

ESTIMATES OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

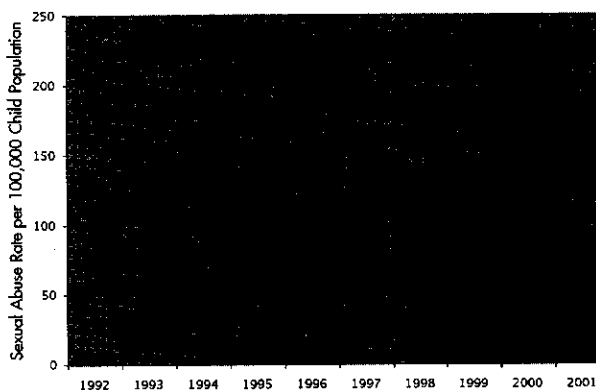
OVERVIEW

The estimation of any form of deviance in the general population is a very difficult task. It is impossible to assess the extent of sexual offending, either in general or with children as targets. Most estimates of the distribution of sexual offenders in the general population are derived from forensic sources, that is, samples of those who are arrested or convicted for sex offenses. All researchers acknowledge that those who are arrested represent only a fraction of all sexual offenders. Sexual crimes have the lowest rates of reporting for all crimes. Not all potential participants in such studies can be known or contacted, not all would use the same language to describe their experiences, and not all are willing to share information. The sexual abuse of children by Catholic priests and deacons is part of the larger problem of sexual abuse of children in the United States. This chapter is a summary of the estimates of child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church as well as the general population.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL SERVICE ESTIMATES OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Child sexual abuse data has been collected annually since 1992 through the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS) of the Federal Department of Health and Human Services. These data are based on incident-level reports gathered from state child protective services and agencies and are published in an annual report. The publication *Child Maltreatment*, which is released annually, reports incident-based allegations per state along with census-based estimates of the population of children younger than 18. Child sexual abuse is defined as "maltreatment that involves the child in sexual activity to provide sexual gratification or financial benefit to the perpetrator" (Child Maltreatment, 2001). Child maltreatment reports show a decline in reported incidents from 1992 to 2001 for all reporting states. Figure 1 shows the incident data expressed as a rate per 100,000 children. Figure 2 shows the percent of the total child population who have been victims of child sexual abuse.

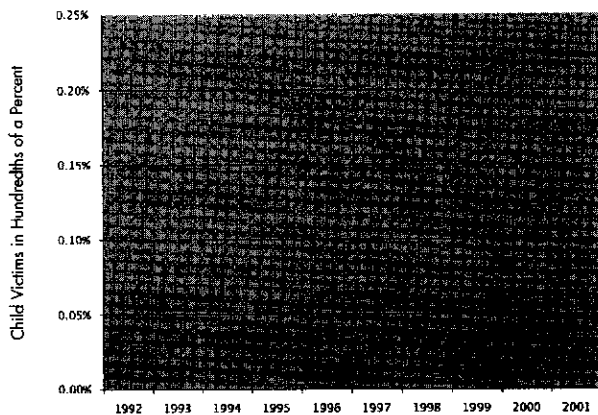
Figure 1
National Child Sexual Abuse Rate, 1992-2001



It is important to note that social service agencies and criminal justice institutions each only capture part of the picture. Incidents or events involving the sexual abuse of children may be reported directly to the police and/or may come to the attention of the staff of social service agencies. It is important to acknowledge that many such incidents may not generate any official report at all.

As a part of the work on the Study, state-level criminal justice data on the prevalence of child sexual abuse were sought from all 50 states and the District of Columbia. The agencies were asked for: 1) the number of offenders arrested for sex crimes against children for a series of years, 2) the number of child victims of sexual assault or abuse, 3) demographic information for both offenders and victims, and 4) conviction rates of those offenders arrested for child sexual abuse/assault. Of 49 states, only 13 had criminal justice system data available. Those states that have implemented the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), which collects crime information at the incident level and includes victim age, were able to provide the requested data, if only for the most recent year. NIBRS collects data on the following types of sex crimes: forcible rape, forcible sodomy, sexual assault with an object, forcible fondling, incest and statutory rape.

