

The Pope and the Queers

*The relationship between the queer community in The Netherlands and the Catholic Church,
explored through objects from the archive of IHLIA, LGBTI Heritage.*

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Amsterdam, 07-01-2026

IHLIA, LGBTI Heritage

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Bachelor thesis and internship

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A big thank you

To my friends, roommates, lovers, family and colleagues for withstanding my many complaints during the process of writing this thesis and throughout this whole study program that, with the finishing of this thesis, comes to an end. It has been a tough journey and I could not have done it without your emotional support. A special thank you for my parents who have already kept up with my complaints since the first grade of high school where I needed to start doing homework (which I did not do). To you: the school journey is finally over!

For this thesis, I want to express a special thank you for my in-company mentor Thea Sibbel, who encouraged me to choose my own path, which led to me being able to research a topic that I am truly interested in, which kept me motivated throughout the writing process. A special thank you also goes out to all my colleagues at IHLIA for being so invested in my research, always showing an interest and always willing to help. I also want to thank my thesis counselor Radostina Sharenkova-Toshkova for her great expertise and help throughout this process, as well as my Internship coordinator Bel Kerkhoff-Parnell who guided me through the process of writing the academic products. Lastly, I want to thank all interviewees and other external contacts who have contributed to this research by providing information that helped me to construct the results of this research.

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AI statement

While preparing this work, I used ChatGPT (OpenAI), based on GPT-5.2, with the purpose of explaining parts of articles to me to better grasp the essence, to identify links in my own text and help me summarize my own work. After using this tool, I thoroughly checked its outcomes and ensured that my work reflects my own competences and learning outcomes. I bear full responsibility for the content of this work. The specific prompts used for this research report can be found in Appendix A.

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands through constructing the narrative of selected objects from the archive of IHLIA, associated with the Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985. Rooted in feminist rhetorical theory (Carter, 2006) and queer theory (Sullivan, 2003), this research moves beyond a place of unjust power over the historically marginalized, towards including their histories in society's collective memory (Nora, 1989).

Using an exploratory, qualitative research method, this research combines desk research with semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The objects are explored as mini case studies (Käss et al., 2024), revealing insights on the objects themselves and allowing for broader historical contextualization. Furthermore, the archival objectives are examined and institutional power structures have been identified (Poncet, 2025). Lastly, the relevance of this research for the contemporaneity is emphasized.

The findings uncover the hidden histories of the queer-Catholic relationship. They demonstrate that the Pope's visit caused a great upheaval in the country, rooting in a longstanding problematic relationship, that is still ongoing with queers being actively excluded from the Catholic Church. Bringing this topic to light allows for reintroduction into written history and for the marginalized to reclaim their place in collective memory.

Abbreviations and Terminology

Abbreviations

- IHLIA: Internationaal homo en lesbisch informatiecentrum en archief¹. Throughout the paper, the organization is referred to as IHLIA.
- LGBTI: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex.

Terminology

The term queer refers to all gender and sexual identities that differ from cisgender, heteronormative norms (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). Throughout this research this term is used as it is the most inclusive term excluding only cisgender heteronormative. Quotes from interviews might include other terminology such as homosexual, lesbian, gay, and any derivatives.

This paper distinguishes between the queer community and queer Christians or queer Catholics more specifically. The term queer community refers broadly to all queer identities, including queer Christians/Catholics, and is used when discussing general contexts such as IHLIA's target groups. Queer Christians/Catholics is used specifically to refer to queers within Christian religious contexts. Discussions of the relationship between the queer community and the Church may include both queer Christians and queers with cultural or historical ties to Christianity. Therefore, these terms are not interchangeable as they all purposefully include or exclude sub-groups of communities and are critically chosen for the right context.

Additionally, this paper differentiates between the Church and the Catholic Church. The term Church is used in the initial sections to refer broadly to all Christian branches. After the object selection, the focus narrows to the Catholic branch, and the term Catholic Church is used consistently thereafter.

¹ *International gay and lesbian information center and archive*. Translated by researcher.

1. Introduction

The relationship between the queer community and the Church is one that is known for its complexity. With a recent new law against conversion therapy implemented in The Netherlands and the discussions around it, it becomes clear that the relationship is still very contentious, even in 2025, and even in The Netherlands, known for its openness towards queer communities (Zurhake, 2025). Therefore, this relationship requires attention when striving for an inclusive society. In order to bring awareness to it, it is important to firstly better understand the relationship, by exploring the history of it and its modern-day implications.

The exploration of this relationship took place in the context of IHLIA, LGBTI Heritage, an archive for queer history, located in the public library in Amsterdam (OBA²). The main objective of the organization is to dig up information about queer lives and living worlds that are hidden away from the public and to make them accessible. Additionally, IHLIA aims to research their own collection in order to ensure that valuable knowledge is used and that new insights can be identified and eventually passed onto organizations and individuals beyond IHLIA (IHLIA, 2017).

1.1 Problem Description

As with many archives, IHLIA faces the problem of provenance research, more specifically, the lack thereof (T. Sibbel, personal communication, September 22, 2025). Provenance research is research within the collection of the archive itself. While archives collect large numbers of artefacts, insufficient research can result in collections remaining underutilized and their historical significance unexplored (Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019).

IHLIA collects written artefacts as well as objects, with a preference for the latter due to their potential for academic research and public programs. Many objects lack contextual information about their origin, despite often carrying valuable knowledge about queer history (IHLIA, 2017), emphasizing the relevance of researching objects.

² Openbare Bibliotheek Amsterdam

This research focusses on a set of objects associated with the Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985, to which almost no information is known. This set of objects was identified as the largest set of objects in the archive that were linked together, allowing for deep historical and contextual understanding. A detailed description of the process of object selection can be found in the methodology section of this paper.

1.2 The Pope's Visit to The Netherlands in 1985

On May 11, 1985, Pope John Paul II kissed the ground of Welschap Airport near Eindhoven. It was the beginning of a "disastrous Pope's visit" (Interview H). In comparison to other countries where the Pope visited, the streets were nearly empty. Satiric television shows have been shown in the weeks before the Pope's visit and the newspapers were full of criticism towards the visit and towards the conservative regime of the Vatican. During the visit, there was a great absence in interest in the Pope with the streets along the route being empty, while at other places, people gathered to demonstrate. This happened on May 8, 1985 as a big manifestation with over 10.000 critical Catholics from Catholic organizations (interview H), and on May 12, 1985 during the Pope's visit to Utrecht. This latter demonstration with around 4000 people ended in severe riots involving clashes with riot police, resulting in six injuries, and fourteen arrests (Queer U Stories, 2025)

All the selected objects from the archive of IHLIA are connected to this Pope's visit. They call to attend the demonstration on May 12, to attend the benefit evening prior to the demonstration, to deregister from the Catholic Church, and even to kill the Pope. Lastly, a poster with statements that discard the Roman hierarchy and enforce the standpoints of the lay people is included in this list. For the extensive list of the selected objects, see Appendix B. Photocopies of the objects are included in the results section of this report.

1.3 Relevance of the Pope's Visit

As the objects are included in the collection of IHLIA for their relationship to the queer community, insights into this relationship could be identified through this research by outlining the context around the Pope's visit and the context in which these objects have been created. These insights contribute to a deeper understanding of queer history and help secure its

place in society's collective memory (Nora, 1989). The research further highlights the ongoing and problematic position of queers within the Catholic Church, as emphasized in interviews with critical Catholics, underscoring the need to address this relationship in pursuit of greater inclusion.

1.4 Users of this Research

This research paper will be included in IHLIA's publicly accessible archive and can therefore reach a wide range of users, including individuals from the queer community, students and researcher, professionals such as media professionals, educators, and policy makers, and activists (T. Sibbel, personal communication, October 20, 2025).

Additionally, the research is translated into a public version consisting of two blogs; one on the Pope's visit and one on the research process. The blogs will be published on respectively WithPride (<https://withpride.ihlia.nl/>) and the research blog of IHLIA (<https://research.ihlia.nl/>). As part of IHLIA's public program, these blogs make the findings accessible beyond academic audiences and significantly expand the reach of the research, emphasizing its cross-organizational reach.

1.5 This Research Paper

This research paper begins with a background section outlining IHLIA's archival practices and relevant archival theory, followed by historical context on the relationship between the Catholic Church and the queer community leading up to the Pope's visit in 1985. The literature review then discusses key concepts such as collective memory (Nora, 1989) and institutional power (Poncet, 2025), which inform the conceptual framework, research paradigm, and methodology. The paper subsequently presents the research objectives, results and conclusions, and concludes with a discussion of limitations and suggestions for further research, and the cross-organizational relevance of this research.

1.6 Interviewees

Several interviews were conducted for this research. Both information and direct quotes from these interviews are used in this paper. The table below provides an overview of the interviewees and their relevance. In this paper, the interviewees will be referred to with their initial only.

Table 1

Interviewees and their background

Initial	Background	Date of interview
P	Catholic priest who was banned from his job after coming out as homosexual and presumed non-celibate.	10-11-2025
H	Catholic activist from the 8 th May-Movement, aiming at reform within the Catholic Church.	17-11-2025
J	One of the founders of IHLIA.	18-11-2025
W	Current head of collections at IHLIA.	19-11-2025
D	(Co-)organizer activities Nijmegen during Pope's visit	19-12-2025

2. Background

This background section provides key information to understand the research. It first explains the archival concepts of Appraisal and Respect des Fonds, two archival practices concerned with the collection policy of the archive, linked to IHLIA's practices. It then addresses critical historical context in order to understand the longevity and severity of the problematic relationship between the Church and the queer community. Insights from interviews are used to clarify events leading up to the Pope's visit in 1985.

2.1 Appraisal and Respect des Fonds

Appraisal is the process of establishing and expanding a collection by deciding what should be included. IHLIA prioritizes artefacts of marginalized groups, that hold historical and academic value, reflect the experiences of the queer community, and that contribute to IHLIA's mission: "IHLIA collects, preserves, and provides access to relevant information so that connections in history and the current situation can be examined in relation to broader historical and contemporary social developments."³ (IHLIA, 2017).

A widely used concept in memory collection is *Respect des Fonds* (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023). It refers to the way that information is kept and organized in the archive, respecting the original order of the *fonds*, i.e. the body of artefacts from the same source. It serves as a way of preserving the whole context around the artefacts and being able to research the artefacts within this original context (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023). Prescott and Wiggins importantly note that these original contexts are often contexts of the powerful dominating society. Using the concept of *Respect des Fonds* could then also lead to sustaining the existing power dynamics. A response to this problem is the growing interest in community archives such as IHLIA (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023).

At IHLIA, the artefacts largely come from the queer community in The Netherlands itself, often from archives of queer organizations or from individuals in the community (IHLIA, 2017). *Respect des Fonds*, i.e., respecting this original context of the artefacts, allows for a

³ Translated by researcher from the original document in Dutch.

broad and deep understanding of the queer community in The Netherlands, whilst also being aware of the dominant views of society throughout history. With the establishment of an archive for queer history, the queer community can start reclaiming its place in the collective memory of the country, challenging historical silences and shifting power toward a more egalitarian society.

2. 2 Early Historical Context

The Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985 caused great upheaval, also within the queer community, illustrating the problematic relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church. To understand this event and its foundations, it is necessary to examine the early historical context.

Bosman (2015) shows how misinterpretations of the first Bible texts labeled sex as sinful through moralistic readings of Old Testament ritual purity laws that originally concerned ritual cleanliness rather than moral wrongdoing. Swart (2024) additionally highlights how biblical texts have long been read through a heteronormative, dualistic paradigm, rooted in Gnostic notions of sin and holiness, which framed same-sex relationships as sinful. These early developments played an important role in the suppression of the sexual moral in the Church.

Later, enlightenment and post-enlightenment discourses stepped away from religious reasoning, but turned to scientific paradigms that further reinforced the monogamous and heteronormative perspectives (De Bruijne, 2022). Especially, through Darwin's evolution theory labeling homosexuality as unnatural and thus a disease that had to be cured, and industrial-era social norms emphasizing heteronormative family structures as the cornerstone of society to ensure economic safety with the men working long hours and the women taking care of the home and children (Foucault, 1976; Illouz, 2012).

With an increase of wealth after the industrial revolution, people became less dependent on the Church for their social and economic security. This, together with the enlightenment, sparked secularization which started dividing Church and state, allowing more liberal ideas of sexuality to emerge (De Bruijne, 2022). With the sexual revolution around

1960, these ideas gained popularity, putting pressure on the Church to become more open towards different genders and sexualities (De Bruijne, 2022).

Catholic Church

After the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, the Catholic Church responded with the Council of Trent during the Contra Reformation by installing the Tridentine Liturgy, which was characterized by a focus on the great mystery, the relationship with God and strict living rules (Interview P). Youth was “kept small, especially in relational and sexual areas” (Interview P).

In the following centuries, The Netherlands was at war with Spain, whereafter the republic was founded. Protestantism became the leading denomination in The Netherlands, and Catholicism was prohibited, leading to Catholics having to gather in clandestine churches (Interview P). “After the recovery of the bishop hierarchy in 1853, that time of “tolerance”, but also discrimination factually, was put to an end. And the Catholic Church became booming in The Netherlands... especially with the establishment of churches and schools, there was an explosive growth.” (Interview P). In the years following, Catholicism became the largest Church denomination in The Netherlands, which was still the case in the time of the Pope’s visit (Interview P).

Society was strictly segregated, with the Catholic Church still being very strict, following the Tridentine liturgy. After the second world war, people started rejecting authorities: “that *zeitgeist*⁴ was clearly anti-authoritarian... we want to live for ourselves, we want to make our own choices, and not adhere to what the pastor says we should do.” (Interview P). In this *zeitgeist*, the baby-boom generation (babies born shortly after WWII) was born, often in large Catholic families. “The entire way of living changed, got much more free. And people dared to speak up.” (Interview P). Prosperity increased and people were less dependent on the Church for their social and financial stability (De Bruijne, 2022). “People left the Church with hundreds at the same time. It got more quiet every weekend.” (Interview P).

⁴ A concept coined by Herder and widely used by Hegel who translated it into a philosophy that there is a universal spirit of an era, which shapes how humans think, act and structure their systems. (Braeckman et al., 2018).

This development affected the Catholic offices too: “But here... in the whole of Netherlands... those priest schools were all emptied as a consequence of the developments in the sixties.” (Interview P). H studied theology at that time: “About 4, 5 people who continued to study theology, while we had started in 1964 with almost 200 boys.” (Interview H). In addition to aspiring priests deciding to quit their education, priests in office also left their office en masse, leading to a shortage of priests in 1965 (Gulmans et al., 2010).

