize a group of people, this is typically done through a marking of their sexuality as 'other' than your own (Douglas 1966). Through this dynamic, Sarah Goode describes how being a pedophile is criticized not by being a deviating sexual radical or a normal sexual being – outside or inside society - but "*simply other than society; individualized and pathologized perverts, people who have left behind their common humanity*" (Goode:84). As I have shortly shown earlier in this chapter, the production of a stereotypical pedophile can be identified through rising trends and presentations of the pedophile in the media since the 1970's. Historian and Philosopher Elise Chenier, who is one of the few to describe the relationship between the stereotypical pedophile and the power of normativity, argues that it is not random that the pedophile has become the target for selling horror stories or campaigns and riots, nor that they are classified as pathologized perverts to a much more extreme extend than homosexuals have been through history. She argues that the pedophile is a threat to the core values in Western societies through which we understand ourselves to be normal, arguing that pedophilia is a threat to the normal 'family' which she describes as "ground zero" for the imagined normal, heterosexual subject (Chenier 2012:174). While homosexuals also challenge the family institution in terms of being unable to reproduce 'naturally', pedophiles moreover challenge the idea of the 'innocent child' which is crucial for maintaining the family institution. Consequently, pedophilia is so heavily contested and marginalized that it becomes a "vector" for the normalization process of contemporary Western societies, and quoting the anthropologist Ann Stoler, Chenier describes this process as: "*a tactic in the internal fission of society into binary oppositions, and means of creating 'biologized' internal enemies, against whom society must defend itself*'" (Stoler 1995:59 in Chenier 2012:174). Through Foucault she both cleverly and provocatively writes that:

> "*Children might be the pedophiles' victims, but it is the integrity of that ''tiny, sexually saturated, familial space,'' so essential to processes of normalization, which is attacked* (Foucault 1978:47 in Chenier 2012:182).

Her argument is, then, that the construction of pedophilia as a mental illness that is incurable, dangerous, and non-controllable, or the stereotype as my informants have defined it, exists and persists through the process of normalization, which is dismissing and stigmatizing the pedophile due to his or her non-compatible sexual attractions to the family institution.

On more than a several occasions I found my informants to articulate experiences of the marginalizing powers of normativity. The following three examples show how my informants were indeed aware of their 'function' for the reproduction of societies as 'normal':

> "*It's basically a moral hysteria, I think. People just need their scapegoats. In the middle ages, it was the witches. Now, it's the pedophiles.*" – Archie

> "*if a child enjoys that affection and begins slipping out of their parents' influence or control, bringing "grownup ideas" that were not approved by the parents and may conflict with the way the latters saw fit to raise their child... well, dismissing this Other Adult as a sex-obsessed monster and all of his/her interactions with the child as "grooming" is sure a great way to keep feeling justified and morally superior, while maintaining the paradigm wherein the child belongs to its parents!*" – Simon

> "*The people perpetrating these abusive acts were labeled as pedophiles and in some cases were. Since there's such rightful anger over these cases of abuse, I think people fell into thinking that there is "another", a boogey man, bad person, and that if they can just go after that type, then they'll stop the complicated issue of child sexual abuse and when/how it's committed. When in fact often, the perpetrators of these acts are not motivated by a sexual attraction at all, certainly not romantic feelings, and shouldn't really be called pedophiles*" - Alexander

My informants are aware of their stigmatic and stereotypical status as being in relation to a normalizing power. What I argue, then, is that this knowledge is translated into their

representations of the stereotypical pedophile, since this imagined subject position is the exact opposite of a normative 'appropriate' subject position. If the norm is being in control of one's desire, empathetic, considering and so on, then the stereotype my informants describe is literally the opposite of this. Quoting Peter again, he wrote:

> "*The word pedophile has become synonymous with molesting, hurting and killing kids. Someone that is a psychopath. Someone that doesn't care about anyone or anything. It no longer just describes a sexual attraction, but a heinous action. Because hurting kids is such an emotional issue, nobody seems to want to understand that many MAPs would never hurt a child. Society only wants to lump us all together as one group. I think most see it as a black and white issue".*

It is not strange that the stereotypical pedophile as my informants describe them are almost identical since the stereotype is produced in the same opposite relationship to an 'appropriate subject', and as the examples from Archie, Alexander, and Simon show, the stereotype is presented knowingly as a normalizing function of societies. In an untraditional way, what I argue is that my informants' presented stereotypes are created through the power of normativity. It is the structure of the relationship between the normative appropriate subject and my informants presented opposite subjects that frame the political scene through which my informants engage politically. As I will continue to show, my informants' presented stereotypes are constructed in a system of power of sexuality as 'inappropriate' to have a point of resistance to fight against the stigma produced by the hegemony of the normal.

An 'appropriate' counter

Having established the theoretical frameworks to show my informants' pedophile stereotype as a subject position in opposite relation to an 'appropriate heterosexual subject', I will continue to show how my informants used this subject position as a starting point for resistance, by using it to define what being attracted to minors is from their perspective.

My informant Hans was the first to make me realize the importance of denying the stereotype. Hans and I shared long and extensive mails over the course of a couple of weeks, and discussed, in length, his experience of being attracted to minors and how this affected his life. I have chosen the following example, as I think it shows exactly the importance of not only disproving false stereotypes for one's own sake, but also a political awareness, that not doing so is hurtful to the case of showing that minor attracted people are not just all evil and apathetic men:

> "*But you just have this feeling that even after coming out as gay or minor attracted if you do anything that fits the stereotype of a gay or a minor attracted person then people might think "Oh, he did cross his legs this one time and he said he's gay so probably it's true that all gay men act feminine". And although I know that even in the unlikely case that someone would think that then I shouldn't care about such dumb thoughts. But I just feel this burden of having to represent all gay people and all MAPs sometimes. If I act weird, then people who know that I belong to a certain minority might get the impression that all people of this minority act weird and then I'd feel guilty for being such a bad representation although I have never asked to represent anyone.*" - Hans

Not only does this show how Hans feels a responsibility to act appropriate, but also the acknowledgement that stereotypes do indeed hold a power that he evaluates his action up against.

One of my other informants, Matt, who I also had a chat interview and several mail correspondences with, at one point sent me screenshots from a conversation he had on "Chat Roulette" with a stranger who was also attracted to minors. Since the conversation was not with me directly, the nature of the data can be criticized in several ways. I have chosen to show parts of the conversation here despite such, but with following considerations: I believe that even through the critique that this could be staged and is not true in any way, it is still an excellent example from my informant of the awareness of how a dismissal of the stereotype is important to engage politically. Whether the conversation happened or not, it is, therefore, at worst still a portrayal of one person's view of the way people with attractions to minors are not just one homogeneous stereotype, and at best, an excellent conversation between two different ways of living with

attractions to children. It should be noted that the beginning of the conversation includes words and phrases that might come off as offensive to the reader. My informant is named "1":

1: hi

2: Hi

1: what's up?

2: Not much, just thinking about raping little 10yo girls. you?

1: jesus fuck

2: lol jk [lauging out loud, just kidding, ed.]

1: this is why people hate us

2: i just wanted to see how u wopuld react

2: but yeah, i'd never say that to anyone

2: Keep it to myself, that's what I do

1: no, go say it to a therapist

2: I'd rather not

2: I know what would happen

1: yeah, you would get treatment to keep you from hurting kids

[PART CUT OUT]

2: Hopefully laws and social standards change drastically, and very soon, then

1: they may, but only if people start seeing us as anything but exploitative abusers

1: so we have to be seen, and we have to be seen to be ethical

2: The cases of kidnap and rape need to stop, before that can happen. And the killings that sometimes occur afterwards

1: those are rarely done by paedophiles

1: most child molesters aren't paedophiles

2: Yes, but the public doesn't recognize that

2: They group us all together, regardless of the facts

1: which is why i use every anonymous means i have to try and educate people without risking myself

1: i'm even involved in research

2: Nice

2: The media cant even tell the difference between peadophilia and hebephilia, or even ehebephilia

1: they'll only ever treat us as decent people if we act like decent people

1: that means no CP [child porn, ed]

2: I think society's been brainwashed

1: yes, but they also have no examples to the contrary

1: because those of us who aren't committing crimes are hiding

[PART CUT OUT]

That Matt so knowingly argues for the consequences of feeding into the assumptions and point of views that follow the subject position of the stereotypical pedophile, show how the stereotype is an important factor in political engagements. The stereotype is in many ways the stigma that make the lives of many of my informants so challenging, and to disprove the stereotype is, then, also to engage politically by attempting to challenge the stigma that surrounds pedophilia. It is by challenging the stereotype of an inappropriate sexual being that one becomes an appropriate being.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, I not only asked how my informants think their surrounding societies viewed the stereotypical pedophile, but also what they would change about this view if they had the option to do so. The following three examples are not only a dismissal of the imagined subject position of the stereotypical pedophile, but efforts towards redefining this

subject as being not so different from the 'appropriate heterosexual subject', through which the stereotype has been argued as being constructed against:

> "*That we are human beings who generally have a fully developed conscience, with the ability to love and empathize with other people, and that our attractions have no bearing on our moral character or our ability to make productive contributions to society in any and all vocations. We are as imperfect as all humans, of course, but we aren't LESS of a person because of our attractions. We are also all multi-faceted human beings with a variety of interests and passions above and beyond our romantic predilections, just like all groups of people.*" - William

> "*I think that mainly make people realize that despite my sexual attraction I'm more than capable to realize that sex with children is wrong and harmful to them. That due to this realization I can manage my desires in other fashions which aren't harmful for anyone, and that me simply having a sexual thought about a child doesn't mean I harmed her.*" - Marc

> "*Another thing, which has actually a lot to do with the study and research done into MAP communities, is the thought that MAPs have to stop themselves or have strategies to stop themselves from offending. Nobody asks heterosexual men how they stop themselves from raping women, so why should we be any different? We look at the law or our personal moral code and go "Okay" and then continue on with our lives. I'd say the vast majority of us don't need help keeping ourselves from offending because it's as easy as breathing.*" – Frederik

Michael Warner's theoretical concepts of a public and a counter public (Warner 2002), I will argue, is an excellent framework to understand the political efforts of denying and fighting against their presented stereotype. According to Warner, the 'public' is a self-organized, circulatory system, and discourse between strangers, constantly imagined and reproduced through participation by speech (Ibid). This 'system' is, however, never readily accepted by all people in society, and thus 'counter publics' are produced. The members of these counter publics are not just a subset of the 'public', but are instead constituted through a conflictual relation to the dominant public (Ibid:423). Importantly, Warner argues that counter publics are far more than just minority cultures. Instead, counter publics are fundamentally mediated by public forms in the sense that: "*personal/impersonal address and expansive estrangement of public speech*" becomes the condition of the common world of the counter public (Ibid:424). Now for Warner, his discussion is very much directed towards an ontology of the public and the reproduction of such through speech. While this is indeed important to promote a better understanding of modern societies, I propose for this thesis, and for the sake of clarity, that we translate his concepts of the 'public' and 'counter public' analogically to 'the stereotypical pedophile' and 'the true pedophile'. As I have discussed earlier on, the stereotypical pedophile as a subject position is through the type of data I have gathered, best to be treated as political presentations by my informants. In this way, I argue that the empirical examples raised above show how my informants use the imagined public, now termed "stereotypical pedophile", as the wrongful image which they rhetorically counter by trying to re-imagine the "true" pedophile against that. I believe that Warner argues an excellent point in saying that counter publics – in this case the "true" pedophile – is far more than just minority culture. My informants' resistance is fundamentally structured by its counterpart to the logics and rhetoric of normativity through which their presented stereotypes are constructed up against. As such, dismissing the stereotypical pedophile as being true, becomes an important tool to engage politically.

　　　To hand pick sentences from the three examples showed from William, Mark, and Frederik, their arguments describing who minor attracted people are, are counters in the way that they argue against the stereotype, saying:

　　　"*we are human being who generally have a fully developed conscience*"

　　　"*our attractions have no bearing on our moral character*"

> *"I'm more than capable to realize that sex with children is wrong and harmful to them"*

> *"Nobody asks heterosexual men how they stop themselves from raping women, so why should we be any different?"*

> *"the vast majority of us don't need help keeping ourselves from offending because it's as easy as breathing"*

As I have shown through empirical examples earlier, the stereotypical pedophile was presented as the opposite of an appropriate sexual being who is *unintelligent*, *amoral*, *wanting to abuse*, *lacking control*, *doomed to offend*, which are all counterpart to the above sentences respectively.

Why is it, then, that the stereotype is so important? I argue that the importance lies in the inescapability of the system of power which surrounds sexuality and pedophilia. That pedophilia is so contested and stigmatized is what makes it unavoidable for my informants to engage politically without somehow doing so in opposition to this. The stereotype is then in itself very important, as it reveals these power relations that construct the political scene through which my informants engage politically due to its structural formation. Analyzing my informants' representations of a pedophilic stereotype could, however, also just as easily be analyzed through a more classical approach to the effects of carrying a stigma. Erving Goffman, who is surely one of the most referenced persons in academic discussions of stigma, would then have been the person to go to. Goffman famously defines stigma as "*an attribute that is deeply discrediting*" (Goffman 1963:3) and his work on stigma seeks to explore how stigmatic attributes are transformed into righteous demands by the majority of a society, and how the stigmatized individual comes to understand and live with these demands. Put simply, Goffman explores the stigma as a socializations process and writes to this process:

> "*One phase of this socialization process is that through which the stigmatized person learns and incorporates the stand-point of the normal, acquiring thereby the identity beliefs of the wider society and a general idea of what it would be like to possess a particular stigma. Another phase is that through which he learns that he possesses a particular stigma and, this time in detail, the consequence of possessing it.*" (Goffman 1963:45).

My collected data could have been analyzed in terms of what the discrediting attributes of the stigma of pedophilia is, and how the stigma is produced through a socialization process of the expected ways of experiencing this and the consequences of possessing it. Instead, I have chosen to engage analytically with a stereotype and the system of power through which this "socialization process" occurs. I have chosen to do so based on the expanding and elaboration of the concept of stigma over the last 50 years. While Goffman is an essential figure in the way recent research on stigma is developing, his approach to stigma as a socialization process and negotiations around a devalued attribute has been criticized as being too simple. Criminologist Thomas LeBel identifies that more and more scholars of stigma tend to define stigma more in terms of a 'social identity' rather than an attribute (LeBel 2008:410). Sociologists Bruce G. Link and Jo C. Phelan argue that we should study stigma: "*when elements of labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination co-occur in a power situation that allows the components of stigma to unfold*" (Link & Phelan 2001:367).

