Expressing ill-being in the life narratives of possessors of child pornography videos

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Résumé. À travers des récits de vie qui reconfigurent des réalités sociales vécues de locuteurs qui détiennent et qui diffusent des documents vidéos pédopornographiques, nous organiserons notre étude selon le *continuum* suivant : après une présentation de ce corpus dit *sensible* et du groupe de paroles en tant que dispositif mobilisé, nous aborderons le cœur de notre étude avec deux focales portant sur les régularités énonciatives d'une part et d'autre part sur les organisateurs de discours « *que/parce que, mais* » qui forgent la textualité de ce discours et qui participent à exprimer le mal être des locuteurs.

Abstract. We use life narratives that reconstruct the lived social realities of French speakers who possess and distribute child pornography videos. The study is structured as follows: first, we present the investigation approach used, namely the sensitive corpus used and the discussion group; then, we focus upon both the enunciative regularities and the discourse-structuring terms *que/parce que, mais (that/because, but)* that create the textuality of this discourse and contribute to the verbalization of the speakers' ill-being.

This study is based upon the analysis of a corpus of self-disclosing life narratives that are viewed neither as factual data of biographical accounts (Bertaux, [1997] 2005) nor as subjective viewpoints on these factual data (Beaud, 1996). Instead, they are viewed as discursive reconstructions of the world, what Ricoeur (1983) calls "emplotments" (*mises en intrigue*), namely transforming a host of ad hoc and disparate events into a coherent and meaningful "story". Life narratives[i] are considered as activities that (re)construct the speakers' lived social realities through the use of specific patterns of syntax, lexis, and enunciative forms (Nossik, 2011).

These life narratives were collected in France between 2015 and 2017 in discussion groups of pedophiles, defined by the World Health Organization[ii] (WHO) as persons showing a

"sexual preference for children, whether boys or girls or both, usually at the pre-puberty or early puberty stage[iii]". Volunteer participants in these discussion groups are pedophile victims[iv], aggressors who are on trial or have received sentences, possessors and users of child pornography material, men who experience sexual impulses but do not act on these, close relatives of aggressors, and sexually abstinent pedophiles.

This study is focused solely upon possessors of child pornography videos[v] who talk about themselves in discussion groups where they put into words their family and transgenerational history, culture, beliefs, and their own pedophilia-related history. Discussion groups are a "listening standard"[vi] (Fassin, 2004; Bass and Caevel, 2005) through which child pornography users, as they shape their narrative, can express their ill-being.

1. An investigative framework for this discourse of self-disclosure

1.1   Specific interactional configuration of this corpus

Talking about oneself is a difficult activity for various reasons: there is the risk of transgressing the laws of modesty and in particular, the risk of revealing oneself through talk, of making oneself vulnerable by opening up to others and sharing confidences (Goffman 1974) or even secrets. Vion (1994: 217) asserts that "conventionally masked, rarely mentioned and shared, suffering is not expressed (the law of privacy), and to describe it is for people an exercise of linguistic quasi-improvisation". Self-disclosure and self-narrative entail taking risks, which explains the numerous forms of downplay (i.e. the process whereby the part of subjectivity engaged in an interaction is reduced through the "various forms of euphemisms, mitigation, circumlocutions, cautious phrasing, prudent wording, indirect acts, preambles, justifications, self-corrections, etc.") and of tension (i.e. the reverse process involving the "various forms of hyperbole, outbursts, marked and vivid wording, direct acts, etc.") (Vion, 1992-2000: 244).

Talking about oneself though discussion groups is also a special communication contract (Charaudeau 1984). The discussion group members meet once a month at the home of the (woman) president of the Blue Angel Association[vii]. About 15 people sharing their pedophilia-related experience meet for three or four hours on Saturday afternoons, sitting around a large table with drinks, fruit, and cakes. Overall, participants are relaxed; some find it easy to talk about themselves, others find it more difficult to put their story into words, but a convivial atmosphere (and sometimes a questionable sense of humor) appears to facilitate the storytelling. Participants may attend several times depending upon their story, their progress (or lack thereof), or the timing of the legal proceedings (see Example 1).

Example 1
> **Oscar's story**
> "[…] In fact, it was a long time ago, in 1969; Um ... I have come a long way since this event, but um each time I talk about it, um, I feel a strong emotion, what um, **the first times I came to the discussion group, in fact after a while I stopped coming because it was too upsetting, well, maybe not enough, um and I dealt with all this**".