Figure 2
 Child Victims of Sexual Abuse as a
 Percentage of Child Population, 1992-2001



In the summaries below, this criminal justice data from NIBRS is compared to the NCANDS data. These comparisons generally show that state criminal justice systems are reporting considerably more incidents of sexual abuse than the social service agencies. The decline shown in the charts on the previous page may therefore be a result of a change in the patterns of response by victims' families, with more incidents now being reported to the police.

It should be noted that some discrepancies were found between the NCANDS data and the data obtained from the state social service agency for the same year. One explanation for this may be due to the fact that NCANDS collects data from a calendar year period and some state agencies collect data from a fiscal year period when publishing their own reports. Additionally, some data – such as that from California – are taken from the Offender Based Transaction Statistics System where only those offenders who have received a “final disposition” are included; therefore, these numbers may be substantially smaller than a count of arrests for child sexual abuse would be.

ALABAMA There were 632 child rapes reported to the Alabama state criminal justice agency in 2001, for a reported rate of 56 per 100,000 children. The NCANDS rate for all incidents of abuse is 174 per 100,000 children.

DELAWARE Delaware's criminal justice data reported 510 child victims of sexual assault crimes in 1995, for a rate of 285 per 100,000 children. This data was taken from a report requested by the Attorney General's Task Force on Child Victims and includes all known incidents of sexual assault against children where an arrest occurred. In contrast, the NCANDS report for 1995 shows only 200 incidents, for a rate of 112 per 100,000 children.

CALIFORNIA A total of 13,075 offenders were convicted of sex crimes against children in the state of California for the year 2001, for a rate of 141 sexual abuse convictions per 100,000 children. The NCANDS rate for the same year is 112 sexual abuse incidents per 100,000 children.

IDAHO NIBRS data shows that in 2001 there were 1,363 victims of child sexual abuse known to the state criminal justice system, for a rate of 363 victims per 100,000 children. The NCANDS rate is much smaller —295 known child victims, for a rate of 79 per 100,000 children.

IOWA The NIBRS data set for Iowa shows that in 2001 there were 1,454 child victims of sex crimes, for a rate of 198 victims per 100,000 children. The NCANDS data reports 1,031 victims, or a rate of 141 incidents per 100,000 children.

MICHIGAN Michigan's NIBRS data set indicates a total of 1,812 rape victims who were infants or children up to age 14, and another 1,269 rape victims who were children between 15 and 19 years old. In contrast, the 2001 NCANDS data reported 1,656 incidents of sexual abuse on children 19 and under.

SOUTH CAROLINA South Carolina's NIBRS data indicates that in 2000 there were 2,438 child victims (infants to children 16 years old) of forcible sex crimes. The NCANDS data reports 610 incidents of child sexual abuse in 2002.

SOUTH DAKOTA In South Dakota, the NIBRS data set shows 131 child victims of crimes from rape to forcible fondling, while the NCANDS data shows 169 incidents of child sexual abuse.

TENNESSEE The NIBRS system for Tennessee reports 3,488 child victims of crimes of sexual abuse for the year 2001, a rate of 248 crimes per 100,000 children. The NCANDS data reports 2,333 incidents in 2001, for a rate of 166 per 100,000 children.

RESEARCH ESTIMATES

Prevalence refers to the proportion of a population that has experienced a particular event or behavior. Since it is not known how many people in the United States experience a form of sexual abuse as children, some researchers select groups, or samples, of individuals to study and direct questions to them. If the selection of the group to be surveyed is not biased, the results of the study provide estimates of the prevalence of sexual abuse in the population from which the group is selected. In order to avoid bias in a sample, every person in the part of the population to be used as a framework for selecting the sample must have an equal chance of being asked to participate. Researchers use the data gathered from those who participate to estimate the proportion of the United States population who are sexually abused during childhood.