Engaging analytically with a stigma, I agree with Link and Phelan that we should do so with a focus to the system of power through which components of the stigma unfold. When I engage with my informants' presented stereotype and how they engage politically through these, this is exactly an analytical method, I argue, to study the system of power through which the social identities of pedophiles are unfolding and being negotiated. Adapting concepts such a Tom Boellstorff's 'subject position', Elise Chenier's discussion of 'normalization' in regards to pedophilia, and Michael Warner's 'counter' to study a stereotype rather than a stigma, I argue that I have showed how negotiations around what pedophilia is, are indeed produced in a system of power that come to influence how my informants engage politically. Importantly, adapting a framework focusing on a system of power through which components of the stigma of pedophilia unfolds, this allows us to engage more directly with the relationship between the social identities of minor attracted people, their sexuality, and the scene in which they engage politically.

Chapter conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have analyzed and discussed how we might analytically engage with my informants' presentations of how they think the stereotypical pedophile is viewed by their

surrounding societies. I have argued that a stereotype holds significant analytical value in the way that it portrays an imagined subject position in system of power of sexuality and that stereotypes, though false and excessive in their nature, should not be disregarded only as such. I have further shown how we should understand the similarity of my informants' presentations of a stereotype due to its production in a structural opposition to what might be referred to as an 'appropriate heterosexual subject'. I have shown and argued how the stereotypical pedophile is an important imagined subject position through which my informants engage politically by dismissing and fighting against the stereotypical pedophile and thus engaging politically as appropriate and decent human beings. Lastly, I have discussed that by looking at the structural relationships through which my informants engage politically, this provides an important frame of context to study minor attracted people that a classical view of stigma management could not provide.

The larger purpose of this chapter has thus been to situate a theoretical and analytical setting from which to move on into greater detail of how my informants engage politically by negotiating what being attracted to minors involves. I mentioned earlier that what surprised me the most during my fieldwork was the heterogeneity of my informants. Though the above chapter has painted a somewhat one-dimensional picture of my informants' political engagement, I will continue to show how arguing for the purpose and meaning of one's sexuality when attracted to minors are done in many ways. Through a multitude of strategies and with many different resources, I hope to nuance the picture of minor attracted people, and in that extend avoid the de-humanizing aspect of being treated as the category personified.

Chapter 3: "Political Sexualities"

> "*I've finally come to the conclusion in recent years that being exclusively attracted to minors is part of the natural spectrum of sexuality - much to the chagrin, displeasure and distaste of most other people with more traditional attractions, I'm sure. But there really is no other valid explanation based on any actual reality. I was not molested as a child, nor was I sexual (other than masturbation) as a child. I *did not* choose this, nor am I mentally unstable. I am, in fact, smarter than average as my school records clearly indicate."* - Christian

Famous Sociologist Nikolas Rose argues that in post-modern Western societies, one of the most prominent forms of political rationalities is that of neoliberalism (Rose 1998:230). Structuring the lives of individual citizens, these individuals are to become: "*entrepreneurs of themselves, shaping their own lives through the choices they make among the forms of life available to them*" (Ibid). Rose continues to argue that through this rationality:

> "*Every aspect of life, like every commodity, is imbued with a self-referential meaning, every choice we make is an emblem of our identity, a mark of our individuality, each is a message to ourselves and others as to the sort of person we are*" (Ibid:231).

Consequently, it has become hard not to view identity construction through anything other than the choices we make. How are we then to analytically approach minor attracted people who argue that some of the most important aspects of their lives and identities are not chosen at all, just like Christian did? How are we to acknowledge representations of sexuality as a non-chosen and natural aspect of one self while still acknowledging the constructedness of identity, such as Nicolas Rose describes it? More specifically, how are we in general to study representations of sexuality in terms of identity in minor attracted people, when their attractions are surrounded by such a heavy stigma? To analyze and understand the lives of people attracted to minors, the previous chapter concluded that we should study this outside of a relationship to what is deemed 'normal' in Western societies. I argued that we must pay attention to the system of power through which

my informants' political engagement are made, as negotiations of what pedophilia is and who minor attracted people are, are not just different arbitrary representations, but a *counter* to a hegemonically produced stereotype. In this chapter I will argue, that if we are to answer the posed questions of how we are to understand political engagements and meaningful identity construction through a sexuality that is argued as non-chosen, we should also be aware of the system of power through which values of sexuality, biology, and identity are negotiated.

Throughout this chapter I start out by explaining how relations of biology, identity, and sexuality exist in a complex relationship which we should acknowledge, rather than try to sort out, when aiming to understand the role of my informants' sexualities in their attempts to live meaningfully against a stigma and engage politically. I continue to discuss how a century filled with investigations into the relationship between nature, culture, and sexuality in anthropology has developed a complex field with increasing focus on different ways people experience and negotiate their sexuality and identity. I will argue that this development is important to understand minor attracted people's political engagements and negotiations of identity through categories of biology and sexuality. Next, I argue through Michel Foucault how negotiations of sexuality and identity are not exempt from a system of power, arguing that such negotiations are influenced by the discursive role of sexuality as key to explaining who we are and the power of having a 'natural body'. To summarize, I will show how other studies of minorities have emphasized the role of 'nature' and 'biology' in creating and sustaining meaningful identities and engaging politically, drawing on their conclusions to build an analytical approach to understand the relationship between nature, identity and political engagement in minor attracted people. Finally, building on above theoretical considerations, I continue to present three different analysis' focusing on: 1, how my informants describe the relationship between their sexuality and their identity as ways to resist stigma. 2, how my informants describe their sexuality through arguments in biology, nature, and evolution. 3, How they use 'research' as an important tool to understand their sexuality meaningfully and engage politically.

Relations of Biology and Identity

The past few decades have shown us the proliferation of a multitude of different sexualities like Pansexual, Demisexual, and Queer, to name a few. While most 'normal' sexual attractions are readily accepted as a sexuality - such as being heterosexual - when your attractions are either illegal or negatively viewed, to argue that your attractions are a sexuality seems to necessitate arguing how it is not an illness or mental disorder. As such, several studies on pedophilia have been focused around its role as either a mental disorder or as a sexuality (Richard Green: 2002, Michael Seto: 2012). Specifically, the classification of pedophilia as a sexual orientation is often argued by tracing the historical change in the definition of homosexuality from illness to sexuality. This change has been a common critique of pedophilia's status as a mental disorder or illness. Pedophilia and homosexuality have historically been closely linked in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM) which is a commonly relied on manual for the classification of mental disorders. From the early 20th century up until 1973, homosexuality and pedophilia was defined a being mental illnesses with incurable fixed and inherent sexual drives. Critics of the classification of pedophilia as a fixed disease, then point to the exemption of homosexuality from the manual in 1973, arguing that this process was not a due to any new scientific evidence showing that homosexuality had been wrongly put there, but happened through democratic votes (Chenier 2012:176). Arguing for your pedophilic attraction as a sexuality is then for Michael Seto a question with strong implications for "science, clinical practice, and public policy" (Seto 2012:231). Furthermore, the most common way of defining a sexuality is by looking at age of onset, sexual and romantic behaviors, and stability over time. To classify as a sexuality, your attractions must then be defined as a permanent part of you.

There is no denying the political importance of arguing for your attraction as a sexuality rather than a mental disorder, and to study how my informants use their attractions to engage politically through this transformation seems obvious. However, to understand the political engagement and attempt to live meaningfully with such stigmatized attractions, I will argue that we should study this not through pedophilias relation or difference to an illness or mental disorder, but through a sexuality's relation to identity. As such, we may come to understand the beginning quote from Christian as more than just a political strategy, but as a way of experiencing himself through his attractions and political engagements. To argue for the origin of your attractions

through a natural spectrum, or saying "I was born this way", has more meaning than just dismissing pedophilias status as an illness, I will argue, but moreover works to create and sustain a meaningful narrative against a stigma. Understanding the relationship between nature, sexuality, and identity, thus becomes key to understanding the role of my informants' attractions just.

When studying how sexuality and identity is intertwined today, I find it important to remember that just the term 'sexuality' and the way we speak of sexualities is a modern construct (Estelle Freedmand & John D'Emilio 1990:483). In pre-industrial America, rhetoric concerning sex was primarily that of reproduction between a man and a woman, and sexual acts deviating from that purpose were seen as isolated acts, rather than relating to a specific sexuality. Michel Foucault describes the change from sex in terms of reproduction to sexuality as identity through the homosexual saying that: "*the Sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species*" (Foucault 1978:43), thus exemplifying how homosexuality was once defined through the isolated sexual act - the sodomite - but is now defined as being a certain type of person: the homosexual. Though I shall soon enough explain in more detail what is meant by this change, stopping and dwelling for now at the thought that sexuality has not always been the same as identity is important, as this forces us to question how sexuality has come to be such an important aspect of people's lives. How may we accept that the way we understand and talk about sexuality in many ways is a modern construct, while still acknowledging the importance of arguing for your sexuality as a natural phenomenon at the same time, as Christian did? This is indeed a complicated issue.

The history of the first female surgeon James Barry (c. 1789-1865), who was born Margaret Ann Bulkey, is a great example of the complexity of the issue. For some, it is a story of the success of a woman fighting the patriarchic powers of a male dominated society in the United Kingdom, following and achieving her dream of becoming a surgeon by disguising herself as a man, as only men could be doctors back then. However, if James Barry lived most of his life as a man, and identified as a man, was he still the first female surgeon? Some might find the answer simple, but in academia and politics the answer is not that simple. Are transgendered people, then, whose biological sex differs from their self-identified gender, not who they say they are? How you answer that question can suddenly transform the history of Margaret Ann Bulkey from a story of female

empowerment to a critique of a biological deterministic tale that fails to justly acknowledge James Barry as a man.

The political complexity of the story of Margaret Ann Bulkey or James Barry, I argue, is not directly due to relations between sex and gender, but due to the complex and challenging relationship between what is 'natural' and what is chosen. This relationship is often articulated in more general terms as a relationship between nature and culture. Importantly, we should not try to sort this relationship by working towards classifying some things as natural and some as unnatural, but as Maurice Bloch and Jean H. Bloch writes, nature or biology is better seen as: "*a category of challenge rather than an element in a stable binary contras*t" (Bloch & Bloch 1980:31 in Kath Weston 1991:5). Kath Weston's book "Families We Choose" (1991) has brilliantly shown exactly this. In her book, Weston analyzes the concept of families as a contested concept in relations of power in a society, rather than as an institution (Weston 1991:3). She argues that she found the discourse on gay kinship to be somewhat structured in opposition to the 'straight' family (Ibid). Normal heterosexual families, as we saw in the chapter 2, "The Pedophile Stereotype", is indeed a powerful concept, and through this 'normal family' follows what she defines as an "order of nature" and "order of law" which gay families stand in opposition to. For over a century, she argues, homosexuals have been labeled as perversions of nature (Ibid:3-4). The normal, biological family and families we choose come to be mapped on to sexualities, mapping the biological family to the heterosexual, and the chosen family onto the gays. Weston's most valuable contribution for this thesis is her empiric showing of Bloch and Bloch's proposal that nature and biology is a category of challenge rather than a stable element in a binary contrast. While Weston's informants did indeed experience their homosexuality as something natural, they often found that people skeptical of their sexuality would challenge their sexuality as a choice, and thus impose a responsibility of the negative aspects of their homosexuality onto them. Weston showcases several examples of this, including the following three:

> "*One man described with dismay his father's reaction upon learning of his sexual identity: "I said, 'I'm gay'. And he said, 'Oh. Well, I guess you made your choice.'". According to another, "My father kept saying, 'Well, you're going to have to live by your choices that you make" to what he asked:*

> *"What is there to be responsible about? I was who I am*" (Weston 1991:38-39)**.**

> "*She asked me, how could I choose to do this and to ignore the health risks …implying that this was a conscious choice, 'Oh, I'd like to go to the movies today' type of choice. And I told her, I said 'Nobody in their right mind would go through this hell of being gay just to satisfy a whim.' And I explained to her what it was like growing up. Knowing this other side of yourself that you can't tell anybody about, and if anybody in your family knows they will be upset and mortified*" (Ibid:39).

To study the relationship between sexuality and identity is to study the relationship between nature/biology and culture/choice. As Weston's examples show, the relationship should not try to be sorted, though, but instead engaged with as a point of contention to explain who you are and who others are. Related to the context of pedophilia, which I will explore in much more depth soon, this knowledge is important, I argue, as it allows a perspective on the relationship between my informants' representations of their attractions as a sexuality and the hegemonic and stigmatic representation of them as 'un-natural', evil non-humans as a point of contention between nature/biology and culture/choice. To be perfectly clear, the contention is not that sexual relations with children are exempt from responsibility because their attractions are represented as a natural sexuality, but that negative representations of pedophilia are so heavily focused around the pedophile's 'chosen' acts of abuse.

When approaching the relationship between sexuality, nature, and culture as point of contention, one faces the challenge of how to acknowledge arguments made through biological explanations justly when adapting such a social constructionist point of view. How to solve this challenge has been informed by studies of sexuality and the relationship between nature and culture in transgendered people for over 40 year, and yet, the debate of the role between nature, identity, and choice continues (Riki Lane 2015:1). How people experience their sexuality or gender is often discussed, and has historically been discussed through dominant paradigms of biology and social constructionism (Harding 1998:8). Riki Lane argues that our best theoretical framework to understand the relationship between sexuality, identity, and biology should be neither a social constructionist one which rejects biological explanations due to its changes through history, nor a

biological deterministic one which rejects the cultural influence on biological categories. Instead, he writes:

> "*Seeing a dialectical, reflexive relation between human activity and "nature" drives an appreciation of sex/gender as simultaneously biological and social which can help develop an approach that can utilise both biological and social constructionist inquiry.*" (Lane 2015:1)

Taking a standpoint in neither of the camps, Riki Lane studies three different narratives of how his transgendered participants position themselves in relation to a biological discourse and participate in constructing this as well. Through an either migrating, oscillating, and transcending narrative, Lane shows how biology is sometimes argued as the reason for undergoing sex changing surgery, as they are "caught in the wrong bodies from birth", while at other times the fear of regretting surgery is articulated through a social aetiology, arguing that their motivations for wanting surgery is produced by their environments. Lastly, biological arguments are sometimes also devalued as they often subscribe to a gender binary which fails to acknowledge the plethora of different causes people might have for having gendered experiences outside of the norm (Ibid:3-6).