Next to the large table is a space with about eight observers (students, psychologists, members of the participants' family, academics, etc.) who never speak. From an interactional perspective, the president of the association takes on the role of moderator; she places herself in a specific structuring position rather than that of a master, she knows the

history of each participant[viii], and she gives them the floor in such a way that each participant may respond to the others' stories. Speakers are free to talk about themselves; they are not given any preliminary instruction regarding time or narrative form, and they can stress whatever they deem to be important.

The interactional situation is complex. Charaudeau (1984) stresses that the speakers talk about themselves to present third parties - namely the moderator president, other speakers sharing the same experience (e.g. sharing the experience of being a victim), other speakers with a different profile (e.g. aggressors talking in front of victims), and the group as a whole - and to absent third parties - namely the observers called absent because they cannot take part in the dialogue although they are present physically and witness the discussions.

In these discussion groups, participants speak in turn and listen to the others; the purpose of the discussions is for people to use this opportunity to find the necessary support and to make pedophiles, victims, and users of child pornography videos meet so that some may be able to go beyond self towards others; these speakers can show the other participants that they possess the necessary inner resources to understand, and potentially face, the Other who could, for instance, represent a victim's aggressor.[ix]

Example 2

> **Marie's story**
> "Yes, my name is Marie, **today is the third time I've come. It's the third time and every time I learn ...**"
> Speaker=moderator
> Of course, it's always like this, discussion groups. **They're all different. Even if you speak every time.**
> […]
> "Even today, **he** [the person who raped her when she was 14 years old] **had power over me, and I ... and so, now, with all this work, the fact that I come here, that I understand, and all, well a little, the pro- the different profiles around the table, that I understand a little what goes on in people's heads, in their heads, in the heads of these people, and that I have identified what he was, what he was capable of doing** … ".

There are limits to this approach, however. This is a type of discourse whereby speakers are entirely free; it is far removed from the individual interviews (whether structured or semi-structured) as practiced in sociology or sociolinguistics. The moderator makes little use of the restatement strategy, does not request speakers to elaborate on the post-rape personal changes or, for instance, the dissemination of child pornography material, and she refrains from asking participants to undertake any introspective articulation of the social consequences of actions. The chosen place for these discussions (i.e. the home of the president of the association) is another issue to consider: does it help people tell their story? Does it liberate people's voice? Finally, and most importantly, the discussion group brings together only people the president thought would benefit from the encounter and who could bring something to the others. The president thus acts as a filter that does not exclude those aggressors who have done a considerable amount of self-work and who, therefore, can contribute to the discussions, but does exclude entirely the repeat perverse pedophiles.

1.2. Favorable technology-related conditions making for new practices in the dissemination of child pornography videos

The level of IT equipment (computer-tablet-smartphone) is steadily growing[x]. People's computer equipment level has been relatively stable since 2012 (82%) whereas the proportion of home Internet connections is in constant growth (85%, +2 points). In particular, the mobile equipment of touchscreen tablets and smartphones is expanding apace, respectively +5 points and +7 points in 2016. Four out of 10 French citizens now possess a tablet, and 65% own a smartphone, which implies new Internet mobility patterns and the development of mobile phone-based digital practices.

At the same time, Web 2.0 (also called the participative or social Web) brings together "a wide variety of platforms such as blogs (Bloggers, Thumbler), Wikis (Wikipedia, Wikitravel), digital social networks (Facebook, LinkedIn), microblogs (Twitter, Jaiku), collective bookmarking, and media content sharing sites for photos, music, and videos" (Proulx et al., 2012 : 4).

Finally, the high rate of IT equipment and new uses are boosted by the spread of very high speed broadband: 42% of mobile phone owners claim they use 4G as opposed to 14% in 2014, which indicates a three-fold increase over two years. In addition, the reduced cost of Internet access has helped expand private access to pornography and child pornography[xi] sites: "though it is difficult to quantify the presence of pornography on the Internet, there is no doubt that it is significant" (Dubois, 2014: 48). Moreover, the phenomenon of grooming has emerged; the term refers to those people who use instant messaging to communicate with minors, sometimes under the guise of being a youngster of similar age, to manipulate them and drive them into performing acts of a sexual nature.

2.   The corpus and the theoretical framework

2.1 The sensitive corpus and transcription conventions

The corpus contains about 70 hours of recording. To our knowledge, this emerging sensitive corpus (Paveau & Pérea, 2012/2015) is not part of the institutionalized research practices (Maingueneau, 1991: 11); it deals mainly with issues of gender and/or security (public health, home security, cyber defense, confidentiality of sensitive, military, nuclear data, etc.). It also involves a number of prohibitions, which necessarily raises questions regarding the researchers' practices and research focus (see the work of Perea[xii] and Damian[xiii]). Paveau's work on pornographic discourse starts from the notion that

> Talking about pornography involves considering texts and speech from the perspective of form, hence describing words, expressions, and ways of saying but also textual traditions, script construction, and the ways in which this discourse is situated, whether it is ignored, accepted, or rejected in the set of social discourses. (2014: 25)

The corpus of recordings has been entirely transcribed, using the transcription conventions selected for the CFPP2000 project (Branca-Rosoff et al., [12-14])[xiv] as the latter appeared to share the same concerns regarding corpus processing and analysis methods.