2.3 The second Vatican Council

In light of these major changes in the Catholic Church in the 1960's, the second Vatican Council was held between 1962 and 1965, to bring the Catholic Church up to speed with modern day society. Opening the windows and doors, letting a fresh wind blow. “From then on, the liturgy was celebrated in the common language. And the priest also turned around... so the people saw him, they saw his face from then. Yes, that was very different.” (Interview P).

The implementation of this council happened through the pastoral council in Noordwijkerhout. H explains “[It] was not a response to the second Vatican Council, but it was a way to put this council into practice. It was coined together with the bishops.” (Interview H). But the things that were decided in this council went too far for the Vatican, including the abandonment of celibacy, the birth control pill, and women in office. The result was “the installment of those strict bishops like Gijsen, Simonis and Ter Schuuren, who were “catapulted from Rome”.” (Interview P), “to discipline the progressive Netherlands, because that was the goal of the Vatican.” (Interview H).

But as P explains: “the genie had left the bottle. The pastoral council had sparked something in The Netherlands that just couldn't hold.” (Interview P). “After that second Vatican council, the talking groups were booming... about various different themes...” (Interview P). The result of it became visible in 1985 during the 8th May-Manifestation and the secular riots around the Pope's visit.

3. Literature Review

This literature review explores how institutional power and collective memory contribute to the position of marginalized groups in society, specifically queer Christians (Carter, 2006; Nora, 1989; Poncet, 2025; Prescott & Wiggins, 2023). It highlights several archival practices that are commonly used, and it shows how these practices can lead to silences in the archive and gaps in the collective memory of society (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023), affecting identity formation, and sometimes being misused for political goals (Duyvendak, 2015; Verovšek, 2016). Drawing on feminist rhetoric, queer theory and the concepts of power to and power with, this review shows how silences can be identified and marginalized groups can reclaim their space in history (Miller et al., 2006; Mijung Kim, 2021; Hedges & Fisher Fishkin, 1994; Poncet, 2025).

Furthermore, the review highlights the importance of IHLIA, through its capacity to highlight archival silences, while noting the knowledge gaps of its own collection (Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019; IHLIA, 2017). It then proposes ways of filling these knowledge gaps by researching the marginalized group of queer Christians through objects from the archive of IHLIA, considering the objects as multiple mini case studies (Käss et al., 2024; Myers, 2025; Winters, 2024). Lastly, the relevance of this research is highlighted and research gaps are identified (De Bruijne, 2022; IHLIA, 2025; Swart, 2024; Tiebosch, 2024).

The information for this literature review is retrieved from Google Scholar, the IHLIA archive, sources that were consulted by the researcher in earlier studies, the universities counselor and in-text citations from credible sources. There were no studies found on the intersection of provenance research, object studies and the relationship between the queer community and the Church.

3.1 Institutional Power and Archival Silences

According to Poncet (2025), archives hold significant power, through its characteristics to enforce research, influence policies and control collective knowledge. It is therefore crucial to understand this power further and become aware of its implications when

conducting researching in the archive. The power of the archive is most visible in appraisal during which is determined whose histories are preserved and whose are excluded (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023). Carter (2006) notes how “archives are filled with voices” (p. 216), but never reflect the voice of the whole society. Instead, archives are mainly filled with the (hi)stories of the most powerful in society, while those of marginalized groups are silenced, to which Carter refers to as the silences of the archive. These silences reveal how systemic values, such as heteronormativity, have shaped what is remembered and what is forgotten. In this way, the (hi)stories of queer- and more specifically, queer-religious communities have often been excluded, leaving gaps in our collective memory and understanding of societal history (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023).

Feminist rhetorical theory aims to uncover these power imbalances between the powerful and the historically marginalized, in this theory originally women (Carter, 2006). It distinguishes natural silences which are intentionally chosen by the marginalized, as a way of protest, reflection and personal growth, and unnatural silences in which groups are suppressed (Carter, 2006). It is the task of any archivist to challenge unnatural silences, by identifying and naming them (Prescott & Wiggins, 2023).

Built on feminist rhetorical theory, queer theory extends this framework by challenging the heteronormative assumptions that underpin dominant historical narratives (Poncet, 2025; Sullivan, 2003). For a more inclusive understanding of history, it is crucial to examine archives and collective memory through a queer lens, as heteronormative perspectives continue to inform conclusions and policies that neglect or misrepresent the experiences of suppressed groups like the queer community (Poncet, 2025).

Finding the silences is difficult, as it is hard to discover something that is not there (Carter, 2006). The feminist literary tactic of listening to silences helps with this and it entails examining texts for missing perspectives, revealing gaps that expose historical marginalization of certain groups (Hedges & Fisher Fishkin, 1994), and expose underlying power dynamics (Carter, 2006).

On the contrary to silences are overrepresented groups. Greetham (1999) explains how sometimes, the oppressed might be highly visible in the archives, due to the oppressor's efforts to shut this group down. An example of this can be found in religious texts where queers are given big attention in the Churches' efforts to suppress them. Greetham calls this "the poetics of exclusion" (Greetham, 1999, p. 19).

Listening to the silences allows for marginalized groups to reclaim their histories and shift from a situation of power over, toward power with and power to (Miller et al., 2006; Mijung Kim, 2021). Power over happens when powerful groups dominate society and have power over the weaker elements: marginalized groups. This can be identified as suppression, often invisible to the suppressors when it happens unintentionally. Power with emphasizes the cultivation of collective strength through common ground, mutual respect, and recognition of difference. It is rooted in solidarity, collaboration, and mutual support. Extending this further, power to reflects a shared human search for dignity and fulfillment, grounded in the belief that each individual possesses the capacity to shape their own (hi)story and contribute to the co-creation of collective narratives (Miller et al., 2006).

To break free of unjust power dynamics and move towards positions of power with and power to, it is crucial to firstly identify those unjust power dynamics. The existence of an archive for queer history helps in doing so and making way for queers to reclaim their position in history and modern-day society.

3.2 Collective Memory and Politics

Collective memory is built through record keeping in archives and other places of memory collection. Nora (1989) has laid the foundation of this notion in stating that there is nothing like a "spontaneous memory" (Nora, 1989, p. 12). Instead, memory is inherently tied to places, objects and rituals. These records are intentionally chosen and shape the collective memory of a society (Nora, 1989).

This collective memory can also be (ab)used by politicians to mobilize support, justify policies and legitimize actions (Verovšek, 2016). Politicians often pick what suits them best: they might take historical events out of their original context or link them to modern day

events without properly researching the dynamics behind these modern day events. This way, memory becomes an instrument of political persuasion and control (Verovšek, 2016).

Collective memory is a product of the societal trends and power dynamics present throughout societies' histories. It is essential to form a groups identity, which is often used by politicians to create an identity-based narrative that can unify or divide societies (Verovšek, 2016). This is something that is often seen in populist political narratives, gaining a lot of popularity over the last years, also in The Netherlands. It drives different groups in society apart and even confronts them, enforcing polarization (Duyvendak, 2015). As group- and individual identities can be built through engaging with collective memory, it is therefore important that all identities, including those of marginalized groups and individuals, get a place in a society's collective memory (Duyvendak, 2015; Verovšek, 2016). This highlights the importance of identifying the silences in collective memory, so that political narratives do not reinforce exclusion or misrepresentation.

3.3 Provenance Research and Researching Objects

Tracing the history of artefacts helps to find historical silences and break them. Provenance research uncovers hidden or suppressed histories of artefacts, which contributes to collective memory and shapes how society interprets the past (Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019). It involves examining the artefact itself, the institutional and organizational objectives around the artefact, as well as the biographies of the collectors (Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019).

Myers (2025) calls this intersectional provenance: "Intersectional Provenance suggests that to truly understand the origin of archival material is to know the relationship a record or item has to all intersectional identities, and to acknowledge how outside institutions have affected this material." (Myers, 2025, p. 30). They also underscore the importance of considering the power of the archive and the people working in the archive, which needs to be considered when conducting provenance research (Myers, 2025).

Provenance research can be done in many different ways, one of them being through the use of object biographies. It can serve as a helpful tool to structure the provenance research of specific objects within the collection. Winters (2024) calls these object

biographies “the unheard voices of history” (Winters, 2024, p. 66) which outline the lifecycle of an object, as with human biographies, meaning it is led by a clear starting point and ending, the death of an object (Dannehl, 2009).

Individual objects in a collection can be researched through the method of multiple mini case studies (MMCS), in which each object can be seen as a mini case study (Käss et al., 2024). This method is particularly helpful in cases where there is relatively little information on the object, as is often the case with historical artefacts (Käss et al., 2024). It focuses on breadth over depth and allows for insights into larger societal dynamics. Pairing several objects from the archive of IHLIA and researching them as mini case studies, can thus provide insights into these larger societal dynamics around the context of the selected objects.

3.4 Queer Community and The Church

By studying selected objects from the archive of IHLIA, this research will explore the relationship between the queer community and Church. This relationship has been filled with tension (De Bruijne, 2022; Tiebosch, 2024), and queer Christians, have historically been marginalized within both religious and queer spaces (De Bruijne, 2022). Their marginalization is an example of the silences highlighted earlier: their (hi)stories are underrepresented or absent in archives and thus left out of society’s collective memory. Or in religious texts, making them highly visible due to the efforts to remove queers from the Church spaces (Greetham, 1999).

Today, acceptance of queers within Christian contexts varies widely, ranging from Coming Out Churches (Churches who encourage same sex relationships), to Churches that support conversion therapy (Elhorst & Mikkers, 2013; Tiebosch, 2024). Especially in less welcoming Churches, queer Christians often struggle to reconcile their queer and religious identities (Tiebosch, 2024; Van Klinken, 2011; Van Den Berg, 2016). This shows the impact of historical and archival silences: without artefacts documenting their (hi)stories, queer Christians struggle to build both individual and collective identities (Carter, 2006).

3.5 Gaps

This review shows several research gaps. Firstly, the relationship between queer communities and the Church remains under-researched, especially regarding how (hi)stories influence contemporary relationships between the queer community and the Church (Tiebosch, 2024). Secondly, there are no academic writings on the Pope's visit, or its connection to the queer community. Lastly, the selected objects from the archive of IHLIA lack any context, which creates a gap in knowledge (IHLIA, 2025). This research aims to fill these gaps by conducting a research on the intersection of these gaps. It highlights the Pope's visit from an academic point of view, putting this into relation with the queer community through the objects from the archive of IHLIA and lastly, aiming to identify how these histories influence contemporary relationships between the queer community and the Catholic Church.

4. Conceptual Framework

The literature review has introduced the concepts and theories that are used in constructing the conceptual framework for this research. In this section, they are assessed for their usefulness to this particular research and adapted where ought necessary. The concepts are related to each other to construct a conceptual framework that has formed the basis of the research. The visualization of this conceptual framework can be found in Appendix C.

4.1 Research Paradigm

The conceptual framework is grounded in feminist rhetorical theory, queer theory, and the theories of power to and power with. Feminist rhetorical theory and queer theory together guide the identification of the silences in the archive, shaped by marginalization and heteronormativity (Carter, 2006; Poncet, 2025). These insights lead towards the theories of power to and power with, that help move away from suppressive power dynamics (Miller et al., 2006; Mijung Kim, 2021). This research paradigm serves as a lens through which the research is viewed, shaping how archival materials are interpreted, how silences are identified, and how power relations are analyzed within the study.

4.2 Methodological Concepts

This research paradigm is a constant that feeds into the methodological concepts, centered on intersectional provenance. The approach moves beyond the artefact itself, but adds knowledge on the institutional objectives behind this artefact as well in order to identify institutional power structures and create a holistic understanding of the context (Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019; Myers, 2025).

The intersectional provenance is operationalized through Multiple Mini Case Studies (MMSC), in which several artefacts are analyzed together to place them in a broader historical context of the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church (Käss et al., 2024).

These mini case studies will be done on selected objects from the archive of IHLIA for which an object narrative will be constructed. The concept of an object narrative is coined specifically for this research, with inspiration from the concept of object biographies (Dannehl, 2009; Winters, 2024). Object biographies are characterized by the description of the full life cycle of an object, including the end of the life of an object (Dannehl, 2009). Since the objects in the archive have not yet come to the end of their lifetime and are still used by various users, this characteristic is less suitable to the research at hand. Additionally, tracing the lifecycle and all the places and roles the object has fulfilled throughout this lifecycle is an extensive study, which is unrealistic in the given timeframe for this research. Therefore, this research aims to construct an object narrative with all available information, uncovering “the unheard voices of history” (Winters, 2024, p. 66).

4.3 Collective Memory

Both the research paradigm and the methodological concepts provide insights into a broad historical context and create awareness about the historically dominant power dynamics. This way, queer Christian histories can be preserved and remembered, leading to visibility and recognition within society (Nora, 1989). Additionally, considering that collective memory can be used as a political tool (Verovšek, 2016), this visibility is crucial in working towards more inclusive political narratives and policies. Lastly, visibility of queer Christian histories enables groups and individuals to form their identities, contributing to their feeling of social belonging (Duyvendak, 2015).

5. Research Objective and Questions

5.1 Research Objective

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands through constructing the narrative of selected objects from the archive of IHLIA associated with the Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985.

This research contributes to archival, queer and religious studies, by filling the gap at the intersection of provenance research, object studies and the relationship between the queer community and the Church. Additionally, it supports IHLIA by filling the gap of provenance research on the selected objects. Lastly, it enhances the visibility of queer Christian histories, by reclaiming space in collective memory, leading to a more inclusive discourse.

5.2 Central question

What is the contemporary relevance of the object narrative constructed for selected objects from the archive of IHLIA in regard to the relationship of the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands?

5.3 Sub-questions

1. What object narrative can be constructed from the selected objects related to the Pope's visit to the Netherlands around 1985?
2. How did the selected objects gain their place in the archive of IHLIA?
3. How can the constructed object narrative influence the contemporary relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church?

6. Methodology

6.1 Research Design

This research is an applied, exploratory and qualitative research, combining desk research with in-depth semi-structured and unstructured interviews. This allows for an in-depth exploration of histories that have shaped collective memory, aiming to connect the research insights to contemporaneity, and learn from it. The research is inductive as the objects were leading in the process. Each object has been considered as a mini case study, allowing for insights across the objects and deeper understanding of the historical context (Käss et al., 2024).

Entry points for the desk research could be identified after having examined the objects, for names of organizations, locations and phone numbers. From here, the aim was to identify interviewees, but they eventually were found through other ways (see section sampling).

The research design is flexible and open, as the exact details of the research could only be defined during the research phase. The following paragraphs will elaborate this further in the sections operationalization, data collection, sampling, analysis and quality assurance.

6.2 Operationalization

This section explains how the conceptual framework is applied through the research questions. The research paradigm functions as a lens through which the entire research has been viewed. Grounded in feminist rhetorical theory and queer theory, this lens ensures that the researcher constantly questions which voices are heard, which are silenced, and how heteronormative structures may have shaped this. To ensure the use of this lens, a journal is kept in which the researcher reflected critically on this research paradigm, discussed in the section quality assurance.