While I will not attempt to develop a theoretical framework based on my collected data, the appreciation of how sexuality is treated simultaneously as biological and social, I argue, is the best approach to understand how arguments of nature and biology are invoked in my informants' attempts to engage politically and live meaningfully. Importantly, when studying how representations of nature are performed and negotiated, one can easily sound dismissing of the truths of these arguments. This is, however, not the goal here. As Henry Rubin argues, it is important to acknowledge the legitimacy of desires for authenticity and realness as arguments through biology and nature supports, but without forgetting the constructedness of our identities (Rubin 1999:190-191). Applying a, in its essence, social constructionist point of view to analyze my informants' constructions of identity and political engagement through arguments in nature and culture, is then by no means meant to delegitimize these attempts. Jeffrey Weeks cleverly argues, that the purpose of such an approach is not to deny the effects of biology, but to question: "*what are the effects of those particular* [cultural] *meanings on the ways in which individuals organize their lives*" (Weeks 1995:7), and that we should focus on the power relations of these

meanings and not on whether a sexuality is inborn or learned (Ibid). Representations of nature and biology, like when Christian in the beginning of the chapter said: "*I've finally come to the conclusion in recent years that being exclusively attracted to minors is part of the natural spectrum of sexuality*, should not be scrutinized to uncover whether it is a sexuality or not, but to understand how Christian uses sexuality and nature as points of contention to organize his life.

Organized Choices

The investigation into the debate and relationship between sexuality, nature, and culture has been a continuous focus in anthropology for well over a century. While it seems only natural that sexuality has always been viewed contingent to 'culture' in anthropological studies, the 'nature' of sexuality has been debated in terms of its structural and functionalistic properties, and has been quite essentialistic in its earlier days. Typically, studies of sexuality were conducted in more exotic parts of the world, as this was a way to define our own Western culture and sexuality as evolved from evolutionary states of promiscuity and animalistic lust (Sophie Maksimowski 2012:3). At some point in the early 1900's, rather than viewing evolutionary and racial differences as the cause of difference in sexuality throughout the world, anthropologists began to study the production of different sexualities through culture. Bronislaw Malinowski, as an example, saw the human as a species naturally in need of reproduction and began to study how different cultures accommodated this need differently (Ibid:4). Such studies, especially those popularized by Margaret Mead (1928) and Malinowski (1929), started to challenge popular discourses of what was actually "natural" and how to view sexuality in terms of "choice", as they challenged descriptions of fixed sexual drives, and instead studied how different cultural formations only naturalizes them as such (Ibid:4).

Though these new approaches did indeed challenge more rigid ways of viewing sexuality, up until the 1980's, anthropological studies of sexuality were primarily focused on reproduction, and mostly on the white middle class. This stalling and somewhat narrow focus gave rise to a critical feminist approach, though, that started arguing for the importance of gender, class, and ethnicity when seeking to understand one's sexuality and thus identity (Carole Vance 2005 in Maksimowski 2012:5). Importantly, this rise in feminist theory separated gender and sexuality so

that they were no longer treated as a unified system, and thus made space for new studies of minority sexualities, rather than the binary and reproductive focus on white men and women only. Consequently, behavior and identity were separated too, which had otherwise been one and the same in the Western world since the 17th century (Maksimowski 2012:6). Richard G. Parker and John H. Gagnon writes that: "*the distinction between identity and behavior, between "who I am" and "what I do" speaks to a modern ability to compartmentalize aspects of the self*" (Parker and Gagon 1995:13), and I argue that this modern and theoretical development is crucial when studying non-acting minor attracted people, as this is an important dynamic for how sexuality can be used differently to 'organize' one's life, as Weeks suggest we investigate. If the relation between nature and identity is often contested through a relation between non-chosen and chosen, it is important to pay attention to how sexuality is compartmentalized in either a part of 'who I am' or 'what I do', as this might prove very different when engaging politically. The distinction between "who I am" and "what I do" should not, just as well as nature and culture should not either, be viewed as stable binary relationship that does not allow for any movement between each other. To be clear, the compartment of the self called 'what I do' does not refer necessarily to actual actions, but to characteristics and traits often used to explain identity. For example, one might organize his sexuality as natural and non-chosen, but only as a part of 'what I do' – only as a fact that some time during his puberty he started to experience attractions related to a particular sexuality and nothing more - arguing that his core values of who he is are unchanged by this biological fact. Contrary, one might argue that his sexuality is a core part of who he is that influences many of the values that define him as a person, but that this is not tied in any way to external characteristic or traits. Specific to sexualities, the ability to distinguish between who you are and what you do, I argue, is closely related to a dynamic of separating moral and desire – an important discussion to dive into another time. The point here is, that it is important to pay attention *how* you contest the relationship of biology and identity when using your sexuality as a point of contention and political engagement.

The theoretical development of sexuality and identity has with its focus on the proliferation of sexualities and multitude of experiences following such, come a long way to understand the complexity of sexuality, and thus do just to experiences of sexualities outside of a typical normative framework. As both Lane (2015), Rubin (1999), and Weeks (1995) have called for, we must investigate how nature and culture exist together and as a point of contention. I have

continued to argue in this sub chapter, though, that when investigating this relationship as a point of contention, we should also pay attention to the ways in which identity and sexuality is negotiated and organized differently around a distinction between 'who I am' and 'what I do'.

To understand why nature and sexuality have become such important points of contention to organize our lives, we need to look at the system of power through which these values are contested. We should thus ask: why is it, that arguing for the naturality of your desires and/or attractions seems to hold so much legitimacy? Why is it that sexuality often seem so important to explain who we are?

The Answers Lie Within

To argue for your sexuality as being natural has had, and still does have, a very appealing power due to the powerful rhetoric of nature, which can be very hard to deny. Speaking of power and sexuality together, another thing that is very hard to deny is the legacy of Michel Foucault's work on exactly these two concepts. Michel Foucault's work on sexuality (1978) is contributory to a large body of academic literature, and not only the ones involving sexuality. The reason for this might very well be because Foucault acknowledged that we must not study sex and sexuality through the already established rhetoric of sex and sexuality, but instead aim to look behind this rhetoric and conceptualization to understand how we have come to understand and experience things the way we do. To quote Jefferey Weeks again, he argued that we should look at how particular cultural meanings come to organize our lives. Foucault's famous concept of self-disciplining, I argue, is an attempt to study the way in which we organize our lives through different cultural formations. Building the concept of self-disciplining in his book "Discipline and Punish" (1977), Foucault paints the picture of the panoptic prison with a single guard tower in the middle surrounded with cells. The prisoners never know if they are being monitored, but know that there is always a possibility that they are. In effect, they start to act as if they were monitored all the time, thus self-disciplining any inappropriate action. To Foucault, the panopticon thus establishes a power relation which is being reproduced by the individuals. He explains the condition of the prisoner in the cell as: *"He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, but never a subject in communication*" (Foucault 1977:200). Though I will eventually

criticize that 'the prisoner' is never a subject in communication, to understand how sexuality and nature has become an important part of explaining who we are, I argue, we should still acknowledge how we in many ways are objects to information - which for clarity might better be described as objects to certain ways of thinking instead.

One of the largest contributions of Foucault for this thesis, is his genealogy of how we have come to understand sexuality and our bodies in recent times, and our 'way of thinking' about sexuality – how the system of power of sexuality has been established. Briefly mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, I quoted Foucault's description of the change in how the sodomite became the homosexual. His work on the history of sexuality becomes important exactly because of his way of studying power. Our object to certain ways of thinking is what is simply meant when the mantra "knowledge is power" is used, as knowledge controls how we think and thus who we think we are. According to Foucault, we cannot understand the heterosexual, the homosexual, or the pedophile, to name a few, outside the power that constructs these, as even denying such categories would be to reproduce their existence (Foucault 1978). Establishing sexuality as something intimately concerned with power, Foucault argues that for too long, all talk of sex had been repressed through silence. That talk of sex should be silenced or censored – that sex is something private – has often been named the "repressive hypothesis". Historically, the repressive hypothesis was to Foucault emblematic of the bourgeois societies in the 1700's. Due to the relationship between the 'tiny elite' - the Bourgeois - and the church, everything done out of joy and pleasure, such as sex, was deemed inappropriate. What had been a discourse in Christianity long before, transformed through the power of the bourgeois into an imperative applying to 'every good Christian', thus constituting the hypothesis. This is Foucault's starting point, arguing that the system of power which encloses all talk of sex today, is shaped by its relations to the historical silencing of sex. Foucault argues that it is out of this silence that a new discourse was born where sex is imbued with an aura of something hidden that must be searched out for the truth it conceals (Foucault 1978:128-129). Consequently, through this new emphasis to investigate our sexualities, sexuality has been structured as something we are convinced has a deep meaning to our personalities, and that it is through our sexuality that we are to find truth and purpose (Ibid). Through this formation of knowledge, we have come to believe and reproduce the idea that sexuality is key to explaining who we are – as a natural configuration of our identities - and striving towards a healthy, heterosexual sexuality with the purpose of reproduction has become a

demanding form of self-discipline and bio power (Ibid:139). This does not mean, however, that you cannot experience anything other than being a heterosexual person who is attracted to people your own age, but that you will always be aware that you are not a heterosexual attracted to adults when you are different from this. To Foucault, it is then impossible to experience one's sexuality without somehow doing so contingent to the idea of the natural and healthy body. This, I argue, is key in understanding the organizing role of sexuality when studying minor attracted people. You can never be attracted to minors without experiencing this in relation to a biological body and sexuality.

Though the importance of Foucault's legacy is undeniable, the critique often found of his works, which I argue as well, is the monolithic and inescapable ontology of the discourse and power he defines. It is, however, impossible to dismiss the structuring power of the natural body or the normative subject, whatever the extend of this power you choose fitting. It is hard to deny that the way we think about sexuality is intimately concerned with identity. Instead of readily accepting Foucault's reach of discursive power, we may instead use the knowledge that sexuality is key to explaining who you are to start investigating how this structuring power shows itself in the lives of minor attracted people, when the sexuality they are supposed to find meaning and purpose in, is also exactly the sexuality they are so often despised for. Furthermore, we may also use Foucault's notions of the importance of the natural and healthy body to look for ways in which my informants navigate and use their sexuality politically and strategically, as a subject in communication, rather than a subconscious disciplining factor.

Biology as a political advantage

Having established the need to look for different ways in which nature, culture, biology, behavior, and identity are all intertwined differently in different contexts, and that sex and identity, along with the power of a natural body, seem to be closely linked in a Western system of power, how are we, then, to use these facts when studying minor attracted people's political engagement?

Feminist anthropologist Sherry Ortner builds in her book "Making Gender" (1996) upon the dialectic of how we shape the world around us and how we are shaped by the world. The

theoretical school concerned with this dialectic is often referred to as "practice theory" and is popularly formulated by famous anthropologist and sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1990), Marshall Sahlins (1999), and Anthony Giddens (1984). Sherry Ortner has been instrumental in developing this line of theory as well, bringing into question how power and agency is distributed politically and culturally in marginalized groups. Finding inspiration in male dominated societies on Hawaii and the constructions of gender relations there, she introduces marginalization and resistance as factors to look for when studying relations of power (Ortner 1996). When studying how marginalized people aim to resist hegemonic representations of themselves or characteristics ascribed to themselves, Ortner argues not to look for the 'amount' of agency to be found in marginalized groups, but to look for the ways in which *forms* of agency are politically and culturally constructed (Ortner 1996:10). Importantly, Sherry Ortner reminds us when studying the agency and power that: "*agency is not acted out in a social vacuum but within relations of power*" (Ortner 1996 in Maksimowski 2012:6).

Related to this thesis, studying how my informants engage politically and use their sexuality to do so, we should not do so unknowingly of the system of power in which the 'natural' body is highly valued. Minor attracted people do indeed have agency, and a bit paradoxical, the *form* of agency which is culturally and politically valued, is the agency to claim that your body and desires are 'natural' and non-choses instead of cultural and chosen. Consequently, negotiations between culture and nature when engaging politically are important *forms* of agency to legitimize *quite different world views* (Michel Tournier 1988:201).

Many feminist studies have thus occupied themselves with the political effects of arguments in nature when minorities aim to engage politically. Kirsten Esterberg argues that all questions of sexuality are political as they are debates about choice and constraint (Esterberg 1997:28). Sumi Elaine Colligan identifies a very strong trend in U.S. culture to try and explain different behaviors through biological reasons and consequently, also an effort to "*isolate, repair, or eliminate*" those behaviors, that are not supported by a biological legitimacy (Colligan 1999:73). Dorothy Nelkin and Susan M. Lindee further argue that genetic explanations have been used to marginalize groups and, thinking back to the arguments of Foucault as well, they argue that there is a need to argue for the biology of your sexuality when engaging politically, as this transforms your sexuality from a lifestyle choice to a natural imperative (Nelkin & Lindee 1996:103). Hitting

the nail on the head, they write: "*whoever can successfully argue that biology [...] supports their particular viewpoint has a tactical advantage in the public debate*" (Ibid:103-104). To look at how my informants engage politically through their sexuality, we should do so with a focus on how nature/biology is used to support their viewpoints.

Having established a framework of engaging with representations of nature, sexuality, and identity as points of contention in a system of power where biology and nature is highly valued, we find ourselves well suited to engage in the following three analysis' of how my informants use their sexuality to explain who they are, but also who they are not; how they use arguments of nature, biology, and evolution to explain experiences of their stigmatized attractions; how they challenge and resist stigmatized representations of their sexuality through research.

Identity Inclusion and Stigma Separation

Michel Foucault argued that sexuality is often experienced as key to explaining who we are. When your attractions are considered one of the largest taboos in modern Western societies, representations of the relationship between your sexuality and identity becomes crucial to engage politically. Trying to understand how my informants did so, I found that this was done in two ways: either through an inclusion of self and sexuality, or through the opposite: a separation from self and sexuality. Sometimes my informants did both. I will both show and argue that these are two different ways of trying to find a meaningful purpose, when facing such heavy stigma.