Studies of the incidence, as opposed to the prevalence, of sexual abuse of children concentrate on estimating the number of new cases occurring over a particular period of time and on whether the number of events or incidents is increasing or decreasing. Scholarly studies of both the incidence and the prevalence of sexual abuse of children in the United States began emerging in the 1960s and gained greater urgency after the cluster of day care center child abuse cases in the 1980s made the issue one of acute public interest. A look at victimization studies that focus on the sexual abuse of minor children suggests that the scope of this problem is extensive.

Although we do not have data reflecting the prevalence of abusers, there are data from several studies reporting the prevalence of victimization. The prevalence rates reported in these studies vary somewhat.

- 27% of the females and 16% of the males disclosed a history of childhood sexual abuse; 42% of the males were likely to never have disclosed the experience to anyone whereas 33% of the females never disclosed (Finkelhor et al., 1990).

- 12.8% of the females and 4.3% of the males reported a history of sexual abuse during childhood (MacMillan et al., 1997).
- 15.3% of the females and 5.9% of the males experienced some form of sexual assault (Moore, Nord, & Peterson, 1989).
- Only 5.7% of the incidents were reported to the police; 26% of the incidents were not disclosed to anyone prior to the study (Boney-McCoy & Finkelhor, 1995).
- In summary, when compared with their male counterparts, females were more likely to have been sexually abused during childhood. Furthermore, females were more likely than the males to disclose such information; however, disclosure rates are quite low regardless of the victim's gender.

Finkelhor and Jones (2004) have used data from NCANDS to make a national estimate of the number of sexual abuse cases substantiated by child protective service (CPS) for the period from 1992 to 2000. Using data from more than forty states they report that the number of substantiated sexual abuse cases peaked at approximately 149,800 in 1992, followed by annual declines of 2 to 11 percent per year through 2000-when the number of cases reached a low of approximately 89,355.

Professional opinion is divided about why this drop occurred and how much of the drop is real as opposed to a reflection of factors such as changes in definitions, reporting and investigation by the states (Jones and Finkelhor, 2001; Jones, Finkelhor, and Kopiec, 2001). Finkelhor and Jones (2004) examined other indicia of sex abuse rates and conclude that, taken together, they suggest that at least part of the drop in cases has resulted from a decline in sexual abuse of children. The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) - which asks about rape and sexual assault for victims ages 12 and older (including acts counted within the broader definition of child sexual abuse) shows that sex offenses against children ages 12-17 declined 56 percent between 1993 and 2000. Virtually all the decline occurred in offenses committed by known perpetrators (family and acquaintances), 72 percent. Finkelhor and Jones observe that cases involving known perpetrators are the ones most likely to be categorized as sexual abuse.

Another source of self-report data on sexual abuse is the Minnesota Student Survey which has been administered to 6th, 9th, and 12th grade students in Minnesota in 1989, 1992, 1995, 1998, and 2001. Between 90 and 99 percent of Minnesota's school districts and more than 100,000 students have participated in the survey each year. The survey includes two questions about sexual abuse. Results indicate that sexual abuse by family and nonfamily perpetrators showed a slight rise between 1989 and 1992 followed by a 22-percent drop from 1992 to 2001.

At the same time reports of sexual abuse have declined, there has been a significant drop in crime rates and measures of family problems, such as violence among adult intimates, and a drop in out-of-wedlock teenage pregnancies and live births to teenage mothers (some of which are attributable to child sexual abuse) – all of these suggest a general improvement in the well-being of children.

Additionally, Finkelhor and Jones suggest that rates of sexual abuse have perhaps been reduced as a result of increased incarceration for sexual abuse offenders. They report that surveys of state correctional facilities indicate that between 1991 and 1997, the number of individuals incarcerated in state correctional facilities for sex crimes against children rose 39 percent, from 43,500 to 60,700 (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2001), having already more than doubled from 19,900 in 1986. They further note that these totals do not include large numbers of sexual abusers who receive sanctions that do not involve incarceration for a year or more.

Statistics from recent United States Justice Department studies of the prevalence of youth victimization confirm what other surveys have found: a startling proportion of young people experience sexual victimization (Snyder, 2000).