The operationalization of the conceptual framework, will be done through the sub-questions defined in the subsequent section.

Sub-question 1 operationalizes the first dimension of the intersectional provenance method, focusing on the intrinsic and contextual meaning of each object. This question

examines what stories these objects reveal about experiences of queers in relationship to the Catholic Church and what silences remain. Each object has been treated as a mini case study (Käss et al., 2024), allowing for broad contextualization across several objects. This operational step connects directly to the broader theoretical aim of feminist and queer theory: to make visible the marginalized narratives that have historically been excluded from collective memory.

Sub-question 2 operationalizes the second dimension of intersectional provenance, focusing on the institutional and structural context surrounding each object. This question explores the processes of appraisal, that led to the inclusion of these objects in the archive of IHLIA. It aims to uncover the institutional objectives and power structures that shaped the appraisal process.

Sub-question 3 operationalizes the connection between the research findings and the broader concept of collective memory (Nora, 1989), by showing how the findings can contribute to the contemporaneity. It shows how reintroducing marginalized narratives into collective memory challenges historical silences and can influence social and political discourse (Verovšek, 2016).

6.3 Data Collection

Desk research

Desk research has been used to collect data about the Pope's visit, historical context and the selected objects. Information was found through online searches via search engines (Google and Google Scholar) and archival materials, primarily from IHLIA, supplemented by the international institute of social history (IISG), Utrechts archief, Stadsarchief Amsterdam, and Delpher.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with two interviewees from IHLIA, to contextualize the objects and to gain insights on the impact of this research for the contemporary relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church (sub-questions 2 and 3). The questions used during this interview can be found in Appendix D.

Unstructured interviews have been conducted with three external interviewees to collect oral histories in relation to the Pope's visit in 1985. The leading question for these interviews was "can you tell me something from your personal experience about the time around the Pope's visit?" The interviewee was able to construct a story based on what they valued important to share. Clarifying questions were asked throughout the interview. Later, the objects were shown and the interviewees were asked if they recognized them. Lastly, the importance of this research was questioned, contributing to sub-question 3.

6.4 Sampling

Object selection

The first step in sampling was the object selection. The starting point of this research was the Church as a whole. During the object selection, a large collection of objects could be identified that all were connected to the Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985. Using MMCS helped shaping a broader context around the objects and the relationship between the queer community and Catholic Church in The Netherlands around 1985. For the selection criteria used during this phase of the research, see Appendix E. After having used the selection criteria, judgments were made in accordance with the in-company mentor.

Desk research

After object selection, desk research was conducted. For this, snowball sampling was used where various pieces of information, such as names of organizations, provided clues on how to continue the research and what information to search for (Kumar, 2019, p. 308).

Interviews

Purposive sampling was used for the interviews with IHLIA colleagues, which led to selecting the head of collections and the head of objects, based on their expertise and in consultation with the in-company mentor (Kumar, 2019, p. 307).

For the external interviews, purposive sampling has been used to identify the first interviewee, valued for their knowledge of the Catholic Church and its relationship with the queer community. Subsequent interviewees were identified through snowball sampling (Kumar, 2019, p. 308), based on recommendations from the first interviewee. While snowball

sampling is typically used until a saturation point is reached (Kumar, 2019, p. 306), data collection concluded once a coherent object narrative could be constructed and no further interviewees could be identified. Judgement about this have been made in consultation with the in-company mentor.

6.5 Analysis

Desk research

Findings from the desk research were organized by object, creating a thorough record of relevant information, organizations and individuals. By gathering the information and comparing various sources, a trustworthy assessment could be made on the trueness of the information, whereafter it could be presented accurately in the object narrative.

Interviews

The interviews were recorded with the recorder function on the personal phone of the interviewer and transcribed using Turboscribe (<https://turboscribe.ai/>). The coding has been done through inductive coding, letting the codes emerge from the transcripts, fitting the exploratory nature of the research. The coding is firstly done by reading through the transcripts and highlighting important parts of the text. After highlighting, codes were attached to the marked pieces of text that indicated the content of that piece of text. This was done for each interview separately (for an example, see Appendix F). The first interview was coded through Atlas.ti (<https://atlasti.com/>), but this proved to be inefficient, so a transition was made to color coding in Microsoft Word for the latter interviews. Main themes were identified and put into a separate document, organized per sub-question, whereafter the coded transcripts were read again and the marked pieces of text were put into tables per theme (see Appendix G). After having done so for all the interviews, the text was read thoroughly and relevant quotes were taken out of the marked pieces. If necessary, text was moved to different themes if deemed more appropriate. Quotes were manually translated by the researcher, sometimes with the help of an online translation tool, such as google translate (<https://translate.google.com/>) and ChatGPT (<https://chatgpt.com/>).

Synthesizing

The themes emerging from the interviews were used as sub-headings in the results section, reflecting crucial insights for the constructed object narrative. The interviews were linked to the desk research by finding the overlap between information from both data collection methods. Generally, the interviews served to gain a deeper understanding of the context, while the desk research provided factual details.

Moreover, the interviews were not only used to inform the object narrative, but also to formulate answers to sub-question 2 and 3, by subsequently providing insights into institutional and social context, and by exploring the potential impact of the narrative on collective memory, through the interview questions.

6.6 Quality assurance

The trustworthiness and authenticity of the research instruments is assessed through the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Kumar, 2019, pp 276-277).

Credibility

Credibility is ensured through member checking. During the interviews, the researcher has checked their understanding of the expressions of the interviewees by repeating responses and asking verifying questions. Furthermore, the interviewees have assessed the results to confirm that their experiences were accurately represented, with minor adjustments made where necessary. Member checking touches upon the earlier introduced concepts of power with and power to, by refraining from a dominant position over the interviewees and assuming their own power to being able to shape their own (hi)stories (Miller et al., 2006; Mijung Kim, 2021).

Transferability

Transferability of the research results is generally assessed by the reader, by critically examining whether the results could be useful in other settings beyond the unique setting of this specific research. To ensure that the reader can make this assessment, the research is

described with rich detail about the research process, sampling process, context, limitations, and rich quotes from interviewees.

Dependability

The dependability is assessed through the extent to which the same results could be obtained if the research were to be replicated. To ensure this, a detailed description of the research process is given, so that future researchers can trace the steps of the process. The description can partially be found in this methodology, but is also woven into the results of the research. Additionally, the research process is shared through an online research blog on the channels of IHLIA to read for all individuals interested.

Confirmability

The confirmability of this research is ensured through the feedback of others. For this, the research results have been confirmed by the interviewees themselves (Catholic and queer), queer archivists and queer historians.

6.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical behavior has been ensured during all encounters within the internship, which is reflected in professional behavior and stakeholder contact. Additionally, ethical considerations have been made considering interviewees. For this, interviewees received an information letter (see Appendix H) and consent form (Appendix I) beforehand, which ensured voluntary participation and awareness of their rights, including anonymity. Furthermore, the researcher has made sure that research questions reflected the research objectives and only sought to find information necessary to answer the research questions.

Moreover, the researcher has conducted weekly bias checks and reflections to maintain awareness of personal assumptions and positionality. This research is conducted by a white, queer, Dutch, non-religious woman, much younger than the generation associated with the Pope's visit. It is important to maintain awareness about this, as the researcher might interpret the results from their own positionality. Although the positionality of the researcher is a given, the influence of it can be mitigated by becoming aware of it and by critically reflecting on it.

7. Results

This section is aimed at formulating answers to the sub-questions and the central question of this research. It combines the results of desk research and interviews conducted.

7.1 Sub-question 1

What object narrative can be constructed from the selected objects related to the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church in the Netherlands around 1985?

This section answers sub-question 1 by providing a detailed object narrative. This object narrative combines all objects into one overarching narrative which is used to create a holistic understanding of the whole historical context, in line with the aim of the MMCS method (Käss et al., 2024). This object narrative includes information about the research process, historical context and the objects themselves.

Initial search attempts and reflection in the media

To answer sub-question 1, initial search attempts were firstly done by google searches with prompts like “Pope’s visit 1985” and variations on this. Gerard Reve came up as an important public figure on the intersection of homosexuality and the Catholic Church, with himself belonging to both communities. He was appointed by the newspaper NRC to document the Pope’s visit to The Netherlands in columns, which were later gathered in a book titled *Roomse Heisa*⁵. The book is part of the collection of IHLIA and reveals a certain skepticism of Reve towards the sexual moral in the Catholic Church. P confirms this: “So what the Catholic Church claimed on sexuality topics... you should just take that with a grain of salt. You just go your own way... that was the message of Gerard Reve.” (Interview P).

The inside of the back cover of *Roomse Heisa* contains a note indicating that clippings related to the Pope’s visit are stored in the archive. A search of the archive revealed

⁵ *Roman uproar*. Translated by researcher.

three folders on this topic: two covering the months preceding the visit and one devoted specifically to the visit itself (see Appendix J). The folders contain newspaper clippings from various publications of the period, collected by the clipping service *Knipselbureau Buitenlust*⁶ (see Appendix K). This organization specialized in compiling press clippings on designated themes for institutions or individuals with an interest in those topics. Interestingly, these folders could not be found through the online catalogue, leaving room for improvement of this catalogue, enhancing accessibility of queer history.

The topics addressed in these clippings vary widely, but make it profusely clear how controversial the Pope's visit to The Netherlands was. Several articles report on groups of parents of homosexual children who publicly voiced their concerns and appealed directly to the Pope, expressing fear that official Church teachings contributed to social exclusion and endangered their children's well-being. These groups were also identified as participants in the demonstrations held in Utrecht on May 12, 1985 (Interview H). The *Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging*⁷ (FNV) also publicly distanced itself from the Pope's visit and criticized the position of the Vatican against women's rights, sexuality and social equality.

Beyond coverage in mainstream newspapers, the collection also documents responses in satirical media and television programs such as the item *Popie Jopie* from VARA, a Dutch progressive radio- and television broadcaster. *Popie Jopie* criticized the Pope as a pop-idol and his stance on several topics that were in conflict with prevailing social values in The Netherlands. Political responses were reflected in articles featuring the CDA⁸, the Cristian Dutch political party who were leading parliament at the time. They expressed both harsh critique on the satiric programs like mentioned above, as well as more moderate standpoints from individual members of CDA towards homosexuality (Newspaper clippings, 1985).

In addition to the topics mentioned above, standpoints of the religious themselves were also prominently featured. Examples are Bishop Bomers from Haarlem who expressed

⁶ *Clipping Service Buitenlust*. Translated by researcher.

⁷ *Federation Dutch Labormovement*. Translated by researcher.

⁸ Christen-Democratisch Appèl

that there is no place for homosexuals in the Catholic Church, and Bishop Gijsen from Roermond who called gay marriage tragic (Newspaper clippings, 1985). Many newspapers featured these statements and expressed commentary on it. Internal criticism in the Catholic Church also became visible through, amongst others, the standpoints of different nun-congregations who express their dismay of the exclusion of homosexuals in the Catholic Church, with some congregations even fully withholding any payments to the Pope's visit. Additionally, a multitude of articles report on the speech of Hedwig Wasser. She was assigned to speak to the Pope, but changed her speech last minute, including very critical comments on the conservative stance of the Vatican. To this, she received both praise and hatred from different groups (Newspaper clippings, 1985).

Illustrating for the sentiment in the Catholic Church at the time is an article highlighting research of a journalist who discovered that despite the bishops being very conservative, almost no priest was following this strict policy through. For example, when several bishops told their priests to withhold the holy sacraments from homosexuals, priests rarely put this into practice (Kors, 1985). The article states how many homosexuals have already left the Church and how within the Church, an underground movement has started. An example of this underground movement is the 8th May-Movement, to which Hedwig Wasser was a member as well.

Together, these materials illustrate how the Pope's visit functioned not only as a religious event but also as a focal point for broader societal debates and protest.

The other face of the Church

Almost 15 years after the pastoral council in Noordwijkerhout, still nothing had changed within the Catholic Church, while society became increasingly progressive and open. Progressive Catholics were fed up and united to take a stance against the Vatican concerning the Pope's visit to The Netherlands (Interview H). H: "All of a sudden it became clear in that... the Pope is coming, my god, what in god's name should we do with that? We might all go away on vacation, because we really don't want to experience that." (Interview H).

H explains how the 8th May-Movement started: “I think the driving forces were the religious, like the nuns... women are always more progressive than men... Plus the chair of the pastoral workers and [some activist men.]... We all gathered in an organization committee.” The first message of this group was “Dear Bishop, we want to consult with you, because we would love to see that it [our opinions and yours] can move closer to one another.” They hoped that the Pope could also meet with people from their side instead of only the more conservative theologians. “We wanted to get a few people like Schillebeeckx, an important theologian in contact with the Pope... but that was made impossible... It was very insulting for us that they were not allowed to talk to the Pope. That’s when we said, this is of course not acceptable. That was the start of the 8th May-Movement.” (Interview H).

This illustrates very clearly the stance of the Catholic Church and their unwillingness to listen and adapt to the needs of society and the Catholics at that time. While the committee firstly wanted to work through the official Catholic ways, they were forced to start their own movement: the 8th May-Movement, subtitled “Het andere gezicht van de kerk⁹”. H describes this as a hybrid movement, formed of progressive Catholics and broader societal movements. “It was also a coming together of what lived in society at that time.” (Interview H).

The movement addressed various themes, with homosexuality specifically igniting negative comments from the bishops. The movement also tried to raise awareness that movements like these are “simply part of the multi-religiousness of a large world Church”. (Interview H). But to no avail: “Eventually we lost... there were continuously fights and talks with the bishops: “Can’t we just best normalize it? [non-celibacy and homosexuality].” But yeah, there were insurmountable points around sexuality, abortion... women in ecclesiastical office.” (Interview H). After years of trying to change the Catholic Church from within, the 8th May-Movement came to an end.

Committee anti Pope’s visit

⁹ *The other face of the Church*. Translated by researcher.

While the 8th May-Movement tried to change the Catholic Church from within, secular groups tried to put pressure on the Catholic Church from the outside. One of these groups was the komitee anti-pausbezoek¹⁰ (KAP). The name of the KAP was found on posters 3 and 4 (see Appendix B).

Various newspapers reported that the KAP was formed of two different organizations from Utrecht and Nijmegen¹¹ (Newspaper clippings, 1985). The COC¹² members magazine of Nijmegen, *Pink*, is stored in the archive of IHLIA. The edition of April 1985 featured an article further elaborating on the KAP by stating that it was established on Saturday January 12th in Villa Lilla, a gathering center for queers in Nijmegen, during a meeting organized by ex-Roze Front (Pink Front) workers. The following edition of *Pink* features an interview with Bart van Dam from the KAP, in which he explains how the KAP was founded after the demonstration of the Roze Front on June 30th 1984 (Pink, 1985).