When I wrote or talked with my informants, they sometimes expressed a need to tell me that their sexuality was not only troublesome for them, and many told me that they would not change their sexuality if they had the choice. I always included a last question in the interview-guide, asking if the participant thought I forgot to ask something, or if there was something the person would like to add. My informant Clifford included in this section that he wanted to balance out the things he had just described to me with a "bit of a look on the bright side" and then wrote:

> "*My favorite things about being attracted to minors include:*
>
> *-Moral confidence. I've observed and worked into everything from the pettiest trifling 'me first' tendency in me to some pretty horrific*

> *manifestations of rebellious adolescent destructiveness and cold*
> *hatred. I've learned to dissociate from such fleeting states and can*
> *relatively easily interact with any human being on equal terms. I see*
> *myself no longer as worse or better than anyone else and this gives*
> *me freedom to go anywhere with complete confidence.*
>
> *-Sensitivity. Like the confidence above, this is not necessarily*
> *dependent upon being a hebephile, but my orientation toward*
> *people younger than me has gone a long way toward developing me*
> *as a highly sensitive human being. My ears and eyes are not very*
> *clear and often my diet leaves my sinuses somewhat congested, yet*
> *my mental focus on young people has sharpened my perceptions far*
> *beyond those of many people who actually have better eyes, ears,*
> *and noses than i.*
>
> *- It's a great boredom remedy! That's right; simply a glance from a*
> *young girl or a recollection of a recent interaction can occupy my*
> *mind with challenging issues to go to work on. I stopped suffering*
> *boredom when i was fourteen. I also started calling myself a*
> *'paedophile' then."* - Clifford

It was not rare at all for me to see how my informants described their sexuality as a major contributor to their lives and identities, and they often explained to me the beneficial parts of their sexuality. To do so is a great example of what Erving Goffman defines as one out of two primary ways of managing a spoiled identity: either using your stigma as an explanation of the failures in your life, or as a 'blessing in disguise' (Goffman 1963:11). Following are examples of the latter:

> *"It has given me emotional strength. It has given me a great deal of*
> *empathy for other marginalized groups. It has given me a reason to*
> *change the world for the better. It has given me the gift of being in*
> *love.*" - Oliver
>
> "*I think that belonging to a stigmatized minority can make one more*
> *empathetic for other people, especially other discriminated groups.*

> *I'm regularly at protests for the rights of refugees and gay people and I think being a MAP also means learning how important it is to speak with people instead of speaking about them*" – Hans

> "*All those unpleasant moments can have a lot of positive aspects I think. You just know how much it can hurt when somebody says something negative about you, so choose your words in moments where it's important very carefully and I think this skill that I probably improved a lot by experiencing stigma is something that has made my friendships better*" - Hans

> "*I think it is a really important part of who I became because of this suppression I am way more tolerant of other people, well not tolerant, but accepting, I understand a lot of people with issues, I understand problems criminals go through but also transgender the LGBT community, I understand why people think in a certain way, and I can accept how they think and therefor I do think I am a better person*" - Tom

Though my informants did not always describe their sexuality through its positive effects, many still experienced their sexuality to be a core part of who they are, and that they would not change their sexuality even if they had the choice to do so for this reason:

> "*I am happy with myself now and it would probably surprise people to hear that I wouldn't want to change.* […] . *I try to remember that in the same way they don't see my attraction, I too do not understand what most others see as attractive. Our attractions are an intimate part of who we are and taking that away would be taking away too much of me. I feel that everyone can relate to that*" – Jaden

> "*But as I become more comfortable with who I am I realized this isn't going away, and so I feel like saying this is part of my sexuality.... But to be honest I really wouldn't know. A condition*

> *perhaps? I don't know. Being attracted to boys is simply a part of who I am, and by now I can't imagine myself without it.*" – Jesús

> "*It is such a core part of who I am, I think much of my identity, that even though making the change* [hypothetically, ed.] *might make my life easier, I wouldn't do it. I just couldn't.*" - Peter

As Peter explains, he experiences his sexuality as such a core part of who he is that he would not change it, even though it would make his life easier. The examples above show how my informants experience their sexuality as a key part of who they are, and by showing how their sexuality in fact have made them better people - sometimes even more empathetic than others due to their sexuality - I argue, is a way to manage the stigma they face.

However, that their sexuality and identity were fused together in such a core way was not articulated by all my informants, and some of the same informants that argued for such an inclusion, sometimes argued the opposite as well:

> "*Being minor attracted has not affected who I am as a person. I have always been and will always be a kind, caring, respectful and gentle person who places the needs of others above my own. I am proud that I treat every one, regardless of who or what they are, equally.*"
> – Christian

> "*For example just because some heterosexual men rape women, that doesn't mean that heterosexuality is a dangerous orientation. The same is true for homosexuality, minor attraction, zoophilia etc.: Your sexual feelings don't influence your behavior or personality*" –
> Hans

> "*I assume however, that there is a genetic cause and that one's sexual feelings don't say anything else about oneself, just like no one would assume that a person who likes marzipan is in any way different from a person who doesn't like marzipan*" - Hans

> *"Well I think it is because I understand that there are more of me*
> *besides my sexually attractions, it's not like I am entirely sexual*
> *being and just think about SEX.* [...] *It's not like my entire feelings*
> *depended on my pedophilia –I also have human part; I am also*
> *normal."* - Jesús

Showing such contradiction is by no means an effort to diminish any sort of truth in either statement. In fact, I argue that the difference between inclusion and separation of one's sexuality and identity works excellently to nuance the differences between experiencing one's sexuality meaningfully and engaging politically. Just as I shortly discussed in the sub chapter 'Organized choices', different ways of organizing one's sexuality as being either a part of who you are or what you do mean different things. To include experiences from being attracted to minors as a valuable contribution to one's life - to who you are - I argue is a way to transform all those negative experiences of stigma into something positive, as I quoted Hans saying, and thus try to engage politically by making your sexuality meaningful. However, when engaging politically, we might recall the arguments in the theoretical part stating the importance of locating your attraction within the biological spectrum to gain political legitimacy, and thus to separate one's sexuality from one's stigmatized identity, by organizing your sexuality as part of 'what you do' instead, is a way of separating yourself from the stigma. Resisting the stigma by saying that you are indeed much more than your sexuality, then becomes an important tool to engage politically as well.

To 'include', as opposed to 'separate', might then be arguing for the personal legitimacy of one's sexuality through the positive benefits on one's identity, while to separate might be arguing for political legitimacy by arguing for its natural and non-chosen status.

Attractive Sexualities

Arguing for the origins and effects of your attractions and desires through an essentialist line of thought - that is for the fixed and inherent drives that dictate your sexual identity - Nelkin and Lindee argued that we might see this as a response to a discourse where political legitimacy is depending on defining your attractions as a natural imperative, rather than a life-style choice. As we saw in the previous analysis, to separate your sexuality from your identity might be regarded

as a way to engage politically, but to engage politically was also presented as a way to manage the stigma of one's sexuality by emphasizing positive aspects of one's sexuality. As Foucault argued, the produced knowledge of the right state of things does not exist externally to people's identities. If we live in a world where we emphasize the importance of locating your sexual attractions within a natural paradigm and engaging politically with others through negotiations of this, this also effects the way we experience ourselves, and thus how we experience our sexuality meaningfully. To engage politically and live meaningfully should therefore not be taken as mutually exclusive, as they may exist at the same time, though the extend of self-referential meaning in political engagements may vary:

> "*Sexuality. I used to think of it as a variation of being heterosexual but I've changed my view over time as I've realised its too specific and too important part of me as a person to just be a variation. It is a full sexuality since it really does define me in such a fundamental way.*" - Tim

> "*I call it "my taste in boys". Thanks to VirPed I was able to call it a sexuality, which helped me to come to terms with my failed adult relationships in a similar way a lesbian would stop wondering why sex with men didn't make her happy*" - Jessica

These two quotes from Tim and Jessica are examples of how classifying your attractions as a sexuality, and thus locating them within a natural paradigm, is a political engagement and an important way to experience yourself. Importantly, describing your attractions as a sexuality because this is how you experience it, this is also a political engagement. One of my informants directly told me that he has not chosen to call his attractions a sexuality for political reasons, but because that is the term he feels describes him best:

> "*I see it as a sexual orientation. I don't pick that term because I'm trying to "mainstream" pedophilia, or be political, it seems to be the term that best fits to me. People do not have a choice in what they find sexually attractive. I am oriented by age. I think this has been present in my life ever since I noticed an interest in the opposite sex.*" – Peter

I think this is an excellent example to understand the relationship between living meaningfully and engaging politically. It is because Peter believes that people do not have a choice in what they find sexually attractive that he also feels that his attractions should be classified as a sexuality. He explains it as a sexuality, as this, to him, is the most meaningful way of describing his attractions. However, given the discursive values of a natural imperative and the classification of pedophilia as a mental illness in the DSM-5 register, such statements do become political due to their resistance to such, and not because of any manipulative effort. Just as to engage politically can be to live meaningfully, to experience one's attractions as non-chosen, is political when articulated.

It is not always important, though, that your attractions are classified as a sexuality. Sometimes the important thing is that your attractions are immutable and hard-wired. Following are examples of how two of my informants described their attractions:

> "*Definitely not an illness, it's not something that being healthy and then got ill and will be healthy again. My experience says it doesn't work that way.*" – Jesús

> "*I think that minors have something that I feel I need, and it manifests itself in a multi-dimensional (both sexual and emotional) attraction. It has been hardwired in me during my puberty, but I'm not sure if I should refer to it as to my sexual orientation, or as to my strongest fetish.*" - James

To my informant Jesús it is important to say that his attractions are "definitely not" an illness, as an illness to him connotes the ideas of something temporal that you can have and then not have, but he does not call it a sexuality directly. For James, he is also uncertain whether his attractions are a sexuality or a fetish, but he believes they are still a hardwired and essential part of him, though they do not come from a genetic cause.

Most my informants are, however, very certain that their attractions are very much a sexuality on par with every other sexuality, but common for them all is the belief that their attractions are permanent. During my fieldwork, I often found that my informants told me about their theories for the biological causes of their sexuality which support the natural narrative as well:

> "*I think variability and diversity in sexual/romantic attractions among the human species are a natural consequence of evolutionary biology, the full degree of which we have yet to fully understand. For some reason, diversity seems to be a necessary feature of the human species.*" - William

> "*Diversity is beneficial so from an evolutionary perspective I think it's good that people have different sexual interests.*" - Hans

> "*As for men attracted to pubescent girls it might be evolutionary, in the old days when people lived shorter and many women died in childbirth it was common to take a young female partner to ensure they will bear this particular man's offspring. Today's age of consent is much higher than the age when people were capable of starting a family in former centuries.*" - Jessica

> "*I've heard a neat theory I like, that perhaps pedophiles on a biological primitive evolutionary level are supposed to serve as some sort of parental backup. In early civilizations and cultures if parents were to die prematurely from illness or accidents, it would make sense to have other adults around that would have a biological drive to take care of and show affection to offspring that are not their own. This obviously wouldn't work in what society is today, where obviously many adults are capable of loving kids who aren't their own, but from a biological evolutionary standpoint, it's an interesting theory I think.*" – Alexander

Locating the origins of one's attractions within a context of evolution and biology was argued as a strategy by Nelkin and Lindee to gain a political advantage. Though some of my informants did not articulate biological reasons for their attractions, I argue that to identify your attractions as something non-chosen and hardwired, this may still serve the same function as dismissing any attempt to classify such attractions as 'life-style choice'. To my informants, I argue that this advantage might be explained because it challenges much of the negative stigma surrounding pedophilia. That pedophiles are 'ticking time bombs' or evil and manipulative people who want to

harm children is challenged through such arguments, as if it is not only natural to be attracted to minors, but even evolutionarily beneficial, their feeling cannot be primordially evil, but come from a root of survival and altruism instead.

Researching Research

Sexuality has so far been shown to play a very important role in how my informants experience their lives meaningfully despite facing such heavy stigma, by either including positive traits from their sexuality or arguing why they are much more than just their sexuality. I have also shown how my informants argue for their attractions status as hard-wired or a sexuality and for their attractions' origin in an evolutionary perspective. Taking Foucault's words that "knowledge is power" quite literally, I found during my fieldwork that engaging with research on pedophilia was an important way for my informants to not only make sense of their attractions, but also to challenge the stereotypical representations and stigma of pedophilia and engage politically. Aiming to study the relationship between my informants and their perceived surrounding societies, I came to experience "research" as being the battleground between minor attracted people and the public, in which truth and lies were challenged and debated.

I made sure to ask all of my informants questions relating to the first time they experienced attractions towards minors and how they dealt with this realization afterwards. It was through this inquiry that I initially came to pay attention to the role of research for my informants. My informant Hans wrote me this when we talked about how he came to terms with his attractions:

> "*I don't know much about psychology (although because of all those prejudices I was kind of forced to learn about what psychology says about minor attraction. I haven't read any study about homosexuality I think, only newspaper articles about the results of such studies but reading minor attraction there are so many contradicting studies that I was pretty difficult to simply find out that there is nothing wrong with my feelings. On the other hand, I'm now a bit better at comparing studies or knowing what methodical flaws of a study could have*" – Hans

During our correspondences he seemed very keen to show me all the articles he had collected on pedophilia and wanted to guide me towards relevant research for this thesis. I initially had a hard time knowing if he did so to impress me, given my role as a researcher, or what the cause for this was. Though I did not ask him directly, he did eventually tell me why, which I believe is an excellent example of just why research is an important tool to engage politically try and live meaningfully with a sexuality surrounded by so much stigma:

> "*And yes, I find it weird too that I as 20 year old collect these articles but having experienced how extremely depressing it can be when you're told over and over that your feelings would be sick or abnormal every single one of these articles and studies is a bit like a protective shield against those prejudices.*" – Hans

To stay in the metaphor of research as the battlefield between minor attracted people and the public, perhaps this was inspired by Hans, who I think paints the picture of the research articles as all part of a shield against the stigma prejudice brilliantly to explain the role of research for him to live a meaningful life.

Just as Hans, my informant Randy emphasized how it was not just from learning that there were other people like him that helped him understand that he was in fact a normal person:

> "*And I guess it wasn't just from meeting people. What really confirmed it was discovering research, cause some of these MAPs* [Minor Attracted People] *had posted links or descriptions of articles and books that were not from the forensic literature that had been published, that were actually credible, that were publish by real researchers from universities, that were not from the forensic tradition like the Wilson and Cocks book "The child lovers". That was very helpful."* – Randy

Using research to fight the stigma is done by my informant Tom as well. Through a more direct political way, though, where instead of using research to feel normal, Tom used it to show how it is the media's negative portrayal of the offending pedophile that is at fault for many cases of child abuse:

> "*I did a lot of research and basically I found out that, about 75% of child molestation by pedophiles is likely preventable by just changing* [what] *is presented in the media, that most likely, most of the sexual offences done by pedophiles are created because they believe that's how they are supposed to be or because they are under a lot of distress because of the stigmatization*" - Tom

Reading research is not the only way my informants used research to understand their attractions or engage politically. Contributing to research I found to be of great importance to several of my informants as well. Following are great examples of just why understanding one's life meaningfully can be closely related to engaging politically and in research:

> "*These days I find great interested in research on the subject, being part of support groups, discussions and of course taking part in studies like this one. I am not really sure where this interested will lead. I do know that lying is getting tiresome but to end the lies would mean a great change in my life, a lot of lost friends, family and career goals. If you need any help in any way please do not hesitate to contact me any time, for this study or for other questions you may have. It's hard to explain that being able to help with these studies almost provides a sense of purpose for me, some satisfaction in a way.*" - Jaden

> "*I am really happy that there are someone willing to help spread some light over this subject who is not a pedophile himself. The questions you ask are a lot better than almost all of those I have seen up until now. The feelings I had while answering them were at times overwhelming. Just the fact that you were able to elaborate your answers makes you feel like you are not just another one in the statistics*" - Kristian, translated

Knowing a lot about your attractions and contributing to research, I argue, is a way to live with the most stigmatized sexuality in the Western world. Remembering with Foucault that sexuality has gone from something repressed to something we must now seek to uncover, investigate and

understand, this might explain the motivation to try and understand your attractions through research. Showing how my informants are active subjects in negotiating and challenging research might, however, be a great way to critique the reach of the discursive power surrounding Michel Foucault's work on self-disciplining. How my informants use research to engage politically is a great example of how people are indeed also subjects of communication of how we are to think about things. Showing how my informants are strategic actors of distributing and challenging research specifically, is grounds for further research. For this thesis, though, I do not wish to explore the theoretical aspects of how marginalized groups interact against a power further, but stay at the conclusion that research is an important tool to negotiate the truth of the world around you, and to experience oneself meaningfully.