In a sample of 4,023 adolescents aged 12 to 17 across racial and ethnic groups, the lifetime prevalence for sexual assault is 8.1%. Seventy-four percent of these children knew their assailant well; 32.5% were friends with the abuser (Snyder, 2000). Thirty-three percent of all victims of sexual assault who reported to law enforcement agencies were aged 12 through 17 and 34% were under the age of 12 (Langan & Harlow, 1992). Juveniles were the

large majority of victims of forcible fondling (84%), forcible sodomy (79%), and sexual assault with an object (75%); of all victims of sexual assault, children below the age of 12 made up half of the victims for the above categories. The single age with the greatest proportion of sexual assault victims reported to law enforcement was age 14 (Langan & Harlow, 1992)

One meta-analysis of the various studies on victim prevalence found that the overall prevalence of male children who are sexually abused is 13 percent, whereas the prevalence of female children who are sexually abused is 30 to 40 percent (Bolen & Scannapieco, 1999). This study also identified three significant explanations as to why there is such a wide range in childhood sexual victimization rates, including the number of screen questions used to identify abuse victims, the size of the sample, and the years in which the studies were conducted.

As will be illustrated in the subsequent sections, the prevalence and nature of sexual abuse within specific social organizations varies. However, these variations can be attributed to the inaccuracy typically associated with reporting crimes.

REPORTING CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Every published empirical study on the disclosure of child sexual abuse indicates that a high percentage of those child sexual abuse victims who report their abuse to authorities delay disclosure of their abuse, and that a significant number of children do not disclose the abuse at all. The delay between the initial occurrence and the subsequent disclosure of the abuse varies, depending on a number of factors such as the abused's age at the time of the events, the relationship between the perpetrator and the abused, the gender of the abused, the severity of the abuse, developmental and cognitive variables related to the abused, and the likely consequences of the disclosure.

Consequently, child sexual abuse is significantly underreported. When victims do report that they were abused, they often do so years after the abuse occurred. Adult retrospective studies of childhood sexual abuse underline the delay in disclosure. In a

study of 228 adult female victims of childhood incest who were predominantly abused by males, Roesler and Weissmann-Wind (1994) found that the average age of first abuse was 6 years, and the abuse lasted on average 7.6 years. Only one-third of the subjects in this sample disclosed the abuse before the age of 18, and the average age of disclosure was 25.9. Arata (1998) found that only 41% of the 204 female participants in her study, whose average age at the time of victimization was 8.5, disclosed the abuse at the time it occurred. Lawson and Chaffin (1992) found that only 43% of their child subjects disclosed their abuse when they were initially interviewed. Lamb and Edgar-Smith (1994) conducted a study with 45 adult female and 12 adult male victims of childhood sexual abuse, and they found that although the average age at the time of victimization was 10, 64% of the victims disclosed their abuse in adulthood. In a study of childhood rape of girls, Smith, Letourneau, and Saunders (2000) found that approximately half of the women waited more than eight years to disclose the abuse.

The process of disclosing childhood sexual abuse varies, though it is often described within two axes: as purposeful or accidental; and as spontaneous or prompted. DeVoe and Coulborn-Faller (1999) found that child subjects in their study required assistance with disclosure. Sorenson and Snow (1991) noted that accidental disclosure was more common in preschool children, whereas purposeful disclosure was more common in adolescents. They also found four stages of disclosure in their retrospective study of 630 subjects who were aged three to 17 at the time of abuse: denial, disclosure (tentative and active), recantation and reaffirmation. These researchers also found that 72% of their subjects originally denied the abuse; 78% of the subjects who tentatively revealed their abuse progressed to active disclosure; 22% recanted their reports, and of those who recanted 93% later reaffirmed the original report. Lawson and Chaffin (1992) found that a significant factor in the disclosure process was the belief of the caretaker in the veracity of the disclosure. Bradley and Wood's (1996) research also supported the notion that the role of the caretaker is essential. Although recantations of disclosure were rare in their sample, they found that 50% of children who recanted did so under pressure from a caretaker.

