

# THEORIES OF SEXUAL OFFENDING

## GENERAL THEORIES

LAW, D.R., & MARSHALL, W.L. (1990). A CONDITIONING THEORY OF THE ETIOLOGY AND MAINTENANCE OF DEVIANT SEXUAL PREFERENCE AND BEHAVIOR. IN W. L. MARSHALL (EDS.), *HANDBOOK OF SEXUAL ASSAULT: ISSUES, THEORIES, AND TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER*, 13, 209-229. NEW YORK: PLENUM PRESS.

This article presented a theoretical model of sexually deviant interests that described how they may be learned through the same mechanisms by which conventional sexuality is learned. The model is divided into two parts: acquisition processes and maintenance processes. The authors noted that the model adopts the position that maladaptive behavior can result from quantitative and qualitative combinations of processes that are themselves intrinsically orderly, strictly determined, and normal in origin. This conditioning and social learning model stated that deviant sexual preferences and cognitions are acquired through the same mechanisms by which other persons learn more conventionally accepted modes of sexual expression. The model is presented as a set of 13 general principles and 14 propositions that are derived from the 13 principles. There are six basic conditioning principles (Pavlovian Conditioning, Operant Conditioning, Extinction, Punishment, Differential Consequences, and the Chaining of Behavior); two social learning influences (General Social Learning Influences and Self-Labeling Influences); and three maintenance processes (Specific Autoerotic Influences, Specific Social Learning Influences, and Intermittent Reinforcement). In addition, the authors discuss the treatment application of the theoretical model.

MARSHALL, W.L., & BARBAREE, H.E. (1990). AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF THE ETIOLOGY OF SEXUAL OFFENDING. IN W. L. MARSHALL (EDS.), *HANDBOOK OF SEXUAL ASSAULT: ISSUES, THEORIES, AND TREATMENT OF THE OFFENDER*, 15, 257-275. NEW YORK: PLENUM PRESS.

This article represented an attempt to integrate a widely disparate literature concerning factors that play a role in the etiology of sexual offending and lead to its persistence. In order to achieve their goal, the authors discuss biological influences, childhood experiences, general cultural features, availability of pornography, and transitory situational factors. In conclusion, the authors stated that all of these factors must be taken into account when planning the treatment of sex offenders.

SCHWARTZ, B.K. (1995). CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPOLOGIES OF SEX OFFENDERS. IN B. SCHWARTZ (EDS.), *THE SEX OFFENDER: CORRECTIONS, TREATMENT AND LEGAL PRACTICE*, 2. NEW JERSEY: CIVIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE, INC.

Outlined theoretical explanations for sexually deviant behavior, including: psychoanalytic theory, ego psychology theory, neurosis theory, Jungian theory, relational theories, behavioral theories, cognitive-behavioral theories, addictions theory, anthropological theories, family theories, societal theories, political theory, the integrated theory of child abuse, and the integrated theory of deviancy. Further, it reviewed causative factors and methods of treatment.

WARD, T., & KEENAN, T. (1999). CHILD MOLESTERS' IMPLICIT THEORIES. *JOURNAL OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE*, 14 (8), 821-838.

The authors argued that child molesters' cognitive distortions are generated by maladaptive implicit theories concerning the nature of victims, the offender, and the world. An examination of a number of scales used to measure distortions and several articles describing offenders' cognitive distortions resulted in the formulation of five implicit theories—Children as Sexual Objects; Entitlement; Dangerous World; Uncontrollability; and Nature of Harm—each capable of generating a number of maladaptive thoughts. Implicit theories were used to explain, understand, and predict the behavior of victims and aid in the planning and execution of

sexual offenses. They typically were not consciously articulated and facilitated the processing of offense-related information. According to the authors, there was ample evidence from developmental, social, cognitive, and personality psychology to support the influential role of implicit theories in individuals' understanding of themselves and the social world. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the multitude of distorted beliefs and attitudes exhibited in child molesters are the product of a small number of theories. The authors suggested that effective treatment is likely to require the challenging and restructuring of these core theories. Finally, the authors argued that it is possible to develop an integrated account of child molesters' cognitive distortions by focusing on the role of implicit theories in offense-related behavior. This perspective linked research and theory in a number of diverse areas of psychology and attempted to create a common framework for understanding the relationship between cognition and behavior.