The Roze Front was an organization founded in 1979 with the aim of organizing the demonstration Roze Zaterdag (Pink Saturday)¹³. The organization consisted of a multitude of organizations representing the queers in The Netherlands (De Haan, 2022). The demonstrations on June 30th 1984 were aimed at more acceptance of public displays of homosexuality, after the discriminating policies of the municipality of Amsterdam. It took place on the international gay liberation and solidarity day (Newspaper clippings, 1985).

Van Dam explains how the Roze Front was lacking a link to actuality to which the demonstrations against the Pope's visit could be an answer. In the beginning, seven people joined their efforts, later more people started joining (Pink, 1985).

Critically analyzing this information reveals that the secular movement against the Pope's visit was not aimed at the liberation of queer Catholics perse, but more so aimed at

¹⁰ *Committee anti Pope's visit*. Translated by researcher.

¹¹ *Het Utrechtse nationaal overleg "wat doen we met de paus". The Utrecht national consultation "what do we do with the Pope"*. Translated by researcher. And *Het Nijmeegse "Animatie comité pausbezoek '85". Animation committee Pope's visit '85*. Translated by researcher

¹² The oldest and largest queer advocacy organization of The Netherlands. Originally named: *Cultuur-en Ontspannings Centrum*. Nowadays COC is used as a name on its own (COC Nederland, n.d.)

¹³ The first large queer demonstration, aimed at conservative bishop Gijsen in Roermond (Van den Berg, 2025).

queer rights and emancipation in general. It appears that activist queers saw an opportunity for attention to queer rights and emancipation through the Pope's visit, and not necessarily due to a need from queer Catholic themselves. The interviews with H and P also reveal a strict separation between both movements; Catholic and secular. Nevertheless, it needs to be mentioned that Catholicism was still the largest denomination in The Netherlands and many people were born into the Catholic Church, thus potentially influenced by a Catholic background.

Posters KAP

Two of the selected objects come from the KAP. Firstly, the poster national anti-Pope demonstration (see figure 1). This poster has a clear call to action to come to the national demonstration on Saturday May 12th. It shows the Pope's head cut off by the triangle used by the queers as the "pink triangle". The use of this triangle stems from World War 2 where homosexual prisoners were put into the group identified by this pink triangle and consisting of people who committed different kinds of sexual assaults (WithPride, 2019). Later, this symbol was taken as a proud sign to show solidarity among the queer community and became a symbol for queer emancipation (Interview W).

The KAP chose Utrecht as the demonstration site after plans for Den Bosch proved unfeasible due to strict safety measures during the Pope's visit there, highlighting the censored nature of this visit (Pink, 1985). Additionally, the article in Pink mentions how various groups of people in Utrecht showed a willingness to organize it. The KAP had hoped to see around 10.000 people demonstrating. Eventually, 4000 people showed up and the demonstrations ended in severe riots (Newspaper clippings, 1985)

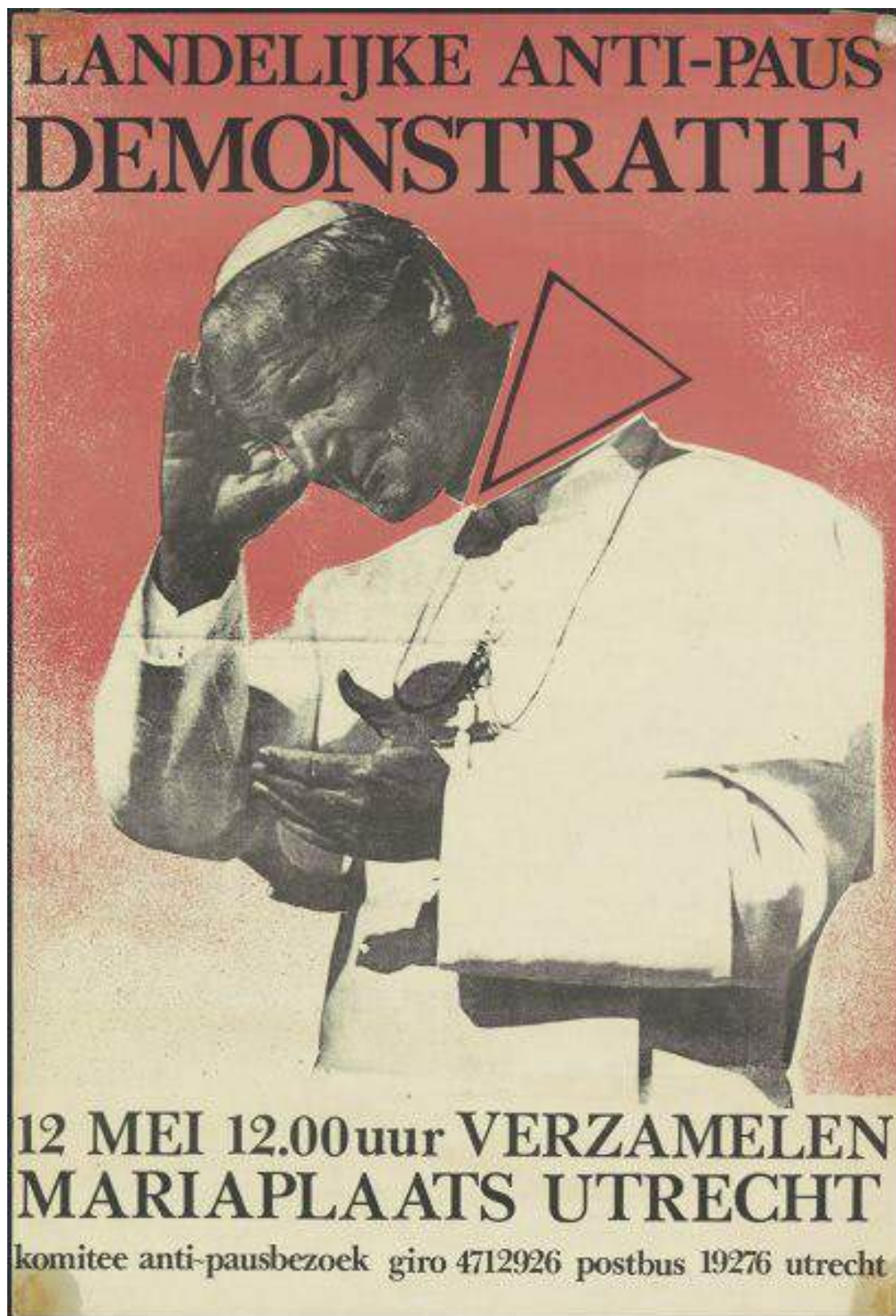
Prior to the demonstrations in Utrecht, the KAP organized a benefit evening, which can be concluded after viewing the poster advocating for this (see figure 2). This evening was held on Saturday March 30th in *opslag Oudegracht 267*, a youth center in Utrecht (Newspaper clippings, 1985). The poster highlights the names of two acts¹⁴, likely assembled solely for this evening as no information on these acts could be found. The same print

¹⁴ "Jezuz Kriziz" *Jesus Crisis*, spelled creatively. Translated by researcher. And "Repulsive Facelift".

discovered through Het Geheugen (<https://geheugen.delpher.nl/nl>), includes the text “lees natrap magazine” referring to the magazine that existed between 1983 and 1987. This might suggest that the benefit evening was promoted through this magazine. At the same time, the original poster contains a handwritten text at the bottom, suggesting that it was never printed, but just spread manually.

Figure 1

Poster Landelijke anti-pausdemonstratie¹⁵



¹⁵ Poster National anti-Pope demonstration. Translated by researcher.

Figure 2

Poster Komitee anti-pausbezoek¹⁶



¹⁶ Poster committee anti-Pope's visit. Translated by researcher.

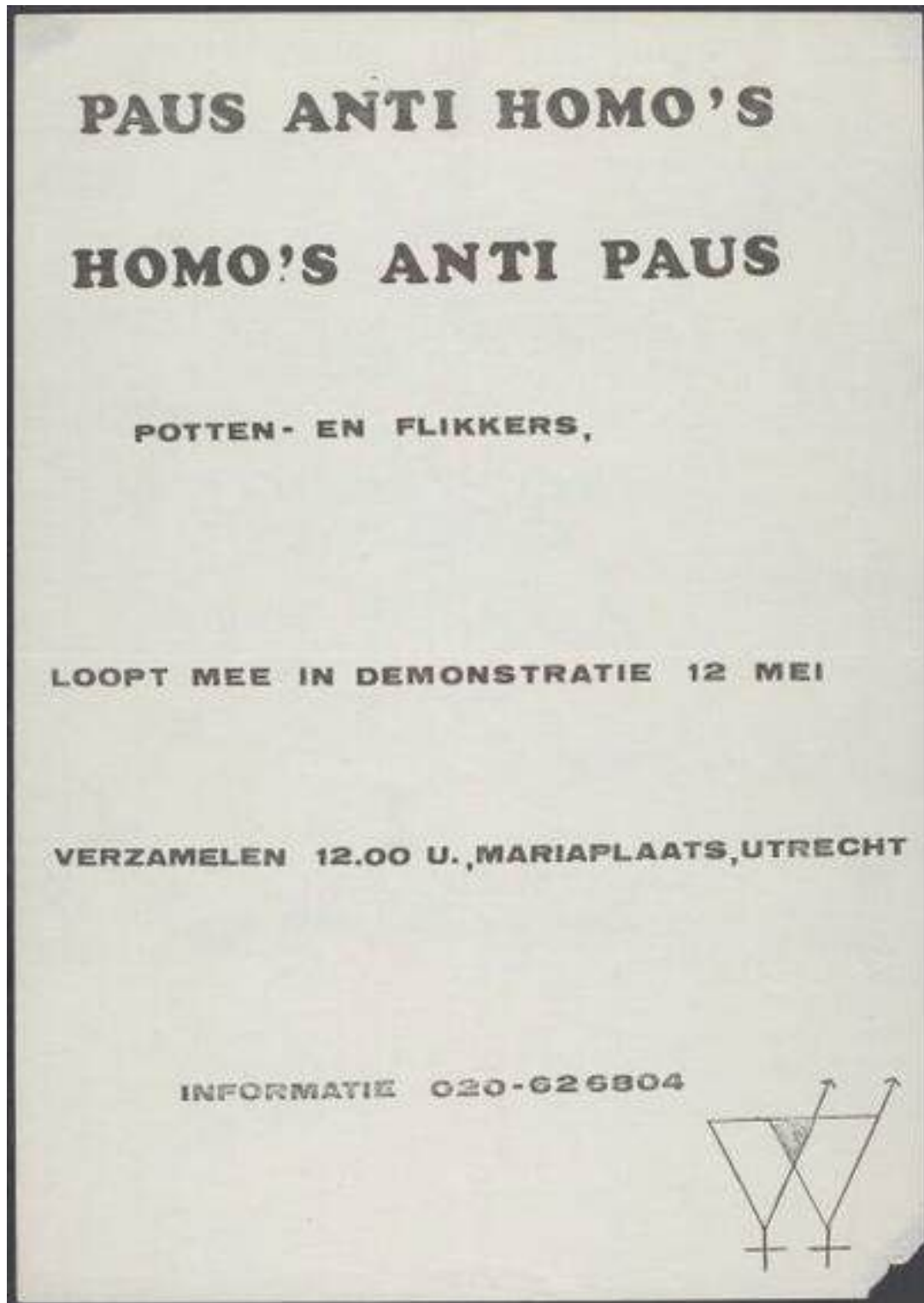
Unkown poster

Another poster from the selected objects also has a clear call to action to attend the demonstrations of May 12th in Utrecht (see figure 3). The research revealed no information on this poster. Taking the logo apart clearly shows three elements: two female gender signs together, two male gender signs together, and the upside down triangle mentioned before, clearly linking this poster to the queer community. The only information that can actually be retrieved from the poster is the phone number, coming from Amsterdam, indicating the poster originated from an organization in Amsterdam.

Pope anti gays, gays anti Pope

Figure 3

*Paus anti homo's, homo's anti paus*¹⁷



¹⁷ *Pope anti gays, gays anti Pope*. Translated by researcher.

Squatter movement

Alongside the 8th May-Movement and the KAP, the squatter movement was also involved in the events surrounding the Pope's visit. This movement is associated with the two most extreme objects selected for this research: the button and poster with a shooting target on the Pope's head and a clear call to shoot the Pope, including a monetary reward (see figure 4 and 5). The button is described in the online catalogue of IHLIA with the text "stichting voorlichting kraken"¹⁸. An episode of *Andere Tijden*¹⁹ (Van Hasselt et al., 2003) highlights the Pope's visit and interviews Leo Adriaenssen, a historian from Amsterdam (Wikipedia-bijdragers, 2025) and one of the people behind the poster. He was part of the same squatter movement. This Amsterdam movement organized information sessions on squatting throughout the country for various groups, and gave tours to new students in Amsterdam through the squatted areas. Discussions about the use of violence were not uncommon at these gatherings (Duivenvoorden, n.d.).

Adriaenssen explains how the poster was never meant as a serious call to murder, but it was meant to out a certain threat. Nonetheless, it caused a big upheaval in the Catholic Church. Cardinal Simonis decided to show the Pope the poster on his visit to Rome prior to the Pope's visit to The Netherlands, to which the Pope responded with "non è molto" – that is not much, responding to the monetary reward. The squatter movement had not received any money on their bank account after the posters were spread, whereafter an additional zero was added manually to the sum on the posters as an extra incentive to donate money to the account (Van Hasselt et al., 2003).

The poster also shows the names of other organizations: Noordelijk terreurfront Autonomen '80 and Autonomia Operaia paese bassi. Information on these organizations could not be found, but it is likely that Noordelijk terreurfront was located in Groningen, due to their name popping up in articles and organizations associated with Groningen (Newspaper clippings, 1985), suggesting that this was a national movement rather than just a local

¹⁸ *Foundation education squatting*. Translated by researcher.

¹⁹ *Different times*. Translated by researcher. Show on Dutch television highlighting different historical events.

initiative. Furthermore, the text below the photo says “after two earlier attempts, we must succeed now”. These two earlier attempts at killing the Pope happened in 1981 in Rome (BBC Archive 1981: Pope John Paul II Shot in Rome, 2024), and a year later in Portugal (Reuters archive, n.d.).

While no further information about the button was found, it appears likely that it indeed comes from this organization as well, due to the similarities between the poster and the button, and the unlikelihood that two separate organizations called out to kill the Pope, due to the extremity of it.

The squatter movement thus forms a third protest movement alongside Catholic and queer activism. It remains unclear in what way they are connected to this event, but generally, the squatter movement can be identified as anarchists and it may be inferred that the reason for their stance against this Pope’s visit is more rooted in leftist, anti-hierarchical beliefs rather than Catholic or queer specific.