Chapter conclusion

Taking departure in the conclusions from chapter 2, "The Pedophile Stereotype", I started by exploring the system of power which surrounds the way in which nature, biology, sexuality, and identity are represented and negotiated. I showed the importance of accepting biological and cultural explanations of sexuality and identity equally, and the importance of looking for the ways in which this relationship is contested to organize one's life, rather than to sort out whether a sexuality is in fact biological or not. I continued to show that your sexuality is experienced as key to explaining who you are, and that representations of sexuality gain more politically legitimacy if represented as a natural imperative rather than a life-style choice. Through three different analysis' I showed, first, how my informants described their sexuality both as something intimately concerned with their identities and as something separated from their identities. I argued both to be strategies of political engagements, and argued that to articulate meaningful ways of experiencing one's sexuality and engaging politically are not mutually exclusive. Secondly, I showed how my informants engaged politically by arguing for the evolutionary and biological origins of their attractions as a dismissal of negative stereotypes. Lastly, I showed how my informants used research of their attractions as an important tool to not only engage politically, but to experience themselves meaningfully as well.

Chapter 4: "Narratives of failure"

> "*By the time I was 15, I developed a pretty big depression. Of course I didn't want people to find out about it so I had to keep lying to people every time they asked: how are you doing? I thought I would either end up in prison or dead, I also thought a lot about taking my own life, because the world would be a better place without people like me.*" – Shawn

> "*There were major psychological issues involved in acknowledging my pedophilic feelings. When I was 13 to 16 I was afraid my feelings were what "society" told me it was and was afraid I would become an abuser. At age 18 I just realized most of the world hates me and/or wants me dead.*" – Tom

When you ask the question: "how do you live as a minor attracted person in Western societies?" sometimes the answer is: "you do not". When my informants told me stories of how being attracted to minors have had a severe negative influence on their life, I was often very moved. I was moved because for some of my informants, it seemed they had no possibilities to engage in the world in a meaningful way, as their most intimate desires were not only one of the biggest taboos of our time, but had come to permeate every aspect of their lives. The focus of the previous chapter was how my informants used different strategies to engage politically through their sexuality. Using research as a protective shield, arguing that their attractions are in fact natural, and showing that their sexuality is a core part of who they are, but does not define them, are all strategies to engage politically up against predefined notions of what pedophilia is and what it means to be attracted to minors. Through the chapter I argued that my informants' political engagements were indeed strategies for them to experience a stigmatized sexuality meaningfully, but as I will direct my focus upon in this chapter, preceding political engagements is an internal experience of acceptance. In this chapter I want to go into depth with how my informants come to experience themselves meaningfully *for* themselves. If the stories set in place for you as a minor attracted person is a story of abuse, prison, and death, how do you ever come to realize that you are in fact a decent human being? To engage politically with others in arguments of what it means to be attracted to minors,

I argue, is indeed an important way to experience oneself meaningfully, but it is not sustainable grounds to live a meaningful life when you are attracted to minors. The harsh truth is, that you can engage politically all you want - and as we saw in the previous chapter, through sound logics even - but to be as heavily stigmatized as pedophiles are, often means a straight-out dismissal of such logics and engagements regardless of their soundness. As I quoted Sarah Goode earlier, pedophiles are not even seen as sexual radicals 'outside' of society, and clearly not as something normative 'within' a society, but are "*simply other than society; individualized and pathologized perverts, people who have left behind their common humanity*" (Goode 2010:84). The critical question for this chapter is not how you explain to others what it means to be a pedophile as in the last chapters, but instead: how do you remind yourself that you are a decent human being when people call you a monster and try to take away your humanity? Finding balance between being for others and being for one self is described by anthropologist Michael Jackson as the *condicio per quam* of social existence (Jackson 1998:16-17). Being so heavily stigmatized that your words do not have any effect on others, and that you have no possibilities to make any difference to the way things are, this replaces a person's sense of existential integrity with a feeling of nothingness (Ibid:17). To gain a better understanding of the identity dynamics of living with attractions towards minors, we might then ask: how do my informants recover their sense of existential integrity when from a very young age they are being told that their course of life is to eventually offend and go to prison, and that everyone hates them?

To set out to answer the question of how my informants exist for themselves in a meaningful way, I will do so through analysis' of several narratives of identity construction I have found during my fieldwork. Initially, I will present and discuss the challenge minor attracted people face: that there are no ready set in place stories for them to understand themselves as a good person and a minor attracted person at the same time. I will continue to show how the stories that are set in place for them, however, are stories of abuse and prison, and how many of my informants have struggled with their own self-perception because of these. In light of these struggles, I will discuss through social categories and meta-narratives how some narratives are structured as 'tellable', while others are marginalized as abnormal and wrong. From here I will discuss classic theoretical ways of understanding identity construction in marginalized groups and use this knowledge to analyze my informants' narratives of self-acceptance through a narrative assembly of values such as kindness and caring. Endingly, I will discuss that to find self-acceptance is not

always performed through an inclusion of culturally accepted models of a good person in my informants' narratives, but is also found in narratives of unbeing. Narratives of unbeing, I will argue, are narratives to recover a feeling of existential integrity not be feeling accepted by the rest of society, but by feeling like you do not need society's approval to feel good about yourself. Concludingly, I will show how 'narratives of failure' are an important way to study marginalized identity construction, as this reminds us that not all stigma management is for the purpose of being accepted by others, but also to live a meaningful life for one self.

Narratives of identity

What is characteristic for a personal narrative, rather than just any telling of who you are and what you do and like, is the coming together of a past, present, and a future. We all - in a Western world at least - often experience and view our lives narratively, constructing and experiencing a meaning and a purpose through past, present, and future. Our current concerns in our lives might very well change - while some concerns remain more or less static through our lives - yet our lives are still often experienced on a linear timeline, as it is often through our past that we understand and cope with our current and present concerns, and thus look to the future (Elinor Ochs and Capps 1996:28). For this reason, a narrative is often viewed as an essential resource in the "*struggle to bring experience into conscious awareness*" (Ibid:21). Though we tend to think of ourselves as individuals, Ochs and Capps continue to argue that narratives are not only an isolated and personal struggle, but is a "*medium for socialization par excellence*" (Ibid:31), as to be aware of our own human existence is always contingent to an awareness of the things, people, and structures around us (Ibid).

To have narratives of identity, even narratives of self-acceptance, is nothing unique at all. We all assemble meaning through time and contexts otherwise separated. Being attracted to minors, however, makes you face a unique challenge. It is easy for me to hold a coherent narrative as it is the same as so many other's. In many regards, I am living a story set in place for me. I live in one of the largest cities in Denmark; I study at the university at an appropriate age; I am a male living in a monogamous relationship with a female my own age; I have a part time job to make extra money to buy nice things: I see many others do the exact same thing and that reassures me

of my normalness. It is easy for me because I can assemble a narrative through already culturally accepted models of residency, education, relationship and so on, and the justification of many of my choices are implicit through their regularity. As such, I tend to feel quite normal. Being attracted to minors, on the contrary, means that there are no pieces that you can readily assemble that builds a picture of a culturally accepted person. There are no apparent ways to feel normal. There are no 'tellable' stories of an accepted pedophile. Elinor Ochs and Capps write:

> "*As narrators, we evaluate specific events in terms of communal norms, expectations, and potentialities; communal ideas of what is rational and moral; communal senses of the appropriate and the esthetic. In this way, we affiliate with other members of society both living and dead. We come to understand, reaffirm, and revise a philosophy of life*" (Ochs & Capps 1996:30).

How does one, then, hold a coherent and meaningful narrative of identity if the specific event you are to evaluate in terms of communal norms, expectation, and potentialities is your attractions to minors? Well, the simple answer is that you do not. Ochs and Capps introduce the term 'narrative asymmetry' which refers to the fact that it is not all who can tell a story, and that there are circumstances which disqualify central participants as storytellers (Ibid:34). People attracted to minors are indeed central participants in what it means to be attracted to minors, and while the stigma of pedophilia does not disqualify them from telling a story per se, it does seem to make it impossible to hold a narrative in which you can be a decent human being and attracted to minors at the same time.

During my fieldwork, I found that my informants articulated a struggle for them to be attracted to minors, as this was often followed by a worry that they would either eventually abuse a child or end up dead. The following part shows how my informants battle to hold a meaningful narrative of being attracted to minors in the face of a dominant power structuring their life course as one that is doomed to fail.

Internalized failures

> *"By the time I was 15, I developed a pretty big depression. Of course I didn't want people to find out about it so I had to keep lying to people every time they asked: how are you doing? I thought I would either end up in prison or dead, I also thought a lot about taking my own life, because the world would be a better place without people like me."* – Shawn

To hold a narrative of self-acceptance, one sometimes must battle feelings of self-hatred, self-doubt, and depression. For Shawn, it seems very apparent how he at a time in his life felt like there were few options available to him to lead a successful life. In the end of a skype conversation with one of my other informants, Alexander, I asked him if there was anything he would like to add, and he told me this:

> *"I always like to mention that an important message to get out is that people learn this about themselves at a young age, like the same with homosexuality, so, the issue of teen suicide, uhm, I mean, right now it might not seem like there is a lot of pedophile teenagers, but, you know I can assure you that there is, and, I think maybe teen suicide groups need to focus more on the issue, and, learn that, you know, pedophiles aren't always older people praying on the young, but are young people themselves trying to deal with a heavy secret. Yeah, so I guess the only other important message, that people learn this about themselves at a young age."* - Alexander

To create awareness towards pedophilia is for Alexander an important issue, as this could potentially help many teenagers struggling with stigmatized attractions find that there are other options than suicide. Knowledge of pedophilia could change the "world" a troubled teenager feels he owes his destiny to. The stigma of pedophilia does not only make you feel bad, but what I found through my fieldwork is that this stigma is for several of my informants experienced as a "life course" – a path which they are doomed to walk until they eventually get to a crossroad where they must choose between offending or suicide. Like the initial quote from Shawn, following four

quotes are examples of my informants experiencing a struggle to experience themselves as a meaningful and good person:

> "*There were major psychological issues involved in acknowledging my pedophilic feelings. When I was 13 to 16 I was afraid my feelings were what "society" told me it was and was afraid I would become an abuser. At age 18 I just realized most of the world hates me and/or wants me dead.*" – Tom

> "*What I want most is for people to stop blaming the desire for the crime. Once pedophiles begin believing that offending is inevitable they begin to act recklessly, believing there is little they can do to prevent their thoughts from morphing into actions. Those actions become part of the pedophiles identity, something that he himself believes is out of his control.*" - Oliver

> "*Current society drives many MAPs crazy. Even the rate of gay teenagers committing suicide is much higher than that of straight teenagers nowadays in western societies because of prejudices so the rate of minor attracted teenagers has to be incredibly high which makes me really sad and upset. They are told that they are monsters and ticking time bombs and I know how terrible it is to hear all these prejudices but have no one to talk to and even be too afraid to inform oneself about one's own sexuality because it all seems so terrible. You are bombarded with these prejudices without any protection or help so even though you actually know that there's nothing wrong with you (because love and affection are so obviously positive things), you start believing them. And when you start believing that you're a danger to the people you love then of course it can be that you think the only way to remove this perceived danger (yourself) is to kill yourself. Or, you think that if everybody hates you anyway and you will never be happy so because you have received so little*

> *empathy from society and others that you get psychological problems that cause you to offend.*" - Hans

> "*I think some people struggle to understand their sexuality because it's so taboo and hidden away and it can in some situations make people feel removed from society and responsibility, left to just their sexual feelings and perception that they are sexual predators so they might as well accept that as who they should be.*" - Tim

To be able to experience yourself meaningfully as a minor attracted person and be your own storyteller, it seems that you must first overcome the narratives already set in place for you, as they can feel very structuring for the options available to you. Narratives set in place for groups of stigmatized people that come to structure certain behaviors and identities are in many ways similar to how several different theories have discussed the power of social categories. Two very prominent theories in anthropology and sociology are Ian Hacking's theory on the social constructions of social categories (Hacking 1999) and Richard Jenkins's theory of "external representation" (1994), as has shortly been mentioned before. Ian Hacking argues how we should come to understand the social construction of social categories, reminding us to be aware that social categories is a construction of a *kind* of person – an *idea* of a person. Most importantly, though, he argues that *ideas* and *kinds* are by no means trivial to the persons belonging to such categories. Exemplifying the social category of 'women refugees', Hacking argues:

> "*It can really matter to someone to be classified as a woman refugee; if she is thus not classified, she may be deported, or go into hiding, or marry to gain citizenship. She needs to become a woman refugee to stay in Canada.; she learns what characteristics to establish, knows how to live her life. By living that life, she evolves, becomes a certain kind of person (a woman refugee). And so it makes sense to say that the very individuals and their experiences are constructed within the matrix* [social context] *surrounding the classification "women refugees*" (Hacking 1999:11).

While the example of the woman refugee shows the importance of belonging to a social category in a somewhat opportunistic way, it also shows how social categories come to structure your life

through the social context it is experienced in. Belonging to a social category of being a pedophile, notorious for its limited options of behaviors and actions, this "limitness" might just as well "evolve" a certain *kind* of person, establishing characteristics and a way of living one's life, though not very opportunistic. The *idea* or the *kind* established by the social category of pedophilia, I argue, is what we might also refer to as meta narratives set in place for pedophiles, marginalizing minor attracted people telling stories other than these. From a narrative theoretical perspective, one could argue that it is through the values and power in social categories that the narrative asymmetry Ochs and Caps describe is produced.