> Any transcription is necessarily an awkward compromise between respecting the distinctive features of speech and being intelligible. Since the corpus gives access to the oral version, we have adopted an orthographic transcription in order to facilitate reading and simplify the use of correlation software. The transcription code is mainly that of DELIC[xv], which has been slightly adapted. We transcribe words using accepted spelling without correcting deviations from the norm when these correspond to a known French morpheme.

The corpus involves exclusively male speech; a correspondence factor analysis (CFA) classified the men into three groups.[xvi] Members of Group 1 (Édouard and Tom) focus upon their difficult relationships with women, their need to use marijuana, and their

perceptions of children who are the only ones who care for them. Members of Group 2 (Albert and Alain) stress the time they spend on the Internet and their inability to understand the problem caused by their attraction to children. Members of Group 3 (Thomas, Louis, and Jules) call into question the label "pedophile" because they are attracted to images of young girls with no assault whatsoever (see Table 3 showing the positive and negative characteristics and the frequency of some nouns and verbs, placed in the Appendix).

Table 1: Distribution of speakers and number of forms

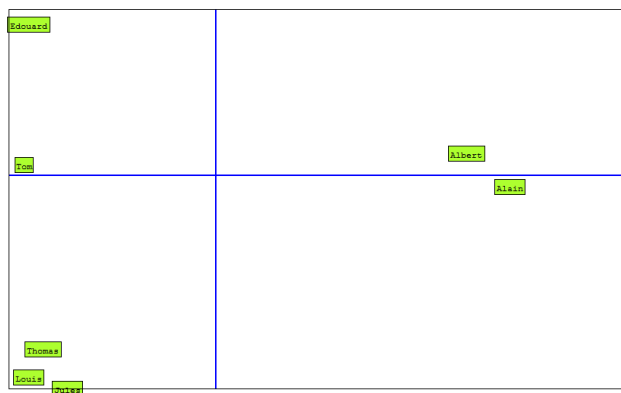| Anonymized speaker[xvii]	Number of forms
Alain	1025
Albert	549
Jules	663
Thomas	510
Édouard	1591
Tom	262
Louis	830

Figure 1 : Correspondence factor analysis of speakers

2.2 Conceptual framework

We assume that speech is based upon the social product of a language but displays its individual use (Dubois et al., 1994 : 267); it is a matter of discourse as defined by Foucault (1966), both language and materiality, symptom and sign, surface and core, and by bringing together words, objects, and practices (Mol, 2009 : 30), speaking begins a process of care because it refers to the willingness to "get involved in practical activities" (Mol, 2009 : 148). Speaking is the bottom line shared by the participants to the discussion groups; hence, it can be seen as a legitimate vector for the analysis of the speakers' mechanisms of experience. In this study, the words uttered by the participants and then transcribed and made anonymous are called discourse. We believe that "discourse is not just constituted of sets of words and phrases; it establishes places where standards and values are defined along with regulations and prohibitions, likes and dislikes, qualities and defects, identities, legitimacy, glory and disgrace" (Paveau, 2014: 25). The French form of discourse analysis is used to analyze the speakers' discourse; it is based upon the sets of utterances and the assumption that there are invariants, linguistic and discursive specific properties that make

it possible to observe distinct configurations of this type of narrative. In addition, the argumentative dimension of these narratives is highlighted, and an instrumented textometric approach to corpora analysis is used to combine quantitative syntheses and text-based analyses (Lebart & Salem, 1994).

Mayaffre (2007) asserts that even less so than the frequency of a word, the recurring presence of segments cannot be naively attributed to chance: either it signals a syntactic constraint, or it indicates a determination or semantic option. Mayaffre (2012) further claims that through textometry, it is possible

- to analyze a large number of textual documents that neither eyes nor memory could take into account in such a flood of words,
- to call attention to the features that are revealed only in terms of a large set,
- to provide the precision, systematicity, comprehensiveness, or objectivity that are necessary for a scientific description,
- to open avenues for historical interpretation that are distant from those induced by contemporary events, our own assumptions, our favorite topics, since the tool itself feels neither like nor dislike. (2012, 14-16)

3.   Putting into words the ill-being of users of child pornography videos

The speakers' personal stories fall within a particular quest, the search for information to understand what made them fall into this type of attraction to these types of images. Two kinds of patterns are investigated in this study: enunciative regularities of speech (see 3.1) and two discourse markers, *que/parce que/that/because* and *mais/but*, which shape the textuality of this discourse type (see 3.2).