The poster was spread across Amsterdam and published in the weekly magazine *Bluf!* (*Bluf!* - Wikisage, z.d.). The magazine is archived at IHLIA, but the edition of May, which most likely had the poster in it, is missing.

Figure 4

Button [hoofd van de paus met schietschijf]²⁰



²⁰ *Button [head of the Pope with shooting target].* Translated by researcher.

Figure 5

Poster F 15.000 beloning voor het liquideren van Karol Wojtyla alias Paus Johannes Paulus II; te gebeuren tussen 12-15 mei²¹

F15.000

BELONING VOOR HET

LIQUIDEREN VAN KAROL WOJTYLA ALIAS
PAUS JOHANNES PAULUS II; TE GEBEUREN
TUSSEN 12 - 15 MEI



HIJ IS LID VAN EEN MISDADIGE EN FASCISTISCHE ORGANISATIE DIE ZICH AL EERWIJZEN SCHULDIG MAAKT AAN:

- I. MARTELINGEN (INQUISITIE)
- II. AFFEREN EN OPLICHTEN VAN DE ARMSTE BEVOLKINGSGROEPEN
- III. JODENVERVOLGING

DEZE ORGANISATIE, OOK WEL DE KATHOLIEKE KERK GEROEMD HEeft ZICH TUSSEN 1998 EN 1940 SCHULDIG GEMAAKT AAN HET TOEGEEN VAN VERVOLGEN EN MANSMOORD OP D.A. JODEN (VERDRAG MET HITLER) EVENENS HEeft DE KATHOLIEKE KERK AKTIEF DEELGENOMEN AAN DE VERVOLGING VAN DE JODEN (DEEGENING VAN OORLOGSTUDE, MET HELPEN ONTSNAPPEN VAN BERECHTE SIERA VLA HET VADERLAND NAAR LATIJNS AMERIKA EN 1945 HELDEN TEN DAG MAAKT HIJ DIT ZICH SCHULDIG AAN DISCRIMINATIE VAN HOMOSEXUELEN EN VROUWEN, DEeft STEUN AAN RECHTSE LINTA'S MET MARTEL PRAKTIJKEN, BELEGING VAN VRIJGEAARDE GELDEN (LEEF AFFERBILDEN) IN DE WAPEN INDOUSTRIE EN IN ONROEREND GOED EN DE ARMEN WIKEN EN ONDERHOUDT KONTAKTEN MET DE MAF-FLA

IL DUCE II

NA TWEE EERDERE POGINGEN
MOET HET NU LUKKEN

STORT DAAROM UW BIJDRAGE (OOK JIJ ROOMSE STOMMELING): POSTGIRO **1580195** AMSTERDAM ONDER VERMELDING VAN "MAAK HEM AF" ONDERSTEUND DOOR M.A.F. - NOORDELIJK TERREURFRONT - AUTONOMEN '80 - AUTONOMIA OPERAIA PAESE BASSI

²¹ Poster F 15.000 reward for killing Karol Wojtyla alias Pope John Paul II; to be done between 12-15 May Translated by researcher.

Nijmegen

As mentioned before, a part of the activism around the Pope's visit started in Nijmegen. The origin of the *Proclamatium Contra Papam*²² (see figure 6) is the lesbian archive in Nijmegen. Interviewee D, who was active there at the time, shared about several events that took place in the weekend of the Pope's visit. These events include, a manifestation in the shopping area of Nijmegen, a fashion show and an alternative Nijmeegs Council. The latter two were hosted in Villa Lila, the queer gathering center mentioned earlier, which was firstly used as the headquarters organizing the Pride demonstration in Nijmegen in 1984, and expanded during the organization of the events around the Pope's visit, whereafter it was officially opened (Interview D). You could argue that the organization of these events strengthened the queer community in Nijmegen, contributing to the establishment of a lasting communal space.

The events had a satiric character with people dressing up as nuns, fathers and Popes. During the fashion show there were two female Popes in parttime jobs, as opposed to the fulltime function the Pope has. The action band Kladderatsch who supports all kinds of leftist political actions also took part in the events. D suspects that the *Proclamatium Contra Papam* was written during the alternative Nijmeegs Council. He also highlights that most people in the organization of these events were all coming from the gay- and lesbian movement and were often not practicing Catholics or not practicing anymore (Interview D). This gives a different meaning to the *Proclamatium* that shows 10 statements against the conservative Vatican. H underscores this by stating that "This would have been difficult for the religious. So we *reject the Roman hierarchy and the authority of the Pope*. I think that we could have subscribed all but one [the rejection of the Roman hierarchy]." (Interview H).

H emphasizes the difference between secular and religious protests, noting his loyalty to the Catholic Church for both religious and strategic reasons: "We are all Catholics. I despise your opinion [of conservative Catholics], but we do have the same profession of

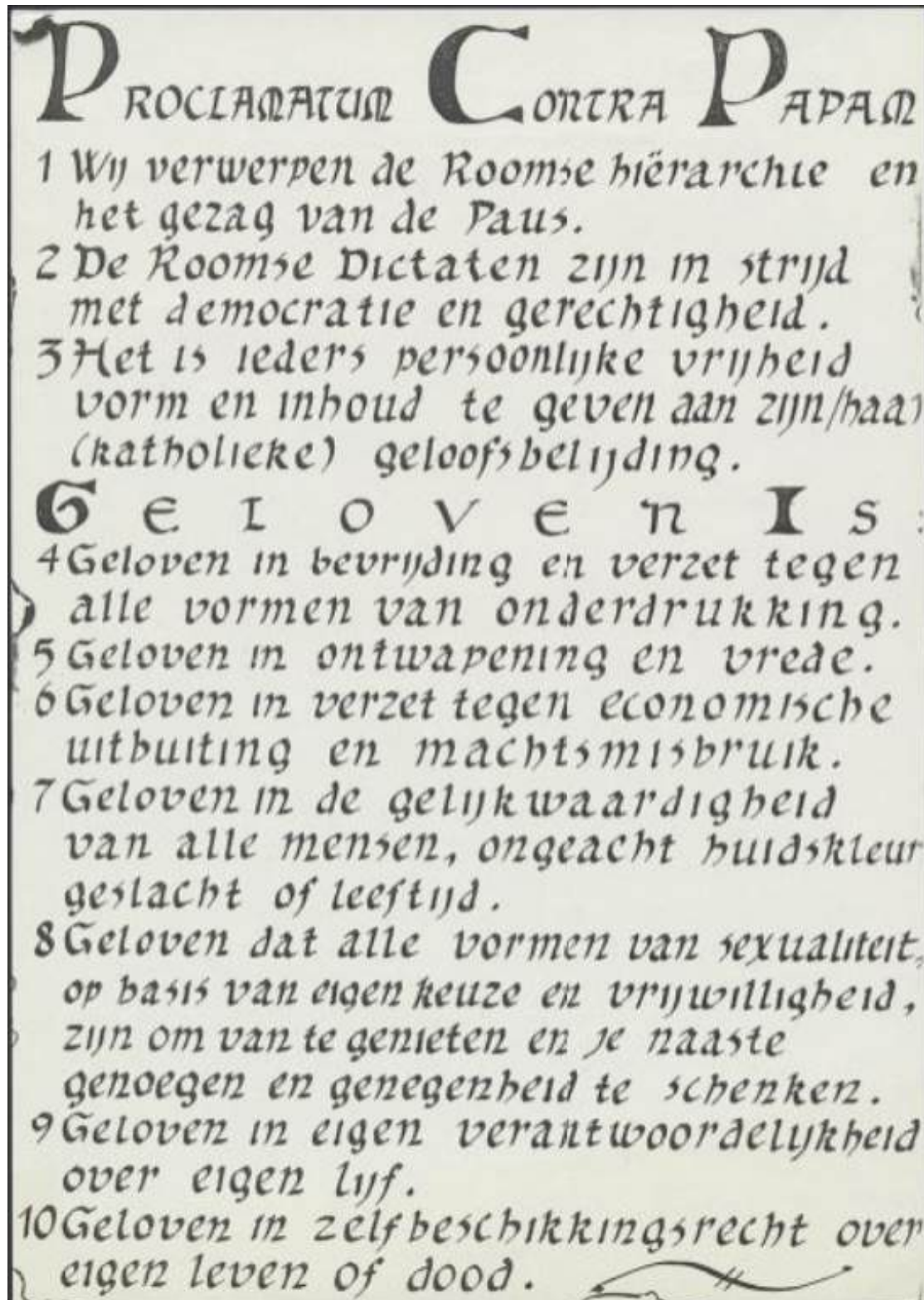
²² *Proclamation Against the Pope*, Translated by researcher. In the Latin language, the official language of the Catholic Church.

faith.” He adds: “But it is also a... for me at least it is also a rational loyalty.... if you have that power. And you are a part of it. Then you are not some kind of faction.... Yes, so that type of diplomacy is interesting. You can work with that.” (Interview H). This loyalty was also the reason that the manifestation took place on the 8th of May and not during the Pope’s visit that started on the 11th of May: “We didn’t want to disturb that [the Pope’s visit].” Referring to the posters H explains: “This is the secular uprising against the Pope. But we of course had the religious uprising that did not relate to these posters.” (Interview H). H states: “I think this is an important conclusion: That there is a strict separation between the secular, autonomous movements, including homosexuality. And the religious groups. Which of course were relatively civil in contrast to them then.” (Interview H).

Although the events organized in Nijmegen started from the queer movement, it can not be fully disconnected from Catholic motives as D, one of the organizers, used to be a Catholic and theology student himself. It is therefore likely to assume that these events were organized at the intersection of Catholicism and the queer community.

Proclamatum Contra Papam

Figure 6

Proclamatum Contra Papam²³

²³ Proclamation Against the Pope, Translated by researcher.

The humanist association

A more formal movement who ignited an action around the Pope's visit was "het Humanistisch Verbond"²⁴ (HV). The poster *De paus erin.. Ik eruit.*²⁵ (see figure 7) originates from the lesbian archive Nijmegen. In the earlier mentioned magazine *Pink*, an article from HV is featured, showing the same text as on this poster (Pink, 1985). This article outlines the intentions of HV to encourage Catholics to de-register as such from their municipalities, advocating for a neutral registration. The action is mainly aimed at people registered as Catholics at birth, but not practicing anymore. By de-registration, HV hoped to establish more realistic records of society with the main goal of decreasing the influence of the Catholic Church as well as the decrease of subsidies towards this same Church, alongside more moralistic arguments of free choice and the separation of state and Church. This shows how the turmoil around the Pope's visit was also used for political end goals and to shift balance in society.

Photos from the national archive (<https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/>) show people carrying the poster in demonstrations, suggesting that the message gained popularity beyond HV's original intent (see Appendix L).

²⁴ *The Humanist Association*. Translated by researcher.

²⁵ *Pope in.. Me out*. Translated by researcher.

Figure 7

*De paus erin.. Ik eruit.*²⁶



²⁶ *Pope in.. Me out.* Translated by researcher.

7.2 Sub-question 2

How did the selected objects gain their place in the archive of IHLIA?

An answer to this question can give insights into the institutional objectives of IHLIA and the power structures within the organization and that have influenced the appraisal process. Taking this a step further, the concepts of power over and power with can be questioned in this situation and insights can be revealed.

Origin selected objects

In the online catalogue of IHLIA, the origin of an artefact is indicated. However, for older objects, like those from 1985, the indication of the origin is often missing. From the seven selected objects, only two have their origin indicated. J explains: "And in that time [around 1985], that was simply not mentioned. It was not made accessible, it was put in a closet. And that was it." According to J, it is likely that objects from that time have been gifted from the COC as they often handed their archives to IHLIA (interview J). Trying to retrieve the origin of specific objects is impossible as J made it abundantly clear: "You can't do that. You won't succeed." (Interview J).

The other two posters come from the lesbian archive in Nijmegen. "The lesbian archive Nijmegen experienced problems with subsidies. And they have said that, we collect only what has to do with Nijmegen and the rest will go to Amsterdam. So that ended up at us as well." (Interview J). Knowing that the *Proclamatum Contra Papam* most likely was created in Nijmegen during the alternative Nijmeegs Council, it is enigmatic why the poster was donated to IHLIA, since it clearly has a strong connection to Nijmegen.

Establishment IHLIA

J explains how IHLIA was founded:

IHLIA is in fact a fusion product of three organizations ... The Homodok which was founded in 1978, the lesbian archive Amsterdam, which was founded in 1982 and The Anna Blaman huis²⁷, or the old lesbian archive Leeuwarden, which was also founded in 1982. At the end of 1999, those organizations were merged to IHLIA (Interview J).

The establishment of the collection firstly happened through merging the collections of these three organizations. It is thus likely that the selected objects from 1985 were originally preserved at one of these three archives, or they have gained their place in the collection only years after the event.

Appraisal IHLIA

In general, the collection is formed through actively collecting “what others don’t [collect]” (Interview J). The first queer archives such as Homodok were started after the first gay studies were established and it became obvious that information was “difficult to find” (Interview J). The focus on actively acquiring was thus on scientific information and gray literature: “theses et cetera, you couldn’t find those anywhere else. We did actively acquire those.” (Interview J).

The remaining part of the collection “is offered... We don’t actively acquire it... It can be private persons who disposed things, or activists who were involved in actions.” (Interview J). J adds that the COC used IHLIA as a “dumping place”: “Actions always had posters et cetera. If that ended [the actions], then it was disposed of and that ended up at us [the posters].” He adds: “Well, we just placed it in the collection. Those posters were not collected anywhere else either way.” (Interview J).

Power structures

The answers to this sub-question do not provide many insights into the power structures behind the memory collection of the events around the Pope’s visit and behind the appraisal of IHLIA and IHLIA itself. Nonetheless, a supposition can be made on the influence of COC. As J expressed that IHLIA simply took everything in the collection that the COC

²⁷ Named after Anna Blaman, a Dutch lesbian writer.

offered them, all those artefacts gain a place in the memory collection and potentially in collective memory. This might be a pitfall as the COC only reflects their experiences with the risk of queer history becoming dominated through those experiences and the COC gaining power over collective memory and the stories gaining power over those of the more marginalized. It is therefore crucial to critically assess all artefacts on whether or not to include them into the collection and additionally, to actively keep searching for the silences.

7.3 Sub-question 3

How can the constructed object narrative influence the contemporary relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church?

This section answers sub-question 3 by highlighting the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church around 1985 and now, through the stories shared by the interviewees. The relevance of this research is highlighted by linking the stories to the concept of collective memory (Nora, 1989) and shows how reintroducing marginalized narratives challenges historical silences (Verovšek, 2016).