To Richard Jenkins, identity is always a product of the dynamic relationship between your own way of thinking about yourself and how other people think about you (Jenkins 1994:55). Coming from a position of power, external representations of a *kind* of person belonging to a given social category can be very influential to the ways the individuals in that category experience themselves. Refreshing from earlier chapters, Jenkins calls such representations either an "institutional order" or "symbolically templated 'ways of doing things'" (Ibid:56). Whether it is through a symbolic template of a "ticking time bomb" or an experience of offending as a characteristic of a pedophile, both ways are classic ways of theorizing how the status of a social category influences your own sense of your life. The power of social categories has been very influential in the studies of stigma, and can easily be said to influence Erving Goffman's famous work on stigma as well when he writes:

> "*While the stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind – in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad, or dangerous, or weak. He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one*" (Goffman 1963:3).

The power of social categories creates a 'kind of person' and as Goffman shows, identifying attributes in a person belonging to a stigmatized category, we reduce the whole of that person to the kind of person produced by that category. Ian Hacking and Richard Jenkins both show how belonging to a negative category has negative effects on how you come to experience yourself, and through examples from my informants, it is evident that being positioned in a category of

being a pedophile can feel very structuring. I shortly mentioned above that when speaking of a 'kind of person' belonging to a category we might also call this a meta-narrative. I propose that we adapt the concept of meta-narrative rather than 'kind of person', as I will continue to argue that we might then better come to understand the structuring of some stories as 'tellable' and some as 'untellable'.

The story has been told

What stories can and cannot be told is inherently a question of power, and looking at a social category of pedophiles, also a question of the powerful image of the *kind* of person they are held to be. While there are striking similarities to chapter 1, "The Pedophile Stereotype", I would like to remind the reader of the difference between focusing on how social categories and stereotypes are used to engage politically with others – how they are negotiated – as done in that chapter, and the focus on how the power of these categories and stereotypes are internalized or rejected on a personal level. Several theories on narrativity have focused on how power is internalized in narratives to structure how people experience themselves. Catherine E. Foote and Arthur W. Frank, who in their work have focused on how people manage grief, write that the narratives many people produce are in fact set in place for them by their society, structuring some narratives as 'tellable' and some as 'untellable' (Foote & Frank 1999:177). Foote and Frank take their theoretical departure in Michel Foucault, arguing that:

> "*The social availability of preferred stories, and the assimilations of experience to these narratives, is how power works. The power of the dominant discourse is to include some stories as tellable and to exclude others as marginal and abnormal*" (Ibid).

'Tellability' might then be the same as structuring logics and discourses, and building on the conclusions from the chapter "Political Sexualities" on the power of a 'normal sexuality', structures that influence the way we experience and negotiate matters. Rather than calling such structures of power "tellable" stories, I propose we instead call them meta-narratives. Though meta-narratives seem very similar to the characteristics of social categories that I have discussed

earlier, seeing as they both seem to propose an appropriate behavior – a *kind* of person – I argue that meta-narratives instead work in the way that they more explicitly marginalize some narratives as 'untellable' and guide actions and behavior more specifically. As for Foote and Frank's work, this means that a discourse on the right way to manage and experience grief, perhaps becomes most apparent when people fail to do so. It is when people do not mourn at all or mourn for too long, that we become aware that there is a correct amount of time for mourning, though it is never directly articulated. Like the previously discussed concept of self-disciplining by Michel Foucault, it is not that it is impossible to feel happy after a mourning period of only one day, but going back to work one day after your husband passed away and smiling, you will feel very aware that this is not appropriate.

More specific to a theme of sexuality, you are also aware when your attractions and desires do not meet conventional standards. Meta-narratives on desires are often apparent when discussing the lives of women in the sex industry. Andrew P. Lyons and Harriet D. Lyons argued that in a medicalized discourse where one's sexuality is the object of intense investigation, people are persuaded into thinking of themselves as holding a singular sexuality with a fixed set of desires (Lyons & Lyons 2004:185). Consequently, we have meta-narratives of sexualities which is a sense of the right sorts of attractions and desires matching the right sexualities. Therefore, it is often viewed to be very troublesome when women in the sex industry argue that they find joy and meaning through their work. This does not match the meta-narrative that sexual acts are supposed to happen between two equally consenting adults to achieve such feelings. Pornographic actress, film director, and sex educator writes:

> "*I love that my job is sex. I like sex work. I like how cut and dried it is. I'm a sex nurse. Our sexuality as a society is not well. It's sick. People so desperately need nursing around sex. I was a trained nurse. I'm a registered nurse. Only now I nurse people's sexuality*"
> (Hartley 2009:221 in Sophie Maksimowski 2012:10).

A narrative like this is deemed abnormal and untellable, contested through arguments that "she just does not know the consequences of her work yet" or "she is lying to herself". Through the same dynamics, meta-narratives of child-adult relationships seem to work in the way that they are quite invisible when not faced up against behaviors that challenge such. It is rarely articulated

directly that child-adult interaction and relations are supposed to be asymmetrical in the way that the adult is supposed to take care of the child through guidance, teaching, and caring. When narratives of mutual romantic relations between an adult and a child are told, however, such meta-narratives become very apparent and invoke very strong feelings in many people, who followingly take great lengths to not only marginalize such narratives as untellable, but to put the people who hold these in a registry to be monitored for the rest of their lives.

As such, narrativity is often being treated as being deeply concerned with power through meta-narratives. As a continuous theme throughout this thesis, narrative representations of identity and experiences are yet another way to analyze the relationship between who we are and the world around us. Summarizing above points with the key question of this chapter, how do my informants remind themselves that they are decent human beings, when there seem to be no 'tellable' stories available?

Claiming identity?

> "*[H]ow can subordinated subjects appear in their own image rather through those abjected and subordinated ones bestowed on them by the powerful?*" (Lynne Huffer 2013:56 in Nancy Harding 2016:76).

Going from feeling like your life is on a one-way street towards failure, to come to realize that you are in fact a good person is inherently a questions of identity construction. How marginalized and subordinated groups of people construct identity have in several ways been a fundamental question asked by feminist theorists, exemplified by Lynne Huffer in the initial quote. To study how minor attracted people recover a sense of existential integrity, the above question becomes highly relevant. In feminist studies, Judith Butler is perhaps the most prominent theorist to have discussed issues of gender, sexuality, and power. Most famously known for her book "Gender Trouble" (Butler 1990), she has come to greatly influence the way in which dynamics of power and marginalized groups have been treated theoretically. Butler became particularly popular as feminism as a political movement needed a tool to argue and show that the marginalized role of women in many societies was not caused by a natural order of things. Instead, Butler argues that

gender roles are produced through social and cultural relations of power, and are thus able to change. Butler has two goals: Firstly, to show that gender roles are socially constructed through regulated and repeated cultural practices such as language, norms, and categorizations. Secondly, to show that agency is always performed inside this discursive frame, but that agency is not determined by it (Butler 1990:145). Her key argument becomes on of 'performativity', showing that categories of identity are not only frames to fit people into, but much like the previously discussed thoughts of Ian Hacking, categories, language, and norms that produce certain kinds of subjects as they are being 'performed'.

Though it is impossible to deny the major shift in theoretical thought that has come in the wake of Judith Butler's work, a common critique of her has often been her missing thoroughness in explaining how agency is performed if it is ever socially constructed, but not determined. Edwina Barvosa-Carter has sought to challenge this critique by explaining how a culturally structured individual can still have non-determined agency to argue, that to be culturally and socially constituted does not equal having no mind of your own to reflect upon who you are and how others see you. Rather than to view the production of singular subjectivities through cultural models of language and social categories, Barvosa-Carter argues that we experience ourselves as *multiply constituted*, and through this experience have access to resources of self-reflexivity via a "*juxtaposition and interpretation of* [our] *many subject positions*" (Barvosa-Carter 2001:128). Therefore, she argues, we should not see the production of subjectivities as following a singular cultural axis of power, but through different culturally derived axes.

Are we then to understand that recovering a sense of existential integrity for my informants, is in fact done through a self-reflection drawing on values from different cultural axes than the one they are so heavily marginalized by, and thus re-locating their sense of self in other categories than 'the pedophile'? I will continue to show that self-acceptance may indeed come from drawing on culturally available values outside of what is - from a perspective of power - typically associated with being a pedophile, but I will eventually discuss, that to hold narratives of self-acceptance and to recover and sense of existential integrity is not only the process of constructing a narrative through culturally accepted values.

Narratives of self-acceptance

During my fieldwork, I was emailing back and forth with my informant Jaden, and at one point I asked about his recalling of how he felt when he initially became aware of his attractions. Looking back, he described some of his experiences as a struggle with the stigma of pedophilia and his attractions:

> "*I knew I was attracted to little girls, their bodies and cute faces, yet I had no understanding of why, and I thought it was wrong. I was embarrassed and even frightened at times, I thought the police would come and find me and take me away... which seems ridiculous now of course but I had no idea then. I would fantasize about little girls sexually and then tell myself that was the last time, I wouldn't do it again, I just needed to that time only.*" - Jaden

As I wrote back to Jaden, I explained to him that I was curious about learning more about how he went from experiencing his desires almost like an illegal drug he had to stay abstinent from, into something he now accepts, enjoys, and would not be without. I remember this conversation clearly, as Jaden was quick to correct me and tell me that my drug analogy was not true. He wrote in his critique of my analogy and elaboration of coming to terms with his attractions:

> "*I feel this* [the drug analogy] *implies some choice which we aren't given. We are taught from an early age that pedophiles are bad. No elaboration of that idea or explanation, it's just the way it is. The slow process of acceptance is simply a battle between the predefined social norms and your own personal conception of good or bad. Staying abstinent as you write, is not due to any addiction, it's due to these battles.*" - Jaden

He continued to further explain that the analogy of the drug and the addiction was wrong, as this would explain him and other minor attracted people as different. Instead, to Jaden, finding

acceptance is a battle against the predefined social norms or social categories, but not to experience himself as different in a good way, but as the same as everyone else:

> "*Most of us end up being able to see through society's narrow view of the issue and come to the realization that for the most part they are wrong, if not just due to being forced to analyze it in a way normal people wouldn't need to. It's only lack of understanding. We are mostly all the same.*" - Jaden

Drawing from chapter 2, "The Pedophile Stereotype", I argued that the way my informants presented their imagined stereotype was a starting point for political engagement. What Jaden calls predefined norms, and what I call social categories or meta-narratives, is much like the stereotype. However, as Jaden explains, before you can get to the point of engaging politically, there is a battle between the stereotype and norms and your own self-image and/or perception of good and bad. This battle I have seen represented by my informants in what I call 'narratives of self-acceptance':

> "*When I became an adult my confidence only grew. I was a good person, I felt bad when I saw people being hurt, I cared for people and helped them when they needed it, I felt compassion and empathy, so how can it be that they tell me I am a monster? I learned that I don't need societies acceptance or approval, they don't know me and not everyone will understand me.*" - Jaden

> "*I'm currently, eh, I'm mostly over it, but when I was a younger teen, 13-16, it* [Psychological effects of feeling marginalized] *did actually made me believe that I was doomed to offend, and made me kind of obsessed with the offences, and not the part of the sexual act, I never even, that never even crossed my mind, but the preparations of, of committing the crime and how to get away with it, I became obsessed with it, because I thought that was my only option besides killing myself or being very depressed and frustrated the rest of my life. I thought that were my options and I was supposed to offend to be, and not just supposed to have sex with children, but really in a predatory way like kidnapping and such. I have now decided to not*

> *do so – I'm a very kind person, I'm a very caring person, but I*
> *actually thought what was supposed to be my nature, because I was*
> *attracted to children*" – Tom

Both examples, I argue, show how being a kind person and feeling compassionate becomes the sword - to stay in the metaphor of a battle - to slay the stigmatic meta-narratives through their feeling's incompatibility to the *kind* of person they are supposed to be. Sometimes, to find that you do not belong to the *idea* of the pedophile, this is experienced by meeting other to see they too are not like the *kind*:

> "*Through my teen years and early adulthood it made me withdrawn,*
> *afraid, depressed with feelings of self-hate and low self-worth. I've*
> *always struggled with such feelings because like everyone else I am*
> *bombarded with a media narrative that tells me I'm a bad, evil,*
> *dangerous person for just being me. I now know this media narrative*
> *is completely wrong but it has taken decades to achieve this and it*
> *only happened when I found other minor attracted people who could*
> *reassure me and teach me to accept who I am. I am very fortunate*
> *to not be completely exclusive so the biggest cost for me has been*
> *emotional.*" - Tim

> "*I eventually met one of them in person, and then he introduced me*
> *to a few others, and anyway, the main thing it did for me, like I said*
> *it did help me stop seeing myself as a freak, and not only that, since*
> *I got to know these people, what was really important was that I got*
> *to meet people that were really decent caring people, who were*
> *responsible and who never did anything, well I'm sure we all make*
> *mistakes, but just like everybody else they didn't do things that hurt*
> *children, uhm, and, so that helped me see myself as a very much like*
> *any other person and that helped me sort of separate two dimension*
> *of my, well, I guess I had believed this idea that people who were*
> *attracted to children were inherently violent and selfish cause that*
> *was the stereotype that I had always read, and so it helped me*

> *realize oh I'm just like straight people, there are straight people who*
> *are violent, or aggressive or selfish, and, exploit women, and then*
> *there are straight people the majority who don't.*" - Randy

To feel hopeless, doomed to offend, or to feel like a freak, can easily be said to be products of the powerful negative image of being a pedophile. I have shown that my informants have and do indeed battle with feelings of self-doubt and depression. Barvosa-Carter's theoretical conclusion was, however, that marginalized people do not only see themselves through their marginalized *kinds*, but can be self-reflective of the object they are portrayed as being, and thus experience themselves from a different cultural axis as well. Bringing back the question I asked earlier: "Are we then to understand, that to recover a sense of existential integrity for my informants is in fact the product of a self-reflection drawing on values from different cultural axis than the one they are so heavily marginalized by, and thus re-locating their sense of self in other categories than 'pedophile'?". Looking at the above quotes from my informants, I believe that to a large extend, this is a very accurate explanation of how my informants construct their narratives of self-acceptance. As I mentioned earlier, narratives are assembled through cultural bits and pieces that together construct a coherent narrative. I also proclaimed that to be attracted to minors meant facing a unique challenge, as there are no readily accepted cultural models of how a "good pedophile" is supposed to be. To find self-acceptance despite seeing no ready cultural models, above examples show how some of my informants then draw on other culturally accepted bits and pieces – from another cultural axis – to reassure themselves that they are in fact decent humans.