3.1 Salient enunciative regularities of speech

Personal stories lie within a deictic construction whereby the speaker speaks as an empirical speaking subject (i.e. a man who voices utterances), as a discourse-producing speaker (i.e. a person invited by the president of the association), and as an enunciator (i.e. a person who, through his personal history, is given the status of possessor and user of child pornography videos) who is responsible for the discourse (Ducrot, 1983). This enunciator takes responsibility for his words through the first-person markers *Je, me, moi/ I, me, myself* (1360 occurrences), but he also constructs an escalation through the process of emphasizing, using the tonic pronoun, or stressed pronoun (i.e. *moi/me;* in this case, an English equivalent would be the structure "as for me") to strengthen the subject pronoun *je/I*, namely *moi je/me I* (31 occurrences).

Example 3

Édouard's story
```
But all this to say that in the end, children, me I cannot
stand them, really.
```

Louis' story
```
And me I saw myself as a monster, I saw myself as the monster
who was seeking children.
```

This enunciative phenomenon is complemented by special nominative phenomena. To name is not merely to represent the world as it is, or facts as they are; rather, it is to provide a specific viewpoint, to take a particular position regarding the subject through designating it or characterizing it in a certain way by adding nuances of evaluation, distance, domination, discrimination, proximity, or judgement, depending on one's perceptions of that subject (Siblot, 1998). Table 2 shows that designations used for the video users fall into

the categories of hypernym (aggressor) and objective hyponyms (pedophile, sex offender, abuser) and subjective designations (monster, cybercriminal, criminal). Some designations of the minor (the child) are objective (young girl, boy, minor, victim) while others are more subjective (kid/youngster). The designations of the deviant act and its coreferents deliberately refer to a vague temporal space (Brunner 2014) without starting or ending markers but deictically constructed (*my story, this event, in my memory*) and to plurisignifying abstract designations (*thing*) and cataphoric pronouns (*ça/this*).

Table 2: Signifying designations

Self-designations of the user of child pornography videos	Designation of the minor	Designation of the act with its coreferents
Pedophile(s) (38), monster (6), aggressor (4), sex offender (4), abuser (2), cybercriminal (2), criminal (2).	Child (children) 71, girl(s) 63, girl (31) youngster(s) 28, [male] kid(s) 16, [female] kid(s) 12, victim 11, boy(s) 9, minor 3, little girl(s) 2.	This (513), thing (35), story (4), this event (7), act (7), memory (2).

Enunciators thus put into words the way in which they refer to the circumstances that drove them to child pornography by using vague designations, hence not naming them explicitly, as Example 4 shows.

Example 4

    Jules' story

```
On the last page of the paper, there was a naked little girl
and me, for a long time, I thought that it was this that
prompted me a little to go and look for well child
pornography sexual characters.
```

    Alain's story

```
I mean, in fact, our relationship has not changed from what
it was before, before this event. So, from that moment on, I
could really start work, which now has ... helped me.
```

Designations that are both signifying (self-designation and designation of the child) and vague (designation of a moment viewed as a reference or awareness-raising point) and that are constructed with enunciative people markers indicate that the discourse is fully appropriated by the speaker, which contributes to reaffirming and making acceptable and useful for himself and for others his contribution to the discussion group.

3.2   Two discourse organizers

This section presents the two most common discourse organizers (i.e. *que/parce que/that/because* and *mais/but*) [xviii] that shape the textuality of the discourse, namely what makes a text into a signifying linguistic set, "a coherent set that progresses towards an end and that presents successfully a complete meaning" (Détrie, Siblot, & Verine, 2001: 349). They also contribute to clarifying the causal relationship linking the speakers to their actions. The argumentative dimension of the discourse thus constituted is not meant to persuade us that the speakers are aggressors or not, nor is it to persuade us that they are telling the truth. Instead, we should view this dimension according to the broader notion of argumentation [xix] as stated by Amossy (2000: 37): "the verbal resources called upon in a wording designed to act upon the receivers to make them accept an argument, to modify or

strengthen the representations and opinions held, or merely to influence their ways of thinking or to raise questions regarding a specific issue."