WARD, T., & HUDSON, S.M. (1998). THE CONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THEORY IN THE SEXUAL OFFENDING AREA: A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK. *SEXUAL ABUSE: A JOURNAL OF RESEARCH & TREATMENT*, 10, 1.

The authors outlined a meta-theoretical framework, or a multi-theory approach to sexual abuse, that took into account a number of different levels of theory, such as comprehensive, middle, and micro-levels, and stresses the importance of distinguishing between different types of causal factors. Further, the authors illustrated the utility of the described meta-theory and demonstrated how different theories of sexual offending can be meaningfully integrated within this framework.

## **THEORIES OF OFFENDING BY CLERGY**

HANDS, D.R. (2002). BEYOND THE CLOISTER-SHAMED SEXUALITY IN THE FORMATION OF THE SEX-OFFENDING CLERGY. IN B.K. SCHWARTZ & H.R. CELLINI (EDS.), *THE SEX OFFENDER* (PP. 29-1-29-8). KINGSTON, NJ: CIVIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

This chapter presented a brief overview of the influence that Church doctrine has had on sexually

abusive clerics. Hands argued that the experience of shame interacts with unrealistic, moral expectations that have been internalized. The result of this process is a shame cycle, which stunts the individual's psychosexual development and contributes to sexual misconduct. The internalization of Church doctrine concerning celibacy/chastity reinforces many cognitive distortions, which allow the cycle of abuse to persist. The Church's interpretation of sexual misconduct as a personal sin directly contrasts with the view held by the criminal justice system. The Church has also discouraged the formation of close friendships among the clergy for fear that it might lead to homosexuality. With increased social isolation comes increased alienation from the body. Thus sexuality is repressed only to later emerge as an obsession. According to Sullivan, "primary genital phobia" is a result of this repression. When the individual experiences any sexual feelings, thoughts, or emotions they are reflexively ignored. The obsession occurs because these feelings are never directly addressed or managed in a productive manner.

JENKINS, P. (1996). *PEDOPHILES AND PRIESTS: ANATOMY OF A CONTEMPORARY CRISIS*. BRIDGEWATER, NJ: REPLICIA BOOKS.

## **CHAPTER 1: THE CONSTRUCTION OF PROBLEMS AND PANICS**

This chapter provided an overview of the format of the book and the issue of child sexual abuse in the Church. While it has been acknowledged that the abuse occurs, Jenkins contends that not much else is known about this issue. The author summarized the construction of the problem as going through the following stages: (1) many clergy are active in the sexual abuse of children; (2) many Catholic priests are active in sexual abuse; and (3) the structure of Catholicism makes priests more likely to abuse children. The Catholic Church is likely to be targeted due to its size and centralized hierarchy. The media's interpretation of cases of sexual abuse and litigation make it impossible to compare the prevalence of abuse across denominations.

## **CHAPTER 2: THE ANTI-CATHOLIC TRADITION**

In this chapter, Jenkins provided a historical overview of anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism. While it is believed that anti-Catholicism ceased

during the 1930s to 1980s, Jenkins argued that the emergence of books such as *Lead Us Not into Temptation* and *A Gospel of Shame* facilitated these ideas. Anti-Catholicism has also been integrated into culture through development of Catholic stereotypes and humor. It is argued that the idea of the predatory priest has always existed in a subcultural setting only to emerge into mainstream culture when the time was right.