Jaden experiences the contradiction between the *kind* of person he is said to be and his self-reflection of how he reacts to his surroundings like this: "*I felt bad when I saw people being hurt, I cared for people and helped them when they needed it, I felt compassion and empathy, so how can it be that they tell me I am a monster?",* thus emphasizing his kindness and empathy to build a narrative of a good person.

For Tom, his narrative is like Jaden's: it is through his reflections of himself from another cultural axis that he can withstand the negative internalized image of himself as a pedophile who will inevitably offend.

Interestingly, Randy articulates directly that it is through his reflection of himself in other minor attracted persons that helped him sort two different dimensions of himself: that of a normal

and good person and that of a freak and a pedophile. Though Randy does not directly speak of any values like Jaden and Tom, I argue that to find normalness in the reflection of others may be similar in the way that it helped him find self-acceptance in a position other than the image of an individualized and pathologized pervert, as Goode has described the stigma. This narrative's dynamic is similar to what we see in Tim's narrative of self-acceptance as well.

Narratives of self-acceptance, I argue, are ways for my informants to construct meaningful stories of being attracted to minors when there are no ready cultural models of such. In their narratives, they assemble a meaningful identity by including values of kindness, empathy, and 'normalness' which I argue are culturally accepted values associated with being a good person. Through an ability to experience the self as multiply constituted, my informants can compare the negative image of the pedophile up against experiences of kindness and empathy, thus finding self-acceptance in the obvious contradiction. However, as I shortly proclaimed, when studying identity construction in marginalized groups, self-acceptance is not only found through the assembling of culturally accepted values in your narrative, but self-acceptance might also be found through a process of 'unbeing'. To find self-acceptance is not always a battle to comply to the culturally accepted values necessarily, but might also be explained as a battle to experience yourself meaningfully despite being told that you are wrong.

Narratives of unbeing

When I discussed the challenge that pedophiles have no 'tellable' narratives that readily accepts them as good people, I argued that to hold narratives of being a good person for minor attracted people was particularly difficult if these narratives were to be evaluated in terms of communal ideas of what is rational and moral (Ochs & Capps 1996:30). The narratives of self-acceptance I showed are examples of how my informants evaluate specific events in terms of norms and morals, though in their own particular way. What I will continue to argue is that to recover an existential integrity, one might not only do so through such a narrative dynamic. Instead, for my informants to recover their sense of existential integrity, the communal ideas of what is rational and moral is often what is directly contested.

In the chapter "The Pedophile Stereotype" I showed how some of my informants were indeed very aware of their stigmatic status, and some of them rationalized this status through the argument, that they served a function in their societies as 'scapegoats', allowing the majority to reproduce themselves as the 'morally superior' ones while avoiding dealing with issues of child/adult sexual interactions:

> "*if a child enjoys that affection and begins slipping out of their parents' influence or control, bringing "grownup ideas" that were not approved by the parents and may conflict with the way the latters saw fit to raise their child... well, dismissing this Other Adult as a sex-obsessed monster and all of his/her interactions with the child as "grooming" is sure a great way to keep feeling justified and morally superior, while maintaining the paradigm wherein the child belongs to its parents!*" – Simon

> "*The people perpetrating these abusive acts were labeled as pedophiles and in some cases were. Since there's such rightful anger over these cases of abuse, I think people fell into thinking that there is "another", a boogey man, bad person, and that if they can just go after that type, then they'll stop the complicated issue of child sexual abuse and when/how it's committed. When in fact often, the perpetrators of these acts are not motivated by a sexual attraction at all, certainly not romantic feelings, and shouldn't really be called pedophiles*" – Alexander

These quotes are indeed political engagements to challenge the categories, language, and norms of their surrounding societies, and far from narrative efforts to affiliate with the norms of their societies. I do however argue, that while the above quotes are political engagements, they may also serve an important role in sustaining a meaningful narrative and thus recover a sense of existential integrity. To argue that being attracted to minors makes you a kind and empathetic person is way to affiliate yourself with the norms and values of the world around you. Rather than to articulate other culturally accepted models of being a good person in a narrative of self-acceptance, sometimes it is the fact that there are no 'tellable' narratives that is contested. From

the very beginning of my fieldwork I found a great interest in how my informants found meaning through their attraction in other ways than through a direct narrative of kindness and empathy. Along with the two above quotes I will continue to show how quotes I have called 'political deconstructions' serve to sustain a narrative of unbeing. Before we continue, I would like to remind the reader what my informant Alex reminded me: that to challenge whether child/adult sexual interactions are wrong is not the same as actively being sexual with children:

> *"It's very important to know that like, pro contact doesn't mean you are actually actively being sexual with the children, it means you just have these hypothetical opinions about the course society needs to go, and yeah, I don't think people with a pro contact mentality are any more dangerous than other."* - Alexander

Following are examples of what I during my fieldwork labeled as "political deconstructions":

> "*[T]he sex abuse hysteria has resulted in a very lucrative business for many counselors and social workers, as well as for politicians to justify passing repressive laws that intrude upon civil rights; even some of the most staunch libertarians fear to go against these laws publicly when it's alleged they are passed to "protect" children. This intantly puts massive emotional support behind such legislation. Having such a societal bogeyman to base a moral panic on is useful to many people on many levels for maintaining power and control over society, and making it easier to carry out various self-serving political agendas while pretending to do it for the greater good.*" - William

> "*It is not only the pedophile who needs to have rights, but the child as well. Unfortunately, children are all too often overheard in cases like this* [cases of sexual interaction between a child and an adult], *because people believe that a child is to grown enough to choose when it comes to feelings. A child should bne guided to the correct path and not being forced onto the right path as it is now*" – Kristian (translated)

> "*I am pro contact, but only if it does not hurt the child. And with the
> society as it is today then sexual contact would be to hurt the child,
> not by the pedophile, but by the society*" – Kristian (translated)

> "*Sometimes the harm comes from societies reaction to it, and sort
> of, a brainwash is a strong word, but the child is often lead to believe
> that this person didn't care about them or whatever, or sometimes
> they are not, sometimes ive hear cases of like the child ejoying the
> experience, but only being traumatized later on when they learned
> that it was bad or something like that*" – Alexander

I have called this chapter 'narratives of unbeing', and I have done so since above statements show, that to construct an identity in face of a stigma is not always to manage it within the language and norms of a society, but to break free from a need of acceptance, and thus find meaning in an opposition. To find meaning in an opposition by 'breaking free' from a need of acceptance, I also found in other ways than through a political deconstruction. In fact, sometimes unbeing was articulated quite directly by my informants, often in a very liberating way:

> "*I am happy with myself now and it would probably surprise people
> to hear that I wouldn't want to change. As painful as it sometimes is
> and will surely continue to be, I can't imagine not being able to see
> absolute perfection in something that most people simply disregard.
> I cannot understand how all men do not see little girls as perfect, it's
> incomprehensible. I try to remember that in the same way they don't
> see my attraction, I too do not understand what most others see as
> attractive. Our attractions are an intimate part of who we are and
> taking that away would be taking away too much of me. I feel that
> everyone can relate to that*" - Jaden

> *He* [his therapist] *behaved toward me with such arrogant ignorance
> and attempts to dominate and humiliate me that it essentially
> backfired and i finally realised i wasn't the monster he and others
> said i was. Yay!So by the time i was 30 and learned the origins of
> the age attraction terms i had stopped trying to fix myself. At 31 i*

> *began participating in online support forums which has been a very rewarding experience.*" - Clifford

> "*For far too long I've considered myself 'unique', but mostly in bad ways that society does not and will never understand. 'Uniquely' socially anxious, 'uniquely' attracted to minors. But I recently had a mental breakthrough: I'm going to stop caring about what society thinks of me. I'm finally going to be happy being who and what I am. I'm going to be happy that I'm attracted to boys, to be among the few to notice them and recognize them for the uniquely valuable, special and beautiful humans they truly are. If I ever have the privilege of spending any amount of time with a boy or boys, I'm going to treat them with the dignity and respect they deserve, while doing everything in my power to help them in their lives, bring them as much joy as possible, and protect them from evil of all kinds.*" – Christian

In relation to Barvosa-Carter's notion of the multiple constituted self, I believe that my informants' narratives of unbeing can indeed be seen as a self-reflection from a subject position that hold a logic, that pedophilia in itself is not harmful, but I find it hard to argue that this logic is yet another culturally available position. Furthermore, to find acceptance in your narrative through a realization that you do not want to comply to society's pressure to 'fix' yourself, is hard to argue as another culturally available position as well. Paying attention to the narrative dynamic of unbeing, rather than only focusing on the narrative efforts that draw on culturally accepted models, this might help us nuance the way we understand what it means to live with a stigma as harsh as pedophilia, and thus how we should academically approach identity construction in marginalized groups.

World Makers

> "*To be born is both to be born of the world and to be born into the world. The world is already constituted, but also never completely constituted; in the first place we are acted upon, in the second we are open to an infinite number of possibilities. But this analysis is still abstract, for we exist in both ways at once. There is, therefore, never determinism and never absolute choice, I am never a thing and never bare consciousness.*" (Maurice Merleau-Ponty 1962:453).

Taking departure in the question of how marginalized people construct a meaningful narrative for themselves, I have so far shown that for my informants, this is either done through an inclusion of culturally accepted models of being a good person such as kindness, caring, and empathy, or through a narrative of 'unbeing'. As I proclaimed, narratives of unbeing - in which the social norms and values are not included or practiced, but instead straight out challenged - helps prove a valuable point to the psychological purpose of managing a stigma and recovering a sense of existential integrity. The duality of existence which Maurice Merleau-Ponty describes above, shows that a person is never just a product of their environment, nor a completely autonomous being. This, I argue, is a beginning to understand how narratives of unbeing and narrative of self-acceptance are in fact both ways for minor attracted people to recover a sense of existential integrity, as it is through such narratives that they are performing an integral part of being a human. Anthropologist Michael Jackson argues that the duality of existence - of never being bare consciousness nor a 'thing' – is the reason behind the important dialectic of human experience: that we sometimes experience ourselves as *world-makers* and sometimes feel that we are "*merely made by the world"*" (Jackson 1996:21). Every person thus experience themselves sometimes as a "who" and sometimes as a "what", though they are both states at once (Hannah Arendt 1958:181-188 in Michael Jackson 2002:32). To Michael Jackson, to be a human is then in effect to be:

> "*a subject who actively participates in the making or unmaking of his or her world, and a subject who suffers and is subjected to actions by other"* (Michael Jackson 2002:32).

Narratives of unbeing, I argue, can also be viewed as attempts to unmake the world my informants live in. While both narratives of self-acceptance and narratives of unbeing are ways my informants react to the negative meta-narratives of being a pedophile, we should be careful not to treat them as the same in regards to the inclusion of culturally accepted models of being a good person. We should also remember, that to hold both sorts of narratives are not in any way impossible. What I argue is then, that we should understand both narrative constructions as attempts to actively participate *in the making or unmaking of his or her world*. An individual is never just a thing; they are never just the object they are portrayed as being through negative social categories and meta-narratives. However, to live with a stigma so defining of who you are, the stigma may be experienced as the taking away of your ability to feel like a subject who participates in the making or unmaking of his or her world. This is what I in the introduction referred to as invoking a feeling of 'nothingness'. Constructing narratives of self-acceptance and unbeing is, importantly, narratives for *one self* to recover a sense of existential integrity: to fill the void of nothingness that follows only being seen as your stigma - as a thing – and thus to feel like a human.

Judith Halberstam[1] provides in her book "The Queer Art Of Failure" (2011) an excellent insight into the different queer ways of being in the world and being in relation to others. Halberstam challenges options for success in heteronormative capitalist Western societies and seeks out the alternatives of being between a cynical resignation to the structures of society or a naïve optimism with no concern for the structures (Halberstam 2011:1). To do this, she sorts through popular knowledge of children's animation films to avant-garde performance and queer art to: "*locate all the in-between spaces that save us from being snared by the hooks of hegemony and speared by the seduction of the gift shop*" (Ibid:2). When trying to understand my informants' narrative effort of unbeing – their resistance to become the people society expects them to become – I find Judith Halberstam's positive outlook on 'failing' to be an excellent way of understanding such narratives. For Halberstam, 'failure' is just yet another form of being or unbeing in the world, and rather than understanding 'failure' through the hegemony that classifies behavior and identity as such, we should understand that:

---

[1] From what I can gather, the author seems to prefer to be identified as a male and Jack Halberstam, but as he chose the write the name Judith Halberstam as the author on the book "Queer Art Of Failure", I have chosen to use that name with the according pro-nouns.

> "*failure allows us to escape the punishing norms that discipline behavior and manage human development with the goal of delivering us from unruly childhoods to orderly and predictable adults.* "(Ibid:3).

To understand how my informants recover their sense of existential integrity we might, therefore, be careful not to only look at how they *manage* their stigma in order to become appropriate subjects. Indeed, narratives of self-acceptance and unbeing, I have argued, are efforts to feel like a subject and to feel like a human, but for some of my informants there was little effort to try and construct a narrative as an appropriate subject to the standards of society. Even though their narratives might be narratives of 'failure', as they seem to include no standards and norms for a right way of being in Western societies, the stories are, however, still told to "*escape the punishing norms that discipline behavior*" and thus provide a meaningful way of living in the world as a minor attracted person.

Conclusion

Analytical conclusion

Throughout this thesis I have aimed to explore my informants' different ways of engaging politically and living meaningfully. In the introduction to the thesis I argued that this focus is valuable through the fact that it contributes to an underrepresented part of academic literatures on pedophilia, not only due to the recruitment of informants outside of clinical- and correctional facilities, but through a focus outside of the context of offending as well. I argued that the classical field of anthropology has the strength to study the lives of minor attracted people, as the theoretical and analytical school treats every person equally. In furthered showed in the following chapter on methodological considerations, that the focus for the thesis was a necessary adaption to the structure of the fieldwork as well, as my data is exclusively people who approached me in the search of contributing to research. To study my informants' direct interactions with their surrounding societies and identity through such observations was impossible due to the purely

digital contact I had with my informants. Political engagements and narratives of meaningful identities were, therefore, a framework to accommodate the methodological structures, as they do not rely on observations and can be adequately applied through interview data only.