3.2.1 The discourse organizer *que/parce que/that/because*

The analysis of speech connectors throughout the corpus shows that the use of *que/parce que/that/because* in personal narratives introduces strong nominalization or adjectivalization (Figure 2 shows 790 occurrences), the meaning of which is to express the speakers' self-justification (*que je, parce que/that I, because*).
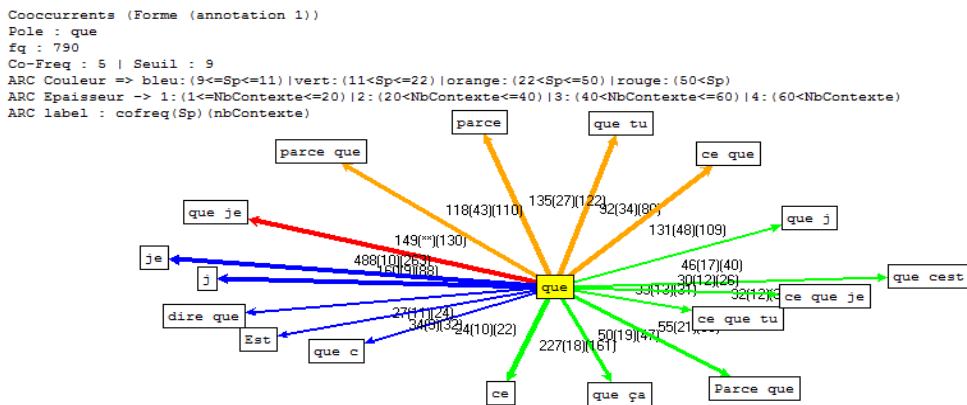

Figure 2: Distribution of *que/parce que*

The most frequent conjunction in the corpus is one that is used to express cause and/or self-justification.
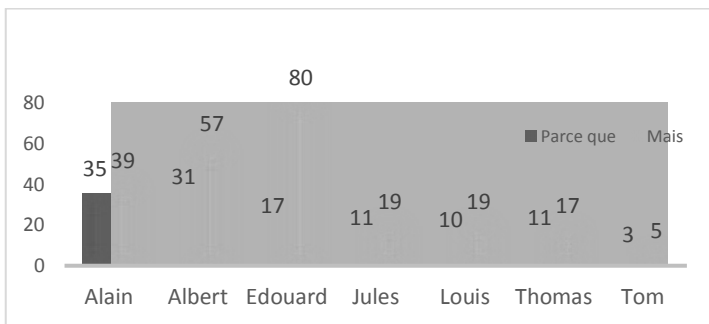
Figure 3: Speaker-based distribution of the most frequent speech connectors

Three main types of arguments are used to justify both speakers' possession of child pornography videos and their inclination towards pedophilia.

Argument using cause and effect. Usually, several causes are suggested; in their narratives, speakers use the notion of addiction (mainly to marijuana, naturism, pornography, information technology) to talk about the moment when justice takes its course (seizure of computers, complaints, temporary custody, detention).

Albert's story
```
I work at La Défense and err my wife calls me because the
police is ringing at the door and seizing our computers
because they were searching for ... well there's a complaint.
```

Thomas' story
```
I was using marijuana a lot, in fact ... with time... I've
realized that it was simply because I wanted to run away from
my problems  […] Now, I still bet online a lot  but I don't
derive as much pleasure because it's just to run away in
fact.
```

Jules' story
```
Like others here, I got into child pornography through print
publications, then Internet sites for naturists because I
liked seeing naked children, that got me off.
```

Argument refuting causal links. Through this type of refutation, speakers reject the responsibility of a repeat offence onto the current prison institution.

Alain's story
```
Avoiding going to prison that's also important because I
don't think that the prison environment err helps you change
[...] Well I thought I was really in the shit because I knew
I was doing it again, I was looking too much at naked kids.
```

Argument using low self-esteem
Thomas' story
```
If a girl comes, and speaks to me, well at a push I'm going
to push her away because me I don't deserve her.
```

3.2.2 The discourse organizer *mais/but*
The speakers' narratives also construct an asymmetrical discourse (Ducrot, 1980) expressed through the conjunctive *mais/but*. Figure 4 shows that it refers to different semantic values[xx] such as opposition (in 29% of cases), restriction (in 22% of cases), refutation (in 7% of cases), justification (in 5% of cases), and explanation (in 4% of cases). It also refers to different discourse features such as markers of oral expression (in 15% of cases) and of thematization (in 9% of cases). These effects operate from a pivot word or phrase that is the reference point. When constructing *x but y*, *y* represents a stronger argument that guides towards the author's conclusion, at the expense of *x*.
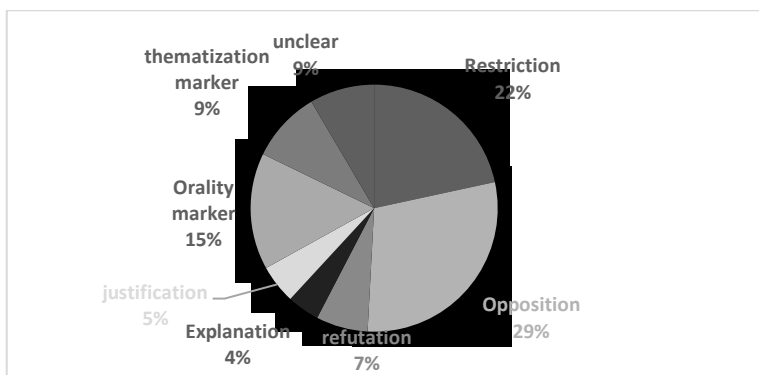
Figure 4: Semantic distribution of *mais/but*