Summit's (1983) model of child sexual abuse, the Child Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome, explains the hindrance to disclosure. This syndrome consists of five components: secrecy (the abuse occurs when the victim and perpetrator are alone, and the perpetrator encourages the victim to maintain secrecy); helplessness (children are obedient to adults and will usually obey the perpetrator who encourages secrecy); entrapment and accommodation (once the child is helplessly entrenched in the abusive situation, he or she assumes responsibility for the abuse and begins to dissociate from it); delayed disclosure (because the victims who report child sexual abuse often wait long periods of time to disclose, their disclosures are subsequently questioned); and retraction (as in the recantation stage described by Sorenson and Snow, the victims may retract their disclosures of abuse after facing disbelief and lack of support after their disclosure).

VICTIM'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE PERPETRATOR

If the perpetrator is a relative or acquaintance, victims of child sexual abuse are less likely to report the offense, or they are likely to disclose the abuse after a delay (Arata, 1998; DiPetro, 2003; Hanson et al, 1999; Smith et al, 2000; Wyatt and Newcomb, 1990).

In Arata's study, 73% of the victims did not disclose the abuse when the perpetrator was a relative or step-parent, and 70% did not disclose when the perpetrator was an acquaintance. Goodman-Brown, Edelstein, and Goodman found that those children who felt responsible for the abuse, often because the abuse occurred within the family, took longer to report the abuse. Wyatt and Newcomb found that the women who did not disclose their abuse to anyone were likely to have been closely related to the perpetrator and abused in close proximity to their home.

SEVERITY OF SEXUAL ABUSE

Research results vary in regard to disclosure of abuse in relation to the severity of that abuse. Arata (1998) found that child victims who experienced more severe levels of sexual abuse were less likely to disclose this type of abuse. This is consistent with the findings of Gries, Goh, and Cavanaugh (1996), who reported that fondling was reported by 80% of their subjects who disclosed. In contrast, however, Hanson et al. (1999) found that of their 341 adult

females who were victims of childhood rape, the more severe assaults were likely to be reported. DiPietro et al. (1998) also found that contact sexual offenses were those most commonly reported in their sample of 76 children.

DEVELOPMENTAL AND COGNITIVE VARIABLES

Lamb and Edgar-Smith (1994) speculate that "more astute" children may not disclose because they may "anticipate unsupportive reactions." They also maintain that such children may wait until adulthood to disclose when they can choose appropriate people to tell. White et al. (1986), as cited in Campis et al. (1993), found that older victims of child sexual abuse were less likely to disclose than their younger counterparts and noted that the knowledge of social consequences was a significant hindrance to disclosure. Keary and Fitzpatrick (1994) concluded that children over the age of five, who had previously disclosed sexual abuse, were more likely to disclose this information during formal assessment, but the converse was true for children under five. Similarly, DiPietro (2003) found that "developmental maturation clearly facilitates" disclosure (p. 140).

FEAR OF NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

Sorenson and Snow (1991) found that fear of further harm had an impact on a child's motivation to disclose abuse and that the child victims often only felt safe enough to disclose after the departure of the perpetrator. Berliner and Conte (1995) also noted that the fear about perceived reactions of others prevents some children from disclosing sexual abuse. Roesler and Weissmann-Wind (1994) found that 33.3% of their subjects did not disclose their abuse during childhood because they feared for their safety. They also found that 32.9% of their subjects did not report their abuse during childhood because they felt guilt or shame as a result of the abuse.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

DeVoe and Coulborn-Faller; Gries, Goh, and Cavanaugh; Lamb and Edgar-Smith; and Walrath, Ybarra, and Holden all found that girls are more likely to report abuse than boys. Reinhart found that sexual abuse of males was more likely to be disclosed by a third party. There are no methodologically sound empirical studies that indicate that males disclose at a higher rate than females. Gender

does not appear to be as important, however, as victim-perpetrator relationship in disclosure of abuse (Paine and Hanson, 2002).