Queers and the Catholic Church, now and then; continuity between past and present

The queer movement was already a big theme in the 1960's, P recalls: "It was the flower power time. That was of course the time of huge changes, also in sexual moral. So the pill was discovered and the widely available birth control." (Interview P). During this period, queer study groups were established and the first protests slowly started taking place (Interview P, Interview J). These broader societal changes also trickled down into the Catholic Church, marking the beginning of a long and ongoing debate between the queer community and the Catholic Church.

An example of this is the development of initiatives in the Catholic Church itself: Also our workgroup of Catholic gay pastors, which started in 1981, I don't know exactly, but that exists for a long time already. That is of course also a symptom of

that [development]. So they [bishops] were not willing to speak and write about homosexuality... so we did it ourselves (Interview P).

This shows how queer Catholics were forced to construct their own narratives and spaces when the Catholic authorities remained silent. This working group became a formal entity over the years and is still active today as the WKHP²⁸, advocating for greater inclusion of queer Catholics within the Church (Werkverband van Katholieke Homo-Pastores, n.d.).

As explained earlier, the Catholic Church had fairly recently undergone big changes after the installment of the second Vatican Council, which shifted the focus from the holy mystery to the horizontal sphere with a focus on the interaction with others and how you treat others. This was a big motivation for many queer activists and became main priorities in their protests (Interview P).

Forty years after the Pope's visit to The Netherlands, the position of queers in the Catholic Church is still highly problematic. P points out "I am the living proof of what happened back then, is still happening now." referring to being banned from his position as priest for over 25 years after publicly coming out as homosexual. The responses on the publication of his book illustrate that his case reaches far beyond only his personal experience. P points to the piles of files in his room: "So those pink files that you see there, are full with responses on the presentation of my autobiographical book. I really got a lot of responses on that." They contain responses of colleagues, queers, Catholics, dissenters, non-Catholics and non-religious. The orange files, which are a lot as well, contain the communication with the Church-leaders and all the judicial procedures, illustrating the complexity of this case (Interview P).

That the exclusion of queers in the Catholic Church reaches far beyond the case of P can also be seen in two other experiences that P shares about. Midway through the forty years between the Pope's visit and today, there was a holy year in which many groups were invited on pilgrimage to Rome. P explains: "There are special days for countries and for

²⁸ Werkverband van Katholieke Homo-Pastores. *Working group of Catholic Gay-Priests*. Translated by researcher.

nurses and for elderly and for married ones and for, I don't know what, for plumbers let's say. But yeah, not for gays." When gay pilgrims went anyway, the Pope called it a "stain on the holy year." (Interview P). "Those are big words," P notes.

Something similar happened this year, when a group of rainbow pilgrims were declined access to a prayer service in a chapel in Brabant. The Church stated that they "stick to the relationship between man and woman and to the marriage and to the stance of the Church - and inside the Church, it can only be about the relationship between God and human" as P paraphrased. According to him "It made it very clear, you know. So how the situation is, in modern Holland, Brabant, The Netherlands, in a simple parish."

These stories illustrate the problematic relationship and the broader relevance of addressing this topic. This is also highlighted by the Rainbow Index of Churches in Europe (RICE), which shows that the Catholic Church in the Netherlands scores only 24% on LGBTI inclusivity, which is substantially lower than many other denominations. For comparison, the Old Catholic Church in the Netherlands scores 87%, and the Protestant Church in the Netherlands scores 77%, placing them among the more inclusive European Churches (Inclusive-churches, 2025). These scores are based on 47 different criteria, examined by co-researchers who assessed their local and national Churches from within (Inclusive-churches, 2021).

Influence of the constructed object narrative on the contemporary relationship

The continuity of the problematic relationship as outlined above is proof of the relevance of addressing this topic. The constructed object narrative is a way of addressing this topic and giving it broad attention. By reintroducing marginalized narratives into collective memory (Nora, 1979), they challenge historical silences and can influence social and political discourse (Verovšek, 2016). Making hidden stories visible actively shapes how modern-day relationships, identities and power structures are understood.

J explains that “Originally Homodok was established as documentation center, so informing about collections, books and literature that were hidden in the libraries, to make that visible. So providing information, that was most important.” This aim is still most important for IHLIA and also touches on the relevance of the research at hand: providing information and making hidden stories visible, bringing them into collective memory (Nora, 1979). He adds that it is important to preserve historical artefacts, because “if you don’t preserve stuff, you cannot trace back history. And history can repeat itself.” (Interview J). Historical research is not only retrospective, but also preventive: it exists “so that we don’t reinvent the wheel, like nothing has happened in the past.” He adds that such knowledge also needs to be passed on through education, because “If you see what is happening. The tolerance declining. Discrimination is anything but gone. Quite the opposite. Then it is handy to know. How that was in the past. That we can give attention to it.”

This illustrates how the constructed object narrative can serve as a tool that connects the past to the present. P emphasizes that “Life has to be lived forward and can only be understood afterwards. And I think that someone like ... you can help us understand a development, what happened.” By conducting this research, he “hope[s] that it can contribute to a better understanding of a development that is still taking place.” In this sense, the narrative does not close history off but actively interprets it in light of ongoing struggles.

P further explains this relevance by tracing a common thread through history. He connects contemporary debates to much older moments of violence and repression as part of “a very long history or religious repression of homosexuality” (Interview P), stating that it:

has to do with the people themselves who were murdered there (sodomic persecutions in 1731). Those whose lives were horribly destroyed at that time, in such a way. And yes, that still demands that justice be done. That they are remembered, that we carry them with us in our own lives, in how we look at ourselves and at our world. (Interview P).

Remembering then becomes an ethical act by doing justice through acknowledgement and continuity. Additionally, H emphasizes the reparative and empowering

potential of such research: “All of those 8th May-people, who disappeared from the Church, who left, or have passed away of course. You would do them justice with a thesis like this.” (Interview H).

Constructed object narratives do not only document history; they offer recognition. W reinforces this by explaining that for those who encounter the research: “you keep the history of the community, in this case of the gays and lesbians, alive.” This, in turn, can strengthen people in the present, because “they know there were gays and lesbians in the past and that they did not let themselves get taken advantage of.” Knowing that earlier generations protested: “if a Pope said stupid things, that they protested against it”, can offer support and solidarity today, especially for queer people within the Church (Interview W). As W concludes, such research “can give a form of solidarity for people who hear about it now.”

Lastly, H reinforces that “the attention for these topics within the Catholic Church in The Netherlands is still very bad.” (Interview H). The relevance therefore already lies in bringing this topic to the attention. He explains that many activists movements have weakened over time, and that there is currently no chance on having normal conversations with the still very conservative Cardinal. And there is hope, as the Protestant Church has also proven to be more open and progressive with women in powerful positions and queers being accepted (Interview H). This contrast again demonstrates how narratives and institutional cultures shape possibilities for change, hence the relevance in bringing this topic forward.

7.4 Conclusion

This section is aimed at formulating an answer to the central question of this research: What is the contemporary relevance of the object narrative constructed for selected objects from the archive of IHLIA in regard to the relationship of the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands?

The contemporary relevance of the object narrative can be defined by synthesizing the answers from sub-questions 1 to 3. Together, they reveal a persistent and problematic

relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands. Various groups in society have been affected by this and efforts to improve this relationship have proven to be unsuccessful. Despite the widespread attention and debate generated during the Pope's visit to The Netherlands in 1985, the findings show that structural exclusion of queers in the Catholic Church still continues today, underscoring the relevance of this research.

The constructed object narrative uncovers a hidden history of queer Catholic experiences. By making these histories visible, this research contributes to society's collective memory (Nora, 1989) and demonstrates how highlighting archival silences can reshape contemporary understanding of the past (Carter, 2006; Fuhrmeister & Hopp, 2019). Constructing these histories can enhance both individual and collective identity formation, promoting recognition, belonging, and visibility for those historically marginalized (Duyvendak, 2015).

This research briefly touches upon more welcoming denominations of the Church, highlighting the possibilities within Christianity and underscoring the conservative stance of the Catholic Church. Exclusion of queers is thus not inherent to the Church, but a result of institutional choices. Making these histories visible therefore not only reflects on past injustices, but also contributes to ongoing debates about inclusivity, reform and the future role of the Catholic Church in contemporary society.

8. Limitations and Further Research

This research is scoped to allow for an in-depth qualitative analysis with a limited set of sources rather than a comprehensive historical reconstruction. This choice is made to be able to construct a concise research report within a limited timeframe. As a result, the sub-questions could only be answered to a certain extent and leave room for further exploration that can deepen the findings.

A major limitation lies in the availability of firsthand witnesses. The interviewees were able to provide a lot of contextual information and information about other events around the Pope's visit, but firsthand information on the posters themselves could not be found. This limitation reflects the risk of historical research, especially after such a long time period, where personal stories and materials are often hard to access.

Another significant limitation is that all interviewees are cisgender, white men. This leads to the perspectives of all other identities being absent from this research, which can be identified as the silences of this research.

For further research, more extensive searches could be done in other archives such as Utrecht archive, city archive Amsterdam, lesbian archive Nijmegen or the international institute for social history (IISG). In this research, only a surface level search of these archives could be done instead of an in depth investigation, which could potentially reveal more information.

Lastly, while this research analyzes how constructed object narratives may influence contemporary understandings of the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church, it does not empirically test this influence among present-day queer and/or Catholic communities. Further research could build onto this research by examining how the object narrative is received and interpreted in these communities and how it contributes to identity formation and social belonging over time.

9. Cross-organizational Relevance

The findings of this research were translated into two professional products: a blog for WithPride on the Pope's visit and a research blog for IHLIA. These products have the ability to bring the information from the academic paper to the public and make it accessible beyond academic purposes, which is in line with the objectives of IHLIA: digging up the hidden stories of queer lives and by bringing them to light, reclaiming their place in collective memory (IHLIA, 2017; Nora, 1989).

The aim of WithPride is to provide information about a historical event (WithPride, n.d.), in this case, the Pope's visit to The Netherlands, in a concise and attractive manner to the public. For this, the object narrative from sub-question 1 is used as a basis, but the story is presented much more anecdotal. In this blog, the focus also shifts from the objects about the event to the event itself, integrating the objects into the storyline. This fits the style of the website and the needs of IHLIA. The blog is much more concise, only highlighting the most important pieces of information. Assessments about this are made by the researcher themselves and verified by interviewees (member checking) and external stakeholders. The target audience of the website is anyone interested in queer history, but also affiliated organizations, educators, activists and politicians. The blog can function as an introduction into the topic and can guide people towards the archive for more in-depth information and the research thesis as well.

In addition to this blog, the research process is elaborated in the research blog. The target audience of this blog is mainly people from the academic field, interested in the experiences that informed the research and the way this is conducted. It provides transparency about the research process and ensures the quality throughout. Although the blog is written for academic audiences, it is presented quite anecdotal as it is written from the first-person perspective and includes the experiences of the researcher themselves. This style is in line with the website and the wishes of IHLIA.

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[homogenezing-coc-spreekt-van-overwinning](https://nos.nl/artikel/2581803-kamer-stemt-voor-verbod-op-homogenezing-coc-spreekt-van-overwinning)

11. Appendices

Appendix A

Prompts ChatGPT

- Can you help me to summarize the most important parts of the following text?
- Can you retrieve any information on homosexuality/Catholicism/religion/secularization from this text/article?
- Can you rephrase the following word in this sentence?
- Can you explain this for me?
- Can you give me suggestions for smoother transitions between the following paragraphs?
- Can you highlight the redundant parts of this text?
- Can you find any information on the following magazine/organization?
- Can you translate the following for me?
- Can you give me suggestions on how to restructure the following text to make sure that the information is presented more logically, maintaining my own text?
- What information is necessary to include in the operationalization/methodology/etc. section of the research report?
- Can you explain the difference between transferability and dependability in qualitative research?
- Can you put the following references in alphabetical order?

Appendix B

Table 2

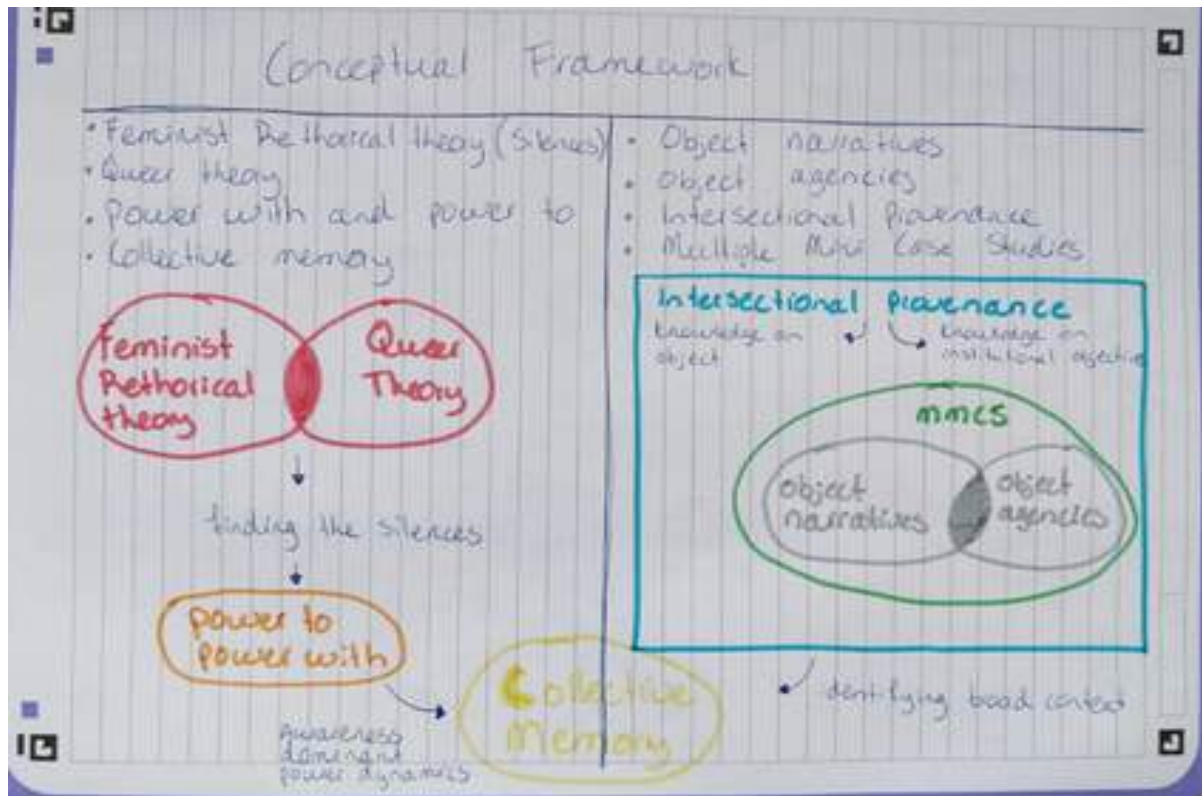
List of selected objects from the archive of IHLIA

	Title of the object	Type of object	Origin
1	Button [hoofd van de paus met schietschijf]	Button	Unknown
2	F 15.000 beloning voor het liquideren van Karol Wojtyla alias Paus Johannes Paulus II; te gebeuren tussen 12-15 mei	Poster	Unknown
3	Komitee anti-pausbezoek	Poster	Unknown
4	Landelijke anti-pausdemonstratie	Poster	Unknown
5	Paus anti homo's, homo's anti paus	Poster	Unknown
6	Proclamatium Contra Papam	Poster	Lesbisch Archief Nijmegen
7	De paus erin.. Ik eruit.	Poster	Lesbisch Archief Nijmegen

Appendix C

Figure 8

Visualization Conceptual Framework



Appendix D

Questionnaire interviews colleagues IHLIA

- Kun je iets vertellen over de ontstaansgeschiedenis van het archief? (voor J)
- Kun je iets vertellen over het collectiebeleid van IHLIA in het algemeen? (voor W)
- Wat is de relevantie van het archief?
- Wat is de relevantie van historisch/archief onderzoek?
- Presenteren van objecten: herken je ze? Zo ja, kun je iets vertellen over de herkomst?
- Wat is de meerwaarde van dit onderzoek? M.a.w. wat kunnen we er nu mee?