Opposition value

The conjunctive *but* constructed with an antonym placed afterwards (e.g. *minor* vs. *major*) emphasizes the deviant nature of the relationship and contributes to the speaker's awareness.

> **Albert's story**
> ```
> The very young chick who pretended to be 18 because of course
> they can't write it underneath [on the sites] but who in fact
> was a minor and so then I stopped the thing.
> ```

In the next example showing the notion of opposition (*the boss* vs. *the others)*, the main characteristic of *the others*, which is to ignore Édouard's activities, involves a kind of relief.

> **Édouard's story**
> ```
> In fact, I'm working in an organization where the boss knows
> that I use child pornography films but the others don't know
> it and that's good because otherwise they would make me pay
> for it.
> ```

Restriction value

The category *girls* then *young girls* constructs a lesser situation for the speaker than the *youngest [girls] from 10 to 13 years of age*, which is much more explicit in this discourse situation and is emphasized by the intensity marker *but especially.*

> **Alain's story**
> ```
> I've always been attracted to girls, young girls, but
> especially to the youngest from 10 to 13 years of age.
> ```

Explanation value

In the next two examples, the value of the pivot words *ugly* or *suicide* is lessened by complements placed after the conjunctive *but*, hence constructing a specifying explanation.

> **Oscar's story**
> ```
> I wasn't worth anything, I felt ugly, not physically but
> inside.
> […]
> I didn't try to commit suicide, not really, but I had
> suicidal behaviors.
> ```

Refutation value

In the following examples, the refutation of shaking leads to emphasizing the intensity of the body's reaction.

> **Albert's story**
> ```
> OK, so, I'm taking my clothes off I'm shaking but not
> shivering, I mean real shaking like an illness, athetosis,
> well I was terrified.
> […]
> At a push, I can understand the effect of watching the child
> who is masturbating, but why are you sharing the video
> afterwards? That's what's I'm wondering about, in fact
> (question from a participant).
> ```

Justification value

The speaker justifies himself by downplaying the significance of his acts in two ways: first it is (only) a matter of photos of naked children (hence, he does not believe there is any transgression), and second, in a naturist environment, there is a kind of normalcy or social acceptability to watching naked bodies.

> **Alain's story**
> ```
> In fact, it was only a matter of photos of naked children,
> but in a naturist environment, it was the excuse, so to
> speak, it's true, I was aroused.
> ```

Markers of closure of a syntactic unit in speech

The conjunctive *but* associated with the exclamations *well* and *hey* (*but well, but hey*) indicates a short statement that signals the end of a sequence.

> **Alain's story**
> ```
> I would have paid even more because precisely I would have
> hidden behind this thing ... exactly ...But well, what was
> bound to happen, did happen.
> ```

> **Édouard's story**
> ```
> I downloaded photos from the Internet, she [his wife] is
> right, I cheated on her. I desired other people. I
> masturbated while thinking about others, but hey, I still
> love her, and that's what matters, right?
> ```

Marker of thematization

The conjunctive *but* may be a thematic marker referring to elements that are not strictly speaking related to the cotext but that depend upon a shared frame of reference.

> **Albert's story**
> ```
> Watching porn is the only way for me to climax; sorry to be
> so crude, but well, it's really the only way.
> ```

> **Louis' story**
> ```
> We were talking about people, the Anonymous on the Internet
> who set traps, but that's it, they made pedophiles pay, and
> they wanted to get pedophiles.
> ```

At different moments in the narrative, these two markers construct a multiplicity of values (e.g. overkill, refutation, opposition, restriction, justification, consequence, emphasis) that place the speaker within a situation of moral instability constructed with emotion-laden

markers emphasizing ill-being (Pugniere-Saavedra to appear) accompanied by numerous elements of reiteration.