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE WITHIN SPECIFIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

In 1991, journalist Patrick Boyle investigated the confidential files of the Boy Scouts and reported his findings in a five-part series in *The Washington Times* during the week of May 20-24, 1991. The results of his investigation are also included in his 1994 book, *Scout's Honor: Sexual Abuse in America's Most Trusted Institution*. In the first article of the series, Boyle outlined the statistics of abuse in this organization. According to the Boy Scout records, 416 male Scout employees were banned between the periods of 1971 to 1989 as a result of sexual misconduct. Boyle stated that there were 1,151 reported cases of sexual abuse within this time period. The Boy Scouts had one million adult volunteers and four million Scouts (including Cub Scouts, Boy Scouts, etc.) during this time period. The majority of the victims were believed to have been Boy Scouts, who typically range in age from 11 to 17. Boyle found that Scoutmasters perpetrated the majority of the abuse, but Assistant Scoutmasters, of which there were roughly 147,000, were also responsible. It also appears that most of the abuse occurred during camping trips. The Scouts claimed that sexual abuse in this organization was not a major crisis, but Boyle argued that sexual abuse is more common in Scouting than accidental deaths or serious injuries combined.

The four other parts in this series focused on various topics through case study illustration. The articles assert that the organization let known child molesters slip through the system and that this information was covered up in a manner that would protect the image of the Boy Scouts. When a Scoutmaster was reported to local Scout officials, Boyle stated that they often made deals in order to ensure that the scandal would remain a secret. If the Scoutmaster agreed to leave, then there would be no police involvement. What the Scouts did not realize is that the offenders were moving away and joining new troops where they continued to offend.

Even those offenders who were reported to the Scouts National Headquarters purportedly managed to evade the system and continued to act as Scoutmasters.

Boyle also discussed the impact of the abuse on the boys through individual narratives. Since the information in the confidential files is limited, the effects of the abuse on the children are unknown. However, Boyle asserts that out of the approximately 400 abuse cases he investigated, four victims attempted suicide and at least three leaders who were charged with abuse also made suicide attempts.

As public awareness concerning the abuse grew, the Boy Scouts recognized the need to combat this problem. Boyle claims that the organization has paid at least fifteen million dollars in order to settle cases out of court, with payments ranging from \$12,000 to \$1.5 million. In cooperation with experts in the field of sexual abuse, the Scouts have developed an extensive training program, which is meant to raise the awareness of both children and Scoutmasters. It has recently become a requirement that all employees must pass a background check in order to work for the Boy Scouts. They have also instituted policies prohibiting homosexual Scout leaders, which have come under the scrutiny of various civil rights organizations.

While there are not any empirical studies devoted to understanding the prevalence of sexual abuse in the Boy Scouts, the work of Patrick Boyle is the most comprehensive, albeit dated, information available. A database search of major newspapers illustrates that between 1970 and 2003, 22 incidents have been reported in major newspapers. The majority of the cases fit Boyle's findings in that the perpetrators used various "grooming" tactics in order to coerce the victim into sexual acts. The number of known victims for each offender ranged from one to 20, with some victims not coming forward until adulthood. In many cases, the Scoutmaster knew the child's parents, and the offenses ranged from inappropriate touching to intercourse. While the majority of the information presented in these articles is scarce, the information indicates that some of the perpetrators also worked as teachers and Catholic priests.

BIG BROTHER ORGANIZATION

The purpose of the Big Brother organization is to provide a mentor for economically or situationally disadvantaged youths between the ages of seven and thirteen. As with the Boy Scouts, the Big Brother/Sister organization has also experienced incidents of sexual abuse. No empirical data exist, but a database search of major newspapers revealed six published incidents between 1973 and 2001. As with the Boy Scouts, the offenders hailed from a variety of professions, including a school principal and naval officer.