Appendix E

Object selection

The object selection started from the online catalogue system of IHLIA (Atlantis), that can only be accessed by staff of IHLIA.

- The possible search categories are: *Artikelen, boeken, affiches, ansicht, archief, archiefonderdelen, foto's, geluid, objecten, pamfletten, periodieken, video, textiel, grijze literatuur.*
- I will search within the following categories: *Affiches, ansicht, foto's, objecten, pamfletten, textiel.*

Figure 9

Search criteria Atlantis

Zoeken op Objecten

Eenvoudig Formulier **Uitgebreid** Thesaurus

Beschrijvingen zonder multimedia
 Beschrijvingen met multimedia
 Alle beschrijvingen

Incl. spellingsvariant

Filter:

En/Of	Soort	Veld	Voorwaarde	Waarde
▼	Objecten ▲	Uitgever ▼	is niet leeg ▼	<input type="text"/>
Of ▼	Objecten ▲	Vervaardiger/Autel ▼	is niet leeg ▼	<input type="text"/>
En ▼	Objecten ▲	Algemeen ▼	bevat ▼	christendom
En ▼	Objecten ▲	Land ▼	begint met ▼	nederland

Zoeken Leeg maken

Note

Explanation:

- There needs to be some information on the source of the object in order to have a starting point of the research. This means that at least **“Uitgever”** or **“Vervaardiger/Auteur(s)”** needs to be filled out.
- There needs to be a link to “Christianity”
- The research focusses on The Netherlands. Therefore the country (**“Land”**) needs to be The Netherlands (**“Nederland”**).
- Additionally, I include all spelling differences.

Appendix F

Figure 10

Example of coding in transcript interview

78	Iris: Want?	
79		
80		
81	H: De loyaliteit. We willen dat niet verstoren. Dat hebben we ook niet gedaan.	1:15 H... • Loyalty towards Catholic church
82		
83	H: We huurden. We moesten natuurlijk van alles organiseren. En we besloten toen om een organisatiebureau in te huuren. Dit hebben we nog nooit gedaan. Zo iets groots. In het Grijze verleden waren er al grote katholieke dagen geweest. In de jaren 20 en 30. Ja, die mensen waren allemaal al dood. Dus die ervaring konden we niet... En de Duitsers konden ook hele grote kerkdagen worden. Dat doen ze nog hè. Maar ja, Duitsland is een totaal ander land. Daar konden we ook niet eraan kleden. Maar het bureau Senf heeft ons werkelijk fantastisch geholpen. Met al die logistiek. Er was geen enkele locatie groot genoeg.	1:37 We huurden. We... • Start of the Acht-maibeweging
84		
85	Iris: Wisten jullie hoeveel mensen er gingen komen?	
86		
87	H: Nee. Maar we hebben nu gewoon een schot. Zoals je dat met nieuwe bewegingen doet. Dat doe ik nu weer met een nieuwe vredesbeweging. Dat je een schot lost. Er komen er ineens 200. Vorig jaar. Omdat er een behoefte is. Omdat er iets is. Anders krijg je geen beweging. Dus wij deden gewoon... Mail bestond nog niet natuurlijk. Zoals we moesten met de telefoon en de fax. Jezus. Ik had een fax thuis. En die... Als ik dan soms één of twee dagen weg was geweest. Dan gingen er hele slinge papieren door mijn kamer heen. Van de fax. Zo communiceerden we. En de telefoon is nu veel meer. Dus je had eigenlijk voortdurend aan de telefoon. Dat is een detail.	1:16 Da... • Start of the Acht-maibeweging
88		
89	H: Maar het is wel interessant hoe dat toen gecommuniceerd werd.	
90		
91	Iris: En werd dat dan binnen de kerken gecommuniceerd? Of werd dat ook veel al? Of gewoon in het algemeen?	
92		
93	H: Nee, ik denk vooral binnen de eigen bewegingen. Maar dat waren er nogal wat. Dus dat was helemaal geen probleem. De achterban was enorm.	
94		
95	H: En toen kwamen er 12.000 mensen op Malieveld. En we hadden de tenten gehoord van Tony Baltini. Zeg je dat nog wat? Grote circus directeur. En we hadden die circus tent neer	1:17 Maar het is wel int... • Promotion

Figure 11

Example of coding in transcript interview

118	H: Nee. Nee.	
119		
120	F: Nee, alleen Hedwig Wacziarg mocht spreken.	
121		
122	H: Hedwig Wacziarg was nog geen voorzitster, maar die mocht wel iets zeggen ja, indertijd. En die doorbrak zag maar die boom van, want officieel mocht er niks. En zij had dan een tekst voorbereid, waarmee ze inreis werd beroemd werd.	117 Critical stance towards Catholic church
123		
124	F: Ja, wat iemand binnen de acht-miljoenbeweging daar wat van?	
125		
126	H: Binnen de missiepad wat men dat, wij ook niet. Nee. Het is helemaal goed dat dat geheim gehouden is, want ze had onmiddellijk een missiepad. Ja. Dus zij hoorde tot de tak van de ontwikkelingswerk in de derde wereld. Dus daar was zij vooral mee bezig.	
127		
128	F: Ja, en wat vond u ervan? Wat zij deed?	
129		
130	H: Nou, geweld vonden we dat allemaal. Ja. Ja. Ja. Dat had meteen ook een enorme, dat had wereldbandend h. Ja.	118 Critical stance towards Catholic church
131		
132	H: Ik weet nog wel dat voor het eerst in mijn leven, ik had toen als perschef Richard Awerda. Daar heb ik ook nooit van gehoord. Maar Richard was de grote man van de volkskrant. Voor religie. Toen had de volkskrant nog heel veel dingen over religie. Nu niet. Maar dat was echt de naam. Richard had het Vlaamse conclave verslagen, was in Rome geweest. Wist hoe je daar mee om moest gaan. En er kwamen bijna honderd mensen uit twee de wereld kijken hoe wij dat in Nederland deden. Nu is er een hele aparte persent ingeged. Sinterklaas. Nou, ik heb deelde er wat op los. Ik was nog echt nog niet zo goed in mijn talen toen. Maar veel later werd het veel beter met allerlei internationale contacten. Maar Richard regelde dat heel graag. Die regelde de manifestatie op 8 mei? Nee, hij regelde die perstent. Alle inkomende persverzoeken regelde hij. Wat betreft die manifestatie op 8 mei? Ja, precies. Het was echt eigenaardig. Het overviel ons nauwelijks enorm. Het stond in alle kranten. New York Times, Washington Post. Het stond er overal in. Die Hollanders met hun Hollandse. Dat hadden we natuurlijk niet achter de rug. Vanwege de beredenbeweging. Die doen het weer. Mooi hoor.	
133		
134	F: En hoe tekent jullie als beweging naar alle protesten die tijdens het pousbezoek zelf plaatsvonden? Want die waren natuurlijk een stuk minder vredig, verliepen die?	
135		
136	H: Ja, dat is duidelijk. Het is een mislukte pousbezoek genoemd. Ook door het Vaticaan zelf. Of ze het letterlijk zo gezegd hebben, dat zal we niet. Maar waardoor mislukte het nou? Omdat gewoon in Nederland men helemaal geen zin had in een pous. Voorzigtig waren er natuurlijk ook een aantal satirische programma's op televisie geweest. Pope-Joke. Dat was waarschijnlijk een van de satirische programma's. En er versuurde op die verkiezingen ook. Die je met vliegtuigen randde de menig gijhuizen. Zoals Mollitia dat toen deed. Het was een lachertje eigenlijk. Dus de Nederlanders hadden er lak aan. In andere landen stonden er natuurlijk rgen dik langs de afzettingen. Er stond bijna niemand.	141 The pope's visit
137		
138	F: Gewoon omdat Nederland zo progressief was eigenlijk.	
139		
140	H: Ja. En ook tijd gemaakt voor, als je dit soort opvoeding hebt als katholiek, dan ben je uitgeleerd. Het was een heel sterke stemming, rijk hoor. Nou ja, dat heeft dit later natuurlijk eigenlijk steeds herhaald. Het geeft er om een zekere erkenning. Want we hebben onszelf nooit verstaan als een alternatieve kerk. Dat kwam natuurlijk ook door de invloed van de heilige geest. De religie ze ja, we hebben altijd al een zekere positie gehad. Waarom zou dat niet kunnen? Dus als je een soort bekering zou maken van de RK-kerk. Dan staat we niet buiten, maar een beetje aan de rand, in een onbeweving. Maar we protesteren bewustschappen ervan te onderwerpen. Dat is dat soort bewegingen, die eenmaal tot de multi-religieuze rgen horen, van een hele grote wereld kom. Ja. Dat is ook echt zo. Want als je niet met voor bewegingen die katholieke kerk er nu uit bestaat. Dat is voor een progressief, zeer conservatief. Op een of andere manier. Maar het wel van elkaar. Ja. Men sluit elkaar nooit uit. Dat hebben we daar in onze beweging ook nooit gedaan. Nee. Dus die protestanten die zeiden tegen ons. Kom op protestant. Ze zeiden nee. Is helemaal niet interessant. Is helemaal niet leuk. Nee. Als je ze van verzoeken haalt, dan moet je katholiek worden. Ja. Ja is dat het eigenlijk allemaal. Ja.	120 Relationship with Catholic church
141		
142	F: En tijdens het pousbezoek was het allemaal best wel de rellen in Utrecht. Ja, dat waren de religies in Utrecht. Ja, daar zijn mensen opgepat en gesonden. En een hele toestand met ME en weet ik wel wat. Ja. Hoe tekent jullie daarmee?	141 The pope's visit
143		
144	H: Dat stond een beetje buiten ons, want wij deden niet mee aan die rellen natuurlijk. Nee. En er waren groepjes opgetrimde hele consumptieve jongeren die voortdurend toegang hadden tot die pousbezoekster.	142 Loyalty towards Catholic church
145		
146	F: En ontwikkelde zich toen al een soort splitsing. Dus dan roem je dat ook weer. Dus een soort 10% mensen katholieken die echt vonden dat het niet kon wat wij deden. En dan verzamelde het zich in een groepje. Het is wel even geleden hé? Ik weet het niet meer waarom. Maar misschien kom ik er nog op. En die hadden in de latere jaren een eigen manifestatie. Daar ging ik ook heen. En toen dacht ik ja, ik ga daarbij. Ja. Maar ik geloof niet dat ze bij ons kwamen. Maar ik ging er wel heen. Om het te laten merken dat je denkt ja, we zijn toch allemaal katholieken. Dat is wel... Toen je denkt van ja, die opvat die je hebt vind ik vreselijk. Maar we hebben wel dezelfde geloofsbedeeling zeg maar. Ja, ja, ja.	
147		
148	H: Dat hoorde ik ook van Pwél interdeed. Want ik dacht van god. Als je dan zo eigenlijk uit je eigen kerk wordt geschipt. Hoe sta je dan tegenover die kerk? Maar ja, P die zei ook ja, ik ben katholiek. Punt. En dat zal niet veranderen. Dus dat is ook wel een bepaalde loyaliteit. Ondanks dat je het misschien niet eero bent met het beleid. Het is wel een loyaliteit naar de...	142 Politics and ability to make change
149		
150	F: Ja, maar het is ook een... Bij mij althans is het ook een rationele loyaliteit. In die zin dat als ik daar in de federatie van Europa zit. En die Cmo dan wordt onderdeeld. Dan heb ik wel het besef. We zijn daar met 300 organisaties van 140 katholieken geïnteresseerd. Die komen voor elkaar. Heel verschillend. Maar de thema's zijn het uitbalend. Sollen rondom migratie. Dan vormen we een blok. Dat je zegt, dit kan niet wat Europa doet met migratie. Een conservatieve progressiefheid. Rondom interreligieus. Dat is eigenlijk ook zo. Dus dan zie je dat die verhalingen van die katholieke kerk. En die praktijken invloed te hebben. Is te tijd gewoon interessant. In Francisus is dat weer meer geaccepteerd. Dat vinden we met ook ook wel. Dat is nog wel een begin. Maar kijk, als je die macht hebt. En je bent daar onderdeeld van. Dan ben je met een of andere splinter beweging. Bijvoorbeeld de katholieke gaten in Europa. Loosener. Zij hebben ingangen in Oost-Europa. Dan kun je bedekken. Ook in Rusland, Polen, Hongarije. En dan de katholieke diaconie. Waarop? Ja. Dat is ook een beetje een tactische... Dus het is ook een tactische overweging om in de suurt te blijven. Ja. Dus je bent de Mores. Ja. En je kent de Munitas van de Statenburg. Omdat daar de Raad van Europa zit. Ja. Dus dat soort diplomatie is wel interessant. Daar kan je later mee. En daar maar Wilke ook mee natuurlijk.	
151		
152		
153		

Appendix G

Table 3

Example of organizing quotes per theme and sub-question

Early historical context

P	
Ja, en, goed over de kerk gesproken, mijn ouders zijn nog opgegroeid in de oude kerk, zeg maar, met de Tridentijnse liturgie, de liturgie zoals die is vastgesteld door het Concilie van Trenthe. Dat was in de 16e eeuw, denk ik. Of in de 17e, ik weet het niet meer. Nee, 16e. Ik kijk het zo even na. Dat was een reactie op de reformatie.	PARAPHRASING After the reform, in the 16 th century, the Tridentine liturgy was installed during the Council of Trent.
Maar goed, met het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in 1853, kwam aan die periode van oogluikende tolerantie, maar ook discriminatie feitelijk, een einde. En die katholieke kerk is toen booming geworden hier in Nederland. Dus al dat, alles wat zo lang niet had gemogen, met name het bouwen van kerken en scholen, dat was toen een explosieve groei.	But well, after the recovery of the bishop hierarchy in 1853, that time of "tolerance", but also discrimination factually, was put to <u>and</u> end. And the catholic church became booming in The Netherlands. So everything... that was not allowed for so long, especially with the establishment of churches and schools, there was an explosive growth.