Conclusion

Talking about oneself as user or even distributor of child pornography videos mainly involves describing circumstances (e.g. one's history with children, one's relation to sex among adults, to games, to technology) and the speaker's psychology (e.g. constructing one's sexuality, self-image, self-confidence).

Using the specific process of discussion groups, the analysis shows the various discourse patterns used, both lexical and semantic (through designations, characterizations), syntactic, or enunciative (deictic markers). The argumentative dimension of discourse raises questions among both the possessors of child pornography videos and the discussion group participants.

The enunciative constructions that designate pedophiles and the argumentative constructions triggered by *because* and *but* seek to act upon the receivers by helping them understand and evaluate more or less implicit mechanisms. Questions are raised regarding constructions designed to instrumentalize naturism, refute detention conditions, confuse listeners by displaying one's vulnerable aspects, minimize one's actions through emphasizing the children's age. Do these constructions contribute to making these life narratives more acceptable? Do they enable the speakers to reach greater self-awareness and awareness from others?

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Appendix

Table 3: Positive and negative characteristics and the frequency of some nouns and verbs[1]

Albert and Alain stories			
item	ind-specif +	Item	ind-specif-
euh	45	lui	-5
ne (sais pas)	30	Enfin	-5
parce que	29	hein	-6
avais	17	Je	-7
étais	14	dit	-7
était	14	j'avais	-7
été	8	j'étais	-9
internet	8	Ben	-11
enfin	7	Mais	-11
avait	6	Et	-28

Albert and Alain stories			
frequency	Subst.	frequency	verbe
47	ans	77	dire
22	moment	45	faire
21	truc	42	être
17	enfants	16	avoir
15	problème	13	voir
15	femme	7	comprendre
15	vie	6	partir
13	personne	6	revenir
12	mère	5	falloir
12	parents	4	rentrer

Jules, Thomas and Louis stories			
item	ind-specif +	Item	ind-specif-
c'était	16	pas	-4
j'ai	14	envie	-4
euh…	13	Elle	-5
c'est	11	de	-5
ben	9	femme	-7
pédophile	7	euh	-14
mail	7	ne	-14
m'a	7	ai	-19
ouais	6	est	-23

Jules, Thomas and Louis stories			
frequency	Subst.	frequency	verbe
28	ans	40	dire
27	fois	28	être
17	filles	19	faire
15	peur	9	voir
14	moment	8	arrêter
14	fille	6	regarder
13	amis	5	consommer
11	vidéos	5	travailler
10	Internet	4	aider
10	besoin	4	donner

Tom and Edouard stories			
item	ind-specif +	Item	ind-specif-
C'est	24	dire	-6
femme	13	était	-7
lui	11	étais	-8
Elle	10	je	-9
qu'elle	9	ne	-10
Ben	9	avais	-12
mais	9	est	-17
enfants	7	euh	-22
et	7	ai	-29

Tom and Edouard stories			
frequency	Subst.	frequency	verbe
43	femme	30	être
31	enfants	26	dire
25	fois	24	faire
20	ans	21	voir
18	temps	19	avoir
18	chose	13	aller
17	choses	12	regarder
17	moment	6	arrêter
14	besoin	5	changer
11	cannabis	5	revoir

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[1] Note: Translating some morphemes such as the French "ne" or "l'" would not be relevant to the discussion. Hence, we decided not to translate the items in the table.

The author will willingly discuss these and any other aspect of the article in answer to individual queries. The contact address is: Frederic.pugniere-saavedra@univ-ubs.fr

[i] The term *life narrative* is chosen over *confidence*, which, etymologically, refers to fidelity, the trust given to someone in whom one confides in the private sphere. We believe that confidences involve self-disclosure that is expected in some types of interactions and even compulsory in some institutional contexts (e.g. the confessional, doctor's or psychanalyst's office, job interview, testifying in court). In addition to those revealed in the private sphere, some confidences are disclosed in the public sphere where secrecy is broken by the number of potential recipients, such as autobiographies, memoirs, political interviews published in newspapers, confessions given on the couch of a TV studio or some TV reality shows, and more recently in blogs or dating websites. The interactional situation in the present study is different, even though sometimes, at some points, these life narratives involve a certain element of self-disclosure.

[ii] The International Classification of Diseases (ICD) maintained by the World Health Organization (WHO) classifies pedophilia in the category of Disorders of sexual preference (F65), itself included in the Disorders of adult personality and behavior (F60-F69). Pedophilia (F65.4) is defined as "A sexual preference for children, boys or girls or both, usually of prepubertal or early pubertal age".