#### CHAPTER 3: THE DISCOVERY OF CLERGY SEX ABUSE

Jenkins claimed that during the 1980's, allegations of sexual abuse committed by priests became prevalent. Two views about this phenomenon exist. One argument theorized that the abuse has been around for years but that it has only emerged during the last decade. Accepting this argument would mean that the crisis began in the 1960's, perhaps as a result of relaxed sexual discipline. The second argument posited that the abuse is a result of the liberal reforms of *Vatican-II*. Jenkins provided an overview of the publicized cases and included a timeline of major events. He hypothesized that the major scandal in the Louisiana diocese created a "snowball effect" in which the media increased their coverage of the issue and became more aggressive in pursuing such stories. This placed pressure upon the Church, which had to react quickly by implementing new policies in order to handle the problem. As a result of the media portraying the abuse as "a Catholic problem," they have neglected to evaluate the prevalence of abuse in other denominations.

#### CHAPTER 4: THE MEDIA AND THE CRISIS

This chapter discussed the media coverage of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church in both national and local publications. These publications portrayed the problem as being a crisis and scandal, requiring swift intervention. The news media also utilized images unique to the Catholic Church, which further characterized the crisis as being solely a Catholic phenomenon. Jenkins drew a contrast between these images and the more wholesome portrayal of the Catholic Church in films made between 1938 and 1944. Changing media values are one possible reason for this occurrence as the emphasis shifted towards tabloid reporting and sensationalism. In constructing the abuse "crisis," the media turned to Jason Berry and Andrew Greeley as experts. Soon, other authorities on the topic began

to emerge and each had their own agenda. Since these cases were widely publicized, public awareness of the issue of child sexual abuse also increased. Jenkins posits that these reports facilitated the investigation and prosecution of new cases as well as the creation of the image of the pedophile priest.

#### CHAPTER 5: PEDOPHILIA AND CHILD ABUSE

This chapter sought to evaluate three specific areas of child sexual abuse by clergy: defining the abuse in question, assessing the number of perpetrators, and establishing a historical context in which the allegations were made. In defining the problem, Jenkins drew attention to the differences between pedophilia and ephebophilia. While there were cases that involve extensive abuse, not all of them were severe. The media's reliance upon the image of the pedophile priest thus distorted the true nature of the problem. In citing a study conducted by the Chicago Diocese, Jenkins ascertained that the prevalence rate amongst priests is less than two percent. In establishing an historical context, the author illustrated how social feelings concerning sex offenders have cycled through the years. During the 1980's the effects of abuse on the victims began to receive attention that raised public awareness concerning sex offenders. The McMartin abuse scandal influenced ideas about clergy abuse by illustrating that sexual abuse could occur anywhere, leading to heightened suspicion. A discussion concerning the treatment of clergy offenders is included. Due to the dwindling number of priests in the seminary, the Church was willing to shift attention away from punitive measures to treatment needs in order to preserve its numbers. Treatment programs were created in the belief that the offender could be cured and reinstated into the ministry. While experts in the field attacked this point of view, it was still followed by the Church.

#### CHAPTER 6: CONFLICT IN THE CHURCHES

In evaluating the cases of sexual abuse in the Church, various themes began to emerge. Jenkins asserted that "the authoritarian nature of the Church and its hierarchy, the special privileges accorded to priests, the apparent neglect of the interests of women and children, and an ambiguous and hypocritical attitude towards sexuality" are notions that have existed for years. This battle between liberals and conservatives in the Church

was sparked by the reforms of *Vatican-II* and a dwindling priesthood. Church doctrine concerning sexuality came under fire from Catholic traditionalists who felt that the reforms of *Vatican-II* were too liberal and facilitated an environment in which abuse was allowed to exist. The liberals were concerned about reforms to the patriarchal Church hierarchy, which displayed little consideration for the laity. The clergy abuse scandal provided a platform for reformists to point out the apparent hypocritical nature of various Church doctrines.