Arriving at the first analytical chapter of the thesis, "The Pedophile Stereotype", I set out to explore the analytical value of my informants' presented stereotypes of themselves. I argued that the stereotype they presented was similar to theoretical ways of conceptualizing subject positions, as they both hold ideas, desires, and assumptions of a particular form of life. I proceeded to argue that the formations of the subject positions of my informants' presented stereotypes was constructed in a system of power in a dichotomy to a subject position holding the ideas, desires, and assumptions of an appropriate normative subject. I concluded that to understand how my informants engage politically, we should pay attention to the system of power through which such engagements are made, as to study stigma might best be done by studying the context through which it unfolds. Adapting such a framework I concluded that my informants' political engagements through their presented stereotype was best seen as a counter to a structural and contrasting relationship between appropriate and inappropriate subjects.

In the second analytical chapter, "Political Sexualities", I build upon the conclusion that we should study my informants' political engagements within the system of power they are performed. I proceeded to argue that when studying the role my informants' sexualities played, we should not occupy ourselves with a discussion of whether it really is a sexuality or not, but instead focus on how the concepts biology, sexuality, and identity come to organize the lives of my informants, and thus how they use these to engage politically. I argued that arguments of biology and nature are found valuable, as sexuality has transformed from a concept of sexual acts to a key to explain our identities that we must investigate, and arguing for the origins of your sexuality through nature, is to claim political legitimacy to who you are. Agency, I argued, is thus not to be evaluated by an 'amount', but by its form, and agency to claim that you have no choosing of the important aspects in your life is important to engage politically as a minor attracted person. Through three different analysis', I explored how my informants engaged politically through the concepts and relations of biology, sexuality, and identity. Firstly, I showed how my informants sometimes include their sexuality as the same as their identity to articulate positive benefits of their sexuality, while at other times they separate it from their identity to show that they are more

than just their sexuality. Secondly, I showed how my informants used arguments of biology and evolution to challenge negative representations of them as evil and manipulative people who want to harm children. Thirdly and finally, I discussed how to be knowledgeable of research about pedophilia is a way to experience one's sexuality meaningfully and to resist the negative effects of the stigma of pedophilia.

In the last chapter of the thesis, "Narratives of Failure", I build on the shortcomings of the previous chapters and discussed the challenges of constructive a meaningful narrative of being attracted to minors *for one self*. I argued that one of these challenges is the fact that there are no ready available examples of what a "good pedophile" is, but instead there are an abundance of negative stories of how being a pedophile inevitably leads to abuse, prison, or death. I showed how my informants' narratives of how they have internalized the negative effects of the stigma of pedophilia should be explained through theory of social categories and meta-narratives, and I concluded that the negative image of pedophiles at times come to feel very structuring for my informants' life prospects. I proceeded to argue that for my informants to challenge the negative and internalized effects from the power of a meta-narrative of pedophiles as doomed to abuse children and go to prison, they do so through narratives of self-acceptance, through which they assemble a meaningful narrative with values of kindness and empathy from other culturally available narratives of a good person. I continued to show that my informants did not only construct meaningful identities through an assembly of other culturally available meta-narratives of a good person, but sometimes also through narratives of unbeing. Through these narratives I showed how my informants either explained in liberating ways that they have stopped caring what society thinks of them, or explained how they are in fact good people through a political deconstruction of their surrounding societies as wrong. Through the knowledge of the two narratives analysis', I argued that my informants' narrative efforts to construct a meaningful identity are not attempts to manage a stigma to become appropriate subjects necessarily, but to recover an existential sense of integrity, by feeling like they are not made by the hands of others. By participating in creating a meaningful narrative of what it means to be attracted to minors, my informants refused to fall to the despair and nothingness of having no voice of their own, and in the face of the heavy stigma of pedophilia, their voices remind them that they are in fact human.

Looking forward

Concluding on the contributions to anthropology by studying minor attracted people, I believe each analytical chapter has a contributing point.

Chapter 2, "The Pedophile Stereotype", showed that when looking at how stigma unfolds, we benefit by adapting a structural and macro viewpoint to find explaining factors larger than the efforts of managing a spoiled identity. Looking forward, this point might be pursued further in anthropological studies of minor attracted people. Exploring the contexts in which stigma unfolds, guiding stigma research on minor attracted people in the same direction as many studies of sexuality that look for how social relations of race, ethnicity and gender come to inform sexual identities, this might prove very valuable to understand stigmatic identities better.

In Chapter 3, "Political Sexualities", I discussed how to study political engagements through a marginalized sexuality might inform the ways in which we discuss agency. By arguing the need to look for the forms of agency distributed rather than the amount, we may develop this even further to critique the ways in which "truths" are contested. Looking forward, deeper engagements into how 'research' is used as an element to negotiate aspects of identity that are otherwise seen as non-chosen, we might come to inform studies of power and identity in a new way.

In chapter 4, "Narratives of Failure", I discussed how the values assembled in a narrative of identity should be critically engaged through concepts of power. That constructing a meaningful narrative is done without the commonly accepted values of a society - such as narratives of unbeing - this may help inform further studies of how to approach the differences in being an individual and a social being at the same time. Acknowledging the individual value from 'Narratives of Failure', we may come to gain a better understand of phenomenological aspects of bearing a stigma.

Bibliography

Arendt, Hannah (1958): *The human condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Barth, Fredrik (1969). "Introduction", i Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture, Fredrik Barth (ed.) Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1-38.

Barvosa-Carter, Edwina (2001): Strange Tempest: Agency, Poststructuralism, and the Shape of Feminist Politics to Come. *In International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies*, Vol. 6, Nos. ½

Bloch, Maurice and Block, Jean H. (1980): "Women and the Dialectics of Nature in Eighteen-Century French Thought." In Carol MacCormack and Marilyn Strathern, eds., *Nature, Culture and Gender,* pp. 25-41. New York Cambridge University Press

Boellstorff, Tom (2005): *The Gay Archipelago. Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia*. Princeton: Princeton

Boellstorff, Tom, and Nardi, Bonnie and Pearce, Celia and Taylor, T.L. (2012): *Ethnography and virtual worlds: A handbook of method*. Princeton University Press

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984): The Habitus and the Space of Life-Style. I: *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London & New York: Routledge. Pp. 169-225.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1990): *The Logic of Practice.* Tr. Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Butler, Judith (1990): *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity.* New York: Routledge.

Chenier, Elise (2012): The natural order of disorder: Pedophilia, stranger danger and the normalising family. *Sexuality & Culture, 16*(2), 172-186.

Clarke, E. Adele (2003): Situational Analysis: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn, in *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 26, nr. 4, page 553-576.

Colligan, Sumi Elaine (1999): Wherein Lie the "Secrets of Life"?: An Argument Against Biological Essentialism. *In International Journal of sexuality and gender studies*, Vol. 4, Issue 1

Denzin, Norman K. (2012): Triangulation 2.0 in *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* Vol 6, Issue 2, pp. 80 - 88

Douglas, Mary (1966): *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Durkheim, Emile (2014)(1893). *The division of labor in society.* Simon and Schuster, 2014.

Esterberg, Kirsten. (1997). Lesbian and bisexual identities: Constructing communities, constructing selves. Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Foote, Cathrine E. and Frank, Arthur W. (1999): "Foucault and Therapy: The disciplining of grief."
In A. S. Chambon, A. Irving, & L. Epstein (Eds.), *Reading Foucault for social work*
(157-187). New York: Columbia University Press

Foucault, Michel (1977): *Discipline and Punish*, Penguin Group, London

Foucault, Michel (1978): *The history of sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Freedman, Estelle B., and John D'Emilio (1990). "Problems Encountered in Writing the History
of Sexuality: Sources, Theory and Interpretation". *The Journal of Sex Research* 27.4. p. 481–495.

Giddens, Anthony (1984): *The Constitution of Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press,
1984.

Goffman, Erving (1963): *Stigma: On the management of spoiled identity.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ:
Prentice Hall

Goode, Sarah. (2010). *Understanding and addressing adult sexual attraction to children: A study
of paedophiles in contemporary society*. New York: Routledge

Green, Richard (2002): "Is Pedophilia a mental disorder?" *Archives of Sexual Behavior31:6 pp.
467-471.*

Greenfeld, Lawrence (1996): Child victimizers: violent offenders and their victims. Res. Rep. NCJ 153258. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. Justice, Bureau Justice Stat. http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/cvvoatv.pdf

Hacking, Ian (1999): *The Social Construction of What*. Harvard University Press

Halberstam, Judith (2011): *The Queer Art of Failure*. Duke University Press

Harding, Nancy (2016): "New Directions in Queer Theory: Recent Theorizing in the Work of Lynne Huffer, Leo Bersani & Adam Phillips, and Lauren Berlant & Lee Edelman". *Gender, Work and Organization*. Vol. 23 No. 1 January 2016 pp. 74-83. doi:10.1111/gwao.12105

Harding, Jennifer (1998): Chapter: "Investigating sex: essentialism and constructionism." In *Constructing sexualities: readings in sexuality gender and culture*. Suzanne La Font, ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Hartley, Nina (2009): Playing in the sand box. In *Hos, hookers, call girls and rent boys: professionals writing on life, love, money and sex.* Sterry, David Henry and R. J. Martin Jr., eds. 2009. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press.

Huffer, Lynne (2013): *Are the Lips a Grave? A Queer Feminist on the Ethics of Sex*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Imhoff, Rolan (2015): Punitive Attitudes Against Pedophiles or Persons With Sexual Interest in Children: Does the Label Matter? *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *44*(1), 35–44. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-014-0439-3

Irwin, John (1985): The return of the bogeyman. Keynote lecture at the meeting of the

American Society of Criminology, San Diego, CA

Jackson, Michael (1996): "Introduction: Phenomenology, Radical Empiricism, and Anthropological Critique", in Michael Jackson (ed.) *Things as They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*, pp. 1–50. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Jackson, Michael (1998): *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological project*. 1. Ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press

Jackson, Michael (2002): *The Politics of Storytelling*. 1. Ed. Narayana Press, Gylling

Jahnke, Sarah, Imhoff, Rolan, & Hoyer, Juergen. (2015): Stigmatization of People with Pedophilia: Two Comparative Surveys. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *44*(1), 21–34. http://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-014-0312-4

Jenkins, Richard (1994): Rethinking Ethnicity: Identity, Categorization and Power. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 17, s. 197-223.

Kozinets, Robert V. (2002), "The field behind the screen: using netnography for marketing

research in online communities", Journal of Marketing Research, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 61-72.

Lane, Riki (2015): Transitional Stories: Constructing Biology and Culture in Transgender Clinic. Publish on ResearchGate: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228512771

Langer, Roy, and Suzanne C. Beckman. (2005): "Sensitive research topics: netnography revisited." *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*8.2: 189-203.

LeBel, Thomas P. (2008): Perceptions of and Responses to Stigma in *Sociology Compass*, pp. 409-432

Lee, Raymond.M. (1993), Doing Research on Sensitive Topics, Sage, London.

Link, Bruce G. and Phelan, Jo C. (2001): 'Conceptualizing Stigma.' *Annual Review of Sociology* 27 pp. 363–85.

Lyons, Andrew P. and Lyons Harriet D. (2004): *Irregular connections: a history of anthropology and sexuality*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.

Maksimowski, Sophie A. (2012) "A Brief History of the Anthropology of Sexuality, and Theory in the Field of Women's Sex Work," Totem: The University of Western Ontario *Journal of Anthropology*: Vol. 20: Iss. 1, Article 9.

Malinowski, Bronislaw, and Havelock Ellis. *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-western Melanesia: An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage and Family Life Among the Natives of Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1929.

Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of age in Samoa: a psychological study of primitive youth for western civilisation*. New York: W. Morrow & Co.

Merleau-Ponty, Marucei (1962): *The Phenomenology of Perception*. Routledge and Kegan Paul

Motiuk Lawrence and Vuong, Ben (2002) Homicide, sex, robbery and drug offenders in federal corrections: an end-of-2001 review. Res. Brief No. B-26. http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/rsrch/briefs/b26/b26 e.pdf

Nelkin, Dorothy. and Lindee, Susan M.. (1996). The DNA mystique: The gene as cultural icon: Creating natural distinctions (pp. 102-126)

Noelle-Neuman, Elisabeth. (1984), The Spiral of Silence, Chicago University Press,

Chicago, IL.

Ochs, Elinor & Capps, Lisa (1996): "Narrating the self". Annual Review of Anthropology, vol 25: 19-43.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1996 (1972). *Making gender: the politics and erotics of culture*. Sherry B. Ortner. Boston: Beacon Press. - Chapter 1: Making Gender: Toward a Feminist, Minority, Postcolonial, Subaltern, Etc., Theory of Practice (p. 1-21)

Parker, Richard G. and John H. Gagnon eds. (1995): *Conceiving sexuality: approaches to sex research in a postmodern world*. New York: Routledge.

Riegel David L. (2004): Effects on boy-attracted pedosexual males of viewing boy erotica [letter to the editor]. Arch. Sex. Behav. 33:321–23

Rose, Nikolas (1998): Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self . 1. Ed. Free Association Books

Rofel, Lisa (2007): *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture*. Duke University Press

Rubin, Henry S. (1999): Trans Studies: Between a Metaphysics of Presence and Absence. In K. More & S. Whittle (Eds.), *Reclaiming genders : transsexual grammars at the fin de siáecle* (pp. 173-192). London: Cassell.

Seto Michael C, Lalumi`ere Martin L. 2001: A brief screening scale to identify pedophilic interests among child molesters. *Sex Abuse* 13:15–25

Seto, Michael. C., Cantor, James. M., & Blanchard, Ray (2006): Child pornography offenses are a valid diagnostic indicator of pedophilia. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 115, 610-615. doi: 10.1037/0021-843X.115.3.610

Seto, Michael. C. (2009): Pedophilia. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology, 5,* 391-407. doi: 10.1146/annurev.clinpsy.032408.153618

Seto, Michael C. (2012) "Is pedophilia a sexual orientation?" *Archives of sexual behavior* 41.1 pp. 231-236.'

Stoler, Anne L. (1995): *Race and the education of desire: Foucault's history of sexuality and the colonial order of things.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Tournier, Michel (1988): *The Wind Spirit: An Autobiography.* Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Boston. Beacon Press

Warner, Michael (2002): Publics and counterpublics (abbreviated version), Quarterly Journal of Speech, 88:4, 413-425, DOI: 10.1080/00335630209384388

Weeks, Jeffrey. (1995): *Invented Moralities: sexual values in an age of uncertainty.* Cambridge, Polity Press.

Weston, Kath (1991): *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship.* Columbia University Press, New York.

Vance, Carole S. (2005): Anthropology rediscovers sexuality: a theoretical comment. In *same-sex cultures and sexualities: an anthropological reader.* Jennifer Robertson, ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.