[iii]The victim's age brings different designations:

Nepiophilia: sexual preference for infants and toddlers (aged 0-12 months)

Infantophilia: sexual preference for infants (aged 1-6 years)

Pedophilia: sexual preference for prepubertal children

Hebephilia: sexual preference for pubescent youths (aged 12-14 years).

Ephebophilia: sexual preference for adolescents.

[iv]The total corpus comprises victims [35%], aggressors [20%], and people who possess and use child pornography material [26%], men who have sexual impulses but do not act on those [4 %], close relatives of aggressors [3 %], and sexually abstinent pedophiles [12 %]. The first three profiles account for 81% of participants in these discussion groups.

[v] The Convention on the Rights of the Child defines child pornography as "any representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child for primarily sexual purposes" and cyber child pornography as recording, possessing, and distributing pornographic images representing minors on the Internet. Child pornography faces sanctions under Article 227-23 of the Criminal code whereby fixing, recording, or transmitting the pornographic image of a minor and distributing that image is punishable by five years' imprisonment and a fine of 75,000 euros. When the image or the representation involves a 15-year-old minor, punishment is meted out, even if the distribution of this image or representation was not intended.

[vi]The social policies of the 1990s have led to the emergence of support centers to mitigate forms of suffering through giving people a voice for therapeutic purposes (Fassin 2004). Listening is widely acknowledged to provide a political response that is both humanistic and immediately visible. Listening to the Other becomes an act. As (Fassin 2004:73) puts it, "beyond the requirements of the selected procedure, the interest shown in people's histories and the attention given to their misfortunes and their woes are part of a particular way of dealing with social relations through a kind of intimist concern that creates a space for special relationships. Sometimes, these places are the only ones where people can talk about themselves and what means the most to them. This is how, beyond the traditional circles of socialization constituted by family, friends, co-workers, or neighbors, close links are constructed in an institutional - though also personal - relationship of support and solidarity".

[vii] http://ange-bleu.com/en/support-us

[viii]The president may be contacted by email and telephone, and she receives all the calls from speakers in distress (victims, aggressors or possessors and/or users of child pornography material); from these conversations with the speakers, she decides whether their participation to the discussion group could benefit them and/or the group, or not.

[ix]Organizing face-to-face encounters between victims and aggressors brings to mind the notion of so-called restorative justice with its four-fold purpose: to identify the damage caused to the victim and take action to repair it; to involve all interested parties; to reintegrate the author into society; and to transform the traditional relations in order to restore social peace.

[x]The Research Center for the Study of the Conditions of Life (CREDOC) publishes its annual study "Digital barometer" undertaken for the General Council of the Economy (CGE), the French Regulatory Authority for Electronic and Postal Communications (ARCEP), and the Agency for Digital Technology. See "The 2016 Study, The use of digital technology in France", by Thomas Coëffé, 2016, December 2nd. https://www.blogdumoderateur.com/barometre-numerique-france-2016-credoc/

[xi] Hentaï (Japanese pornographic mangas) depict "lolicons" and "shotacons".

[xii] In November 2013, François Perea, Associate Professor of Language Sciences at the University Paul Valéry Montpellier 3, defended his Accreditation to supervise research (HDR) on the theme of sensitive topics.

[xiii] In September 2015, Béatrice Damian, Associate Professor of Information and Communication Sciences at the Institute of Political Studies in Rennes, defended her Accreditation to supervise research (HDR) on the theme of sexual fantasies for men through the use of women's bodies.

[xiv] S. Branca-Rosoff, S. Fleury, F. Lefeuvre, M. Pires, *Discours sur la ville. Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000 (CFPP2000)*, http://ed268.univ-paris3.fr/CFPP2000/

[xv] The DELIC team (working on a corpus computerized linguistic description under the leadership of Jean Véronis) is a previous support team (EA 3779) at the University of Provence. It is now called TALEP (referring to the automatic treatment of written and spoken language), a team created in the computer science laboratory of Marseille from the fusion of the previous CALN (automatic natural language processing) team led by Paul Sabatier from LIF and part of the DELIC team.

[xvi]In the three years the corpus was built, no female person participated in the discussion group as possessor and user of child pornography videos.

[xvii]Each speaker is anonymized, though the first name gender is retained.

[xviii] The Trameur (a software system for the statistical analysis of annotated text data) classifies the following connectors in descending order of frequency: *que/parce que/that/because* (780), *mais/but* (236), *et/and* (190), *quand/when*, (161), *si/if* (115), etc.

[xix] In 1958, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca proposed the following definition of argumentation: "The subject of argumentation theory is the study of the discourse techniques enabling people to create or increase others' adherence to the propositions that are presented for assent" (1958:5).

[xx]See Figure 4 showing the distribution of occurrences of *mais/but*.