#### CHAPTER 7: "SINS OF THE FATHERS"; THE FEMINIST RESPONSE

This chapter discussed the role of the feminist movement in the exposure of sexual abuse in the general population and clergy. Church doctrine concerning abortion and birth control came under criticism as a result of the movement. Feminists argued that sexual violence is a result of patriarchal culture, which is influenced by social institutions such as the Catholic Church. When the allegations of abuse began to emerge, feminists integrated them as evidence in favor of their argument. The definition of clergy sexual abuse was broadened to incorporate heterosexual relations between the priest and adult women. Jenkins argued that feminist rhetoric benefited from a social environment already ripe with discontent and an ever-changing legal interpretation of the problem.

#### CHAPTER 8: THE LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

During the 1980's the civil system saw the growth of torts concerning child sexual abuse. This was due to the claims of child maltreatment in nursery schools across the nation as well as new research concerning the credibility of child witnesses and recovered memories. This was also the first time that mandatory child abuse reporting statutes were passed throughout the nation. The Church is a billion-dollar industry, which makes it an appealing target for civil litigants. Litigation was pursued even when the evidence was not very strong and based upon retrospective data. Due to the statute of limitations, criminal prosecution was not an option for many victims. When the Church tried to defend itself against these excessive civil suits, various organizations claimed that hypocrisy and selfishness were inherent in the Church hierarchy. Jenkins argued that juries are more likely to be sympathetic towards victims, thereby creating an environment in which clergy litigation is an appealing choice.

#### CHAPTER 9: DEFENDING THERAPY

Jenkins posits that mental health professionals also have an interest in clergy litigation, as they would be called for treatment and their expert opinion. As the definition of child abuse changed in the 1970's, children were viewed as honest witnesses. This was impacted by a variety of research that evaluated the child's capability as a witness and the validity of memories. During the 1980's, allegations of ritual sexual abuse swept the nation and created a modern day witch-hunt. This chapter included a brief overview of the recovered memory phenomenon, media attention allotted the topic, and its impact on allegations of sexual abuse. Clergy abuse served to reinforce therapeutic assumptions whereas the ideas concerning ritual abuse reinforce the idea of the pedophile priest. As the validity of recovered memories and ritual abuse allegations were exposed, a backlash occurred where the topic lost any momentum it may have had.

JENKINS, P. (1998). CREATING A CULTURE OF CLERGY DEVIANCE. IN A. SHUPE (ED.) *WOLVES WITHIN THE FOLD: RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND ABUSES OF POWER* (PP. 118-132). NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ: RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Clergy deviance is explained through the impact the media has had in publicizing "scandals" and the reactions of Catholics to this news. Jenkins asserted that there were no scandals prior to the 1970's. This meant that the Church was protected from media scrutiny and that the pattern of multiple offenses committed by "pedophile priests" could not be followed. The media blackout promoted an environment in which those few priests who were inclined to engage in malfeasance experienced a sense of invulnerability because there was no possibility of incurring sanctions. The internal structure of the Church and the shortage of priests caused many Bishops to ignore discrepancies in order to preserve the clergy. Jenkins provided an overview of the relationship between the Catholic Church and media dating back to the 1920's. In the media's zeal to expose scandals in the Catholic Church, the Church utilized its power to boycott such publications. This ploy proved effective in controlling potential scandals. During the 1970's, films and novels depicted the secret sexual lives of priests, which is in stark contrast to the wholesome films of the 1950's. Jenkins posits that the Watergate scandal

played a role in encouraging exposé journalism. This coupled with changing demographics and a split in the Church concerning the revisions of *Vatican II*, all played a role in creating an environment in which sexual abuse scandals were exposed by the media. According to Jenkins, "Media attitudes therefore helped create an absolute criminogenic social environment," and the extent to which this environment has been exploited remains unclear.