As cited in Boyle (1994), Donald Wolff reviewed 100 allegations of sexual abuse in the Big Brother Organization and determined that, much like Scouting, the majority of offenders were single and came from various professions. These results were based upon an unpublished study commissioned by the Big Brother Organization that was subsequently presented at an inter-organizational conference. The sexual abuse progressed from inappropriate touching to other sexual acts, and the most common situations in which the abuse occurred were camping trips and visits to the perpetrator's house. These offenders also appeared to target emotionally vulnerable children. However, unlike the Boy Scouts or Catholic Church, once criminal charges were filed, Wolff found that they often led to confessions or convictions. The review also showed that many of the perpetrators were also involved in educating and counseling children other than the Boy Scouts. In light of these findings, the Big Brothers have instituted a strict screening process, which involves a criminal background check for all volunteers.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA)

There is no record of any empirical data or official reports outlining the prevalence of sexual abuse in the YMCA, but journalistic reports provide some insight. There are eight major news articles that deal directly with YMCA volunteers molesting children. The perpetrators worked for the organization in various capacities, including camp counselors and sports coaches. The offenders targeted both girls and boys, and many of the articles illustrated that the perpetrator in question was a habitual offender. One offender claimed he had targeted 20 victims while another had been charged with 75 counts of sexual abuse, including 10 counts of rape.

Some of the perpetrators had prior records for sexual abuse, and some were employed in schools.

ATHLETIC ORGANIZATIONS

There is no empirical data indicating the prevalence of sexual abuse within sporting organizations. However, a review of journalistic reports yielded the largest findings out of any other youth organization. Forty-five articles were devoted to sexual abuse cases in a variety of sports including swimming, basketball, baseball, track and field, football, soccer, hockey and gymnastics. The majority of the cases illustrate that the perpetrator was somehow involved with a school, either as a teacher or principal. Many of the perpetrators appeared to have multiple victims. The offenders also appeared to groom their victims over a period of time. One case involved a coach who was charged with 400 counts of sexual abuse, though most perpetrators had approximately 10 to 12 alleged victims, and the offending behaviors ranged from touching to rape. The perpetrators also "groomed" the victims' families, socializing with them in order to gain their trust and access to the victim. The cases occurred in North America, the United Kingdom and Ireland, and a few included prominent figures in their respective sport. In many of the cases, the coaches were suspended from the organization or were subjected to criminal charges. The victims ranged in age; however, a majority of them appeared to be in their teens.

CHILD CAREGIVERS

Finkelhor et al. (1988) conducted an empirical study that evaluated substantiated claims of sexual abuse from center-based and family-based day care institutions. In order to be included in this study, the facility had to cater to children six years of age or younger; 270 institutions were so identified. Substantiation was based upon the investigations of local agencies including child protection, licensing, and police agencies. The study yielded 1,639 victims (484 girls, 269 boys, and 859 victims for which gender was not unidentified) and 382 perpetrators (222 males, 147 females, and 13 whose gender was not identified) over the time period of 1983-1985. The authors urge that the data be interpreted with caution due to the fact that some government agencies did not cooperate with the researchers' requests and that the information sought was not always kept in one location and not uniformly organized.

Despite these cautions, the researchers were able to estimate the following statistics: 30.7 of every 10,000 centers and 15.3 of every 10,000 families have cases of reported child sexual abuse; 5.5 out of every 10,000 children enrolled in day-care centers and 8.9 children out of every 10,000 children in families are reported to be sexually abused. The researchers concluded that while a day-care center is more likely to be reported for sexual abuse, the risk of a child being abused is actually lower when enrolled in a center than in their own home due to the presence of more children. In evaluating the perpetrators, the following relationships were revealed: 16% of perpetrators were directors/owners; 30% were teachers; 15% were nonprofessional child caretakers; 8% were in a non-child care capacity; 25% were family members of the staff; and 5% were outsiders. There also appeared to be a rather high number of female perpetrators involved in day care abuse, including 44% of child care workers, 6% of family members, and 6% of multiple perpetrators.