Sub-question 2

Founding of IHLIA

J	
IHLIA is in feite het fusieproduct van drie organisaties. Ik weet niet of je dat weet, maar het HOMODOK, wat in 1978 werd opgericht. Het Lesbisch archief Amsterdam, wat in 1982 werd opgericht. En het Anne Vlamingshuis, of het voormalige Lesbisch archief Leeuwarden, wat ook in 1982 werd opgericht. In het einde van 1999 zijn die drie organisaties gefuseerd tot IHLIA.	IHLIA is in fact a fusion product of three organizations ... The HOMODOK, which was founded in 1978, the lesbian archive Amsterdam, which was founded in 1982 and The Anne Vlamingshuis, or the old lesbian archive Leeuwarden, which was also founded in 1982. At the end of 1999, those organizations were merged to IHLIA.

Establishment of collection

J	
Het centrale beleid is altijd geweest, verzamelen wat anderen niet doen. Wat andere bibliotheken niet doen.	The central policy has always been, collect what others don't. What other libraries don't do.
Het is aangeboden... Gaan we niet actief achteraan. Maar die scripties enzovoort, die vond je nergens anders. Daar gingen we wel actief achteraan.	It is offered... We don't actively acquire it. But theses et cetera, you couldn't find those anywhere else. We did actively acquire those.
Het kunnen ook privépersonen zijn die dingen afgestoten hebben, of activisten die bij die acties betrokken waren, die kunnen dat ook uiteindelijk weer... Van diverse kanten is het hierheen gekomen. En in die tijd werd dat gewoon niet vermeld. Het werd niet toegankelijk gemaakt, het werd in een kas gestopt. En dat was het dan.	It can be private persons who disposed things, or activists who were involved in actions, who could eventually... It came to us from various sides. And in that time, that was simply not mentioned. It was not made accessible, it was put in a closet. And that was it.

Appendix H

Informationletter interviewees

Wat is het doel van dit onderzoek?

- Het doel van dit onderzoek is het vergaren van kennis en het ophalen van ervaringen die bijdragen aan het antwoorden aan het onderzoeksdoel:

“The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the queer community and the Catholic Church in The Netherlands around 1985 through constructing the narratives of selected objects from the archive of IHLIA.”

Wat vragen we van u tijdens het onderzoek?

- Het onderzoek zal plaats vinden middels een semigestructureerd interview, waarbij de onderzoeker deels specifieke vragen heeft voorbereid, maar ook de vrijheid heeft om hiervan af te wijken en aanvullende vragen te stellen. Afhankelijk van de inhoud van het interview wordt de duur bepaald en vooraf met u gecommuniceerd.

Wat zijn de gevolgen van deelname?

- Het kan zijn dat het lastig is om bepaalde herinneringen op te halen of bepaalde informatie te delen. Dit kan soms emoties oproepen. Het is belangrijk om hiervan bewust te zijn. De onderzoeker zal hier zo zorgvuldig mogelijk mee omgaan en proberen deze gevolgen zo te minimaliseren. Weet dat u op elk moment de deelname aan het onderzoek kan stoppen.
- Het kan zijn dat de resultaten van het onderzoek niet het gewenste resultaat zijn voor u persoonlijk. Door een gedegen onderzoeksmethodologie toe te passen kan de interviewer de resultaten verantwoorden en zal dat ook doen indien gewenst.

Hoe gaan we met uw gegevens om?

- Het doel van de gegevensverwerking is het schrijven van een bachelor scriptie voor de opleiding Global Project and Change Management aan het Windesheim Honours College in Zwolle, met als doel het afstuderen van de onderzoeker.
- De bevindingen van dit onderzoek worden gebruikt voor het aanvullen van de informatie in het archief van IHLIA, LGBTI Heritage. Ook worden de bevindingen gebruikt voor het construeren van een professioneel product voor IHLIA: een informatieve tekst over het onderwerp met als doel het informeren van publiek.
- De interviewopnames worden getranscribeerd en verwerkt via een beveiligde omgeving (ATLAS.ti). Ook worden de interviews geanonimiseerd waardoor informatie niet terug te leiden is naar u persoonlijk. Na het anonimiseren is het niet meer mogelijk om deelname aan het onderzoek terug te trekken.
- De uitgewerkte interviews zullen als onderdeel van het uitgewerkte onderzoeksrapport worden gedeeld in beveiligde omgevingen van het Windesheim: Brightspace en ANS.
- Persoonsgegevens worden niet gedeeld.
- Om de betrouwbaarheid van het onderzoek te waarborgen zult u worden gevraagd bevindingen te verifiëren. Rectificaties kunnen plaatsvinden totdat de gegevens geanonimiseerd zijn.

Moet ik meedoen aan dit onderzoek?

Deelname aan dit onderzoek is vrijwillig. Als u besluit om niet mee te doen, hoeft u niet uit te leggen waarom, en zal dit geen negatieve gevolgen voor u hebben.

Wat moet u nog meer weten?

Laat het vooral weten als u nog vragen of opmerkingen heeft over deze studie. Mocht u twijfels hebben over de integriteit van de onderzoeker, klachten hebben of vragen willen stellen buiten de onderzoeker om, kunt u contact opnemen met de coördinator van deze studie via internshipwhc@windesheim.nl. Voor vragen aan de onderzoeker zelf kunt u mailen naar iris.broekmann@windesheim.nl.

Appendix I

Consentform interviewees

Hierbij verklaar ik, de deelnemer, dat

Ik de informatie over het onderzoek gelezen en begrepen heb en dat ik vrijwillig toestem om deel te nemen. Ik weet bij wie ik terecht kan voor vragen en weet wat mijn rechten zijn.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ik mij ervan bewust ben dat deelname aan deze studie geheel vrijwillig is. Ik kan mijn toestemming om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek intrekken tot de data geanonimiseerd is.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ik begrijp dat ik voor deze studie mijn kennis en ervaringen deel om bij te dragen aan het beantwoorden van de onderzoeksvraag.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Daarnaast stem ik toe dat

Audio-opnames van het interview worden gemaakt om deze te kunnen transcriberen. Deze zullen na het transcriberen worden verwijderd.	<input type="checkbox"/>
De informatie die ik verstrek zal worden gebruikt en verwerkt voor het schrijven van een scriptie en professioneel product zoals toegelicht in de informatiebrief.	<input type="checkbox"/>
De informatie die ik verstrek zal worden verwerkt en mogelijk gepubliceerd via de kanalen van IHLIA, LGBTI Heritage, waarna deze openbaar toegankelijk is.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Datum:

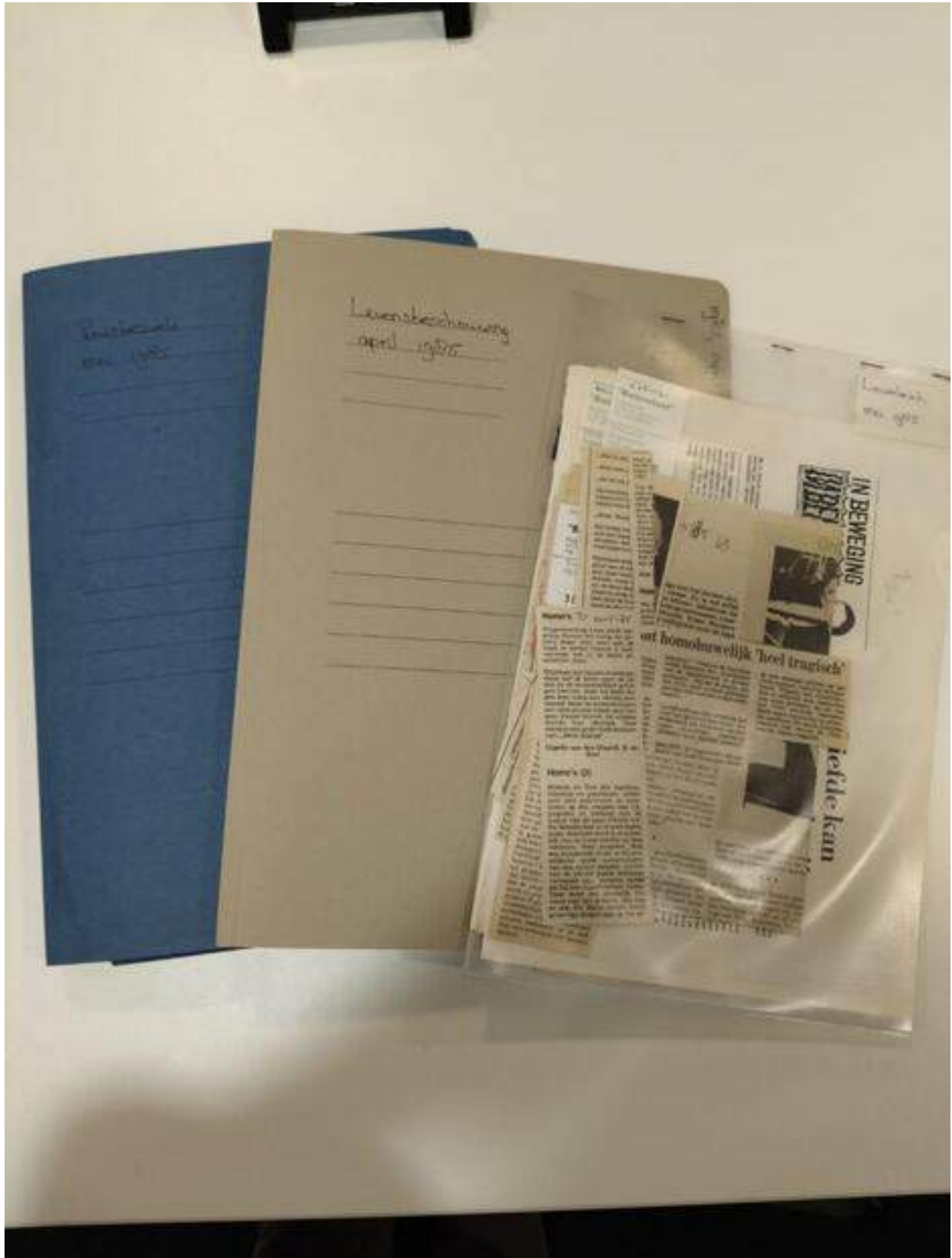
Volledige naam deelnemer:

Volledige naam aanwezige onderzoeker:

Appendix J

Figure 12

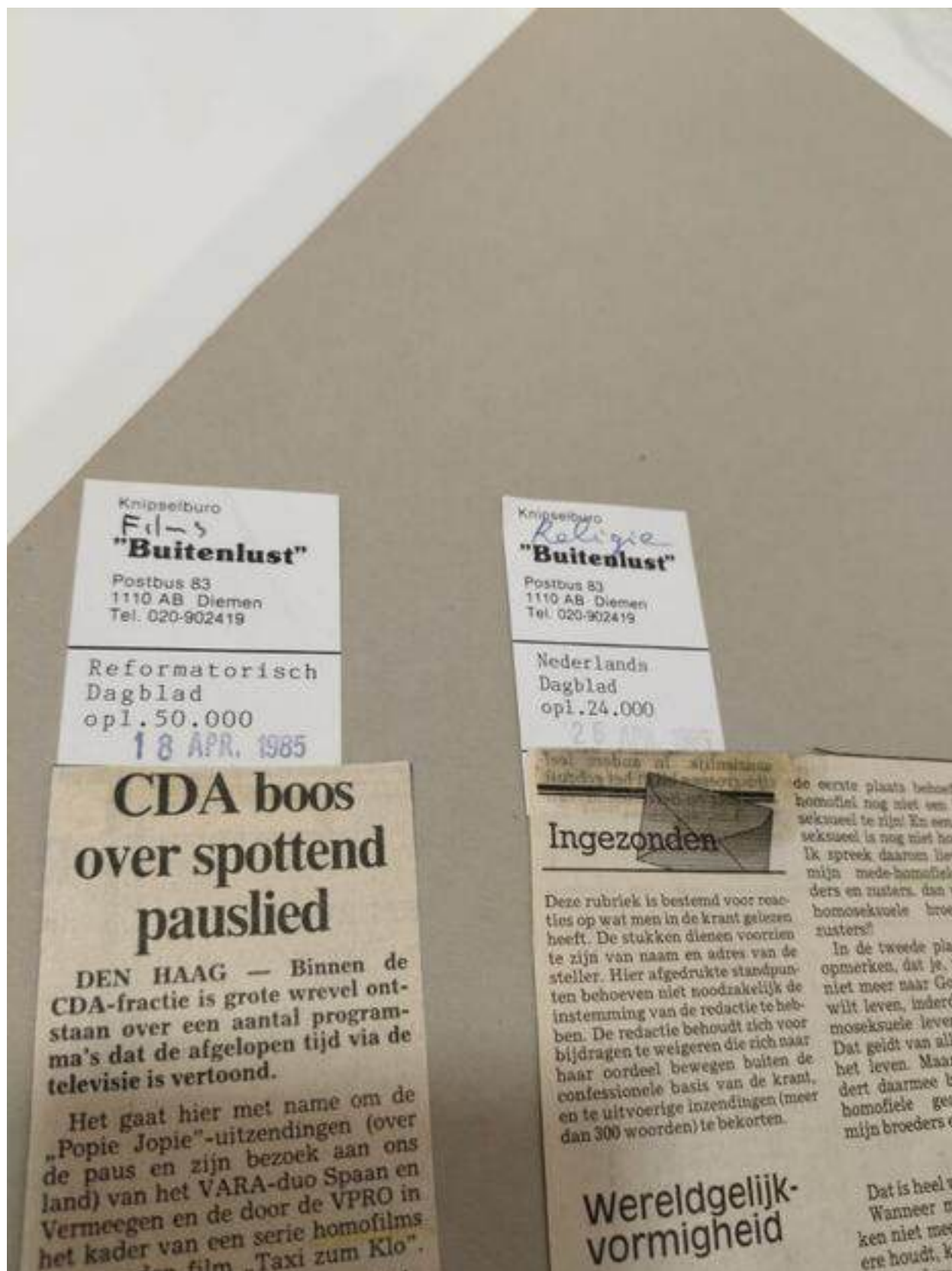
Maps with newspaper clippings from the archive of IHLIA



Appendix K

Figure 13

Example Knipselburo "Buitenlust"



Appendix L

Figure 14

Photo from Nationaal Archief, people demonstrating with poster HV