KREBS, T. (1998). CHURCH STRUCTURES THAT FACILITATE PEDOPHILIA AMONG ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY. IN A. SHUPE (ED.) *WOLVES WITHIN THE FOLD: RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND ABUSES OF POWER* (PP. 67-84). NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ: RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Krebs argued that the structure of the Church and its hierarchy facilitate sexual abuse. Anonymity was granted to pedophilic priests due to the Church's international nature, organizational hierarchy, and internal polity. The organizational hierarchy was discussed in relation to the work of Andrew Shupe, who observed five unique characteristics. Institutional religion is based on what Shupe called "hierarchies of unequal power," which span different dimensions including the spiritual and organizational. Those in elite positions have moral authority, which allows them to control privileges as well as shun and excommunicate. Third, the Catholic Church is what Shupe referred to as a "trusted hierarchy," which influenced parental socialization of children to believe and trust in Church officials. Clergy malfeasance occurs in trusted hierarchies. Fourth, the structure of the Church provided "opportunity structure" and "protected places" that allow for deviancy. The Church also engaged in neutralization to protect these offending priests. In turn, this gives the pedophile approval from superiors to continue offending. Shupe contends that by taking any neutralizing action, the problem can occur once more. These priests can be reassigned to new parishes and diocese where only a few members of the hierarchy may know their history. Krebs also argued that newly implemented structures continued to facilitate pedophilia in the Church. One such structure is the study group comprised of the entire Church community, which seeks to find a solution to this problem. Krebs asserted that the focus of these groups has been to ascertain that while sexual abuse occurs in the Catholic Church, it is more prevalent in other

institutions. The reason why sexual abuse in the Church is a major issue is because the offenders are ordained priests who took a vow of celibacy.

LOFTUS, J.A. (1999). SEXUALITY IN PRIESTHOOD: NOLI ME TANGERE. IN T.G. PLANTE (ED.) *BLESS ME FATHER FOR I HAVE SINNED: PERSPECTIVES ON SEXUAL ABUSE COMMITTED BY ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS* (PP. 7-19). WESTPORT, CT: PRAEGER PUBLISHERS.

Loftus provided a historical overview of sexuality in the priesthood. He explained that a focus of priestly teachings concerning celibacy is characterized by the phrase "if no one touches me, I will not experience sexual desire, or at least not sexual temptation." The work of Sipe is discussed in examining the issue of celibacy. The author contends that there is no simple way to define celibacy and that it is a complex and dynamic issue. There is also a public relations issue related to the fact that many parishioners believe that priests are indeed celibate and always have been. The work of Loftus & Camargo (1993) is discussed and the author posits that the question should not be what an acceptable definition of celibacy is, but rather how sexuality is experienced within this population. Research is hindered because there is no access to data concerning sexuality in the "normal" priest population.

LOTHSTEIN, L. (1999). NEUROPSYCHOLOGICAL FINDINGS IN CLERGY WHO SEXUALLY ABUSE. IN T.G. PLANTE (ED.) *BLESS ME FATHER FOR I HAVE SINNED: PERSPECTIVES ON SEXUAL ABUSE COMMITTED BY ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS* (PP. 59-85). WESTPORT, CT: PRAEGER PUBLISHERS.

This chapter presented a review of the literature concerning neuropsychology and sexual offending. Studies have shown that there appear to be abnormalities located in the fronto-temporal region of the brain of sex offenders. However, these studies suffer from methodological flaws and the results are typically confounded by substance abuse. The Institute for Living clergy study is discussed, in which 400 clerics have been evaluated for paraphiliac and non-paraphiliac sexual behavior. The findings supported the theory that sex offenders, from the general and cleric population, appear to have an abnormality in the fronto-temporal region of their brains. While the abnormalities are similar there are differences between the cleric and non-cleric offenders. The

author warned against inferring a causal link between brain dysfunction and paraphiliac behavior. It was recommended when assessing clerics that those who have a history of hard neurological signs (massive head trauma, seizures, history of unconsciousness, etc.) should be considered as being at a high risk for sexual disinhibition. Those who have a history of soft neurological signs (impulsivity, anxiety, etc.) must also be thoroughly evaluated.