CATHOLIC CHURCH

The prevalence of sexual misconduct within the Catholic Church has been estimated by a number of social scientists. In an empirical investigation of treatment efficacy, Loftus and Camargo (1993) concluded that in their clinical sample of 1,322 priests and brothers, 27.8% reported having engaged in a sexual relationship with an adult woman while 8.4% reported sexual misconduct with a minor. Another researcher, Anthony Sipe (1990), showed that 2% of priests engage in pedophilic behavior while an additional 4% of priests are sexually preoccupied with adolescent boys or girls. Sipe also concluded that 20% to 40% of priests engage in sexual misconduct with adults. However, these figures must be interpreted with caution due to the fact that they are based upon the authors' clinical experiences and not empirical evidence. Fones et al. (1999) found that in a sample of 19 clergymen (17 of which were Roman Catholic priests), 39% of the sample had offended against adolescents and 52% characterized the nature of their sexual behavior as deliberate. Like most studies conducted on this population, these results should be cautiously interpreted since the small sample size makes them unlikely to be generalizable.

While the social sciences have grappled with the establishment of a methodologically sound prevalence rate, journalists throughout the nation have also posed various figures. Jason Berry (1992) claims there are 400 priests and brothers who have sexually abused children. These figures are based upon Berry's coverage of the sexual abuse cases in Louisiana between 1984 and 1992. During this time period, Berry estimates that the Catholic Church spent nearly \$400 million in legal, medical, and psychological expenses. A recent archival investigation conducted by New York Times reporter Laurie Goodstein (2003) postulates that by the end of 2002, more than 1,205 clerics had been named either publicly or privately by 4,268 victims. Forty-three percent of clerics are said to have offended against children younger than age 12, and the majority of abusive acts were focused upon boys (80%). The alleged abuse is postulated to have occurred most frequently during the 1970's and 1980's. Goodstein reports that the abuse is purported to have occurred most frequently during the 1970's and 1980's. Half of the investigated clerics have been listed as having multiple victims, and 16% accounted for having five or more victims.

While these studies might begin to shed some light upon the true state of affairs within the Catholic Church, they are not sound enough to utilize in drawing conclusions. This presents a very interesting conundrum in which lack of information and institutional secrecy leads to sensationalism. According to Jenkins (1995), the emphasis upon sexual abuse committed by the clergy is a result of a shift in media coverage beginning during the 1980s. As a result, the image of the "pedophile priest" (Jenkins, 1996) was created and endorsed by the media and special interest groups in order to further their causes. While the media has portrayed this "crisis" as being centered solely in the Catholic Church, Jenkins offers evidence through the citation of liability insurance that illustrates that there were several hundred cases of sexual abuse involving non-Catholic clergy.

In response to this apparent lack of knowledge, various theological scholars within the Catholic Church have undertaken the task of assessing the true extent of the abuse. Plante (2003) extrapolated from data presented by the St. Luke's Institute to conclude that during the past 50 years sexual offenses have been committed by an estimated 3,000 clerics, thus resulting in 24,000 victims. However, Plante noted that this figure may be comprised of men from various religions, and therefore it cannot be concluded that all of the offenders are Catholic priests. In a literature review conducted by The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights (2004), the figure for abusive clerics cited in the media ranged anywhere from 1 to 1.8 percent.

The primary problem with these studies is that they are based upon speculation about the true nature and scope of child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church. Researchers from John Jay College of Criminal Justice (2004) conducted a descriptive study of the nature and scope of the problem, seeking information from all dioceses and religious communities in the United States. They found that 4,392 priests and deacons had allegations of child sexual abuse from 1950-2002 against 10,667 children, representing approximately 4% of all priests in the United States in that time period.

A recent attempt to place the issue of sexual abuse and the clergy into a proper perspective was undertaken by Kafka (2004) at the behest of the Vatican. Through a critical review of the available literature, Kafka stated that the typical child sexual abuser in the Catholic Church is a diocesan priest who is an ephebophile. Though primary knowledge is from clinical samples, clergy offenders seem to differ from offenders in the general population. Studies that have examined clergy with co-occurring problems have found them to exhibit fewer psychological problems than other sex offenders. However, methodological limitations preclude firm conclusions about groups of clergy who offend.