PALLONE, N.J. (2002). SIN, CRIME, ARROGANCE, BETRAYAL: A PSYCHODYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN CATHOLICISM. *BRIEF TREATMENT AND CRISIS INTERVENTION*, 2 (4), 341-372.

In this article Pallone states that the crisis of sexual misconduct in the Roman Catholic Church is in fact homosexual statutory rape. Along this line, Pallone also states that a majority of the victims were not of "pre-pubescent age" as specified in the DSM IV; therefore the offenders cannot be considered pedophiles. It is a new disorder, considered ephelophilia, and he presents an in-depth explanation of the disorder based on "Fenichel's (1945) speculations about the genesis of psychosexual pathology among (sexually inexperienced but palpably) narcissistic adult males and incorporating the contribution of Catholic doctrine on the Virgin birth" (p. 366). The disorder is not yet recognized by the DSM IV; however, there is a danger in creating a new category of mental disorder whose behavior has been deemed criminal.

The offenders consist of a relatively small number of priests. Few clerics were being prosecuted, and only seemed to face arrest and prosecution after the press had learned of the civil liability payments made to the victims. In most situations, responsibility is not admitted by the diocese, while the victims are paid to keep silent. The press focuses only on current cases while those that occurred more than a month ago is considered ancient history. Pallone points out that this is not an isolated American phenomenon, but is also occurring in countries such as Ireland, Canada, Australia, England, Poland, and Africa.

SCHEPER-HUGHES, N. (1998). INSTITUTIONALIZED SEX ABUSE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. IN N. SCHEPER-HUGHES & C. SARGENT (EDS.) *SMALL WARS: THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF CHILDHOOD* (PP. 295-317). BERKELEY, CA: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS.

The author presented a response to the theories proposed by the Winter Commission in Newfoundland. In posing this argument, it was urged that the Church look even deeper into the institutional and structural roots of sexual abuse within institutions. According to ethnographic data, sexual abuse is not endemic or universal. Scheper-Hughes argued that "social isolation, arbitrary parental authority over children, patriarchal values, single-parent households, and negative images of the social worth of children all promote and exacerbate child sexual abuse." A brief discussion concerning clergy abuse in Ireland is included. The author cited the work of Kennedy (1972) who found that 8% of priests were maldeveloped, 57% were underdeveloped, 29% were developing, and only 6% were developed. In a personal interview with the author he ascertained that "The vows of poverty and obedience infantilize the adult male, making him dependant on a series of father figures at a time when they should be in control of their own lives and responsible for the lives of children and young people. The vow of celibacy takes from the adult a main vehicle for the expression of intimate social relations. The end result is chronic infantilization." However, the Winter Commission was silent on the topic of celibacy. The author draws parallels between corporal punishment, with its erotic undertones, to that of clergy abuse. Corporal punishment was said to have created a sexualized environment, which may have provided the antecedent conditions for sexual offending.

SIFE, A.W.R. (1995). *SEX, PRIESTS, AND POWER: ANATOMY OF A CRISIS*, 1, 3-23, NEW YORK, NY: BRUNNER/MAZEL, INC.

Sipe extrapolated upon the findings of his 1990 book, *A Secret World: Sexuality and the Search for Celibacy*. In studying the celibacy patterns of Catholic priests, the author postulated that 20% have engaged in heterosexual relationships and behaviors, 10% have engaged in homosexual behavior, 4% have had adolescent partners and 2% are pedophiles. Sipe asserted that child molestation is a result of the flawed celibate/sexual system of the Church. Since the Church has not developed a clear understanding of human sexuality in general, they were unable to formulate a response to this issue. This is coupled with the fact that the teachings of the Church were not always followed by those in power.

After having reviewed the histories of 473 abusive priests, it was found that 70-80% of priests were sexually abused as children and 10% were approached by a priest while studying in the seminary. The author has developed four specific categories to explain sexual abuse in the clergy. Those in Sipe's Genetic Lock find that their sexual attraction is inherently determined. The Psychodynamic Lock consists of priests who, as a result of their childhood experiences, have been locked into one level of psychosexual development, rendering them prone to offending behavior. Sipe hypothesized that a combination of genetic and psychodynamic factors interacts with cognitive factors. All of these variables combine in such a manner as to influence the priest to sexually abuse a child. In the Social/Situational Lock, the priest is otherwise healthy but the experience of celibacy suspends their psychosexual development. Similar to the theory of primary genital phobia, sex is externally denied but internally explored. Sipe concluded that the offending behavior is of a developmental nature, which could be resolved, once the offender matured. The Moral Lock provided no clear explanation for the offending behavior. According to Sipe, these individuals are cold and calculating and make a conscience choice to sexually abuse children just because they desire the experience.

Sipe, A.W.R. (1995). *SEX, PRIESTS, AND POWER: ANATOMY OF A CRISIS*, 2, 24-43, NEW YORK, NY: BRUNNER/MAZEL, INC.

This chapter evaluated Sipe's estimation that 6% of priests have sexually abused minors. It is argued that the evidence presented by the victim's rights movement have supported this estimate. Survivors do not pursue lawsuits solely to gain monetary restitution. Their motivation is to gain the assurance that no other children will be victimized. Thus, there is a conflict with the responsibilities allotted to the Bishops, who seek to protect the Church's holdings and power. Among the factors that must be examined when evaluating clergy offenders are the age and gender of the child, whether the incident is isolated or of a serial nature, whether the offender is fixated or regressed, whether the behavior is compulsive or addictive, and determining what exactly the abuse entailed. A discussion of treatment elaborated upon the idea that one of the difficulties in treating these offenders is that the abuse is viewed as a sin that may

be resolved through confession and penance. During the course of treatment, the Church should monitor the offender for a period of about five years.

Sipe, A.W.R. (1998). CLERGY ABUSE IN IRELAND. IN A. SHUPE (ED.) *WOLVES WITHIN THE FOLD: RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP AND ABUSES OF POWER* (PP. 133-151). NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ: RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS.

This chapter provided an overview of clergy abuse in Ireland. What made the abuse in Ireland so unique is the integration of Church and State, which has existed since the country's emancipation from the UK. Through the years, various reforms have occurred including the legalization of divorce and the Abortion Information Bill, which allowed certain medical centers to provide information pertaining to the operation. These reforms did not occur until the mid-1990s. In 1996, the Irish hierarchy pledged full cooperation with the authorities in addressing the issue of cleric abuse. Sipe contends that all of the accounts of sexual abuse in Ireland have in fact been well known and recorded accurately albeit censored. This abuse has been known as a characteristic of the Church in Ireland for years. The relation between the Irish Church and that of the American Church illustrated an interesting connection in supporting Sipe's thesis. Seventeen percent of the US population during the period of 1960-1970 was Irish American. However, 54% of priests were Irish Americans or Irish and 85% of archbishops and 75% of Bishops were Irish American. This connection has led Sipe to raise the following questions: (1) Is there a correlation between ethnic origin and clergy abuse; (2) What is the rate of sexual abuse/activity by priests in Ireland versus the US; (3) How many sexually abusive priests in the US, England, and elsewhere were born or educated in Ireland; (4) Is the proportion of known sexually abusive Irish-born or Irish educated priests greater or less than their representation in the indigenous clergy pool? Sipe contends that cleric abuse revealed a structure of systematic abuse of children handed down through the ages and shaped by priests and nuns. This structure developed during the Potato Famine, which produced the severe social and economic ramifications: survivor guilt and the experience of fear, bankruptcy of various institutions other than the Catholic Church, consolidation of Church power, and the effect of emigration on the population.